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The noun phrase in Kwere

A Bantu language of Tanzania

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Abstract

The paper describes the noun phrase in Kwere, a Bantu language of Tanzania; its noun class system as well as singular and plural pairings. It investigates the several different elements which are part of the noun phrase, the way they agree with the head noun, and how they co-occur in the noun phrase. The data presented in the study was collected during a field trip in 2011.

Keywords

Contents

Abbreviations

1-	Prefix for class 1
2-	Prefix for class 2, etc.
ACP	Agreement class prefix
ADJ	Adjective
ASSOC	Associative
AUG	Augmentative
C	Consonant
cl	Noun class
CONJ	Conjunction
DEM	Demonstrative
FV	Final vowel
IV	Initial vowel
L1	First language
LOC	Locative
LoT	Languages of Tanzania
ML	Minority language
N	Noun
N-	Homorganic nasal (prefix)
NCP	Nominal class prefix
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral
PL	Plural
PB	Proto-Bantu
QUANT	Quantifiers
REF	Referential
SG	Singular
V	Vowel

1 Introduction and background[1]

Kwere (G32), or alternate names Ngh'wele or Ng'were is a Bantu language of the Zigula-Zaramo group G30, according to the classification by Guthrie (1967/71). Other alternate names or spellings found in Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) are Kakwere, Kikwere, Kinghwele, Kwele and Tsinghwele. The speakers refer to themselves as *ng'hwele*, and the language as C*hi-Ngh'wele*. Since *Kikwere* is the name of the language in Swahili and Kwere is more frequently preferred among scholars, it will also be the name used in this paper.

This study aims to describe the noun phrase in Kwere. It starts out with the background and explains the method used for this study, which is followed by a brief description of the phonemes and some morphophonological processes in Kwere. The noun class system and the concord system between the noun and its modifiers are then looked at, followed by a discussion on data inconsistency. Finally a conclusion with suggestions on further studies is presented.

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of Kwere. In the latest population census done in 2002 (Government of the Republic of Tanzania), ethnic belonging and language were not taken into account, hence there are no up-to-date details on the number of speakers. Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) estimates the number of Kwere speakers to be approximately 98.000 in 1987. The Languages of Tanzania project[2] (LoT) presents a total number of 151.568 speakers who stated they could speak the language. Note that it also might have included speakers who did not speak Kwere as their L1 (Languages of Tanzania 2006). [3]

The traditional residential areas of the Kwere speakers are found in the Bagamoyo district of the Coast Region of Tanzania (Legère 2003:4). In the 1967 population census, only a few groups of Kwere speakers were found in the Morogoro region and a small number was living in Dar Es Salaam (ibid.). The number of Kwere speakers in the cities has probably increased due to urbanization, but the centre of the residential areas of Kwere speakers is still found in and around the town of Chalinze (see *Figure 1*).

There are two official languages in Tanzania, Swahili and English, but the total number of languages varies between 120-164 (Languages of Tanzania 2006). Due to urbanization and the dominance of Swahili and English within education and all official domains, a massive language shift has taken place in Tanzania and more or less all children grow up learning Swahili. The language shift has also made code mixing and code switching very common in both urban and rural areas (M. Petzell, pers. comm. 18 February 2011). The minority groups, especially in the coastal region, tend to identify themselves as Swahili speakers rather than speakers of a minority language, (ML) [4]. Legère (2003) explains that the "…self-identification as a Ngh'wele no longer plays a decisive role as it might have before." (Legère 2003:6).

[2] LoT is a project between the University of Gothenburg and the University of Dar es Salaam.
[3] L1 refers to a person's mother tongue, the first language a person learns in contrast to a second or third language (Crystal 1997).
[4] The term minority language refers to languages that are restricted to non-formal domains.

Another author who mentions the endangered state of Kwere is Batibo (1992:92). He estimates Kwere to be in the penultimate phase of endangerment, where the usage and competence in the language have been reduced to specific, ritual or traditional situations (ibid.). The present study does not include a detailed investigation of the endangered state of Kwere, but the consultants involved confirmed the restricted usage of Kwere, as they almost exclusively use it in the family domain, and even then, the code mixing and code switching with Swahili is common. The attitudes on whether it is important or not to teach the children Kwere differed among the consultants. While one consultant seemed to think it was very important, another emphasised that the most important languages are Swahili and English. Though those statements do not alone prove the endangered state of Kwere, they do give a rough picture of the language situation. Documenting and describing the grammar of Kwere does not alone change its state of endangerment, but there is some chance that research on the language can be part of awakening the speakers' interest and awareness of the importance of passing their language on to the next generation.
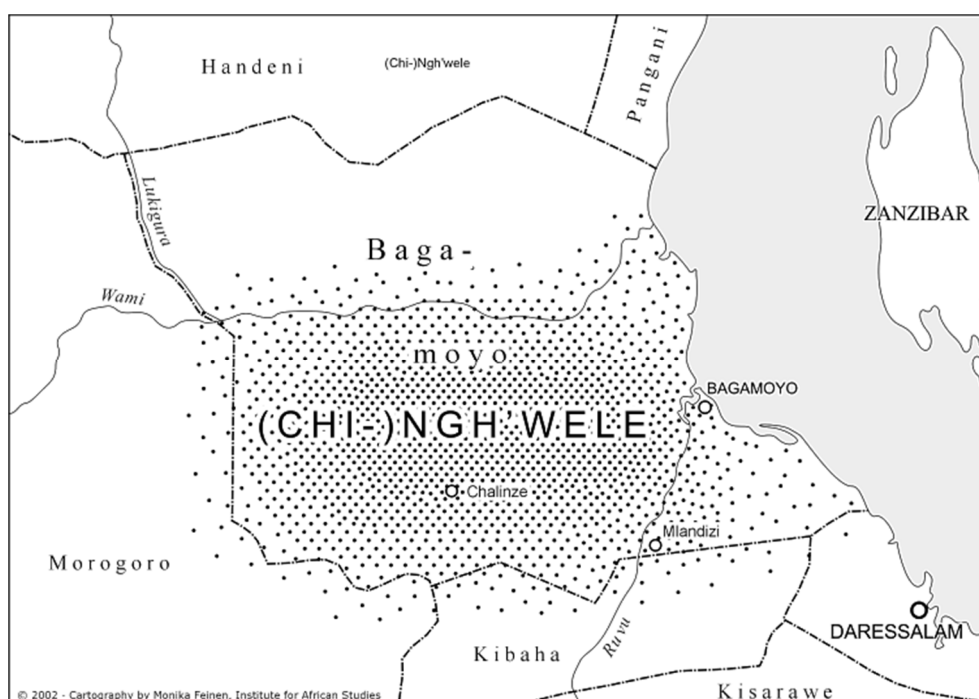
Figure 1. The Kwere-speaking area. © 2002 – Cartography by Monika Feinen, Institutes for African Studies (Legère 2003).

1.1 Previous studies

Kwere belongs to a dialect cluster together with Doe (G301), Kami (G36), Kutu (G37) and Zaramo (G33) (Lewis 2009). Very little detailed analysis has been done within this group of languages and most of the published material is from the beginning of the 20th century. The earliest information on Kwere was published in 1886 (Picardo) and in 1893 (Baur and LeRoy). Further studies on the traditions and culture of Kwere have been carried out by several authors e.g. Beidelman (1967), Brain (1962), Sengo and Lucas (1975), Vourela (1987) and Weinrich (1990). Comparative works, involving Kwere, have been done by Brain (1976), Guthrie (1967/71), who only includes five lexical items from Kwere, and Nurse and Philippson (1980, 39-40, 46). Some studies have also been done on related languages e.g. Luguru (G35) by Mkude (1974), more recent work on the same language has been done by

Marten and Ramadhani (2001) and Marten (2003). Furthermore, there is a description on the Kagulu (G12) by Petzell (2008).

The Tanzanian Language Survey (Nurse and Philippson 1975), a project for developing comparative data for Tanzanian languages, resulted in a wordlist in Kwere, made from material collected by students from the University of Dar Es Salaam. A revision of the wordlist, with approximately 340 entries, was later published as a trilingual Ngh'wele-Swahili-English wordlist (Legère 2003). There is also a shorter unpublished list of sentences, which has been checked by Petzell (2009) together with native speakers of Kwere. However, none of the earlier works offer any detailed analysis of Kwere, and up to this date there is no grammatical description or even a grammar sketch of the language.

2 Theoretical framework

Field linguistics involves gathering data directly from native speakers within the language area and since the main goal of field linguistics is to produce basic grammatical description of the language being studied, it is also referred to as descriptive linguistics. What type of description the field research will result in depends on the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the data. Besides the presentation of rigorous and accurate data, a descriptive work must apply a theoretical analysis in order for the work to have an impact beyond the language it aims to describe. The theoretical framework for this descriptive study is based on the Basic Linguistic Theory, which can be employed as the theoretical framework of all work in language description (Dixon 1997:128). The analysis of data will include explanations of linguistic behaviour while not apply theoretical principals to why the language displays a certain phenomenon. Explanations on why the language behaves in a certain way are highly interesting, but are not within the scope of this study. Explanatory works, in the view of different theories, are based on descriptive works and are only made possible if the basic structure of the language already has been described. Since Basic Linguistic Theory aims to describe each language in its own terms, by using typological universals, without the use of terminology applied within a specific theory, e.g. Minimalism or Optimality theory, the work can easily be involved in further theoretical research of scholars from different disciplines (Dryer 2006:211).

