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# Luganda

## Luganda Structure

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The below data comes from [Some Features of Ganda Linguistic Structure](#) by Desmond T. Cole of the University of the Witwatersrand, 1967.

### Phonology and Phonetics

#### Consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar
<b>stops</b>	[b] [p] <sup>1</sup>			[d] [t] <sup>1</sup>		[c] <sup>1</sup>	[g] [k] <sup>1</sup>
<b>flap</b>							
<b>affricate</b>					[dʒ]		
<b>fricative</b>		[v] [f] <sup>1</sup>	[z] [s] <sup>1</sup>		[ʃ] <sup>1</sup>		
<b>trill</b>				[r]			
<b>flap</b>				[r]			
<b>nasal</b>	[m]	[m̥]		[n]		[ɲ]	[ŋ]
<b>liquid</b>				[l]			
<b>glide</b>	[w]					[j]	

In addition to the normal single consonant and consonant clusters, Luganda contains geminates, or two of the same consonants in a row (C + C > CC). Geminates of each consonant are possible, with the exception of /ww, ll, jj/.

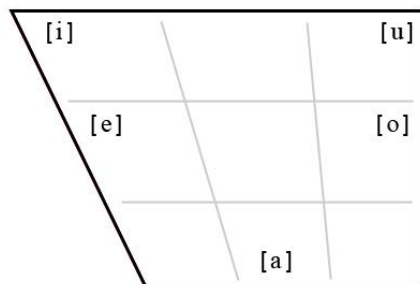
Luganda also contains nasal clusters (N- + C > NC), or nasals preceding a consonant. Each nasal consonant is homorganic with the following consonant, meaning that it takes on the place of articulation of the following consonant. For example, a nasal prefix (N-) before the alveolar *t* remains an alveolar *n* (e.g. *ndábà* – *I see*), but N- before the bilabial *b* becomes a bilabial *m* (e.g. *mbála* – *I count*). Overall, Luganda contains five nasal consonants that can appear in a nasal cluster: *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ*, *m*, and *ɱ*. /w, l, j/ do not combine with nasals to form nasal clusters. Instead, they undergo morphological processes to create nasal clusters (see Phonological Processes section). Two nasals in a row are considered geminates and not nasal clusters.

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<sup>1</sup> Marked consonants are voiceless

Additional consonant clusters, besides CC and NC, include the following forms: Cw, NCw, CCw, Cj, NCj, and CCj.

## Vowels



Luganda has both primary vowels /i, a, u/ and secondary vowels /e, a, o/ (note that *a* is both primary and secondary). Word- and stem-initial vowels are almost always secondary.

Luganda contains both long (VV) and short vowels (V) (or double and single vowels), which are contrastive (e.g. *kùwélá* – *to refuse*, *kùwéélá* – *to rest*). Long vowels are always composed of identical vowels (e.g. *éé*, never *éú*). All word-initial vowels are long, except when preceding geminates. Word-final vowels tend to sound longer, but it's not clear if they're contrastive.

## Syllables

There are nine types of syllables in Luganda: three short and six long. The short syllables are: a syllabic consonant (Ç), CV, and NCV. The long syllables are VV, VC, CVV, NCVV, CVC, and NCVV.

Syllables are never divided between vowels (i.e. during a long vowel). On the other hand, geminate consonants are always split across syllables.

## Tone

Luganda is a highly tonal language, with two tonemes: high (H) and low (L). Like vowel length, tone is also contrastive (e.g. *ɲjálà* – *nails or claws*, *ɲjálá* – *hunger*). Each single vowel has one toneme, either H or L. However, word-final single vowels may have falling (HL) tone. Syllabic consonants can also have either H or L. Long vowels, therefore, have two tonemes. Thus, possible tones for long vowels are HH, LL, and HL. There are many complex tone classes in Luganda to determine the tone of words.

## Phonological Processes

Two basic phonological processes (shown at the right) occur as palatalizations conditioned by the following vowels. Also, the phoneme /l/ consisting of allophones [l, r, ɾ] is conditioned based on the environment: [l] occurs as word-initial, and [r, ɾ] occur after /i, e/. However, there is considerable free variation in any other environment.

### Phonological Rules

k + i > ci

g + i > dʒi

As mentioned in the Consonant section regarding nasal clusters, the nasal prefix (N-), (which occurs in Noun Classes 9 and 10 and first

### Phonological Rules

N- (+ [labiodental]) > ɲj-

### Examples

ɲjvwá – *relish*

person singular subject and object markers) becomes homorganic with the following consonant. Also, in general, when N- is added to /w, l, j/, the cluster changes as shown to the right.

