SHONA
GRAMMATICAL
CONSTRUCTIONS

VOLUME
1

BY
GEORGE FORTUNE

MERCURY PRESS
SHOWA

GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

VOLUME 1

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARAGRAPHS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1-iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.3.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.4.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.5.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.6.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.7.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.8.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.9.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.10.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.11.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.1.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.1.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.2.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.3.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.4.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.5.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.6.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.7.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.8.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.9.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.1.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.2.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.3.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.1.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.2.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.3.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.3.1.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.3.2.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.3.3.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.3.4.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3.1.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3.2.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.8.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.5.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.6.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.7.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.8.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.9.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.10.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.11.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.12.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.13.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.14.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.15.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.15. Noun class 12
3.3.16. Noun class 13
3.3.17. Noun class 14
3.3.18. Noun class 15
3.3.19. Noun class 16
3.3.20. Noun class 17
3.3.21. Noun class 18
3.3.22. Noun class 19 and 20
3.3.23. Noun class 21
3.4. COMPLEX NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS
3.4.1. Introduction
3.4.2. Types of complex nominal constructions
3.4.2.1. Constructions consisting of prefix and a noun made up of prefix or prefixes + stem
3.4.2.2. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a complex stem made up of a combination of substantive stems
3.4.2.3. Constructions consisting of a combination of nouns
3.4.2.4. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a substantive construction
3.4.2.5. Nominal constructions involving combinations of prefixed morphemes + a noun
3.4.2.6. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem containing ideophones
3.4.2.7. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem
3.4.2.8. Nominal constructions based on verb radicals
3.4.2.9. Constructions based on verb phrases
3.4.2.10. Nominal constructions based on inflected verb phrases, clauses
3.5. OTHER SUBSTANTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
3.5.1. Determination of class affixes
3.5.2. The adjective
3.5.3. The enumerative
3.5.4. The quantitative
3.5.5. The selector
3.5.6. Stemless substantives
3.5.7. The demonstratives
3.5.8. The pronoun
3.6. THE SUBSTANTIVE PHRASE
3.6.1. The substantives
3.6.2. Types of substantive phrase
3.6.3. Control of agreements in substantive phrases
3.6.4. SPs in apposition
3.6.5. Types of substantive phrase (continued)
3.6.6. Word order in substantive phrases
3.6.7. Modifiers in substantive phrases
3.6.8. The constructional pattern of the SP
3.6.9. The distribution of substantive phrases in other constructions
3.6.10. Compound phrases
3.7. INFLected SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES
3.7.1. Constructional pattern and distribution
3.7.2. Copulative phrases
3.7.2.1. Nuclear substantive: noun or nominal construction of class 1a
3.7.2.2. Nuclear substantive: a noun or nominal construction of class 2a or 2b
3.7.2.3. Nuclear substantives: nouns and adjectives of cl. 5, 9 and 10, 9
3.7.2.4. Nuclear substantives: nouns of classes other than 1a, 2a and 2b, 5, 9 and 10, 9, adjectives other than cl. 5, 9, 10, 9 and enumeratives of all classes
3.7.2.5. Nuclear substantives: pronouns
3.7.2.6. Nuclear substantives: possessives, enumeratives with stems /-me/, /-i/, and relatives
3.7.2.7. Nuclear substantives: demonstratives, enumeratives with stems /-me/, and selectors
3.7.2.8. Descriptive phrases
3.7.2.9. Summary of copulative inflections
3.7.3. Possessive phrases
3.7.3.1. The possessive affix
3.7.3.2. Possessive inflected substantive phrases
3.7.3.2.1. Nucleus: pronominal stem
3.7.3.2.2. Nucleus: nouns and nominal constructions of cl. 1a
NOTES ON IDEOPHONES AND IDEOPHONIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN SHONA
In 1955 the present writer presented an interpretation of Shona grammatical structure entitled *An Analytical Grammar of Shona*. This work, with the more modest and precise title of *Shona Grammatical Constructions*, is offered as a sequel. Since this writer regards the second work as an improvement on the first, perhaps a few words of introduction to describe the difference between them will be in order.

The first study was described in its Introduction as being 'an analysis of the word-forms of some of the Central Shona dialect groups, with some account of their grammatical function, together with two prefatory chapters dealing with Central Shona sounds and sound-changes.'

Its scope was dictated by close adherence to the method of grammatical analysis worked out by Professor C M Doke and applied by him to the description of Zulu, Lamba and Southern Sotho.

Certain constructions, or parts of constructions, called words were analysed and classified in the work. Nothing further was attempted or even envisaged. Words were chosen as the material for analysis and description as the result of a two-fold process of selection applied successively from two different angles.

The first approach was prosodic. Entities called words were discovered to exist in Bantu languages, their defining characteristic being an accent on their penultimate syllable,

* e.g. in Zezuru: *mwaíná wáingu* (my child)
  *mwaíná wówmwaíná wáingu* (the child of my child)

The second approach was from the "functional" side, in reality no more than an application of traditional sentence analysis. As a result of this, it emerged that six basic parts of speech should be recognised in Bantu languages, identified and distinguished from one another "by the work which each does in the sentence".

The six parts of speech were the conjunctive, the substantiv, the qualitative, the predicative, the descriptive and the interjective and these were regarded as necessary and sufficient for the filling of the slots in the following sentence frame, underlying the structure of Bantu, no less than of English, sentences:

  Connective, subject, enlargement of subject,
  predicate, object, enlargement of object, enlargement of predicate.

Each of the six basic parts of speech distinguished on a "functional" basis, in virtue of "the work each does in the sentence", was found to include two or more sub-groups which needed to be identified and distinguished from one another on the basis of their form or, to use a term much in evidence in this present work, their *constructional pattern*. Thus (and here I give my own

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   Text Book of Lambda Grammar, 1938, pp. viii and 484.
   Text Book of Southern Sotho Grammar, by C M Doke and S M Mofokeng, pp. xv and 491.
3. Doke's position as regards Zulu was first formulated in *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language* which appeared as a special number of Bantu Studies, Vol. III, July 1926.
   He applied the notion to Shona in *A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*, 1931 and a full statement occurs in his *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, 1935.
4. A good statement of Doke's approach here will be found in Section III of the Introduction to *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, 'Bantu Grammatical and Syntactical Classification'. The section commences as follows: "Taking the word as the basis of Bantu grammatical classification, each complete word constitutes some "part of speech" according to its syntactical force, that is, according to the work which it does in the sentence."
5. Cp. *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p.25. "All Bantu sentences may be contained in the long-tested frame of "connective, subject, enlargement of subject, predicate, object, enlargement of object and extension of predicate."
   Cp. also *Zulu Syntax and Idiom*, 1955, p.6.
amended form of Dokes's scheme as applied to Shona in AS) the substantives were divided into nouns, e.g. mwanā (child), and pronouns.

Pronouns were either absolute, e.g. hye (he, she),
or qualifying, viz. qualifying words without accompanying noun, e.g. mukiru (big one), wangu (my one).

Qualifying words or qualifiers were divided into:

- adjectives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (a big child)
- demonstratives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (this child)
- enumeratives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (another child)
- possessives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (my child)
- quantitatives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (a child alone)
- relatives - e.g. mwanā mukiru (a child who does not know)
- mwanā wani mukiru (a child I do not know)

Predicatives were divided into verbs, e.g. Mwanā mukiru (The child knows) and copulatives, e.g. Mwanā mukiru (The child is a chief). Descriptors were divided into adverbs, e.g. che (only),
and adverbials, e.g. zvakānaka (well); conjunctives into conjunctions, e.g. as (but), and conjunctives, e.g. nokuti (because); and interjectives into exclamations, e.g. kongu! (yes!).
and ideophones, e.g. potvo (entering).

Most of these forms were found to coincide with the phonological words obtained by the application of the criterion of penultimate accent and in this way the material of the analysis was selected.

In the description of these word-forms (this term reflects the two-fold character of the material, based on the phonological and "functional" approaches) it was assumed that they all stood at the same level within the grammatical structure, namely word level, and were entirely comparable as grammatical words and units of sentences. Description of word forms at this level was regarded as morphology. Description of the relationship of these words to one another was regarded as the province of syntax. It was assumed that the grammar could be divided in this way.

The faults of this method as we now see them are as follows:

(a) Words as defined by a phonological criterion are units of the phonological structure and do not form the proper material for grammatical analysis. There is no reason to treat them as grammatically comparable or as grammatical units of the same sort, or, indeed, as grammatical units at all.

(b) The scheme of six main parts of speech was based, not on an objective study of Bantu constructions, but on a sentence frame taken over from traditional grammar. Doke was very careful to avoid the influence of traditional grammar in his more detailed subclassification of the parts of speech on the basis of form. But the influence of traditional grammar can be seen in his main scheme.

(c) The method assumed that there must necessarily be a division, in grammatical description, between morphology understood as the study of the structure of words, and syntax understood as the study of the relationships between words in sentences. In reality, most Shona constructions must be analysed into parts which are either smaller or larger than a word. For example the following construction

vasingazive izvi (those who do not know these things)

which would be called a "relative qualifying" in AS, is divided in the present work into an inflection and a verb phrase,

the inflection:   viz.   vasinga...e

and the verb phrase:   -ziv- izvi.
Similarly the construction nenźira iyи (by this path), which would be called an adverbial in AS, is properly analysed in terms of an inflecting morpheme, /ne-/ and a substantive phrase, /nenźira iyи/.

Because of these faults, the Doke method has never managed to generate any significant syntactical studies. What it has succeeded in inspiring are careful and exhaustive studies of constructions or parts of constructions which coincide with the phonological word. But the attempts at syntactical treatment were vitiated at source by treating the word as the unit of description.

In this work I have tried to restrict the term "word" to designate the purely phonological entity to which Doke's definition should have confined it. I have tried to separate the phonology from the morphology, basing each on a distinct and separate kind of unit, viz., the phoneme and the morpheme, in order to describe these two structures.

The simplest units of the phonological structure are the phonemes, both segmental and suprasegmental, the latter consisting of the contrastive units of tone. These units, both segmental and suprasegmental, combine to form a more complex unit at a higher level of organisation. This is the syllable. Syllables themselves combine to form a still more complex phonological unit at a still higher level, namely the word. And words combine into phrases, phrases into utterances and utterances into discourses which are successively larger and larger phonological units each defined by phonological criteria and each made up of units from the level immediately below them.

The other aspect of the linguistic structure, complementary to the phonological, is the morphological. By morphology is understood the study of grammatical constructions. In this part of the study, the basic unit is the morpheme and the analysis is concerned with the combinations into which morphemes enter or, in other words, the constructions which they form.

I have chosen to describe the grammatical constructions of Shona as three hierarchies, termed substantival, verbal and ideophonic, each based upon a root morpheme of a distinctive kind.

The substantival constructions are based at the lowest level on substantival stems, the verbal constructions on verb radicals and the ideophonic constructions on ideophones. These three classes of morphemes are extremely large and between them include almost the entire stock of entries in the lexicon. Further, each hierarchy of constructions issues in a distinctive type of sentence which is characteristic of it. These are illustrated below.

As in the case of the phonological structure, each hierarchy of grammatical constructions is described in terms of levels. The key concepts for this analytical and descriptive task, in addition to that of 'construction', are 'constituent', 'constructional pattern' and 'constituent class'. A construction is any significant group of morphemes,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } &\text{ mu-kádzi} & (\text{woman}) \\
&\text{mu-rúmé} & (\text{man}) \\
&\text{va-kádzi} & (\text{vomen}) \\
&\text{va-rúmé} & (\text{men})
\end{align*}
\]

A constituent is any morpheme or construction which enters into some larger construction. Thus, in the examples given, the prefixes /mu-/ and /va-/ and the noun stems /kádzi/ and /rúmé/ are all constituents. They are not only constituents but immediate constituents since the constructions in question are directly formed from them and not from anything intermediate between themselves and these constituents. All four constructions have the same constructional pattern
which may be set out in terms of the constituent classes as noun prefix + noun stem. Constituent classes are classes of constituents which occur in the same constructional patterns. For example /mu/ and /va/ both belong to the constituent class of noun prefix; and /kúdzî/ and /rúmè/ to the same constituent class of noun stem. In this study, grammatical constructions are analysed in terms of constructional patterns and their items, the constituent classes.

The constructional patterns of each of the hierarchies are described in a system of levels because constructions, which at one level are described in terms of their constituents, at an immediately higher level themselves act as constituents of larger constructions. Thus, for example, at the level of the substantive, the forms /mukúdžî/ (woman) and /mukúrú/ (big) are both constructions. At the next level, that of the substantival phrase, the forms /mukúdžî/ and /mukúrú/ are constituents of the larger construction /mukúdžî mukúrú/ (a big woman). This construction in its turn is a constituent at the level of the inflected SP in the example /né-mukúdžî mukúrú/ (with a big woman). Thus forms which are constructions at one level are constituents at the next. This method of describing the structure of the three types of Shona sentences and their combinations in terms of successively larger constructions and their relationships as set out in constructional patterns is attempted in regard to each of the three hierarchies, substantival, verbal and ideophonic.

In addition to the treatment of the phonological and morphological structure, there is an intermediary chapter on the morphophonemics. This is a statement of the sorts of change in phonemic form which constituents and classes of constituents undergo in certain constructions due to the modifying presence of co-constituents. In this connection morphemes are regarded as being realised in speech by both segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, namely consonants, 'vowels and tones'.

Changes in the phonemic make-up of morphemes, either segmental or suprasegmental, are treated as morphophonemic changes and linked to the presence of co-constituents in constructions which occasion them. Thus the changes in tone pattern of nuclear substantives in inflected substantive phrases - copulative, possessive or adverbal - are morphophonemic changes. They do not involve the substitution of tonal morphemes one for another. Similarly the change of tone patterns on verb radicals in the different inflected forms are described as morphophonemic changes linked to the presence of the co-constituent in inflected verbal phrases, viz. the inflections.

This sequel to "An Analytical Grammar of Shona" attempts then to be a descriptive grammar describing the grammatical constructions of Shona up to a level of complexity higher than that attempted in the earlier work. It also attempts to be a reference grammar written primarily for the use of teachers. This will explain the style in which it is written, the amount of redundancy and repetition, and the number of examples provided. A descriptive reference grammar analysing and classifying constructions in terms of constituent structure is not the only kind of grammar that could have been written or which needs to be written. It is, however, the grammar which I feel to be most useful at the present stage in the general study and teaching of Shona in Zimbabwe. This is the form of grammar which I have found most useful in the training of teachers of Shona as a first language since it provides them with an insight into the linguistic structure and with a very useful tool in the critical appreciation of the oral and published literature.

It may also be useful as the basis for contrastive studies of Shona and English grammar and for the preparation of teaching materials in English as a second language for Shona speakers based upon the systematic comparison which a descriptive grammar makes possible.

1. These definitions are based on those given in H A Gleason's "An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, 1963 Chapter 10, "Immediate Constituents". The method outlined in this chapter has been followed throughout this book and my indebtedness to it will be obvious. "When properly done, the method of describing the structure of utterances in terms of successively larger constructions and their relationships proves to be quite generally feasible and useful." (op.cit. p.131-2)

1/PHONOLOGY...
1. THE SOUND SYSTEM OF SHONA

1.1. Morphemes

This study is mainly concerned with the grammatical structure of Shona, that is with the units of grammar and their combinations, according to regular patterns, into grammatical constructions. The basic units of grammatical structure are called morphemes.

Morphemes have two characteristics. They are (a) meaningful and (b) indivisible. They may be defined as the smallest meaningful units in the structure of a language. They are units which cannot be divided into smaller parts without destroying, or drastically altering, their meaning.

(a) Morphemes are meaningful. For example, in the construction:  

\[ \text{muhu} \] (person) we find two morphemes or units of grammatical structure, namely \[ \text{mu-} \] and \[ \text{-nhu} \]. They are both meaningful. If we doubt this we have only to compare \text{muhu} with other similar constructions to see that \text{mu-} and \[ \text{-nhu} \] are each meaningful and that both contribute to the meaning of the whole construction of which they are the constituent parts, e.g. \[ \text{mu-nhu} \] with \[ \text{ve-nhu} \] (persons), and \[ \text{mu-nhu} \] with \[ \text{mu-kadzi} \] (woman).

(b) Morphemes are indivisible. The morpheme \[ \text{-kadzi} \] can be divided into simpler parts, for example into \[ \text{/k/} \] and \[ \text{/dzi/} \]. These parts, however, are units of a completely different sort from the whole of which they are part. They are units of phonology, not morphology, and as such have no meaning. \[ \text{-kadzi} \] cannot be divided into meaningful parts whose meaning is related to its own meaning. It is an indivisible unit unlike, for example, \[ \text{mu-nhu} \], \[ \text{ve-nhu} \] and \[ \text{mu-kadzi} \] which can be so divided or analysed because they are constructions.

The study of grammar, according to the method followed in this book, is essentially the study of morphemes and of the constructions into which they enter as constituents.

1.2. Phonemes

While morphemes are indivisible as morphemes, they are clearly composed of units of another kind of which \[ /k/ \] and \[ /dзи/ \] in the case of \[ \text{-kadzi} \] are examples. The morphemes of speech are composed of units of sound, not by way of construction according to grammatical patterns, but in terms of physical substance, and whose combinations are regulated by phonological patterns, that is rules operating within the field of the sound system. For example the morpheme \[ \text{mu-} \] is analysable, in terms of physical substance, into the two sound units represented by the symbols \[ /m/ \] (a voiced bilabial nasal consonant) and \[ /u/ \] (a high back vowel). These are both units of substance, usually called phonological units or phonemes, with which the morpheme \[ \text{mu-} \] is composed. Together they form another phonological unit of a more complex kind called a syllable. As phonological units both the consonant \[ /m/ \] and the vowel \[ /u/ \] as well as the syllable they form, have no meaning; but meaningful units or morphemes, which are the units of grammatical construction, are composed of phonemes.

Some morphemes consist of a single phoneme, for example the morpheme \[ \text{u-} \] in the construction

\[ \text{Urí pano} \] (You are here)

\[ \text{cp. Ndirí pano} \] (I am here)

But, most often, morphemes consist of a combination of phonemes, for example, the morpheme \[ \text{mu-}, \text{va-}, \text{-nhu}, \text{and -kadzi} \].

In grammars of this sort it is usual to set out the stock of phonemes with which morphemes are composed, and the phonological patterns which regulate their combinations, before describing the system of classes of morphemes and their combinations into grammatical constructions. In this edition of Shona Grammatical Constructions the treatment of the sound system will consist of a simple outline. For one thing this book is concerned primarily with the grammar. For another the apparatus of diagrams and phonetic symbols necessary for a proper phonological study is not available. Hence the sound system has to be described by means of the letters and letter combinations of the current system of writing Shona. But since the units of written Shona are based fairly closely on the units of spoken Shona there will be little danger of confusion. The letters and letter combinations of the Shona alphabet will be used, therefore, both in this section and in the further sections which deal with morphophonemics and morphology to represent the phonemes and the morphemes of the language. When letters are used to represent

2/ the phonemes...

1. A construction is any significant or meaningful group of morphemes. The parts which make up a construction are called its constituents. For example, in the examples above, \[ \text{mu}, \text{va-}, \text{-nhu}, \text{and -kadzi} \] are constituents of the three constructions, \[ \text{muhu}, \text{vanhu} \] and \[ \text{mukadzi} \].
the phonemes and the morphemes of the language. When letters are used to represent phonemes they are cited between slashes, for example /n/, /u/. When letters or combinations of letters are used to represent morphemes they are cited as underlined, for example mu-, va-, with the addition of a accent // in the case of high-toned syllables, low-toned syllables being unmarked, for example mukubó, a three syllable noun carrying the tone pattern low high high (LHH).

1.3. The identification of phonemes

Since morphemes are composed of phonemes, these latter can be identified by comparing morphemes from the point of view of their phonemic composition. They are most clearly recognised when we compare morphemes or morphological constructions which are partly alike and partly different, particularly when they are alike in all respects save one. For example compare tórá (take) with pórá (cool down). If we compare these two forms we see that the difference between them depends on the fact that one commences with /p/ and the other with /t/. /p/ and /t/ are two different phonemes, and the contrast between them makes it possible to say one thing rather than another, or both one thing and another. For example ipá (give) and itá (do).

Forms like the above which are phonemically alike in all respects save one are called minimal pairs since the difference between them depends on one contrast.

The phonemes of a language can be identified by the systematic comparison of minimal pairs, or of larger sets of forms, which are phonetically similar save in one respect. Thus a number of phonemes can be recognised by the comparison of the following, all pronouns,

\[ \text{ivo, iwo, iyo, iro, iku, ipo, into} \]

namely /v, w, y, r, k, p, m/.

1.4. Segmental and suprasegmental phonemes

The term 'phoneme' is applied to phonological units of two kinds, segmental and suprasegmental. The segmental phonemes are the consonants and vowels, 'successive points in the complex sequence of movements of which the syllable consists.' (D. Abercrombie).

Consonants and vowels form two sub-classes of segmental phonemes. The term 'suprasegmental phonemes' is applied to contrastive units of pitch, stress and length which are carried by syllables. Shona makes use of two contrastive units of pitch, called tones, respectively high and low. It also makes use of syllabic length in order to signal the presence, and mark the boundaries of, phonological units larger than the syllable. The second last syllable of words in isolation, phrases and longer utterances is pronounced with relatively longer syllabic length than other syllables. Like consonant and vowel phonemes, contrastive units of tone and length are used to distinguish forms otherwise the same. For example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dare} & \quad \text{(village court, meeting place)} \\
\text{cp. dare} & \quad \text{(iron, bell)} \\
\text{Zvákánaka} & \quad \text{(It is well)} \\
\text{cp. zvakánaka} & \quad \text{(in a way which is well)} \\
\text{Ndinóda vó mwaná} & \quad \text{(I also want the child)} \\
\text{cp. Ndinóda wó mwaná} & \quad \text{(I want the child's one)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.5. Expressive and inpressive air-streams

Speech depends on breathing and may be regarded as a by-product of it since it is almost entirely done by means of used air issuing from the lungs. However, the way air is expelled from the lungs in free breathing, for example during silence or during sleep is very different from the way it is expelled and fed into the respiratory tract during speech. Speech depends upon the existence of a column of air sent up from the lungs under the control of muscles acting in a co-ordinated and rhythmic way dictated by the phonological patterns of the language. The air passes through the larynx, the pharynx, the nasal cavity and/or the mouth. These are

(1) High tone on a syllable is indicated by the accent //, low tone by the absence of an accent. Relatively longer syllabic length on the penultimate syllable of words and phrases is indicated by /// (medium length) and /// (long length). The word division in Standard Shona is based on the criterion of penultimate length.
the organs of speech together with the lips, the tongue, the soft palate, and the uvula. Speech is usually made on out-going air but some sounds are made by drawing air into the mouth. This ingestion is always rather restricted and local compared to the scope of the passage of air in egressive sounds. In Shona most consonants are egressive but the voiced stops, symbolized by /b/ and /d/, are implosive or implosive, being released inwardly on an ingressive air-stream. Bloch and Trager write: 'In its simplest terms, the human speech mechanism may be compared to a wind instrument such as a clarinet or flute. In both, sounds are produced by stopping, obstructing, or otherwise interfering with the free flow of a column of air through an enclosed passage.' The column of air passing through the speech tract is manipulated by a number of highly mobile organs, capable of all kinds of co-ordination and delicate adjustment. The speech organs are capable of producing a great number and variety of speech sounds, only a very limited number of which are used by any one language as its contrastive units of sound.

1.6.

The description of consonant phonemes

Consonant phonemes are conveniently described in terms of three aspects of their articulation, namely

1) the action of the vocal cords during articulation;
2) the place at which the organs of speech engage during articulation; and
3) the manner in which they engage.

1.6.1.

Voice, voicelessness and breathy voice.

The vocal cords consist of two bands of muscular tissue, situated in the larynx or 'voice box'. This is the hard structure which one may feel, projecting somewhat, at the top of the wind pipe. The two bands of tissue, or vocal cords, stretch, one on each side, from the front to the back of the larynx. They are fastened, together at the front, but at the back each is joined to one of the arytenoid cartilages. Under the control of these cartilages, the cords are capable of various degrees of approximation to one another along the whole part of their length. Thus they may be so adjusted as almost to touch one another along their entire length.

a) When they are in this position and air is allowed to flow between them, they vibrate and transmit their vibrations to the out-going column of air. These vibrations of the vocal cords are called voice. Voice is always produced at a certain pitch, depending mainly on the tension at which the vocal cords are held while vibrating. The production of voice accompanies the articulation of a number of speech sounds in Shona, for example the vowels and nasals.

b) If the vocal cords are held apart along their entire length no voice is produced. Sounds which are articulated with the vocal cords apart are said to be voiceless. Thus both voice and voicelessness may accompany articulation. An articulation, for example a bilabial stop accompanied by voicelessness, may be able to contrast with the identical articulation accompanied by voice, namely /p/ may contrast with /b/ as in jip (give) and jib (steal).

c) There is a third position of the vocal cords which is as important in Shona phonology as those which result in voice and voicelessness. In this position only the anterior or ligamental parts of the vocal cords are allowed to vibrate, as in the production of voice. The posterior parts, which lie between the arytenoid cartilages which control them, are held apart so that there is, relative to the production of voice, a considerable flow of air out of the lungs. Ladeloged calls the effect of the vocal cords in this position mumar. It has also been called voiced depression and breathy voice. The latter term seems to be the most suitable.

We have, therefore, three different and critical positions of the glottis, the space between the vocal cords, one of which accompanies every speech sound in Shona.

### Position of the vocal cords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cords held together along their whole length, vibrating.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Characteristic effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b, m, a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/(b) Cords...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Position of vocal cords

Characteristic effect

Examples

(b) Cords held apart along their whole length.

Voicelessness

/p, s/

(c) Ligamental parts held together vibrating, posterior parts held apart.

Breathy voice

/bh, mh, z/

Murmured or breathy voiced consonants in Shona have a lowering effect on the tone of the syllables of which they are the onsets and that is why the term 'depressor' is sometimes used to describe them. In this study, sounds of which murmur or breathy voice is a component are called voiced depressors.

1.6.2. Place of articulation

Speech sounds are also described in terms of their place of articulation. This is defined by reference to the speech organs immediately responsible. They are the articulators, and the points at which, or in reference to which, they act, are called points of articulation.

Articulators are mobile, whereas the points of articulation on, at, or towards which they act, are fixed or relatively fixed. The articulators, chiefly the lower lip and the tongue, lie below the points of articulation and articulation itself takes place when the articulators touch or approach the points of articulation in ways to be described in par.1.6.1. which deals with manner of articulation.

a) Speaking mainly with reference to Shona, the lower lip articulates against two points of articulation. They are (i) the upper lip, for example on the articulation of /p/ and /b/, and (ii) the upper teeth, for example in the articulation of /f/ and /vh/. These sounds are called bilabial and labiodental respectively.

b) The tongue is a more important articulator. It is a very flexible and mobile organ consisting chiefly of muscular tissue and its parts can be moved almost independently of one another. It is usual to speak of three parts of the tongue, the blade, the front, and the back, as three independent articulators. These distinctions are somewhat arbitrary as neither the tongue, nor the roof of the mouth against which the tongue articulates, is divided into discrete sections.

The blade of the tongue articulates against the convex ridge or alveolus behind the upper teeth in the formation of alveolar sounds, e.g. /t, d, n/. The front of the tongue articulates against the front part of the hard palate in the formation of palatal, or more precisely, prepalatal sounds, e.g. /sh, zh, ny/. The back of the tongue articulates against the soft palate, the nonelastic muscular arch falling down behind the hard palate and which is capable of movement up and down. Such sounds are called velar since the technical term for the soft palate is 'velum', a Latin word meaning 'curtain' e.g. /k, g, n/.

c) The vocal cords are the articulators in the sound symbolised by /h/. Since the place of articulation is the glottis, /h/ is described as a glottal sound, more precisely a breathy voiced glottal fricative.

1.6.3. Manner of articulation

A description of speech sounds requires that their manner of articulation be specified in addition to the accompanying type of phonation, that is, the action of the vocal cords, and the place of articulation. Manner of articulation refers to the way in which the articulators act in relation to each other and thus manipulate the air-stream passing through the speech tract.

a) Articulators may come into complete contact and thus stop the air-stream which is then released. Stops differ from one another in the manner of their release. If the release is followed at once by voicing, that is, by a vowel, the stop is said to be radical or unaspirated. If the release is followed by a short period of voicelessness during which a perceptible rush of air occurs before it is followed by a vowel, the stop is said to be aspirated. In Zeruru the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ are slightly aspirated. The corresponding voiced stops /bh, dh, g/ are accompanied by breath as well as voice and are termed breathy voiced (or, from their effect on the tone of the syllable which they commence, voiced depressor) [s/Stop...
Stops are usually released outwardly and this is indicated by another term, used for stops of this kind, namely they are explosive.

Another type of release occurs when the air-stream comes under the additional control of the larynx. In Zezuru these sounds are ingressive or implosive. In ingressive or implosive sounds the larynx, usually with the glottis in the position for voice, moves down and this decreases the pressure in the mouth in the space between the stop and the lowered larynx. Here release is followed by an inrush of air, though this is often not perceptible as the increased volume caused by the lowering of the larynx tends to be filled by air from the lungs escaping through the vocal cords which audibly vibrate as they are forced downwards. Thus the sounds /b, d/ in Zezuru are voiced implosive stops.

In Zezuru, voiceless, breathy voiced and voiced stops are all oral stops, that is they are pronounced with raised velum so that the air-stream passes entirely through the mouth, the nasal passage being cut off.

b) The articulation of the nasal consonants, e.g. /m, n, ny, n'/, involves a stop as well in each case. In the case of /m/ the stop is bilabial, in that of /n/ it is alveolar, in that of /ny/ it is prepalatal, and in that of /n'/ it is velar. Three of these places of articulation apply to the oral stops as well. /p, bh, b/ are bilabial, /t, dh, d/ are alveolar, and /k, g/ are velar.

Since the articulation of the nasals involves a stop, some authorities term them nasal stops contrasting in manner of articulation with oral stops. In the articulation of nasal stops there is no release. Instead the air-stream passes through the nasal cavity since the velum is lowered. All nasals share this manner of articulation and differ from each other only in the place where the stop is made.

In Shona there are sequences of stops which commence as nasal and end as oral with release, e.g. /mb, nd, ng/ which are voiced.

c) If an explosive stop is released relatively slowly, a sequence of articulations occur, namely a stop followed by another kind of sound called a fricative. For example, if /t/ is released slowly, an 's' sound is heard as the articulators part, and the sequence sounds like 't+s'. Such sequences are called affricates. Here the air-stream, having been pent up by a closure behind the articulators, is released with audible turbulence due to the articulators continuing to be held in a position of close stricture after the release of the closure. There are a number of affricate stops in Zezuru, /pf, ts, tsv, ch/ which are voiceless, and /bv, dz, dzv, j/ which are breathy voiced.

Nasal stops are also followed by fricatives and form combinations or sequences somewhat comparable to the oral affricates, namely /mv, nz, nzv, nj/.

d) The action of articulators in relation to one another involves stricture. The most extreme form of stricture is one which we have already examined, namely complete closure, which is used in the formation of stop consonants. Stricture of another kind is involved when articulators approach one another restricting the channel through which the air passes. Sounds produced with this sort of stricture are called continuants in contrast to stops. There are various kinds of continuant depending on the amount of approximation and restriction, and the action of the articulators.

Close approximation of articulators involves friction as the air-stream passes through the narrow passage between articulators with turbulence. Sounds produced with this degree of stricture are called fricatives, e.g. /f, s, sv, sh/ which are voiceless, and /vh, z, zv, zh, h/ which are breathy voiced.

e) In open approximation the articulators approach one another sufficiently to influence the air-stream in an audible way so as to cause some slight noise from the local obstruction. Such an articulation takes place without any turbulence or friction.

Consonants with this degree of stricture are called approximants. Another name for them is semi-bowels. For example /v, y, w/.

f) Finally we must notice the sound called a trill, symbolised by /r/. In the articulation of this sound the tongue tip, held loosely in the egressive air-stream, is made to vibrate against the alveolus. It is thus called the alveolar trill.
1.6.4. Double articulation

It is possible for two articulations to take place at different places at the same time. The resulting speech sound is described in terms of both articulations. In Shona alveolar fricatives, both voiceless and breathy voiced, are articulated with lip rounding, that is, with simultaneous bilabial articulation. These sounds are symbolised by the letters /sv/, /sv/. In contrast, the denti-alveolar fricatives /s, z/ are articulated without lip rounding. Sounds which are the result of simultaneous double articulations must be distinguished from those which are the result of successive articulations, for example /sv/, from /sv/.

1.7. The description of vowel phonemes

The difference between speech sounds as consonants and vowels can be more clearly seen at the level of the syllable than when these two kinds of speech sounds are studied in isolation since, in the context of the syllable, the different functions of consonants as syllabic onsets and of vowels as syllabic nuclei show themselves. From an articulatory, phonetic point of view vowel sounds are described as resonants. These are sounds made by passing a column of air, already vibrating at a certain frequency under the influence of the vocal cords, through a resonance chamber, that is the mouth or nose or both. The column of air is allowed to pass without obstruction. In this respect resonants contrast with obstruents which are sounds formed by obstructing the free flow of the column of air. Resonants differ from one another according to the shape of the resonance chamber. In the case of oral vowels, that is, resonants produced in the mouth, the shape and contours of the resonance chamber depend mainly on two variables, namely the position of the tongue and the position of the lips. It is possible to describe and distinguish different vowels on the basis of three sets of variables. They are -

(1) the part of the tongue which is raised. The parts distinguished are the front, the centre and the back;
(2) the degree of raising of the tongue. The degrees distinguished are high, mid and low;
(3) the position of the lips. The positions range from rounded to neutral to spread.

Vowels are described in terms of these three sets of variables. For example the vowels of Shona, which form a very simple system, are high, mid and low in height, and require the raising of the front and back of the tongue. Back vowels are pronounced with lip-rounding and front vowels with spread lips.

1.8. The consonant phonemes of Shona

Making use of the above descriptive criteria, we may now set out and briefly describe the consonant phonemes of Shona in column form. The headings of the five columns in their abbreviated form and with their references are as follows -

(1) Phoneme. Under this heading the phonemes of Shona are listed according to type and symbolised by the letters of the current writing system.
(2) Phonation. Under this heading the type of action of the vocal cords which accompanies the articulation of each phoneme is given in abbreviated form, as vl (indicating voiceless), as vd (indicating voiced), or as brvd (indicating breathy voiced).
(3) Place. Under this heading the places of articulation are given, bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, prepalatal, velar, glottal.
(4) Manner. Under this heading the manner of articulation of the phoneme in question is specified as stop, fricative, affricate, approximant, trill.
(5) Example. Under this heading an example in which the phoneme occurs is given with English translation.

7/Phoneme...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>pórá (cool down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>tórá (take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>kórá (get drunk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>bx vd</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>bhórá (ball)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>bx vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>dhórá (gelignite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>bx vd</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>oral stop</td>
<td>górá (vulture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>implosive</td>
<td>kubá (to steal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>implosive</td>
<td>kudá (to want)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>labiodental</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kufura (to graze)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kusika (to rotate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>labialised</td>
<td>kusvika (to arrive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zh/</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>prepalatal</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kushura (to violate taboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>labiodental</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kuvhara (to sht)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kuzárá (to be full)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zv/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>labialised</td>
<td>kuzvárá (to beget)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zh/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>prepalatal</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>zhárará (sand cricket)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>glottal</td>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>kání (kinsman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>labiodental</td>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>kuvíra (to boil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>prepalatal</td>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>kuvara (to measure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>labio-velar</td>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>kuwríra (to fall on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>trill</td>
<td>kurirá (to sleep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>ímí (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>íní (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ny/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>prepalatal</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>nyangá (horn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>n'anga (diviner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nh/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>mhango (hollow in tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nv/</td>
<td>br vd</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>nasal stop</td>
<td>nhango (small piece of meat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are all single segment consonant phonemes, that is single sounds the result of a single articulatory movement.

There are other single segment breathy voiced consonants in Shona, e.g. in the words kuyíma (to be helped) and nyasí (down), but they are not very common and the Shona alphabet makes no provision for them.

The following are multisegment consonant phonemes, the result of more than one articulatory movement.

| /pf/ | vl  | labiodental | affricate | pfígá (shut) |
| /ts/ | vl  | alveolar    | affricate | tsiğá (be calm) |
| /tsv/| vl  | alveolar    | labialised| tsvína (dirt) |
| /ch/ | vl  | prepalatal  | affricate | china (four) |
| /bh/ | bx vd| labiodental| affricate | kuvíka (to be possible) |
| /dz/ | bx vd| alveolar    | affricate | kudziika (to be deep) |
| /dzw/| bx vd| alveolar    | labialised| dzvítí (invader) |
| /j/  | bx vd| prepalatal  | affricate | jíl (a dance) |

8/Phoneme/mb/...
### 1.9. The vowel phonemes of Shona

All the above phonemes, whether single-segment or multisegment, function as consonantal onset in syllables. The following sounds, all resonants or approximants, occupy the nuclear position in syllables. They are more open and sonorous than the onsets and perform most of the work of the syllable as a bearer of tone and length. They are known as vowels, or V for short.

There are five vowels phonemes in Shona. They may be represented as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels are characterised as, for example, high-front, namely /i/, or mid-back, namely /o/ according to the position of the highest point of the tongue during their articulation. This is described in terms of two axes, one drawn from the front of the mouth to the back, and the other from the top to the bottom.

Shona vowels are oral resonants. The different vowel sounds are produced by varying the shape and contours of the oral resonance chamber, so placing the tongue so that its highest point occupies one or other of the five positions listed. The variation in position of the tongue is accompanied by lip positions which are also part of the articulation of each vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of the tongue</th>
<th>Position of lips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>medium spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>medium rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following...
The following examples show the vowels in contrast with one another.

/pirá/ (offer ritually) mapánga (you have planned)
/péré/ (come to an end) mapénga (you were mad)
/paría/ (scratch ground) mapínga (thickets)
/púrá/ (cool down) mapónga (you have guessed wrongly)
/púrá/ (thresh) mapúnga (you have cut pumpkin blossoms)

1.10. Phonemes of tone

There are two phonemes of tone in Shona, high /H/ and low /l/, these symbols standing for relatively high and relatively low tone. Of course these phonemes do not occur in isolation but need to be carried by a syllable. Further they cannot be identified as H or L save in contrast which is normally supplied by a sequence of high and low toned syllables.

e.g. /náasadzá/ (with sadza) is LHL in tone pattern
     /námvándá/ (with water) is HLL in tone pattern

1.11. Syllabic length of vowels

Length of vowels in syllables does not appear to be phonemic in Shona, that is it does not appear to provide contrastive units, relatively short length and relatively long length, on the basis of which distinctions are made as with voice pitch. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that short and long length is not used nearly so extensively as high and low tone. Nevertheless it does function as a distinguishing and contrastive feature in a number of ways.

For example questions in Shona without an interrogative word differ from statements in not having long length on their second last syllable.

e.g. Vánda nababá? (Have they gone with father?)
     cp Vánda nababá (They have gone with father)

Some i̯deophones do not have the marker of penultimate long length even when pronounced in isolation and thus contrast with segmentally similar forms which do have this marker.

e.g. Akáti bhátie kwíra (He put on his jacket)
     cp. Ákáti, 'Bhátie, kwíráí' (He said, 'Jacket, climb up!')

e.g. Jonglé ríchángóti tóka (Just after the cock crew)
     cp. Jonglé ríchángóti, 'Tóraí!' (Just after the cock said 'Take it!')

