



# Loanwords in Cilubà\*

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**Abstract:** The present study examines loanwords in Cilubà from both a phonological and a morphological point of view. Two large categories of loanwords can be distinguished: on the one hand those which are entirely integrated and on the other hand more recent loanwords which retain a large number of their original phonological features. On the phonological level, loanwords (1) introduce new phonemes such as [R] and [g], (2) increase the proportion of low tones, and (3) introduce new combinations of phonemes (e.g. in the sequence  $C_1C_2V$ , in which consonants  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are respectively a nasal and a semivowel, loanwords allow the presence of any consonant). On the morphological level, one notices the appearance not only of forms whose plural is no longer predictable, but also of forms whose plural can be realized in different classes. This phenomenon has important implications in lexicography. As a matter of fact, it is no longer possible to mention in a Lubà dictionary only the singular form and let the reader infer the plural. For nouns the concept of "gender" must therefore be introduced. Gender is defined as a pair of classes whose left and right poles which generally represent the singular and the plural respectively, are chosen in relation to the syntactic concords for the different class affixes (nominal, pronominal, verbal and object prefixes; enclitics), the possessive and the demonstratives, and no longer only in relation to the nominal prefix. Thus, the gender of a noun appears to play a fundamental role in the macro-structure of a noun lemma. Finally, the study of the processes which are intuitively applied by the speakers to integrate foreign words will be a useful source of stimulation for the coinage of neologisms.

**Keywords:** CLASS, DICTIONARY, LOANWORD, GENDER, LEXICOGRAPHY, LEXICOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY, PHONOLOGY, PREFIX

**Abstrait:** La présente étude examine les mots d'emprunt en cilubà du double point de vue phonologique et morphologique. On reconnaît deux grandes catégories d'emprunts: d'une part ceux qui sont entièrement intégrés et, d'autre part, ceux qui, plus récents, retiennent un grand nombre de leurs traits phonologiques originels. Sur le plan phonologique, l'emprunt (1) introduit des phonèmes nouveaux tels que [R] et [g], (2) augmente la proportion des tons bas, et (3) introduit de nouvelles combinaisons de phonèmes (par exemple, dans la syllabe de type  $C_1C_2V$ , où les consonnes  $C_1$  et  $C_2$  doivent être respectivement une nasale et une semi-voyelle, les emprunts permettent la présence de consonnes quelconques). Sur le plan morphologique, on observe non seulement l'apparition de formes dont le pluriel n'est plus prévisible, mais aussi de formes qui peuvent former leur pluriel dans différentes classes. Ce phénomène a des implications importantes sur le

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plan lexicographique. En effet, il ne suffira plus désormais de mentionner dans un dictionnaire lubà la seule forme du singulier et de laisser au lecteur le soin d'en deviner la forme du pluriel. On est ainsi amené à développer pour les substantifs la notion de "genre". Celui-ci est défini comme une paire de classes dont les pôles gauche et droit, qui représentent généralement le singulier et le pluriel, sont choisis en fonction de leurs accords syntaxiques pour les différents affixes de classe (préfixes nominal, pronominal, verbal et objet; enclitiques), le possessif et les démonstratifs, et non plus seulement en fonction de la forme du préfixe nominal. Ainsi le genre d'un substantif s'avère être une donnée fondamentale dans la macrostructure d'un lemme substantival. Enfin, l'étude des procédés appliqués intuitivement par les locuteurs pour l'intégration de mots étrangers sera une source d'inspiration utile pour la création de néologismes.

**Mots-clefs:** CLASSE, DICTIONNAIRE, EMPRUNT, GENRE, LEXICOGRAPHIE, LEXICOLOGIE, MORPHOLOGIE, PHONOLOGIE, PRÉFIXE

## Abbreviations<sup>1</sup>

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

˘: a vowel preceded by this sign is syllabic	Gr: Greek
\$: syllable boundary	H: high tone
#: word boundary	Kswa: Kiswahili
=: exactly the same as adjacent word on the left	L: low tone
+: this sign means that an np is secondary	Lat: Latin
±: this sign after the monomoraic locative np means that this prefix can precede a stem or a noun	M: middle tone
ad: anaphoric distributive	N: nasal
Ar: Arabic	np: nominal prefix
C: consonant	npq: np used in qualificatives (adjectives, ordinals 1-6 and past participles)
cc: cardinal concord (used in cardinal numbers 1-6)	oc: object concord
cl: class	pe: pronominal enclitics
dd1: deictic demonstrative 1 (this, these)	pl: plural
dd2: deictic demonstrative 2 (that, those)	po: possessive morpheme (à + affix except in cl 1)
Du: Dutch	pp: pronominal pronoun
Eng: English	˘pp: pronominal prefix with L and floating tone
F: falling tone	Port: Portuguese
Fr: French	R: rising tone
G: glide	sc: subject concord
gen: gender	sing: singular
	V: vowel

## 1. Introduction

Cilubà<sup>2</sup> is one of the four national languages of the Congo (formerly Zaïre<sup>3</sup>), the other three being Kiswahili, Lingala and Kikongo. It is in direct contact with French (the official language) as well as with these three languages. It is spoken

in two of the eight provinces: in Western Kàsaayì (capital: Kanàngà) by the Beena-Luluwà and Bakwà-Luntu, and in Eastern Kàsaayì (capital: Mbùjimâyi) by the Balubà proper. However, it extends far beyond these provinces, with many speakers in the other provinces, particularly in Shaba and Kinshasa (Kalonji 1993: 346). There are at least five million active Cilubà speakers (Kalonji 1993: 26).<sup>4</sup>

Studies have been devoted to the phonology, morphology, dialectology and syntax of Cilubà in the past, although most of these need updating (e.g. Gabriel 1921, Burssens 1946b, Stappers 1949, Coupez 1954, Meeussen 1944-59 and 1962, Mutombo 1977, Kabuta 1995, 1996). However, no research was done on lexicology, while lexicography was left to the missionaries (e.g. Morrison 1906, 1939, De Clercq 1914, 1936, Gabriel 1922 and 1925, De Clercq and Willems 1960, and Willems 1986). It is only recently that some linguists have compiled word lists and lexicons (e.g. Yukawa 1992, Kadima et al. 1995, and especially ACCT 1983 which e.g. contains hundreds of neologisms coined among others by borrowing from the field of economic and social activities, as well as Bunduki 1975, a terminology of linguistics). A theoretical work giving guidelines for the compilation of a modern dictionary was also published a few years ago (Kalonji 1993). The present article is part of a preliminary study on some important issues to be taken into account in any modern monolingual or bilingual Cilubà dictionary project. It describes on the one hand the strategies used to nativize words, and on the other hand the changes which borrowing introduces into the phonology and the morphology.

Sociolinguistically, French has always enjoyed a prestigious position in the Congo, since it was the language of the colonizer. Even after independence (1960), it remained the obligatory passage to social promotion. In 1962 when it became the official language, it was constitutionally given a predominant role in different spheres of activities, namely in education and administration. Consequently, many Congolese are in a situation of diglossia, which explains the importance of borrowing from French. Before the colonization, contacts with Portugal started as early as 1482, when the first Portuguese, led by Diego Cão, arrived in the kingdom of the Kongo which spread along the Atlantic Ocean. The arrival of the Portuguese was followed by at least two centuries of intense political and commercial activity. In the second half of the 19th century, the country of the Luluwà was visited by Cokwe hunters and traders from Angola.<sup>5</sup> During this period, new products from Europe and the Americas were introduced by the traders, and these products generally came with their foreign names. There were also commercial exchanges with East Africa, which resulted in the introduction of new products and their names, generally from Arabic. As a rule, the source languages are either coastal, trade or administrative languages. Not surprisingly, the main source languages for Cilubà are Portuguese, Kiswahili and especially French.