N- + w > mp	<i>`mpúlílá – I hear</i>
N- + l > nd	<i>`ndéèmbúlá – I buy cheaply</i>
N- + j/dʒ > ɲdʒ	<i>`ɲdʒííngá – I improvise</i>

Another prefix (#-), found in Noun Class 5 and 9, geminates the following consonant with a few phonological processes, shown to the right.

Phonological Rules	Examples
#- + C > CC	<i>`ttábì – branch</i>
#- + l > dd	<i>`ddóbò – fish hook</i>
#- + j > dʒdʒ	<i>`dʒdʒùbáà – dove</i>
#- + w > ggw/gg	<i>`ggwáángà – tribe</i>

## Morphology

### Nouns

As a Bantu language, Luganda consists of a series of noun classes, each with their own types of nouns and prefixes. Of the 22 Bantu noun classes, Luganda appears to have 21, with additional variations on classes 1 and 2. Below, the class numbers and their respective prefixes are listed, and some of the more pertinent noun classes are highlighted.

<b>1</b> (o-)mu-	<b>4</b> (e-)mi-	<b>9</b> (e-)N-	<b>14</b> (o-)bu-	<b>20</b> (o-)gu-
<b>1a</b> ∅-	<b>5</b> (e-)#-	<b>10</b> (e-)N-	<b>15</b> (o-)ku-	<b>22</b> (a-)ga-
<b>2</b> (a-)ba-	<b>6</b> (a-)ma-	<b>11</b> (o-)lu-	<b>16</b> wa-	<b>23</b> (e-)∅-
<b>2a</b> ba-	<b>7</b> (e-)ki-	<b>12</b> (a-)ka-	<b>17</b> ku-	
<b>3</b> (o-)mu-	<b>8</b> (e-)bi-	<b>13</b> (o-)tu-	<b>18</b> mu-	

Num.	Pref.	Importance (types of nouns)	Example
<b>1</b>	(o-)mu-	General people	<i>mùsáàdʒdʒá</i> man <i>mùkází</i> woman, wife <i>mùléénzí</i> boy <i>mwáàná</i> child <i>mùsáwò</i> doctor
<b>1a</b>	∅-	Specific kinship terms, personal names	<i>kitáàngé</i> my father <i>kàtóóndá</i> God <i>`dʒdʒáádʒdʒà</i> my grandfather
<b>2</b>	(a-)ba-	Plurals of Class 1 correlates	<i>bàsáàdʒdʒá</i> men <i>bàkází</i> women <i>báàná</i> children
<b>2a</b>	ba-	Plurals of Class 1a correlates	<i>bàdʒdʒáádʒdʒà</i> my grandfathers
<b>3</b>	(o-)mu-	Impersonal; names of plants, anatomy, animals, tools	<i>mùtî</i> tree <i>mùsòtáà</i> snake <i>mùtímà</i> heart
<b>4</b>	(e-)mi-	Plurals of Class 3 correlates	<i>mìsòtáà</i> snakes

5	(e-)#-	Similar to Class 3. Nouns can be transferred into this class via prefix substitution to emphasize their nature	`ttî `ggééndó	(huge) tree (long) journey
9	(e-)N-	Similar to Class 3. Most animals, natural phenomena, abstract concepts	`ṁvùdúù ṁdʒáá	hippopotamus hunger
14	(o-)bu-	Abstract concepts, liquids, locations, negative infinitive verbs (include negative prefix /ta-/) (positive correlates in 15)	búúmpì bùtwáà búúngélézà bùtáljà	shortness poison England not to eat
15	(o-)ku-	Positive infinitive verbs, “ear,” “leg”	kùljàà kùgùlá kùtúù	to eat to buy ear

## Pronouns

**Absolute pronouns** refer to a specific noun or person, such as “him,” “me,” “you,” and “it” in English. In Luganda, in addition to first and second person pronouns, there are separate absolute pronouns for each noun class:

1 <sup>st</sup> per. sg.	`nzé	2	bóò	7	kjóò	12	kóò	17	kwóò
1 <sup>st</sup> per. pl.	`ffé	3	gwóò	8	bjóò	13	twóò	18	mwóò
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. sg.	`ggwé	4	gjóò	9	jóò	14	bwóò	20	gwóò
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. pl.	`mmwé	5	ljóò	10	zóò	15	kwóò	22	góò
	1 jèè	6	góò	11	lwóò	16	wóò	23	yóò