Since Kwere is a Bantu language, the analysis of data is based on not only typological universals but also on features that generally occur in Bantu languages. There are many typological features that Bantu languages have in common, not least concerning the noun class system. One of the most prominent features within the language group is that all nouns are assigned to a class and each class has a prefix, NCP (Nurse and Philippson 2003:8). Bantu languages are agglutinating and elements in the noun phrase agree with the head noun (ibid.). Based on these facts several questions can be raised; i) what are the noun classes in Kwere and what are their singular and plural pairings? ii) Which constituents are involved in the noun phrase and how do these agree with the noun they modify? iii) Can the constituents co-occur in the noun phrase and if so, are there any restrictions on what order they can be positioned, related to the head noun? The data can furthermore be compared with Meeussen's *Bantu lexical reconstructions* (1980), which are available through the CBOLD[5] webpage, and the Proto-Bantu (PB) reconstructions of phonology and morphology (ibid. 1967).

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[5] Meeussen's Proto-Bantu reconstructions can be downloaded from following address: http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/CBOLD/docs

3 Method

In order to get reliable and accurate data, it is crucial to do field work in the area where the language is actually spoken, compared to finding a speaker outside the language area, for example in Dar Es Salaam. Outside the language area, there is a greater risk of the speaker being more influenced by the dominant language, in this case Swahili, and might as well not use the L1 on a regular basis. In order to guarantee a speaker's fluency in the language, the data collection for this study was conducted in Chalinze and Morogoro, Tanzania, during three weeks in March, 2011.

The data was mainly collected through elicitation of translated sentences. A consultant was given a list of sentences in Swahili, which was translated into Kwere as we went through the list together. The consultants would read the sentences in Kwere while I transcribed. The elicitation was based on sentences such as 'how do you say […] in Kwere', and along with the analysis the sentence lists were extended with sentences that I produced such as 'could you say […] in Kwere'. The consultant would then correct them and also give other examples. The transcription system used was based on the Swahili orthography, since that was the orthography used by the consultant. IPA was used to clarify where a sound could be represented by several different graphemes. During the sessions the sentence lists were also recorded, in uncompressed WAV format, with an Edirol R-09HR. That made it possible to go back and listen to the recordings and compare with the first transcription while trying to figure out the phonology. Some stories, proverbs and songs were recorded as well though the detailed analysis of such material was not within the scope of this study.

3.1 Questionnaire

The earlier works on Kwere (Legère 2003) and closely related languages, the grammar on Kagulu (G12) by Petzell (2008) and an unpublished sentence list (2009) by the same author, were used for making a first outline of the questionnaire that was used in the data collection. The questionnaire consisted of sentence lists. Since the study focused on the noun phrase rather than words in isolation, each noun class was presented with the different word categories within the noun phrase i.e. adjectives, demonstratives, associative marker, numerals, possessives and determiners. The first outline of the questionnaire consisted of about 400 sentences but some sentences were altered since some nouns did not fit within the specific context. Along with the analysis of the collected data another 500 examples were added to the sentence list, giving a total number of about 900 phrases. About half of the examples from the questionnaire were read out loud by the consultant and recorded.

3.2 Language consultants

The term consultant is used in this paper referring to the mother tongue speakers of Kwere who are the sources of all data being presented. Informant, collaborator, interviewee or teacher, are all alternative names for the same term.

Finding a consultant is often a challenging effort that requires time. Due to time restrictions, it was not possible to carry out a random sample, where any speaker of the community has an equal chance to be selected. Instead, I chose already initiated people who could suggest what people to involve as consultants. Such a sampling is also referred to as *Snowball sampling* (Oliver 2010:78). For this field trip, the organization Pioneer Bible Translators (PBT) was

contacted in order to help me find consultants. PBT has worked several years within the language area and the personnel were able to help me get acquainted with Kwere speakers. Due to my low level of Swahili the need for multilingual consultants, who knew English, was inevitable, though there is a risk of data being influenced by the intermediate language. Naomi Jacob Kugwile was brought up in Chalinze but later moved to Morogoro to work with literacy in the Kwere project led by PBT. She functioned both as a consultant and a translator, from English to Swahili and Kwere. Paulo Peter, from Lugoba a smaller town outside Chalinze, was employed as an English teacher in a nearby secondary school. The two consultants, Naomi and Paulo, both about the age of 25, learnt Kwere at home as both of their parents were mother tongue speakers of Kwere, though Paulo mentioned his father almost exclusively uses Swahili. Paulo Peter was the main consultant who took part of ten days of elicitation session. Other mother tongue speakers were consulted regarding some specific questions such as meanings and usages of a phrase or a word.

4 Phonology

A brief analysis of the phonology is given below, in order to understand the results of the data. It starts out with a presentation of the phonology, including the vowel and consonant inventories and morphophonological processes displayed in the data, as well as the orthography adopted in this paper.

4.1.1 Vowel inventory

Kwere has a five vowel system consisting of two front, two back and one central vowel. No long vowels within lexical roots were found in the data. When a sequence of two equal vowels occurred within a noun, as in *miina* 'nest/hole' it involved a morpheme boundary and represented two adjacent syllable nuclei. All vowels can occur in both first and final stem syllable, but only the high vowels /i/ and /u/ can occur in initial position of a word. The vowels /e/ and /o/ are restricted in their distribution since they never occur in the nominal class prefixes (NCPs) nor in the agreement class prefixes (ACPs).

Table 1 *The vowel inventory*

Backness Height	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

(1)	**First stem syllable**			**Second stem syllable**		
/i/	Ø-*isi*	'land'	cl9	*mi-biki*	'tree'	cl4
/u/	Ø -*gulu*	'a part of a house'	cl5	*m-zungu*	'song'	cl3
/e/	Ø-*pela*	'guava fruit'	cl5	*ny-enze*	'grasshopper'	cl1
/o/	Ø-*zoka*	'snake'	cl5	*Ø-gogo*	'log'	cl5
/a/	*mwana*	'child'	cl1	*Ø-tama*	'maize'	cl5

4.1.2 Consonant inventory

The consonant inventory in Kwere includes stops, nasals, fricatives and affricates, and each voiced consonant has a voiceless counterpart, only the glottal fricative /h/ lacks a voiced counterpart. The consonant inventory in Kwere also includes one approximant and one lateral. The nasals are discussed further in section 4.1.4.

Table 2 The consonant inventory

Place of artic. Manner of artic.	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b		t d		k g	
Nasal	m m̥	n n̥		ɲ ɲ̊	ŋ ŋ̊	
Fricative		f v	s z			h
Affricate				t͡ʃ d͡ʒ		
Approximant	w					
Lateral			l			

4.1.3 Orthography

The orthography used within this study is mainly based on the Swahili spelling but some phonemes are written with the IPA characters. There have been several suggestions on how to spell the voiceless nasals and my consultants showed different alternatives e.g. *Chingh'wele* or *Chihng'wele*. Also among scholars different spellings have been used. The Kwere orthography developed through PBT and their consultants, is based on the Swahili system and the voiceless nasals are written as <hn'>, <hm'>, <hny'> and <hng'>. This way of writing the voiceless nasals is useful when presenting literature for people to read but it is not yet used by all Kwere speakers, nor is it based on a phonetic analysis. Therefore, I have chosen to use the IPA characters for the voiceless nasals e.g. <n̥>, < m̥>, < ɲ̊> and < ŋ̊ >. The Kwere orthography developed by PBT uses an apostrophe to distinguish the difference between the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the word for 'cow', /ŋombe/ written *ng'ombe*, and the /ŋ/ and /g/ compound in the word for 'seed', /naŋga/ which is written *nanga*. This way of spelling was used in a consistent way by both consultants and is therefore also used in this paper. The approximant /j/ is not included as a phoneme since it was only found within surface level after morphophonological processes i.e. glide formation or insertion between morpheme boundaries, where the vowel /i/of the NCP or ACP is followed by a vowel initial stem. That approximant is written <y> in the examples within this paper. Below is a list of the consonant phonemes in Kwere with examples of word-initial, stem-initial and stem-medial position. Not all phonemes were found in all positions.

Table 3 Consonant phonemes and graphemes

Phoneme	Grapheme	Word initial		Stem initial		Stem medial	
/b/	< b >	*baho*	'that place' cl16	Ø-*b*agaza	'door' cl5	ŋ *d*bo	'an insect'
/ t͡ʃ /	< ch >	*chi-heha*	'small hut' cl7	*ku-cha*nya	'high place' cl17	--	
/d/	< d >	*d*i-twi	'ear' cl5	*chi-d*oto	'bowl' cl7	*chi-god*a	'stool' cl7
/f/	< f >	--		Ø-*f*inga	'egg' cl5	*m(u)-tuf*i	'body' cl3
/g/	< g >	--		Ø-*g*ogo	'log' cl5	*mu-g*e	'blood vein' cl3
/h/	< h >	*h*a-behi	'that place' cl16	Ø-*h*ombo	'a dish' cl9	Ø-*gwah*a	'armpit' cl5
/d͡ʒ/	< j >[6]	*j*i-ko	'stove' cl5	*ha-j*a	'there' cl16	*n̥-uguj*a	'tomato' cl9
/k/	< k >	*k*u-nze	'outside' cl17	*mu-k*e	'wife' cl1	Ø-*kok*o	'pumpkin' cl5
/l/	< l >	*l*u-ngo	'basket' cl11	*m-l*ilo	'a sound' cl3	*m-gul*u	'leg' cl3
/m/	< m >	*m(u)-oto*	'fire' cl3	--		*tam*a	'maize'
/m̥/	< m̥ >	*m̥-ule*	'grain' cl9	*ma- m̥emba*	'maize' cl6	*chi-bum̥uli*	'small house'cl7
/n/	< n >	*n*-ongo	'a pot' cl9	--		Ø-*yan*i	'leaf' cl5
/n̥/	< n̥ >	*n̥-umba*	'wall' cl9	*mu-n̥u*	'person' cl1	--	
/ɲ/	< ny >	*ny-ele*	'hair' cl9	*mu-ny*u	'salt' cl3	*ku-chany*a	'high place' cl17
/ɲ̥/	< n̥ >	*ɲ̥-upa*	'bottle' cl9	*m(u)-ɲ̥emba*	'a plant' cl3	--	
/ŋ/	< ng' >	*ng'-ande*	'a dish' cl9	--		--	
/ŋ̥/	< ŋ̥ >	*ŋ̥-ondo*	'problem' cl9	*ma-ŋ̥ afi*	'oars' cl6	Ø-*kaŋ̥a*	'peel' cl5
/p/	< p >	--		Ø-*p*ela	'guava tree' cl5	*ŋ-upulilo*	'bowl' cl9
/s/	< s >	--		*u-s*ungu	'bitter' cl14	Ø-*sus*we	'scorpion' cl5
/t/	< t >	--		*lu-t*i	'goat' cl11	Ø-*taf*i	'father' cl1a
/v/	< v >	*v*i-ndi	'knee' cl8	*chi-v*u	'stove' cl7	Ø-*iv*u	'ash' cl5
/z/	< z >	*z*-iso	'eye' cl5	*chi-jakaz*i	'slave' cl7	*lu-goz*i	'rope' cl11
/w/	< w >	*w*a-ke	'wifes' cl2	*mi-w*emwe	'ligthening' cl4	Ø-*haw*a	'steel' cl5
/j/	< y >	--		Ø-*y*ega	'shoulder' cl5	*luzoy*a	'fur' cl11