Loanwords will be understood here as "those words which were not in the vocabulary at one period and are in it at a subsequent one, without having been

made up from the existing lexical stock of the language or invented as entirely new creations, as for example, certain names for products are (kodak, etc.)" (Robins 1975: 324). Words sometimes travel a long way from one language to another, passing through other languages. For example, Cilubà has a few words from Arabic, although it was never exposed to the direct influence of this language. Other languages have indeed served as "carriers", e.g. Kiswahili in the case of Arab words. The aim of this article is not to discuss this issue and trace the history of the loanwords, although such a study would certainly be of great interest for the cultural history of the Balubà. The source languages mentioned in the examples are therefore just meant to show the foreign origin of the words, and not necessarily their original forms. Furthermore, there is a fair amount of loanwords in the field of Christian religion which have different forms according to whether they were introduced by Protestant or Catholic missionaries. As a rule, "Protestant" loans are closer to Lubà phonology than "Catholic" ones and will therefore preferably be referred to.

To study borrowing implies answering at least the following questions: What is borrowed and how does it happen? Who borrows? Why and when does one borrow? The answers to the first two questions are of a linguistic nature, whereas the answers to the others are sociolinguistic. The data at our disposal allow us to focus only on the linguistic questions.

Analyzing current conversations with different social groups as well as written material,<sup>6</sup> we noticed that besides inter- or intrasentential code-switching, loanwords are used extensively. A list of about 600 loanwords was drawn up. This list is insignificant compared to the whole Lubà lexicon, but, interestingly enough, it belongs to everyday vocabulary<sup>7</sup> which generally does not exceed 3 000 words (the COBUILD English Dictionary 1995, e.g. uses a vocabulary of 2 500 words to define all the lemmatized words). As is the case with other languages (cf. e.g. Bader and Mahadin 1996: 39), most of the words (over 90%) are nouns.<sup>8</sup> The remainder are verbs, adjectives (mostly used with a connective pronoun) and adverbs. There are a few phrases which are borrowed as one word.

All the words have been spelt uniformly, irrespective of their spelling in the source material. The following general conventions were used, some of which are explicated in the paragraph on phonology:

/i/ + /V/ (V≠i) > /yV/

/u/ + /V/ (V≠u) > /wV/<sup>9</sup>

/n/ + /i/ > /nyi/<sup>10</sup>

Low tone: `

Falling tone: ^

Rising tone: ˇ

High tone: not marked

N always bears a diacritic when syllabic

A long vowel is represented as VV with the restrictions mentioned in 2.1 1<sup>o</sup>.

2. Phonology

2.1 There are five vowels (/i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/) which can be combined with vowel quantity and tone to yield ten forms for each vowel. For instance, the different forms for the vowel /i/ are as follows: /í/, /ì/, /í:/, /ì:/, /í:/, /í:/, /í:/, /í:/, /í:/, /í:/.<sup>11</sup> Complex tones and nasality are always associated with vowel quantity. Furthermore, both nasality and vowel quantity are only possible before a consonant inside a word, which means that they are excluded in word-final position. Exceptions are a few conjunctions, such as *ân* /â:/ or *èn* /è:/ (yes) and *tǝ* (no) and the word *mbû* (or *mbuwù* ocean). The most used vowels are the low and high<sup>12</sup> vowels. In word-final position, /e/ will alternate with /a/, /o/ with /u/ (examples (1)(a)), but not the opposite (examples (1)(b)). In certain cases /i/ will freely alternate with /e/ and with /o/ (examples (1)(c)). In the pronunciation of many speakers, /e/ never occurs in this position. All these cases stress the preference of the language for low and high vowels, especially in word-final position.

- (1) (a) *mupânde*=*mupânda torn* (active past participle)  
*dilòdòlò*=*dilòdòlù evening*
- (b) *kwebeja*≠\**kwebeje to ask*  
*mupanda*≠\**mupande torn* (passive past participle)  
*tulù*≠\**tulò sleep*
- (c) *kumwambilayè*=*kumwambilayì he told him*  
*mwoyo*=*mwoyi heart*  
*byôbyo*=*byôbi them*

The following rules are used for the representation of vowels and tones:<sup>13</sup>

- 1° (a) V > [V:] / — NC
- (b) V > [V:] / CG — \$
- (c) V > [V:] / #G —

Because of these rules, the vowels in bold in the examples below are written only once although they are bimoraic:

- (2) *kunanga to love, kukwàta to catch, webè your(s), yà of*

2° H's are not represented, being the most frequent.

3° The M, which is responsible for downdrift, is not distinctive. Being phonologically predictable, no special sign is used to represent it:

- R > M: / H —
- L > M / H —

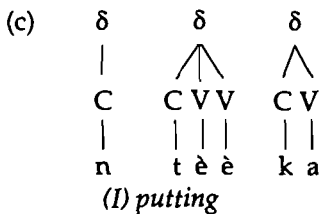
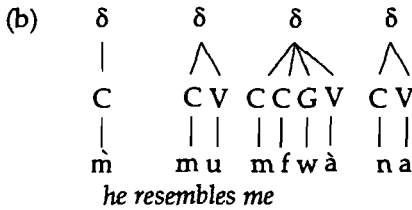
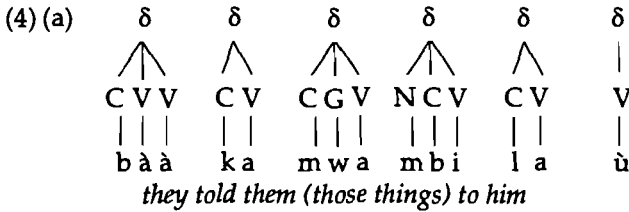
- (3) *tatwěbè* *your father*, *patwăyi* *when we went* are respectively pronounced:  
 [ - — - ] and [ - — - ] (or [ - / - ]),  
*manàyi* *games* is pronounced:  
 [ - - - ] (or [ - - - ])

2.2 There are 17 consonants: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, /b/, /v/, /l/(/d/), /z/, /ʒ/, /p/, /f/, /t/, /s/, /ʃ/, /k/, /φ/, /tʃ/. Some of these are conventionally represented as follows:

/ɲ/ : ny	/tʃ/ : c (or tsh)
/ŋ/ : ng	/ʒ/ : j
/ʃ/ : sh	/φ/ : p

/d/ is in complementary distribution with /l/ after /n/ and before /i/.

2.3 The syllable structures are CV, V, NCV and CGV.<sup>14</sup> There are variant forms as illustrated below. Example (4)(b) illustrates that the predicative morpheme *ñ it is* (and its combinatory variants) is syllabic. The same is true for the morpheme *ń-/ñ-* (sc first person sing) as shown in example (4)(c). A C-type syllable is often heard in sentence final position also, where the vowel is probably aspirated.



## 2.4 Excluded phoneme combinations are:

- (a) CG: nyw, cw, zw, jw, shw.  
 (b) CV: si, zi, ti, ni;<sup>15</sup> ve, va, fe, fa;<sup>16</sup> vo, fo; li.<sup>17</sup>  
 (c) CCV: it is the moraic nature of N and G which accounts for the tolerance of NC and CG, as shown in note 15.  
 (d) NVI: only [ŋV] is permitted, otherwise l undergoes nasal assimilation and becomes n.

(5)	/lú-mòn-ílú/	> lumwènu	<i>mirror</i>
	/kú-tùm-íl-á/	> kutùmina	<i>to send to</i>
	/kú-sùm-íl-íl-á/	> kusùminyina	<i>to persist</i>
	but:		
	/kú-kàng-íl-á/	> kukàngila	<i>to enclose, to shut + preposition</i>

## 2.5 There are two types of loanwords:

2.5.1 Loanwords which are completely integrated into Lubà phonology, although they will display features which are rather rare, such as a low np or no prefix at all (as in some Lubà kinship terms). At this stage, the phonetic structure of the language is not disturbed by the introduction of new sounds, the following general principles being applied:<sup>18</sup>

1° Vowel epenthesis, which results in syllabification of clusters. Particularly, if the borrowed noun begins with a cluster with initial [b] or [k], [u] and [a] respectively are appended, which results in CV-type syllables corresponding to classes 12 and 14 nps. Very often, when the foreign word ends with a consonant, Cilubà appends an identical vowel to the preceding consonant, unless the phonetic features of this consonant exert an influence:

	$C_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_2 \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	>	$C_1 V \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_2 \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$	
(6)	classe	>	kàlaasà	<i>classroom, school</i>
	clerc	>	kàleelèkà	<i>white-collar worker</i>
	cravate	>	kàlavwandà	<i>tie</i>
	bloc	>	bùlokò	<i>prison</i>