However the 'phonemic' nature of syllabic length in Shona, if it exists, is very different from what it is in a language where it is certainly phonemic, for example Bemba in Zambia where, for example, one may find the following minimal pairs:

paapa (bear a child)  cp. papa (wonder)
kaana (refuse)  kana (sprinkle)

Syllabic long length in Bemba is indicated by doubling the vowel in the syllable concerned.
2.0. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1. CONSTITUENTS IN CONSTRUCTIONAL PATTERNS

The description of the grammatical constructions which follow is made according to the constructional pattern of each. For example, the noun, which is one of the most common grammatical constructions in Shona, is described as having a constructional pattern: noun prefix (np) + noun stem (ns). The constructional pattern, viz. np + ns, is set out in general terms according to its constituents. The terms cited in such a formula, however, stand in every case for a class of constituents, each member of which may enter into the construction at the position indicated in the constructional pattern by the term indicating the constituent class.

The term np stands for the very large class of morphemes and constructions which can combine with individual noun prefixes to form nouns. For example, /nu-/, one of the members of the constituent class np, combines with /-nhu/, one of the members of the constituent class ns to give munhu (person), a noun, one of the constructions at the level of the substantive. The details of the relationship between the members of one constituent class and another in the constructional pattern have to be made plain and explicit when the construction is described. For example, there is a very complex relationship between various members of the np class and members of the ns class. Some of the ns class are primary stems of a noun prefix, others are secondary and the meaning of the np and of the construction as a whole varies according to this relationship. But it must be understood that what is indicated by the terms of constructional patterns are classes of constituents.

Constituents in construction may be either single morphemes or combinations of morphemes, themselves a construction of a simpler type or of a type other than that of which it is a constituent.

For example (a) the construction munhu is a noun, at the level of the substantive, consisting of constituents which are single morphemes.

(b) The construction ne-munhu mukurú is an adverbial phrase at the level of the inflected substantive phrase consisting of one constituent which is a morpheme (viz. the adverbial inflecting affix /-a-/ and another which is a construction (viz. the substantive phrase /munhu mukurú/). The present chapter is concerned only with constituents which are morphemes in order to discuss the various changes morphemes may undergo and the various forms morphemes may assume when they are constituents in constructions.

2.2. TYPES OF MORPHEME CONSTITUENTS

Constituents of constructions which are morphemes may be divided, for the purpose of discussing morphemic changes, into two basic types, (a) the affix type and (b) the stem or radical type. The first type is further subdivided into two sub-classes (a)(i) the class affixes and (a)(ii) the inflecting affixes. Examples of each of these three types of morpheme may be taken from the sentence:

Vanhu vánoríma minda namapadzó madžíki
(The people cultivate their fields with small hoes)

(a)(i) Examples of the class affix type of morpheme are the noun prefix /va-/ of cl.2 in the noun va-nhu (people) and the subject prefix /va-/ of cl.2 in the inflected verb phrase: va-nho-ri–ma minda namapadzó madžíki (they cultivate the fields with small hoes).

(a)(ii) Examples of the inflecting affix type of morpheme are the adverbial inflecting affix /-a-/ in the adverbial phrase na-mapadzó madžíki (with small hoes) and the verbal inflecting morphemes /-ho- + terminal vowel -a-/ in the inflected verb phrase quoted above.

(b) Examples of the stem and radical type of constituent are the noun stem /-nhu/ in the noun va-nhu (people) and the verb radical /-ri–/ in the inflected verb phrase quoted above.

Another type of morpheme analogous to the noun stems and verb radicals is the ideophone, e.g. sīmu (rising) in the sentence: Murume šakti sīmu (The man got up).

2.3. CONSTITUENT CLASSES OF MORPHEMES

It is the task of the grammar to list the members of the constituent classes of class-affix and inflecting-affix type as exhaustively as possible whereas only typical examples of the various types of noun stem, verb radical, or ideophones need be cited, the full list of these being reserved for the lexicon. Thus the full list of noun class prefixes is given, but only enough examples of noun stems to exemplify the various structural types of noun and nominal construction. The full list of inflections of verb phrases is given but only enough examples of verb radicals and verb phrases to show the various structural possibilities.
2.4 BASIC FORMS OF MORPHEMES AND ALLOMORPHS

Each constituent class of class-affix and inflecting-affix consists of a list of morphemes. For example the constituent class of adverbial inflecting affix is a short list of two members, viz. /na-/ (with, by, by means of etc.) and /sa-/ (like).

In lists of this kind, morphemes are cited in a certain written form which represents a particular combination of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes. This does not mean, however, that the morphemes in question always occur in this form or shape. For example, when /na-/ is used with the substantive phrase ḫabî' mukîrû (senior father), it is realised as /na-/. e.g. na-ibâ mukîrû (with father's elder brother)

But when it is used with the substantive phrase, bânga gûrû (a big knife), it is realised as /né-/. viz. né-bânga gûrû (with a large knife)

Morphemes occur therefore in different forms and shapes according to their environment which is typically the presence of the co-constituent with which they combine in order to form a construction. They are listed in a constituent class and referred to in grammatical description according to a basic form which is chosen arbitrarily but which may be that in which the morpheme in question usually occurs. For example the basic forms of the adverbial inflecting morphemes are cited here as /na-/ and /sa-/.

But it is understood that these same morphemes, referred to in a list for the sake of convenience in one of their forms, arbitrarily chosen, have other forms as well depending upon their environment. The differing forms in which the morpheme appears are called its allomorphs and the changes in phonemic shape of the morphemes from its arbitrarily chosen basic form to the variant forms, e.g. from /na- to /né-/, are called morphophonemic changes.¹

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

Morphophonemic changes occur at the boundary where morphemes meet in a construction, e.g. the change of /na- to /né-/ and the change of /bânga/ to /bânga/ in the adverbially inflected substantive phrase:

né-bânga gûrû

cp. bânga gûrû
na-ibâ mukîrû

Morphophonemic changes only take place under certain circumstances. In a great many constructions there are no changes to the shape of the morphemes. Some morphemes are only found in one shape in all constructions in which they appear as a constituent.

e.g. the negative inflecting morpheme /ha-/; the cl. 2a noun prefix /va-/. These morphemes are not very numerous though doubtless they include conjunctives like /kana/ (if, when) and certain ideophones, e.g. /tôra/ (crowing of cock), /kwira/ (putting on garment). Other ideophones appear in two or three different forms.

(a) in ideophone phrases; and (b) in ideophonic verb radicals and nominal constructions.

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<tr>
<th>E.g.</th>
<th>(Rising)</th>
<th>(With HL tone pattern)</th>
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<td>sîmu</td>
<td>(Rise)</td>
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<td>(General rising)</td>
<td>(With HL tone pattern)</td>
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<td>chê-mu-sîmu-mu-sîmu</td>
<td>(Helping each other</td>
<td>(With HH tone pattern)</td>
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<td>chê-mu-yamû-mu-yamû</td>
<td>(General climbing on</td>
<td>(HL, LL)</td>
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<td>ma-yamû-dzánwa</td>
<td>(To bank from river)</td>
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<td>cross) (6)</td>
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</table>

Most class affix and inflecting affix morphemes appear in several forms. The extent and circumstances in which they appear in a base form, as compared with a modified form, have to be described in each case and the morphophonemics of the language consists in this description.

1. Morphemes are cited between slashes and underlined, e.g. /na-/. Where it is desired to draw attention to the existence and phonemic form of allomorphs, these are cited without underlining e.g. /né-/.
2.6. TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE

In what respects may a morpheme change? In this study morphemes are regarded as being made up of both segmental and suprasegmental phonemes.

- the morpheme /m/- consists of a single CV syllable with a low tone;
- the morpheme /-vir/- (two) consists of two syllables with a low and a high tone, CVVC;
- the morpheme /h/- (yes!) consists of two syllables, CV, CCV with a high and low tone.

Morphophonemic changes may be either segmental or suprasegmental; if segmental they may occur either at the consonantal margin or the vowel nucleus; if suprasegmental they are in the patterns of tone.

- e.g. consonantal: /m, bir/, (two) (10.?) cp. /-vir/- (two)
- vowel: /vä, bang/, (with a knife) /vä/- (with)
- tonal: /ñe, bang/, (with a knife) /ñe/- (with)

In these examples the morpheme /-vir/- has two allomorphs /-vir/ and /-bir/-, differing in consonant onset; the morpheme /ñe/- has two allomorphs /ñe/- and /ñe/- differing in vowel nucleus and tone.

Thus allomorphs may differ from one another: either segmentally or suprasegmentally or both.

2.7. Morphemes of tone

(a) Morphemes are thus regarded as consisting, as far as their substance is concerned, of both segmental and suprasegmental phonemes. The tone patterns of morphemes are as much part of their substance as the sequence of vowels.

Certain affix morphemes, however, do not have inherent tone but carry high or low tone indifferently as determined by their tonal environment. This is particularly so in the case of tense signs, terminal vowels of verb inflections, and verbal extensions.

- e.g. future tense sign /-ch/-
  ndi-chä-ziv-a (I shall know)
  ña-chä-ziv-a (he will know)

Terminal vowels in inflected verbs carry a tone which is determined by the tone pattern of the verb radical as determined by the inflection.

- e.g. infinitive: /ku-rim-a/ (to hoe)
- imperative: /rim-a/ (hoe!)

Similarly the applied extension /-ir-/ has no inherent tone.

- e.g. /ki-tik-ir-a/ (to flee for)
- /ki-bik-ir-a/ (to cook for)

(b) It is necessary in two types of construction to postulate the existence of morphemes consisting of a tone alone without any segmental component. These are (i) the allomorph /f/ of the copulative affix and (ii) the morphemes of tone which accompany subject prefixes in the inflection of verb phrases.

(i) with certain nuclei of substantive phrases, viz. nouns and adjectives not of classes 1a, 2a, 2b, 5, 9 and 10, 9, and with all enumeratives, the copulative affix is /f/.

This affix replaces the low tone on the first syllable of the nucleus. This inflection is the occasion for changes of tone pattern on the remaining syllables of the nucleus.

- e.g. mi-räm-sämgu (he is my husband)
  cp mi-räm-sämgu (my husband)

(ii) Eight morphemes of tone are postulated as part of the inflection of verb phrases. These are listed in 2.10.2.4(g). For example /f/ is used with subject prefixes of I, II persons in affirmative principal inflections but /f/ with subject prefixes of all persons in participial inflections.

- e.g. ndi-chä-ziv-a (I shall know, I still know)
  ndi-chä-ziv-a (I being about to know, I still knowing)

In these constructions, the segmental morphemes which carry these morphemes of tone are to be considered as without inherent tone themselves. The prefixes of the nuclei
which are copulatively inflected have toneless allomorphs when thus inflected.
The subject prefixes of verbal inflections have no inherent tone, and carry either morphemes of tone when they are the first elements in a verb inflection, or a tone determined by polarity when they are not.

e.g. ndo-cha-ziv-a  (I shall know)
ha-ndo-cha-ziv-a  (I no longer know)

2.8. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOMORPHS CONDITIONED PHONOLOGICALLY

The occurrence of the allomorphs of a morpheme is conditioned by the environment in which the morpheme occurs. This was stated to be typically the presence of the co-constituent with which the morpheme combines in a construction. Thus, for example, the adjectival stem morpheme /-viri/ occurs as /-bir/, in combination with the adjectival prefixes of cll. 10.9. With all other plural adjectival prefixes it occurs as /-viri/. Here we see an important defining characteristic of allomorphs. For two forms to be allomorphs they must not only have a common meaning, but also be in complementary distribution. Two elements are said to be in complementary distribution if each occurs in certain environments where the other never occurs — that is, if there are no environments in which both occur.(1)

In many cases the conditioning factor of the environment in which a morphophonemic change is observed and an allomorph occurs is phonological. Normally segmental phonemes condition segmental phonological changes and suprasegmental phonemes condition suprasegmental changes. Thus, for example, the change of /-viri/ to /-bir/ is conditioned by the presence of the prefixes of cll. 10.9, /AN/, which consist of a nasal stop. The prefix itself is realised as /m/-, a bilabial nasal stop, by the presence of /-viri/, which commences with a labial approximant. We have here a case of reciprocal phonological conditioning in the form of assimilation, /m/- being assimilated to /-viri/ as /m/-, bilabial, and /-viri/ being assimilated to /AN/ as /-bir/, stop commencing.

The distribution of the allomorphs of these two morphemes, and of others like them that behave in similar ways, is conditioned phonologically.

The change of /na/- to /nA/- in the adverbial phrase /na-mayhà-m mà-hù/ (with big knives) is conditioned by the presence in the nucleus of the substantive phrase, namely mayhà, of a high tone pattern. Cp. /na-mayhà-m mà-hù/ (with big hoes) where the nucleus of the substantive phrase, namely mayhà, carries a low tone pattern.

The distribution of these two allomorphs /na/- and /nA/-, and of others that behave like them in similar environment, is determined phonologically.

2.9. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOMORPHS CONDITIONED MORPHOLOGICALLY

In other cases the conditioning factor of the environment in which a morphophonemic change is observed and an allomorph occurs is morphological, viz. the presence in a construction of a constituent of a special morphological type. Thus, for example, the adverbial inflecting affix /na/- occurs as /na/- when inflecting substantive phrases with nuclei of noun cll. 1a, 2a, and 2b. With nuclei of all other noun classes it may occur as /ne/- or /ne/-, depending on the tone pattern of the nucleus. The distribution of these allomorphs is determined partly morphologically and partly phonologically.

The copulative affix provides an example of the morphological conditioning of the distribution of allomorphs. When used to inflect substantive phrases with nuclei consisting of nouns, the choice of allomorph is determined entirely by the prefix-class to which the noun belongs. With nouns of cl. 1a, the allomorph is /ndI/:

e.g. ndî-bàm mukùrù (he is a senior father)
cp. bàm (father) (1a)

With nouns of cl. 2a, 2b, the allomorph is /nAs/:

e.g. nàq-sàl vàngà (she is my mother)
cp. stàl (mother) (2b)

With nouns of cll. 5, 9 and 10a. 9, the allomorph is /í/:

e.g. ìmpa gùrù (it is a big knife)
cp. ìmpa (knife) (5)

With nouns of other classes the allomorph is /Ah/:

e.g. múrym vàngà (he is my husband)
cp. múrym (husband) (1)

2.10. DESCRIPTION OF MORPHOPHONEMICS ACCORDING TO STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES

From what has been said it follows that a description of the morphophonics can be looked at from two angles. It is a (1) grouping of allomorphs into morphemes, and it is also (2) an attempt to describe and account for the variant forms assumed by morphemes by reference to their environment, either phonological or morphological. The forms of allomorphs are accounted for as changes from an arbitrarily chosen basic form, and their distribution, usually complementary, is defined in terms of their environment. The changes in phonemic form between the basic forms of morphemes and their allomorphs in particular phonological environments, are sometimes common to a number of morphemes. Thus this description of the morphophonics of Shona could be based on phonological criteria without reference to the constructions in which they occur. This was done in AS.

Chapter II.

I have decided that it would be clearer and better suited to the method adopted in this book if the morphophonics were described against a background of the grammatical structure, i.e. as they occur in the different constructions at different levels within the three hierarchies. This approach makes for a certain amount of redundancy but has the merit of being not only an account of the morphophonics but also an introduction to the grammar.

Since the changes associated with each construction are described along with the construction itself, the account given here need not be more than a summary with references to the various sections where the material is treated in greater detail.

2.10.1. The morphophonics of substantival constructions

2.10.1.1. The substantives

The constructional pattern of each of the substantives contains a term which stands for the constituent class of class affix. The constructional patterns are as follows:

1. Noun : noun prefix (np) + noun stem (ns)
   e.g. va-nhu (people) (2)

2. Adjective : adjectival prefix (ap) + adjectival stem (as)
   e.g. va-kiru (big)(2)

3. Enumerative : enumerative prefix (ep) + enumerative stem (es)
   e.g. va-mwe (others)(2)

4. Quantitative : quantitative prefix (qp) + -o + quantitative stem (qs)
   e.g. v-o-se (all)(2)

5. Selector : selector prefix (sp) + selector stem (sel.s)
   e.g. va-pi (which?)(2)

6. (a) Near Demonstrative : stabiliser + demonstrative affix (a)
   e.g. a-va (these)(2)

   (b) Per Demonstrative : stabiliser + demonstrative affix (b) + -o
   e.g. a-v-o (those)(2)

7. Pronoun : stabiliser + pronominal affix +-o
   e.g. i-v-o (they)(2)

In the description of the constructions, the affixes for each construction are set out for clarity as different series, numbered I - XI, since each series differs in phonemic form as a set from each of the others. Affixes in series II - VIII are each given the number of the class of nouns with which they would show agreement in substantive phrases. Thus each of the above substantive constructions from 2 - 7 could be used with yahu in a SP and would show agreement with it by its affix. All these affixes are therefore numbered as belonging to cl.2.

Further, the affixes should be regarded not only as belonging to the same class as the noun prefix but as being the same morpheme as the noun prefix. Agreement within S's between substantives of the same class and in clauses between (1) subjects and predicates and (2) object complements and object prefixes of the same class is shown, not only by the use of different morphemes peculiar to a type of substantive or verbal construction, but by the repetition of an identical morpheme. Differences between the phonemic form of each morpheme from one construction to another, where these exist, may be described as the result of morphophonemic changes of a basic form of the class or person affix, the conditioning factors being either phonological or morphological. The forms of the affixes in each of the substantive constructions, as well as the subject and object prefixes of verbal constructions are listed below. Series I - VII are the series of affixes of the substantival constructions listed in the order given above. Series VIII contains the class affixes used in the possessive inflection of substantive phrases, series IX the pronominal possessive stems, series X and XI the subject and object prefixes. Series XI contains the reflexive prefix (RP) as well.

16/Table...
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The above are the forms of the person and class-affixes in each of the substantival and verbal constructions. If it is desired to select one of these series as the series of basic forms which would represent the morphemes of each person and class, series X would be suitable though it would not contain the class-affix morphemes of cll. 1a, 2a, 2b, and 2l which are limited to nominal constructions. The forms given in each series are the forms which are basic for that construction. The blanks in the table indicate that there are no allomorphs of the person or class-affix morpheme in the construction concerned.

In cases of reduplication there are regular changes in the tone patterns of stems. These are mentioned in the sections on the nominal constructions and the other substantives.

2.10.1.2. The inflected substantive phrases

There are no morphophonemic changes which occur as a result of the substantive phrase construction (1). The only "changes" which occur are the automatic changes in tone pattern, of assimilation or dissimilation.

When SPs are inflected, however, a number of changes take place resulting in a number of allomorphs of the inflecting-affixes and of the nuclei of the SPs to which they are affixed.

(a) Copulative phrases

The allomorphs of the copulative affix are /ndf-, nda-, ʃ-, H-, nda-, nde- ndo-. The distribution of these allomorphs is morphologically conditioned but the variant forms of the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

(i) /ndf-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl. 1a nouns or nominal constructions and pronouns. In the case of the cl. 1a nuclei, tone patterns of nouns and the first elements of nominal constructions are changed to corresponding patterns of TD.I.

   e.g. ndf-mambo  (it is the chief)  cp. mambo
   ndf-ye yu  (it is this same one)

(ii) /nda-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl. 2a or 2b nouns and nominal constructions. No tonal changes take place in this inflection.

   e.g. nda-ndašînai yangu  (it is my wife)
   nda-embëye vângu  (it is my grandmother)

(iii) /ı-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of nouns, nominal constructions and adjectives of cll. 5, 9, and 10, 9.

   Tone patterns of nouns and adjectives and of the first elements of nominal constructions are changed to corresponding patterns of TD.II.

   e.g. ʃ-mómbë yangu  (it is my ox)  cp. mbë mbë (9)
   I-banga rângu  (it is my knife)  bângu (5)

   /ndf-/ and /ı-/ have an allomorph in /H-/ which is used, however, only with nuclei with tone patterns commencing with a low tone. In this environment /ndf-/ and /ı-/ are in free variation with /H-/

   e.g. Mânu yu ndëfëni vângu  (This person is my father)
   cp. Mânu yu bâmbë vângu  (This person is my father)

(iv) /H-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of nouns, nominal constructions and adjectives other than those of cll. 1a, 2a, 2b, 5, 9 and 10, 9. It is also affixed to enumeratives. It replaces the L on the class prefix or initial syllable of these constructions and the tone patterns of the stems are changed to the corresponding patterns of TD.II.

   e.g. yu murume wangu  (this is my husband)  cp. murumë

(v) /nde- nde- nde- / is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of possessives, quantitatives, enumeratives with H stems and relative inflected verb phrases. The forms are /nde/ before nuclei of classes with vowel /I/ in the noun prefix, /nde- nde- / before nuclei of classes with vowel /a/ in the noun prefix, and /nde- nde- / before nuclei of classes with vowel /u/ in the noun prefix.

   e.g. ndëyangu iye  (it is this one of mine)  cp. yângu
   ndowangu yu  (it is this one of mine)  wângu
   ndâvângu avu  (it is these one of mine)  vângu

   The changes of nuclear tone pattern are described in 3.7.2.6. Those of the possessive with pronominal stem and of the quantitatives are changed to the corresponding patterns of TD.III.

(vi) /nda- nde- ndo- / is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of demonstratives, enumeratives with L stem and selectors. The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically conditioned ...
conditioned as described in (v). The tone patterns of enumeratives and demonstratives are changed to the corresponding patterns of TD.III.

*E.g.* ndoju (it is this one)  
ne. umwe (it is another one)  
ime

In the case of nuclei which are enumeratives /H-/ is in free variation with /nda-~ndé~nda-/ with H stems and with /nda-~nde~ndo-/ with L stems.

(b) **Presentative phrases.**

The allomorphs /ná~né~nó~/ are affixed to demonstrative or selector SP nuclei in presentative phrases.

*E.g.* héchi chigaro (here is a chair)  
ch. ichi chigaro (this chair)  
hévan vaná (here are the children here)

The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically conditioned as described in 2.10.1.2(a)(v) above. The tone patterns of selectors are changed to the corresponding patterns of TD.III.

(c) **Possessive phrases.**

The possessive affix consists of a non-syllabic possessive prefix (series VIII) and the possessive morpheme. The allomorphs of the possessive morpheme are /-á-, -á, -á~á~á~, and -á~á~á~á~ in the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

(i) /*-á/~ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of pronominal stems, and cl. la nouns and nominal constructions. Tone patterns of nouns and the first element of nominal constructions are changed to corresponding patterns of TD.I.

*E.g.* mwaná wamambó uyy (the child of this chief)  
mwaná mëdu tösa (the child of us all)

(ii) /*-á/~ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl.2a nouns and nominal constructions as well as to participial clauses. No tonal changes take place in this inflection.

*E.g.* mushi wawëdzima vanu (the home of my wife)  
mugá wawësingāwe heha (the home of those who do not drink beer)

(iii) /*-á~-á~á~-á~á~ in the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically conditioned as described in 2.10.1.2(a)(v).

Tone patterns of noun, adjective and enumerative nuclei are changed to corresponding tone patterns of TD.II. The tone patterns of possessives are changed to corresponding tone patterns of TD.III. The changes to tone patterns of possessives are described in 3.7.3.2.7(a). Tone patterns of relatives are not changed.

*E.g.* kutóñhóra kuwëdza iyi (the coldness of this water)

(iv) /*-á~-á~á~-á~á~ in the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically conditioned as described in 2.10.1.2(a)(v).

Tone patterns of noun, adjectives and enumeratives are changed to corresponding tone patterns of TD.II. Those of demonstratives to corresponding patterns of TD.III; those of selectors and pronouns being unchanged.

*E.g.* kunaka kwekëdza iyi (the goodness of this porridge)

(d) **Adverbial phrases.**

The allomorphs of the adverbial affixes are /na-, ná~né~nó~, na~né~nó~/ and /sa-, sa~sa~sa/, sa~sa~sa~sa~/. Since the distribution of the allomorphs of each of these affixes is the same, that of the former only will be described.

(i) /*-á/~ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl. la, 2a, 2b nouns and nominal constructions and pronouns. No tonal change takes place in the inflections.

*E.g.* na-mambó uyy (with this chief)  
na-wëdzima vanu (with my wife)  
na-čó uyy (with this same one)

(ii) The distribution of /ná~né~nó~/ and /na~né~nó-/ is the same as that described for /-á~-á~á~-á~á~/ and /-á~-á~á~-á~á~/ in (c)(iii) and (c)(iv) above.
2.10.1.3. The substantival clause

No morphophonemic changes other than the automatic tonal changes of dissimilation occur as the result of substantival clause formation.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{mùra} \rightarrow \text{mùra} \quad \text{\textit{(water is water)}} \quad \text{cp. } \text{mùra} \]

2.10.2. Morphophonemics of verbal constructions

2.10.2.1. Verbal constructions

The constructions of the verbal hierarchy are based on the verb radical. The first level of construction is that of the verb radical or R,

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{-tem-} \quad \text{(cut)} \]
\[ \text{-bik-} \quad \text{(cook)} \]

The second level of construction is that of the verb phrase whose constructional pattern is as follows:

\[ \pm \text{ object prefix + R } \pm \text{ complement(s) } \pm \text{ adjunct(s)} \]

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{-tem- muti uye nèdemo rangu} \quad \text{(cut it, that tree, with my axe)} \]
\[ \text{-bik- nhanga sesândza} \quad \text{(cook it, the pumpkin, like stiff porridge)} \]

The third level of construction is that of the inflected verb phrase whose constructional pattern is as follows:

\[ \text{inflection + verb phrase} \]

The constituent class of inflection stands for all the combinations of inflecting morphemes which are in use to inflect verb phrases and which confer the status of predicate to the verb phrase.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{va-ka-i-tem-ì muti uye nèdemo rangu} \quad \text{(They cut it, that tree with my axe)} \]
\[ \text{va-ka-rì-bik-ì nhanga sesândza} \quad \text{(They cooked it, the pumpkin, like stiff porridge)} \]

The inflection here is the combination of subject prefix, tense sign and terminal vowel. At the fourth level of construction, that of the clause, the constructional pattern is as follows:

\[ \pm \text{ subject + predicate} \]

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{varùne vaqùtemà muti uye nèdemo rangu} \]
\[ \text{va-kàdzi vakarìbìka nhanga sesândza} \]

Here the inflected verb phrase or predicate is the compulsory element in the construction.

2.10.2.2. The phonology of the verb radical

The morphophonemic changes which need to be described are at the level of the radical and the inflected verb phrase. Before describing these it is necessary to say a word about the phonemic make up of the verb radical.

From the segmental angle the R is remarkable in that it is normally syllabically incomplete and always ends in a consonant or consonant cluster.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{a) } \text{-tem-} \quad \text{(give)} \quad \text{b) } \text{-rw-} \quad \text{(fight)} \]
\[ \text{-tem-} \quad \text{(cut)} \quad \text{-bik-} \quad \text{(cook)} \]
\[ \text{-sùkùr-} \quad \text{(rest)} \quad \text{-tever-} \quad \text{(follow)} \]

It always occurs, of course, in an inflected form, and the terminal vowel, which completes it syllabically, is part of the inflection. For example, in the imperative inflection, the above radicals appear as follows:

\[ \text{i-tem-} \quad \text{i-rw-} \]
\[ \text{tem-} \quad \text{bik-} \]
\[ \text{üzùr-} \quad \text{tever-} \]

and these constructions conform phonologically to the normal pattern with complete syllables ending in a vowel.

From the tonal aspect radicals fall into two classes, those with high-tone patterns and those with low. These are illustrated by group (a) and (b) above. Though incomplete syllabically the radicals carry tone patterns which number tones always one in excess of their vowels. The last tone of every radical is always carried by the terminal vowel of the inflection which carries no tone of its own.

The tone patterns of high radicals are usually different and complementary to the tone patterns of low radicals in inflected verb phrases, e.g. in the imperative inflection above.
The tone patterns of radicals vary from one inflection to another, some inflections condition one tone-pattern and some another, those of high radicals being usually, as stated, complementary to those of low radicals. Thus in the infinitive inflection in which the inflection is ku...a, the radicals listed above appear as follows:

ku-pá
ku-tém-a
ku-zór-ó
ku-tw-a
ku-bik-a
ku-tever-a

The tone patterns of the high radicals are the same as in the imperative inflection whereas those of the low radicals are different. The changes in tone pattern are described in this study as morphophonemic changes of the radical, conditioned by the inflection. The basic form of the radicals is taken to be that in which they appear in the infinitive inflection and the variant forms in which they appear in other inflections are their allomorphs. These allomorphs and their distribution are listed below in the treatment of the inflected verb phrase.

2.10.2.3. Morphophonemic changes in verb radicals

2.10.2.3.1. Underived radicals

(a) Certain radicals have allomorphs when they appear with a terminal vowel /-a/. The radicals -gar- (sit, stay), -zár- (be full), -rår- (sleep), -väť- (sleep), -nýár- (be silent), have allomorphs -gær-,-zær-, -rær-, -väť-, -nýär- with the inflection sp. which is peculiar to them,

- ndi-gär-é (I am seated)
- ndi-nýär-é (I am silent)

The R -mír- (stand) shares this inflection but undergoes no segmenal change,

- ndi-mír-é (I am standing)

(b) Other radicals have similar allomorphs in nominal constructions consisting of np...e viz. -rår- (be sick), -zår- (give birth).

- mu-rår-é (invalid)
- mu-zår-é (newly delivered mother)

2.10.2.3.2. Derived radicals

(a) Radicals derived from ideophones.

Many radicals are derived from ideophones by the addition of a verbaliser, e.g. /k/ or /t/.

- sínú-k- (rise)
- undú-k- (lose feathers)

Ideophones which are constituents in this type of construction are assignable to two tonal classes, high and low. High ideophones typically carry HL and HHL tone patterns while low ideophones typically carry IH and IHL tone patterns. In deideophonic radicals these tone patterns change to HH, HHH and LL and LLL respectively. Thus the ideophones as constituents in deideophonic radicals are allomorphs.

- ku-chíngu-r-a (to meet)
- ku-tau-r-a (to speak)

(b) Radicals derived from substantival stems.

The same occurs in verb radicals derived by addition of verbalisers from adjectives and nouns stems. Stems with patterns HH, HL are HH as constituents in such radicals while those with LL and IH are LL.

- ku-nýró-v-á (to be soft)
- ku-puń-ó-k-a (to be thick)
- ku-téte-p-a (to be thin)

(c) Derived radicals carry more tones than the ideophones or substantival stems which are constituents within them. The number of extra tones is 1 or 2, depending on whether the verbaliser is (a) of C type or (b) of CVC or VC type.

- púyí-k- (hang up)
- púmbi-mu-ruk- (be greyish)

Some deideophonic radicals are formed by eliding the final vowel of the ideophone, usually /a/.

- bűt-á (snatch)
- bűtu-á (snatching)
Normally the derived radicals carry high or low tone patterns depending on whether the initial syllable of the ideophone or substantival stem carries high or low tone but there are some departures from this,

\( -\text{zvamb\'ar\'a-r-} \) (lie prone) \( \text{cp. zvambara (lying prone)} \)

Thus the verbalises and, of course, the terminal vowels in inflected forms, are tonally neutral and have variant forms.

\[ \text{2.10.2.3.3.} \]

\textbf{Extended radicals}

The constructional pattern of extended radicals is \textit{R} + extension(s).

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & -\text{t\'amer-} & \text{(cut for)} \\
\text{bik-ir-} & \text{(cook for)} \\
\text{Both underived and derived radicals are extended.}
\end{align*}

(a) A number of extensions, viz. the passive, neuter, applied, perfective, causative, intensive, repressive, repetitive, and extensive extensions have variant forms depending on the final vowel of the radical. When this vowel is /a/, /i/ or /u/ or where there is no vowel as in C radicals, the forms of these extensions are as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \text{ passive} & /-\text{iw/-} & \text{e.g.} & -\text{tap-\'iw/-} & \text{(be captured)} \\
\text{neuter} & /-\text{ik/-} & \text{ -ziv-\'ik/-} & \text{(be knowable)} \\
\text{applied} & /-\text{ir/-} & \text{-siv-\'ir/-} & \text{(leave for)} \\
\text{perfective} & /-\text{irir/-} & \text{-k\'ak-\'irir/-} & \text{(come right out)} \\
\text{causative (2)} & /-\text{is/-} & \text{-muk-\'is/-} & \text{(cause to rise)} \\
\text{intensive} & /-\text{is/-} & \text{-taur-\'is/-} & \text{(speak up)} \\
\text{repetitive} & /-\text{urur/-} & \text{-t\'ok-\'urur/-} & \text{(cure roughly)} \\
\text{extensive} & /-\text{ik/-} & \text{-\text{sim-\'ik/-}} & \text{(plant out)} \text{1}
\end{align*}

(b) When the final vowel of the radical is /e/ the repetitive extension has the same form as the above.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \text{repetitive} & /-\text{urur/-} & \text{-send-urur- (replane)} & \text{cp. -send- (plane)}
\end{align*}

But with the final vowel /o/, the repetitive extension has the form /-\text{oror/-}.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \text{repetitive} & /-\text{oror/-} & \text{-rond-\text{oror-} (track thoroughly)} & \text{cp. -rond- (track)}
\end{align*}

(c) The first vowel of the reversion extension is the same as that of the final vowel of the radical the second is /u/, save after vowel /o/ when it is /o/.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \text{reversive} & /-\text{enur/-} & \text{-chat-anur- (divorce)} & \text{cp. -chat- (marry)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
/-\text{enur/-} & \text{-pfek-enur- (undress)} & \text{-pfek- (dress)} \\
/-\text{inur/-} & \text{-p\'ing-inur- (unlatch)} & \text{-p\'ing- (latch)} \\
/-\text{onor/-} & \text{-roy-onor- (unwitch)} & \text{-roy- (bewitch)} \\
/-\text{unur/-} & \text{-s\'ing-unur- (untie)} & \text{-s\'ing- (tie)}
\end{align*}

Other variant forms are:

\begin{align*}
\text{passive} & /\text{w/-} \text{in the free variation with /-\text{iw/-}\text{w/-};} \\
\text{perfective} & /-\text{irir/-} \text{ after C radicals.}
\end{align*}

(d) There is another extension, causative (1) /y/, with a different meaning from the extension labelled causative (2) above. This extension does not appear as such but only (1) in a series of morphophonemic changes when used with certain specified radicals or (2) as /-\text{iz-\text{edz/-}}/, depending on the final vowel of the radical.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & (1) & /\text{ysts/-} & \text{(rouse)} & < -\text{mak/-} \text{(rise)} & + -y- \\
/\text{idz/-} & \text{(play)} & < -\text{ir/-} \text{(sound)} & + -y- \\
/\text{ny\'orov/-} & \text{(soften)} & < -\text{ny\'orov/-} \text{(be soft)} & + -y-
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
/\text{shamb-\text{idz/-} & \text{(wash others)} & -\text{shamb/-} \text{(wash)} \\
/\text{bhunb-\text{idz/-} & \text{(allow)} & -\text{bhunb/-} \text{(agree)}
\end{align*}

The distribution of this extension is described in section 4.2.6.3.2. as well as the morphophonemic changes that take place in causative extended radicals.

(e) Extended radicals carry more tonemes than the non-extended radicals, one, two or more, depending on whether the extension is VC, VVC, VCCV etc. Extensions are tonally neutral

\[ \text{22/and extended...} \]

\[ \text{1. But when the final vowel of the radical to be extended is /e/, or /o/, the extensions of form (-ic-) are found as /-ic/-,} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \text{passive} /-\text{ic/-} & \text{e.g.} & -\text{tor-\'ic/-} \text{(be taken)} \\
\text{neuter} & /-\text{ik/-} & \text{-tor-\'ek/-} \text{(be easy to take)}
\end{align*}
and extended radicals carry tone patterns appropriate to radicals of the tone class to which the unextended radical belongs but with the same syllabic form as themselves. Thus, for example, tone patterns carried by the extended radicals

- tém-ér- and - bik-ér-

are the same as those of the unextended radicals

- zócor- and - veren-  (read)

Radicals with extensions /w/ and /y/ are not altered in syllabic form and hence carry no further tones.

    e.g. - tém-w-  (be cut)  cp. - tém-  
    - bik-w-  (be cooked)  - bik-

### 2.10.2.4. Morphophonemic changes in inflected verb phrases

#### (a) Inflecting morphemes

The inflections which are affixed to verb phrases consist of combinations of inflecting verb morphemes of various kinds.

These morphemes are classified and their combinations into inflections described in section 4.6.

#### (b) A number of these inflecting morphemes do not undergo change in these combinations either in segmental or suprasegmental form.

    e.g. the negative prefix ha-  
    the hortative prefix há-

    e.g. ha-ní-zív-é  (I don't know)  
    há-ti-end-e-i  (let us go!)

#### (c) A number of morphemes carry either high or low tones according to tonal environment and the operation of polarity described in section 4.4.3.1.3.

    e.g. the sequence / -si-ma/ in the two constructions:

    a-sí-si-ma-zív-e  (he who does not know)  
    a-sí-ma-bik-é  (he who does not cook)

#### (d) Other morphemes, viz. the subject prefixes, carry high or low tone according to inflection. They carry:

1. high tone in all subjunctive and negative principal inflections, and on all participial inflections save one.

    e.g. ndi-sí-si-ma-zív-e  (I not knowing)  
        (kuti) ndí-zív-é  ((that) I may know)

    but cp. ndí-chi-zív-á  (I knowing)

2. low tone in all relative, hortative and consecutive inflections and on the participial inflection with tense sign / -chi/.

    e.g. a-sí-si-ma-zív-e  (he who does not know)  
        há-ra-gind-e  (let them come in)  
        a-ka-zív-á  (and he knows, know etc.)  
        a-chí-zív-á  (he knowing)

3. low tone in affirmative principal inflections of the I and II persons but high tone on affirmative principal inflections of the III persons.

    e.g. ndi-chi-zív-á  (I shall know)  
        8-cha-zív-á  (he will know)

#### (e) Allomorphs of verb radicals

In section 2.10.2.2., the changes in tone pattern on verb radicals in different inflections were described as being morphophonemic and conditioned by the different inflections of verb phrases. The tone patterns which occur in the various inflections, on radicals of both high and low classes and which, with the terminal vowels of the inflections, are 1-, 2-, 3- and 4-syllable in form, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>HH</td>
<td>HH</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHL</td>
<td>HHHL</td>
<td>HHHL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HLL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 / (6)L/H

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
H & L & H & L & L & L & L \\
H & L & HH & L & L & L & L \\
H & H & L & H & L & L & L \\
H & H & L & H & L & L & L \\
H & H & L & H & L & L & L \\
\end{array}
\]

Some of these sets of patterns are found with only H radicals, some with only L radicals, others with either. It is usual for H radicals to carry a set of tone patterns, in any one inflection, different from and complementary to, those carried by L radicals. Thus these sets of patterns occur and can be grouped together in pairs. Those taken by H radicals are listed on the left and those taken by L radicals are listed on the right. Thus paired, they are referred to here as tone conjugations. There are some XI of these each of which is associated with one or more inflections as described in the chapter on the verb inflections. The tone conjugations are listed below with an example of an inflection with which each is associated.

(f)  (i) In this conjugation the tone patterns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) H</th>
<th>(10) L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>LLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHL</td>
<td>LLLL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group of tone patterns is found in the infinitive inflection and a number of others.

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad ku-p \acute a, & ku-ry-a \\
& \quad -tem \acute a, & -bik-a \\
& \quad -zor \acute o \acute r-a, & -tever-a \\
& \quad -k\acute a\acute ng\acute anis-a, & -tauris-a
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) TC II

Tone patterns (1) H (8) H

| HH | LH |
| HHH| IHH|
| HHHL| IHHH|

For example, the imperative inflection:

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad i-p \acute a, & i-ry-a \\
& \quad -tem \acute a, & -bik-a \\
& \quad -zor \acute o \acute r-a, & -tever-a \\
& \quad -k\acute a\acute ng\acute anis-a, & -tauris-a
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) TC III

Tone patterns (1) H (3) H

| HH | HH |
| HHH| HHL|
| HHHL| HLLL|

For example, the affirmative participial present inflection, all persons.