## Demonstratives

**Demonstrative pronouns** and **demonstrative determiners** are used to distinguish objects. In English, we use “this,” “that,” “these,” and “those,” as in “I like that” or “he sees that elephant.” Unlike English, demonstratives follow the noun. In Luganda, there are three categories of demonstratives, and each noun class has its own, as shown below. The column marked ‘a’ is used for relatively nearby objects or objects that have recently been referred to in conversation. The column marked ‘b’ is used for very nearby objects. The column marked ‘c’ is used for distant objects.

	a	b	c	Demonstrative Examples			
1	òòjó	òònó	òòlî	òòmúsààdʒdʒá	òòjó	that man (class 1)	
2	ààbó	bànó	bàlî	gùlî		that one (yonder) (class 3)	
3	òògwó	gùnó	gùlî	òòmìsòtáà	èègjó	these snakes (class 4)	
4	èègjó	gìnó	gìlî				
5	èèljó	lìnó	lìlî	a	b	c	
6	ààgó	gànó	gàlî	14	òòbwó	bùnó	bùlî
7	èèkjó	kinó	kìlî	15	òòkwó	kùnó	kùlî
8	èèbjó	bìnó	bìlî	16	ààwó	wànó	wàlî
9	èèjó	èènó	èèlî	17	òòkwó	kùnó	kùlî
10	èèzó	zìnó	zìlî	18	òòmówó	mùnó	mùlî
11	òòlwó	lùnó	lùlî	20	òògwó	gùnó	gùlî
12	ààkó	kànó	kàlî	22	ààgó	gànó	gàlî
13	òòtwó	tùnó	tùlî	23	èèjó	èènó	èèlî

## Possessives

Luganda uses a series of possessive prefixes that must match the noun class of the noun being possessed. If the prefix precedes a consonant (C), *-a* is added to the prefix. Below are the prefixes for each class.

1	<i>w-</i>	5	<i>lj-</i>	9	<i>j-</i>	13	<i>tw-</i>	17	<i>kw-</i>
2	<i>b-</i>	6	<i>g-</i>	10	<i>z-</i>	14	<i>bw-</i>	18	<i>mw-</i>
3	<i>gw-</i>	7	<i>kj-</i>	11	<i>lw-</i>	15	<i>kw-</i>	20	<i>gw-</i>
4	<i>gj-</i>	8	<i>bj-</i>	12	<i>k-</i>	16	<i>w-</i>	22	<i>g-</i>

## Possessive Examples

Possessed object (class)	Possessor (class)	Phrase	
<i>bààntú (2)</i>	<i>kjààló (7)</i>	<i>ààbáántú béékjààló</i>	<i>people of the village</i>
<i>kjààló (7)</i>	<i>bààntú (2)</i>	<i>kjààló kjàbáántú</i>	<i>village of the people</i>

## Adjectives

Like other Bantu languages, the prefix before an adjective must match the noun class of the subject or object. Before C-commencing (i.e. -C-stem) adjectival stems, the prefixes for adjectives are exactly the same as their noun class correlates (e.g. both the prefix of noun class 1 and the prefix of adjectives for noun class 1 are *(o-)mu-*). Before NC stems (i.e. -NC-stem), the short vowel of the class prefix becomes long (e.g. *(o)-mu-* becomes *(o)-muu-* before NC). Before V-commencing (i.e. -V-stem) stems, the vowel in the class prefix is either dropped or changed to a glide according to the following rules:

Ca + -V- > CV-	Cu + -V- > CwV-	Ci + -V- > CJV-
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In Luganda, adjectives are placed after the nouns.

## Adjective Examples

<i>-wáám̩vù</i>	<i>tall (stem)</i>	<i>‘mpì</i>	<i>short (stem)</i>
<i>òòmúléénzí óómúúmpì</i>	<i>short boy (“boy short”)</i>	<i>èènjúù èèmpjáà</i>	<i>new house</i>
<i>òòmùsótà òòmúúddùgàvú</i>	<i>black snake</i>	<i>ààbáántú áábálúùngí</i>	<i>good people</i>

## Verbs

In Luganda, a **verbal radical** (R) is the basic stem of a verb to which affixes are attached. In infinitive form (see noun class 15), verbs are typically of the form *kù/kúú/kw-R-á* (the *kù-* is the class marker, while the *-á* is the basic verbal suffix). For example, the radical for the verb *kùgúlá* (*to buy*) is *gúl*.