As a rule, the quality of the appended vowel is determined by the adjacent phonemic features.<sup>19</sup> In most cases, however, a low vowel will be inserted, as its frequency in the language is the highest among the vowels.<sup>20</sup>

(7) (a)	bath (Eng)	>	(m)baafù	<i>bath, basin</i>
	pas op (Du)	>	kusopweshà <sup>21</sup>	<i>to warn</i>

Gabriel	> Ngaabùdyèlà	<i>Gabriel</i>
corned beef (Eng)	> kòlònèbefù/kòlènèbefù	<i>corned beef</i>
diable	> dyabùlù	<i>devil</i>
bifteck	> bifùtekà	<i>beefsteak</i>
soupe	> nsupù	<i>soup</i>
(b) juge	> nzujì	<i>judge</i>
chemise	> nsùmijì (-sà)	<i>shirt</i>
glace	> dikàlaashì	<i>glass</i>
belge	> beelèjì	<i>Belgian</i>
chave (Port)	> nsapì	<i>key</i>

Quite often, when a word ends in /e/, it will freely alternate with /a/, as happens in normal Lubà words:

(8) fête	> fetè/fetà	<i>celebration, party</i>
cassette	> kàsetè/kàsetà, kàset	<i>tape cassette</i>

Instead of /u/, a glide may be appended. In the second and third examples, /u/ is inserted after /v/ and /f/ because the sequences /va/ and /fa/ are not permitted:

(9) franc	> mfùlangà or mfwàlanga	<i>money</i>
cravate	> kàlàvwandà	<i>tie</i>
tofali (Kswa)	> ditàfwadi	<i>brick</i>

2° Epenthesis of an np (mostly class 1 nasal np or class 5 np):

(10) boy (Eng)	> dibooyì	<i>servant</i>
carro (Port)	> dikalù	<i>bicycle</i>
bath (Eng)	> mbaafù	<i>bath, basin</i>
glass (Eng)	> dikàlaashì	<i>glass</i>
mpira (Kswa)	> mùpilà	<i>pullover</i>
baraza (Kswa)	> dibàlaasà	<i>verandah</i>
sapato (Port)	> cisàbaatà	<i>shoe</i>
sentry (Eng)	> nsentedì	<i>sentry</i>
limão (Port)	> didimà	<i>lemon</i>
kopo (Port)	> dikopo	<i>cup</i>

3° Whenever there is a formal resemblance between the first syllable (or article plus first syllable) of a foreign word and a Lubà np, the former is adapted to match the shape of a Lubà np (cf. Chart 1); e.g. [ly, lo, lɔ] > /lu/; [me] > /mi/; [li] > /di/; [to, tɔ] > /tu/; [b] > /bu/; [by] > /bi/; [k] > /ka/ (examples (11)(a)). When this is not possible, a nasal prefix is used (examples (11)(b)). In some cases, a foreign initial syllable is felt to be a plural prefix and is subsequently made to alternate with a Lubà singular prefix (examples (11)(c))<sup>22</sup>.



(11) (a)	bloc	> b̀̀lokò 14	<i>prison</i>
	classe	> k̀̀laasà 12	<i>classroom</i>
	courant d'eau	> k̀̀làndê 12	<i>trench</i>
	machine	> m̀̀shinyì 6	<i>car</i>
	cassette	> k̀̀setà 12	<i>tape cassette</i>
	bus	> bisà 8	<i>bus</i>
	coeur-de-boeuf	> k̀̀làbefù 12	<i>kind of fruit</i>
	l'hôpital	> l̀̀pitaadi 11	<i>hospital</i>
	l'histoire	> distwâr 5	<i>story</i>
	lunette	> l̀̀neetà 11	<i>spectacles</i>
	caixete (Port)	> kashèetà 12	<i>box</i> <sup>23</sup>
(b)	pato (Port)	> mpaatu 1	<i>duck</i>
	soupe	> nsupù 1	<i>soup</i>
	canzou	> nkanzu 1	<i>dress</i>
	sukari (Kswa)	> nsùkaadi 1	<i>sugar</i>
	jugé	> nzuji 1	<i>judge</i>
	pão (Port)	> mpaù 1	<i>bread</i>
	pataco (Port)	> mpatà 1	<i>5-franc coin or note (in colonial times)</i>
(c)	tomate	> t̀̀matà 13 (cf. k̀̀matà 12)	<i>tomatoes</i>
	mes habits	> mizàbì 4 (cf. mùzàbì 3)	<i>cassocks</i>
	minute	> minutà 4 (cf. mùnutà 3)	<i>minutes</i>
	million	> milyô 4 (cf. mùlyô 3)	<i>millions</i>

4° Extrasyllabic truncation:<sup>24</sup>

(12)	épingle.	> mpengèlà	<i>safety pin</i>
	appel	> mpeelù	<i>call</i>
	américain	> màlèkaanyi	<i>kind of cloth</i>
	essuie-mains	> sùmé	<i>towel</i>
	indépendance	> dipàndà	<i>independence</i>

## 5° Final or penultimate nasal vowel &gt; velar + vowel:

(13)	franc	> mfwàlangà	<i>money</i>
	sabão (Port)	> nsàbangà	<i>soap</i>
	botão (Port)	> mbòtangà	<i>button</i>

6° /g/ > /ng/ (sometimes /k/):

(14)	grec	> kàlekà	<i>praying-place</i> (for adepts of Bupoostòlò, a syncretic religion)
	gâteau	> kààtò	<i>cake</i>
	gare	> ngàlà	<i>station</i>
	garfo (Port)	> ngàlafù	<i>fork</i>
	grâce	> ngaasà	<i>mercy</i>
	Gabriel	> Ngaabùdyèlà	<i>Gabriel</i>
	gold (Eng)	> ngòlù	<i>gold</i>

7° In a few cases, a voiceless stop will become voiced:

(15)	guitare	> cìdàlà	<i>guitar</i>
	kabati Kswa	> kabàdì	<i>cupboard</i>
	tampon	> cìtambì/-pì	<i>seal</i>

There is one known case in which a voiced stop alternates with a voiceless:

(16)	salade	> (màfutà àà) nsaalàtà	( <i>oil for</i> ) <i>salad</i>
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2.5.2 Loanwords which retain some of their original phonological features and are thus only partially nativized, as in the following examples, all from French. All these words are relatively recent, and it is unlikely that they will naturally undergo further nativization. Rather, many of the words which were fully nativized (*mfwàlànsa*, *ngàlà*, and so on), tend to be pronounced as in French. The older pronunciation, it seems, becomes associated with poor schooling. The different changes enumerated below are certainly the result of a greater familiarity with French if not through education, at least through the media. In these words the following phenomena are observed:

1° Nasal vowels and complex (namely falling) tones appear in word-final position:

(17)	l'histoire	> distwâr	<i>story</i>
	famille	> fàmî	<i>family</i>
	contrat	> kòntrâ	<i>contract</i>
	pardon	> pàrdō	<i>sorry</i>

2° Absence of np. Such words belong to gender 1/4 (see 3.2 and 3.3 2°):

(18)	secret	> sèèkèlè	<i>secret</i>
	congé	> kònjè	<i>off day, holiday</i>
	parti	> pàrtî	<i>(political) party</i>

pick-up (Eng)	> pìkepà	<i>delivery van</i>
client	> kidiyâ	<i>client, customer</i>

3° Words from French display the following general tonal pattern L ... H, L ... F or L ... FL where H or F corresponds to the accented syllable in French. Such patterns increase the number of L nps, as well as the number of stems with L's:

(19)	allumette	> àlàmeetà	<i>match</i>
	acide	> àsìdà	<i>acid</i>
	politique	> pòlitikà	<i>politics</i>
	fenêtre	> fineetèlà	<i>window</i>
	sida	> sìdâ	<i>aids</i>

4° All sorts of clusters and CV sequences are tolerated, in violation of the restrictions mentioned in 2.4:

(20)	C+r:	mífrangà	<i>money</i>	< franc
		muprofetà	<i>prophet</i>	< prophète
	s+C:	mùpoostòdò	<i>apostle</i>	< Gr apostolos
		eskè	<i>question phrase</i>	< est-ce que
		dispànsèlà	<i>dispensary</i> <sup>25</sup>	< dispensaire
	y+w:	bùywàlà	<i>kettle</i>	< bouilloir
	C+s:	tààksì	<i>taxi</i>	< taxi
		tèleksè	<i>telex</i>	< télex
	l+i:	pòlitikà	<i>politics</i>	< politique
	d+a:	àsìdà	<i>acid</i>	< acide
		dààkòr	<i>all right</i>	< d'accord
		dàyèr	<i>anyway</i>	< d'ailleurs
	Nvl:	kòntènèlà	<i>container</i>	< Eng container

5° French phonemes such as /œ/, /y/, /g/ and especially /r/ are tolerated. One notices even the phenomenon of hypercorrection, by which e.g. [r] is pronounced instead of [l].