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad ndi-chi-p \acute a, & ndi-chi-ry-a \\
& \quad -tem \acute a, & -bik-a \\
& \quad -zor \acute o \acute r-a, & -tever-a \\
& \quad -k\acute a\acute ng\acute anis-a, & -tauris-a
\end{align*}
\]

(iv) TC IV

Tone patterns: (5) H (5) H

| HL | HL |
| HLL| HLL|

For example, the affirmative principal recent past, I, II person inflection.

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad nd-a-p \acute a, & nd-ary-a \\
& \quad -tem-a, & -bik-a \\
& \quad -zor \acute o \acute r-a, & -tever-a \\
& \quad -k\acute a\acute ng\acute anis-a, & -tauris-a
\end{align*}
\]

(v) TC V

Tone patterns: (6) L (7) L

| HL | LH |
| HLL| IHL|

For example, the affirmative participial recent past inflection.

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad nd-a-p \acute a, & nd-a-ry-a \\
& \quad -tem-a, & -bik-a \\
& \quad -zor \acute o \acute r-a, & -tever-a \\
& \quad -k\acute a\acute ng\acute anis-a, & -tauris-a
\end{align*}
\]

(1) The incidence of L or H in this sect. seems to be determined by polarity alone.

e.g. kana ndają (I)
kana ndákadyo (II)
A sub-variety of this conjugation exists in which the tones of C radicals carry H but longer radicals carry the same tone patterns as in TC.V. e.g. in the affirmative participial remote past.  

\[ \text{e.g. } nd-á-ka-ná \quad \text{nd-á-ka-wá} \]
\[ \text{má-ná} \quad \text{nd-á-bík-á} \]
\[ \text{zoror-á} \quad \text{tevé-r-á} \]
\[ \text{kangánis-á} \quad \text{tairis-á} \]

(vi) **TC VI**

Tone patterns:  
1. **L**  
2. **H**  
3. **LL**  
4. **HL**  
5. **ILL**  
6. **HLL**  
7. **LLL**  
8. **HLLL**

For example, the affirmative principal recent past, III person inflection.

\[ \text{e.g. } v-á-p-a \quad v-á-rw-á} \]
\[ \text{tem-a} \quad \text{bík-á} \]
\[ \text{zorro-r-á} \quad \text{tevé-r-á} \]
\[ \text{kanganis-a} \quad \text{tairis-á} \]

(vii) **TC VII**

Tone patterns:  
1. **L**  
2. **H**  
3. **LL**  
4. **HL**  
5. **LLL**  
6. **HLL**  
7. **LLLL**

For example, the negative principal present inflection.

\[ \text{e.g. } ha-nd-t-é \quad ha-nd-rw-é} \]
\[ \text{tem-é} \quad \text{bík-é} \]
\[ \text{zorro-r-é} \quad \text{tevé-r-é} \]
\[ \text{kanganis-é} \quad \text{tairis-é} \]

(viii) **TC VIII**

Tone patterns:  
1. **H**  
2. **HH**  
3. **HIH**  
4. **HHL**  
5. **HHHL**  
6. **HLLL**  
7. **HHHL**

For example, the affirmative participial present inflection of a verb phrase with objective prefix.

\[ \text{e.g. } ndi-chí-vzi-p-á} \quad ndi-chí-vzi-rw-á} \]
\[ \text{tem-á} \quad \text{bík-á} \]

(ix) **TC IX**

Tone patterns:  
1. **H**  
2. **HH**  
3. **HHH**  
4. **HHHL**  
5. **HLLL**  
6. **HHHH**  
7. **HHHL**  
8. **HHHH**

For example, the affirmative principal remote past, III person inflection.

\[ \text{e.g. } v-á-ka-p-á} \quad v-á-ka-rw-á} \]
\[ \text{tem-á} \quad \text{bík-á} \]
\[ \text{zorro-r-á} \quad \text{tevé-r-á} \]
\[ \text{kanganis-á} \quad \text{tairis-á} \]

(x) **TC X**

Tone patterns:  
1. **L**  
2. **LL**  
3. **LLL**  
4. **LLLL**

For example, the imperative exclusive inflection.

\[ \text{e.g. } chí-p-á} \quad chí-rw-á} \]
\[ \text{tem-á} \quad \text{bík-á} \]
\[ \text{zorro-r-á} \quad \text{tevé-r-á} \]
\[ \text{kanganis-á} \quad \text{tairis-á} \]

(xi) **TC XI**

Tone patterns:  
1. **H**  
2. **HH**  
3. **HHH**  
4. **HHHL**  
5. **HHHH**  
6. **HHHHL**  
7. **HHHHHH**

...
This group of tone patterns occurs whenever the reflexive object prefix is used, e.g. affirmative principal remote past I, II person inflection.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{'nd-a-ka-zvi-p-á} \text{'nd-a-ka-zvi-čv-á}, \]
\[ \text{tem-á} \text{'tever-á}, \]
\[ \text{corodz-á} \text{'kangane-á}, \]
\[ \text{tauris-á} \]

The tone conjugations include the following pairs of tone patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TC</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Nos. 1 + 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 + 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 + 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 + 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 + 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 + 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 + 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 + 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 + 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 + 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9 + 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other pairs of tone patterns, viz. other tone conjugations, have not been met in the inflection of verb phrases in Bezuru.

(g) Tonal morphemes in verbal inflections

The distribution of these variant forms of the radicals of the complementary high and low classes is conditioned by the inflections.

In a number of cases we seem to find an identical combination of inflecting morphemes occurring with varying inflecting effect and with varying radical tone patterns.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{'v-a-ka-tam-á} \text{ affirmative principal remote past III person} \]
\[ \text{(they cut - before today)} \]
\[ \text{'v-a-ka-tam-á} \text{ affirmative participial remote past III person} \]
\[ \text{(they having cut - before today)} \]
\[ \text{'v-a-bik-á} \text{ affirmative principal recent past III person} \]
\[ \text{(they cooked - today)} \]
\[ \text{'v-a-bik-á} \text{ affirmative participial recent past III person} \]
\[ \text{(they having cooked - today)} \]
\[ \text{'nd-a-tam-á} \text{ affirmative principal recent past I, II persons} \]
\[ \text{(I cut - today)} \]
\[ \text{'nd-a-tam-á} \text{ affirmative relative recent past I, II persons} \]
\[ \text{(I who cut - today)} \]

How can identical inflections provide the conditioning factor for different radical morphophonemic changes? The most convenient answer to the difficulty, if we are not to confer morphemic status to the radical tone patterns, is to recognise that the above seemingly identical inflections are not identical. This means that we must recognise that the tones of certain subject prefixes in different inflections are morphemes of tone, somewhat similar to the H allomorph of the copulative inflection, distinct from each other though sometimes homophonous, and providing, with the rest of the inflections with which they are found, the conditioning factor for the distribution of the radical allomorphs. Thus, in the above examples, we recognise a morpheme H occurring with affirmative principal III person inflections contrasting with a morpheme L occurring with I, II affirmative principal inflections. Further, a morpheme H occurring with participial inflections of all persons contrasting with a morpheme L occurring with relative inflections of all persons. Certain subject prefixes are morphemically complex then and carry a tone which is a morpheme. This morpheme is an integral part of the inflection and with the rest of the inflection determines the radical tone pattern. Those tonal morphemes and their incidence are as follows:

1. Affirmative principal I, II persons : L
2. Affirmative principal III persons : H
3. Participial : H
4. Participial with tense sign -ch- : L
5. Relative : L
6. Subjunctive : H
7. Consecutive : L

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{'ndi-cha-ziv-a} \text{(I still know)} \]
\[ \text{ā-cha-ziv-ā} \text{(he still knows)} \]
\[ \text{'ndi-cha-ziv-a} \text{(I still knowing)} \]
\[ \text{ā-cha-ziv-ā} \text{(he still knowing)} \]
\[ \text{'ndi-čh-živ-ā} \text{(I knowing)} \]
\[ \text{ā-čh-živ-ā} \text{(he knowing)} \]

26 /5. ndi-čh-živ-a.
5. ndi-ga-zły-a
   a-ga-zły-a
   (I who still know.)
   (he who still knows)

6. ndi-fy-e
   a-fy-e
   ((that) I know)
   ((that) he knows)

7. ndi-ka-zły-a
   a-ka-zły-a
   (and I knew)
   (and he knew)

All these tonal morphemes are carried by sps which are the first elements of the respective inflections. Allomorphs of sps occur with the tense sign /ə-/, and are the forms listed in Series IV. In these combinations it is the tense sign /ə-/, which is itself tonally neutral, which carries the morpheme of tone.

 e.g. ndi-ga-zły-a
      ndi-ka-zły-a
      (I know)
      (I having known)
      (I who know)

The tense sign /ə-/ of the exclusive has fixed inherent tone H which is not a tonal morpheme. Allomorphs of the sps occur with this tense sign as with the tense sign /ə-/. But /ə-/ is uniformly high and the inflecting morphemes of tone do not appear.

 e.g. ndi-ga-zły-a
      ndi-ka-zły-a
      (now I know)
      (now knowing)
      (I who know)

Sps which are not initial, as in the negative principal and hortative inflections, do not carry tonal morphemes. They appear to be tonally neutral and carry H or L tones as determined by polarity with the morphemes /ha-/ (negative) and /ha-/ (hortative) which have fixed inherent tone and are the first elements in the inflections in which they occur.

(h) Morphophonemic changes in terminal vowels

There are a number of auxiliary radicals in Zemuri which are followed, as complement, by a contracted infinitive, i.e. an infinitive inflected verb phrase without prefix /ki-/. In the inflection of these auxiliary radicals, the terminal vowel is uniformly /ə-. For example the auxiliary radical /-wanz-/ (do as well as a rule).

 e.g. ndi-ga-wanz-o it-a lma
      ha-ga-wanz-o it-a lma
      (I usually work)
      (I don't usually do work)

Many, but by no means all, of these auxiliaries followed by contracted infinitives are used in alternative longer constructions followed by uncontracted infinitives and with terminal vowels which are normal to the inflection.

 e.g. ndi-ga-wanz-o kijin lma
      (I usually do work)
      ha-ga-wanz-o kijin lma
      (I don't usually do work)

Historically the terminal vowel /ə-/ is probably due to the coalescence of the terminal vowels of the inflections with the infinitive prefix.

 i.e. -wanz-o + kg-it-a > -wanz-o ita
      -wanz-e + kg-it-a > -wanz-e ita

When auxiliaries are followed by complementary contracted infinitive clauses, both the auxiliary and the contracted infinitive verb stems carry penultimate length.

 e.g. ndi-no-wanz o tsa lma

The next page is Page 29.
There are no pages 27 & 28.
3.0. THE SUBSTANTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1. THE SUBSTANTIVES IN GENERAL

The term substantive is used in this study to indicate any example or realisation of any one of seven distinct types of construction, viz. any one of the following nouns, adjectives, enumeratives, quantitatives, selectors, demonstratives and pronouns. These terms indicate the kinds of substantive constructions recognised, and each of them is the name of a group of constructions built on a constructional pattern common to the group. Nouns are substantive constructions with the same constructional pattern in common. Adjectives are substantive constructions with the same constructional pattern in common. Nouns and adjectives, though both substantive constructions, differ from each other in virtue of their constructional patterns. The same holds for the other substantive constructions as well.

3.1.1. Constructional patterns of substantives

There is an overall similarity in the constructional patterns of the first five types of substantive listed. They are typically of the pattern:

prefix + stem

For example, the constituents of nouns are a noun prefix + a noun stem.

- e.g. mu-nhu (a person)
  va-nhu (persons)

The constituents of adjectives are an adjectival prefix + an adjectival stem.

- e.g. mu-kúrú (a big one)
  va-kúrú (big ones)

Similarly the constituents of the enumeratives, quantitatives and selectors are the respective enumerative, quantitative and selector prefixes and stems.

- e.g. enumeratives: mu-mwe (a certain one)
  va-mwe (certain ones)

- quantitatives: ó-ga (one alone)
  vó-ga (some alone)

- selectors: u-no (this one here)
  vá-no (these ones here)

Each of these five types has, however, (1) its own set of prefixes and (2) its own set of stems. The noun prefixes differ, as a set, from those of the adjectives; and both of these differ, as sets, from the enumerative, quantitative and selector prefixes. The terms "as a set" and "as sets" are important, for there is a great deal of similarity and correspondence between the prefixes of each set. For example, when substantives appear in a substantive phrase, which is at the next level of construction after the substantive, their prefixes must be in agreement, and this agreement is often expressed by prefixes which appear identical.

- e.g. munhu mukúrú (a big person)
  vanhu vakúrú (big people)
  mumwe munhu (another person)
  vapamwe vanhu (other people)
  munhu ūno óga (this person here on his own)
  vanhu vánó vóga (these people here on their own)

Nevertheless, as sets, the prefixes of each of these five types differ one from the other.

These constructions also differ from the point of view of their second constituents. Noun stems are those which combine with noun prefixes; adjectival stems combine with adjectival prefixes and so on. The number of noun stems in Zzururu is very large. Adjectival stems number about thirty, enumerative stems three, quantitative stems two and selector stems three.

The constructions of each type are subdivided into classes on the basis of the prefixes which are proper to each construction. There are twenty-two distinct noun prefixes in Zzururu, each of which combines with a great number of noun stems. Hence there are twenty-two different classes of nouns. The noun munhu, with prefix mu-, belongs to the first class; the noun vanhu, with prefix va-, to the second.

There are eighteen distinct adjectival prefixes each of which combines with a number of adjectival stems. Hence there are eighteen distinct classes of adjective. The same applies to all the other substantives as well, to the enumeratives, the quantitatives, the selectors, as well as to the demonstratives and the pronouns whose constructional patterns, different from those of the first five types of substantive, will be examined shortly.

Noun prefixes...
Noun prefixes are numbered and the class of nouns which is based on each prefix is known by its number. For example, the prefix /mu/ is noun prefix 1 and the nouns in which this prefix is present as a constituent belong to noun class 1. Prefix /va/ is noun prefix 2 and the nouns in which this prefix is present as a constituent belong to the noun class 2. The number of the class to which a noun belongs is usually added after it in brackets.

e.g. mulu (person) (1)
    muldzi (owner) (1)
    vahu (persons) (2)
    vardi (owners) (2)

The very important factor of agreement or concord between substantives in substantive phrases has been mentioned. Agreement between the substantives so far examined is expressed by using corresponding prefixes. The prefixes in adjectives, enumeratives, quantitatives and selectors, whereby agreement with classes of nouns is expressed, are given the same numbers as the noun prefixes themselves. Thus, for example, the prefixes in the following substantives are all said to be prefixes of class 1 though, of course, each is a different kind of prefix, belonging to a different constituent class.

    mu-kuré : adjectival prefix, class 1
    mu-mwa : enumerative prefix, class 1
    yu-qan : quantitative prefix, class 1
    u-no : selector prefix, class 1

The prefixes in the following substantives are all said, similarly, to be prefixes of class 2 because they are used to express agreement with nouns of that class.

    va-kuré : adjectival prefix, class 2
    va-mwa : enumerative prefix, class 2
    va-qan : quantitative prefix, class 2
    va-no : selector prefix, class 2.

The numbering of noun prefixes and the corresponding adjectival, enumerative, quantitative and selector prefixes by the same number brings out this factor of agreement. But there is probably a deeper identity between prefixes in agreement in different constructions. The various forms of the prefixes in the different constructions,

e.g. /mu/ (noun); /mu/ (adjectival);
and /mu/ (enumerative); /y/ (quantitative);
and /yu/ (selector) of class 1,

and /va/ (noun); /va/ (adjectival);
and /va/ (enumerative); /v/ (quantitative);
and /va/ (selector) of class 2,

are repetitions, sometimes under different forms due to morphophonemic changes, of the same morphemes, viz. the affixes of classes 1 and 2. Thus the noun prefix /mu/ and the selector prefix /y/ are allomorphs of the same morpheme as are the adjectival prefix /mu/, the enumerative prefix /mu/ and the quantitative prefix /v/. This morpheme is the class affix of class 1. Similarly all the prefixes of class 2 are allomorphs of the same morpheme, the class affix of 2.

There are four more classes of noun than there are of other substantives. The noun prefixes of of classes 1a, 2a, 2b and 2l have no corresponding allomorphs in other constructions. In substantive phrases, nouns of class 1a, i.e. nouns with the class 1a prefix, appear with substantives of class 1.

    e.g. mu-mukuru (senior father) (1a)
    cp. mulhu muku (a senior person) (1)

Similarly nouns with the prefix of classes 2a and 2b appear with substantives of class 2.

    e.g. vadvisho vakuru (senior chiefs) (2a)
    amal wano (this mother here) (2b)
    cp. vanhu vakuru (senior people) (2)

Finally nouns with the prefix of class 2l appear with substantives of class 5.

    e.g. zikumwe gurú (a huge, big man) (2l)
    cp. banga gurú (a big knife) (5)

Thus there exist noun prefixes only in the case of:

    classes 1a, viz. /yu/;
    2a, viz. /v/;
    2b, viz. /v/;
    2l, viz. /yu/;

These are not found in other substantival constructions.¹ In the case of other classes the class affix is a constituent in each type of construction. The same class affix, given different terms according to discourse, for 3l/accordingly.

1. Occasionally the prefix /yi/ of cl.2l is found with adjectives in combination with the adjectival prefix of cl.5. e.g. zihhoho ziguru (a huge pot) (2l)
according to each construction of which it is a constituent, is found as noun prefix, adjectival prefix, enumerative prefix, quantitative prefix and selector prefix. In many cases its form differs from construction to construction and in fact the sets of allomorphs of the class affixes proper to each construction differ one from the another in phonemic form. It is not only on this count that different substantival constructions are recognised. As we have seen, each set of class affixes has a corresponding set of stems with which they combine.

The last two types of substantival construction listed in 3.1 are the demonstratives and the pronouns. These types of construction are built on a different structural pattern from the other five. They are typically of the pattern:

\[
\text{initial stabilising vowel + class affix} \quad \text{or class affix + } /-o/. \\
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-\text{yu} (this one)</td>
<td>j-\text{ye} (he himself, she herself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-\text{va} (these ones)</td>
<td>l-\text{o} (they themselves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These constructions, like the other substantival constructions, have a class affix as constituent. Unlike the other constructions, the class affix is not prefixal. However, the class affixes proper to demonstratives and pronouns are, no less, allomorphs of the class affixes and express agreement in substantive phrases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-\text{mu} (this person)</td>
<td>j-\text{ye} (this person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-\text{va} (these people)</td>
<td>l-\text{o} (these people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-\text{ma} (the person himself)</td>
<td>l-\text{o} (the persons themselves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence demonstratives and pronouns are numbered according to the same system as applies to the five other constructions considered earlier, viz. according to the number of the class affix.

3.1.2. Substantives in agreement in phrases

In order to explain the subdivision of nouns and other substantives into numbered classes, a system which cuts across the division of substantives into structural types and applies to each of them, we have had to examine the structure of the substantive phrase. This is a construction at a level which is one higher than that of the substantive. Constructions at the substantive level are constituents at the SP level. Substantive phrases are built up on the following pattern:

\[
\text{nuclear substantive} + \text{ substantive(s) in agreement} \\
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-\text{mu} (a big person)</td>
<td>j-\text{ye} (a big person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-\text{va} (these people)</td>
<td>l-\text{o} (these people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-\text{ma} (the person himself)</td>
<td>l-\text{o} (the persons themselves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the structural features of the SP is that constituents agree in class. This feature of agreement or concord is essential to the structure of the SP and hence it is stated explicitly in the constructional pattern. The structure of the SP is studied at the next level of construction but it is necessary to know about this principle of agreement in order to understand the structure of each type of substantive. In each type of substantive one of the constituents is the class or concordial prefix or affix.

3.2. THE NOUN IN GENERAL

The typical constructional pattern of the noun is expressed as:

\[
\text{nucleon prefix (np) + noun stem (ns)} \\
\]

Each constituent of the formula indicated a class, viz. a set of constituents, each of which can enter this construction. There is a set of morphemes which belong to the constituent class of np, each of which can act as the first constituent in the construction, noun; and there is a set of morphemes and combinations of morphemes, all of which can act as the second constituent.

The constituent class of np contains the following members:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>mu-nhu (a person)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-nhu (persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>a-mb (a chief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>a-mb (chief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-mb (grandmother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mi-ti (a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-ti (trees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(ri-)</td>
<td>gorë (a cloud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-korë (clouds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>chi-nu (a thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
<td>zvi-nu (things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>nira (path)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1. Noun Prefixes

The noun prefixes listed are in the base forms. Each prefix, and the noun class based on it, will be treated below. There are allomorphs of almost all the prefixes and these will be stated below, both as to form and distribution. These allomorphs are the result of the operation of one or other of the morphophonemic changes which take place in Shona when morphemes of certain shapes come together; for example, when a np and a vowel-commencing ns are constituents. The morphophonemic (mp) changes result in morphemes having phonologically different forms which can often be shown to be the result of their phonological environment. In the case of np, mp changes result in allomorphs which are non-syllabic.

3.2.2. Notes on the prefixes

Most of the np’s are syllabic and, phonologically, of CV structure. The prefix of cl. 2b consists of a vowel, /a-/.

The np of cl. 5 is listed as /(ri-)/, not because it ever appears syllabically as such, but because this is suggested by the prefixes of other substantives of cl. 5, viz. by other forms of the cl. 5 affix.

The presence as a constituent in nouns is sometimes realized as the voicing of the initial phoneme of the ns with which it combines.

In other cases, its presence is not realized by any change to the initial phoneme of the ns, viz. it is realized as /∅-/. The np of cl. 9 is listed as /N-/ because it likewise has no syllabic realization, and because it is often realized as a non-syllabic nasal consonant.

But in some cases, like /(ri-)/, its presence is not realized by any change to the initial phoneme of the ns.

The zero allomorph of cl. 10 always appears in combination with the prefix /N-/ of cl. 9 as /∅N-/.

The constituent class of ns is a very large one and we must here give some indication of the various types that exist. The main division is into simplex and complex stems. Simplex stems consist of only one segmental morpheme whereas complex stems consist of various combinations of morphemes. They may consist, for example of two noun stems,

1. Cp. 3.3.13.
e.g. mu-nhu-rume (male person) (1) cp. mu-nhu (person) (1)
mu-rumé (man) (1)

or of two ideophones.
e.g. mu-kudulu-kudulu (continual uncovering)
cp. kudulu (uncovering)

There is a great variety of combinations possible and these various types of complex stem are studied in 3.4. on Complex Nominal Constructions.

### 3.2.4. 
Deverbative nouns and nominal constructions

The constructional pattern np + ns, stated to be typical, applies well enough to complex nominal constructions which involve combinations of substantive stems or ideophones. For constructions which involve verb radicals, however, and, more verb radicals with complements and/or adjuncts, the pattern is much more complex.

In a noun which incorporates a verb radical (R),

e.g. chi-garo (a seat) cp. ku-gar-a (to sit)

it does not appear that the constituents are np and ns. The immediate constituents are rather np + terminal vowel /-a/ on the one hand, and the R on the other. The tree we should draw is not this:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{chi} \quad \text{gar-o} \\
(a \text{ seat}) \\
(7)
\end{array}
\]

but this:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{chi} \quad \text{gar-a} \\
\text{(start)} \\
\end{array}
\]

Complex nominal constructions involving verb radicals and the relationships between Rs and their complements and adjuncts are treated in 3.4. as well.

### 3.2.5. 
Membership of noun classes

Every noun class contains nouns with simplex and complex stems as well as deverbatives. Both nouns and complex nominal constructions are grouped into classes because they have prefixes in common. Thus all the following, both nouns and nominal constructions, are members of the same noun class 7.

- e.g. chi-nhu (7)
  (thing)

- chi-muše (7.3)
  (short, thick tail)

- chi-wéná udiki (7.14)
  (behaviour of small children)

- chi-tángé-tángé (7)
  (fits and starts)

- chi-nzvēngá-mutsáváro (7)
  (lazybones)

- mu-svö (3)
  (tail)

- hv-aná udźiki (14)
  (small children)

- táŋ-e (ideophone)
  (start, beginning)

- táŋ-a (start)

- nzwēngé (dodge)
  (ideophone)

- nzwē (ideophone)

- mu tsváño (broom) (3)
  (sweeping) (ideophone)

In the treatment of each noun class examples will not be limited to nouns which, strictly speaking, indicate only constructions of noun prefix + simplex stem. A wide selection of examples of all kinds of nominal constructions, which are no less members of noun classes, will be given. But the structure of complex nominal constructions is discussed in 3.4.

Noun stems differ from other types of substantive stem in their relation to prefixes. The adjectival, enumerative, quantitative and selector stems combine equally readily with any of their set of prefixes. Noun stems, however, have a primary relationship with a pair of prefixes or a single prefix. These are the noun stem's primary prefixes. If the stem combines with other prefixes, which it commonly does, its relationship is of quite a different kind, and these prefixes are said in this case to be secondary. The difference between primary and secondary prefixes is discussed below in paragraph 3.2.6. The difference between noun stems on the one hand and the other substantive stems on the other, in their relation to their prefixes, is expressed by the terms "short series stems" and "long series stems" used, for example, by Whiteley to distinguish the two types of stem. In AS this difference is brought out by calling the former noun stems and the latter qualificative stems.

34/Stems can...
Stems can be classified according to the primary prefixes with which they regularly appear. For example, the stems /-ridzi/ and /-karrangé/, which regularly appear with prefixes muri- (1) and va- (2) fall into a different class of stems from those of the stems -rongó and -svó which regularly appear with the prefixes chiv- (7) and zvi- (8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>-ridzi</th>
<th>(owner)</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>va-ridzi</th>
<th>(owners)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muri-karrangé</td>
<td>(junior wife)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>va-karrangé</td>
<td>(junior wives)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-rongó</td>
<td>(waterpot)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>zvi-rongó</td>
<td>(waterpots)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-svó</td>
<td>(razor)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>zvi-svó</td>
<td>(razors)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not normal to classify stems, however, as such, but complete nouns. These are grouped into classes on the basis of their prefix.

Thus muri-ridzi, mukarrangá, munihu are all in class 1
chiroongó, chienvó, chinhu are all in class 7

The number assigned to the np is, of course, assigned to the class of nouns marked by that prefix.

### 3.2.6. Primary and secondary prefixes

The majority of noun stems combine regularly with a pair of primary prefixes and these constructions are respectively singular and plural in number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>muri-ridzi</th>
<th>(owner)</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>varidzi</th>
<th>(owners)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chirongó</td>
<td>(waterpot)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>zviirongó</td>
<td>(waterpots)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of noun stems combine regularly with only one primary prefix and these constructions appear to be either neutral or unspecified in number, having a reference which either does not include number or may include both singular and plural indifferently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>chivevé</th>
<th>(cramp)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mapere</td>
<td>(leprosy)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usavávé</td>
<td>(a net, nets)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The constructions of primary prefix and stem are used to indicate a normal specimen of the item of experience which is referred to by the stem. Thus muri-ridzi, chirongó, varidzi and zviirongó indicate normal specimens each of its kind. Further, in constructions of primary prefix and stem, each prefix conveys a reference, or one of a number of references, which is proper to the class of which it is the prefix. Thus, for example, the prefix muri- of class 1 has the reference, common to all the members of the class, of singular human.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>muri-ridzi</th>
<th>(owner)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muri-karrangá</td>
<td>(junior wife)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri-nhu</td>
<td>(person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix va- of class 2 has the reference, common to all the members of the class, of plural human.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>va-ridzi</th>
<th>(owners)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>va-karrangá</td>
<td>(junior wives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-nhu</td>
<td>(persons)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix muri- of class 3 has the reference, common to certain members of the class, of singular tree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>muri-zanhe</th>
<th>(wild logat tree)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muri-hacha</td>
<td>(cork tree)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri-chindwi</td>
<td>(palm tree)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix miri- of class 4 has the reference, common to certain members of the class, of plural tree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>miri-zanhe</th>
<th>(wild logat trees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miri-hacha</td>
<td>(cork trees)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri-chindwi</td>
<td>(palm trees)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The references of all the noun prefixes together, taken as a structured whole or spectrum, reflect the way in which the world, as experienced by the Zezuru, has been segmented into categories. Constructions consisting of primary prefixes and stems indicate normal specimens of members of these categories. From the point of view of the reference conveyed, constructions of secondary prefixes and stems differ in one of two ways from the reference conveyed by constructions of primary prefixes and stems.

Combinations of certain secondary prefixes with stems indicate special or abnormal specimens of the item referred to by the stem. These prefixes are those of classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21 and the abnormality or special character conveyed differs, of course, according to the secondary prefix used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>ka-kádzi</th>
<th>(small woman)</th>
<th>(12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zii-gádzi</td>
<td>(huge woman)</td>
<td>(21, 5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. muri-kádzi</td>
<td>(woman)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These secondary prefixes can be called commentary prefixes.

Combinations of other secondary prefixes with stems result in forms whose reference is that of the item considered from one of a number of additional aspects, e.g. abstractness, as personified, as the number of action proper to the item, as a location connected with the item and so on. These prefixes are those of classes 1a, 2a, 7, 14, 16, 17 and 18 and perhaps can be called supplementary.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{chi-kadži} & \text{(way of a woman)} & (7) \\
& u-kadži & \text{(womanhood)} & (14)
\end{align*}
\]

The commentary secondary prefixes carry overtones of sarcasm, criticism, caricature as they make their implied comment on an item's size or quality.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{gadži} & \text{(large woman)} & (5) \\
& kacakadži & \text{(small woman)} & (12) \\
& rukadži & \text{(thin, lean, undersized woman)} & (11) \\
& chikadži & \text{(fat, stout, jolly woman)} & (7)
\end{align*}
\]

In AS secondary prefixes were called prefixes in secondary function. One remark made there is worth quoting:

"With the use of prefixes in secondary function there are associated certain significances which are fully appreciated in each individual case of substitution when the noun stem in its new form is implicitly compared with the normal form, e.g. gomanė (Big boy) (5) with mukomanė (boy)." AS, 108.


The distinction between commentary and supplementary is one which is based on the different references of secondary prefixes. The references of the prefixes both as primary and secondary are examined below.

**Position of primary and secondary prefixes**

A primary prefix is one with which a stem normally and regularly appears in the construction np+s. A secondary prefix is, first of all, one which is substituted for a primary prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{chi-kadži} & \text{(short, fat, jolly woman)} & (7) \\
& pu-zigadži & \text{(by the huge woman)} & (16, 21, 5)
\end{align*}
\]

It is also secondary when it is preprefixed or superimposed onto another prefix, either primary or secondary.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{chi-mu-nju} & \text{(cheeky person)} & (7.1) \\
& pu-zigadži & \text{(by the huge woman)} & (16, 21, 5)
\end{align*}
\]

In this case it is prefixed to a construction and the stem is a complex one, consisting of a prefix or prefixes and stem.

Note that it is possible for a prefix to be prefixed to itself. As preprefix it carries a secondary reference while, as prefix, it carries, perhaps, a primary one.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{dzatsi} & \text{(big bundles of fish)} & (5,5) \\
& \text{chichidembo} & \text{(habits of a polecats)} & (7,7) \\
& \text{ruzwizi} & \text{(long, thin trickle of a river)} & (11,11) \\
& \text{usswe} & \text{(nature of grass)} & (14,11)
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.7. **Tonomorphs**

Each of the segmental constituents of the noun carries a tonomorph or morpheme of tone. On noun prefixes the tonomorph is L but this may be replaced by H in some cases of inflection or assimilation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{munyu} & \text{(a person)} & (1) \\
& \text{munyu} & \text{(it is a person)} & - \text{copulative inflection} \\
& \text{kuda munyu} & \text{(to love a person)} & - \text{copulative inflection}
\end{align*}
\]

Prefixes of classes 2a and 2b however, carry H and L respectively in all cases.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{vadzimai} & \text{(woman)} & (2a) \\
& \text{nda-vadzimai} & \text{(it is a woman)} & - \text{copulative inflection}
\end{align*}
\]

On noun stems there is considerable variety in the tone patterns carried. These depend on the number of syllables and on the particular sequence of H or L in each case. The tone patterns listed here are limited to those found on simplex stems of 1 - 3 syllables.

\[36^a (a) (i) CV \ldots\]
(a) (i) CV stems may be H or L.

In noun classes with syllabic nps, the tone patterns of nouns will be either LH or LL\(^1\).

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mu-ti} \quad (\text{tree}) \quad (3) \\
& \quad \text{mu-nhu} \quad (\text{person}) \quad (1)
\end{align*}

(ii) In classes without syllabic nps, viz. in classes la, 5, 9 and 10,9, such stems appear with a morpheme /-i/-, this being demanded by Zemurai phonology which requires monosyllabic stems to appear in constructions of at least 2 syllables capable of bearing the marker of penultimate length.\(^2\)

(b) CVCV stems may be HH, HL, LH, LL. Owing to mp changes, nps with vowel-commencing stems are never syllabic, and in all classes nouns with vowel-commencing stems have the same number of syllables as the stems. The HH and HL tone patterns are found only on cl. 5, 9 and 10,9 nouns.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{zíng} \quad (\text{tooth}) \quad (5) \quad \text{stem:} \quad \text{-íng/} \\
& \quad \text{zíá} \quad (\text{eye}) \quad (5) \quad \text{-íá/} \\
& \quad \text{njìdzìná} \quad (\text{new moon}) \quad (9) \quad \text{-édziná/} \quad \text{cp. édz}^2 \quad (\text{shine}) \\
& \quad \text{nyùchi} \quad (\text{bee}) \quad (9)
\end{align*}

The LH, LL tonomorphs are found in all classes, and HH, HL tonomorphs become LH in classes other than 5, 9 and 10,9.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mw-á} \quad (\text{child}) \quad (1) \quad \text{stem:} \quad \text{-á/} \\
& \quad \text{mw-enje} \quad (\text{torch}) \quad (3) \quad \text{-enje/} \\
& \quad \text{men} \quad (\text{teeth}) \quad (6) \quad \text{-inó/} \\
& \quad \text{mesé} \quad (\text{eyes}) \quad (6) \quad \text{-isó/} \\
& \quad \text{mw-ézd}^2 \quad (\text{moon}) \quad (3) \quad \text{-edz}^2/ \quad \text{cp. édz}^2 \quad (\text{shine}) \\
& \quad \text{ch-ézd}^2 \quad (\text{gleam}) \quad (7) \\
& \quad \text{z-ér} \quad (\text{potsherid}) \quad (5) \quad \text{cp. rw-ér} \quad (\text{piece of pot}) \quad (11)
\end{align*}

(c) (i) CVCCV stems may be HH, HL, LH, LL. In classes with syllabic nps, the tone patterns of the nouns may be IHH, IHL, ILH, ILL.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mu-rúme} \quad (\text{man}) \quad (1) \\
& \quad \text{mu-mbírë} \quad (\text{member of the Mbírë tribe}) \quad (1) \\
& \quad \text{ma-pázá} \quad (\text{hoes}) \quad (6) \\
& \quad \text{mu-ridzí} \quad (\text{owner}) \quad (1)
\end{align*}

(ii) In classes with non-syllabic prefixes the tone patterns of nouns are the same as those of the stems.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{bá} \quad (\text{kinsman}) \quad (9) \quad \text{stem:} \quad \text{-bá/-} \quad \text{cp. u-bá} \quad (\text{kinship}) \quad (14) \\
& \quad \text{gónhj} \quad (\text{door}) \quad (5) \quad \text{-khj} \quad \text{ma-kónhj} \quad (\text{doors}) \quad (6) \\
& \quad \text{bádzá} \quad (\text{hoes}) \quad (5) \quad \text{-padzá} \quad \text{ma-padzá} \quad (\text{hoes}) \quad (6) \\
& \quad \text{bova} \quad (\text{rivers}) \quad (10) \quad \text{-kova} \quad \text{ru-kova} \quad (\text{river}) \quad (11)
\end{align*}

(i) CVCCV stem may be HH, HL, LH, LL, LL, LLL. In classes with syllabic nps the tone patterns of the nouns may be L + each of the above.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mu-kárángá} \quad (\text{junior wife}) \quad (1) \\
& \quad \text{ru-kúvhite} \quad (\text{umbilical cord}) \quad (11) \\
& \quad \text{pa-hórdhe} \quad (\text{on holiday}) \quad (16, 9) \\
& \quad \text{mu-síkara} \quad (\text{girl}) \quad (1) \\
& \quad \text{mu-ridzó} \quad (\text{way of playing}) \quad (3) \\
& \quad \text{ch-zëzùrù} \quad (\text{Zezuru language}) \quad (7) \\
& \quad \text{zi-má} \quad (\text{big piece of gold}) \quad (21, 9) \\
& \quad \text{mu-turo} \quad (\text{speech}) \quad (3)
\end{align*}

(ii) In classes with non-syllabic nps, the tone patterns of nouns are the same as those of the stems.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{gárángá} \quad (\text{a big junior wife}) \quad (9) \\
& \quad \text{núhbite} \quad (\text{umbilical cords}) \\
& \quad \text{hórdhe} \quad (\text{holiday}) \\
& \quad \text{gímná} \quad (\text{a big boy}) \\
& \quad \text{ngováni} \quad (\text{hat})
\end{align*}

1. The mp /vá/- of cl. 2a is disregarded here as it is tone-inflecting. The tonal changes associated with it are listed in par. 3.3.4. (e)

2. "Penultimate i-", as Doke called it, appears in a number of similar contexts with stems which would otherwise be monosyllabic

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mu-ídá} \quad (\text{new}) \quad (5); \quad \text{with Rs of C shape in the imperative inflection e.g. i-ú-é} \quad (\text{love}) \quad \text{in the pronouns of cl.11.1-21 e.g. i-ye} \quad (\text{he}) \quad \text{in ideophones formed from Rs of C shape e.g. i-dy-é(eating)}
\end{align*}
Some tone patterns are more frequent than others. The pattern HLL is not common on indigenous stems, except on allomorphs in questions. Cp. 1.7.4.4.

3.2.8.

Classification of nouns

Nouns fall clearly into a number of classes. The common characteristic, mark or criterion of each class is, in each case, a noun prefix, present as a constituent in each member of the class. These prefixes were set out in paragraph 3.2. A word is required to justify the list and explain why twenty-two distinct prefixes are recognised, particularly as some of them, viz. those of cl. 1, 3 and 18 (prefix /mu-/), and those of cl. 15 and 17 (prefix /nu-/), are identical in form.

Although some of the prefixes are identical in form, further considerations lead to the acceptance of a system of 22 distinct prefixes, each the constituent of a class.

(a) Most of the prefixes have distinct forms. This is the case with the following, viz.

- /va-/ (2), /vi-/ (2a), /a-/ (2b), /mi-/ (4),
- /ma-/ (6), /chi-/ (7), /zi-/ (8), /di-/ (10),
- /ru-/ (11), /ka-/ (12), /tu-/ (13), /u-/ (14),
- /pa-/ (16), /zi-/ (21).

The prefixes of cl. 5 and 9 are never of syllabic CV form. Their presence as constituents is revealed by np changes which affect the initial phonemes of the stems to which they are prefixed. For example, the presence of the prefix of cl. 5 in the noun bangâ (knife) is shown by the difference between the stem /bangâ/ and the construction, prefix /(ri-)/ + stem: bangâ. Its presence consists of the difference between /b/ and /p/, viz. voicing and implosion. In many cases the presence of /(ri-)/ is not detectable by any change to the stem with which it combines.

e.g. feso (devil thorn) (5) cp. ma-feso (devil thorns) (6)

The presence of the prefix of cl. 9 is frequently shown by the presence of a nasal consonant, homorganic to the initial phoneme of the stem, with which it forms a consonant cluster.

e.g. mbereko (cradle skin) (9)

cp. -berek- (carry, bear a child)

But in many cases the presence of /N-/ is likewise not detectable by any change to the stem with which it combines.

e.g. chembre (old woman) (9)

-cherche- (grow old)

The noun prefix of cl. 10 is cited as /dzi-/; the form which corresponds closely to the forms of the class affix in the other substantival construction, e.g. dzi-mba i-dzi (these houses) (10.9). The form in which this noun prefix almost always occurs, however, is /dzi-/; invariably in combination with /N-/; the prefix of cl. 9, e.g. mberoko i-dzi (these cradle skins) (10.9).