Luganda uses a system of extensions to modify the verb to create different, yet similar meanings. For example, the affix *-il/-el-* modifies the verb to mean *performed for/at*. *-ik/-ek-* modifies the verb to

essentially mean that the verb is capable of being performed on the subject. *-ibw-/-ebw-* modifies the verb to describe the subject as having had the verb performed upon it:

### Verb Extension Examples

<i>kùgúlá</i>	<i>to buy</i>	<i>kùkólà</i>	<i>to do (to work)</i>
<i>kùgúlílá</i>	<i>to buy for/at</i>	<i>kùkólèlè</i>	<i>to do for/at</i>
<i>kùgúlíká</i>	<i>to be buyable</i>	<i>kùkólèkà</i>	<i>to be doable</i>
<i>kùgúlíbwá</i>	<i>the be bought (by)</i>	<i>kùkólèbwà</i>	<i>the be done (by)</i>

Interestingly, Luganda also makes use of **reduplication** to represent repeated actions related to the radical. For example, the verb *kùbúúká* means *to fly/jump*. When the radical and suffix are repeated, *kùbúúkábúúká*, the meaning changes to *to hop about/flutter*.

**Subject prefixes (SP)** are attached to verbs to mark who or what is performing the verb. **Object prefixes (OP)** are appended to the verb to show that it is being performed on that object. When verbs contain both SP and OP, the SP precedes the OP. SP1 and OP1 precede C- and CC-commencing radicals and prefixes, while SP2 and OP2 precede V-commencing radicals and prefixes.

	SP1	SP2	OP1	OP2		SP1	SP2	OP1	OP2
<b>1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. pos.</b>	N-	–	N-	–	<b>9</b>	e-	–	gi-	gj-
<b>1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. neg.</b>	si-	s-	–	–	<b>10</b>	zi-	z-	zi-	z-
<b>1<sup>st</sup> per. pl.</b>	tu-	tw-	tu-	tw-	<b>11</b>	lu-	lw-	lu-	lw-
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> per. sg.</b>	o-	–	ku-	kw-	<b>12</b>	ka-	k-	ka-	k-
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> per. pl.</b>	mu-	mw-	ba-	b-	<b>13</b>	tu-	tw-	tu-	tw-
<b>1</b>	a-	–	mu-	mw-	<b>14</b>	bu-	bw-	bu-	bw-
<b>2</b>	ba-	b-	ba-	b-	<b>15</b>	ku-	kw-	ku-	kw-
<b>3</b>	gu-	gw-	gu-	gw-	<b>16</b>	wa-	w-	–	–
<b>4</b>	gi-	gj-	gi-	gj-	<b>17</b>	ku-	kw-	–	–
<b>5</b>	li-	lj-	li-	lj-	<b>18</b>	mu-	mw-	–	–
<b>6</b>	ga-	g-	ga-	g-	<b>20</b>	gu-	gw-	gu-	gw-
<b>7</b>	kii-	kj-	ki-	kj-	<b>22</b>	ga-	g-	ga-	g-
<b>8</b>	bi-	bj-	bi-	bj-	<b>23</b>	e-	–	–	–

### SP and OP examples

Subject/SP	Object/OP	Radical	Example
SP: 2 <sup>nd</sup> per. sg. o-	<i>èènkókò</i> – chicken; OP class 9 gi-	<i>-gúl-</i>	<i>ògígúlá èènkókò</i> – I buy a chicken
SP: 1 <sup>st</sup> per. sg. N-		<i>-láb-</i>	<i>`ndábà<sup>2</sup></i> – I see
<i>òmùsààdʒdʒá</i> – a man; SP class 1 a-	<i>`ndʒónú</i> – elephant; OP class 9 gi-	<i>-láb-</i>	<i>òmùsààdʒdʒá ágilábà`ndʒónú</i> – a man sees an elephant

<sup>2</sup> Note: phonological process N- + l > nd

Two important verb affixes are the **negation prefix** and the **perfect suffix** (-YE). The negation prefix is conditioned based on what it precedes: *-ta-* before C-commencing radicals in negative infinitives,  $\emptyset$ - before 1<sup>st</sup> per. sg. neg. SP *si-*, *t-* before SPs consisting of vowels and V-commencing negative infinitives, and *tè-* before SPs beginning with C. The suffix -YE occurs in the perfect and near past tenses, and consists of either *-je, -za, -izza, -ezza, -e, -i, -dde, or -tte* depending on the environment.

### Negation Examples

<i>`ndábà – I see</i>	<i>òòlábà – you (sg.) see</i>	<i>tùlábà – we see</i>
<i>sílábà – I do not see</i>	<i>tòlábà – you (sg.) do not see</i>	<i>tètùlábà – we do not see</i>

In terms of verb forms, there are two categories in Luganda: **non-finite** forms and **finite** forms.