(21)	Philomène	> Phiromène
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### 3. Morphology

3.1 The Lubà noun has one of the prefixes listed in column 2 of Chart 1. This prefix has a H and is monomoraic. There are very few cases of L nps<sup>26</sup>. Grouping nouns by genders rather than by classes will best show us the difference between pure Lubà or fully nativized words and partially nativized words. A gender is defined as a morphosyntactic pair of classes whose members, different from ∅, generally represent the singular and plural forms respectively<sup>27</sup>. The

involved affixes are the np, npq, `pp, cc, sc, oc, pe, po, ad, dd1 and dd2. The np, which can have variants (cf. e.g. gender 1/4 in Chart 1, in which class 1 np can be mu-, N or Ø) and can even be regarded as a word in classes 16, 17 and 18 and therefore written separately, is not taken into account for the definition of gender. In the pair Ø/6, the right member has a collective rather than a plural meaning; in the other pairs containing a Ø, the opposition singular/plural is irrelevant. According to the system generally used in Bantu languages, the number of genders for Cilubà appears to be 21:

(22)	1/2	mwâna, bâna	<i>child(ren)</i>
	1/4	ntambwa, ntambwa	<i>lion(s)</i> <sup>28</sup>
	3/4	mucì, micì	<i>tree(s)</i>
	5/6	dijiba, majiba	<i>lake(s)</i>
	5/Ø	dipita	<i>passing</i>
		dyàkabi	<i>bad luck</i>
	Ø/6	mâyi	<i>water</i>
	7/8	cibelu, bibelu	<i>thigh(s)</i>
	7/0	cikongo	<i>Kikongo; like the Bakongo</i>
	8/8	bidyàa, bidyà	<i>porridge(s)</i>
	8/Ø	bikolè	<i>hard, very</i>
	11/4	lulengu, ndengu	<i>poison(s)</i>
	11/Ø	lùkàsà	<i>quickly</i>
	12/13	kantu, tuntu	<i>small thing(s)</i>
	12/Ø	kakesè	<i>a little</i>
	Ø/13	tuminu	<i>nasal mucus</i>
	14/6	bulaba, malaba	<i>soil(s)</i>
	14/Ø	buntu	<i>humanness, humanity</i>
	15/Ø	kwakula	<i>to speak</i>
	16/Ø	pa mèèsà	<i>on the table</i>
	17/Ø	ku mèèsà	<i>at the table</i>
	18/Ø	mu nzùbu	<i>in the house</i>

These genders are made up of the 16 class numbers contained in Chart 1, plus Ø to express the absence of a class. In this chart, independent nominals (nouns), take one or two of the nps listed in column 2, whereas dependent nominals (qualificatives) only take the canonical variant (labelled npq) of the corresponding np:

(23)	mwâna	(np: mu-)	mwîmpè	(npq: mu-)	<i>a nice child</i>
	mùkooko	(np: mù-)	mwîmpè	(npq: mu-)	<i>a nice sheep</i> <sup>29</sup>
	nzùbu	(np: N-)	mwîmpè	(npq: mu-)	<i>a nice house</i>
	sààkooshì	(np: Ø-)	mwîmpè	(npq: mu-)	<i>a nice bag</i>

Qualificatives are adjectives, past participles and ordinals from 1 to 6:

- |      |                       |  |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| (24) | <b>mwâna mwîmpè</b>   | <i>a nice child</i>                            |
|      | <b>mwâna mulààle</b>  | <i>a sleeping child (cf. kulààla to sleep)</i> |
|      | <b>dikalù diitânu</b> | <i>fifth bicycle</i>                           |

The prefixes used in (22) are primary nps. In some classes (2, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13 and 14), there exists a second set of nps which are phonologically distinct from the primary nps. They precede a full noun, i.e. they are used before another np, which can be Ø in loanwords. A secondary np is always bimoraic (CVV) and bears a high H. It is indicated by a + sign after the conventional class number or morpheme. The locative prefix can be secondary, but it remains monomoraic (CV). In this case, it is written separately and can be regarded as a word rather than a morpheme:

- |      |                                   |                        |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| (25) | <b>kàkalù 12/kaadikalù 12+</b>    | <i>a small bicycle</i> |
|      | <b>tunkanzu (tuu+n+kanzu) 13+</b> | <i>little dresses</i>  |
|      | <b>pa mucì mucyàmàkàne</b>        | <i>on the cross</i>    |
|      | <b>kù baabèndè</b>                | <i>abroad</i>          |
|      | <b>mu eu nzùbu</b>                | <i>in this house</i>   |

In column 4, which lists the pe's (used in subject relatives, possessives and connectives), the following rule is applied: H# > L/{F,L}\$ — #`p̄p̄:

- |      |                           |                           |  |
|------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (26) | <b>bâna #`bănàyi</b>      | > <b>bânà bânàyi</b>      | <i>the children who have played<sup>30</sup></i> |
|      | <b>bâna #`bèèbè</b>       | > <b>bânà bèèbè</b>       | <i>your children</i>                             |
|      | <b>matùnga #`àà luuyà</b> | > <b>matùnga àà luuyà</b> | <i>warm countries</i>                            |

The tone of the pe's in column 8 is in contrast with the adjacent tone:

- |      |                     |                            |
|------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (27) | <b>kumufùndayè</b>  | <i>he accused him</i>      |
|      | <b>pààmufùndàye</b> | <i>when he accuses him</i> |

The examples below are translated literally in order to illustrate the use of chart 1. The class affixes, which are sometimes modified by some morphonological rule, are given in bold type:

- |      |              |               |           |                          |                          |
|------|--------------|---------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (28) | class 1      |               |           |                          |                          |
|      | <b>Mwâna</b> | <b>mwîmpè</b> | <b>wa</b> | <b>Ilunga</b>            | <b>wălu.</b>             |
|      | <i>Child</i> | <i>nice</i>   | <i>of</i> | <i>Ilunga</i>            | <i>has come.</i>         |
|      |              |               |           | <b>Ûmupèeshè</b>         | <b>cyàlòmbàye.</b>       |
|      |              |               |           | <i>Give him</i>          | <i>what he'll ask.</i>   |
|      | class 3      |               |           |                          |                          |
|      | <b>Muci</b>  | <b>mwîmpè</b> | <b>wà</b> | <b>Ilunga</b>            | <b>wăcibuku.</b>         |
|      | <i>Tree</i>  | <i>nice</i>   | <i>of</i> | <i>Ilunga</i>            | <i>is broken.</i>        |
|      |              |               |           | <b>Nètùwùòshèpùùmàu.</b> |                          |
|      |              |               |           | <i>We'll burn it</i>     | <i>when it dries up.</i> |

class 5

Dikalù dîmpè dyà Ilunga dyānyangükù. Nëndilongòlòlè pààfikàdi.  
 Bicycle nice of Ilunga is broken. I'll repair it when it arrives.

class 7

Cisanjì cîmpè cyà Ilunga cyānyangükù. Nëndilongòlòlè pààfikàci.  
 Radio nice of Ilunga is out of order. I'll repair it when it arrives.