Note: parenthesis signals the underlying NCP vowel has been deleted, -- means absent in the data

4.1.4 Nasals

The nasals in Kwere are interesting since each nasal have a voiceless counterpart. A closer look at the spectrogram of the voiceless nasals, in the related language Kagulu, displays that the voiceless nasals "…can be divided into two phases where the second phase shows signs of voicing before the following vowel." (Petzell 2008:40). That is most likely the case for the

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[6] Note words involving the ACP of class 5 *di-* are spelt with <d> e.g. *di-angu* spelt *dyangu* 'my' (cl5) though it might involve the phoneme / d͡ʒ /.

voiceless nasals in Kwere also, though no phonetic analysis is within the frame of this study. The voiceless nasals occur in four different places of articulation (see Table 4). The NCP of classes 9 and 10 consist of a homorganic nasal N- , which changes according to the following consonant, also resulting into voiceless nasals. This voiceless nasal is a result of an assimilation process between the homorganic nasal and voiceless obstruents (ibid.:39). The voiceless nasals in Kwere are presented in the table 4. When the same nouns are assigned to a different class displayed the underlying consonant e.g. *konde* 'big fist' (cl5).

Table 4 The voiceless nasals

Phoneme		
/m̥/	m̥alati	'stick' cl9
/n̥/	n̥embo	'elephant' cl9
/ɲ̥/	ɲ̥upa	'bottle' cl9
/ŋ̥/	ŋ̥onde	'fist' cl5

The voiceless nasals in classes 9 and 10 seem to be a result of a morphophonological process, and might therefore not be considered phonemes, but there are voiceless nasals within nouns of other noun classes as well (see Table 5). Since the voiceless nasals are not in complementary distribution with other nasals, they are included in the phoneme inventory. The voiceless nasals found in class 9 and 10 are initial while other classes display voiceless nasals in medial position of words e.g. Ø-balaŋ̥anzi 'peel' (cl 5). The voiceless nasals are also found within an adjective stem e.g. *-duŋ̥u* 'red' e.g. *ma-kaŋa ya-no ma-duŋ̥u* 'these red peels' (cl6) and a numeral stem *-n̥atu* 'three' e.g. *mi-lima mi-n̥atu* 'three mountains' (cl4).

Table 5 Voiceless nasals in different classes

Phoneme	Singular		Plural		
n̥	*mu-n̥u*	cl1	*wa-n̥u*	cl2	'person'
ɲ̥	*m-ɲ̥emba*	cl3	*mi-ɲ̥emba*	cl4	name of a plant
ŋ	*Ø-gwaŋ walı*	cl5	*ma-gwaŋ walı*	cl6	'finger'
m̥	*chi-bum̥uli*	cl7	*vi-bum̥uli*	cl8	a small house
n̥	*ha-n̥u*	cl16	--		'place'

4.1.5 Nasal + consonant

Many nouns in Kwere involve a nasal + consonant sequence, NC, either in initial position e.g. *ndiya* 'food' or medial position e.g. *inda* 'stomach of a pregnant woman'. There is a *NC sequence in the consonant phonology of PB, which is also at work in many Bantu languages today (Hyman 2003:49). The *NC sequence of PB can either be analysed "…as clusters of homorganic nasal + consonant or single prenasalized consonants…" (ibid.). The homorganic nasal N- of the NCP in classes 9 and 10 in Kwere produces NC sequences across morpheme boundaries e.g. *nzila* 'road' and *mbuli* 'word'. Also the NCP of classes 1 and 3 *m(u)-* can produce NC sequences across morpheme boundaries, e.g. *mbwanga* 'boy' (cl1), *mpela* 'guava tree' (cl3) and *mkwaju* 'stick' (cl3). Examples of NC sequences in another Bantu language i.e.

Yao (P21) display that the nasal typically is syllabic when derived from the prefix *m(u)-*, while the nasal derived from the *NC in PB loses its syllabicity (Hyman and Ngunga 1997). If that is the case also in Kwere could not be confirmed in this study.

4.1.6 Syllable structure

The syllable structure in most Bantu languages consists of open syllables (Nurse and Philippson 2003:8). The syllable structure in the data consisted of following open syllables; V, CV and NV. Furthermore there appears to be a NCV syllable, but this study could not determine whether the nasal itself was syllabic or non-syllabic. Therefore the sequence could be considered consisting of either a consonant cluster, N+C, or a prenasalized consonant consisting of one phoneme, C (see section 4.1.5). The data collected displays a preference for disyllabic stems and no monosyllabic noun was found. Longer words are probably derived and there is no maximum number of syllables. Some nouns were found consisting of up to five syllables e.g. *ma-balaŋanzi* 'peel'.

4.1.7 Morphophonological processes

Most Bantu languages have restrictions on vowel sequences and especially within stems (Maddieson 2003:46). But many words consist of vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries resulting in different morphophonological processes such as glide formation, vowel deletion and vowel coalescence. Only a few lexical stems were found involving a vowel sequence i.e. *nyau* 'cat', *zua* 'sun/day', *nkoi* 'parents' and in the Swahili loan word *ngao* 'shield'. These stems might have had an intervocalic consonant, as seen in the PB form for 'sun' *júba,* which is often deleted in today's languages (Grégoire 2003:352).

Most vowels in morpheme boundaries undergo a morphophonological process but some exceptions were found in the data. A few words consist of low vowel /a/ in a sequence with high vowel /i/ or /u/, forming a diphthong as in; *waidi* 'two' (cl2), *maihu* 'inflammations' (cl6), *maivu* 'ash' (cl6) and *wau* 'grandmother' (cl2). Another vowel sequence is seen between the ACP of class 2 and the demonstrative as in *wao* 'that (ref.)'. Also the sequence of two equal vowels was found i.e. *miina* 'nest/hole'. The occurrences were too few to distinguish in what contexts vowel sequences are allowed, and without phonetic analysis it is difficult to determine whether it is a pure vowel sequence or just a matter of spelling. Below are examples of morphophonological processes between stem initial vowels and different prefixes, NCPs or ACPs.

4.1.7.1 Glide formation/insertion
Glide formation in many Bantu languages typically takes place as the high front vowel /i/- is followed by a vowel initial stem, producing the glide /j/ (written y), and the back high rounded vowel /u/ followed by a vowel initial stem, results in the glide /w/ (Hyman 2003:55). This occurs in Kwere, for instance between the possessive pronouns and the ACP e.g. *i-angu, yangu* 'my' (cl1 and 4) and *lu-ako lwako* 'your' (cl11). Also it is often formed within classes 1 and 3 because of their NCP *m(u)-*. Example 2 shows some words where glide formation takes place. But glide insertion also takes place in some words as seen in example 3.

(2)		**Underlying form**	**Surface form**	
	i + e → ye	*mi-ele*	*myele*	'knifes' cl4

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i + a → ya	*mi-anza*	*myanza*	'journeys' cl4	
u+ e → we	*mu-ele*	*mwele*	'knife' cl3	
u+ a → wa	*mu-anza*	*mwanza*	'journey' cl3	
u + i → wi	*lu-ivi*	*lwivi*	'door' cl11	

(3)

		Underlying form	**Surface form**		
i + o → yo		*i-o*	*iyo*	'that ref.'	cl1
u + o → wo		*u-ongo*	*uwongo*	'brain'	cl14

4.1.7.2 Vowel deletion

Vowels that occur in sequence between morpheme boundaries typically undergo gliding or deletion (Hyman 2003:48). The vowel deletion in Kwere takes place both between same quality vowels and vowels of different qualities. In most cases where vowel deletion takes place it causes the vowel of the NCP or ACP to be deleted. But a few cases were also found where the initial stem vowel /i/ was deleted as in the stem *-ilihi* 'which', which became *u-lihi* with the ACP of class 3 and 14, *u-*, and *lu-lihi* with ACP of class 11, *lu-*.

(4)

	Underlying form	**Surface form**		
i + i → i	*vi-ingi*	*vingi*	'many'	cl8
i + o → o	*chi-ose*	*chose*	'all'	cl7
i + e → e	*zi-etu*	*zetu*	'our'	cl10
i + a → a	*chi-ake*	*chake*	'his/her'	cl7
a + a → a	*wa- ana*	*wana*	'children'	cl2
a + i → i	*ya-ilihi*	*yilihi*	'how many'	cl6
a + o → o	*wa-ose*	*wose*	'all'	cl2
a + e → e	*wa-ene*	*wene*	'kings'	cl2

4.1.7.3 Vowel coalescence

Only one type of vowel coalescence was attested in the data i.e. between low vowel /a/ and the high vowel /i/, resulting in the mid vowel /e/ (5). The process of coalescence involving the low vowel /a/ and the high vowel /u/, resulting in the mid vowel /o/, was not attested in Kwere, though the process is widespread in other Bantu languages (Maddieson 2003:48).