(b) The correspondence or link between certain pairs of prefixes whereby one is singular and the other plural, each of the other, is relevant to the recognition of distinct prefixes. Thus, for example, the plural of prefix /mu-/ as in mu-nhu (person), mu-ridzi (owner), mu-kâdi (women), is /va-/; cp. va-nhu (persons), va-ridzi (owners), va-kâdi (women). The plural of prefix /mu-/ as in mu-tî (tree), mu-sôrî (head), mu-gwaqwa (road) is /mi-/; cp. mi-tî (trees), mi-sôrî (heads), mi-gwaqwa (roads). The prefix /mu-/ as in mu-kâtî (in the middle) has no linked plural form as it has no number.

The existence of these pairs of prefixes suggests that the prefix of cl. 1 is distinct from that of cl. 3.

(c) The agreements which accompany, or are controlled by, a noun prefix in substantive phrases also help to identify that prefix as distinct. Thus, for example, nouns with prefix /mu-/ as in mu-nhu, mu-ridzi, mu-kâdi are accompanied by pronoun iye.

e.g. iye munhu (the person himself) (1)
iye mridzi (the owner himself) (1)

Nouns with prefix /mu-/ as in mu-tî, mu-sôrî, mu-gwaqwa are accompanied by pronoun iwo.

e.g. iwo mutî (the tree itself) (3)
iwo misôrî (the head itself) (3)

Nouns with prefix /mu-/ as in mu-kâtî (in the middle), mu-mbî (in the house) are accompanied by pronoun imo.

e.g. iwo mukâtî (in the middle itself) (18)
iwo mbâ (in the house itself) (18)

Nouns with prefix /ge-/ as in bâma (father), mbâmo (chief) are accompanied by pronoun iye.

e.g. iye bâma...
e.g. íye kmá (father himself) (1a)
ye mambo (the chief himself) (1a)

Nouns with prefix /é/ as in mambo (cattle), nzira (paths) are accompanied by pronoun ídzó.

e.g. ídzó mumbe (the cattle themselves) (10a)
dzo nzira (the paths themselves) (10a)

Nouns with prefix /é/-/as in mberí (ahead), shìre (behind) are accompanied by pronoun íko.

e.g. íko mberí (the part ahead itself) (17a)
ìko shìre (the part behind itself) (17a)

(d) Members of the classes with prefixes /ku-/ (15) and /ku-/ (17) cannot be distinguished on the basis of the form of the prefix, the plural linked form or distinctive agreements in substantive phrases, since none of these considerations apply. Yet they do seem to be distinct prefixes marking different classes. There is the fact that the prefix of class 15 very rarely appears as a constituent by itself; it is almost always associated, as an immediate constituent, with a terminal vowel -a, the other constituent being a verb radical, possibly accompanied by complement(s) and/or adjunct(s).

e.g. ku-tók-á nyáma (to take meat)

There are some radicals which are of irregular form being CV in phonological shape and therefore incorporating an invariable terminal vowel which does not appear to be part of their inflection.

e.g. -ti (do, say)
-nte (mean)

With these, which appear to be stems rather than radicals, the prefix alone is a constituent.

e.g. ku-nge munhu (to seem a person)

The class of nominal constructions with np/ku- of class 15 is, in any case, distinct in having verb radicals as constituents. The prefix of class 17 is found as a constituent only with noun stems.

cp. ku-tók-á (to take) (15)
kù-nzé (outside) (17)
ku-tók-á nyáma (to take meat) (15)
ku-mu-shá (at home) (17,3)

Np 15 is never used as a secondary prefix whereas np is normally secondary.

(e) A final consideration which helps to distinguish prefixes otherwise the same is that of class meaning. This does not of itself provide sufficient evidence for the distinguishing of prefixes otherwise the same.

mu-nju, mu-ridzi (1) with class reference 'human'
mu-tí, mu-hacha (3) with class reference 'tree'.

but cp. hámá (kinsman) mhízá (smith) (9) = 'human'
shámbá (lion) mhémbéwe (duiker) (9) = 'animal'

However, it is worth pointing out in the cases of classes 15 and 17 that it is typical for members of class 15, while being all nominal constructions, to indicate actions or activities conceived as such; whereas the members of class 17 all have reference to place.

cp. ku-tdzi (to take, taking) (15)
kù-nzé (outside) (17)

3.3. THE NOUN CLASSES

In this section the forms of the noun prefixes are given and the references conveyed by members of each class, both as regards number and other aspects of experience, are listed and exemplified.

Both nouns and nominal constructions are cited as examples of members of noun classes. The structure of complex nominal constructions is treated in Chapter 4.
3.3.1. Noun Class 1

(a) Prefix: /mu-/ 

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before vowel-commencing nominal stems, /mu-/ is realised as /mw-/. 
   e.g. mw-enâ (child) 
   mw-ené (owner) 
   mw-enga (bride) - no plural 
   mw-enâ (stranger) 
   
   but cp. mu-it-i (agent) cp. -it- (do) 

(2) Before stems commencing in a labial or alveolar and in a non-penultimate position, /mu-/ is realised as /m-/ (syllabic /m/) in quick speech. 
   e.g. m-pêîâmââ (companion) cp. -pêîêmââ (accompany) 
   m-huruyuk-i (one who flies) -huruyuk- (fly) 
   m-pîû-zû (blacksmith) -pîû- (work in iron) 
   m-Ndââ (a Ndu person) 
   
   but cp. mu-fî (a dead person) cp. -fû (die) 

(3) Elsewhere the prefix is realised as /mu-/.
   e.g. mu-nhy (person) 
   mu-swêre (sick person) 

Number: Class 1 nouns are all singular. Correlative plurals are predominantly in Class 2. Some names of tribes have their plurals in Class 6, viz. group (3) in the list below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) mu-Zezuru</td>
<td>(Zeze)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Karanga</td>
<td>(Karanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Manikya</td>
<td>(Manikya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Ndau</td>
<td>(Ndau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Ndââ</td>
<td>(Ndû)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Njana</td>
<td>(Njana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Vendâ</td>
<td>(Venda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Hlengwe</td>
<td>(Hlengwe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Sutu</td>
<td>(Sotho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Tswana</td>
<td>(Tswana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Hetâ</td>
<td>(Hetse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Mazivâ</td>
<td>(Maziva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Bowawâ</td>
<td>(Bowire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) mu-Ndubî</td>
<td>(Ndubî)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Rungu</td>
<td>(Rungu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Zungû</td>
<td>(European, especially Portuguese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) mu-Ndebele</td>
<td>(Ndébele)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Sena</td>
<td>(Sena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Tonga</td>
<td>(Tonga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Korekore</td>
<td>(Korekore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Toko</td>
<td>(Toko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Kotûji</td>
<td>(Kotûji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Nyêngarandi</td>
<td>(Nyêngarandi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Putuqezi</td>
<td>(Putuqezi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Rjua</td>
<td>(Rjua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Zuru</td>
<td>(Zuru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Nkeezi</td>
<td>(Nkeezi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Wehe</td>
<td>(Wehe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Tumba</td>
<td>(Tumba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Como</td>
<td>(Como)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-Hota</td>
<td>(Hota)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these nouns, group (2) form plurals in class 2. These forms are looked on as 

mazwâ omadze (polite forms) though the peoples indicated have been hostile to the 

Zezuru. They are each ndââ rukidu. The polite form has always been used out of fear. 

It is not known exactly why plurals in class 6 should be considered appropriate for 

group (3). They are foreigners, the Africans mainly from the north, their customs 

sometimes inspire disgust, they are tough and brave. The use of class 6 prefix for 

groups (1) and (2) would be a secondary use with provocative significance.

40/Compare...
Compare the following names in class 6 given to immigrants from Malawi:

ma-bwidi (those who use bwino - "well")
ma-debo (those who carry their stirring sticks)
ma-goba-nyuchi (those who roast bees)

Compare the following names given to Europeans:

vanj-uwahunga-kura (those who dress up for war)
vakomanju vamhunu ndefu (the fellows with long noses)

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which prefix /mu-/ is primary indicate singular human beings.

(i) e.g. mu-nju (person) va-
mu-nume (man) va-
mu-kadzi (woman) va-

(ii) Primary prefix /mu-/ is used with a number of loans which appear in the construction as stems.

e.g. mu-si (soldier) cp. soldier
mu-kika (European) umkhiwa (Zulu)(1)
mu-priest (priest)
mu-Kristo (a Christian)
mu-jenhi (white policeman)
mu-purisa (African policeman) police
mu-bakwacha (African district policeman) Black Watch
mu-heheni (a heathen) heathen
mu-profinja (a prophet) prophet
mu-vangere (a preacher) evangeliu (Latin)
mu-dhoneni (an agricultural demonstrator)

(iii) Complex nominal constructions of type mu-R-i indicate agents. Tonomorphs on R-i are those of TC 1 save that HHI pattern becomes HLI.

e.g. mu-pi (one who gives) cp. -p-i
mu-tor-i (one who takes) to-tor-a
mu-teng-e-i (one who sells) -teng-e-a
mu-kurumiz-i (one who hurries) -kumiz-a
mu-rw-i (one who fights) cp. -rw-a
mu-bunzi-i (one who asks) -bunzi-a
mu-tarisa-i (one who looks) -tarisa-a
mu-pamidzir-i (one who increases) -pamidzir-a

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type mu-R-w-i or mu-R-w-a indicate people who undergo the action indicated by R.

Tonomorphs on R-w-i are those of TC 1, but on R-w-a those of TC V.

e.g. mu-bat-w-i (captive) cp. -bat-w-a
mu-cherer-w-i (one for whom water is fetched) -cherer-w-a
mu-rap-w-i (one treated) -rap-w-a
mu-cherer-w-i (one for whom a hole is dug) cherer-w-a

e.g. mu-tor-w-a (one who is taken a captive, stranger from another clan) nda-tor-w-a
mu-tambir-w-i (one for whom a dance is performed) nda-tambir-w-a
mu-rap-w-a (one treated) -rap-w-a
mu-bikir-w-a (one for whom cooking is done) nda-bikir-w-a

(v) A few complex nominal constructions are of type mu-R-e, mu-R-e.

e.g. mu-roor-e (tribe) -roor-a (marry)
mu-rwete (invalid) -rwete (be sick)

(vi) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions.

LI: mu-dy-i (one who eats, consumes) cp. -dy-a (eat)
LI: mu-nju (person)
LIH: mu-rune (man)
mu-kadzi (woman)
mu-kugad (elder sibling of same sex)
mu-ramu (wife's sister)
LHL: mu-γẹrẹ (person from Johannesburg)
    mu-ẹdọrẹ (foreigner)
LLH: mu-ŋoŋpẹ (nursing mother)
    mu-rambọ (poor person)
LLL: mu-barsi (neighbour)
    mu-cheche (baby)
    mu-chan (poor person)
    mu-feve (lecher)
    mu-njai (messenger, marriage intermediary)
    mu-randa (servant)
    mu-rẹdi (owner)
    mu-dẹdo (thin person)
    mu-ŋọrọ (third wife)
LHHH: mu-kanarẹ (second wife)
    mu-kgẹđẹ (elderly person)
LHHL: mu-niŋn'üna (younger sibling of the same sex)
    mu-kiwẹsha (son-in-law)
LHH: mu-ŋẹdọ (boy)
    mu-ẹkẹ (girl)
LLH: mu-zukurẹ (sister's son)
LHL: mu-zezẹrű (Zezuru)
LLL: (2) Constructions in which /mu-/ is secondary indicate the following:

(i) A human being characterized in some way by the stem.

    e.g. mu-ŋẹdẹ (young child) cp. pẹdẹ (young child)  (9)
    mu-tẹndẹ (invalid)  cp. ńbẹn (sickness)  (9)
    mu-chińa (son of a chief)  cp. jńa (district chief) (5)
    mu-chembere (old lady)  cp. chembere (old woman) (9)
    mu-ngẹrẹ (wise man)  cp. ngẹrẹ (clever thing) (9)
    mu-mẹla (deaf person)  cp. mẹla (deaf person) (9)
    mu-kẹ (old acquaintance)  cp. kẹ (long ago) (12)
    mu-ɛrẹ (casual traveller)  cp. ɛrẹ (journey) (11)
    mu-ŋi (inconsequential speaker)  cp. ńi (other things) (8)
    mu-ŋẹ (foreigner)  cp. ŋẹ (clan) (11)
    mu-ẹr (dancer)  cp. ẹr (dancer) (5)
    mu-ŋẹ (number of working group)  cp. ŋẹ (working group) (5)

(ii) The names of members of tribes or clans. In these cases the stems indicate either the names of the chiefs or the areas after which the tribal or clan names are formed.

    e.g. mu-zezẹrű (Ze Zur)  cp. Ze Zur (highlands round Chihota) (9)
    mu-ŋbire (Ngbe)  cp. ńbere (area round Chihota) (9)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (country round Chihota) (9)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (country round Chivika) (14)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (country round Nureva) (9)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (country round Rume) (6)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (country north of Darwin) (9)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (chief's name in Mazowe) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Shamva) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Chihota) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Mazowe) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Shamva) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Mazowe) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Mazowe) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Mazowe) (LA)
    mu-ŋẹ (Ngẹ)  cp. ńẹ (Mt. Darwin) (LA)

(iii) Secondary prefix /mu-/ associated with a characteristic toponym (L on all syllables save the last, which carries H) is a constituent with complex stems which are nouns or SPs. The constructions indicate a person associated with the stem in the sense of looking after it or owning it.

    e.g. mu-ŋẹ (one who looks after goats)  cp. ńẹ (goats)
    mu-ŋẹ (one who looks after lions)  cp. ńẹ (lions)
    mu-ŋẹ (one who has the turn at herding)  cp. ńẹ (turn)
    mu-ŋẹ (kinsman)  cp. ńẹ (clan)
    mu-ŋẹ (habitual traveller)  cp. ńẹ (journey) (11)
    mu-ŋẹ (one noted for loving his people)  cp. ńẹ (people)
    mu-ŋẹ (one noted for having many cattle)  cp. ńẹ (cattle) (11)

42 /Other...
Other secondary prefixes may be substituted for /mu-/ in this construction with the usual secondary meanings.

  e.g. chi-mombé (short, stout cattle herd) cp. chimombe (short, fat ox) (7)

3.3.2. Noun class 2

(a) Prefix: /va-/ 
(b) Allomorphs:
   (1) Before underived vowel-commencing stems, /va-/ is realised as /v-/.
       e.g. v-aná (children) 
           v-ené (owners) 
           v-eni (strangers)
   (2) The prefix is realised as /a-/ in a couple of cases of vocatives in familiar style:
       e.g. a-síkana! (dear girl!) 
           a-kómana! (dear boy!)
   (3) In other cases the prefix is realised as /va-/.
       It is a free alternant to v- with stem -eni.
(c) Number: Class 2 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in class 1.
(d) Meaning: As for the correlative singulars, apart from number.

3.3.3. Noun class 1

(a) Prefix: /g-/ 
(b) Allomorphs:
   All nouns of class 1 have prefix /g/- either as a primary, or, in a greater number of instances, secondary, prefix.
(c) Number: Class 1a nouns are mainly singular but the class includes some examples of no number. A few class 1a nouns have three plurals, one in class 2a and the others with prefixes of 2a and 10, 6 and 10 respectively. Plurals in 2a are almost always honorific, the others almost always numerical.
(d) Meaning:
   (1) Constructions in which class 1a prefix is primary includes:
       (i) terms denoting relatives and functionaries:
           e.g. tézii (owner, master) 
               tswára (wive's male blood relative) 
               såhi (mother's male blood relative) 
               sàtwéra (privileged friend) 
               nýánjí (heir) 
               nýná (medium of a lion spirit) 
               ishé (chief) 
               báhá (father) 
               téc (father's sister) 
               mémbo (chief) 
               chirembá (doctor) 
               bombarume (hunter)
       Loan words
           dhogodhera/dhokotera (doctor) 
           dhiraivha (driver) 
           kipasitoro (storekeeper) 
           têra (tailor) 
           t'àpita (interpreter) 
           nácharâni (clerk) 
           Gavhune (Governor) 
          strongbnáni (circus performer) 
           mudzviti (district commissioner)
       (ii) terms indicating times - these have no number.
           The months and years in the European system of dating are referred to in Shona as nouns of class la, as are the following nouns indicating points or periods of time.
           e.g. njâsi (today) 
               naka (this year) cp. nhaka (inheritance) 
43/ makéi...
e.g. makei (last year) or class 6
mvedza (tomorrow)
nezuro (yesterday)
rjui (when?)
zvino (now)
gow ral 1970 (the year 1970)
mun jurai (in July)

The Shona names of the lunar months (mvedzi) are not class 1a nouns save nyamavhiri (August)

(iii) a few names of animals, birds and insects.

  e.g. Kondo (hamerkop)
muhjambhe (donkey)
mukonikoni (dragonfly)
dzonya (firebird)

(iv) the interrogative anj? (who?)

  e.g. Uyu ndzani? (Who is this?)

(v) certain names.

Note the following indefinite names:

  nhingi (what's-his-name)
  ngana (................)
  ningifikiri (................)
  nya kuti (................)

All names of rivers are in class 1a.

  e.g. Ruya (the Ruia)
  Mazowe (the Mazowe)
  Zambezi (the Zambezi)
  Karoi (the Karoi)
  Savo (the Sabi)

Names of people borrowed from other languages are nouns of this class.

  e.g. Aaron, Mary, Ann, Jairus etc.

(2) Constructions of /-/- as secondary prefix with complex stems result in personal names and personifications. Many of these stems are substantives, substantive phrases of other classes or inflected SPS.

  e.g. Nyika-dzino (These lands)
  Sadza (Stiff porridge)

Others are inflected verb phrases or clauses.

  e.g. Takawira (lit. We fell down)
  Tamuka nenhamo (lit. We got up with trouble)
  cp. nomusi waChakatambarara (in the time of Chakatambarara, viz. long ago)

(i) Personal names.

An individual may bear various names. These are:

  Zita remudumba - a name given to a child soon after birth.
  Zita rechongwa - the name "surrounded by spirits" or lineage name, restricted to certain houses.
  Zita rejeomedzwa - the name given to a child at the suggestion of a diviner after incessant crying. This will be the name given by the dead grandfather to the child.
  Zita rendumirira - a nickname given on the basis of personal characteristics.

Names as normally heard are often abbreviations of some phrase or clause particularly those of the "Zita remudumba" which are used by parents to vent their feelings against other members of the community.

  e.g. the name Sviripi is an abbreviation of Zviripi zvamunoti ndinazvo (Where are the things you think I have?)

Lineage names (mazita odzinga) are inherited. Such names are the titular names of chiefs or headmen.

44 e.g. Chinamhara...
e.g. Chínamphóga
Mangwende
Svoavé
Makoni
Mutasa

Nicknames:
e.g. Chirwa-nēhari
Mutsika-roti
Mutanda-wachingama
(a glutton, one who fights against the pot)
(a drunkard, one who feels the ashes to find
out if beer has been brewed)
(an obstinate person; lit. the log is across
the path)

(ii) Personifications. In folk tales, characters are sometimes personified, prefix /ɔ-/ being
prefixed to common nouns.
e.g. Tauro
Rungano rwáveni naTauro
cp. tsuro (hare) (9)
(A story of Baboon and Hare)
(A story of a baboon and a hare)
cp. Rungano rwéveni retaíro
(3) Ideophone segments and quotations are also among the complex stems which appear with
class la prefix /ɔ-/.

(i) Ideophone segments in one type of ideophonic construction appear in apposition to,
and agreement with, /ɔ/, pronoun of class 1.
e.g. Ndíye svetu
(He jumped up)
Munhu wákānzi nēbanga dyú kumusáná, ndíye pasí burugwada
(The man was stabbed in the back and slumped down on the ground)
In other constructions also, ideophones appear with class 1 agreements.
e.g. Goné uná góné wákwó
(My Be-able can be beaten by someone else)
Dzamú ána dzamú wákwó
(My Take-a-handful can have a handful taken from him too)

(ii) Quotations.
When segments of speech are quoted and need to control agreements in a sentence, they
are always treated as class la constructions.
e.g. 'Nding'gona' wákwó na-'Hand'góné' wákwó handíneyi navó
(I have nothing to do with your 'I can' and 'I can't', viz. I want
my money back)

3.3.4. 

Noun Class 2a

(a) Prefix: /vá/
All nouns of class 2a have prefix /vá-/ , either as a primary, or, in a greater number of
instances, secondary, prefix.

(b) Allomorphs:
The prefix /ɔ-/ occurs as a free variant of /vá-/ with some stems as an honorific plural
prefix.
e.g. Tipése, ambuya
getète
itizerá váuya
(Please give me some, mother-in-law)
(father's sister)
(Father-in-law has come)

(c) Number: Nouns with class 2a prefix are mainly numerically singular honorifics though some
are numerical plurals. The combination of cl. 2a and cl. 10 prefixes usually indicates
numerical plurals. The combination of cl.6 and cl. 10 with stems of cl. 1a is more
complimentary and confers greater dignity than classes 2a and 10.
Examples of honorific and numerical plurals with prefix /vá/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific Plural</th>
<th>Numerical Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>váshe wángu (my chief)</td>
<td>vúbabá věsé (all the fathers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vétene wáyo (its owner)</td>
<td>vánamba věsé (all the chiefs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>větęvará (father-in-law)</td>
<td>věšeluru (uncle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>věšéuru (mother-in-law)</td>
<td>vamžiya věsé (*) (all the mothers-in-law)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>větětě (father's sister)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vamžwéné (husband's mother)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Ndīng'gondo sey i pakáv-ingana vamžwénye?
(How can I pass through where my mothers-in-law are gathered?)

45 /vásalwira...
The combination /vádz-i-/ and /madzi-/ can be used with all the above to indicate numerical plurals. The latter carries greater weight and is more complimentary than the former.

e.g. vádzitévára, madzitévára (fathers-in-law)

The form vádzinai (wife) is numerically singular and honorific.

(d) Meaning:

Cl. 2a prefix is used to form honorific plurals with cl.1a nouns of sections 1(i), (iii), (v) and (2). The combinations /vádz-i-/ and /madzi-/ are used to form numerical plurals only with nouns of l, (i). In other cases numerical plurals are formed by a relative inflection, subject prefix and /na-/ being prefixed.

(i) Honorific plurals:

e.g. vázakuru (uncle)
va-subhe (donkey)
vá-thingí (Mr So and So)
vá-sáda (Mr Sadza)
vá-swosévé (the Hon. Swosé)
vá-chiwu-néhali (Mr Glutton)
vá-tso (Mr Hare)

Such honorifics when accompanied by a possessive indicate someone or something pitiful.

e.g. Vátsiro ványu
(Poor Mr Hare)

(ii) Numerical plurals:

e.g. vá-dziséguru (uncles)
va-gambiya (grandmothers)
vaná-kopdo (hammerkops, lit. those with hammerkop)
vaná-en? (who? - plural)
vaná-thingí (the What's-his-names)
vaná-mazowe (the Mazowe and other rivers)
vaná-Aroni (Aron and his friends)

(iii) Examples of numerical plurals indicated by a relative inflection

Regáí tsípángé isí vaná-magúrá-kudýa
(Let us come in - the ones who can't help you with anything save eating)

Vaná-ndá-ndádewé
(Brothers from the same mother)

Vaná-temá-ndikutemé
(A constellation - three stars that face each other)

Vaná- 'handife-hádótha' vákó handúfeyí navó
(I care nothing for your protestation, 'I will never do so again!'

Regáí tsíkubánkwyí isí vaná-sáda
(Allow us expert Sadzas to help you)

Regáí tsípángé isí vaná-sáda
(Let us, poor despised Sadzas, come in)

The form vaná- with name may indicate numerically one person. Other subject prefixes with secondary meanings can be used instead of /va-/.

e.g. Twuná-tsíro
(The little Hares) (13)

(e) Tonal inflection in class 2a nouns

Class 2a prefix, besides invariably bearing a high tone, is tonally inflecting. Initial high tones of high stems, either single or in a series, are lowered in constructions with prefix /vá-/.

Single initial low tones of low stems are raised but, in cases of stems containing a syllabic prefix and commencing with at least three low tones, the first two syllables are raised.

In the following examples, /vá-/ is prefixed to nouns of class 1a. Some of these nouns are personifications or personal names formed from nouns of other classes by prefixing class 1a prefix /g-/. They are included in order to exemplify a full range of tonal changes. In these constructions, the prefix of class 2a is evidently prefixed to that of class 1a.
(1) Prefix /vá-/ with high stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>(chief)</th>
<th>(la)</th>
<th>H &gt; L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vášhe</td>
<td>ishe</td>
<td></td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášcura</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Water)</td>
<td>(la,9)</td>
<td>HH &gt; LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vátenzi</td>
<td>tenzi</td>
<td>(master)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>LL &gt; LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášbañé</td>
<td>bañé</td>
<td>(father)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váškaranga</td>
<td>karanga</td>
<td>(Big Karanga)</td>
<td>(la,5)</td>
<td>HH &gt; LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váškaruna</td>
<td>karuná</td>
<td>(father-in-law)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>HH &gt; LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášvanjé</td>
<td>vanjé</td>
<td>(heir)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>HH &gt; LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášmukdzí</td>
<td>mikdzí</td>
<td>(Woman)</td>
<td>(la,1)</td>
<td>LH &gt; LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váškanhókwe</td>
<td>kanhókwe</td>
<td>(Bullrush)</td>
<td>(la,12)</td>
<td>LL &gt; LH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Prefix /vá-/ with low stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>(Hornet)</th>
<th>(la,5)</th>
<th>L &gt; H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vášambo</td>
<td>ambo</td>
<td>(chief)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>LL &gt; HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášugwókwe</td>
<td>ugwókwe</td>
<td>(Spoon)</td>
<td>(la,11)</td>
<td>LLH &gt; LLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášHarama</td>
<td>Harama</td>
<td>(Old Man)</td>
<td>(la,9)</td>
<td>LLL &gt; LLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but vášChágóro</td>
<td>Chágóro</td>
<td>(Chair)</td>
<td>(la,7)</td>
<td>LLL &gt; HLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášKángwání</td>
<td>Kángwání</td>
<td>(Small Hat)</td>
<td>(la,14,9)</td>
<td>LLLH &gt; HLLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášñenjóí</td>
<td>ñenjóí</td>
<td>(Zemuru)</td>
<td>(la,1)</td>
<td>LLH &gt; HLLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášKámarume</td>
<td>Kámarume</td>
<td>(hunter)</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>LLL &gt; HLLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but vášMítauro</td>
<td>Mítauro</td>
<td>(Speech)</td>
<td>(la,3)</td>
<td>LLL &gt; HLLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vášHáranágó</td>
<td>Háranágó</td>
<td>(Little Old Man)</td>
<td>(la,9)</td>
<td>LLLH &gt; LLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but vášZíndarámá</td>
<td>Zíndarámá</td>
<td>(Big Nugget)</td>
<td>(la,21,9)</td>
<td>LLLH &gt; LLH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of constructions of /vá-/ and stems commencing with cl. 10 prefix exemplify the same series of changes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g. with High stems:</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>(various uncles)</th>
<th>LLLL &gt; LIHL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vádzísékúlí</td>
<td>-dzísékúlí</td>
<td></td>
<td>LIHL &gt; LIHL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g. with Low stems:</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>(various fathers)</th>
<th>LLL &gt; HLL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vádzísíbañó</td>
<td>-dzísíbañó</td>
<td>(various chiefs)</td>
<td>LLL &gt; HLL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.5. Noun Class 2b

(a) Prefix: /a-/  
(b) This prefix occurs with two stems: nàj and mbéj

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(mother)</th>
<th>ambéj</th>
<th>(grandmother)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vándází</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix is uniformly low even after inflecting morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(with mother)</th>
<th>mwaná vá-námí</th>
<th>(the child of a mother)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vándámbo</td>
<td>-dámbo</td>
<td>-dzámbo</td>
<td>LLLL &gt; HLL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.6. Noun Class 3

(a) Prefix: /mú-/  
(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before underived, vowel-commencing stems /mú-/ is realised as /mv-/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(length of time, season)</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>(cold)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mv-aká</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ánda</td>
<td>(bundle of grass)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ándó</td>
<td>(moisture, moist wind)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ánzá</td>
<td>(nice track)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-árá</td>
<td>(flint)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ádzi</td>
<td>(moon, month)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-áná</td>
<td>(hole, orifice)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ñjó</td>
<td>(torch)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-erendo</td>
<td>(ritual beer drink)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-eyá</td>
<td>(air, soul)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ókó</td>
<td>(heap of unthreshed mbúngó)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ónde</td>
<td>(shaft of spear)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-óngó</td>
<td>(narrow)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mv-ókó</td>
<td>(fire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix is also realised as /mv-/ before the R -er- (measure).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(measure, moderation)</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>-er-</th>
<th>(measure)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mv-éró</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(way of doing)</th>
<th>cp.</th>
<th>-ír-</th>
<th>(do for)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mv-it-író</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Before stems -otó and -otó the allomorph /mu/ > /m-.
e.g. moYo (heart, as a totem name)
    motó (fire)

(3) Before stems commencing in a labial or alveolar and in a non-penultimate position,
    /mu/ is realised as /m/ (syllabic /m/) in quick speech.
    e.g. pa-m-sání (on the back on account)
    pa-m-sóó (on top)
    but cp. mu-sí (day)

(4) Elsewhere the prefix is realised as /mu-/.
    e.g. mu-tí (tree)
    mu-sóó (head)

(c) Number: Cl.3 nouns are all singular. Correlative plurals are predominantly in cl.4.

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which class 3 prefix /mu-/, is primary indicate:

   (i) trees: The names of the fruits, usually incorporating the same stem as the
       name of the tree, are normally in cl. 5.
       e.g. mu-tí mi-
            mu-kúyu mi-
            (tree) (fig-tree)

       (ii) Long things:
       e.g. mu-píní mi-
          mu-dhabba mi-
          (hoe handle) (long thing e.g. trousers)

       (iii) A number of miscellaneous among which the following sub-groupings may perhaps
       be discerned:

       - foods
             mu-to mi-
             mu-nýa mi-
             mu-kóó mi-
             (soup) (food left over) (preparation from the
             juice of the hute)

       - parts of the body
             mu-sána mi-
             mu-sóó mi-
             mu-jéjé mi-
             (head) (clean-shaven forehead) (face)

       - atmospheric phenomena
             mu-eyá mi-
             mu-múü mi-
             mu-ndo mi-
             mu-edzí mi-
             mu-sí mi-
             (air, soul) (shadow) (moist wind) (moon, month)
             (day, occasion)

       - miscellaneous
             mu-kóó mi-
             mu-chechetere mi-
             (piece of secondhand clothing)
             (state of peace)
             no plural

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type mu + R + o indicate a result or
    instrument of the operation of R.
    e.g. mu-qúnó mi-
         mu-fungo mi-
         (end) (discretion, inkling)
    mu-ridzo mi-
         (whistle) (think)
    mu-rótsó mi-
         (medicine to make one dream)
    mu-rúko mi-
         (warp and vaft of woven fabric) (weave)
    mu-sendo mi-
         (plane) (pall)
    mu-kákó mi-
         (something to pull with (pall)
    mu-namato mi-
         (prayer) (pray)

(v) Complex nominal constructions of type mu + R + -ir-o or mu + R + -ir-w-o
    indicate the manner of action of the R.
e.g. mu-vák-ír-o (way of building) mi- cp. -vák- (build)
mu-vák-ír-w-o- (way of being built) mi-
mu-ridz-ír-o (way of playing) mi-
mu-ridz-ír-wo- (way of being played)

/mu-/ is a secondary prefix used with these stems. These secondary constructions indicate a way of acting which includes “different instances or parts of what is one prolonged action, or the way of doing the action taken as a whole.”
(cp. AS per. 137)
e.g. mu-vák-íro (building operations)

(vi) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions:

LH : mu-tí (tree)
mu-nda (tape, strap)
mu-vhă (road)
mu-swě (tail)

LL : mu-dzi (root)
mu-tawî (pestle)
mu-mwe (finger)
mu-to (soup)

LHH : mu-féngjé (cabbage tree)
mu-chèka (piece of cloth)
mu-chándá (log trap)
mu-námà (second beestings)

LHL : mu-chîndwi (palm tree)
mu-kjû (fig-tree)
mu-dônzyo (staff)

LHH : mu-tambá (klapper apple)
u-muyú (baobab)
u-dhirchá (adobe)
u-dhîmtó (basis for snuff mixture)
u-fayî (loin cloth)

LLL : mu-rara (palm tree)
u-mvéka (small tree)
u-dôrne (cotton plant)
u-hâcha (cork tree)

LHHH : mu-tëndjé (index finger)
u-njïjë (stone gong)
u-plambî (shin)
u-pârûù (shriek cheering of women)

LHL : mu-nhëngjí (sour plum)
u-nhëngjëdzó (index finger)

LLL : mu-kônó (assegai wood tree)

LLH : mu-rëre (way of rearing)
u-ridzhî (way of playing)

LLL : mu-ndar ñra (brass)

LLL : mu-nhîngyû (kei apple tree)
u-kokotó (loin skin)
u-korongá (prime beast)

LLL : mu-chakata (cork tree)
u-chetura (poison)
u-duchudhu (motor-cycle)

(2) Constructions in which the prefix /mu-/ of cl. 3 is secondary indicate things as large and unpleasant in various ways. Natural features are portrayed as dangerous, people as hard, harsh, unyielding, objects as unsuitable or unwieldy. In the background, and common to all the individual connotations, is the idea of a certain shape: large, angular, without due rounding and curves, troublesome and impossible.

e.g. mu-ková (a big river, dangerous piece of cp. rukova (river) (11)
water because, e.g. of crocodiles) (3)
u-mbâ (huge dog; useless save for cp. imbâ (dog) (9)
barking; lean and pinched in parts) (3, 9)
mu-dzóćö (big, hard, tough head) (3, 5, 5) cp. zísćö (eye) (5)
mu-pango (useless, unwieldy pole) (3) cp. bango (pole) (5)
mu-kádzi (tall, angular woman, quarrelsome, unkind, harsh) (3) cp. mukádzi (woman) (1)
mu-meńö (big, lazy idle eye) (3, 6) cp. zísćö (eye) (5)
mu-mambo (useless, clumsy chief) (3, 1a) cp. membo (chief) (1a)
mu-děmčö (useless, worn out axe) (3, 5) cp. děmčö (axe) (5)
mu-rongö (large pot not suitably shaped or suitable for cooking) (3) cp. chirongö (waterpot) (7)
mu-ngano (long, boring story) (3, 10a, 9) cp. ngano (tales) (10a, 9)
mu-tare (a council whose members are useless, inept; full of fits and starts but getting nowhere in its deliberations) (3)

mu-kumbo (cp. -tiza mukumbo) (elope, marry) cp. gumbo (leg) (5) without following the appropriate marriage customs) (3)

The combinations /mu-zi-ku-/ (col. e, 21, 17) has much the same semantic effect with secondary stems as /mu/- but carries possibly an implication of greater size and worthlessness.

e.g. mu-zi-ku-kumbo (a large leg but with a weak bone insufficiently strong to bear much weight) cp. gumbo (leg) (5)
mu-zi-ku-röćö (a huge lump of a bride without manners) cp. muroćö (bride) (1)
mu-zi-ku-munda (a big piece of land yielding nothing) cp. munda (field) (3)
mu-zi-ku-nmba (large, ill-shaped, ill-proportioned house) cp. imbba (house) (9)

With the combination of prefixes, the first syllable of the stem can receive emphasis in the form of lengthened consonantal onsets and stress on the vowel nucleus.

mu-zi-ku-chjira (a miserable threadbare cloth) cp. jirö (cloth) (5)
mu-zi-ku-tzavara (a poorly shaped, unreasonable able father-in-law lacking manners and breeding) cp. tzavara (father-in-law) (1a)
mu-zi-ko-prere (a tall hyena on long legs, thin and pinched in on all sides) cp. bere (hyena) (5)
mu-kímaná wenyu (your poorly shaped young man without any promise of real growth and maturity) cp. mukímaná (boy) (1)
mu-kerahwa wéćö (their old man, shapeless thin, pretending to know a lot but knowing nothing, pathetic old man) cp. harahwa (old man) (9)

3.3.7.

(a) **Prefix:** /mi-/  
(b) **Allomorphs:**  
   (1) Before underived, vowel-commencing stems, /mi-/ is realised as /m|-/.  
   e.g. mw-akšö (seasons)  
   mw-enje (torches)  
   (2) Before stems -ócö and -oyö, the allomorph /mw-/> /m-/.  
   e.g. motó (fires)  
   (3) In other cases, the prefix is realised as /mi-/  
   e.g. mi-tió (trees)  
   mi-sorö (heads)  
   mi-lit-ir-ö (ways of acting)  
   (c) **Number:** Cl. 4 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in cl. 3.  
   (d) **Meaning:** As for the correlative singulars, apart from number.

Noun Class 4
3.3.8.

Noun Class 5

(a) Prefix: /ri/-

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) In a few cases /ri/- is found as syllabic /r/-, both as a primary prefix in Karanga in the nouns riia (inherence), and as a secondary prefix, e.g. in the noun rimunhu (something monstrous, huge, munhu a sinu kumunhu, asiniru (a man without humanity).