3.2 Firstly, the Lubà infinitive has class 15 np and ends in -a, exceptions being a few defective stems:

- (29) -di to be, -tu to be often or generally (these verbs do not have class 15 nps)  
 kwanji auxiliary verb meaning "x first" (diachronically: kwanza)

Only very few foreign verbs have been fully adapted, such as:

- (30) bénir > kubèènesha to bless  
 baptiser > kubàtiiza to baptize  
 peindre > kupenta to paint  
 pas op<sup>31</sup> (Du.) > kusopweshà to warn

Other verbs retain their original infinitive form in all tenses. Because they are kept phonologically intact (though they sometimes can be combined with ordinary verbal morphemes), they should perhaps rather be regarded as cases of code-switching, particularly as this principle is applied to any verb:

- (31) proposer > netùbàpròpòzè we will propose them  
 concevoir > kukònsèvwâr to conceive  
 définir > kudèfinîr to define  
 se débrouiller > kudidèbrüyê to manage, to get on  
 remarquer > ngâkarèmarkê I noticed  
 investir > ñcinyî cyàkaènvèstîryi what did he invest?  
 comprendre > kabààkukòmprandrè to they will not understand

Secondly, new genders (or new combinations of classes) are created, as can be seen in Chart 2. The total number of genders is extended from 21 to 28, not counting the variant forms indicated by a and b. In this chart, the members of each gender have been illustrated with singular and plural examples, although, as has already been said, the opposition singular/plural is not relevant to all genders. It is obvious that an np (column 2) inside a gender can display various phonological shapes (shown with the letters a and b), whereas the class pair or gender remains constant (column 1) no matter the np variants<sup>32</sup>. The symbol Ø in column 1 means the noun is monogender; in columns 2 or 3, it means that there is no np or that the apparent np is not relevant (cf. 5/4 or 14/4 in Chart 2). The following general observations can be made:

1° Gender 1/2 contains only human beings. Human beings belonging to classes 1, 7 and 12 are often found in subgender 1/2a, in which a noun is preceded by a secondary prefix:

(32)	mungàngà, baamingàngà	doctor(s)
	mfùmù, bamfùmù	chief(s), king(s)
	cilembi, baacilembi	hunter(s)
	kangìmbà, baatungìmbà	singer(s)
	mìnistrè, baamìnistrè	minister(s)
	pêrè, baapêrè	Catholic clergyman(-men)
	mùmpêlà, baamùmpêlà	Catholic clergyman(-men)

This gender does not only contain kinship terms as traditional grammars claim. It contains two loanwords<sup>33</sup> in which nps N- and baa- alternate:

(33)	virgo (Lat)	> mvirgò, baavirgò	female virgin(s)
	sacerdoce (Lat)	> nsàserdòsè, baasàserdòsè	priest(s)

2° Gender 1/4 normally contains only nouns with nps N- for both the singular and the plural. All foreign words, which do not naturally have a class prefix, or whose first syllable cannot be interpreted as such, are placed here.

(34)	tv	> tèèvé, tèèvé	television set(s)
	amende	> àmàndà, àmàndà	fine(s)

3° Genders 4/4, 6/6 and 8/8 are characteristic of nouns which use the same affixes for both the singular and the plural. All of these, except *bidyà* (porridge), are loanwords:

(35)	misa (Lat)	> misà 4/4	holy mass(es)
	mitraille	> mitràyetà 4/4	riot gun(s)
	machine	> màshinyì 6/6	car(s)
	budget	> bidyè 8/8	budget(s)
	biberon	> bibèrôn 8/8	baby bottle(s)

4° In gender x/6, a loanword from any gender except 1/2 may keep its np for the singular (often zero in loanwords) and append np maa+ for the plural. The singular nps belong most of the time to classes 1, 5, 6, 11, 12 or 14. One word was found belonging to class 3 np. Since the singular can be any class, it is indicated by x in the gender formula:

(36)	valise	> vââlîzà x(=1)/6	suitcase(s)
	radiateur	> rààdyàtêr x(=1)/6	radiator(s)
	camion	> kààmìnyô x(=12)/6	lorry (lorries)

moteur	> mwòtêr x(=3)/6	<i>motor</i> <sup>34</sup>
mission	> mi̱syô x(=4)/6	<i>mission(s)</i>
disque	> di(i)skê x(=5)/6	<i>record(s)</i>
bombe	> bwômbà x(=14)/6	<i>bomb(s)</i>
loisir	> lwàzîr x(=11)/6	<i>recreation</i>

5° The prefixes in genders 12/4 and 12/13b are bimoraic and bear an L. They are the only genders where long and L primary nps are found:

(37)	camion	> kààmînyô 12/13	<i>lorry (lorries)</i>
	quartier	> kààrcyé 13/4 or 12/13	<i>town area(s)</i>

6° In gender 14/4, class 14 np is associated with class 4 np in such a way that the first syllable is regarded as an np in the singular, but not in the plural:

(38)	bwômbà bwâtaayîki ku Tel Aviv	<i>a bomb exploded in Tel Aviv</i>
	bwômbà yâtaayîki	<i>bombs exploded</i>

7° Some nouns, most of which are loanwords, are found to belong to different genders:

(39)	mungàngà 1/2a or 1/4	<i>doctor(s)</i>
	kangimbà 1/2a or 12/13a	<i>singer(s)</i>
	cilembi 1/2a or 7/8	<i>hunter(s)</i>
	kààrcê 12/4, 12/13b or x/6	<i>town area(s)</i>
	màshinyi 6/6 or x/6	<i>car(s)</i>
	teevê 1/4b or x/6 (cf. tv Fr)	<i>television set(s)</i>
	bwômbà 14/4 or x/6	<i>bomb(s)</i>

8° Since some genders (7/8, 11/4, 12/13 and 14/∅) are possible with almost any noun by nominal derivation, only a selection of nouns (based on their frequency) belonging to them will be included in a basic dictionary. It goes without saying that among locatives, only locative nouns will be included (such as *pambèlu* (outside), and not *pa mèèsà* (on the table) in which the locative is used prepositionally). Of course, the three locative nps will represent three different entries, as they can have a prepositional function.

Because of the proliferation of genders due to loanwords, a chart like Chart 2 is indispensable in any modern Lubà dictionary. As a synopsis of all the concord possibilities, it allows the lexicographer to limit the metalinguistic information in the microstructure to a minimum. For example, the metalinguistic information provided by *kangimbà 1/2a or 12/13a* is the following: the syntactic concords for this noun which designates a human being, occur in class 1 for the singular despite its np which belongs to class 12; its plural is in class 2



with the secondary np *baa+*, which is added either to the singular or to the plural noun:

- (40) *kangimbà mupyamùpyà uùvwù mumòna* *the new singer you saw*  
*baakangimbà (or baatungimbà) bapyabàpyà baùvwà mumòna*  
*the new singers you saw*

Gender 12/13a, which is also possible for *kangàmbà* means that this word can also behave like any word of class 12, irrespective of its human content, which would require the use of class 1 npq, `pp, cc, sc, oc, pe, po, ad, dd1 and dd2 as in example (40). Thus:

- (41) *kangimbà kapyakàpyà kàdi kìmba bìmpè* *the singer sings well*  
*tungimbà tupyatùpyà tùdi twimba bìmpè* *the new singers sing well*

The genders of the loanword *kààrcê* inform the reader, e.g. that one can say:

- (42) *kààrcê mipyamùpyà, maakààrcê mapyamâpyà or tùùrcê tupyatùpyà*  
*new town areas*

It is obvious that accurate gender indication provides a lot of useful information in a very condensed way. Frequency counts based on a much larger corpus will allow us to know which genders are used most when a noun belongs to more than one gender.

#### 4. Conclusion

Words are borrowed not only because they come with new concepts, but also because they accompany new habits. In addition, shorter words are adopted more easily. Borrowing does not necessarily mean that the borrowing language lacks equivalent words or fails to coin them. Sociolinguistic reasons, such as prestige often intervene to favour foreign words. For instance, the French words for the numbers or for the months are preferred, although equivalents do exist in Cilubà. Words for technical objects or the metalanguage for specialized disciplines such as technology, linguistics, philosophy, economy, politics, etc. are most often borrowed from French. The case of Cilubà also illustrates that languages need not be in direct contact for words to circulate among them.

Phonologically, the pronunciation practices of the Balubà are undergoing changes due to prolonged exposure to French. As loanwords are being integrated into Cilubà, new phonemes ([R], [g], [œ]) and new combinations of phonemes are being incorporated.