(5)

	Underlying form	**Surface form**		
a + i → e	*wa-ilihi*	*welihi*	'which'	cl2
	ma-ingi	*mengi*	'many'	cl6

4.2 The noun and the noun class system

The most prominent feature among Bantu languages is the richness of their noun class systems. A definition of a noun class has been given by several authors and Fortune (1955:51) defines a noun class "…as a group of nouns which do not differ in prefix and which govern the same concords." The nouns in Kwere are allocated to 16 noun classes according to their noun class prefix. The countable noun can be grouped into regular noun class pairs of singular and plural e.g. 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10 and 11/10. The classes which do not form any noun class pairs are the locative classes 16-18. Class 15 is a noun class in Bantu which triggers agreement within the noun phrase and it usually functions as the infinitive (Maho 1999:211).

This study did not include class 15 because of its infinitive function. The nouns in Kwere consist of a stem and one or two prefixes. A formula of the morphological structure of the nouns is seen below. The initial vowel is within parentheses since it is optional.

(6)   **(Initial vowel [IV])   +   Noun class prefix [NCP]   +   Noun stem [NS]**

The nouns within a noun class often share some semantic characteristics of objects' attributes e.g. roundish, longish or stubby etc. To what extent the nouns can be based on semantic principles varies though, within noun classes and within languages (Katamba 2003:114). It is difficult to generalise the contents of the noun classes, and the amount of data collected for this study is too small to determine any semantic attributes connected to each noun class. Nevertheless, when a certain group of nouns within one class displays a specific attribute it is mentioned briefly in this paper. When a singular form or a plural form is absent in the data it is marked with --.

4.2.1 Classes 1 and 2

Classes 1 and 2 in Bantu languages coherently contain human nouns (Katamba 2003:115). Almost all terms referring to human beings are assigned to this noun class pair in Kwere. Kinship terms are found within a subclass 1a with NCP Ø- e.g. Ø-*tati* 'father' and Ø-*shangazi* 'father's sister'. The noun prefix of class 1, *m(u)-* is substituted by the plural prefix *wa-* in class 2 (7a-d). In some nouns it might seem like class 1 is formed by adding its class prefix to the plural form as in *mu-wana mwana* (cl1) respectively *wa-ana wana* (cl2). But that rather displays morphophonological processes of glide formation in the singular and vowel deletion in the plural (see section 4.1.7). The prefix vowel in *m(u)-* is within parenthesis since it is deleted when added to some stems, example 7c-d.

(7)	**Singular**	**Plural**			**Singular**	**Plural**	
a.	*mu-ŋu*	*wa-ŋu*	'person'	c.	*m-bwanga*	*wa-bwanga*	'boy'
b.	*mu-ke*	*wa-ke*	'wife'	d.	*m-chiwa*	*wa-chiwa*	'poor person

4.2.2 Classes 3 and 4

Classes 3 and 4 include some names of body parts and also some plants, among other things. The noun prefix of class 3 *m(u)-* is substituted by the prefix of class 4 *mi-* in plural. The prefix vowel in class 3 was only attested in a few nouns (8c-d). In other examples the prefix vowel in *m(u)-* has been deleted. One loan word was also found within this class i.e. 'motorcar' *mutuka*. This loan was assigned to classes 3 and 4 because of the initial sound /mu/.

(8)	**Singular**	**Plural**			**Singular**	**Plural**	
a.	*m-buyu*	*mibuyu*	a tree	e.	*m-pela*	*mipela*	'guava tree'
b.	*m-gulu*	*migulu*	'leg'	f.	*m-tufi*	*mitufi*	'body'
c.	*mu-he*	--	'soul'	g.	*m-kwaju*	*mikwaju*	'stick'
d.	*mu-ge*	*mige*	'blood vein'	h.	*mu-tuka*	*mituka*	'car'

4.2.3 Classes 5 and 6

The majority of nouns within class 5 have a zero prefix, Ø-. The plural is formed with class 6 prefix *ma-*. The classes 5 and 6 include both body parts, names of plants and animals. A name of a tree can belong to classes 3 and 4 while the name of its fruit can be found in classes 5 and 6 (compare example 8e and 9e). Words for liquids are commonly found within class 6 in Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003:149). The data included one word for a liquid in class 6 i.e. *mazi* 'water'. Several nouns are assigned to classes 5 and 6 in order to express largeness, Ø-*biki* 'big tree' compared to *m-biki* meaning 'tree in normal size' (cl3) (see also section 4.5.1). This phenomenon of assigning nouns to classes 5 and 6 to express largeness is called augmentative and is common among Bantu languages (Maho 1999:51). Note that not only class 5 forms plural with class 6. Also classes 9 and 14 can form plural by the prefix *ma-* (see section 4.2.10).

(9)

	Singular	Plural			Singular	Plural	
a.	*Ø-gutwi*	*ma-gutwi*	'ear'	d.	*Ø-tama*	*ma-tama*	'maize'
b.	*Ø-yega*	*ma-yega*	'shoulder'	e.	*Ø-pela*	*ma-pela*	'guava fruit'
c.	*Ø-finga*	*ma-finga*	'egg'	f.	*Ø-tunda*	*ma-tunda*	'fruit'

One noun involves another prefix than Ø-, i.e. *di-* as in *di-twi* 'big head', which is substituted with the NCP of class 3 in *mu-twi* 'neutral sized head' and forming two plural forms with class 6: *matwi* 'neutral sized heads' and *ma-di-twi* 'big heads'. Note that in the latter form, the *di-* prefix is not being substituted but the *ma-* prefix is added to the *di-twi* form. As mentioned earlier nouns are assigned to classes 5 and 6 in order to express augmentative. One noun found in class 3 *mwele* 'knife' takes the form *zele* when expressing 'very big knife', which can be compared to the PB form *-(j)edé* (Meeussen 1980). Another handful of nouns consist of a CV- sequence initially e.g. *dyipilo* 'feather', *ziko* 'kitchen', *ziso* 'eye' of which all formed plural with class 6 through an additive process.

Meeussen (1967) suggests that class 5 nouns in Proto-Bantu were marked by a **di-i̧-* sequence where **di-* functioned as the pre-prefix, also called augment. Some Bantu languages display a CV prefix of class 5 before vowel initial stems (Grégoire 2003, 362). But many Bantu languages have lost their CV- prefix only consisting of a zero prefix, Ø- (Nurse and Philippson 2003:167). In some languages e.g. Swahili (G40), the zero prefix Ø-, occurs before consonants (Welmers 1973:168) while in other languages e.g. Ha (D66) the NCP only contains a vowel before consonants (Harjula 2004:60). Based on only a handful of examples involving a *di-* prefix it is difficult to determine how productive the prefix is and in what context it occurs. Furthermore, the adjectives which take the NCP of the head noun in Kwere never occurred with the *di-* prefix.

4.2.4 Classes 7 and 8

In classes 7 and 8 the prefixes are *chi-* and *vi-*, respectively. The singular prefix *chi-* is substituted by the prefix *vi-* in the plural. Many Bantu languages use class 7 in order to express augmentative and class 12 to form diminutive (Maho 1999:91). But in Kwere class 7 is rather associated with diminutive than with augmentative (10a-c). Another language which forms diminutive in class 7 is Kagulu (Petzell 2008:73). Though not all nouns within this class are small there are nouns from other classes are recategorized taking the NCP of class 7 in order to signify diminutiveness (see section 4.5.1).

	Singular	Plural			Singular	Plural

(10) a. *chi-goda*   *vi-goda*   'stool'   d. *chi-doto*   *vi-doto*   'bowl'
     b. *chi-titi*   *vi-titi*   'baby'   e. *chi-kasi*   *vi-kasi*   'calabash'
     c. *chi-goli*   *vi-goli*   young female f. *chi-bansi* *vi-bansi* 'spoon'

4.2.5 Classes 9 and 10

Classes 9 and 10 display a different range of nouns, and loan words are often assigned to these classes e.g. *damu* 'blood', a loan from Swahili. These classes constitute a homorganic nasal N- in the NCP both in PB as well as in many Bantu languages today (Hyman 2003:49). The homorganic nasal changes according to the following consonant (11a-c). Other nouns consist of a Ø- marker (11d-f). Many nouns within class 9 form their plural with class 10 but not all. Some nouns in class 9 form their plural with class 6 (see section 4.2.10). Other classes may also use class 10 to form plural. That is the case for several nouns within class 11 (see section 4.2.6 below).

(11)   **Singular**   **Plural**   **Singular**   **Plural**
     a.   *m-buli*   *m-buli*   word or event   d. *Ø-kiŋɔ*   *Ø-kiŋɔ*   'elbow'
     b.   *n-vula*   *n-vula*   'rain'   e. *Ø-isi*   *Ø-isi*   'land'
     c.   *n-guku*   *n-guku*   'hen'   f. *Ø-kae*   *Ø-kae*   'house'

4.2.6 Class 11

The noun prefix for class 11 is *lu-* with its allomorph *lw-* when followed by a vowel initial stem. Nouns in this class regularly form plural in class 10 (12a-d). One noun was attested taking the concord prefixes of class 10 in plural without changing its form i.e. *lwayo zino nh'ali* 'these long feet'. Note that glide formation often takes place between the NCP and vowel initial stems as example 12d which has the underlying form, *lu-ivi* and *lwivi* at the surface level.