(2) Before stems commencing with phonemes /p, t, /, /ri/- is realised as the morphophonemic change from voiceless explosives to voiced implosives.

  e.g. (ri-) + -tangá > bangá (knife) cp. ma-tangá (6)
  (ri-) + -tangá > d angá (pen for animals) cp. ma-tangá (6)

(3) Before stems commencing with phonemes and phoneme clusters /k, pf (sometimes only), ch, ts, /, /ri/- is realised as the morphophonemic change from voiceless to voiced depressor.

  e.g. (ri-) + -koré > goré (cloud) cp. ma-koré (6)
  (ri-) + -pfeni > breni (baasoon) cp. ma-pfeni (6)
  (ri-) + -chira > jira (cloth) cp. ma-chira (6)
  (ri-) + -tsvatsvatsva > dzvatsvatsva (kind of spider) ma-tsvatsvatsva (6)

(4) Before stems commencing with phonemes and phoneme clusters /ts, f, s, sv, sh, /ri/- is realised as the morphophonemic change from voiceless to voiced affricate depressor but only as a secondary prefix.

  e.g. (ri-) + tsviru (heifer) (s) > dzviri (big, fat heifer) (5,5)
  (ri-) + -fubo > furo (large amount of grass taken at once) (5,5)
  (ri-) + -sikana > dzikana (large girl) (5,5)
  (ri-) + shiri (bird) (9) > jiri (large bird) (5,9)

(5) Before some vowel-commencing stems, /ri/- is realised as /j/.

  e.g. (ri-) + -swo > zwo (tooth) cp. menj (6) ma-zwo (teeth) (6,5)
  (ri-) + -swo > zwo (eye) mhij (6) ma-zwo (eyes) (6,5)
  (ri-) + -ero > zero (age) mwero (3) ma-zero (ages) (6,5)
  (ri-) + -zwano > zwano (counsel) Mwano (6) ma-zwano (plans) (6,5)
  (ri-) + -enja > zengo (potsherds) rwengj (11) (piece of potsherds used for roasting, frying)

(6) In other cases /ri/- is realised as /g/.

  e.g. (ri-) + -go > i-go (wasps) cp. ma-go (wasps) (6)
  (ri-) + -ruva > ruva (flower) ma-riva (flowers) (6)
  (ri-) + -feso > feso (devil thorn) ma-feso (devil thorns) (6)

There are a number of monosyllabic noun stems with which /ri/- is realised as /g/. These appear with perfunctive -i (though not in Karanga).

  e.g. idog (spot) cp. ma-dog
  i-dji (truth) ma-dji
  i-bvi (knee) ma-bvi
  i-vu (soil) ma-vu
  i-zvi (word) ma-zvi
  i-ga (hole for planting maize) ma-ga
  i-ngod (square root of axe) ma-ngod
  i-bu (inmate) ma-bu
  i-nopo (mesh of net) ma-nopo
  i-ngwa (boat) ma-ngwa
  i-go (wasp) ma-go
  i-bwe (stone) ma-bwe
  i-n’ka (crack in skin) ma-n’ka
  i-she (piece of nest-lining from mouse hole) ma-she
  i-mhe (empty rice pod) ma-mhe

(c) Number: Cl. 5 nouns are all singular. Correlatives plurals are in cl.6.
(d) **Meaning:**

(1) **Constructions in which the prefix */(r)i-*/ is primary indicate:**

(i) **things usually found in pairs or numbers:**

- e.g. dambá (klapper apple) cp. ma-dambá
- gombo (leg) ma-gombo

(ii) **types of landscape:**

- e.g. jífrí (clump of wild loquat trees) cp. ma-chífrí
- sángó (wooded country) ma-sángó
- báni (open level country) ma-páni

(iii) **a number of miscellaneous among which the following sub-groupings may perhaps be discerned:**

- **things inspiring fear:**

  - e.g. Dawiti (Nquni) cp. ma-Dawiti
  - bhe (hyena) ma-bhe
  - gáwe (crocodile) ma-gáwe
  - gandanga (robber) ma-gandanga
  - bandupandu (man-eating lion) ma-bandupandu

- **times and seasons:**

  - e.g. goré (year, cloud) ma-koré
  - zívá (day, sun) ma-zívá
  - zighá (rainy season) ma-zighá

(iv) **certain substances:**

- e.g. gáshá (mucus) ma-gáshá
- jífrí (froth) ma-jífrí
- fúta (lump of fat on meat) ma-fúta
- ropa (blood) ma-ropa

(v) **Complex nominal constructions of type */(r)i-*/ + R + o indicate a result or instrument of the operation of R:**

- e.g. jík-o (sickle) ma-chík-o cp. -chík- (cut)
- dím-o (axe) ma-dím-o -dím- (chop)
- bópót-o (noise) ma-bópót-o -bópót- (scream)
- gósór-o (coughing) ma-gósór-o -gósór- (cough)
- dínór-o (chopper) ma-dínór-o -dínór- (chop)
- fúkíd-o (blanket given to dead person) ma-fúkíd-o -fúkíd- (cover)

(vi) **Some complex nominal constructions of type */(r)i-*/ + R + -ir-o indicate the place where the action of the R is done:**

- e.g. díz-ir-o (refuge) ma-tíz-ir-o cp. -tíz- (flee)
- bik-ir-o (cooking place) ma-bík-ir-o -bík- (cook)
- jer-er-o (appropriate place ma-jer-er-o -cher- (dig) for finding something good)

(vii) **Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions:**

- (L)H : i-búi (knee)
- (L)L : i-go (wasp)
- HH : bánga (knife)
- : dare (iron)
- jífrí (clump of loquat trees)
- sángó (wooded country)
- HL : gáwe (fig)
- báni (open country)
- bátye (jacket)
- bátsa (duck)
- LH : badža (hoe)
- banú (spatula)
- demb (kind of dance)
- LL : bofu (blind man)
- bása (work)
- dhadha (duck)
- dare (court)
HII : húmbúna (large hall of something)
HIL : káraka (harem)
HLL : dëndëra (ground hornbill)
HHL : bòñêni (heathen)
LHH : bòñêni (garden)
LHL : bòñêni (bottle)
LHH : dëndëra (skull)
LHL : dengëndë (small basket)
LII : dañña (keros)  
LLH : gokotó (tin container)
LLL : gandanga (robbber)
LIII : waspi (wing)

(2) Constructions in which the prefix /(<r-) is secondary indicate large size

e.g. (r-) + -wukà > bukà (large animal)
(r-) + -chemberë > jemberë (large old woman)
(r-) + -gussësha > gwësha (large son-in-law)
(r-) + -gëzëzë > gëzëzë (big woman)

cp. mukuë (animal)(9); chemberë (old woman)(9); mukuësha (son-in-law)(1)
mukaëzë (woman)(1).

With the connotation of large size, these augmentatives can easily carry a pejorative note as well though this is not necessarily the case.

Thus: gëzëzë (big, heartless, loud-mouthed woman)
gwësha (big, heartless son-in-law)
jemberë (big, cruel woman)

The implication is not necessarily the case as one can cancel the pejorative note by a qualifier expressing good qualities.

e.g. gëzëzë rakhësë (big and kindly woman)
gwësha rakhësë (his big and kind son-in-law)

3.3.9. Noun Class 6

(a) Prefix: /ma-/

(b) Allomorphs: There are no allomorphs.

Note that when /ma-/ is prefixed to the three vowel-commencing stems -ano, -ino, and -ino, a similar morphophonemic change in each case results in the forms -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| mana   | (plans, counsel) | cp. z-ano (counsel) (5)
| mëno   | (teeth) | cp. z-ino (teeth) (5)
| mëno   | (eyes) | cp. z-ino (eyes) (5)

This change can be termed coalescence, involving the coalescence of vowels a+a>a, a+i>i.

Note that the high tone on the first syllable of two stems is lowered to that of prefix /ma-/. /ma-/ may be prefixed to the class 5 forms in while these stems appear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>(6,5)</th>
<th>(6,5)</th>
<th>(6,5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mazano</td>
<td>plans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazino</td>
<td>(teeth)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazino</td>
<td>(eyes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Number: Cl. 6 nouns are either plural or neutral.

Cl. 6 nouns are correlative plurals of nouns in cl.5, 11, 21, 1a, 1 and 14.

All nouns of cl. 5, whether of primary or secondary prefix, form correlative plurals in cl. 6.

e.g. ma-pangá (knives) | cp. bángá (knife) (5)
ma-komaná (big boys) | cp. gománá (big boy) (5)
mu-komaná (boy) (1)

A few nouns of class 11 form correlative plurals in cl. 6.

e.g. ma-óko (hands, arms) | cp. ru-óko (hand, arm) (11)
ma-gwara (letters, books) | ru-gwara (letter, book) (11)
ma-fu (grazing grounds, pasture) | ru-fu (grazing area) (11)
Nouns of cl. 21 form correlative plurals in cl. 6, usually by super-imposing prefix /ma-/.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-zi-gâdzî</td>
<td>(huge women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. zi-gâdzî</td>
<td>(huge woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-zi-sorî</td>
<td>(huge heads)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. zi-sorî</td>
<td>(huge head)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns of cl. 1 form regular correlative plurals in cl. 6.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-Nêbre</td>
<td>(Nêbèle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. mu-Nêbre</td>
<td>(Nêbèle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few cl. 14 nouns appear to form correlative plurals in cl. 6.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-tate</td>
<td>(bow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. u-tate</td>
<td>(bow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tandho</td>
<td>(ladders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-tandho</td>
<td>(ladder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kândî</td>
<td>(battle axes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-kândî</td>
<td>(axe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Meaning:  

(1) (i) Constructions in which primary prefix /ma-/ replaces primary prefix /(ri-)/ appear, in most cases, to have the same general meanings as the correlative singulars, save for number.  

(1) (ii) Constructions of /ma-/ with names of substances indicate, not numerical plural, but a large amount.  

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-Sâlâ</td>
<td>(a lot of mucus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. dzilâ</td>
<td>(mucus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fûrû</td>
<td>(a lot of froth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fûrû</td>
<td>(froth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fûtâ</td>
<td>(a lot of fat; oil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fûtâ</td>
<td>(lump of fat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Some constructions in which cl. 6 prefix /ma-/ is primary have no correlative singular. These indicate substance, activity, aggregation or phenomena and are neutral in number.  

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-ru</td>
<td>(wonders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. ru-të</td>
<td>(steam, trickle of saliva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fe</td>
<td>(saliva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-te</td>
<td>(grudge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-þæ</td>
<td>(ts.mels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ciê</td>
<td>(trick to throw off scent, e.g. of the hare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-perë</td>
<td>(leprosy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-hâmwe</td>
<td>(game of playing at keeping)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nãnda</td>
<td>(uncertain outcome or event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ranzî</td>
<td>(ray of sunlight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tëre</td>
<td>(wonderful event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chîï</td>
<td>(match, matches)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-zhenu</td>
<td>(beer party for cutting branches)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nukëge</td>
<td>(test, draw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-dëgê</td>
<td>(plastered wall, walls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kôtô</td>
<td>(chaff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-dûndûdû</td>
<td>(walking backwards)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of constructions of this type without correlative singular are complex nominal constructions of type ma + R + w + a.  

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-bik-wå</td>
<td>(smarting pain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. bik-</td>
<td>(cook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-bum-wå</td>
<td>(susceptibility to pain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bum-</td>
<td>(agree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-dir-wå</td>
<td>(mixture of brews resulting in beer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dir-</td>
<td>(pour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fem-wå</td>
<td>(revealing of secrets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fem-</td>
<td>(breathe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sanganis-wå</td>
<td>(mixture of brews)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sanganis-</td>
<td>(mix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Other constructions in which cl. 6 prefix /ma-/ is primary do have correlative forms in cl. 5. But the cl. 6 forms are neutral in number, indicate substance, activities or aggregations and are the normal forms used. The cl. 5 forms are only used for purposes of exaggeration.  

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-chakata</td>
<td>(abundance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but Pàita jakata!</td>
<td>(There is just one large abundant amount!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chûrûrû</td>
<td>(abundance of liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everywhere!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but Pàita jûrûrû rémvura chête!</td>
<td>(There is an abundance of water everywhere!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54/ Other ....
Other examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chichewa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-chanja</td>
<td>scaffolding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chepa</td>
<td>fatty food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ffì</td>
<td>chaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chikichori</td>
<td>gravy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-buro</td>
<td>sweet beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fake</td>
<td>cooked rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fede</td>
<td>ill will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fenwe</td>
<td>peeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-finy' a</td>
<td>wrinkles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fu</td>
<td>crumble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kúkútsi</td>
<td>(flicks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kwambodwa</td>
<td>(luck)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) A number of complex nominal constructions with prefix /ma-/ and of different structural type indicate times of the day and seasons. These are neutral. Corresponding forms in cl. 11 with prefix /fu-/ exist in some cases and the opposition is not between plural and singular but between general and particular, or approximate and precise.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chichewa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-ríira-ngwe</td>
<td>(time when the leopards cry; before dawn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-shamba-nzou</td>
<td>(before dawn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ramba-kúdža</td>
<td>(day, after a long night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ramba-kúdža</td>
<td>(day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ma-kúdža</td>
<td>(first morning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fura-mushaná</td>
<td>(early morning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-zambá-mbíra</td>
<td>(early morning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ríira-kúdža</td>
<td>(last cock crow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ríira-kúdža</td>
<td>(last cock crow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ngwána-ngwána</td>
<td>(morning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-síáti</td>
<td>(day time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nhurí</td>
<td>(evening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-úr</td>
<td>(late evening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-zaríra-mombe</td>
<td>(early evening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-bunza-vaeni</td>
<td>(evening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fura-mhembwe</td>
<td>(late evening, after 6 p.m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ngwána</td>
<td>(tomorrow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ngwé-zuro</td>
<td>(day before yesterday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kóju</td>
<td>(last, next year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-dza</td>
<td>(season of the green crops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-guta</td>
<td>(season of the green crops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-zóza</td>
<td>(spring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kunjí</td>
<td>(early spring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tańtsó</td>
<td>(autumn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) A number of complex nominal constructions with prefix /ma-/ and of different structural types indicate places and types of landscape.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chichewa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-téru</td>
<td>(downward slope)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-were</td>
<td>(precipice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chiti</td>
<td>(rapids)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-chíiri</td>
<td>(waterfalls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-diró</td>
<td>(confluence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-furo</td>
<td>(pastures)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-wiro</td>
<td>(falls, confluence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-bwa-zóva</td>
<td>(east)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-dókeró</td>
<td>(west)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-díza-nyemba</td>
<td>(south)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-fura-mhópo</td>
<td>(open country)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) (i) Constructions in which the secondary prefixes /ma-/ and /dzi/ appear with stems if cl. 1a are collective and respectful.

Examples:

- ma-dzi-biṣa (fathers)  cp. baḥi (la)
- ma-dzi-maj (mothers)  a-māi (2b)
- ma-dzi-shē (chiefs)  ishi (la)

(ii) Constructions in which the secondary prefix /ma-/ appears with stems consisting of nouns of cl. 21 are plural augmentative. They may also be pejorative, though not necessarily so.

e.g. ma-zi-pangá (huge knives) (6,21)
ma-zi-pere (huge hyena) (6,21)
ma-zi-kwēsha (huge sons-in-law) (6,21)
ma-zi-sikarē (huge girls) (6,21)
ma-zi-chembere (huge old women) (6,21)
ma-zi-tenda (horrible diseases) (6,21)

(iii) Constructions in which the secondary prefix /ma-/ appears with stems consisting of nouns of other classes are augmentative and/or pejorative or collective and/or pejorative. Some are plural, others neutral and "multial" in number.

e.g. ma-mishá (poor villages, villages all over) cp. mishá (villages) (6,14)
cp. Mamishá ácho akángovákwa, kunge vanotamá ḋásí (Poor type of villages as if the people are leaving them for elsewhere today)

e.g. ma-mhuká (poor game, collections of game) (6,9) cp. mhuká (animals) (10a)
ma-mvurá (inferior water, lots of water) (6,9) mvurá (water) (9)
ma-uchí (inferior honey, lots of honey) (6,14) uchí (honey) (14)
ma-sadza (inferior porridge, a great deal of porridge) (6,5) sadza (stiff porridge) (5)
ma-usiku (long tedious night) (6,14) usíki (night) (14)

cp. Mausíká ámázúva áno árí kúnokoka kwečí (The long nights nowadays, one after the other, that take so long to end)

e.g. ma-mhēpo (sickness caused by black magic and blown by the wind) (6,9) mhēpo (wind) (5)
ma-mvurí (harmful shadow) (6) mvurí (shadow) (3)

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type ma- + R + -ir- + o or ma- + R + -ir- + ma- + o indicate a way of action which is cumulative and includes whatever is subsidiary to the process indicated.

e.g. ma-vak-ir-o (way of building) cp. -vāk- (build)
ma-gar-ir-o (way of life) -gar- (sit, stay)
ma-ziv-ir-u-o (way of being known) -živ- (know)
3.3.10. Noun Class 7

(a) Prefix: /chi-/  
(b) Allomorphs:

1. Before underived vowel-commencing stems, /chi-/ is realised as /ch-/.  
   e.g. ch-anza (palm of hand) zv-anza cp. z-anza (big palm) (21)  
       ch-ando (cold) zv-ando mw-ando (wet feathers) (3)  
       ch-elp (monkey’s paw) zv-elp  
       ch-awqo (temple of head) zv-awqo  
       ch-arå (thumb) zv-arå z-arå (big thumb) (21)  
       ch-engq (roan antelope) zv-engq  
       ch-engq (wall) zv-engq  
       ch-otô (hearth) zv-otô m-otô (fire) (3)  
       ch-owa (medicine for guessing whose things are) zv-owa  
       ch-ondg (fetlock) zv-ondg  
       ch-oyq (pubic hair) zv-oyq  
       ch-umå (bead wealth) zv-umå (string of beads)  
       ch-uru (ant heap) zv-uru  
       ch-urå (frog) zv-urå z-urå (big frog) (21)  

/ch-/ appears before the R eöd (dawn).  
   e.g. ch-edå (sunflash, moon beam) cp. eöd (dawn)  
   but chi-enzanis-o (measure) zvi-enzanis-o cp. enzanis- (equalise)  
       chi-it-o (reed) zvi-it-o -it- (do) (21)

2. /chi-/ is realised as /cha-/ before a few stems and as an alternative to /chi-/ in others.  
   (i) e.g. cha-wuly (gust of wind) cp. -wuly (blow)  
       cha-püri (whirlwind) püri (whirling wind)  
       cha-denga (space hounded) denga (sky, roof) (5)  
       by sky  
       cha-kwindi (overcast sky, moss)  
       cha-püri (witness) -püri (witness)  
       cha-shëmbö (the south)  
   (ii) e.g. chi-/cha-püri (tateleur eagle) zvi-/zva-  
       chi-/cha-püri (yolk of egg) zvi-/zva-  
       chi-/cha-püri (gall bladder) zvi-/zva-  
       chi-/cha-þrë (rust on maize) zvi-/zva-  
       chi-/chørå (week's hunting trip with nets) zvi-/zva-  
       chi-/cha-þng (medicine to draw people to one's court on business)  

3. /chi-/ is also realised as /chë-/ in some constructions with stems derived from ideophones and in combination with prefix /mu/-, viz. /chë-mu/.  
   e.g. chë-mu-þbë (strong wind blowing every way)  
       chë-mu-þbë (running with short steps)  
       chë-mu-þbë (running backwards)  
       chë-mu-þbë (general dispersal)  
       chë-mu-þbë (dizziness)  
       chë-mu-þbë (continual patter of rain)  
       chë-mu-þbë (continual taking of food from the pot)  
       chë-mu-þbë (continual bailing out of water)  
       chë-mu-þbë (continual jumping down)  
       chë-mu-þbë (kopping)  

The nouns indicate a general, wholesale action by a number of people.  

4. In other cases /chi-/ is realised as /chë-/.
(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 7 are singular or neutral. Correlative plurals are in cl. 8

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which the prefix /chi-/ is primary indicate:

(i) Material objects and utensils.

- e.g. chi-nju (thing) zvi-
- chi-ny (calabash for storing oil) zvi-
- chi-bakó (snuff box) zvi-
- chi-kwe (pipe) zvi-
- chi-ne (ring) zvi-
- chi-rango (waterpot) zvi-
- chi-dandari (trap for mice) zvi-

(ii) A number of sicknesses, indispositions or unpleasant qualities.

- e.g. chi-benzenga (madness) cp. benenga (being mad)
- chi-bókisi (chickenpox)
- chi-potama (sickness due to witchcraft)
- chi-kuty-menq (pyorrhoea)
- chi-kasoro (whooping cough) kóso (coughing)
- chi-kangiri (rabies)
- chi-kundu (mange) kundu (being covered with mange)
- chi-bhábulu (poultry disease) bhú bhú bhú (flapping wings)
- chi-bviko (poultry disease) phíko (chooking in chicken)
- chi-ndhë (staggers in sheep, poultry etc.)
- chi-nndó (advanced venereal disease)
- chi-samádzí (ringworm due to name being spoken by pregnant woman)
- chi-gumbé (grievance)

(iii) A number of things indicated as partial: of persons indicated as imperfect or deformed in some way or other.

- e.g. chi-dzmuvu (piece)
- chi-dzmbu (piece) zvi- cp. dzmbu (breaking)
- chi-dimu (chip) zvi- dimu (breaking)
- chi-gwmbu (piece broken off) zvi- gwmbu (pounding)
- chi-gmbó (rag) zvi-
- chi-mamata (stutterer) zvi- mamata (stuttering)
- chi-pímbí (stump, e.g. of a leg) zvi- pímbí (hanging of leg or tail)
- chi-kosha (person handicapped after an accident) zvi- kosha (being helpless)
- chi-bibhi (cripple) zvi-
- chi-chaká (drunkard) zvi-
- chi-bibi (one who stutters) zvi- bi bi bi (stuttering)
- chi-feve (lecher)
- chi-kambí (professional witch) zvi-
- chi-dzgmwe (unmanly person) zvi-
- chi-fshu (one who is indiscrét zvi-fshe and cannot keep a secret) (running over)
- chi-fíu (sulky person) zvi- fíu (sulking)
- chi-pvira (interfering person) zvi- pvira (interfering)
- chi-nyiku (person who laughs zvi- nyiku (laughing without reason)

(iv) A number of physical types which are short and stout, or large and stout.

- e.g. chi-gwindf (short, strong, healthy zvi- cp. gwindf (being person) strong)
- chi-diya (short, vigorous, rest- zvi- diya (being fit person) less person)
- chi-hwindikwind (short, stout person) zvi- hwindikwindi (being fat)
- chi-ninhvya (short, stout girl) zvi- nhinhvya (being fat)
- chi-mandionere (dwarf)

(v) Some styles or ways of talking or acting.

- e.g. chi-bhende (secret talk, double talk)
- chi-mweny (allegory, double talk)

58 chi-nyáriré...
chi-nyariré (quiet, silent manner)
chi-uyaní (gentle manner, action)
chi-mpendawó (imitation)
chi-mukwé (slowness)
chi-chimbí (quickness) cp. chimí (moving fast)
chi-dünýa (selfishness) ndünýa (moving with self-confidence)

(vi) A number of miscellaneous among which the following meanings may be discerned:
- crops and grains
  e.g. chi-thimú (maize) zvi-
        chi-kiti (white maize) zvi-
        chi-kómbe (kind of sorghum)
- birds
  e.g. chi-korera (butcher bird) zvi-
        chi-gwenure (black-eyed bulbul)
- insects
  e.g. chi-pfukuto (weevil) zvi-
        chi-pembenene (flying insect) zvi-

(vii) A number of loan words assigned to this class on the basis of the initial phone /s/ in the source language being transformed into the morpheme /chi-/, /sp chip-/, /st chit-/, /sk chip-/, /sl chir-./
  e.g. chi-punu (spoon) zvi-
        chi-pani (span) zvi-
        chi-téshe (station) zvi-
        chi-téma (steamer, train) zvi-
        chi-tóro (store) zvi-
        chi-tófu (stove) zvi-
        chi-tókisi (stocks, short period of imprisonment) zvi-
        chi-kóchikari (scotch cart) zvi-
        chi-kóro (school) zvi-
        chi-rekhi (sleight) zvi-
        chi-réri (sleigh) zvi-
        chi-póko (ghost, Afr. spook) zvi-
        chi-pikiri (nail, Afr. spyker) zvi-
        chi-dhína (brick, Afr. steen) zvi-
        chi-góro (scissors, Afr. sker) zvi-
        chi-kárema (rascal, Afr. skelm) zvi-
        chi-kefo (boat, Afr. skip) zvi-
        chi-kwére (debt, Afr. skuld) zvi-

(viii) Complex nominal constructions of type chi- + R + -o indicate instruments or results.
  e.g. chi-půwo (livestock) zvi- cp. -půw- (keep stock)
        chi-bató (handle) zvi- -bat- (hold)
        chi-pindo (entrance) zvi- -pindo- (go in)
        chi-biço (food for cooking) zvi- -bik- (cook)
        chi-bhadrac (cost) -bhirac- (cost)
        chi-bayo (pain, stabbing zvi- -bay- (stab)
        zvi- (instrument, pneumonia)

(ix) Complex nominal constructions of type chi- + R + -ir + -o indicate sometimes place of action, sometimes an instrument.
  e.g. chi-petero (refuge) zvi- cp. -êtê- (take refuge at)
        chi-rásiro (rubbish pit) zvi- -rasir- (throw away)
        chi-bítiro (container, or zvi- -bitu- (catch for)
        place to catch something)
        chi-bayiro (victim of sacrifice zvi- -bayu- (stab at).
        or place of sacrifice)
        or place of sacrifice)
        chi-dziviro (stopper) zvi- -dziv- (stop at, for)

(x) Complex constructions of type chi- + R + -w- indicate something on which the action of R is performed.
  e.g. chi-núfa (anything drinkable) zvi- cp. -nufu- (be drunk)
        chi-bikúfa (cooked food) zvi- -biku- (be cooked)
        chi-siku (creature) zvi- -siku- (be made)
        chi-kóhína (crop) zvi- -kohi- (be reaped)

59/59 The...
(xi) The counting numerals from 1-9 are used with prefix /chi-/ in possessive inflections to indicate ordinals.

E.g. munhu we-chi-poshi, -chi-motsi, -chi-posi (first person)
we-chi-pfirf
we-chi-tatú (second "
we-chi-na (third) "
we-chi-sharu (fourth) 
we-chi-tánhatú (fifth) 
we-chi-name (sixth) 
we-chi-sfē (seventh) 
we-chi-sfē (eighth) 
we-chi-pfumbanwe (ninth) 

Also: ke-chi-poshi (firstly)
ke-chi-pfirf (secondly) etc.

Rusekere rve-mwezi (the eighth day of the moon) was used to indicate the non-working day that occurred then (paive nechif). The forms chiposhi to chinhatú also stand for the days of the week, Monday to Saturday, inclusive.

cp. also chi-nya-mu-tatú (Orion's belt)
chi-nya-mu-tánhatú (the Pleiades)

(xii) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LH</th>
<th>chinu</th>
<th>chisló</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chinu</td>
<td>oil calabash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisló</td>
<td>razor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LL</th>
<th>chinu</th>
<th>chinwu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chinu</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinwu</td>
<td>impatience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinzi</td>
<td>bad luck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHh</th>
<th>chufi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chufi</td>
<td>(cough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chufi</td>
<td>(snuff box)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>LL</th>
<th>chihára</th>
<th>chifúd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chihára</td>
<td>(crown of head)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chifúd</td>
<td>(sulky person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LL</th>
<th>chigaro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chigaro</td>
<td>(seat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chigaro</td>
<td>(pocket in loin cloth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHH</th>
<th>chi-qwidöf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-qwidöf</td>
<td>(stout, healthy person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-qwidöf</td>
<td>(container)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-qwidöf</td>
<td>(rubbish pit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHH</th>
<th>chi-źänarí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-źänarí</td>
<td>(trap for mice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-źänarí</td>
<td>(nail)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHH</th>
<th>chi-hokisi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-hokisi</td>
<td>(chicken-pox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-hokisi</td>
<td>(cell for short-sentence prisoners)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-hokisi</td>
<td>(dry empty husk of fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-hokisi</td>
<td>(black-eyed lullull)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHH</th>
<th>chi-gakata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-gakata</td>
<td>(beetle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHH</th>
<th>chi-gwadara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-gwadara</td>
<td>(falling sickness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-gwadara</td>
<td>(price)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Constructions in which the prefix /chi-/ is secondary cover the following meanings all of which are found in primary constructions as well.

(i) Short and stout persons and things:

E.g. chi-aná (short, fat child) zvi- cp. mw-aná (child) (1)
chi-kadí (short, fat woman) zvi- mu-kadí (woman) (1)
chi-mbē (short, fat dog) zvi- mbē (dog) (9)
chi-mbi (short, fat girl) zvi- mbi (maid) (9)
chi-sfē (short, broad head) zvi- sfē (head) (3)
chi-mu (short, thick tail) zvi- mu (tail) (3)
chi-mi (short, fat wife) zvi- mi (wife) (2a)
chi-mi (short, stout girl) cp. ŋo mi (tall one) (3)
chi-muteke (corpulent person) ŋo muteke (tail, large-boned, but not fully rounded) (3)
chi-kono (hillock) zvi- kono (hill) (5)
chi-su (bundle of grass) zvi- su (grass) (14)
chi-kāf (cooking pot for side dish) zvi- kāf (pot) (9)
(ii) Languages and styles:
e.g. chi-kádzí (woman fashion) cp. mu-kádzí (woman) (1)
   chì-chèmbere (old women's language) chèmbere (old woman) (9)
   chi-bòghé (left handedness) ru-bòghé (left hand) (11)
   chi-μhùnì (Afrikaans) Bùnhù (Afrikaner) (5)
   chi-ìào (piùgin) (6)
   chi-wàài udì (childishness) hwaì udì (childhood) (14)
   chi-ìànì (uneducated, speech) vanì (people) (2)
   chi-ìì (women's fashions) và-ìì (mothers) (2a)
   chi-ìmì (acting like a beast) mìmì (ox) (9)

(iii) Imperfect and defective things:
e.g. chi-howa (bad mushrooms) cp. howà (mushroom) (14)
   chi-bhásikoro chàké chìgàngàzhà (his broken-down old bicycle)
   bhàsikoro (bicycle) (5)
   chi-chòvà-mèkà (rattletrap of a car)

Chi-pùnì jì chìfì (angùfìnì kùfìnì) purù (farm) (9)
   (This poor farm that has no one who can cultivate)
   Chi-nùùì fì fì (chìhàngù)bà (rzùnìhà) (This rag which only prints lies)

3.3.11. Noun Class 8

(a) Prefix: /zvi-/
(b) Allomorphs: Where plural forms are found, allomorphs (zv-/., zva-) correspond to /ch-/ and /chà-/ in distribution.
(c) Number: Correlative plurals of singular cl. 7 nouns are in cl. 8. Nouns of cl. 7 which are neutral do not, of course, have correlative plurals in cl. 8. There are some nouns of cl. 8 without number, e.g. zvìiyà (finger millet).
(d) Meanings: as in cl. 7 in general. In cases where correlative plurals do not appear to exist, cl. 8 agreements in, for example, relatives, may indicate meanings similar to cl. 7 nouns which are neutral.
e.g. sicknesses etc.
   zvì-nà-mà (father's indisposition, e.g. fits)
   e.g. manner, style etc.
   zvakònitikà (in a good way)
   zvakàpà (in a bad way)
Prefix /zvi-/ with pejorative implication appears with nouns indicating substances.
e.g. zvi-sàdza (inferior porridge, e.g. having dirt in it)
   Tinongoli zvi-sàdza zvakàpà (We are just given filthy porridge)
   zvi-zìì (a few, wasted days)
   Nìkàngà nìdìkà (kìwìvíú (I was there for a few unhappy, unprofitable days)
   Zvi-vàài zvakànì kùhà, hazììnì (The naughty children who came from the mushroom do not listen - from a folk tale)
   cp. zvi-nà-sàdza (Sadza and his friends - a poor lot)

3.3.12. Noun Class 9

(a) Prefix: /N-/
(b) Allomorphs: The prefix of cl. 9 is non-syllabic.² /N-/ may be prefixed to consonant-commencing or vowel-commencing stems.

Consonant-commencing stems:
(i) In combination with certain consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as a single nasal consonant, the first in a consonant-cluster resulting from the prefixing of /N-/ to the consonant-commencing noun-stem. In all cases where /N-/ is realised as a nasal consonant, it is homorganic to the initial phone of the stem (NC).
(ii) In combination with other consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is not realised as a nasal consonant but as a morphophonemic change of another kind.
(iii) In combination with still other consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as /ŋ/.

Vowel-commencing stems: In combination with vowel-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as /ŋ/ or nasal and another homorganic consonant (NC).

(1) Constructions of /N/ and consonant-commencing stems.
(i) /N-/ is realised as a homorganic nasal before stems commencing with the following phonemes:

Labials:
N⁺ + p > mb
   e.g.  N⁺ + -puk > m-luk
   (viz. depressor bilabial nasal [m])
   (animal)
N⁺ + b > mb
   e.g.  N⁺ + -berek > m-berek-o
   (viz. non-depressor voiced bilabial nasal-oral stop cluster)
   (cradle-skin)
N⁺ + v > mb
   e.g.  N⁺ + -vavār > m-lavār-o
   (viz. non-depressor voiced bilabial nasal-oral stop cluster)
   (intention)
N⁺ + vh > mv
   e.g.  N⁺ + -vut > m-vut-o
   (viz. depressor voiced cluster of bilabial nasal stop and labiodental spirant)
   (bellows)
The depressor bilabial nasal is found in the cluster:
mb [mb] e.g. mbongoro (donkey)

Before all labials (save f, m, mh) /N-/ is realised as a bilabial nasal.

Alveolars:
N⁺ + t > nh
   e.g.  N⁺ + -tām > n-tām-o
   (viz. depressor alveolar nasal [n])
   (chisel)
N⁺ + d > nd
   e.g.  N⁺ + -dik > n-dikí
   (viz. non-depressor voiced alveolar nasal-oral stop cluster)
   (small one)³
N⁺ + r > nd
   e.g.  N⁺ + -rūm > ndūmūrē
   (viz. non-depressor voiced alveolar nasal-oral stop cluster)
   (weaned child)
N⁺ + z > nz
   e.g.  N⁺ + -zh > n-zhūr
   (viz. depressor voiced alveolar nasal-spirant cluster)
   (knowledge)

¹ 62/N + zv nzv...

1. Nouns of cl. 10, 9 with prefixes /g- + N-/ have the same overt forms as those of cl. 9.
   In the account of the morphophonemics of cl. 9 prefix given below, some examples of cl. 10, 9 are given where examples from cl. 9 are not available to instance a particular change.

2. The morphophonemic changes are given in the current orthography, but the following combinations have been used to indicate the presence of murmurs where the current orthography does not do this: mbh, ndh, ngh, gh. In /-gadur/-, /g/ is implosive and non-depressor. /N/, described in the Phonology as a syllabic onset consisting of murmurs, has been termed here the voiced depressor glottal spirant.

3. /-dik/ is an adjective stem. But the shape of noun prefixes and adjective prefixes are commonly the same. Hence in the absence of a suitable noun stem, the adjective stem will serve. This applies to /-zhin-/ as well.
N + sv > nzv  (viz. depreesor voiced alveolar labialised nasal-spirant cluster)
e.g. N + -sva > n-zva > -é  (newly calved cow)
The depressor alveolar nasal is found in the cluster:
\[ \text{ndh} \]  \[ \text{nd} \], e.g. ndaré (beer cooked for sale)

Before all alveolars (save s, sv, n, nh) /N/ is realised as an alveolar nasal.

Palatal:
N+ y > nj  (viz. depreesor paired palatal nasal-affricate cluster [ nds ])
e.g. N + yako > n- jaka-nyake  (his things) (10,9)
N+ zh > nj  (viz. depreesor paired palatal nasal-affricate cluster [ n'k ])
e.g. N + zhamb -  (make a noise) > n-jambó  (noise)
but
N+ zhinji > zhinji  (many) (10,9)

Before palatalts (save sh, sometimes zh, ny, nyh) /N/ is realised as a palatal nasal.

Velar:
N + g > ng  (viz. non-depresor voiced velar nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N + gâd ur > n- gâdur-ô  (biting, hitting)
N+ g > ng  (viz. non-depresor voiced velar nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N- gar > n-gar-ô  (settlement)
N+ w > ngw  (viz. non-depresor voiced velar nasal-oral stop + /-w/ cluster)
e.g. N+ -war > n-gwar-ô  (flat rocks) (10,9)
   wadya > ngwadya-ngwëda  (first taste of beer)
The depressor velar nasal is found in the cluster:
\[ \text{ng} \]  \[ \text{g} \], e.g. nganûnu  (cannon)

Before all velars (save k, n', n'h) /N/ is realised as a velar nasal.

(ii) /N/ is realised as the morphophonemic change from voiceless velar oral stop to voiced depressor glottal spirant before stems commencing with /k/.

viz. N + k > h
e.g. N + -kam > ham (kinsman)

/\U02ee/ is realised as the morphophonemic change from spirant to affricate, or as /\U02be/, before stems commencing with the following phonemes: /f/, s, sv/.

viz. N + f /f/
e.g. N + -fung > pfung-wá  (thought) cp. -fung- (think)
   + -famb > pfamb-ô  (prostitute) cp. -famb- (walk)
   + -fund > fund-ô  (education) cp. -fund- (learn)
   födya  (tobacco) folha  (leaf: Portuguese)

N + s > ts/s
e.g. N + -sik > tsikó-sikó  (firestick) cp. -sik- (whirl)
   + -send > rendô-sendô  (plane) cp. -send- (plane)
   + -sûrûz > sûrûz-ô  (strainer) cp. -sûrûz- (strain)
N + sv > tsv/sv
e.g. N+ -svino > tsvingo  (stone-wall ruin, fortification)
   + -svuur > tsvuur-a-murumo  (child needing constant chiding)
   cp. svuur (stripping off skin)
   + -svits > tsvits-a  (wedding) cp. -svits- (help to arrive)
   + -svinnk > svinink-ô  (clever person) cp. svinî (be alert)

(iii) /N/ is realised as /\U02be/ before stems beginning with other consonant phonemes.

viz. N + sh > sh
e.g. N + shyà > shaya  (jaw) (10,9) cp. rushaya (jaw) (17)
N + h > h
e.g. N + hor > hor-ô  (pay day, pay)
Similarly before stems commencing in /m, n, ny, n', pʃ, ts, tsv, ch, tv, dz, dzv, ʃ/, /N-/ appears to be realised as /ny/.

\[ \text{e.g. namwe} \quad \text{(seven)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \]
\[ \text{nyoro} \quad \text{(soft)} \]
\[ \text{pfumbanwe} \quad \text{(nine)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \]
\[ \text{tsara} \quad \text{(rows)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \]
\[ \text{tsukú} \quad \text{(red)} \]
\[ \text{chena} \quad \text{(white)} \]
\[ \text{bumbirano} \quad \text{(agreement)} \]
\[ \text{dzifiso} \quad \text{(lesson)} \]

In some case examples are not readily available. The nasal appears in the following -

\[ \text{ndzipo} \quad \text{(stopper)} \quad \text{cp. -dziv-} \quad \text{-dy-ú-} \quad \text{(keep out, keep off)} \]
\[ \text{ndyir-e-ndyir-e} \quad \text{(greet)} \quad \text{(eat for)} \]

(2) Constructions of /N-/ and vowel-commencing stems

\[ \text{/N-/ is realised in a number of ways with stems which in contemporary Shona are vowel-commencing.} \]

(i) \[ \text{/N-/ realised as /ny/;} \]

\[ \text{e.g. nyambo} \quad \text{(aung)} \quad \text{cp. -mb-} \quad \text{sing} \]
\[ \text{nyáchi} \quad \text{(bee)} \quad \text{-cli} \quad \text{(honey)} \]
\[ \text{nyénvudzi} \quad \text{(star)} \quad \text{mw-edzi} \quad \text{(moon)} \quad \text{(3)} \]
\[ \text{nyangá} \quad \text{(horns)} \quad \text{rw-angá} \quad \text{(stem of pipe, tusk)} \quad \text{(11)} \]

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /ny/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

\[ \text{nyama} \quad \text{(meat)} \]
\[ \text{nyáti} \quad \text{(buffalo)} \]
\[ \text{nyika} \quad \text{(country)} \]
\[ \text{nyáthá} \quad \text{(thirst)} \]
\[ \text{nyóka} \quad \text{(snake)} \quad \text{but cp. zóka (intestinal worm in chicken)} \quad \text{(5)} \]

(ii) \[ \text{/N-/ realised as /nz/;} \]

\[ \text{e.g. nzará} \quad \text{(fingernails)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \quad \text{cp. -rw-ará} \quad \text{(nail)} \quad \text{(11)} \]
\[ \text{nzenzi} \quad \text{(journeys)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \quad \text{end-} \quad \text{(go)} \]
\[ \text{nziyá} \quad \text{(song)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \quad \text{rw-iyá} \quad \text{(song)} \quad \text{(11)} \]
\[ \text{nziizá} \quad \text{(rivers)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \quad \text{rw-iizá} \quad \text{(river)} \quad \text{(11)} \]
\[ \text{nzenzí} \quad \text{(sherds)} \quad \text{(10, 9)} \quad \text{rw-angá} \quad \text{(sherd)} \quad \text{(11)} \]
\[ \text{imbwa nzenví} \quad \text{(strange dog)} \]
\[ \text{mu-ení, mu-yenzi} \quad \text{(stranger)} \quad \text{(11)} \]

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /nz/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

\[ \text{e.g. nzára} \quad \text{(hunger)} \]
\[ \text{nzri} \quad \text{(path)} \]
\[ \text{nzchipè} \quad \text{(male animal)} \]
\[ \text{nzou} \quad \text{(elephant)} \]
\[ \text{nzungú} \quad \text{(groundnut)} \]

(iii) \[ \text{/N-/ realised as /ng/ or /n'/;} \]

\[ \text{e.g. nyonda} \quad \text{(lung sickness in cattle)} \quad \text{cp. -nd-} \quad \text{(get thin?)} \]
\[ \text{ngoma} \quad \text{(drum)} \]
\[ \text{ngomwá} \quad \text{(barren person)} \]
\[ \text{nguvwe} \quad \text{(pig)} \]
\[ \text{nguo} \quad \text{(skin dress)} \]
\[ \text{ngono/n'ono} \quad \text{(snore)} \]
\[ \text{i-ngwe} \quad \text{(leopard)} \]
\[ \text{ngwena} \quad \text{(crocodile)} \]
\[ \text{ngwazi} \quad \text{(wax man)} \]

(iv) \[ \text{/N-/ realised as /nj/;} \]

\[ \text{e.g. njézdanzí} \quad \text{(new moon)} \quad \text{cp. mw-edzi} \quad \text{(moon)} \quad \text{(3)} \]
\[ \text{njeni} \quad \text{(stranger)} \quad \text{mw-} \quad \text{(stranger)} \quad \text{(1)} \]

Ningaitei somunhu njeni-nyeni?
What can I do being a stranger?