The new Lubà morphology is characterized by the appearance of new genders. This change will influence the way metalinguistic information is presented in a dictionary. While with genuine Lubà nouns it was sufficient to men-

tion the singular form of a noun, the plural being automatically deduced, with loanwords it becomes necessary to mention the gender, i.e. the classes in which both the singular and plural forms concord, as this is no longer easily predictable. Furthermore, the following general tendencies are noticeable:

- fairly general use of classes 6 or 4 to mark the plural of inanimate objects, irrespective of the singular prefix;
- appearance of bimoraic primary nps sometimes with Ls;
- use of an np in the singular, but not in the plural; and
- extended use of the same np for both the singular and the plural.

There are often different forms of loanwords, assimilated and unassimilated, often depending on the speaker's attitude or background (e.g. *mfwàlangà/mfùlangà/mfrangà* money; *ngàlà/gàrè, kàrè* station).<sup>35</sup>

No attempt has been made in this article to explain the existence of a series of words related to food, for which one might expect a foreign origin. Most of them are words for New World crops which were introduced in Central Africa by the Portuguese since the 15th century, such as *cyômbe* (cassava), *mwenga* (sugar-cane), *dyamòwa* or *ditalà* (maize), *cilùngà* (sweet potato), *kambelà* (peanut), *cikàkà* (pineapple), *ndùngù* or *kacipi* (bird chilli). In earlier centuries some other crops reached Central Africa across the Sahara or the Indian Ocean from the Middle East or Southeast Asia, such as *cimenà* (yam), *lukùnda* (bean), *lunyimù* (pea), *ditàbàlà* (taro) and *cibòta* (banana).<sup>36</sup> Both phonologically and morphologically, these words are perfect Lubà words. One can hypothesize that over a few centuries the foreign words (whose sources remain unknown) were completely assimilated or that either new names were coined for the new products, or that some transfer of meaning took place from similar original crops to new ones. Proto-Bantu reconstructions have been proposed for *banana*, *sugarcane*, *peanut*<sup>37</sup> and *maize*, but except for *dikonde* (big banana), the Lubà forms are not related to any of the reconstructions.

A good understanding of the structure of loanwords will facilitate the task of coining neologisms through borrowing.

### Chart 1: Affixes and Demonstratives

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
cl	np	npq	pp	sc	cc	oc	pe	po	ad	dd1	dd2
1	mu-/N-, Ø-	mu-	u-	ù-/à-	u-	-mu-	-ye/yè	-èndè	au	eu	wàwa
2	ba-/bà-, baa+	ba-	̀bà-	bà-	=	=	-bu/bù	-àbù	abu	aba	bààba
3	mu-/mù-	mu-	̀ù-	ù-	=	"=	-u/ù	-àù	au	eu	wàwa
4	mi-/mì-, n-, Ø-	mi-	̀ì-	ì-	=	"=	-yi/yì	-àì	ai	ei	yàya
5	di-/dì-	di-	̀dì-	dì-	=	"=	-di/dì	-àdì	adi	edi	dyàdya
6	ma-/mà-, maa+	ma-	̀à-	à-	=	"=	-u/ù	-àù	au	aa	ààa
7	ci-/cì-, cii+	ci-	̀cì-	cì-	=	"=	-ci/cì	-àcì	aci	eci	cyàcya
8	bi-/bì-, bii+	bi-	̀bì-	bì-	=	"=	-bi/bì	-àbì	abi	ebi	byàbya
11	lu-/lù-	lu-	̀lù-	lù-	=	"=	-lu/lù	-àlù	alu	elu	lwàlwa

12	ka-/kà-, kaa+	ka-	`kà-	kà-	=	=	-ku/kù	-àkù	aku	aka	kààka
13	tu-/tù-, tuu+	tu-	`tù-	tù-	=	=	-tu/tù	-àtù	atu	etu	twàtwa
14	bu-/bù-, buu+	bu-	`bù-	bù-	=	=	-bu/bù	-àbù	abu	ebu	bwàbwa
15	ku-	ku-	`kù-	kù-	=	=	-ku/kù	-àkù	aku	eku	kwàka
16	pa±/pà±	pa-	`pà-	pà-	=	=	-pu/pù	-àpù	apu	apa	pààpa
17	ku±/kù±	ku-	`kù-	kù-	=	=	-ku/kù	-àkù	aku	eku	kwàka
18	mu±/mù±	mu-	`mù-	mù-	=	=	-mu/mù	-àmù	amu	emu	mwàmwa

**Chart 2: Genders**

gen	np	np	sing	pl	translation	content
1/2	mu-	ba-	muntu	bantu	<i>man (men)</i>	Humans
1/2a	∅	baa+	taatù	baataatù	<i>father(s)</i>	Humans: Kinship terms
1/2b	N-	baa-	nsàserdòsè	baasàserdòsè	<i>priest(s)</i>	Loanwords
1/4	mu-/`	mi-/`	mungàngà	mingàngà	<i>doctor(s)</i>	
1/4a	N-	N-	nnyuunyi	nnyuunyi	<i>bird(s)</i>	
1/4b	∅	∅	teevé	teevé	<i>television set(s)</i>	Loanwords
3/4	mu-/`	mi-/`	muci	micì	<i>tree(s)</i>	
4/4	mi-/`	mi-/`	misà mltràyetà	misà mltràyetà	<i>holy mass(es)</i> <i>riot gun(s)</i>	Loanwords
5/6	di-/`	ma-/`	dibòku	mabòku	<i>arm(s)</i>	
5/∅	di-	∅	dimòna; dyàkabl		<i>seeing;</i> <i>misfortune</i>	Gerunds; connective words
5/4	di(i)-/`	∅	diiskè	diiskè	<i>record(s)</i>	Loanwords
6/6	ma-/`	ma-/`	màshinyì	màshinyì	<i>car(s)</i>	Loanwords
∅/6	∅	ma-		màyi	<i>water</i>	Collectives
x/6	x-	maa+	màshinyì	maamàshinyì	<i>car(s)</i>	Loanwords
7/8	ci-/`	bi-/`	cintu	bintu	<i>thing(s)</i>	Augmentatives
7/8a	ci+	bii+	ciidìkalù	biimàkalù	<i>big ugly bike(s)</i>	Augmentatives
7/∅	ci-/`	∅	cilubà citòòke		<i>the Lùba language</i> <i>like the Whites</i>	Languages; customs
8/8	bi-/`	bi-/`	bidyà byèla; bidyé	bidyà byèla; bidyé	<i>porridge(s)</i> <i>beer(s); budget(s)</i>	Loanwords
8/∅	bi-	∅	bikolè		<i>hard; very</i>	Adverbs
11/4	lu-	N-	lupènzù	mpènzù	<i>cockroach(es)</i>	

11/6	lù-	mà-	lùneetà	màneetà	<i>pair(s) of spectacles</i>	Loanwords
11/∅	lu-/`	∅	lubilu, lükàsà		<i>quickly</i>	Adverbs
12/13	ka-/`	tu-/`	kantu	tuntu	<i>small thing(s)</i>	Diminutives
12/13a	kaa+	tuu+	kaacilamba	tuubilamba	<i>small bridge(s)</i>	Diminutives
12/13b	kàà-	tùù-	kààmínyò	tùùmínyò	<i>lorry (lorries)</i>	Loanwords
12/4	kàà-	∅	kààrcé	kààrcé	<i>town area</i>	Loanwords
12/∅	ka-/`	∅	kàbìdì		<i>again</i>	Adverbs
∅/13	∅	tu-		tuminu	<i>nasal muscus</i>	Collectives
14/4	bu-	∅	bwóm̀bà	bwóm̀bà	<i>bomb(s)</i>	Loanwords
14/6	bu-	ma-	bulundà	malundà	<i>friendship(s)</i>	Abstract nouns
14/∅	bu-	∅	buntu		<i>humanity (humanness)</i>	Abstract nouns
14/∅a	buu+	∅	buumungàngà		<i>medicine</i>	Abstract nouns
15/∅	ku-	∅	kumanya		<i>to know</i>	Infinitives
16/∅	pa-/` <sup>38</sup>	∅	pambèlu, pànu		<i>outside; here</i>	Locatives
16/∅a	pa+		pa bulààlu		<i>on the bed</i>	
17/∅	ku±/`	∅	ku mèèsà; kùnu kù baabèndà		<i>at the table; here abroad</i>	Locatives
18/∅	mu±/`	∅	mu mbekeci mù baamànsèba; mùnu		<i>in the bucket at my uncles'; here</i>	Locatives