(12)   **Singular**   **Plural**   **Singular**   **Plural**
     a.   *lu-kuli*   *ŋ-uli*   cl10 'body'   d. *lw-ivi*   *ny-ivi*   cl10 'door'
     b.   *lu-sona*   *Ø-sona*   cl10 an event   e. *lw-anda*   --   'river'
     c.   *lu-zabi*   *Ø-zabi*   cl10 'rope'   f. *lu-si*   --   'string'

4.2.7 Class 14

Class 14 contains mass nouns or non-countable nouns and not all nouns were attested with a plural form. The nouns that were attested in a plural form, took either the NCP of class 6 or class 10 (13c-f).

(13)   **Singular**   **Plural**   **Singular**   **Plural**
     a.   *u-langa*   -   'heaven'   d. *u-tamu*   *ma-tamu*   cl6   'sickness'
     b.   *u-nyafu*   -   'dirt'   e. *u-salu*   *Ø-salu*   cl10 'beads'
     c.   *u-jipilo*   *ma-jipilo* cl6 'feathers'   f. *u-hule*   *Ø-hule*   cl10 'grain'

4.2.8 Class 15

This class, with its prefix *ku-*, usually functions as the infinitive class in Bantu languages and triggers agreement just like other nouns (Maho 1999:194). That is also the case in Kwere.

(14) *ku-soma* 'to study'
      ku-sola 'to marry'

4.2.9 Class 16, 17 and 18

Class 16 together with classes 17 and 18 are locative classes. One noun is inherent class to class 16 *haṇu* 'place', and class 16 is therefore the only locative class which functions as an inherent noun class. This is also the case in many other Bantu languages e.g. Ha (Harjula 2004:63) and Kagulu (Petzell 2008:56). Nevertheless many nouns are derived with the prefixes *ha-*, *ku-* and *mu-* respectively added to the NCP of other noun classes, as seen in class 17 *ku-m-biki* 'in the tree' or the class 18 *mu-di-kombo* 'in the pit'.

The locative prefixes seem to have different meanings depending on the context. In the related language Kagulu, "…*ha-* denotes 'by', *ku-* denotes 'to' and *mu-* denotes 'in/on' even though other connotations are common." (Petzell 2008:56). The prefixes show the same tendencies in Kwere. The prefix *mu-* seems to be reduced to just *m-* in some contexts as in *mmbago* 'in the forest' and *mgati* 'inside'. This could be due to morphophonological processes.

(15) a. *haṇu*   *hano*   *habehi*   *na*   *hakae*
          ha-ṇu   ha-no   habehi   na   ha- Ø- kae
          16-place   16-DEM   close   CONJ   16- 9-home
          'this place close to home'

      b. *na*   *kugati*   *kuna*   *imbago*
          na   ku-gati   kuna   i-m-bago
          CONJ   17-in   in   IV-3-forest
          'in the forest'

      c. *mafinga*   *ya*   *muna*   *ulungo*
          ma-finga   ya-a   muna   u-lu-ngo
          6-egg   6-ASSOC   in   IV-11-basket
          'the eggs in the basket'

4.2.10 Singular and plural pairings

As already mentioned there are regular pairs of singular and plural; classes 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10 and 11/10. These pairings are widely distributed within Bantu languages (Maho 1999:226). There are also other more irregular pairs; 9/6, 14/6 and 14/10. The nouns of classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 11 and 14 form plural by replacing the singular prefix with the plural prefix, while class 9 forms the plural by adding the plural prefix on to the singular prefix. Below are the regular and irregular pairings of noun classes in *Figure 2* followed by examples in Table 6.

Classes Singular nouns		Classes Plural nouns	
Class No.	**Class prefix**	**Class No.**	**Class prefix**
1	*mu-*	2	*wa-*
1a	Ø-		
3	*mu-*	4	*mi-*
5	*Ø-/di-*	6	*ma-*
7	*chi-*	8	*vi-*
9	N-/Ø-	10	N-/Ø-
11	*lu-*		
14	*u-*		

Infinitive prefix
15 *ku-*
Locative classes
16 *ha-*
17 *ku-*
18 *mu-*

——————— Regular singular/plural noun class pairings
····················· A small number of noun class pairings

Figure 2. Noun class pairings in Kwere

Table 6 Singular and plural pairings

Class	Singular		Class	Plural	
1	***mu**-ɲu*	'person'	2	***wa**-ɲu*	'persons'
1a	***Ø**-tati*	'father'			
3	***m**-gunda*	'farm'	4	***mi**-gunda*	'farms'
5	***Ø**-kanza*	'cheek'	6	***ma**-kanza*	'cheeks'
5	***di**-twi*	'big head'	6	***ma**-twi*	'big heads'
7	***chi**-goda*	'stool'	8	***vi**-goda*	'stools'
9	***Ø**-kae*	'house'	10	***Ø**-kae*	'houses'
9	***ŋ**-afi*	'oar'	6	***ma**-ŋ afi*	'oars'
11	***lu**-kuli*	'body'	10	***ŋ**-uli*	'bodies'
14	***u**-salu*	'bead'	10	***Ø**-salu*	'beads'
14	***u**-tamu*	'sickness'	6	***ma**-tamu*	'sicknesses'

4.3 Initial vowel

The initial vowel (IV), also named 'augment' or 'pre-prefix' (Maho 1999:61), is optional in Kwere and occurred only sporadically in the data. The initial vowel can occur before the NCP of nouns (16a-b) and before the ACP of possessive pronouns (16c). The initial vowel did not occur within all classes, but was identical with the vowel of the ACP in the classes it occurred. That is the case in many Bantu languages since the initial vowel is said to have its origin in the ACP (Schadeberg 2003:149). Due to its rare occurrence in the data it is very

difficult to define its semantic or pragmatic function as well as in what specific grammatical constructions it occurs. But it seems to be associated with definiteness and/or specificity. Cf. the neighbouring language Kagulu: "… the function of the initial vowel in Kagulu is partly related to definiteness as well as specificity." (Petzell 2008:69) and its "…presence vs. absence …correlates with topicality" (ibid.). This might also be the case for its function in Kwere though it could not be confirmed in this study.

(16) a. *inzila*   *yangu*
          i-n-zila   y-angu
          IV-9/10-road   9-1SG.POSS
          'my road'

      b. *na*   *habehi*   *na*   *ikae*
          na   *ha-behi*   na   i-Ø-kae
          CONJ   16-close   CONJ   IV-9/10-house
          'close to home'

      c. *mutuka*   *uwake*
          mu-tuka   u-wake
          3-car   IV-3SG.POSS
          'his/her car'

4.4 The noun phrase and the concord system

The noun phrase in Kwere, as typically in Bantu languages, is head initial and modifiers follow the head noun by taking the NCP or the ACP of that noun's class. One of the most prominent features of Bantu languages is the extensive system of concords (Katamba 2003: 111). Each noun class has a prefix appearing on other words that modifies the noun. These words can furthermore be grouped in concord patterns (Meeussen 1967: 96-7). Kwere display two sets of concord prefixes: i) the noun class prefix (NCP) on nouns, locatives and adjectives and ii) the concord or agreement class prefix (ACP) on the associative marker, possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers and other determiners. The ACP is often used on these groups of words in other Bantu languages as well (Schadeberg 2003:150). It is also common among Bantu languages that within some classes the NCP and ACP are identical while in other classes they differ (Nurse and Philippson 2003:9). The prefixes have different realizations before consonant- vs. vowel-initial roots, due to morphophonological processes between the NCP or ACP and the stem (see section 4.1.7).

Table 7 NCP and ACP in Kwere

Class	NCP	ACP
1	*m(u)-*	*i-*
2	*wa-*	*wa-*
3	*m(u)-*	*u-*
4	*mi-*	*i-*
5	Ø-	*di-*
6	*ma-*	*ya-*
7	*chi-*	*chi-*
8	*vi-*	*vi-*
9	N-	*i-*

10	N-	zi-
11	lu-	lu-
14	u-	u-
15	ku-	--
16	ha-	ha-
17	ku-	--
18	mu-	--

Note: parenthesis signals optionality and -- means absent in the data

4.4.1 Adjective

The adjective category in Kwere is small, just as in many other Bantu languages, if compared to many European languages (Maho 1999:109). The properties expressed by adjectives in other languages are instead often expressed by using other word categories e.g. the associative marker (see section 4.4.3). That is the case for 'bad' and 'good/beautiful' in Kwere. The adjectives in Kwere take the NCP as agreement. The *m(u)-* prefix of classes 1 and 3 is always displayed as *m-* when added to adjective stems. Among the adjectives there are two different words for 'dirty' *ŋobo*[7] and *nyafu*. Both words can be used for persons e.g. *waŋobo* and *wanyafu*. Interestingly enough, the first word is also a name of an insect which lives in dirty places. Below is a list of the 15 adjective stems in Kwere that occurred in the data. Only two words occurred in autonym pairs in the data, that is the words for 'small, few' and 'big', 'short' and 'tall, long, high'. One consultant gave two separate forms for 'small' *-dodo* and 'few' *-dododo* while the other consultant only used one form for both words *–dodo.*

Table 8 Adjective stems in Kwere

Stem		Stem	
-dodo	'small, few'	*-kulu*	'big'
-dododo	'few'	*-tali*	'tall, long, high'
-guhi	'short'	*-lala*	'old'
-sisili	'narrow, thin'	*-dala*	'difficult'
-bisi	'unripe'	*-duŋu*	'red'
-chiwa	'poor, empty'	*-titu*	'black'
-ŋobɔ	'dirty'	*-zelu*	'white'
-nyafu	'dirty'	*-tamu*	'sick'

(17) a. *lugozi   luno   lutali*
          lu-gozi   lu-no   lu-tali
          11-rope   11-DEM   11-long
          'this long rope'

      b. *utamu   uno   udala*
          u-tamu   u-no   u-dala
          14-sickness 14-DEM   14-difficult
          'this difficult sickness'

---

[7] I was told by my consultant that he himself did not use the word ŋobo for 'dirty', but that people in Chalinze do.