Non-finite verb forms include the **infinitive** and **imperative** moods and never include a SP. Positive infinitives are members of noun class 15, while negative infinitives are of noun class 14. There are three variations of the imperative form: imperatives without OP have the form R-a, imperatives with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular OP have the form OP-R-a, and imperatives with any other OP have the form OP-R-e:

### Imperative Examples

<i>kùwáà</i>	<i>to shave</i>	<i>`mpáà</i>	<i>shave me</i>
<i>wáà</i>	<i>shave (command)</i>	<i>mùwéè</i>	<i>shave him</i>

Finite verb forms include the **indicative** and **subjunctive** moods and always include a SP. The indicative mood is used for most statements and questions. The basic structures of each indicative tense are listed below.

Tense	Positive Form	Negative Form
Present	SP-R-a	te-SP-R-a
Perfect	SP-R-YE	te-SP-R-YE
Near past	SP-aa-R-YE	te-SP-aa-R-YE
Far past	SP-aa-R-a	te-SP-aa-R-a
Near future	SP-naa-R-a	te-SP-V-R-e
Far future	SP-li-R-a	te-SP-li-R-a
Perfect continuous	SP-badde SP-R-a	SP-badde te-SP-R-a
Near past continuous	SP-aa-badde SP-R-a	SP-aa-badde te- SP-R-a
Near past perfect	SP-aa-badde SP-R-YE	SP-aa-badde te-SP-R-YE
Far past continuous	SP-aa-li SP-R-a	SP-aa-li te-SP-R-a
Far past perfect	SP-aa-li SP-R-YE	SP-aa-li te-SP-R-YE
Near future continuous	SP-naa-ba SP-R-a	SP-naa-ba te-SP-R-a
Near future perfect	SP-naa-ba SP-R-YE	SP-naa-ba te-SP-R-YE
Far future continuous	SP-li-ba SP-R-a	SP-li-ba te-SP-R-a
Far future perfect	SP-li-ba SP-R-YE	SP-li-ba te-SP-R-YE

The subjunctive mood contains verb forms to describe hypothetical situations or hopes. Only two are well-studied enough to list.

Tense	Positive Form	Negative Form
Present	SP-R-e	te-SP-R-a

### Verb Conjugation Examples

Far past indic., negative	te-SP-aa-R-a	<i>te- + tw- + aa + -gúl- + -a</i>	<i>tètwáágùlá – we did not buy</i>
Near future indic., positive	SP-naa-R-a	<i>N- + naa + -gúl- + -a</i>	<i>`nnáàgùlá – I shall/will buy</i>
Present subjunctive, pos.	SP-R-e	<i>o- + -gúl- + -e</i>	<i>òògùléè – you (sg.) should buy</i>

## Syntax

### Word Order

The basic word order of Luganda is Subject Verb Object. However, as mentioned above, the verbs are also modified via subject and object prefixes.

### Word Order Examples

Verb (Infinitive)	Subject	Object	Example
<i>kùlábà</i>	<i>òòmùsáàdʒdʒá</i>	<i>`ɲdʒónú</i>	<i>òòmùsáàdʒdʒá ágílábá`ɲdʒónú – a man sees an elephant</i>
<i>kùlábà</i>	<i>`ɲdʒónú</i>	<i>òòmùsáàdʒdʒá</i>	<i>`ɲdʒónú èmúlábà òòmùsáàdʒdʒá – an elephant sees a man</i>

### Questions

There is no explicit information about question marking. However, there are at least two examples of questions given. Based on the one full-sentence example, question formation appears to be the same as an assertion, still maintaining the Subject Verb Object form.

### Question Examples

<i>ààní? – who/whom?</i>	<i>òòjágáá bá méká? – How many do you want?</i>
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## Field Report

### Introduction

In March 2009, I sat down with Dr. Lois Nakibuka Musoke, a Ugandan woman living in San Diego, California and originally from the Ugandan capital city of Kampala. I began by asking Dr. Musoke questions about the culture of her language, Luganda, including how it is used in Uganda and the extent to which it is used here in San Diego. To begin the elicitation, I asked Dr. Musoke for several nouns, primarily from the Swadesh list, and included variations on those nouns (such as pluralization, absolute and demonstrative determiners, and articles) to find how each noun is modified based on the exact context. Next, I elicited a variety of short verb phrases, testing both different verbs and different conjugations (first person, second person, etc.), as well as negation of verbs. Later, I elicited verb



phrases with objects (to check word order and object marking), adjectives (where they are placed relative to nouns), the future tense, compound verbs (i.e. *conjugated verb + infinitive*), and questions.

Note: Luganda is highly tonal and contains both geminates and long vowels. My transcriptions therefore are not 100% accurate, but reflect the general pronunciation. In some cases, I elicited more words and phrases than are shown below, but the below data is sufficient to describe the main features.