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /nj/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

[e.g. njiri... ]
e.g. njiri (warthog)
njere (cleverness)
njiva (dove)

The consonant clusters /nz, ng, nj/ are probably the result of past morphophonemic changes, at a time when the stems in question commenced with consonants, cp. the reconstructed Ur-Bantu stems /'yəfu/ (elephant), /'yəno/ (fable), /'yəli/ (warthog). These are preserved in the morphophonemics of cl. 9 but have elsewhere disappeared.

There are a number of monosyllabic noun stems to which /N-/ is prefixed. These appear with penultimate /i-/ (though not in Karanga).

e.g. i-mbwa (dog)
i-mbi (house)
i-mbi (regiment) impli (Zulu)
i-mv (grey hair)
i-nda (house)
i-ndy (food)
i-pwa (sugar-cane)
i-sha (flying termites)
i-ta (kidney)
i-di (wish)
i-di (food)
i-mwe (game played with stones as counters)
i-nwe (bitter things)
i-ngwe (leopard)

(c) **Number:** The nouns of cl. 9 are singular or neutral in number. Correlative plurals are in cl. 10, 9.

(d) **Meaning:**

(1) Constructions in which the prefix /N-/ is primary indicate -

(i) Animals, birds and reptiles:

- shamba (lion)
- nyeku (snake)
- nhuk (animal)
- ndiya (leopard)
- taura (kere)
- nombe (head of cattle)
- shiri (bird)
- horonha (old male baboon)
- hora (full grown dog)

(ii) **Different kinds of people:**

- lwa (kinman)
- mbala (amiti)
- n'anga (diviner)
- nganyi (skilled person)
- pwere (busy)
- mawo (thief)
- chember (cl. men)
- burha (cl. man)
- banwa (cl. of opposite sex)
- burumi (widower)
- huruta (successful farmer)
- bohonwa (very old person)
- tvimpume (bachelor)
- tsukendo (bachelor)

(iii) **Miscellanea, including many everyday objects:**

- mula (water, rain)
- nhanda (goods, love-token)
- hiri (pot)
- mire (path)
- miba (seed)

(iv) **Complex nounal constructions of type N+R+o indicate instruments or results of the operations of R.**

- muk-o (pokers)
- nhul-o (chisel for cutting iron)
- ntingo (madness)
- hembo (walking pole)
- mbee-o (knife)
- teem-o (plate)
- kooze-o (calabash for curdling milk)
- kooza-o (thicker)

65 \(v\) **Complex...**
(v) Complex nominal constructions of type N+R+/-i indicate agents of the operation of R:

- mhibí: murderer
- mbimbú: industrious person
- hwégí: old man, woman, animal
- mharaí: (destroyer)

(cp. -pond-: murder, kill
-vímp-: work steadily
-kweč-: be old
-pací: scatter, destroy)

(vi) Complex nominal constructions of type N+R+/-w+/-i indicate the patient or product of the operation of R:

- nhép-wa: captured
- mhond-w: one murdered, executed
- pfung-w: (thought)

(cp. -táp-w: be captured
-poon-w: be killed
-fung-w: be thought)

(vii) Examples of tone patterns on primary constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>LH</th>
<th>LL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>i-mbá: dog</td>
<td>i-mbá: bitter things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>húná: tortoise</td>
<td>húní: pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>húfí: anger</td>
<td>húfá: conscience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>húnsa: distance, measure</td>
<td>húnsí: ridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>húnsí: shirt</td>
<td>cp. húnsí: Afrikaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>húndsí: clothes</td>
<td>húndsí: ampit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>húntsí: craving</td>
<td>húntsí: (pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>húntsí: wild fruit</td>
<td>húntsí: top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>húntsí: bone</td>
<td>húntsí: bone, sickness, fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>húntsí: something round, rolled up</td>
<td>húntsí: pile of stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>húntsí: dust</td>
<td>húntsí: potsherd for roasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>húntsí: office</td>
<td>húntsí: dirt, young jackal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>húntsí: forgetfulness</td>
<td>húntsí: green pigeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>húntsí: (divining bone)</td>
<td>húntsí: sifting of opposite sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>húntsí: (timidity, fear)</td>
<td>húntsí: woodpecker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>húntsí: (purse)</td>
<td>húntsí: point of dying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>húntsí: (lamb)</td>
<td>húntsí: (bull, ram etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>húntsí: (old man)</td>
<td>húntsí: (successful farmer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Constructions in which the prefix /N/- is secondary are somewhat rare:

- kádzi: female
- hónó: male

These nouns are used in apposition to names of animals to indicate sex.

- ánjí: lion
- shíma: lóshí: lioness

The proverb: bámará hóshí, bámará nómí (He who has begotten a female has begotten a male) refers to the fact that a daughter will attract a son-in-law. The term nómí in nómí náftorí: wá: dé: ná: indicates a real man.

Noun Class 10

3.3.13. (1) Allomorph...
(1) Allomorph /dzi-/ occurs as a primary prefix in the following constructions:

| dze-mbá | (houses) | (10, 9) | cp. | imba (house) | (9) |
| dze-mbá | (songs) | (10, 9) | -imbá | (sing) | (11) |
| ru-mbá | (song) | (10, 9) |

(2) Constructions in which /dzi-/ is secondary indicate a plurality with the note of variety, or a plurality which has several different realisations.

e.g. 

| dze-nzimba | (several places) | (10, 9) |
| dze-minda | (several fields) | (10, 4) |

Garaĩ padzimba dzenyụ
(Sit in your several places)

M'mege muchíte ēgere pàmàdzitare ēnyụ?
(What do you do as you sit at your various council places?)

Endái mosé kudziminda kwényụ
(Do to your different fields, all of you)

Míchete ndzizipère
(All is well with the various children)

Ko, zvirwa zvezvitsinga zvinòwadzí vántú zvinobva kúpiko?
Ko, mudzinzira matinòfamba namó umu?
(Where do the sicknesses which cripple people come from?
Well, why not from the different paths on which we walk?)

With noun of class 1a, the prefix /dzi-/
seems to indicate mere plurality.

| vů-dzi-shé | (chiefs) | (2a, 10) |
| cp. ishé | (chief) | (1a) |

(3) The primary prefix /dzi-/ is, outside the constructions listed in (1) above, replaced by /b-/.
Like the allomorph /dzi-/ /b-/ is prefixed to the prefix /N-/ of class 9
so that the majority of nouns of class 10 are characterised by a combination of prefixes, viz. those of class 10 (normally /b-/ and 9 (/N-/).

| nziara | (these paths) | (10, 9) |
| cp. nziara | (this path) | (9) |

(4) Secondary prefix /dzi-/
may replace /b-./

| dze-nzimba | (these several paths) | (10, 9) |
| dze-mbira | (these several hand pianos) | (10, 9) |

(5) The nouns of classes 9 and 10, 9 are normally identical in phonemic shape because the
prefix of class 10 is commonly /b-./.

| mbíe | (these cattle) | (10, 9) |
| mbíe | (this ox) | (9) |

That the prefixes of the nouns in phrases like these must be conceived of as being
derent seems reasonable since they control different agreements. Class 9 nouns
with prefix /N-/
control agreements of class 9. Class 10 nouns with prefixes
/dzi- /b-/ followed by /N-/
control agreements of class 10. In the majority of cases
the prefix of class 10 is not present in its syllabic form /dzi-/, i.e. it has an
allomorph /b-/. But whether the allomorph /dzi-/ or allomorph /b-/ is present, this
makes no difference to the agreements controlled. (1)

(c) Number: Nouns of class 10, 9 are plural. There are some nouns in this class which have
correlative singulars in class 11, not in class 9.

(d) Meanings: Nouns of class 10, 9 have the same general meanings, number excepted, as those
of class 9.

Those which form correlative plurals of class 11 nouns have the meanings of this class
as well.

| vů. (i) things characterised by length, | e.g. hova (stream) | (11) |
| cp. ru-kova (stream) | (11) |
| (ii) things characterised by circularity, | e.g. hiva (seats) |
| cp. ru-kiva (circular seat running round inside of wall of hat) | (11) |

(1) The treatment followed here is that advanced by D.T. Cole in 'The Prefix of Bantu Noun
Noun Class 11

(a) Prefix: /ru-/  
(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before vowel-commencing stems, /ru-/ is realised as /rw-/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rw-ana</td>
<td>/rw-ana/ (thin, weak, frail child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mw-ana</td>
<td>(child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-enga</td>
<td>/rw-enga/ (long horn, tusk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-enga</td>
<td>(horn, tusk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-anza</td>
<td>/rw-anza/ (thimb of hand, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch-anza</td>
<td>(thumb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-ando</td>
<td>/rw-ando/ (handful, e.g. of grain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch-anza</td>
<td>(palm of hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-enga</td>
<td>/rw-enga/ (potsherds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzengi</td>
<td>(potsherds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-enya</td>
<td>/rw-enya/ (sting nettle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-i5a</td>
<td>/rw-i5a/ (song)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzik</td>
<td>(songs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-iz1</td>
<td>/rw-iz1/ (river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nziz1</td>
<td>(rivers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-odzi</td>
<td>(beet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch-odi</td>
<td>(pubic hair)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In rwévhi, ruévhi (chameleon), the tone on the syllable consisting of non-syllabic prefix + initial vowel of the stem is high which is unusual for Shona.

Cp. alternative ru-yavhi
plural: nzawévhi, nzévhi, hwevhi (10)

In ru'éko (hand, arm) the prefix is realised as /ru-/.  
Cp. ma-éko (hands, arms) (6)

The prefix is realised as /ru-/ in deverbal nominal constructions before vowel-commencing Rs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-edz-</td>
<td>/ru-edz-/ (long maintained attempt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-edz-</td>
<td>(try)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-fp-</td>
<td>/ru-fp-/ (bad habit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fp-</td>
<td>(become bad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-nd-</td>
<td>/ru-nd-/ (leaness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nd-</td>
<td>(go)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) /ru-/ appears to be realised as /rw-/ before a few stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rwa-thi</td>
<td>/rwa-thi/ (hymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-thi</td>
<td>(hymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwa-so5</td>
<td>/rwa-so5/ (head rope for leading oxen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-so5</td>
<td>(head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-huro</td>
<td>/rw-huro/ (bridle through nose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nza-hu5</td>
<td>(bridles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huro</td>
<td>(throat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are listed here with prefix allomorph /rwa-/ although there is no evidence of the stem in other constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rwa-tata</td>
<td>(pancreas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwa-tefa</td>
<td>(pot scrapings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwa-sora</td>
<td>(ring through calf's nose to prevent ackling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 11 are singular and, in one secondary meaning, collective. There is no special linked class of correlative plurals.

Plurals of cl.11 nouns are found either in cl.10, with prefix /y-N-/ substituted for or superimposed on the prefix /ru-/, or, less often, in cl.6, with prefix /ma-/ substituted for, or superimposed on, prefix /ru-/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-kúkwe</td>
<td>/ru-kúkwe/ (sleeping mat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húkwe</td>
<td>(sleeping mats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-dzi</td>
<td>/ru-dzi/ (kind, tribe, lineage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndudzi</td>
<td>(kinds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-óko</td>
<td>/ru-óko/ (hand, arm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-óko</td>
<td>(hands, arms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-wa</td>
<td>/ru-wa/ (districts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ru-wa</td>
<td>(districts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which the prefix /ru-/ is primary indicator:

(i) long thin things

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-óko</td>
<td>/ru-óko/ (hand, arm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-tangá</td>
<td>(read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-nyatso</td>
<td>(teat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-sará</td>
<td>(row)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-mbabu</td>
<td>(rib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-óko</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsanga</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyatso</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsará</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbabu</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A group of nouns indicate circularity as well as length and thinness.

e.g. ru-kawá (circular seat running round the inside of hut)  
çp. húva (10)
ru-séro (winding basket)  
tsero (10)
ru-syingo (stone wall)  
þsyingo (10)
ru-també (bracelet of coiled wire)  
þsambé (9)
ru-tsanga (fence round sacred enclosure)  
tsanga (9)
ru-vánza (cleared space round a house)  
þvánza (9/10)
ru-ndqaré (head-band)  
þndqaré (9/10)
ru-ndárira (thin wire bracelet)  
þndará (9/10)
ru-ndázá (crown, fillet; long line)  
þndázá (9/10)

(ii) A number of complex nominal constructions with the prefix /ru-/ and of different structural types indicate times of the day and seasons.

e.g. ru-nyn'-a-nhíriri (early morning)  
çp. -nyn'- (excrete)  
nhíriri (wild cat) (9)
ru-dzya-kamwe (first heat of day)  
zdy- (be warm)  
kamwe (once again) (10)
ru-zamb-a-mbíra (early morning)  
zamb-fr- (ask)  
mbrí (dassies) (10)
ru-kunzvi-kunzvi (dusk)  
þbwnz- (ask)  
þvni (strangers) (2)
ru-bunz-a-vaeni (dusk)  
þfur- (graze)  
þmbrí (dúmbars) (10)
ru-fur-a-mhembwe (dawn or dusk)  
þmer- (sprout)  
þim- (cultivate)
ru-mer-a (early summer)  
þnun- (sweat)  
þmn- (go outside)
ru-imwáná (early spring)  
þmvč- (grow)
ru-ikwá (thin grass, spring)

In some cases, corresponding forms in cl.6 exist with more general or approximate meanings than the above which are said to be used with a more precise sense.

cp. ru-tónga (break of day)  
þtnd- (chase)  
þtónga (10)
ru-tanda-ndambí (break of day)  
þndambí (something that would not leave us) (9)
ru-kunguvira (dawn, dusk)  
þkunguvira (be light in colour)
ru-kundzú (dusk)  
þkundzú (10)
ru-siwílá (thin grass, spring)

(iii) Nouns indicate a considerable number or abundance of objects, e.g. children.

e.g. ru-dhendé (a number, multitude)  
þdhendé (10)
ru-dhenté (a number, multitude)  
þdhenté (10)
ru-wáwaya (a multitude, e.g. of dogs)  
þwáwaya (10)
ru-wakawaka (a multitude, e.g. of cars, oxen)  
þwakawaka (10)
ru-fararíra (a multitude, e.g. of birds)  
þfararíra (10)
ru-fashá (abundance, e.g. of chickens)  
þfashá (10)
ru-zangwáwaya (abundance, e.g. of children)  
þzangwí (10)
ru-ryí (continuous calling or frequenting of a place)  
þryí (10)
ru-váva (excessive action)

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type ru + R + -o indicate actions that endure in time as well as persistent habits, qualities or characteristics.

e.g. ru-b- (habit of stealing)  
çp. b- (steal)
ru-btsir-o (help)  
þbtsir- (help)
ru-bing-o (habit of complaining)  
þbing- (complain)
ru-famb-o (habit of walking about)  
þfamb- (walk)
ru-revol (habit of back-biting, correcting, finding fault)  
þrevl- (talk)
ru-rhý (unhealthy greediness)  
þrhý (eat)
ru-sáfr-o (complacent)  
þsáfr- (content)
ru-tad-o (issue, result)  
þtad- (be innocent)  
þtd- (come from)
ru-bwíny-o (shining, brilliance)  
þbwíny- (shine)
ru-vhenék-o (light, illumination)  
þvhenék- (shine)

Some deverbative nouns have terminal vowels other than -o:
e.g. ru-chenger-a (suspicion, habitual jealousy) cp. -chenger- (be suspicious, jealous)
ru-chiv-a (lust) -chiv- (desire)
ru-dember-a (habit of asking for something) -demb- (keep on talking about)
ru-tsgv-a (area of burnt grass) -tsgv- (burn)
ru-sarir-a (habit of being late) -sarrir- (be the last)
ru-somer-a (payment by instalments) -som-er- (pay bit by bit)
ru-bate-bitete (slowness in gathering up things; habit of thieving) -bitete (hold)
ru-pfav-e (gentleness) -pfav-e (be gentle)
ru-gar-e (peace) -gar-e (stay, live)
ru-dyf (right, eating hand) -dyf (eat)
ru-an (good eyesight) -an (see)
ru-oreri (pilferer) -oreri (go bad)
ru-siy-f-siy-f (vestige) -siy-f (leave)
ru-f (death) -f (die)
ru-nyany-u (excessiveness) -nyanyu (be excessive)
ru-vets-a-nguva (habit of making others wait) -vets (delay)
ru-nghe-a-unyerere (worn out object, there for the taking) -tor (take)
ru-ras-a-dem (dispersal) -ras (throw away)

eg. Mazezu ru-wava ruwasadeno (The Zezur were dispersed)

(v) The following may indicate another class meaning:
e.g. ru-zekete (sandy soil)
ru-jekea (gravelly soil)
ru-kangarabwe (gravel)
ru-kughw (shallow soil)
ru-njere (hillside soil)
ru-sayva (sandy soil)
ru-shohe (river sand)

(vi) Miscellaneous.
e.g. ru-gando (contribution made to a meal by herd boys)
ru-dikadikwa (pit of the stomach)
ru-faye (hot ash)
ru-ga (bulb root of grass eaten in famine)
ru-boshwo (left hand)
ru-fimb (medicine which assists a thief)
ru-twifo (baby baboon)
ru-vaga (spot, colour)
ru-kodzi (small hawk)
ru-shambwa (calamity)
ru-vende (kissing space due to loss of one front tooth)

(vii) Some loan words are assigned to this class on the basis of the initial syllable in the source language being transformed into the morpheme /ru-/.
e.g. ru-zevha (Tribal Trust land, reserve)
ru-vhesi (reverse)
ru-pia (two shillings: cp. rupee)
ru-pote (report)
ru-kisheni (location)
ru-bansi (stuff from pine tree mixed with roots and burnt for charms)

(viii) Examples of stem tone patterns in primary constructions:

| LH | ru-nsai | (tradawl) |
| ru-pi | (palm of hand) |
| ru-nhi | (one small stick, hair etc.) |
| ru-ni | (sinew) |
| LL | ru-nje | (tinder) |
| ru-kwa | (protective medicine against thieves) |
| ru-wa | (district) |
| LHH | ru-tsofo | (fence) |
| ru-tsayga | (vein, sinew) |
| LHL | ru-taygo | (baby baboon) |
| ru-kwla | (reed sleeping mat) | cp. hukwe (10a) |

70. LHH : ...
(2) Constructions in which /ru-/ is secondary cover the following meanings:

(i) Things which are thin, weak or sickly of their kind

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-danbo</td>
<td>(thin ladder)</td>
<td>cp. danbo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-cheche</td>
<td>(tall, too young for mucheche)</td>
<td>what it is described to have done</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-dongo</td>
<td>(troublesome old village site; haunted)</td>
<td>dongo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-rongo</td>
<td>(thin, weak pot)</td>
<td>chi-rongo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-jurú</td>
<td>(thin white anti crowd of ants)</td>
<td>jurú</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-mhúo</td>
<td>(thin, bony cow)</td>
<td>mhúo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-pung</td>
<td>(thin, pointed nose)</td>
<td>mhungo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-zínó</td>
<td>(long front tooth)</td>
<td>zínó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-kura</td>
<td>(wornout, poor deserted garden)</td>
<td>gura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-bnzu</td>
<td>(thin splinter)</td>
<td>bnzu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-të</td>
<td>(dribble of saliva)</td>
<td>ma-të</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-wëre</td>
<td>(long, thin precipitous rock)</td>
<td>ma-wëre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-wúri</td>
<td>(long, thin hole)</td>
<td>húri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-swâ</td>
<td>(blade of grass)</td>
<td>u-swá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-hwâhâ</td>
<td>(thin weak beer)</td>
<td>hwâhâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-korë</td>
<td>(lightning, long cloud)</td>
<td>gorë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-korë(*)</td>
<td>(long dark cloud precipitating rain)</td>
<td>gorë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-chambere</td>
<td>(tall, thin, annoying old woman)</td>
<td>chambere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-puká</td>
<td>(tall, thin, bony animal)</td>
<td>mhuká</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-munhu</td>
<td>(tall, thin, sickly, grumbling, senseless, half-witted person)</td>
<td>munhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-szó</td>
<td>(thin, long, bony head)</td>
<td>musózó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-kâdzí</td>
<td>(sickly, thin, tall, talkative woman)</td>
<td>kâdzí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-gâva</td>
<td>(thin jackal)</td>
<td>gâva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-bhâwë</td>
<td>(thin, weak cob of maize)</td>
<td>bhâwë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-kâkkë</td>
<td>(thin chicken, tall with scales on legs)</td>
<td>kâkkë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Qualities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-zísó</td>
<td>(covetousness)</td>
<td>cp. zísó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-tësó</td>
<td>(speed of foot)</td>
<td>tësó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) The noun ru-nhu (ru-nhu) indicates a group of people as well as a thin miserable thing. This meaning may have something to do with that indicated under (iii) of the primary constructions. In any case, inflected verb phrases with subject prefix of cl. 11 are often used to indicate the existence of groups and the activities of the individuals which make them up, within a crowd.

With this meaning, /ru-/ the noun prefix, and its agreements, in so far as they are used with this meaning, appear to be glottalised or murmured.

e.g. Rhuńčemá murúmë, rhuńčemá nukâdzí, ruńćháfrica kúti tôyá nýâma yegúva, a! körâfikó? Râfia ríjí jëma-nówëyá (The group of individuals mourning the man each in their own way, and those mourning the wife as well each in their own way, and those looking forward to eating the funeral meat each in their own way, ah! how to describe the scene? It was a commotion). 71 /Rhumwe.....

(*) Cp. hóre yemwura (cloud full of rain)
The glottalisation of munur (indicated by /h/) is present in the forms rhume (some), an enumerative, and rim- (subject prefix). Also in the noun rhuva (a group of people).

It is a feature responsible for contrastive forms otherwise the same and within the same noun class and made up of the same morphemes.

e.g. rhumotía (a group of people who run away)
rhunote (a lean tall person who runs away)

Notes: sò mi (lo) (the senior mother called maligü by all)
mi dufia (lo) (senior grandmother; the head of the group of women dancing under the influence of lahoon shave spirits).

Noun Class 12

(a) Prefix: /ka-

(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /ka-/- appears to be realised as /ka-/. This has been observed, however, in only one instance.

e.g. k-aná (small child, small young one of any kind) cp. mw-aná (child)

(c) Number: Nouns in cl.12 are either singular or neutral. Correlative plurals, where these exist, are in cl. 13.

(d) Meaning:

In A.S., per.183, it was stated that the prefixes of cl. 12 and 13 are used only in secondary function, viz. as substitute or superimposed prefixes. It was also stated that all the nouns with these prefixes are diminutives, viz. of the forms whose prefixes are replaced or modified by choice of cl. 12 and 13. Further research, e.g. inspection of the list of cl.12 nouns in Ramad's Shona Dictionary, shows that neither statement is universally valid though it covers most of the instances of cl.12. There are nouns in which the prefixes of cl. 12 and 13 are primary, viz. in which the prefixes do not replace, or are superimposed on, those of other classes. There are also other meanings besides the diminutive.

(1) Constructions in which the prefix /ka-/- is primary indicate the following:

(i) a number of miscellaneous objects, some of which are indicated as small.

e.g. kodi (string of the tongue) tu-
kubare (small piece of wood) tu-
kapiti (measure of length, from the tip of the fingers to the tip of the opposite shoulder) tu-
kawa (spring of water) tu-
kwekwe (zirule) tu-
kukubwe (maize used for popcorn) tu-
kupi (quick maturing variety of maize) tu-
ktakitaka (variety of groundnut) tu-
kumwawa (cricket) tu-
kumwawa (lue worm) tu-
kukua (insect which moves on water) tu-
kungu (small flying insect) tu-
kukwakwazi (black cricket) tu-
kukuziko (blue-headed yellow weevil) tu-
kumwa (young horse) tu-
kupare (nightshade) tu-
kukveta (small migratory brown locust) tu-
kubwasi (tongue) tu-
kutsangwe (thick specimen of a person) tu-

In some cases there exist forms of the stem in cl. 9 indicating a bigger specimen but the cl. 12 forms is the more common.
A number of examples are of reduplicated stem:

e.g. kadhlidhi (grey waxbill) tu-
kenifisiri (grey waxbill) tu-
katayitsy 
karohanga (sweet sorghum) tu-
kadikwaw 
kare (from the throat) tu-
kare (solar plexus) tu-
kandicrendire (Jameson's red waxbill) tu-
kandowendwe (stone chisel) tu-

(ii) Constructions of /ka-/ with adjectival and enumerative stems are nouns indicating degrees of frequency. In Kanyaragv nouns of this type are in cl. 11.

Kambwe (cane) -mve (one, the same)
Kambwe (another time) -mve (another, some)
Kaviri (twice) -vir (two)
Kashiri (many times) -shiri (many)
Kashiri (few) -shiri (few)
Kare (long ago) -rei (long)

Kare (the old order changeth)
Kamunwakare (the person of old, the one we know)
Kamunwakare (the same person)

(iii) Complex nominal constructions with primary prefix /ka-/ appear to have the same general meaning pointed out in (1):

Kabayo (stitch in side) -bay (stab)
Kadunguwe (large egret) -tung (pierce)
Kafudidirwe (cattle egret) -fud (head)
Kafurwamudo (small house mouse) -mudo (cattle) (10)
Kafurira (grass frog) -fur (grass, feed)
Kaswifla (lilting finger) -sfla (leave)
Kamutawo (thin person) -dy (eat)
Kameni (fat) -dy (eat)
Kamandicyawire (small kind of groundnut) -dy (sow)
Kamandicyawire (small finger) -dy (sow)
Kanye (skewer) -mku (dog) (9)
Kanyi (swallow) -ny (woo, deceive)
Kanyi (cracks in skin at sides of fingernails) -ny (stint)
Karinga (watch) -ng (look at)
Katika (inadequate black cricket) -te (cut)
Kanyi (kingfisher) -nur (take out of water)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) -h (fish) (9)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (grandmother) (3)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (in the gluttonous wild vegetable) (18)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (calabash) (5)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (oil, fat) (6)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (dove) (9)
Kamuyirwamudere (mantis) (species of tree) (3)

(iv) Some constructions in which /ka-/ is a primary prefix indicate objects or conditions which are hard to get rid of.

Kareya (unpleasant trait which makes a disliked)
Katokoroza (debilitating infection hard to get rid of)
Karasepe (something that sticks to one; hard to get rid of)
Kadambe (sticky substance on grass like spit, with unpleasant smell)
Kawerere (offensive body smell)
Kawewa (persistent bad luck)
Kazazi (quick temper)

(2) Constructions in which /ka-/ is secondary indicate the following:

chizaru (7)
(i) Diminutives: Sometimes these have specific meanings only remotely connected with that of the primary form.

e.g. kabutu (small parcel, e.g. of grain) tu-; cp. butu (parcel) (5)

kamutambida (small headband) tu-; ntabuda (headband) (3)

kakonde (boy or girl) tu-; mukonde (ladle) (3)

kanyeme (small, recently born baby) tu-; munyeme (baby) (1)

kadani (small hive in rock) tu-; dani (rock hive) (5)

kadūnu (small piece) tu-; dīnu (piece) (5)

kadzongyn'ya (sunbird) tu-; dzonyn'ya (sunbird) (1a)

kahweyo (meerkat) tu-; hōwe (meerkat) (9)

kakongwezi (sparrow hawk) tu-; rukongwezi (sparrow hawk) (11)

kakwutifi (fish scale) tu-; gwutifi (scale) (5)

kapembene (small flying insect) tu-; chipembene (flying insect) (7)

kaphwe (chick) tu-; nhīwe (chick) (9)

kapondi (small pimple, dot) tu-; hündi (knot, lump) (5)

kakonkonda (small gully) tu-; gorgonda (gully) (5)

kanyoči (small red-fleshed cattle melon) tu-; nyochi (bees) (10a)

kajongwe (flame lily) tu-; jongwe (cock) (5)

kambambaira (snub nose) tu-; nhambaira (sweet potato) (9)

kapuno (snob nose) tu-; nhuno (nose) (9)

kakara (small carnivorous animal) tu-; chikara (wild carnivorous animal) (7)

Kakara kununa hūdyə kamaa (For a beast fatness consists in eating another small one)

kakang'utif (small twig snake) tu-; kangi'dutif (twig snake) (1a)

kadandadzi (small ligament) tu-; dandadzi (wet) (5)

believed to connect penis and scrotum and which breaks on intercourse

(ii) With nouns indicating number, /ka-/ adds the note of frequency.

e.g. kaguli (ten times) tu-; cp. guli (ten) (5)

kazana (hundred times) tu-; zana (hundred) (5)

but guli nekangwe chete (eleven times)

zana nekangwe (one hundred and two times)

(iii) Some constructions with /ka-/ as secondary prefix indicate things which are unpleasant or harmful.

e.g. katenda (flaw of character, bad trait, long-lasting illness, e.g. TB) tu-; cp. nhenda (sickness) (9)

kadzi'mi (troublesome spirit that will not leave alone) tu-; mudzi'mi (ancestral spirit) (3)

karoi (a grass weed in fields) tu-; -roy- (bewitch)

katsika (a trait of character usually bad) tu-; tsika (custom) (9)

kanjeri (native cunning, mother to oneself) tu-; njeri (wisdom) (9)

kazano (cunning trick, proper to oneself) tu-; ano (plan) (5)

karweso (something causing another to be bewitched) tu-; -rowes- (causes to be bewitched)

kachembebande (long-toothed old hag) tu-; chembere (old woman) (9)

kafrämberi (a blow or illness seemingly slight, but with disastrous consequences) tu-; mberi (ahead) (17)

karwodzi-muchu (nuisance; a habit hard to break or anything hard to drop) tu-; rwodzi (piece of fibre) muchu (at the waist)

The expression kafrūva togo (up flew the dust), cp. gurūva (dust) (5) indicates dust in the air as the result of a fight or disagreement. 74, e.g. Kafiruva...
e.g. Kakūrwa kakalona mumbano
(The dust swirled in that room as the result of some disagreement)
Zvakanjirika munhu vanavisipende, kakūrwa kaka kona mambwa
(When an unwelcome person arrived, they got up and dispersed)

3.3.16. Noun Class 13

(a) Prefix: /tu-/  
(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /tu-/ is realised as /tw/.
e.g. tw-aná (small children) cp. mw-aná (child : 1)
(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 13 are plural or neutral.
(d) Meaning: Cl. 13 nouns corresponding to those of cl.12 have the same general meanings. There are cl. 13 nouns indicating small quantity to which no cl. 12 nouns correspond.

1) Such constructions in which /tu-/ is primary indicate the following:

(i) Miscellanea
   e.g. tusipita (springs of water)
tunhwa (young hares)

(ii) tufudzambe (cattle egrets)
tufisanwá (little fingers)
tufumambwa (more finger-nails believed to be contracted through stinging dogs their food)

(iii) turówá (unpleasant traits)

2) Constructions of /tu-/ with secondary stems:

(i) e.g. tunyiya (chicks)
tukoronga (small gullies)

(ii) Small quantities
   e.g. tufóya (a little tobacco) cp. fojwa (9)
tumvúwa (a little water) mwufá (9)
tuwasí (a little grass) uswa (14)
tumafúza (a little fat) mfúza (6)
tumavúza (a little soil) mavúza (6)

(iii) tutená (persistent flaws in character)

3.3.17. Noun Class 14

(a) Prefix: /u-/  
(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /u-/ is realised as /hw/-.
e.g. hw-aná (childhood, collection of small children) cp. mw-aná (1)
hw-anga (materias medica of diviner) n'anga (9)
hw-achá (width)
hw-aché (bad breath)
hw-añjá (teeth on edge) ch-adzira (7)
hw-emanda (trumpet)
hw-amba (under-belly of cow)
hw-ambo (bait in trap)
hw-enandi (relationship of children of the same mother)
hw-anúna (young ones in the family)
hw-aró (foundation of house)
hw-ató (canoe)
hw-ema (scent)
hw-endenda (habit of travelling)
hw-endezo (passage in mouse run)
hw-enderera (progress)
hw-ení (strangers) mw-ení (1)
hw-enje (deep pool, deep sky)
hw-enzi (shoulde-blade)
hw-erendendo (sum, total)
hw-owa/howa (mushroom)

Prefix /u-/ is realised as /u/ in deveritative nouns before vowel-commencing Rs.
e.g. u-impí (evil)
but hw-endenda (habit of travelling) -end-
    hw-enderera (progress) -end-

75 /In all...
In all cases where the prefix occurs as /u-/ there is an allomorph /hu-/ in free variation.

(c) **Number:** Nouns of cl.14 are either singular with plurals of cl.6, or number unspecified indicating either singular or plural according to context.

(d) **Meaning:**

(1) Constructions in which the prefix /u-/ is primary indicate:

(i) **Substances:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gunpowder</td>
<td>ungů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke, steam</td>
<td>učańi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td>uchů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus</td>
<td>urůwů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>uswů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bowls)</td>
<td>urąć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venom, poison</td>
<td>utůrů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semen</td>
<td>uręćć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side dish, relish</td>
<td>usųyő</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pulp, mash)</td>
<td>urůbůyů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(brains)</td>
<td>urozůvů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(semen)</td>
<td>uronyn'ő</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(brains)</td>
<td>uropů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sap, gum)</td>
<td>uronọjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gruel)</td>
<td>usvuvańu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gum, birdlime)</td>
<td>urimbońu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(beer)</td>
<td>hwąńwą</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These nouns are unspecified in number. Mostly they appear neutral but cp. usųyő yůna (four different kinds of relish). Forms with cl.6 prefix indicate a large quantity.

e.g. mauchů (much honey)

mau swą (much grass)

(ii) **Certain singular objects:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(axe)</td>
<td>ukąńo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ladder)</td>
<td>utąńo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bow)</td>
<td>utůňe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bow)</td>
<td>utůńa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These nouns are singular in number and form plurals in general by substituting the prefix of cl. 6 for that of cl. 14.

(iii) **Structures:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(belt for holding bullets, skin complaint)</td>
<td>ukwawą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(snare)</td>
<td>ugańbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(net)</td>
<td>usvańųvů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bird's nest)</td>
<td>usanąza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wooden structure for smoking and drying meat)</td>
<td>utąńo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(noose trap)</td>
<td>ureńgůwů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(framework at the base of granary)</td>
<td>hwąńwąćźba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(base of granary)</td>
<td>hwąńoro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns of this type have number unspecified and may indicate one, or more than one, object.

(iv) **Certain small things or collections of small things**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(small beads)</td>
<td>usąńąńů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tiny fly)</td>
<td>unųńyůu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(small fish, a number of the smallest variety of small fish)</td>
<td>ufůńuů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(small flying insects)</td>
<td>unńhąńwą́ń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(small ants, huff coloured)</td>
<td>unńhńímbońų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) **Abstractions:**

The stems of the following nouns are either primary stems, adjective stems or deverbal.

e.g.(a) utąńganą (cleanliness)

uyąńgą (dirtiness)

uńzęą (ability to learn by observation)

uńgonzůń (capability)
utsiny'ũe (cruelty)
un'ũna (roughness of surface)
ūtãra (poor eyesight)
ufende (untidiness)
ushishĩ (courage)
urũngyũa (foolishness)
ūtirĩ (bluntness in cutting instrument)

tũũ (twoness)
cp. -virĩ (two)
upanũ (width)
−pashũ (wide)
ukəkũ (hardness)
−kudderũ (hard)
utů (health)

(c) urarani (justice)
ūtōdz (resemblance)
−ipũ (be lad)
uroyũ (witchcraft)
−toyũ (bewitch)
ufudũ (recompense for herding)
−fudũ (herd)
unharadzi (emnity)
−paradũ (scatter)
udyũre (avarice)
−thyũre (eat for)
uzerũ (state of having given birth)
−zurũ (give birth)
ūfũ (width)
−fũ (be wide)
upũ (madness)
−pũ (be mad)
uyanam (harmonious social relationships)
−yan-an (be at peace)
uneto (tiredness)
−netũ (be tired)
ungenuru (cleverness)
−ngerũ (be clever)
utadyũtadya (habit of cadging meals)

(vi) Other deverbal nouns indicate place:
e.g. uvuũ (for sleeping)
upuru (grazing area)
uparuru (proper place for something)
upima (agricultural land)
upindo (sleeping place)
ubu (the east)
Urongonora (name of small hill)
Usuka (small hill in Umukwe)

(vii) Miscellaneous:
e.g. umũ (haze)
usũ (night)
ūtōngũ (colour in the sky at dawn)
ūtirũ (plant causing itch)
ūsvũ (deep, dark pool)
ūve (cramp)
ūzũ (upwards)
ūtirũ (daily)
e.g. kuuzu (upwards)
inf. ukuza (I myself)
uvũ (animals that prey on crops)
usuka (many footprints on path)
udũndũ (sting of bee, smell of animal)
ūzũ (sine)
ūsũ (face)
ūsũ (pomphle)
ūũ (gills in fish)
ūkũ (long low tunnel used by dassies)
ūkũ (strings used in trap for birds)
ūte (soft breast bone at solar plexus)

(2) Constructions in which prefix /u- is secondary indicate the following:
(i) Abstractions:

Examples:

uyenzi (state of being a stranger)
uyenzi (stranger)

(1) mukan (woman)

(1) mukan (girl)

(1) munhu (person)

(1) ihy (chief)

(1) ihy (chief)

(1) ihy (chief)

(1) ihy (chief)

(5) benzi (madman)

(5) dera (child of this sort)

77 Aukũ...
(ii) Small objects:

Examples:

- ukarahwa (little old man) cp. harahwa (old man)
- uchambere (little old woman) chambere (old woman)
- upako (small cave) bako (cave)
- upuká (small animal) mhuká (animal)
- uzínó (two small teeth) zínó (tooth)
- upánga-mundyá (small knife worn in belt) bángá (knife)

(iii) Collections:

Examples:

- utándá (collection of sticks) cp. dánda (log)
- uyenzí (number of visitors) muyenzí (stranger)
- hvana (collection of young children) mwaná (child)
- hwendi (strangers) mweni (stranger)
- uzumbá (collection of small huts)

3.3.18 Noun Class 15

The noun class which has been given the number 15 in Meinhold's classification is different from other classes in a number of respects. These differences need to be listed and examined in order to decide whether the setting up of a noun class 15 was justified.

(1) The structural pattern np + ns does not apply to any members of this class. In other classes this structural pattern is typical.

- e.g. mu-nlu (person) (1) chi-romó (waterpot) (7)

In other classes nouns derived from verb radicals have special patterns in which the constituents appear to be

(i) the prefix + a terminal vowel; and
(ii) the verb radical

\[
\text{mu - rim - i} \quad \text{(one who hoes) (1)}
\]

\[
\text{chi - gar - o} \quad \text{(a seat) (1)}
\]

Other classes also contain nominal constructions in which the constituents appear to be:

(i) the noun prefix + terminal vowel -a; and
(ii) a verb phrase (viz. R +/- complements +/- adjuncts)

- e.g. chi-út - ruzúrví (dung beetle)
- chi-nevéng-á-mutsávío (lazbones)
- chi-rwa-róh€ (glutton)

This latter is the only type of constructional pattern found in cl. 15. Cl. 15 consists only of nominal constructions whose constituents are:
(i) noun prefix ku- and terminal vowel -a (*); and  
(ii) verb radical segments consisting of R +/- complement(s)  
+/- adjunct(s)

(2) The verb phrases which combine with prefix ku- and terminal vowel -a are capable of  
much greater complexity than those found in the nominal constructions of other classes.  
This complexity is in the direction of that found in verbal constructions. Thus the  
following types of morpheme may be found in nominal constructions with prefix ku-.