Many words that appear to be adjectives also occur as nouns in classes 1 and 2 e.g. *wa-kulu* 'elders' and *m-chiwa* 'poor person', and govern other the words in the noun phrase (18a). These words seem to function both as nouns and adjectives e.g. *m-bwa* 'lazy person', *m-bala* 'brave, intelligent person', *m-galamu* 'fat person' and *m-ngoli* 'rich person'. These words can be head initial or used as a modifier to the head noun. There are examples in Bantu languages where the adjective may be used without the noun it refers to, which has been said of e.g. Oshindonga (R22) (Fivaz 1986:72). Since the adjectives in Kwere take the NCP and not the ACP, it is difficult to say whether it is the adjective that functions as a noun, or the nouns which have an adjectival function.

(18) a. *wachiwa*   *wano*   *waguhi*
          wa-chiwa   wa-no   wa-guhi
          2-poor   2-DEM   2-tall
          'these poor tall persons'

      b. *waṇu*   *wano*   *wachiwa*
          wa-ṇu   wa-no   wa-chiwa
          2-person   2-DEM   2-poor
          'these poor persons'

      c. *mbwa*   *ino*   *mbala*
          m-bwa   i-no   m-bala
          1-lazy   1-DEM   1-intelligent
          'this lazy intelligent person'

      d. *mbwanga*   *ino*   *mbwa*
          m-bwanga   i-no   m-bwa
          1-boy   1-DEM   1-lazy
          'this lazy boy'

4.4.2 Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Kwere can be grouped into two sets: i) *muṇu ino* 'this person' (being near), ii) *muṇu idya* 'that person' (being far) and an anaphor referring to something mentioned earlier e.g. *muṇu iyo* 'that person'. These demonstratives are also found in many other Bantu languages (Nurse and Philippson 2003:9) The two sets of demonstratives expressing 'that' can express further distance by a lengthening of the last syllable and raising the voice, e.g. *mwana ijaa* 'that child very far' and *mwana iyoo keza* meaning 'that child very far (mentioned before) has come'. This way of expressing distance by raising the voice and lengthening the last syllable is also found in Swahili (Perrott 1957:41). Also Kagulu (Petzell 2008) has the three demonstratives like Kwere while Luguru has four types of demonstratives (Mkude 1974:72).

The demonstratives in Kwere take the ACP of the head noun's class. The demonstrative 'that' consists of ACP *-dya* in most classes, which also relates to Meeussen's (1967:107) PB reconstruction *ACP-día. But the classes 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10 seem to omit the consonant /d-/ as in ACP *-ya*. Furthermore, the referential 'that' takes the ACP preceded by a vowel in Kwere,

V-ACP-o, which also agrees with the PB form given by Meeussen (ibid.). But for classes 2 and 6 the vowel preceding the ACP is not visible, which could be the result of glide formation. The vowel of the ACP is deleted in classes 7, 8, 10 and 11, while glide formation is taking place in classes 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 14. Below is a table of the three demonstratives in each noun class.

Table 9 The demonstratives

Class	ACP	-no	-dya/-ya	-o
1	i-	ino	idya	iyo
2	wa-	wano	wadya	wao
3	u-	uno	udya	uwo
4	i-	ino	idya	iyo
5	di-	dino	diya	idyo
6	ya-	yano	yadya	yayo
7	chi-	chino	chiya	icho
8	vi-	vino	viya	ivo
9	i-	ino	iya	iyo
10	zi-	zino	ziya	izo
11	lu-	luno	ludya	ulo
14	u-	uno	udya	uwo
16	ha-	hano	hadya	baho

4.4.3 Associative marker

As in many other Bantu languages, the associative marker, also called connective or genitival marker, conjoins words within the noun phrase through a type of genitive particle 'of' (Hyman 2003:266). This marker is used to conjoin items in the noun phrase, e.g. in adjectival constructions with a second noun as a modifier (19a), with ordinal numerals (19b), and within locative constructions (19c). The marker consists of the vowel -*a* together with the ACP of the head noun, except the associative marker in class 1, *wa*, which does not seem to derive from the ACP of class 1. The associative marker in Kagulu which also takes the ACP, appears to take the vowel of the ACP consisting of *u*- in class 1, producing *wa* (Petzell 2008:85). In Kwere on the other hand, it is difficult to see where the marker *wa* derives from since the ACP of class 1 consists of the high front vowel *i*-, and not the high back vowel *u*-. Table 10 presents the associative marker for each noun class, except classes 17-18. The forms have undergone morphophonological processes; vowel deletion in classes 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 16, and glide formation in classes 3, 4, 9, 11 and 14.

Table 10 The associative marker

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	16
ACP	i-	wa-	u-	i-	di-	ya-	chi-	vi	i-	zi-	lu-	u-	ha-
ASSOC	wa	wa	wa	ya	da	ya-	cha	va	ya	za	lwa	wa	ha

(19) a. *ulanga   wa   usiga*
          u-langa   w-a   u-siga
          14-sky   14-ASSOC   14-blue
          'the blue sky'

b. *nzila*   *ya*   *kaidi*
    n-zila   y-a   ka-idi
    9-road   9-ASSOC   -two
    'the second road'

c. *vilatu*   *va*   *hagati*   *ya*   *mayani*
    vi-latu   v-a   ha-gati   y-a   ma-yani
    8-shoe   8-ASSOC   16-in   6-ASSOC   6-grass
    'the shoes are in the grass'

4.4.4 Possessives

The possessive is formed by adding the ACP of the possessed to the possessive stem. The possessive stems could also be analysed as consisting of the ACP, followed by the associative marker *-a-* and the possessive stem (Schadeberg 2003:150). The underlying form for 'our' and 'yours' (PL) would then be; *-a-itu* and *-a-inu* respectively, where both forms have undergone a vowel coalescence with the associative marker. The PB forms suggested by Meeussen (1967:107) are *-áí̗tú* 'ours' and *-áі̗nú* 'yours' (PL). Table 11 presents the possessive stems in the different noun classes. The ACP is changed through morphophonological processes, mainly glide formation, except in classes 7 and 10 where vowel deletion takes place between the ACP and the stem. Nouns of class 14 were mainly given the ACP of class 11, but when given the ACP of class 14 it also kept the prefix vowel *u-*, *uwangu* instead of just *wangu*. Furthermore, there are some possessives which are cliticised to the noun e.g. *mwanangu* 'my child' or *wayangu* 'my fellows'. These forms could be not be uttered separately in natural speech.

The possessive 'theirs' were always given in two different forms; according to both consultants the forms were equal alternatives of the same possessive. The stem *-ao* is found within the related languages Luguru (Mkude 1974:72) and Kagulu (Petzell 2008:87) while no correlations have been found to the other stem *-ae*. Though there were no indications given on when this alternate stem would be used, the forms are included in the table since they were given by both consultants separately.

Table 11 Possessives

Class	ACP	'mine' -angu	'yours' -ako	'his/hers' -ake	'ours' -etu	'yours' (PL) -enu	'theirs' *-ao/-ae*
1	*i-*	*yangu*	*yako*	*yake*	*yetu*	*yenu*	*yao/yae*
2	*wa-*	*wangu*	*wako*	*wake*	*wetu*	*wenu*	*wao/wae*
3	*u-*	*wangu*	*wako*	*wake*	*wetu*	*wenu*	*wao/wae*
4	*i-*	*yangu*	*yako*	*yake*	*yetu*	*yenu*	*yao/yae*
5	*di-*	*dyangu*	*dyako*	*dyake*	*dyetu*	*dyenu*	*dyao/dyae*
6	*ya-*	*yangu*	*yako*	*yake*	*yetu*	*yenu*	*yao/yae*
7	*chi-*	*changu*	*chako*	*chake*	*chetu*	*chenu*	*chao/chae*
8	*vi*	*vyangu*	*vyako*	*vyake*	*vyetu*	*vyenu*	*vyao/vyae*
9	*i-*	*yangu*	*yako*	*yake*	*yetu*	*yenu*	*yao/yae*
10	*zi-*	*zangu*	*zako*	*zake*	*zetu*	*zenu*	*zao/zae*
11	*lu-*	*lwangu*	*lwako*	*lwake*	*lwetu*	*lwenu*	*lwao/lwae*
14	*u-*	*uwangu*	*uwako*	*uwake*	*uwetu*	*uwenu*	*uwao/uwae*

4.4.5 Other determiners

There are a number of other determiners in Kwere which are inflected following the head noun e.g. quantifiers, specifiers and question words. Other words are not inflected however function as modifiers to the head noun.

The quantifying stem *-ose* occurs in different constructions and has different meanings depending on if the noun is in the singular or the plural; when following a plural noun the meaning is 'all' e.g. *wana wose* 'all children' *mbuli zose* 'all words', with nouns of singular classes the meaning is 'whole' e.g. *biki dyose* 'the whole tree' and *chigoda chose* 'the whole stool'. The stem takes the ACP in all classes and when preceded by a reduplicated ACP, the meaning is 'any', both with singular and plural classes e.g. *muṇu yoyose* 'any person' and *vigoda vovose* 'any stools'. The different meanings of the stem *-ose* are formed in an equivalent way in Kagulu (Petzell 2008:93). Glide formation takes place in Kwere when the stem *-ose* is preceded by the ACP of classes 1, 3, 4, 5 and 14, while vowel deletion takes place within the other classes.

The stem *-mwe* is the numeral 'one' but can also have a quantifying meaning, 'some'. The stem occurs as a modifier to both singular and plural nouns and takes the ACP in all classes, e.g. *mwana imwe* 'one child' or 'some child' and *wana wamwe* 'some children'. Furthermore, the numeral 'one' *-mwe* is also involved in the word for 'other' *-mwenga*, which also takes the ACP e.g. *utamu umwenga* 'another sickness' and *milima imwenga* 'other mountains'.