## Phonology and Phonetics

### Consonants

During the elicitation, I noticed the consonant [tʃ], which was not included in the documentation of Luganda. Dr. Musoke told me that when *k* and *i* are together (i.e. *ki*), it is pronounced as *tʃi*. The Luganda documentation describes a phonological process of *ki* becoming *ci*, so this is likely the same situation with a slightly different sound change. However, I also noticed [tʃ] in other environments.

As described above, [l, r, ɾ] are all allophones of /l/ in Luganda. Looking back on my elicitation data, I noticed that Dr. Musoke said *sírábà* (*I see*), as opposed to *sílábà* as described in the book. This seems to be more evidence supporting these allophones. In addition, I noticed that the consonant [b] sounded slightly fricative, similar to a [v].

### Vowels

I noticed the vowels  $\epsilon$  and  $\theta$  (and its stressed counterpart,  $\Lambda$ ) during the elicitation. Looking at the documentation, these vowels seem to correspond to *e* and *a*, respectively.

## Morphology

### Nouns

I elicited several likely-native nouns from various noun classes, as well as variations on these nouns. The nouns I collected are listed below.

òtùsɿɿɿɿ	(a) man	òtùwálà	(a) girl	èkápà éjò	the cat(s)
ábàsɿɿɿɿ	men	ábàwálà	girls	ómùtí	tree
òtùsɿɿɿɿ ójò	the man	òmwanà	(a) child	émùtí	trees
ábàsɿɿɿɿ ábò	the men	àbánà	children	étfímùlí	flower
òtùsɿɿɿɿ ónò	this man	mama	mother	ébímùlí	flowers
òtùsɿɿɿɿ ójò	that man	bàmámà	mothers	kàlitúúnsi	eucalyptus tree(s)
òtùsɿɿɿɿ bánò	these men	tátà	father	òmúddò	grass
òtùsɿɿɿɿ ábò	those men	bàtátà	fathers	`etákà	earth/ground
ótùtʃálà	(a) woman	òmùsáwà	(a) doctor	òmúkà	river
ábàtʃálà	women	`endzónù	elephant(s)	mùsókè	rainbow
ótùtʃálà òjò	the woman	`endzónù éjò	the elephant(s)	òmùsɿɿɿ	sun
ábàtʃálà ábò	the women	`embwá	dog(s)	ébìdé	cloud(s)
òmùlénzi	(a) boy	`embwá éjò	the dog(s)	màtóókè	(Ugandan dish) <sup>3</sup>
ábàlénzi	boys	èkápà	cat(s)	`egáli	bicycle(s)

<sup>3</sup> *màtóókè* is a Ugandan dish made of steamed green bananas

The majority of the nouns corresponded to what was found in my research, with some slight variations on pronunciations. For example, the word `endʒónvù for *elephant* begins with *nd* (as described by the noun class prefix for class 9) instead of `end. The elicited word for *woman*, ómùtʃálà was different than that in the documentation, mùkází (yet still with the same (o)mu- prefix, so it is clearly a noun of the same noun class). As expected, each noun showed the appropriate prefixes based on its noun class. Dr. Musoke included ò at the beginning of nouns such as òmùsʌdʒə (as opposed to mùsáàdʒdʒá, which lacks it). As far as I can tell, this the form that would be used in a sentence (e.g. ... *a man*...) as opposed to just repeating the word itself (as the book did).

When eliciting “the man,” for example, the articles/pronouns/determiners were the same as listed in the book, although Dr. Musoke’s tone seemed to be reversed (class 1 near: ónò, class 1 far: ójò, class 2 near: bánò, class 2 far: ábò, class 9: éjò).

## Verbs

I elicited a variety of verbs, both transitive (see Word Order section) and intransitive, in different tenses and persons.

### Infinitives

kùtámùlá	to walk	ókùlábà	to see
kùfúumbà	to cook		

It’s unclear why ókùlábà (*to see*) is preceded by ó, which deviates from standard infinitive form.

### Tenses and Negation: kùtámùlá – to walk

ntámùlá	I walk	nàtámùddé	I walked
òtámùlá	you (sg.) walk	wàtámùddé	you (sg.) walked
àtámùlá	s/he walks	jàtámùddé	s/he walked
tùtámùlá	we walk	twàtámùddé	we walked
mùtámùlá	you (pl.) walk	mwàtámùddé	you (pl.) walked
bàtámùlá	they walk	mwàtámùddé	they walked
sítámùlá	I do not walk	ɲdʒákùtámùlá	I will walk
tòtámùlá	you (pl.) do not walk	ódʒákùtámùlá	you (sg.) will walk
tátámùlá	s/he does not walk	ádʒákùtámùlá	s/he will walk
tétùtámùlá	we do not walk	túdʒákùtámùlá	we will walk
témùtámùlá	you (pl.) do not walk	múdʒákùtámùlá	you (pl.) will walk
tébàtámùlá	they do not walk	bádʒákùtámùlá	they will walk

The subject markers for these verbs match those listed in the book, with one small exception: Dr. Musoke said *mwàtámùddé* for both *you (pl.) walked* and *they walked*. However, based on the data, *they walked* is likely supposed to be *bàtámùddé* (because of the class 2 SP1 *ba-*).