(a) object and reflexive prefixes  
e.g. kuzvitora (to take them)  
kuzvivi (to know oneself);

(b) the negative prefix /-sa-/  
e.g. kusaziva (not to know);

(c) the progressive and exclusive formatives  
/-cha/- and /-chi/-  
e.g. ku-chaza (to know still)  
ku-chi-end-a (to go now)

Of these morphemes those referred to under (a) are taken to belong to the verb phrases  
in verbal constructions.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n̄ḍi} & \quad \text{n̄̄e} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿ-ə} \\
\text{m̄nḥu} & \quad \text{yyu}
\end{align*}
\]

(I know this man)

Whereas those referred to under (b) and (c) are taken to belong to the group of  
inflecting morphemes in verbal constructions.

\[
\begin{align*}
u & \quad \text{cha} \quad \text{nḍi} \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿ-ə} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(do you still know me?)

(3) These examples dispose one to regard constructions with prefix /ku-/ as purely verbal  
(infinitives), with prefix /ku-/ as one of the inflecting morphemes of a verbal  
construction.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n̄ḍi} & \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿi} \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿ-ə} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(I know this)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḳu} & \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿ} \quad \text{ẓ̄īṿ-ə} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(to know this)

At the same time the existence of nominal constructions of (i) prefix + terminal vowel -a  
and (ii) V. phrases, in other classes, disposes one to treat infinitives as nominal  
constructions.

Constructions with prefix /ku-/ control agreements in certain substantive phrases, just  
like nouns and nominal constructions.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuḍa-nỵ̄ma kweŋu ụku} & \quad (\text{this love of meat of yours})
\end{align*}
\]

(15)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chinzwengá-mutsvaró chęŋý ichi} & \quad (\text{this lazybones of yours})
\end{align*}
\]

(7)

79/It seems........

(*) Terminal vowel -a does not occur with the stems -tj, -n̄j and their derived and extended  
forms e.g. -ṭ̣yi, -ṭ̣̄ere, -ṭ̣̄yi, -ṭ̣̄arīg̣̀, -ṭ̣̄yīran̄ etc.
It seems clear that infinitives form a class of nominal constructions (cl. 15). Infinitives with complex verbal morphology pose problems of analysis:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ku-\text{sa-}z\text{vi-}z\text{iv-}a \\
iz\text{vi} \\
(not\ to\ know\ this)
\end{array}
\]

Clearly prefix /ku-/ can be associated with other verbal morphemes besides terminal vowel -a as a constituent at the level of the infinitive clause (q.v.) in a way either not found or extremely rare in the case of the other prefixes.

(a) Prefix: /ku-/

This prefix is always associated as constituent with terminal -a save in the case of a few divergent stems like -ti, -mzi etc.

(b) Allomorphs: An allomorph /kw-/ is found with the R-send-/ in the derived noun gwenda-
kwenda (coming and going) (5,15)

(c) Number: Nominal constructions of cl. 15 are neutral and do not specify number. When they appear with qualifiers in SPs they may indicate either one instance or more than one but this is rather rare and contrived.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
kuf\text{á} yku \\
M\text{ndani} w\text{á} kunw\text{á} k\text{úvirí} \\
\text{(I drank two kinds of drink)}
\end{array}
\]

(d) Meaning:

Prefix /ku-/ of cl. 15 is only found in constructions with radical segments. There is nothing in this class corresponding to the use of prefixes of other classes with primary and secondary stems, with a range of different meanings.

All the members of this class indicate verbal actions. This is a further difference between this class and other classes.

A further difference lies in the range of tonomorphs found on radicals. The stems of other noun-classes carry a greater variety of tonomorphs than those found on the radicals and terminal vowels of infinitives. Radicals belong either to the high group or the low group and, according to the number of syllables involved, the tonomorphs of R + terminal -a are:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
H: H, HH, HHH, HHH, HHHH, HHHHH etc. \\
L: L, LL, LLL, LLLL, LLLLL etc.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
e.g. ku-p\text{-}a \quad \text{(to give)} \\
ku-t\text{-}b\text{or-}a \quad \text{(to take)} \\
ku-t\text{-}kh\text{á}n\text{á}r\text{-}a \quad \text{(to receive)} \\
ku-k\text{úr\text{-}um\text{í}z-}a \quad \text{(to hurry)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ku-rw\text{-}a \quad \text{(to fight)} \\
k\text{u-bunz\text{-}a} \quad \text{(to ask)} \\
k\text{u-taris\text{-}a} \quad \text{(to examine, look at)} \\
k\text{u-tarisan\text{-}a} \quad \text{(to look at one another)}
\end{array}
\]

There are a number of stems with HL and HHL tonomorph.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
e.g. kuf\text{ú\text{ý}a} \\
kub\text{v\text{á}k\text{á}s\text{á}ch\text{á}}
\end{array}
\]

These are based on Rs borrowed from other languages. Those borrowed from English and Afrikaans which end in a consonant are borrowed as radicals to which terminal -a is added in inflected forms.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
e.g. ku-dh\text{úr\text{-}a} \quad \text{(to be expensive; cp. Afrikaans duur)} \\
k\text{u-\text{p\text{á}m\text{-}b\text{-}a} \quad \text{(to pump; cp. British pump)} \\
k\text{u-ch\text{á}n\text{é}j\text{í} \quad \text{(at many places)} \\
k\text{u-pavir\í} \quad \text{(two different places)}
\end{array}
\]

Note that the tonomorph is carried by the verb radicals and the terminal vowel.

3.3.10 Noun Class 16

(a) Prefix: /pa-/ 
(b) Allomorphs: Nil. 
(c) Number: Neutral.

Cl. 16 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity or plurality.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
e.g. \text{panhu p\text{á}mw\text{á} \quad (one and the same place)} \\
\text{panhu pa\text{z\text{á}h\text{á}n\text{í}j\í \quad (at many places)} \\
\text{panhu pavir\í \quad (two different places)}
\end{array}
\]

80 (d) Meaning...
(d) **Meaning:**

(1) Constructions in which prefix /pa-/ is primary indicate a place or region at or on which attention is directed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(nearby)</th>
<th>(at the middle)</th>
<th>(a point in space; a spot)</th>
<th>(outside)</th>
<th>(down, the earth, ground)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-dło</td>
<td>pa-kasi</td>
<td>pa-nhu</td>
<td>pa-nzɛ</td>
<td>pa-sɛfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Constructions of /pa-/ with secondary stems have the same reference. Secondary stems are of a number of different kinds but do not include primary stems of other classes.

(i) Nouns or nominal constructions other than those of clcl. 1a, 2a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(at home)</th>
<th>cp. (house)</th>
<th>(village)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-mβa</td>
<td>pa-musha</td>
<td>imbɛ</td>
<td>musha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-dza</td>
<td>(just under)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padza pendoɓo</td>
<td>(just projecting from under the rock)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| cp. idza - surface beneath a rock near the edge.  | |
| pa-zasi | (underneath) | cp. zasi |
| pa-mberi | (in front) | mberi |
| pa-shere | (behind) | shere |
| pa-sɛrɛ | (on the further side) | sɛrɛ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(along side)</th>
<th>(on top)</th>
<th>(on her/his own)</th>
<th>(pregnancy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-nyatag</td>
<td>nyagag</td>
<td>pa-musoro</td>
<td>musoro (head)</td>
<td>pa-muviri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-musana</td>
<td>(on top)</td>
<td>musana (neck)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-uzima</td>
<td>(on one's own)</td>
<td>uzima (self)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-muviri</td>
<td>(pregnancy)</td>
<td>muviri (body)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such nouns when they occupy the nuclear position in substantive phrases control agreements of cl. 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(at this house)</th>
<th>(ahead there)</th>
<th>(on your account)</th>
<th>(on his account)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-mβa apa</td>
<td>pa-mberi apo</td>
<td>pa-musoro pako</td>
<td>pa-musana pako</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cp. (instead of going there)</th>
<th>pa-chivirimo pavo</th>
<th>(while the two of them were alone)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(ii) /pa/ may be prefixed to a substantive phrase, thus forming a nominal construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(at a big village)</th>
<th>(in their twoness)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-musha mukiri</td>
<td>pa-uviri hvuvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) /pa/ is also prefixed to the possessives chɛngu, chako etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(by myself)</th>
<th>(by ourselves)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-chɛngu</td>
<td>pa-chɛdu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cp. pa-uzima</th>
<th>(by oneself, freely)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[3.1.20] Noun Class 17

(a) **Prefix:** /ku-/  

(b) **Allomorph:** Nil.

(c) **Number:** Cl.17 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity or plurality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>(one and the same place)</th>
<th>(two different places)</th>
<th>(a blind worm, supposed to bite at both ends)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunu</td>
<td>kunu kuviri</td>
<td>[chirumă-kuviri]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) **Meanings:**

(1) Constructions of /ku-/ with primary stems indicate a general area, neighbourhood or vicinity in place, rarely in time, to which attention is directed. They differ from those of cl. 16 in being less precise and further from the speaker.
e.g. ku-re (a place far off) 
ku-nzá (an area outside) 
ku-tsí (underneath) 
ku-uzúru (upwards, the uplands) 
ku-nhú (place) 

cp. pa-nzá (16) 
pa-sí (16) 

(2) Constructions of /ku-/ with secondary stems

(i) With certain primary stems of other classes, months are indicated:

e.g. ku-mvumú (March/April) cp. mvumú (drizzling rain)
ku-kadzí (January/February) mkadzí (woman)
ku-rúmú (February/March) murúmú (man)

(ii) With nouns or nominal constructions other than those of cl.1a, 2a:

e.g. ku-mushá (at home)
ku-mbá (at home)
ku-mhópo (at a windy place)

There are a number of stems which combine with prefix /ku-/ (and prefix /pa-/

viz. ku-zasí (downwards)
ku-mberí (ahead)
ku-shùre (behind one)
ku-séri (at the other side)
ku-nyasí (along side)

These stems can appear in the nuclear position in SPs and control agreements of
cl.17. They should perhaps be described as allmorphs of Cl. 17 with prefix /b-/.

e.g. mberí kwángu (in front of me)
shùre kwángu (behind me)
séri kwómpika (beyond the river)
nyasi kwómatí (beside the tree)
zasí uko (down there)

Nouns of cl.17 in nuclear position similarly control agreements of cl.17.

e.g. ku-zaší uko (down there)
kumbá uko (at that house)

(iii) /ku-/ may be prefixed to a substantive phrase thus forming a nominal
construction.

e.g. ku-mbá húrú (at the big house)

3.3.21
Nouns Class 18

(a) Prefix: /mu-/ 

(b) Allomorphs: Nil 

(c) Number: Neutral. Cl.18 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity
or plurality.

e.g. mu-mbá mumú chétí (in only one house)
mu-kanwa muvíri (in two mouths)

(d) Meaning

(1) Constructions of /mu-/ with primary stems indicate an area or positions within
a space or time to which attention is directed.

e.g. mu-kati (in the middle)
mu-karwa (in the mouth)
mu-húmbá (belly area)
mu-tomé (in the wrong direction)

(2) Constructions of /mu-/ with secondary stems have the same reference. Secondary
stems are of a number of different kinds but do not include primary stems of other
classes.

(i) Nouns of nominal constructions other than those of cll. la or 2a.

e.g. mu-mbá...
e.g. mu-mbá (in the house) cp. imbá (9)
mu-munda (in the field) munda (3)
mw-mwura (in the water) mwóiza (9)
mu-shure (after, behind) shure (17a)
mu-nyási (in alongside) nyási (17a)
mu-dza (just under and projecting from a rock near edge) idza (5) (under surface of rock near edge)
mu-hwamba dia moházi (under part of a granary) hwambáza (9)
mu-kuita basa (while doing the work) hwambáza (9) Such constructions when they occupy the nuclear position in substantive phrases, control agreements of cl.18
e.g. mu-mbá mangu (in my house) mu-shure mukuita basa (after doing the work)
mu-katíma, (in the middle there)

(ii) /mu/- may be prefixed to a substantive phrase thus forming a nominal construction.
e.g. mu-mbá hurú (in the big house)

NOTE: Nouns and nominal constructions of the locative cl.16, 17 and 18 indicate positions of various sorts. They do not indicate movement, e.g. /mar/ is wrongly translated "to, towards". Movement to or from a position, as well as every other type of activity, is indicated by the verb radical.
e.g. -bv-is- pazáni (wean, take from the breast)
-dzok- kumunda (come back from the field)
-dzok-er- kumbá (come back (to) home)
-dy-is- mhórfí (eat from (in) the pot)

Locatives based on nouns of cl. 1a, 2a are relative constructions,
e.g. pa-ná-Sadza (by Sadza, lit. where Sadza is)
ku-ná-baná (by father, lit. where father is)
mu-ná-bá (in where father is)

3.3.22.

Noun Classes 19 and 20

The prefixes of cl. 19 and 20 are represented in Shona by /svi-/ and /ku-/ respectively. Cl.19 is found only in the Karanga cluster and forms plurals in cl.14.
e.g. svi-mbúzi (small, thin goat) (19)
svi-mbúzi (small, thin goats) (14)
Ndakávhabá múbáni ñuwo vushuro
(I caught them in the plain, the little hares)
Cl. 20 is found only in the Kalanga cluster.
e.g. kulisisana (small boy)
kwana (small girl)

3.3.23.

Noun Class 21

(a) Prefix: /zi-/ (b) Allomorph: Nil

In the treatment of cl. 5 one of the allomorphs of the prefix, viz. /(ri-)/ was given as /z/- and its distribution is made with vowel-commencing stems.
e.g. zínó (tooth) cp. menó (teeth) (6) stem: -ínó
zínó (eye) meneó (eyes) (6) ...
žíva (day) ngivá (time) (9) ...
zano (plan) mano (plans) (6) ...

This allomorph appears as a secondary prefix with augmentive meaning before other, secondary steps. 83 /e.g. z-aná...
Both primary and secondary forms are inflected by copulative affix /i-/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Adeq.</th>
<th>Assul.</th>
<th>(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g. z-aná</td>
<td>(big child)</td>
<td>mw-aná</td>
<td>(child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-enje/zh-enje.</td>
<td>(big torch)</td>
<td>mw-enje</td>
<td>(torch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-oto</td>
<td>(big fireplace)</td>
<td>ch-oto</td>
<td>(hearth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-urá</td>
<td>(big frog)</td>
<td>ch-urá</td>
<td>(frog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-énga</td>
<td>(big sherd for roasting)</td>
<td>rw-engá</td>
<td>(potsherd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or, if with LL or LH tone patterns, by change of these. 
, LL>HH and LH>HL.

e.g. žáño irí (This is a trick) (This is a big child)

The secondary constructions could be regarded as belonging to cl. 21 with allomorph /z/- of prefix /zi/- as prefix. But they are satisfactorily accounted for as cl. 5 nouns with secondary prefix and augmentative meaning.

Constructions with prefix /zi/- belong to cl. 21. It is a secondary prefix, always, like the prefix of cl. 1a, prefixed to nouns and nominal constructions. Agreements are those of cl. 5.

e.g. zi-bere gurú (huge hyena) (21,5)

(c) Number: Singular

(d) Meaning: Augmentative.

Thus when /zi/- is prefixed to nouns of cl. 5 with secondary prefix and augmentative meaning, the augmentative note is doubled.

e.g. zi-buká (huge beast) (21,5) cp. buká (large beast) (5) muká (beast) (9)
zi-gádzí (huge woman) (21,5) gádzí (large woman) (5) mukádzí (woman) (11)

In some cases the cl. 21 prefix /zi/- is prefixed to a combination of secondary prefixes /(ri-)+/ (ri-)/.

e.g. zi-džikána (huge monster of a girl)(21,5,5) cp. džíkána (huge girl) (5,5)
mu-džíkána (girl) (1)

Depending on context the augmentative note is accompanied by additional implications - fearsomeness, insult, affection.

e.g. zi-nhu (huge fearsome thing) (21 + 9) cp. nhu (thing) (9) (57)
zi-rúne (greedy, clumsy lout) (21 + 5) rúne (big male) (5)
zi-jayá (big fellow, used to encourage a little boy) jayá (young man) (5)

Cl. 21 nouns may appear with the prefix of cl. 6 to indicate augmentative plurals.

e.g. ma-kádzí (6)
ma-gádzí (6,5)
ma-zi-kádzí (6,21)
ma-zi-gádzí (6,21,5)

These form a rising series as regards size or ugliness or unpleasantness, depending on context.

e.g. ma-zi-nzé (your huge ears) (6,21,9)
ma-zi-mvúrú (brackish, bitter water) (6,21,9)
3.4.1. **Introduction**

The treatment of the noun in 3.3. was concerned mainly with the division of nouns into classes and with the noun prefixes as the classificatory elements. The prefix of each noun class has been described together with its allomorphs, its number and the various class meanings associated with it, both as a primary and as a secondary prefix.

The system of numbering applied to the noun classes has been applied also to the other six substantival constructions on the basis of the agreement which obtain between nouns and these other substantives in SPs. The structure of these substantival constructions is described in 3.5, Other Substantival Constructions.

The structure of the noun has been described as np + ns. Here np stands for the constituent class of noun prefixes and ns stands primarily for the constituent class of simplex noun stems consisting of a single morpheme.

- **np + ns**
  - e.g. mu-rume (man) (1)
  - u-sikid (night) (14)

A noun class consists of all the substantival constructions which have the same noun prefix in common. These, as has already been seen, are not restricted to the constructions of np + simplex stem, but include others which are very much more complex. Constructions which are more complex than that of np + simplex ns are termed here complex nominal constructions and the various structural types are examined in this chapter.

Most complex nominal constructions can be analysed, in terms of the constructional pattern: np + ns, into a prefix + complex stem. Other constructions cannot be so analysed, e.g. constructions which have no single prefix or which, being based on a verb radical nucleus, have a prefix and a terminal vowel as constituent. All complex nominal constructions, however, have a noun prefix as constituent, or part constituent; are members of the class of which it is the classifier; and control its agreements in phrases and clauses.

In the description below the various structural types are listed first and then described and exemplified in order (1). Some of these structural types incorporate, as constituents, constructions such as the SP, the substantival clause and sentences, the verb phrase, the inflected verb phrase, the verbal clause and the verbal sentence, the constructional patterns of which have yet to be described. The use of these constructions as constituents in complex nominal constructions is an example of rank-shifting. References to the relevant sections for details of the constructional patterns of these constituents are given in each case.

### 3.4.2. Types of complex nominal constructions

1. **Constructions consisting of a prefix and a noun, made up of a prefix or prefixes and stem:**

   **Constructional pattern:** np + np(a) + ns
   - e.g. ma-mi-shá (6) (collections of villages)

2. **Constructions consisting of a prefix and a complex stem made up of a combination of substantival stems:**

   **Constructional pattern:** np + ns + ns
   - e.g. mu-nhu-rume (1) (male person)
     - musóró-soró (3) (a head only – not carrying gifts)

3. **Constructions consisting of a combination of nouns:**

   **Constructional pattern:** np + ns – np + ns
   - e.g. (a) kadenë – mafútá (12/6) (kind of locust)

---

(1) In this chapter the class number of examples is placed before the accompanying gloss to make for easier identification of the prefix.
4. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a substantival construction:

(a) Prefix and combination of nouns:
- Constructional pattern: np \[ np + ns - np + ns \]
- e.g. Ő-Gúva - mánbe (la) (poor man)

(b) Prefix and a substantive phrase:
(1) Prefix + substantive phrase consisting of noun + adjective.
- Constructional pattern: np \[ np + ns - adj.p + adj.s \]
- e.g. chi-haná udíki (7) (way of small children)

(2) Prefix + substantive phrase consisting of noun + possessive.
- Constructional pattern: np \[ np + ns - poss.p (np + ns) \]
- e.g. Ő-kunze - kwenyíka (la) (a name - Outside the country)

(c) Prefix and substantive sentence consisting of a subject and a copulative phrase:
- Constructional pattern: np \[ np + ns - cop.p(np + ns) \]
- e.g. Ő-Goré - ínhamu (la) (a name - A year is a calamity)

5. Constructions involving a prefix + "ownership" prefix + noun:
- Constructional pattern: np + ownership prefix + np + ns
- e.g. Ő-gá-mush (la) (village head)

6. Constructions involving a prefix and reduplicated ideophones.
(a) Constructional pattern: np \[ ideophone + ideophone \]
- e.g. dapi-tapi (5) (delicacy)
- e.g. chi-tanga-tanga (7) (starting in all directions)
(b) **Constructional pattern:** np + ideophone + np /mu-/ + ideophone
e.g. jere - muchere (5) (digging)

(c) **Constructional pattern:** np [/mu-/ + ideophone + /mu-/ + ideophone]
e.g. ch’a-mu-shapu mu-shapu (7) (continual bailing out of water)

7. **Constructions involving a prefix + stem + ideophone.**

**Constructional pattern:**
e.g. mu-kumbo-dayí (3) (walking with legs turning inwards)

8. **Constructions based on verb radicals.**

(a) **Constructional pattern:** np + R + terminal vowel
e.g. chi-gar-o (7) (chair)

(b) **Constructional pattern:** np + R + t.v. + R + t.v.
e.g. mu-famb-í-famb-í (1) (a tramp)

9. **Constructions based on verb phrases.**

**Constructional pattern:** np + R + t.v. + complements and/or adjuncts
e.g. mu-ramba-tsína (1) (smartly dressed person)

10. **Constructions based on inflected verb phrases and clauses.**

(a)(1) **Constructional pattern:** np + principal clause
e.g. gá-Ma - dy - ir - á - panzé (1a) (Praise name of chief Guto)

(a)(2) **Constructional pattern:** np + principal clause + participial clause
e.g. kuma-zív-a-ná-dzok-í (17) (A dangerous place)
(b) (1) **Constructional pattern:** np + imperative clause  
    e.g. ò-wanz-ò-imotó (la) (name given to a dangerous man)

(2) **Constructional pattern:** np + imperative clause + participial clause  
    e.g. ò-Shamb-ò-an-medz-ò (la) (name given to a greedy spirit)

(3) **Constructional pattern:** np + imperative clause + subj.clause  
    e.g. ò-bunz-ò-ndi-bwóm-è (la) (a yes-man)

(c) **Constructional pattern:** np + relative clause  
    e.g. ò-chay-íng-ò-musha (la) (a spinster)

(d) **Constructional pattern:** np+ clauses consisting of subject + predicate or vocative + predicate  
    e.g. chi-baà munózweyì (7) (a wind-breaker)

3.4.2.1. Constructions consisting of prefix and a noun made up of prefix or prefixes + stem.

Complexity can arise from the use of extra prefixes, prefixed to a noun which already consists of a prefix and stem.

    e.g. ma-mi-shá (6, 4) (collection of villages)  
    jembre (5, 9) (big old woman)  
    chi-mu-tí (7, 3) (stick)  
    ru-mbhù (11, 9) (thin cow)  
    ka-mw-aná (12, 1) (small child)

In all cases the noun prefix is the first one which controls agreement in phrases and clauses. The rest of the construction must be considered as the stem even though, as in these cases, the stem includes a prefix which no longer controls agreement. Note that still more complex examples are found with the stem consisting of secondary prefix and stem, or a combination of more than one prefix, either primary or secondary, and stem.

    e.g. zi-jembre (21, 5, 9) (huge old woman)  
    mu-zi-jembre (3, 21, 5, 9) (monstrous old woman)

Prefixes prefixed to complex stems consisting of prefix or prefixes and stems are, of course, secondary prefixes and carry secondary meanings. It is not possible to give a complete description of these combinations of prefixes. Examples have already been given in each class of the use of the prefix with secondary stems, some of which have consisted of prefix and stem.

88. Some prefixes...
Some prefixes are more active than others, some combinations are more common than others. Thus the prefix of cl. 1a is frequently prefixed to nouns of various classes to form proper names and personifications. The use of the prefix cl. 3 to indicate a peculiar kind of augmentative is not common in contemporary Shona.

e.g.  
mu-jana  (1, 5) (one whose turn it is)  
Zimuto  (1a, 21, 3) (Mr Big Soup)  
Vazimuto  (2a, 21, 3) (Mr Big Soup)  
u-zimambere  (3, 21, 5, 9) (monstrous old woman)  
jiri  (5, 9) (big bird)  
svikiro  (5, 5) (big useless medium)  
mwambe  (6, 14) (much inferior beer)  
ch-muswe  (7, 3) (short thick tail)  
vivi-vana  (8, 2) (naughty children)  
hunaf  (9, 15) (the point of death)  
dzi-minda  (10, 4) (various, several fields)  
ru-chambere  (11, 9) (thin, old woman)  
kumumwe  (12, 1) (small man)  
tufiya  (13, 9) (small amount of tobacco)  
u-shamwi  (14, 9) (friendship)  
pamusha  (16, 3) (at home)  
ku-minda  (17, 4) (round the fields)  
u-nchori  (18, 5) (in town)  
vivi-nguruve  (19, 9) (small pig) (ka.)  
zi-razu  (21, 9) (huge elephant)  

In cases of secondary extra prefixes (or preprefixes) the prefix of the noun is that which controls the agreement in a substantives phrase. The rest of the construction is considered the (complex) stem.

Complexity arising from the use of extra prefixes can occur with other types of complex stem as well as to be listed below.

For example the noun Chirwa-nhejari (Glutton) has a combination of noun prefixes (1a, 7) as well as being an inflected V. phrase as the stem on to which the prefix cl.1a is affixed.

3.4.2.2. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a complex stem made up of a combination of substantive stems

(a) Complexity can consist in the suffixing to a simplex stem of one of the following which are also simplex stems:—

-ana (young, small)  
-rane (male)  
-kazai (female)  
-kumi (boy)  
-sikana (girl)  
-nwana (common relationship)

Examples are not many, these formations being not such a characteristic of Shona as of the South-East Bantu languages. In Shona they appear to be commoner in Karanga than in Zezuru.

(i) -ana

(i) Stems ending in -ana appear to suffix -anana

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<tr>
<th>E.g.</th>
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</table>
| imbwanana  (9) (puppy) | cp. imbana  (9) (dog)  
| hambana  (9) (piglet) | humbana  (9) (pig)  
| cp. -shongano  (very few) | shona  (few) adj. stem.  
| mhukana  (10) (small animals) | mhuka  (10) (animals)  
| but |  
| habwana  (9) (young jackal) | hava  (9) (jackal)  
| Karuynana  (la, 12) (river nr. Mt. Darwin) | Ruya  (la) (river near Mount Darwin)  
| munavana  (3) (newborn donkey) |  

(ii) Stems ending in -e:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.g.</th>
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</table>
| nguwanana  (9) (piglet) | cp. ngurwe  (9) (pig)  
| murukana  (1) (husband's younger brother) | ka murunwe  (husband)  

(iii) Stems ending in -i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.g.</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| nhuzana  (9) (kid) | cp. nhudzi  (9) (goat)  
| dhongwana  (5) (donkey foal) | dhongwi  (5) (donkey)  
| cihonana  (7) (piglet) | hochi  (9) (pig)  
| hwana  (9) (lamb) | hwe  (9) (sheep)  
| hudo  (9) (small pot) | hiri  (9) (pot)  

(iv) Stems...
(iv) Stems ending in -ə:

- e.g. katənyə (12) (chick) cp. katəyo (12) (chick)
- nəfənə (9) (small pot for relish) cp. nəfə (9) (plate)
- shokənə (5) (young monkey) cp. tsəkə (9) (monkey)

(v) Stems ending in -u:

- e.g. həkənə (9) (chick) cp. həkə (9) (fowl)
- dənənə (5) (basket for crops) cp. dənə (5) (big basket)

Examples are too few to provide a basis for morphophonemic rules but the following seem to take place more frequently than not:

Final syllables consisting of:

- Cə + -anənə/-anə > Canənə/Canə e.g. həbənənə
- Cə + -anə > Canə e.g. mhədzənənə
- Cə + -anə > Cənə e.g. həkənənə

In a sequence of final high tones, the final H is lowered ...HH > ...HL

cp. mhədzənənə : HHH

(2) -umə, -kədə, -kəmənə, -sikanə

These stems bear a sequence of low tones when suffixed.

- e.g. munəhurmə (1) (male person) munəmə (1) (man)
- munəhkədə (1) (female person) munəkədzə (1) (woman)
- munənəumə (1) (male child)
- munənəkədə (1) (female child)
- munənətənə (9) (nephew)
- munənəgənə (5) (cousin)
- munənəγəmə (5) (philanderer)
- munənəkəməna (1) (son)
- munənəsikanə (1) (daughter)
- hanzəvədzıkəməna (9) (brother)
- hanzəvədzısikanə (9) (sister)

In many cases special terms indicate the male and female:

- e.g. həwəmə (female warthog)
- mənə (female baboon)
- horəmbə (solitary (?) male baboon)
- chimuvə (barren cow elephant)
- nyinəməmbə (hill hiffalo)

(3) -nyina

This is a noun of cl. 9, and indicates a mother.

e.g. Iyi ndiyo nyina yako! (This is your mother, (not I))

As a suffix it indicates relationship through a common mother.

- e.g. vanənyina (children related through having a common mother, although different fathers)
- hanzəvədzınyina (siblings with a common mother)
- vakuwəshənyina (two men married to two sisters)

The suffix -nina appears to indicate 'junior' in a couple of cases.

- e.g. munənəfənina (second wife - first talking)
- munənəməfnina (younger brother or sister, elder talking; or junior wife, senior talking)
- munənəuksədzıznina (relationship of a junior wife to a senior)

(4) Complex stems formed by reduplication.

Noun stems may be reduplicated in order to convey special nuances not conveyed by the single stem. Sometimes the nuance conveyed is "very ordinary quality, not outstanding"; at other times the nuance of heightened quality or intensity is conveyed.

Reduplication is applied only to stems consisting of more than one syllable. Nouns with monosyllabic stems are reduplicated as one piece, prefix or stabilizer and stem. Nouns with zero or non-syllabic prefixes are also reduplicated as one piece. The structures of these different reduplicated forms are somewhat different but they do not appear to differ in the meaning conveyed.

90 / cp. musəro - sorə...
The tones of reduplicated forms are determined by basic forms - the rules are set out below. The reduplicated nouns are often found in inflected phrases, particularly in copulative phrases. The uninflected forms are listed below with a few inflected forms as illustrations -

e.g. munhu-munhu zváké
    (1) (an ordinary, undistinguished person)
    mukudzia-kadzi
    (1) (an ordinary woman)
    muro-a-rumé
    (1) (a man in outward appearance only but inwardly lacking)
    mukónaná-komana akádayi
    (1) (such a young fellow, e.g. to drink like his elders!)
    mukuránda-karanga akádayi
    seza
    (1) (a wife of such a rank - to act in such a way!)
    mambó-mambó zváké
    (la) (ordinary, undistinguished chief)
    muti-muti zváwo
    (3) (any kind of medicine you have)
    munda-munda zváwo
    (3) (an ordinary field)
    musoro-sozó
    (3) (only a head, bearing no gifts)
    mushongá-shénzé
    (3) (very ordinary medicine - having no real power)
    mukwó-ko-ko yéga yéga
    (4) (only male ones)

    denga-denga
    (5) (high up in the sky)
    guro-guro
    (5) (larynx)
    sango-sango
    (5) (ordinary bush)
    ropo-ropo
    (5) (first locusts in a swarm)
    rimbí-rimbí
    (5) (first locusts in a swarm)
    zve-zve
    (5) (rumour)
    rombe-rombe
    (5) (someone just like a fool)
    jimbere-jimbere
    (5) (huge, withered old woman but still strong)
    béheit-penzi
    (5) (someone half mad)
    mese-mese
    (6) (covetousness)
    mano-manó
    (6) (lies)
    močó-kočó
    (6) (empty hands)
    mangánga-nganá
    (6) (early morning)
    mavo-avo
    (6) (early evening)

    chimbwe-chomwa
    (7) (ordinary, undistinguished fat dog)
    chikumbira-kumbe
    (7) (very ordinary suitor, "spare wheel")
    chikukura-kukura
    (7) (way of pursuing, e.g. a herd, on foot without a dog)
    chipadzú-padzí
    (7) (hoe of middling quality)
    chitokotokri-rotokori
    (7) (car of poor quality but better than nothing)
    chibwata-chibwata chénda
    (7) (very low roof)
    chi-vanhu-vanhu
    (7) (the way Africans act - as being no longer advantageous or functional)

    chi-rungu-rungu
    (7) (the way Europeans act - not advantageous to Africans, e.g. in matters of belief)
    zvinkera-zvinkera
    (8) (sparse beard)
    zviti-ziti
    (8) (tea of poor quality)
    zvishakura-hwéhwa
    (8) (porridge of poor quality and badly cooked)
    zvishakura-hwéhwa
    (8) (not properly fermented beer)
    mpona-mpona
    (9) (ordinary dancing, viz. not sacred)
    hamba-hamba
    (9) (someone so good he could almost be a relative)
    shišamwari-shamwari
    (9) (a friend with whom one is not particularly friendly but intimate)
    mhuno-mhuno
    (9) (the extremity of something, e.g. a pole)
    m'anga-m'anga
    (9) (a diviner who enjoys little confidence)
    haruna-haruna
    (9) (someone getting on in age)
    nzvimbvo-nzvimbo
    (10) (a number of places showing, e.g. that people or animals have been there)
    rufú-rufú
    (11) (an ordinary death - not caused by sorcery)
    ruhotura-hotéra
    (11) (a poor type of hotel)
    kare-kare
    (12) (long ago)
    hoveve-hoveve
    (12) (whispering)
    usiku-siku
    (14) (dead of night)
padyo-padyo (16) (very near)
pakati-káti (16) (dead centre)
kure-kure (17) (very far)
kushùre-shùre (17) (right at the back)
kumberi (17) (right in front)

A number of different structural types are included in the above examples:

Viz. np + ns + ns e.g. mu-sôrô-sôrô
np + ns + np + ns mu-nhu-mu-nhu
np + np + ns + np + ns zvi-hwâhâ-hwâhâ
np + ns + np + np + ns jembere-jembere

(c) Tone patterns of reduplications

HH > HH-LH mukâdzî-kadzî
HL > HL-HL dêngâ-dênga
LH > LH-LH mesô-meso
LL > LL-LL maño-mano
HHH > HH-LLL mukârângâ-karanga
HHH > HH-LLL mukâřângâ-karanga
LHL > LHL-LHL ruhotéra-hotéra
LLL > LLL-LLL harahwa-harahwa

Chibwata-bwata įmháno, tówanâ chôkufûrisâ dzihwá
(Though so flat it is still a nose, enough to blow the mucus out)

Imvura-mvurâ zvâyo; hazvísí zvavânhu, ndezvâwârî
(It’s ordinary lightning, God’s lightning, not caused by man)

Įnyoka-nyoká
(It is just an ordinary snake)

Hafsi nyôká-nyoká
(No, it is a portent)

3.4.2.3. Constructions consisting of a combination of nouns

(a) Compound nouns and nouns in apposition

Some nominal constructions consist of two nouns which often appear together in a fixed order. The second of the two appears to qualify the first. That they are nominal constructions appears from the fact that they may not be separated, e.g. by a qualifier agreeing with the first member. They thus differ from combinations of nouns in apposition which can be so separated although normally the order in which they appear cannot be disturbed either.

e.g. tsuro-magen’a (9/6) (hare of the plains)

This is a nominal construction which can be called a compound noun.

cp. musikana nhêrera (1/9) (an orphan girl)

cp. musikana uyu nherera (this orphan girl)

cp. musikana nhêrera uyu (this orphan girl)

These are loose combinations of nouns in apposition. In compound nouns, the prefix of the first noun controls agreements.

e.g. tsuro-magen’a íye (9) (that hare of the plains)

tsuro-magen’a (9/6) (hare of the plains)
magen’a (6)

This is a nominal construction which can be called a compound noun.

cp. tsuro-shâpá (9/5) (hare of the sandy soil)

shâpá (9) (heavy soil)

cp. dzuro-makova (5/6, 9/6) (hare of dark, loamy soil)

gova (5) (heavy soil)

cp. gomo-dará (5/5) (flat mountain)

cp. dzanda-zvû (5/5) (sun beam)

cp. mutumbâ-mânu (3/9) (bridge of the nose)

cp. danda-u-šâ (5/14) (tall grass - “log” grass)

cp. kadende-mâfû (12/6) (a type of locust)

Nipona-mhova (9/9) (a hill near Mrewa)

mhova (5) (wild vegetable)

kambiya-nuderè (12/18) (a nantis)

uderé (5) (wild spinach)

chinyôká-mutumbâ (7,9/3)

mashura-mûmbiyâ (6/18) (omens in the dish, something unheard of)

bungu-murudzi (5/3) (a long snake, brown and fast moving, supposed to whistle)

92 /tuhwâhâ-ñhâmô...
tuwhawá-námá (13/9) (beer brewed by those who do not have enough of the necessary ingredients)
tuwhawá-mhépo (13/9) (beer which has failed to ferment in time because of the cold weather; metaphorically, a something which will have an uncertain outcome)

upángá-mudýá (14/3) (a small knife worn at the waist)
munhu-síri (1) (special person)
musřkaná-síri (1) (a girl able to instruct others about women’s affairs)

mabiko-síri (6) (special dinner)
munhu-f (1) (a person of what sex)
gonye-dangá (5/5) (a worm that lives in the cattle pen)
tasang-nýáká (9/9) (striped snake)
mútiti-báni (3/5) (a lucky bean tree found in the plain)
mútiti-makomo (3/6) (a lucky bean tree found in the hills)
amáí-munhu (2b/1) (the mother of the person in question)
babá-munhu (1a/1) (The father of the person invited)

Nouns in apposition
Nouns in apposition are altogether looser combinations in which either may be the headword of an SP giving rise to a combination of SPs.

e.g. múkómaná múShawashá (a Shawasha boy)
musřkana nheřera (an orphan girl)
haratwa bofu (a blind old man)
nzou mádzi (a bull elephant)
mhentwe hóno (a buck duiker)
mhentwe nhunzvi (a doe duiker)

Sex in animals is denoted by combinations of this kind. The nouns múkó (3) hóno (9) or góó (5) are used to indicate male animals. The nouns mádzi (9) or gádzi (5) are used to indicate the female in such combinations as :-

shumbá mádzi (9) (a lioness)
ingwe mádzi (9) (a leopardsess)
hóno mádzi (9) (a cow rhinoceros)
mbó mádzi (9) (a cow)
imbó mádzi (9) (a bitch)
bhíza gádzi (5) (a mare)
hesera gádzi (5) (a mule mare)

The noun nhunzvi (9) or dunzi (5) is used in such combinations as :-

ngurüye nhunzvi (9) (a cow)
hókú nhunzvi (9) (a fowl)
hwai nhunzvi (9) (a ewe)
mbózí nhunzvi (9) (a she goat)
mhentwe nhunzvi (9) (a doe duiker)

Alternatively these nouns appear as headwords followed by the names of animals possessively inflected.

e.g. hóno yeshumbá (lion)
hádi yeshumbá (lioness)
háno yengurüye (boar)
nhunzvi yengurüye (cow)
cp. múroyi yemurüye (a male sorcerer)
háno yemúkádzi (a female relative)
shámarf yemúkómaná (a friend who is a boy)
nhëra yemusřkana (a girl orphan)

Note that there are no tonal changes in either type of combination. Both the nominal constructions of this type and those consisting of nouns in apposition control agreements in SPs.

e.g. kadende-matáka aka (12/6) (this locust)
musřkana nheřera uyu (1/9) (this orphan girl)

Other combinations of substantives are found which are nominal constructions similar to compound nouns.

ew.g. tate-guru (1a/5) (father’s father)
zhímbuya-guru (21.9/5) (chief grandmother)
gúnt-guru (5/5) (October)
amáí-gurú (26/5) (father’s senior wife)
amáí-níñí (1) (26/9) (father’s junior wife or mother’s younger sister)

(l) cp. -nji-p- (be small)

zvi-nini-p-is-e (humble yourself)
Note the tonal change in gů́ř ū (5) (big) in the first three examples.
gů́ř ū-ngů́ř ū (la,5) (a self-confident person)

(b) Another type of construction consists of SP + copulatively inflected SP, viz. a substantival clause. These constructions control agreements of the same class as the first SP.

e.g. mukádzi-chíř ū (1) (the name of a wild vegetable; a woman who is active only in the slack season when there is no work in the fields, lit. a woman it is the dry season)
gů́ř ū-múšanda (5) (a changeable situation, lit. a year is a change)
múšanda-mûmbure (9) (a fortunate outcome, lit. luck is a hunting net)
kugara-hünkwa (15) (a harmonious situation, lit. to live is to understand one another)
usíku-ígóre (14) (behaviour which can change overnight, lit. a night is a year)
jíri-mánhegá (5) (something resembling a bird only through having feathers, lit. a bird is feathers; something pretentious)
chiwwe-chítedzá (7) (a risky situation, lit. a stone is something you slip on)

3.4.2.4. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a substantival construction

In these constructions a noun prefix is one constituent and a substantival construction the other. The substantival construction may be of various kinds and increasing clause. This construction is often used to form names, the prefix of cl. la being prefixed to the substantival construction.