## Notes

1. In cases where no abbreviated source language is given after the loanwords, the source language is French.
2. The term *Cilubà* refers to the language spoken by the Balubà and the Luluwà or Beena-Luluwà, while Lubà is the corresponding adjective. *Cilubà* which is classified by Guthrie (1971: 54) as L31, is related to Kisongye L23 (Congo), Kanyok L32 (Congo), Kilubà L33 (Congo) and Kaonde L41 (Zambia). *Cilubà* and *Kiswahili* are the main subjects in the Department of African Languages and Cultures of the University of Ghent (Belgium).
3. While French (spoken by barely 10% of the population) is the official language, there exists no legal text bestowing on the four African languages the status of national languages which they enjoyed before independence in 1960. The role of the African languages in the education system has even been restricted to the first two years of primary school, instead of six as in colonial times. Curiously enough, it is during the "authenticity" campaign in 1972 that the role of French has particularly been reinforced. At that time, all the magazines in African languages were suppressed (Ngalasso 1986: 16-20) and a lot of words adapted to French use

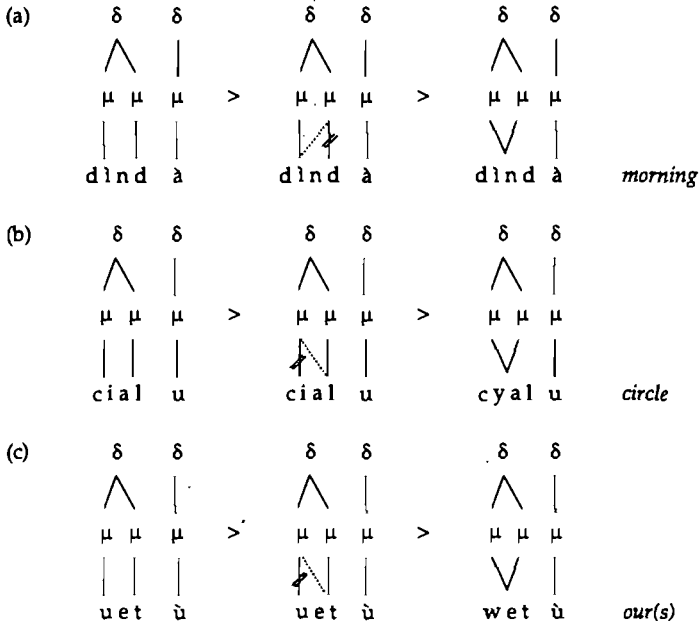
(e.g. *septante* became *soixante-dix*, etc.). This did not prevent the African languages from being used intensively for daily communication and, with the collapse of the education system, the expected improvement of competence in French does not seem to have been achieved. It is however true that the exposure to French has been stronger than ever before, which has had an obvious influence on borrowing strategies.

4. Bongo (1977: 360), who was a general secretary at the Ministry of National Education in 1977, gives a figure of 4 500 000, whereas Ngalasso (1986: 12) gives  $\pm 3\,000\,000$  and indicates that this figure corresponds to the population supposed to live in the area where Cilubà is actively spoken. All these figures are just guesses, since they do not include the important Lubà communities in Shaba, Kinshasa and elsewhere. Moreover, no statistical surveys have been carried out for several decades.
5. These Cokwe enjoyed such prestige that it became tradition for prospective Luluwà chiefs to travel to Angola to receive recognition mainly in exchange for ivory. Subsequently, many Luluwà chiefs made trade expeditions to Angola. Trade contacts between the Beena-Luluwà, the Cokwe and the Pombeiros (adapted to Bimbàdi in Cilubà) developed particularly in chief Kalamba Mukenge's time (last quarter of the 19th century). Some Luluwà local markets became important trade centres as long-distance trade was developing. Kalamba Mukenge's village in particular, played a major role in the Luso-African trade in Kàsaayi. Angola's influence was so great that the most important post in West-Kàsaayi (which was later to become Luluabourg) was called Malandji (or Malandi), after a location with a similar name in Angola (Malange) (Petridis 1997: 42-45).
6. Kalanda (1963), Mpoyi (1987), Mukenji Mulenga (1981), *Tekemenayi* 1993-1996, unpublished letters in Cilubà from 1960 to 1995. A more comprehensive corpus is being built up in the Department of African Languages and Cultures of the University of Ghent, using modern computer techniques. This will no doubt be very useful for future lexicographical and other linguistic works.
7. Since no study has as yet been carried out to determine the basic vocabulary in Cilubà, I provisionally use this figure which is based on statistics for English (cf. e.g. West 1976 or Bertrand and Lévy 1972), just to show that one needs quite a small number of words to communicate.
8. Foreign verbs (from French) are found mostly in intrasentential code-switching.
9. *wu* or *yi* are only written when they are syllabic and in some special cases.
10. One exception is when *n* is in initial position. Cf. note 15.
11. Underlined vowels are nasal.
12. Counts carried out on a 90-minute ordinary conversation recorded on cassette revealed not only that /a/ is the most frequent vowel (followed by either /u/ or /i/ according to whether one considers the H or the L as shown in the charts below), but also that there are 62% of H vs. 38% L.

V	%
a	39,2
u	29,3
i	18,8
e	9,0
o	3,5

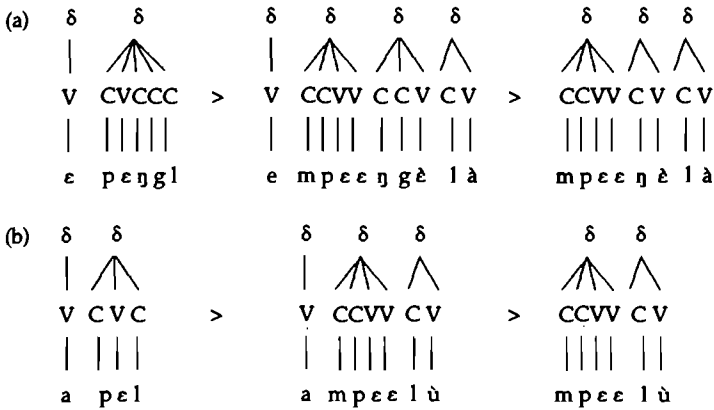
V	%
à	46,9
ì	23,0
ù	19,2
è	8,3
ò	2,3

13. These rules account for the compensatory lengthening triggered by prenasalization and glide formation. In these processes, the nasal and the high vowels are devoiced and transfer their morae to the vowel placed left and right respectively (Hubbard 1995).



14. In CV-, NCV- and V-type syllables, V can be monomoraic or bimoraic. In CGV types, V is always bimoraic, except in final position.
15. In these syllables, C will normally palatalize. s+i is only found in the emphatic word si (si wàyi *he's gone, you know*, si mméma *it is me, indeed*) and in the verb kusinsa/kusinsakaja *to encircle*; n+i is only found in ni (associative *with, and, or conjunction that*), ni (conjunction *whether*) and in ni- and ni- (future and concessive tense markers respectively). In other words, s+i and n+i occur almost exclusively in monosyllabic words or as initial syllables. The enclitic emphatic morpheme -s is always attached to the final vowel.
16. These will normally incorporate a G.
17. li>di (an exception to the latter is in the phrase bŭcyàcyà bwililà *day out day in*). Otherwise, the consonant is palatalized.
18. Similar principles are used in other Bantu languages. Cf. e.g. Kunene (1963) for Southern Sotho or Batibo (1996) for Kiswahili.
19. This happens in other languages too, as in Tswana borrowings (Batibo 1996: 36).
20. We have noticed that even when a vowel is not inserted as in code-switching, the concord still happens in class 12 (clavier kâmvwà musùmba *the keyboard I bought*).
21. This originally Dutch word was either directly borrowed from Dutch (spoken by a great deal of Belgians in Congo) or would have reached Cilubà (and some other African languages too) via Fanagalo. In the Lubà infinitive, the initial syllable pa- was dropped and the remaining part, pronounced [soø] or [soøw] regarded as a root.