The tenses that Dr. Musoke used show the patterns listed in the book, with the exception of the future tense. The future tense that Dr. Musoke used seems to use the form SP-dʒá-INFINITIVE. The past tense that she used appears to be the perfect tense (form SP-R-YE, where -YE is -dde in this case, which occurs

following many verb radicals ending in /l/), so the English equivalents should be of the form “I have walked.” In addition, the negation also matches the negation listed in the book, with different forms (si-, t-, te).

Dr. Musoke mentioned that in the case of *he walks* vs. *she walks*, for example, the gender must be given by further describing the person in the sentence – there is no pronoun for to differentiate *he* from *she*.

## Adjectives

I had Dr. Musoke say a few sentences that contained adjectives describing both the subject and the object of the sentence.

### Adjectives

òmusɔɔzɔ òmùwáɔnù àtámbùlá	<i>a tall man walks</i>
ómùtʃáà òmúpí àtámbùlá	<i>a short woman walks</i>
òmusɔɔzɔ àfúúmbà àmàtóókè bùlúndʒì	<i>a man cooks good àmàtóókè</i>

As shown, the adjective follows the subject (òmusɔɔzɔ òmùwáɔnù – literally “a man tall”). Additionally, it’s clear that the adjective contains the same class 1 prefix (o)mu- as the noun. In the *a man cooks good àmàtóókè* example, the adjective follows the object as well, and the adjective again shows the appropriate class prefix. The adjectival stems -lúúngì (*good*), -mpí (*short*), -wááɔnù (*tall*) can also be seen in the Adjectives section of the Luganda Structure above. Here, you can see in òmusɔɔzɔ àfúúmbà àmàtóókè bùlúndʒì that the root -lúúngì (*good*) occurs with a different class prefix (compare àmàtóókè bùlúndʒì and àbábáántú áábálúúngì).

## Syntax

### Word Order

I asked Dr. Musoke to say some sentences that contain subjects and objects to determine the word order.

#### Subject and Object Location: kùfúúmbà – to cook, ókùlábà – to see

nfúúmbà àmàtóókè	<i>I cook àmàtóókè</i>
àfúúmbà àmàtóókè	<i>s/he cooks àmàtóókè</i>
twàfúúmbijè àmàtóókè	<i>we cook àmàtóókè</i>
bàfúúmbijè àmàtóókè	<i>they cook àmàtóókè</i>
ndábà`endʒónù	<i>I see an elephant</i>
sírábà`endʒónù	<i>I do not see an elephant</i>
òmusɔɔzɔ àlábà`endʒónù	<i>the man sees an elephant</i>
òmusɔɔzɔ tálábà`endʒónù	<i>the man does not see an elephant</i>

These simple sentences show that the word order for Luganda is Subject Verb Object. Compared to the data from the book, I noticed that Dr. Musoke did not use object prefixes (OP) on the verbs. For example, *ndábà* contains the subject prefix (SP) N-, but lacks the OP for noun class 9, *gi-*.

In *twàfúúmbijè* and *bàfúúmbijè*, Dr. Musoke seemed to use the -YE suffix of the form -je, which occurs following /p, b, m, t, k, d, j, g, w, n, ŋ, l/. It's unclear why she used it here and not in the other examples, despite supposedly being in the same tense.

## Questions

I determined the basic formation of questions through a set of question elicitations.

### Question Formation

òmúsɔdʒə jàtámbùddé?	Did the man walk?
òmúsɔdʒə àtámbùlá?	Does the man walk?
àní àtámbùlá?	Who walks?
òmúsɔdʒə àtámbùlá wá?	Where does the man walk?
àfúúmbà tʃí?	What does he cook?
àní àfúúmbà àmàtóókè?	Who cooked àmàtóókè?

The format for yes/no questions seems to be the same as assertive sentences, just with different intonation. Additionally, there are question words that are used in place of either the subject or the object depending on the nature of the question. For example, *àní* (*who*) goes in the subject position in *àní àtámbùlá?*, while *tʃí* goes in the object position in *àfúúmbà tʃí?*. Additionally, the word *wá* is used for *where*.