There is also an interrogative stem which is inflected in Kwere, *-ilihi*. This stem together with the ACP means 'which' e.g. *lungo lulihi* 'which basket' and *matunda yilihi* 'which fruit'. When the vowel of the ACP meets the initial stem vowel, either one or the other is deleted, while in classes 1 and 2 vowel coalescence takes place resulting in the mid front vowel /e/. The class 1 prefix seems therefore to consist of the ACP *i-* plus the vowel *-a-*. Table 12 displays some of these determiners for each class.

Table 12 Other determiners

Class	ACP	all, whole -ose	some -mwe	which -ilihi
1	*i*	*yose*	*imwe*	*yelihi*
2	*wa*	*wose*	*wamwe*	*welihi*
3	*u*	*wose*	*umwe*	*ulihi*
4	*i*	*yose*	*imwe*	*ilihi*
5	*di*	*dyose*	*dimwe*	*dilihi*
6	*ya*	*yose*	*yamwe*	*yilihi*
7	*chi*	*chose*	*chimwe*	*chilihi*
8	*vi*	*vose*	*vimwe*	*vilihi*
9	*i*	--	*imwe*	*ilihi*
10	*zi*	*zose*	*zimwe*	*zilihi*
11	*lu*	*lose*	*lumwe*	*lulihi*
14	*u*	*wose*	*umwe*	*ulihi*
16	*ha-*	--	*hamwe*	--

Note: - - means absent in the data

The quantifying stem *-ingi* 'many' and the interrogative stem *-ingahi* 'how much' can only be governed by nouns of plural classes. These stems take the NCP in classes 4 and 6 *mi-* and *ma-*

respectively (20b-c). Meeussen (1967:105) mentions that the PB word for 'many' *-*(j)íngí* seems to have been an adjective. It is difficult to say whether the stems *-ingi* and *-ingahi* could be considered adjectives which always take the NCP in Kwere, since there were some inconsistency in the data as both *ŋ-upa zi-ngi* and *ŋ-upa ny-ingi* were used for 'many bottles'. Furthermore, both *una ŋ-upa zi-ngahi?* and *una ŋ-upa ny-ingahi?* were accepted forms of 'how many bottles are there?'. This pattern of classes taking different concords can be compared with numerals 2 to 5 which also take the NCP with nouns of classes 4 and 6 (see section 4.4.6).

(20) a. *wana*   *wengi*   *wanoga*
          wa-ana   wa-ingi   wa-noga
          2-child   2-many   2-beautiful
          'many beautiful children'

      b. *migunda*   *mingi*
          mi-gunda   mi-ingi
          4-farm   4-many
          'many farms'

      c. *mafinga*   *mengi*   *madodo*
          ma-finga   ma-ingi   ma-dodo
          6-egg   6-many   6-small
          'many small eggs'

      d. *una*   *viṇu*   *vingahi?*
          una   vi-ṇu   vi-ingahi
                      8-thing   8-how many
          'How many things are there?'

There are some uninflected words which always occur with the head noun. Determiners in Bantu are normally post-head but the word for 'every' *chila* is an exception as it precedes the head noun (Rugemalira 2007:138) e.g. *chila zua* 'every day' and *chila vivu* 'every stove'. Another uninflected word is *muhala* 'only' e.g. *mbuli imwe muhala* 'one word only' and *wana muhala* 'only children'. Furthermore, the word *muno* 'very' is never inflected but yet modifies the head noun e.g. *wana wano wengi muno* 'these very many children' and *kae zino nyingi   muno*   'these   very   many   houses'.

4.4.6 Numerals

Numerals in Kwere are not in a unified morphological word category, instead they can be divided into two groups; i) numerals 1 to 5 are inflected depending on the noun they are associated with ii) numerals 6 to 10 are nouns, which however are used as modifiers to the head noun. The first five cardinal numbers all correspond to the PB reconstructions by Meeussen (1967:105). Classes 1, 5 and 9 take the ACP with the stem *-mwe* 'one' while classes 4 and 6 take the NCP *mi-* and *ma-* respectively for numbers 2 to 5. Numerals 1 to 5 in other Bantu languages can often be morphologically defined as a word category taking the same concords, sometimes referred to as Enumerative Prefix, but interference with the NCP and ACP is frequent (Schadeberg 2003:150). The different prefixes for numerals still

correspond with Meeussen's reconstructed prefixes (Meeussen 1967:97). Note that numerals three and five were not attested in class 10. The consultants rather used the nominalised forms of numerals for nouns within class 10.

Table 13 Numerals 1 to 5

Num	NCP	ACP	Meeussen's[8] Proto-Bantu	1 *-mwe*	2 *-idi*	3 *-ŋatu*	4 *-nne*	5 *-tano*
1	*m(u)*	*i-*	mu-/u-	*imwe*				
2	*wa-*	*wa-*	ba-		*waidi*	*waŋatu*	*wanne*	*watano*
3	*u-*	*u-*	mu-/u-	*umwe*				
4	*mi-*	*i-*	mi-/i-		*midi*	*miŋatu*	*minne*	*mitano*
5	*Ø-*	*di-*	di-	*dimwe*				
6	*ma-*	*ya-*	ma-/a-		*maidi*	*maŋatu*	*manne*	*matano*
7	*chi-*	*chi-*	ki-	*chimwe*				
8	*vi-*	*vi-*	bi-		*vidi*	*viŋatu*	*vinne*	*vitano*
9	*N-*	*i-*	n-/i-	*imwe*				
10	*N-*	*zi-*	i̧-		*idi*	--	*nne*	--
11	*lu-*	*lu-*	du	*lumwe*				
14	*u-*	*u-*	bu	*umwe*				

The numbers 6 to 10 are nouns where the words for 6 and 7 are loans through Swahili from Arabic i.e. *sita* 'six', *saba* 'seven' while *nane* 'eight' and *kenda* 'nine' are Bantu. There are two words for 'ten' in Kwere; *kumi* which is attested within Bantu languages of all zones (Schadeberg 2003:150). The other word for 'ten'; *longo* which also is Bantu, is used when forming higher numbers 11 to 19 and even tens, which are formed by adding the NCP of class 6 according to following pattern:

Table 14 Higher numerals

11	*longo na imwe*	20	*malongo maidi*
12	*longo na kaidi*	30	*malongo maŋatu*
13	*longo na kaŋatu*	40	*malongo manne*
14	*longo na kanne*	50	*malongo matano*
15	*longo na katano*	60	*malongo sita*
16	*longo na kasita*	70	*malongo saba*
17	*longo na kasaba*	80	*malongo manane*
18	*longo na kanane*	90	*malongo makenda*
19	*longo na kenda*	100	*magana*

The conjunction *na* is used to form numbers 11 to 19 and number 12 to 18 involve the prefix *ka-*[9]. This prefix is used to nominalise numerals in Kwere and in other Bantu languages as well, e.g. in Luguru numerals 2 to 4 take this prefix (Mkude 1974:70) and in Ha the prefix is used to nominalise numerals 2 to 6 (Harjula 2004:79). The *ka-* prefix is recognised in those languages as being the NCP of class 12 as presented in the PB reconstructions by Meeussen (1967:97).

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[8] These are the prefixes for numerals reconstructed by Meeussen (1967) with their variations.
[9] The numeral *kenda* 'nine' could involve the prefix *ka-* as well, having undergone vowel coalescence with a high vowel.

The *ka-* prefix is also involved, together with the associative marker, when forming ordinals in Kwere. Many Bantu languages involve the associative marker *-a-*, when forming ordinals (Schadeberg 2003:150). The consultants used two slightly different ways of constructing ordinals; one would form the ordinals according to following pattern; *ya+ka+*numeral, while the other consultant would give forms that seem to involve vowel coalescence between the high front vowel /i/ and the associative marker *-a-*, resulting in the form *ye+ka+*numeral. The consultants also gave different forms of the ordinals 9th and 10th where one consultant neither involved the associative marker *-a-* nor the prefix *ka-* while the other did. Furthermore, the word for 1st was only attested without either associative marker or prefix.

Table 15 Ordinals

1st	*imwe*	6th	*ya/yekasita*
2nd	*ya/yekaidi*	7th	*ya/yekasaba*
3rd	*ya/yekaṇatu*	8th	*ya/yekanane*
4th	*ya/yekanne*	9th	*yakakenda/kenda*
5th	*ya/yekatano*	10th	*yakalongo/longo*

4.4.7 Semantically motivated agreement

Just as many other Bantu languages Kwere shows semantically motivated agreement (Katamba 2003:113). This phenomenon has also been referred to by Maho (1999:122) as general animate concords. Swahili is an example where all animate nouns take the agreements of classes 1 and 2 regardless of the noun's class (Wald 1975).

The animate nouns in Kwere have their base class in classes 5 and 6, or 9 and 10. These nouns can take the concords of classes 1 and 2 on adjectives, associatives, numerals, quantifiers and possessives, as displayed in example 21. Note that to use the concords of the inherent class, e.g. *ṇembo ŋulu* for 'a big elephant', is considered incorrect. Several names of animals in class 5 also take the concords of classes 1 and 2, e.g. Ø-*somba ino m-kulu* 'the big fish' Ø-*somba wa-no wa-kulu* 'these big fish'. When the animate nouns take the concords of classes 5 and 6 they do so to express largeness e.g. *zoka di-no Ø-kulu* 'this big snake' (see section 4.5.1). With other nouns there seems to be optionality regarding what concords they take; both, *lu-ti we-tu* (cl2) and *lu-ti ze-tu* (cl10) were considered acceptable forms of 'our goats'. The consultants also used two different concords on the possessive stem; *ng'-ombe wa-ngu* (cl2) 'my cows' and *ng'-ombe za-ko* (cl10) 'your cows'.