22. This phenomenon is known in other languages too: (Ar) *mistar*, a deverbative noun > (Kswa) *mistari* 4 lines, cf. *mstari* 3 (Knappert 1970: 81); (Fr) *petit pois* > (Kisanga) *bitipwâ* 8 peas, cf. *kitipwâ* 7 (Coupez 1974).
23. Although this word also exists in class 3 (*mushètà*), the existence of *kashètà* is opposed to Knappert's (1970: 79) generalization that "the Bantu speakers seem to have rejected this form of the word since the first syllable *ka-* has the shape of the prefix of class 12, which denotes small things; for big things and for things made of wood, the *mu-* prefix is used and has therefore been substituted".
24. This process can be explained as follows:



25. One even finds *st* in a word which is not originally a loanword: *citàncist* a person doing business in diamonds < *kutanta* to prosper.
26. In De Clercq and Willems (1960) there are approximately 210 Lubà nouns with an L np (loanwords were excluded from the count).
27. Some authors do not distinguish between gender and class. Cf. Hinnebusch: "Bantu languages also divide their noun universe into genders ... usually referred to as classes and numbered in singular/plural pairs ... These genders can normally be identified by the shape of the affixes, and if not, then by the grammatical concord they govern" (1989: 466). My definition is very close to Guthrie's: "Chaque fois que des groupes de classes d'un type régulier se rencontrent avec des nominaux indépendants de même radical, ces groupes sont appelés 'genres'. L'espèce de genre la plus commune est celle qui comporte deux classes correspondant à une distinction entre le singulier et le pluriel." Guthrie also defines "class" in the following terms: "Une classe est définie sur le plan morpho-syntaxique comme un schème d'accord bien défini, consistant en le préfixe d'accord d'un nominal indépendant, un ou plusieurs types de préfixes caractéristiques des nominaux dépendants (qualificatifs, démonstratifs, numéraux, etc.) et un préfixe utilisé dans les verbaux, tous les membres de la série des préfixes étant morphologiquement identiques" (1967: 392). Cf. also Schadeberg: "Enkelvoud en meervoud van telbare naamwoorden horen bij verschillende klassen. Op basis daarvan kunnen de klassen 1 t/m 15 in paren (genera) worden gegroepeerd" (1986: 5).
28. This pair is traditionally represented as 9/10, which is right if one only takes np as classification criterion, with np N- for both the singular and the plural. But for classifying nouns in genders, syntactical concord prevails and therefore it is useless to maintain classes 9/10,

whose concords are exactly the same as those of 1/4. The consequence of this is that class 1 does not contain only human beings with np mu-, but also any noun with prefix N- or Ø- (e.g. mwána ùdi ùnàya *the child is playing*; nkwasá ùdi pambèlu *the chair is outside*; tèlevizyòn ùdi pa mèèsà *the TV set is on the table*). It is rather pair 1/2 which characterizes human beings. Except for mungàngà 1/4 *doctor*, there seems to be no human beings in 1/4.

29. As stated in note 26 (De Clercq and Willems 1960) gives about 210 nouns with an L np which are not loanwords. Locative nps bear an L in some words and phrases (e.g. kù baa-bèndà *in foreign countries*). In the following proverb the locative prefix of class 17 has an L: Bātu bààya kù baamwandà / Kabātu bààya kù baawetù. *One should always be impartial* (literally: *One goes to the matter / One does not go to the brothers*).
30. This is different from: bàna # bǎnàyi > bàna bǎnàyi *the children have played*.
31. Imperative form of oppas *to be careful, to pay attention*. Cf. note 21.
32. Variants with an L are just shown by an L sign after the slash, in order to save column space. Thus, lu-/˘ means lu-/lù-.
33. These two words belong to the religious vocabulary which was almost entirely coined by Bishop A. de Clercq at the beginning of this century, using Latin or Greek as source languages. However, although these neologisms have been used in the Catholic Church for almost a century, the Lubà Bible translators (1994) decided to replace most of them by seemingly more adequate Lubà words or phrases which, beside being generally longer, are polysemous:

aanylmà	> mwoyo	<i>spirit</i>
bàtismò	> dyowesha <i>baptism</i> < kwowesha	<i>wash</i>
bàtistà	> mwoweshi	<i>baptist</i>
bible	> mukàndà wà Mvidi Mukùlù	<i>Bible</i> (i.e. <i>Book of God</i> )
ditùkù dyà nsabato	> ditùkù dyà cijila	<i>sacred day</i>
dyabòlò	> sàtànà	<i>devil</i>
èkèleeziyà	> cisà cyà Maweeja	<i>church</i> (i.e. <i>people of God</i> )
èvanjellyò	> mukenji mulenga	<i>gospel</i> (i.e. <i>good news</i> )
kèrùbinè	> cilòbò cyà mu dyulu	<i>cherubin</i> (i.e. <i>hero from heaven</i> )
mpàgàno	> mwena cisàmba cikwàbò	<i>pagan</i> (i.e. <i>belonging to another tribe</i> )
muskribè	> mumanyi wa dfiy	<i>scribe</i> (i.e. <i>the one who knows the law</i> )
mwàpostòlò	> mutùmibwe kùdi Mfùmù	<i>apostle</i> (i.e. <i>the one sent by the Lord</i> )
mwena Kristò	> Mwena Yezù	<i>Christian</i>
nsàserdòsè	> mwakwidi	<i>priest</i> (in the Old Testament <i>mulàmbudi</i> or <i>mukùbi</i> are used instead)
paasàkà	> dipàtuka dyà mu Èjipitù	<i>Easter</i> (i.e. <i>going out of Egypt</i> )
-nsanto	> -a cijila	<i>sacred</i>
pèntèkòstè	> cibillù cyà dinowà	<i>Pentecost</i> (i.e. <i>harvest feast</i> )
ùkàristiyà	> didyà dyà Mfùmù	<i>Eucharist</i> (i.e. <i>Lord's meal</i> )
(m)virgò	> nsongààkàjì mujimè	<i>virgin</i>



The Catholic missionaries did not always care about Lubà phonology, which resulted in coining queer words such as *cyàltàrè* (altar), *cìshiiifèrì* (figure), *mòmpepèrè* (father), *Kristò*, *nkùrusè* (i.e. cross), *Petrò*, *Markùsè*, *Màteùsè*, *Yòwanèsè*, *Ìzràel*, *àràbè*, etc. Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, made a greater effort to adapt their neologisms, e.g. *Kilistò*, *mucì mucyàmàkàne* (i.e. cross), *Peetèlò*, *Maakà*, *Maatààyò*, *Yona*, *Ìsàlèlèlà*, *aalàbà*, etc. According to Father Paul Lis-sens (editor of the Catholic Bible, 1994), the Catholics and the Protestants finally agreed to use a unified vocabulary (oral communication, July 1996).

34. Cf. *Tekemenayi* 87:8, 1994.
35. However, it is difficult to say whether a speaker changes attitudes inside the same conversation when he uses different forms of the same loanword, as often happens. On one of our cassettes, the same speaker uses at very short intervals: *mùlábà*, *mùràbà* and *mwenà àràbà* (Arab).
36. Mpoyi (1987: 14) claims that *mpondà* (millet), *tumbumba* (sorghum), *matàbàlà* (taro), *bilùngà byà nsenga* (sweet potatoes) and *bimenà* (yams) were introduced in the Congo by the Bantu around 2000 BC at the same time as agriculture and handicraft. Unfortunately no sources are mentioned.
37. Linguistic evidence shows that these crops seem to have been known to Proto-Bantu speakers. However, peanuts were either known by the same name as some other crop, or were introduced under various names after Bantu had become current, probably by transfer from terms for some local crops (Guthrie 1970: 30-31). Guthrie also shows that sugar-cane was not known to Proto-Bantu speakers, probably being introduced independently to the east at the end of the Bantu dispersion and in more recent times to the west (1970: 31). According to Gregersen (1968: 3-4, 1977: 149), though, no Proto-Bantu forms are possible for crops which are known to have been introduced no more than 500 years ago, such as *maize* or *peanuts*.
38. Available data suggest that a secondary locative np with L only occurs before a noun with a secondary np (which has a H), e.g.: *mù baamànsèba at my uncles'*, *kù baawetù at my brothers'*, *kù baabèndà abroad*. Moreover, examples were found only for classes 17 and 18.

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