## Luganda in Society

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The information presented comes from Ethnologue, [Language in Uganda](#) by Peter Ladefoged et al., 1972, and my own interview with Dr. Lois Musoke.

### Overview

Luganda, a major language of Uganda, is a member of the Niger-Congo family of languages, and more specifically, is a member of the Bantu group of languages. According to Ethnologue, there are an estimated 3,015,980 speakers as of 1991 (Gordon), though this statistic is almost twenty years out of date and the actual number is likely much larger. The language is spoken throughout Uganda but is primarily focused in the Buganda region (of the Baganda tribe) in south-central Uganda.

### Brief History of Language in Uganda

During the 1800s, English was brought to Uganda through European imperialists. In 1894, the British government took control of Uganda and began making English the official language of the upper class and government in the country. In 1900, the British government signed an agreement with the Kingdom of Buganda, granting special and preserved status to Baganda cultural practices. In addition, the British government interacted with the people of Uganda almost exclusively via the Baganda tribe. These special treatments of the Baganda tribe allowed Luganda to remain strong and flourish. Furthermore, when Uganda gained its independence in 1962, the Baganda tribe was given administrative power, so Luganda maintained a high status compared to other Ugandan languages (Ladefoged 22).

Luganda was also introduced as the language used in schools during the early part of the 1900s. The main translated language of the Bible in Uganda was Luganda, and as Protestant missionaries sought to educate the public, they chose to instruct in Luganda since it was the language of the Bible. For this reason, Luganda remained the language used in school for a long time (88).

## **Luganda Use in Uganda**

Although Luganda is not the official language of Uganda, it can be described as an “unofficial official language” because of its prevalence throughout the country; despite English being the official language of the country (although not the native language for any significant piece of the population (18)), Luganda stays strong among the people. According to both Dr. Musoke and Ladefoged, there are approximately 30 languages spoken throughout Uganda (16).

English itself is used very little by the people and tends to be partially forgotten (25). Instead, according to Dr. Musoke, Luganda is used by just about every level of the population: the business world and the upper class, as well as the middle and lower classes. One might expect Luganda to be spoken primarily in the rural and less-developed areas while English is reserved for the modern cities, but Luganda is found distributed across both urban and rural areas alike.

Since English is the official language, it is also the primary language used for instruction in school. Luganda is often offered as a separate class, but no instruction is given explicitly in Luganda. As a result, many children instead end up learning the language at home, as was the case for Dr. Musoke, who, living in the Baganda tribe, learned the language from her family and community.

Luganda is also used as one of the primary languages for culture. Luganda speakers can and often attend church services given in Luganda. In addition, there is a good deal of pop music sung in Luganda. Luganda has a written aspect which, unsurprisingly, uses English characters in its orthography. As mentioned above, the Bible has been translated into Luganda, as well as other literature and dictionaries.

In general, speakers of Luganda show pride for their language. For example, the language is often celebrated through music. Dr. Musoke notes, however, that there was considerable less pride for Luganda during British occupation, in which Luganda was sometimes looked at as a lower class language, at least when compared to English. Data from 1972 also shows that Luganda was the least preferred choice for an official language (at 54% of people voting that they would like it the least compared to English and Swahili) (28), so even then there was a bit of a dislike for the language throughout the country. It should be noted, however, that this study included areas outside of Buganda.

According to Dr. Musoke, there is a strong sense of politeness and respect in Luganda. Like other African languages, an encounter between Luganda speakers requires a long interchange of pleasantries and questions about the other’s life. She also described a situation in which a family would invite any visitor to join them in dinner, not speaking until the meal was finished. Then, after eating, they could begin their ritual of checking up on the other’s life. She also noted that adults are always referred to as the Luganda equivalents of “sir” and “madame.”

## Luganda Outside of Uganda

As far as Dr. Musoke knew, there was no organized Luganda community of any kind within San Diego, so there are few opportunities to really use the language. She said that there are communities in larger cities, such as Washington D.C., New York City, and Atlanta. She also said that in some of these larger cities, there are sometimes Luganda conventions for speakers to meet up.

Within San Diego, there's no official or organized way for children to learn Luganda. Any transmission of the language is typically done at home in a family situation (i.e. learning from one's parents).

Dr. Musoke couldn't say whether code-switching was used in Uganda, but noted that when she speaks with her family members or other Luganda speakers that she knows, they will tend to switch between Luganda and English depending on the ease of expressing a concept, especially as Luganda begins to be forgotten. She also described a situation in which speakers will greet each other in Luganda, then switch to English, perhaps just to preserve some sense of language culture.

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