(21) a. *ṇembo*   *wakulu*   *waṇatu*
         N- embo   wa-kulu   wa- ṇatu
         9- elephant   2- big   2- three
         'Three big elephants'

      b. *ṇembo*   *wa*   *umwaka*
         N- embo   w- a   umwaka
         9- elephant   1/2- ASSOC   old
         'This old elephant'

      c. *ṇembo*   *wengi*
         N- embo   wa- ingi
         9- elephant   2- many
         'Many elephants'

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d. *ṇembo*   *wangu*
   N- embo   wa- ngu
   9- elephant   2- my
   'My elephants'

4.5 Noun-to-noun derivation

A noun's inherent class belonging is also referred to as its 'basic' or 'primary' classification (Maho 1999:88). Most nouns can be recategorized and take the NCP of another class, also referred to as 'secondary classification'. This process, called noun-to-noun derivation here, changes the implications of the noun or gives it a "secondary meaning". There are stems that do not seem to have an inherent class, but nevertheless are found in different classes; e.g. *-ṇu*, which denotes 'persons' in classes 1 and 2, *muṇu*, *waṇu* and 'things' in classes 7 and 8 *chiṇu*, *viṇu* and 'place' in class 16, *haṇu*. These secondary classifications of nouns are widely frequent within Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003).

4.5.1 Diminutive and augmentative formation

Two very productive noun-to-noun derivations in Bantu languages are the diminutive and augmentative formations (Schadeberg 2003:83). The class associated with diminutiveness in Kwere is class 7 and class 5 is the augmentative class. Nouns can therefore occur in several different classes as seen in example 22, where *m-gunda* 'farm' is recategorized into classes 5 and 7, thus substituting the inherit NCP of class 3. But the NCP of class 7 was also added upon the first NCP as in *chi-n-zila* 'small road' (22d) where the inherited noun class is 9/10. The phrase *n-zila i-no sisili* for 'this narrow road' was recognized as incorrect by the consultant, since the adjective *sisili* 'narrow' implies something small or thin. Instead it would only be used with the noun in class 7 (22d).

(22)   a.   *mgunda*   *uno*   *unoga*
         m-gunda   u-no   u-noga
         3-farm   3-dem   3-good
         'this good farm' (neutral size)

      b.   *gunda*   *dino*   *chiwa*
         gunda   di-no   Ø-chiwa
         farm   5- DEM   5- empty
         'this empty big farm'

      c.   *chigunda*   *chino*   *chichiwa*
         chi-gunda   chi-no   chi-chiwa
         7-farm   7- DEM   7- empty
         'this empty small farm'

      d.   *chinzila*   *chino*   *chisisili*
         chi-n-zila   ch-ino   chi-sisili
         7-9/10-road   7- DEM   7- narrow
         'this small road is narrow'

4.5.2 Locative derivation

Noun-to-noun derivation also takes place within the locative classes in Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003:82). As already mentioned in section 4.2.9, class 16 is the only class that functions as an inherent noun class of the locative classes 16-18. Nevertheless, many nouns are derived by adding the NCP of classes 16-18 on top of the nouns' inherited NCP, giving the noun a locative meaning.

(23) a. *wana*   *wa*   *kunsingo*
          wa-ana   w-a   ku-n-singo
          2-child   2-ASSOC   17-9/10-backside of a house
          'the children at the backside'

4.6 The structure of the noun phrase

Having looked at the noun phrase and some of the components involved in it; demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals and locatives, we have already seen some of the syntactic structures of the noun phrase in Kwere e.g. that the noun phrases are head-initial with the exception that the word *chila* 'every' always precedes the head noun. Rugemalira (2007) has examined the syntactic structure of the noun phrase in Bantu languages more in detail. In this study, it is just looked at briefly what elements can co-occur in the noun phrase in Kwere.

A noun phrase can include several elements and there are variations but also restrictions on the order of these elements. The demonstrative in Kwere is in most cases found immediately adjacent to the head noun. There are Bantu languages which have a fixed position of the possessive immediately following the head noun (ibid.:139). The possessive in Kwere is often positioned adjacent to the head noun, though it also occurred last in the phrase. Note that there were no occurrences in the data of a demonstrative being preceded by a possessive. Such a position is perceived ill-formed in some Bantu languages (ibid.:138). Furthermore, there seems to be an internal order that the adjective does not occur adjacent to the head noun if there is more than one modifier in the noun phrase. The table below displays some of the different constituents that occurred in the data, though Kwere probably allows for more combinations of constituents.

Table 16 The structure of the noun phrase

Noun phrase	Kwere	English
a. N DEM	*mwana ino*	This child
b. N DEM ADJ	*mwana ino mdodo*	This small child
c. N NUM	*muṇu imwe*	One man
d. N POSS	*tati yangu*	My father
e. N QUANT	*wana wose*	All children
f. N ASSOC N	*muṇu wa umwaka*	An old person
g. N DEM ADJ QUANT	*wana wano wengi muno*	These very many children
h. N DEM NUM POSS	*kae zino nne zako*	These four houses of yours
i. N NUM DEM ADJ	*viyana vidi vino vidododo*	These small two children
j. N POSS ADJ NUM	*luti wetu watitu saba*	Our three black goats
k. N NUM ADJ LOC	*wana wanne wadodo wahaja*	Four small children over there
l. N ASSOC LOC ASSOC N	*vilatu va hagati ya mayani*	The shoes in the grass

5 Conclusion and discussion

This study has looked at the noun phrase in Kwere; its noun classes, pairings of singular and plural, the concord system between the noun and its modifiers, it also investigated some of the co-occurrences and any restrictions on the order of the modifiers in the noun phrase. The data presented in this study shows that Kwere has 16 classes and each class has an NCP; classes 1 to 11 and 14 are all inherited noun classes containing noun, while class 15 includes the infinitives of verbs, and classes 16 to 18 are locative classes. Among the noun classes there are regular singular and plural pairings between classes; 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10 and 11/10.

The noun phrase in Kwere can consist of several different elements which agree with the head noun. Adjectives agree by taking the NCP, while the associative marker, possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers and other determiners take the ACP. Numerals displayed a system involving both NCPs and ACPs, depending on the noun class. The noun phrase can involve several constituents but the different elements are always post-head with the exception of *chila* 'every', which precedes the head. The demonstratives are often found adjacent to the head noun. When a noun phrase consists of both demonstrative and possessive the order is, N DEM POSS. If there is more than one modifier in the noun phrase, the internal order seems to be that the adjective does not occur adjacent to the head noun.

These results are based on data collected during one month of fieldwork in a community where Kwere is spoken as a mother tongue though Swahili is the language of wider communication. Due to the time frame only two consultants took part in the study. Since the official language, Swahili is used within all domains including at home, where code mixing between Kwere and Swahili to various degrees is common, there is probably to some influences by Swahili in the data. Nevertheless, this study does give an idea of how the language is spoken today among the younger generation of Kwere speakers.

In sessions where both consultants were present, they would often discuss what was understood as correct or incorrect language, e.g. a word form or meaning of a word. Since I am not fluent in Swahili I could not engage or follow these discussions unless they translated some of what was said into English. The fact that both consultants were present at the same time made it possible for them to discuss their language and discuss words' meanings and usages. But it might as well have caused them not to tell about the nuances in the language. The consultants grew up in different areas and might use different language varieties. There were specific words that made the consultants explain, that the certain word only was used by some people.

Though both consultants were relatively fluent in English, they might have found it difficult to express themselves as freely as they would have done if we had communicated in Swahili. Furthermore, the fact that English was used as intermediate language could also have influenced the data. The consultants sometimes gave a form that looked more similar to the English translation rather than naturally occurring in Kwere. For example, one consultant would position the demonstrative preceding the head noun but when asked what was considered natural speech the consultant would change the order. The use of English as intermediate language was inevitable and on using Swahili as the intermediate language would also influence the data.

The consultants were given questionnaires to fill out at the same time as I was transcribing. Though the consultants engaged in the elicitation of sentences they would often stop writing themselves and instead only read the translated sentences out loud. The reason why the

consultants were asked to fill out the questionnaire themselves was for me to see how they would translate their language into writing. Since there are various ways of spelling words, it is interesting to compare their spelling with my transcription. Instead, the consultants mainly corrected my transcription, resulting in that no comparison could be made with the consultants' way of spelling or placement of word boundaries etc. Some sounds were more difficult to distinguish e.g. if the affricate /d͡ʒ/ is really one phoneme, spelt -*j*-, or the two phonemes /d/ plus /y/, spelt -*dy*-. The spelling is especially important within words which take the ACP of class 5 *di-*. The possessive 'my' in class 5 could either be spelt *jangu* or *dyangu*. Since no phonetic analysis has been made in this study I chose to spell it as the latter form since it is easy to see the correlation with the underlying ACP; *di-* (see section 4.4.4 on possessives and 4.4.5 on other determiners).

Furthermore, one of the consultants was involved in orthography development for Kwere, which increased the attention to spelling, which in turn may have influenced the pronunciation. All these factors, the influence from the intermediate languages, English and Swahili, and that of the questionnaire not always being filled out consistently by the consultants affect of course the consistency of the data.

This qualitative study intended to look at as some of the aspects of the noun phrase in Kwere. But there are several phenomena that need to be studied more in detail e.g. semantically motivated agreement, the syntax within the noun phrase, locatives as well as noun-to-noun derivation. Other areas which provide interesting topics for further studies are e.g. allophonic variation, vowel qualities, lexical tone, prosody and furthermore, the verb phrase and its constituents. Finally, my aim for this study was to contribute to the basic language description and not least inspire others to study the richness of this language.

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