(a) Prefix and compound nouns

Here the prefix, often of cl. la, is prefixed to the compound noun.

e.g. Gú́ř ū-mômbé (la) (a poor person who will have a beast only at his funeral) cp. gû́ř ū (5) (grave)
mômbé (9) (ox)
Pû́mbírá-mano (la) (a famous character in folklore) cp. bû́mbírá (5) (trick)
mano (6) (plans)

(b) Prefix and substantival phrase

(1) Prefix and SP consisting of noun and adjective

In this construction a variety of prefixes are found prefixed to SPs, not merely that of cl. la. The locative noun class prefixes are frequently found as constituents in this type of complex nominal construction.

e.g. Pû́mbírá-bá-hû́ř ū (la) (a name, viz. White spear)
vhándá-bá-hû́ř ū (la) (a name, viz. White hair)
Góř ū-démá (la) (a name, viz Black cloud)
chi-hánda-wádíkí (7) (the ways of small children) cp. hánda wádíkí (14)
ku-mba-hû́ř ū (17) (at the big house) cp. imba hû́ř ū (9)
mu-mba-hû́ř ū (18) (in the big house) cp. Mba mukû́ř ū (3)
par-mushá-mukû́ř ū (16) (at a big village) (a big village)

(2) Prefix and SP consisting of noun and possessive

e.g. Pû́mbírá-rará (la) (a name, viz. Spear of blood) cp. pû́mbírá (spear)
Kunzę́-kwenyika (la) (a name, viz. Outside the country) cp. kunzę́ (17)
Góř ū-renzá (la) (a name, viz. Year of famine) cp. góř ū (5)

(c) Prefix and substantival clause

Nominal constructions of this type are names and consist of the prefix of cl. la prefixed to constructions of the type listed in 3.4.2.3.(b) above.

e.g. Góř ū-múšanda (la) (a name, One who changes his mind often)
Góř ū-nhấmá (la) (a name, One in trouble often)
3.4.2.5. Nominal constructions involving combinations of prefixal morphemes + a noun

These morphemes are: noun prefix ċ (la) + sä- noun prefix ċ (la) + nya- noun prefix mu-(l) + zvina

These constructions all indicate persons who are the owners, guardians, keepers or initiators of the noun to which they are prefixed. They are also prefixed to SPs but examples of this latter construction are few in comparison with those of the former. All such constructions are members either of cl. la or cl. 1 depending on prefix and control agreements of cl. 1.

(a) Prefixal morphemes ċ + sä-. This combination is tone-inflecting, the tonal changes being exactly the same as those described for the prefixing of the cl. 2a prefix vä-

e.g. sä-dunhu (district head) cp. dunhú (6) (district)
sä-mvura (rain maker) mvurá (9) (water)
sä-zita (nameake) zita (5) (name)
sä-bhuka (village head) bhukú (5) (book)
sä-wachi (chief, one who wears chief’s emblen) wachi (9) (emblem of chief, “watch”)
sä-imbí (head of a household) imbí (9) (house)
sä-mushá (village head) mushá (3) (household)
sä-hwálwá (one who supplies the beer at a party) hwálwá (14) (beer)
sä-nyíka (chief, keeper of tribal land) nyíka (9) (country)
sä-dáre (village head) dare (5) (meeting place)
sä-rumbuyá (wife of one possessed by a baboon spirit) rumbuyá (11)
sä-mykádzí (father’s sister) mukádzí (1) (wife)
sä-rungano (one who made up a story) rungano (11) (story)
sä-chigašo (chairman) chigašo (7) (chair)
sä-kunatsa (do-gooder) kunatsa (15) (to do good)
Sä-Mánýíka (chief of the Manyika people) váManyíka (2) (Manyika people)
Sä-ungá (chief of the Unyama people) váungá (2) (Unyama people)
Sä-nyémbe (chief, one who wears the chief’s badge of office (Ma.) nyémbe cp. huze (2e)

(b) Prefixed morphemes ċ + nya-. Like the above, combinations of nouns with these prefixes are nominal constructions of cl. 1a. Nya- is not tone-inflecting. It is prefixed frequently to infinitives.

e.g. nya-mapípí (conjurator) cp. mapípí (6) (trick)
nya-vanga (one with a wound) vanga (5) (wound)
nya-nbaré (one with callosities on his body) nbaré (9) (callosity)
nya-kwana (bridegroom) kwana (15) (to wed)
nya-kúrdóra (bridegroom) kúrdóra (15) (to wed)
nya-kunatsa (do-gooder) kunatsa (15) (to do good)
nya-kubayíwa (one who is wounded) kubayíwa (15) (to be stabbed)
nya-kubá (thief) kubá (15) (to steal)
nya-muzá-nénhamo (illegitimate child)

(c) Prefixal morphemes ċ + ne- as prefixed to nouns frequently form names. In most cases ne- is tone-influencing like na- (the adverbial inflecting morpheme) and is itself influenced by polarity. But in some dialects it appears always as H.

e.g. Mémwé (lineage name of Chaminuka’s group) cp. hámá (9) (piece of skin tied round snuff box)
Mémwá (name of a lion spirit)
Negómo  (name of a chief in the
Chiwashe area)  cp. gomo  (5)  (hill)
Nēhwezdzâ  (name of a sub-chief in the
Darwin area)  hwedzâ  (9)  (sun)
Némbire  (name of a chief in the Darwin
area, belonging to the
Mbire clan)  Mbire  (9)  (Mbire country)
Némakonde  (name of a chief in Chinhoyi
district)  makande  (6)  (hunting net)
nēvâna  (a spirit medium)  Kô. vanâ  (2)  (children)
Nezâro  (yesterday)  zuro  (5)  (yesterday)  (Ma.)
Nêngůo  (name of a chief near Chihowa)  nguwe  (9)  (clothes and
cradle skin)
Nëhosho  (name of a chief(1) in olden
times)  hosho  (9)  (rattle)
Nekubha  (name of a headman south of
Harare)  humba  (9)  (tambourine)
Neusú  (name of a headman south of
Harare)  usú  (14)  (face)
Nëhorekà  (name of Budya lion spirit)  boréka  (9)  (something hang-
ing on something else)
Nëmhâra  (name of person in Chiweshe
area)  mhâra  (9)  (antelope)
Nëharâva  (name of the first chief of
the Seke people)  vaHarâva  (2)  (people in Seke)
Nëkatî  (name of a person)  
nechombo  (lion spirit medium's assistant)  chombo  (7)  (implement, tool)
Nëchib🐻  (name of a person)  chibière  (7)  (shade)

(d) Prefixal morphemes mu-zvina— are prefixed to nouns and this results in nominal
constructions of cl. 1.

E.g. mu-zvina-baba  (the one who still has a
father)  cp. babâ  (1a)  (father)
mu-zvina-payî  (a pregnant woman)  payî  (16)  (what place? -
an enumerative)
mu-zvina-pfûma  (the rich man)  pfûma  (9)  (riches)
mu-zvina-dore  (the one with the beer)  dore  (5)  (beer)
mu-zvina-hwahâ (the one with the beer)  hwahâ  (14)  (beer)
mu-zvina-botso  (the one who caused the
trouble)  botsâ  (5)  (aggrieved
spirit)
vazvina-dare  (those involved in judging a
court case)  dare  (5)  (court, meeting
place)
vazvina-mbûdzi  (great herds)  mbûdzi  (9)  (goat)
mu-zvina-guhwa  (a tale bearer)  guhwa  (5)  (tale, slander)
mu-zvina-kunda  (the one who has to go)  kunda  (15)  (to go)
mu-zvina-kuponda  (executioner)  kuponda  (15)  (to kill)

Wechitâtî mûzvina-guhwa  (A third person is a calumniator)

For another "ownership" construction, cp. 3.3.1.(d)(2)(iii)

### 3.4.2.6. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem containing ideophones

(a) In the first of these constructions, the constructional pattern is:

**np + ideophone + ideophone**

e.g.

dâpi-tâpi  (5)  (tastiness)  cp. tâpi  (being sweet
gambû-kambû  (5)  (stew with different ingredients)  kambû  (scooping with
hotâ-kota  (9)  (bending down of several people)  kota  (bending)
mhikû-piku  (9)  (snatching up all round)  piku  (snatching up)

In many examples the ideophones are themselves derived from verb radicals by suffixing **-e**.

e.g.

chi-wâ-f-ke  (7)  (falling of people all over or without cp. i-wâ-f-
cause)  96/chi-nwâ-f-nwe...

(1) His name appears in a beer song:  Nkûmâ-nwâra Nëhosho
(I'll follow Nëhosho. I have nothing, but he is rich)
chi-mwe (7) (drinking from different pots) cp. i-jw-é (drinking)
chi-tàngé-tàngé (7) (starting without order) tàng-e (starting)
chi-tông-e-tông-e (7) (judging without order - as in court where everyone regards himself as an authority) tông-e (judging)
chi-súp-e-súp-e (7) (spitting everywhere without reason) súp-e (spitting)
chi-rım-e-rım-e (7) (ploughing at will without any law to stop one, or for no reward) rım-e (cultivating)
chi-bik-e-bik-e (7) (cooking without method; readiness to cook at any time) bik-e (cooking)
ru-báté-báté (11) (habitual taking, stealing) bát-e (taking)
nhìng-e-tông-e (9) (goring of bulls; or rough sewing as of bags) tông-e (piercing)

(2) 3-syllable ideophones:
np: mu- + ideophone + ideophone

* mu-kúdbu-kúdbu (3) (continual uncovering) cp. kúdbu (uncovering)
mu-suduru-suduru (3) (continual withdrawing, changing of position) suduru (withdrawing)

(3) 1-syllable ideophones

np: chi- + triplicate ideophone

e.g.
** chi-dó-dó (continual hammering) cp. do (falling, knocking, hammering)
** chi-nhí-nhí-nhí (continual gripping) nhí (gripping)

(b) Alternative patterns:
(1) 2-syllable ideophones:

np: chi- + ideophone + np: mu- + ideophone

e.g.
chi-mhádu-mu-mhádu (irresponsible, breaking all over) cp. mhádu (breaking)
chi-tsemí-mu-tsemí (irresponsible breaking up) tsemí (breaking, hitting with palm)
chi-svúú-mu-svúú (irresponsible stripping) svúú (stripping off)

(2) 2-syllable ideophones:

np: + ideophone + np: + ideophone

e.g.
*** nhírì-mutúrí (9) (continual hanging up) cp. túrí (hanging up)
*** nhänge-mutàngé (9) (racers) tàng-e (starting)
mhádu-mupóte (9) (continual turning round) póte (turning)
mhikí-mupikú (9) (picking a large portion of meat, e.g. leg of ox or a large bundle) pikú (picking up)
bonó-mu-pónde (5) (general killing e.g. at a signal) pónde-é (killing)
bindó-mu-pinóde (5) (passing through a crowd - one after the other) pinó-é (passing in or through)
jéro-mu-chéré (5) (drawing of water) chéré-é (drawing of water)
jero-mu-chéré (5) (digging) chéré-é (digging)
yambio-mu-yambio (5) (crossing) yambio (crossing, ford in)
dvótsvo-mu-tsvótsvo (5) (falling of rain) tsvó tsvó (falling of rain)
dandé-mu-tandé (5) (chasing) tandé-é (chasing)
dandó-mu-tandé (5) (stretching) tandé (stretching)
dvética-mu-svética (5) (general jumping up, e.g. to avoid a snake) svética (jumping)

* Alternative tones : L-HHH-LLL
** " " : L-LLL
*** " " : LH-LLL LH-HLL
**** " " : LH-LHL
(3) 2-syllable ideophones:

\[ np: \text{mu + ideophone + np: mu + ideophone} \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

mu-chëtu-mu-chëtu (3) (continual cutting) cp. chëtu (cutting)

*mu-svuù-mu-svuù (3) (continual stripping) svuù (stripping)

(4) 2-syllable ideophones:

\[ np + ideophone + np + ideophone \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

dau-nhâu (5) (grasshopper) cp. tâu (jumping)

(c) Constructional patterns:

(1) 2-syllable ideophones

\[ np: \text{chא} + np: \text{mu + ideophone + np + ideophone} \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

chë-mu-chëtu-mu-chëtu (cutting snipping all over) cp. chëtu (cutting, snipping)

chë-mu-mheu-mu-mheu (breaking all over) mheu (breaking)

chë-mu-undü-mu-undü (taking feathers from all over) undü (losing feathers)

chë-mu-svuù-mu-svuù (stripping all over) svuù (stripping)

(2) 3-syllable ideophones:

\[ np: \text{chא} + np: \text{mu + ideophone + ideophone} \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

chë-mu-pfë-gu-pfë-gu (continual uncovering, e.g. cp. pfë-gu (uncovering)

of a pot)

chë-mu-radanu-radanu (continual stretching out) radanu (stretching)

(3) 1-syllable ideophones:

\[ np: \text{chא} + np: \text{mu + replicated ideophone} \]

\[ + np: \text{mu} + replicated ideophone \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

chë-mu-pë-pë-pë (continual falling of leaves papers, etc.) pu (falling lightly as of a leaf)

chë-mu-nzë-vë-mu-nzë-vë (continual dodging all over) nzë (dodging)

(4) 1-syllable ideophones:

\[ np: \text{chא} + np: \text{mu + triplicated ideophones} \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

chë-mu-dë-dë (repeated hammering cp. do (falling, knocking, hampering)

chë-mu-në-hënhënhënh (continual gripping time after time nhi (gripping)

(d) Miscellaneous examples:

zvëzamë (8) (thing which disappear) cp. zamë (disappearing

mupumumvu (3) (spillings from a basket) pfu-mvu-mvu

chiswe (7) (slip knot) shwe

chëvëndikëti (7) (sturdy little fellow) vëndikëti

urumvëndëvu (14) (mince meat) ruvëndëvu

chëmuëhëre (7) (chasing) vëhëre

mapinginu (la) (one who takes the sting out of medicine)

Akaña Saràgà cheè chëmuëhëre néhëwa mëbàni
(He saw that Saraoga was chasing the locusts in all directions
in the plain; lit. had become a chasing.....)

3.4.2.7. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem followed by an ideophone

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

mukumbo-dàyë (3) (walking with leg turning inwards)

mukumbo-gëdyë (3) (walking with leg turning out)

mukumbo-pëya (3) (walking with leg bending in)

mukumbo-nzënda (3) (walking with knee bending out in front)

* Alternative tonomorph: L-LH-L-LL
NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS BASED ON VERB RADICALS

E.g. chi-gar-o (7) (a chair)

The ICs of this construction appear to be, not np + ns but np...-o and R.

Viz. chi - gar - o

There are two main types of construction:
(i) constructions based on the radical alone and involving combinations of prefixes and the terminal vowels -i, -o, -a, -e, or -u. The radicals and terminal vowel may be reduplicated.
(ii) constructions based on the verb phrase and involving combinations of prefixes and the terminal vowel -a. These constructions are treated in 3.4.2.9.

In all constructions, radicals may be simple or extended, viz. accompanied by extensions or combinations of extensions.

(a) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel -i/ with radicals.

These constructions are usually with prefixes of cll. 1, 9 and 14. Nouns of cll. 1 and 9 indicate agents of the operation of R; those of cll. 14 often indicate subjective qualities and sometimes agents.

(1) Cl. 1 nouns: mu-R-i

E.g.

Mu-f-i (dead person) cp. -f- (die)
Mu-vhím-i (hunter) -vhím- (hunt)
Mu-teng-es-i (seller) -teng-es- (sell)
Mu-kurumdz-i (one who hurries) -kurumdz- (hurry)
Mu-pidigü-r-is-i (one who causes something to turn away) -pidigü-r-is- (turn away)

E.g.

Mu-rw-i (fighter) cp. -rw- (fight)
Mu-rpa-i (one who cures) -rpa- (treat, cure)
Mu-rim-is-i (agricultural demonstrator) -rim-is- (cause to cultivate)
Mu-pamhidz-ir-i (one who increases) -pamhidz-ir- (increase)
Va-pamhidz-ir-an-i (those who aid each other) -pamhidz-ir-an- (give aid to one another)

(2) Cl. 9 nouns: N-R-i

E.g.

Nháp-f (captor) cp. -táp- (capture)
Kónz-ér-i (one who incites) -kónz-ér- (cause for)
Húrúmdz-i (impulsive person) -húrúmdz- (hurry)

E.g.

Mhond-i (murderer) cp. -pond- (kill)
Mharadz-i (destroyer) -paradz- (scatter)
Mtemhidz-ir-i (one who decreases) -temhidz-ir- (decrease)

(3) Cl. 14 nouns: u-R-i

E.g.

U-jy-f (pests that prey on) cp. -jy- (eat)
U-jir-i (eats) -jir- (be bad)
U-pfúm-f (riches) -pfúm- (be rich)
U-tsung-f (determination) -tsung- (be determined)
U-chenjër-i (wisdom) -chenjër- (be wise)
U-púpúr-i (witness) -púpúr- (give witness)

E.g.

U-nak- (goodness) cp. -nak- (be good)
U-raram-i (long life) -raram- (live long)
U-ruram-i (honesty) -ruram- (be straight)
U-gar-ir-i (service marriage) -gar-ir- (work for father-in-law)
U-simb-arar-i (perseverance) -simb-arar- (be strong, longlasting)
Passive extended radicals appear in nominal constructions of a number of classes with terminal -a or -i. Tones with terminal -i are the normal ones found, e.g. in the above constructions, but those with terminal -a are TC V (see below). Nouns with the passive extension indicate patient or products (acted on, as opposed to acting).

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
<th>L Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-bát-w-í/mu-bát-w-a</td>
<td>(captive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -bát-w-í</td>
<td>(be held)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-f-fr-w-/mu-f-fr-w-a</td>
<td>(someone bereaved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -f-fr-w-í</td>
<td>(be bereaved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-tambír-w/i/mu-tambír-w-í</td>
<td>(one who is)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welcomed</td>
<td>(be received)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-tàng-es-w-i/mu-tàng-es-w-a</td>
<td>(someone sold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-tàng-es-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- /mu-kurímdz-w-í</td>
<td>(one who makes himself hurry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-kurímdz-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-nong-w-i/chinong-w-a</td>
<td>(something picked up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-nong-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nhám-w-í</td>
<td>(mesenger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-nyam-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhap-w-í</td>
<td>(captive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-tap-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka-śīy-an-w-í</td>
<td>(little finger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be left to others)</td>
<td>(be left to others)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
<th>L Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-ráp-w-í/mu-ráp-w-á</td>
<td>(one healed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -rap-w</td>
<td>(be treated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-rw-ir-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be fought)</td>
<td>cp. -rw-ir-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-cher-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be reported)</td>
<td>/mu-cher-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-saur-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be spoken)</td>
<td>/mu-saur-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-bírk-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be cooked for)</td>
<td>/mu-bírk-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-zarár-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be shut up)</td>
<td>/mu-zarár-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>/mu-paymzd-ir-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(have an increase made for)</td>
<td>pamzhd-ir-w-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-sik-w-í/chi-sik-w-á</td>
<td>(creature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-sik-w-í</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-o/ with radicals

These constructions are found in cl. 3, 5, 7, 9 11 and 14. In meaning these nouns indicate the instruments or results of the operation of the R. In cl.11 habits or habitual dispositions are indicated; in cl.14, some nouns indicate places, others dispositions or characteristics. Nouns of cl.3 with extended radicals -R-ir- are a special formation with distinctive tones and indicate manner of action.

(1) Cl. 3 nouns: mu-R-o

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
<th>L Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-dy-ó</td>
<td>(something edible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -dy-ó</td>
<td>(eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-bó</td>
<td>(stealing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -bó</td>
<td>(steal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-kákát-o</td>
<td>(price)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -kákát-ó</td>
<td>(buy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-tsáwír-o</td>
<td>(rope or chain for towing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -tsáwír-ó</td>
<td>(pall, tow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-rúnìk-o</td>
<td>(cupping horn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -rúnìk-ó</td>
<td>(bleed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
<th>L Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-bunìz-o</td>
<td>(question)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -bunìz-ó</td>
<td>(ask)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-namát-o</td>
<td>(prayer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -namát-ó</td>
<td>(pray)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-zeńz-is-o</td>
<td>(measure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -zeńz-is-ó</td>
<td>(equalise, settle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Cl. 5 nouns: (r-)R-o

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
<th>L Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jéé-ó</td>
<td>(sickle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -ché-ó</td>
<td>(cut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zórìro</td>
<td>(holly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -zórìro</td>
<td>(rest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garìmír-o</td>
<td>(frying pan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -garìmír-ó</td>
<td>(fry in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dop-bôlìko-o</td>
<td>(something that cooks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -dop-bôlìko-ó</td>
<td>(cool)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râr-ir-o</td>
<td>(sleeping place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -râr-ir-ó</td>
<td>(sleep in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir-ir-o</td>
<td>(threshing floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -bir-ir-ó</td>
<td>(thresh at)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Cl. 7 nouns: chi-R-o

**e.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H Radicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-dó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -dó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-sëg-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -sëg-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-ró-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -ró-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-źëdzo-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. -źëdzo-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-rás-říč-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-pót-ěř-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-dvěř-říč-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi-bv-o</td>
<td>(origin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-rodx-o</td>
<td>(stone, grindstone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-er-o</td>
<td>(object tabooed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-zarur-o</td>
<td>(stop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-dzivir-o</td>
<td>(stirring stick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-sek-es-o</td>
<td>(joke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-rim-is-o</td>
<td>(something to cultivate with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-sak-is-o</td>
<td>(cause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-enzan-is-o</td>
<td>(measure)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) **Cl. 9 nouns: N-R-o**

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbát-č-o</td>
<td>(pincers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhém-č-o</td>
<td>(chisel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâng-říč-o</td>
<td>(pots and frying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâm-říč-o</td>
<td>(milling pail)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tson-o</td>
<td>(needle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk-o</td>
<td>(oath)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoche-k-o</td>
<td>(rope used to inspation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodz-ek-o</td>
<td>(calabash for thickening milk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nduram-o</td>
<td>(justice)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) **Cl. 11 nouns: Ru-R-o**

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-bč-o</td>
<td>(habit of stealing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-chiv-č-o</td>
<td>(covetousness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-ziv-č-o</td>
<td>(knowledge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-rak-č-o</td>
<td>(habit of back-biting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-nzw-an-č-o</td>
<td>(mutual understanding)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-věng-an-č-o</td>
<td>(mutual hatred)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru-fur-o</td>
<td>(pasture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-sek-o</td>
<td>(habit of deriding others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-shush-o</td>
<td>(habit of worrying others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-sarur-o</td>
<td>(partiality, discrimination)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) **Cl. 14 nouns: U-R-o**

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-č-o</td>
<td>(inclination)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-far-o</td>
<td>(width)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-fuv-o</td>
<td>(ripeness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-vak-o</td>
<td>(building, building site)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-vend-o</td>
<td>(place to hide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-vat-o</td>
<td>(place to sleep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-tětěmb-o</td>
<td>(litany)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Radicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-bv-o</td>
<td>(character, behaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-šar-o</td>
<td>(settlement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-žik-o</td>
<td>(depth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-pind-o</td>
<td>(access)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-rind-o</td>
<td>(sleeping place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-yamb-o</td>
<td>(beginning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-yam-o</td>
<td>(protection against sickness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-mhomb-o</td>
<td>(lechery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-ruram-o</td>
<td>(straightness)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-bv-o</td>
<td>(come from)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-šar-o</td>
<td>(life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-žik-o</td>
<td>(go down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-pind-o</td>
<td>(go in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-rind-o</td>
<td>(sleep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-yamb-o</td>
<td>(begin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-yam-o</td>
<td>(ward off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-mhomb-o</td>
<td>(lechery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-ruram-o</td>
<td>(straight)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

101 (7) Cl. 3...
(7) Cl. 3 nouns with applied extended R: mu-R-ir-o

e.g. H Radicals

mu-ðy-ir-o (way of eating) cp. -ðy-ir- (eat for)
mu-túm-ir-o (way of sending) -túm-ir- (send for)
mu-ðyr-ir-o (way of threshing) -ðyr-ir- (thresh for)
mu-túm-ðk-ir-o (way of being available for sending) -túm-ðk-ir- (be sending for)
mu-kúrúñádž-ir-o (way of hurrying) -kúrúñádž-ir (hurry for)

But
mu-zváñ-ir-w-o (way of being born) -zváñ-ir-w- (be born for)
cp.
ma-ðyr-ir-o (threshing floors)

e.g. L Radicals

mu-wír-o (way of falling) cp. -wír- (fall to)
mu-ñvunz-ir-o (way of asking) -ñvunz-ir- (ask for)
mu-svijk-ir-o (way of arriving) -svijk-ir- (arrive for)
mu-taur-ir-o (way of speaking) -taur-ir- (speak for)
mu-ðdið-ir-w-o (way of being played) -ðdið-ir-w- (be played for)
mu-rap-ir-w-o (way of being treated) -rap-ir-w- (be treated for)
cp.
ma-svijk-ir-o (medium; places for arriving at, termini) -svijk-ir- (arrive at)

These Radicals may include: object concords + R + -ir-:

e.g.
mu-ti-túm-ir-o (way of sending us) cp. -túm-ir- (send for)
mu-džjvák-ir-d-o (way of building them - houses) -vák-ir- (build for)
mu-sví-bát-ir-d-o (way of holding them - things) -bát-ir- (hold for)

Even the reflexive infix /-zví-/ may appear - with its characteristic tones.
e.g. mu-zví-bát-ir-d-o (Way of controlling oneself) -bát-ir- (hold for)

(c) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with radical

These constructions are found in a number of classes though examples are not numerous. In some cases they have different tones from those found in infinitive inflected verb Radicals in a segment, viz. when followed by a complement.

e.g. H Radicals

mu-roór-a (1) (ride) cp. -roór- (conduct marriage transaction)
mu-pat-a (3) (mountain pass) -pat- (be narrow)
bir-a (5) (ritual feast) -bir- (sacrifice)
bár-fk-a (5) (polygamous union) -bár-fk- (contract a polygamous union)
ñw-ìw-a (5) (water melon) -ñw-ìw- (be drunk)
ma-nzw-ìr-a (5) (rumour, report) -nzw-ìr- (hear for)
ma-ty-ìr-a (6) (reverence) -ty-ìr- (fear for)
nyó-r-a (9) (tattoo marks) -nyó-r- (mark)
rú-tvýr-a (11) (patch of burnt veld) -rvýr- (burn)
u-nýny-a (14) (excess) -nýny- (be excessive)

e.g. L Radicals

mu-tever- (1) (third born child) cp. -tever-er- (follow on)
mu-sik-a (3) (whisk) -sik- (whirl)
ma-shür-a (5) (men's) -shür- (be ominous)
nhut-a (9) (mole) -hút- (burrow)
nrdim-ã (9) (plot of ground) -rín- (cultivate)
rù-twíny-a (11) (splendour) -twíny- (shine)

(d) Constructions of prefixes and terminal vowel /-e/ with radicals

These constructions are found in a number of classes though examples are not numerous. In some cases the tones differ from those in constructions with terminals /-i/ and /-o/.
e.g.  
mu-twér-é  (1) (invalid)  cp. -twár- (be sick)
mu-zvár-é  (1) (married son of chief)  -zvár- (begot)
dún-g-w-e-  (5) (queue, lineage)  -túng- (sprout)?
ma-rénb-é  (6) (dewlaps)  -ránb- (hang down)
ma-lyx-e-lw-  (6) (ripe fruit)  -lýx- (ripen)
ma-ñmb-w-e-  (6) (play houses)  -ñmb- (mould)
ndúm-var-é  (9) (weaned child)  -rúm- (weep)
ńhun-é  (9) (messenger)  -ńń- (send)
u-twér-é  (14) (sickness)  -rwár- (be sick)

(e) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal -/w/ with radicals
There hardly exist - but cp. the following examples:
mu-kwé-gú riot (old lady)  cp. -kwé-gú (age)
rú-fú (death)  -fú (die)

(f) Summary of tones on radicals and terminal vowels:

H Radicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R + i</th>
<th>R + w + i</th>
<th>R + w + a</th>
<th>R + o</th>
<th>R + ir + o</th>
<th>R + e</th>
<th>R + a</th>
<th>V. phrase</th>
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</table>

L Radicals

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<th>L</th>
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<th>L/LL</th>
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<td>LL</td>
<td>LL</td>
<td>LL</td>
<td>LL/LL/LL/LL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Radicals and terminals are commonly reduplicated:

e.g.
mu-ńf-ń-d-ń  (1) (one who wants everything)  cp. -ń- (want)
mu-an-rud-ń-ń (one who goes about courting different girls)
mu-tw-ń-ń-tw-ń (1) (one who fights everyone)  -ń- (fight)
mu-fńm-ń-fńm-ń (1) (tramp)  -ń- (travel)
mu-hvńn-ń-hvńn-ń (1) (one who asks anything without
any tact)
mu-twér-ń-twér-ń (1) (a sickly person)  -ń- (be sick)
mu-ń-ń-w-ń-ń-ń (3) (love philtrum)  -ń- (be loved)
mu-ń-ń-ń-ń-ń-ń (3) (praise of praying)  -ń- (pray)
mu-ń-ń-ń-ń-ń (3) (constantly renewed way of
helping which is suspect)
mu-ń-ń-ń-ń (3) (constant way of howling)  -ń- (cry for)
gwemb-ń-kwem-ń (5) (tramp, coming and going)  -ń- (go)
hvńn-ń-pńn-ń (5) (light rain)  -ń- (rain lightly)

chi-bay-ń-bay-ń (7) (thorn tree)  -ń- (stab)
chi-bay-ń-bay-ń (7) (inchaximimate killing)  -ń- (stab)
ka-ńyę-ń-ńyę-ń (12) (swallow)  -ń- (wool)
hwemb-ń-ń-ń-ń (14) (vagancy)  -ń- (go)
ruchwá-chivá (11) (covetousness)  -ń- (covet)
runyę-ń-ńyę-ń (11) (constant courting)  -ń- (court)
Constructions based on verb phrases

Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with verb phrases.
Radicals accompanied by complements or adjectives in a V. phrase and combine with prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with TC I tonomorphs. Examples of these constructions are common.

(a) In the first group of examples, the R is followed by an object complement.

- **e.g.**
  - Mu-sik-a-vanhu (la,1) (title of Ndau chief) cp. -sik-vanhu (create people)
  - mu-ŋ-la-nha (1) (reporter) -ŋ-la-nha (give news)
  - Mu-ramb-a-tsvina (la,3) (something which must be kept clean or which rejects dirt, e.g. white collar, health demonstrator) -ramb-tsvina (reject dirt)
  - mu-paradz-i-mvura (3) (rainbow) -paradz-mvura (scatter the rain)
  - Gand-a-nhamo (la,5) (someone, thing or occasion causing distress) -kand-nhamo (cast distress)
  - dever-a-ngwena (5) (small rafter) -tever-ngwena (follow crocodile)
  - chi-tut-a-matuzvi (7) (dung beetle) -tut-matuzvi (lift dung)
  - chi-nzveng-a-mutsvairo (la,7/7) (lazy bones) -nzveng-mutsvairo (dog in broom)
  - gocir-a-nyichini (5) (Malawian) -gocir-nyichini (roast bees)
  - gar-a-mukoko (5) (tricky person) -gar-mukoko (stay in hive)
  - bwany-a-makaka (5) (strong man) -bwany-makaka (crush cucumbers with thorny skins)
  - mhing-a-musha (9) (something to prevent village being robbed or violated) -ping-musha (ward off trouble from village)
  - nhung-a-makore (9) (tall person) -tung-makore (pierce clouds)
  - tsuvu-a-muromo (9) (naughty child) -svuu-muromo (chafe the mouth)
  - ndamb-a-kupertwa (9) (incorrigible person) -ramb-kupertwa (refuse to be folded)
  - nhunz-a-musha (9) (serpent snake - ndara) -pinz-musha (break up hoes)
  - ndamb-a-kwasa (9) (strong man) -ramb-kwasa (refuse to fall)
  - ka-nyufr-a-hove (12) (king-fisher) -nyufr-hove (take fish out of water)
  - ka-ring-a-zuva (12) (wrist-watch) -ring-zuva

(b) In the second group of examples, the R is followed by an adverbial complement.

- **e.g.**
  - mu-bv-a-kure (1) (foreigner) cp. -bv-kure (come from far)
  - mu-r-a-kamwe (3) (early rains) -r-kamwe (rain once)
  - ma-bv-a-muchando (6) (winter growth) -bv-muchando (come out in the cold)
  - Chi-r-i-muhanzi (la,7) (a name) -ri-muhanzi (be in a garment)
  - Chi-gut-a-padare (la,7) (a name) -gut-padare (get full at the meeting place)
  - chi-r-i-mutata (7) (underground movement) -ri-mutata (be in the bow)

(c) In the third group of examples, the R is followed by an adjunct.

- **e.g.**
  - Mu-z-a-nhamo (la,1) (a Jonah) -z-nhamo (come with misfortune)
  - jem-novadza (5) (general calamity) -nem-novadza (cry, even the one who has eaten)
  - Chirw-a-nerenga (la,7) (a glutton) -nerenga (fight with the pot)
  - Mutamb-a-nungwe (la,3) (playing with danger) -tam-b-nungwe (play with a leopard)
  - Mufa-nzibadza (la,1) (hardworking person) -nzibadza (die with a hoe)
  - gwira-nenzara (5) (great trouble; lit. climbing with one’s nails) -kwira-nenzara (climb by means of finger nails)

(d) In the fourth group of examples, the R is followed by a noun standing in relation of agent or subject.

- **e.g.**
  - mu-bv-a-maropa (3) (a blooming tree) -bv-maropa (come out - blood)
  - ma-fur-a-mhepo (6) (open country) -fur-mhepo (blow - wind)
ma-bvir-a-zúvá  (6) (the East)  cp.  -bvir-zúvá  (come up - the sun)
ru-bvunz-a-vaení  (11) (late evening)  -bvunz-vaení  (ask - the strangers)
ru-fur-a-mhembwe  (11) (late evening)  -fur-mhembwe  (graze - the duikers)

(e) Another type of R segment which appears in nominal constructions is the R accompanied by a participially inflected V. phrase or clause. There are numerous examples of this construction.

Kutía-úrípó  (la,15)  (a name, someone timid but who will not run away)
Mupá-náúgba  (lab)  (a name, someone who gives after he has had enough)
rufá-nchúmúka  (11)  (resurrection plant)
mubá-ndírímó  (1)  (illegitimate child); or  (3) (a disease)
Muswe-ndírèrè  (la,1) (a name or a person who spends the day sleeping)
Chipé-níre  (la,7)  (a name of someone who gives away readily)
Mutámbá-wagúta  (la,1)  (a name of someone who will not co-operate unless given some-
thing)
mukora-kwáfa-mombe  (1)  (a very thin or poor person)
mushamba-ríchakwáta  (one who washes his hands while the pot is boiling)
Mufá-náádáza  (la,1)  (one who fights even though knowing he will be beaten)
mudá-ndígerè  (1)  (a pensioner)
muswa-nájikarínga  (3)  (something you are thinking of all the time)
mura-ndíerre  (la)  (secret agent)

In (a) and (b) the R is accompanied by a complement, either object or adverb in meaning; in (c) by an adjunct; in (d) by a complement which appears to be semantically the subject of the R. Perhaps these constructions are similar to the relative inflected R segment with inverted subject.

e.g. Tarfé a zviníita babá
(look at what father is doing)

Dzímá dzinóvítá vasíkaná
(Houses where the girls sleep)

In (e) the R is accompanied by a participially inflected V. phrase.
The constructions in 3,4,2,9. - viz. np + V. phrase ++-a/  - are really no different structurally from the infinitive inflected V. phrases +/-a/.

cp.  chi-rw-a-né-hari  (7)  (a glutton)
    ku-rw-a-né-hari  (15)  (to fight with a pot)
    ndamb-a-kuwa  (9)  (a strong man)
    ku-ramb-a-kuwa  (15)  (to refuse to fall)
    mu-bv-a-maropa  (3)  (bloodwood tree)
    ku-bv-a-maropa  (15)  (to exude blood)

These parallel constructions throw light on the infinitive. Traditionally "infinitives" have been treated as nouns of cl.15.

e.g. kuita : prefix ku- + stem -ita

This treatment overlooked the fact that the "stem" is complex, consisting of a radical and terminal vowel -a and tones that the R is always potentially a V. phrase.

e.g. ku-it-a sómáná  (to act like a child);

and the constituents of the infinitive are the prefix /ku-/ and terminal vowel -a with tones on the one hand and the V. phrase on the other. In other classes two types of construction are possible, viz. those in which the second constituent is the R alone and those in which it is the V. phrases. In cl.15 there do not seem to be any constructions based on the R alone. There is nothing in cl.15 to correspond to constructions like mu-pí (a giver) or chi-dú (love). The constructions in other classes which correspond to the infinitive are those whose constituents are verb phrases.

viz. mu-ramb-a-tavína  (3) (something to be kept clean)
cp.  ku-ramb-a-tavína  (15) (to reject dirt)

Should "infinitives" be considered as forming a class of nouns? Consider some further differences between infinitives and nouns of the other classes.

(a) Among the infinitives there are only a very few examples which can be analysed in terms of a noun prefix and stem consisting of a V. phrase. They are the cases of Rs with invariant terminal vowel.

105/ viz. ku-ti...
There are no secondary meanings or secondary stems in the class of infinitives.

The V. phrases in cl. 15 are more complex than those found in other classes. V. phrases with negative or exclusive morphemes or the object prefixes are not found normally or at all in combination with prefixes of other classes but they are common in cl. 15.

In all other cases, the prefix ku- combines with terminal vowel -a and tones as a constituent.

Nevertheless "infinitives" do form a noun class since infinitives are constructions with a prefix in common as well as a set of agreements. Infinitives can all function as headwords in substantival phrases.

e.g. ku-nwá hwañá uku (this drinking of beer)
cp. chi-nwá hwañá ichi (this habitual drinker)

Nominal constructions with R nuclei belong as constructions to the verbal hierarchy. But the constructions themselves enter as constituents in substantival constructions:

in substantival phrases
  e.g. ku-dá váñú kwáké (his love of people)

in adverbial phrases
  e.g. róku-dá váñú kwáké (by his love of people)

in copulative phrases
  e.g. Kugara hí-nzw-an-a (To live peacefully is to understand one another)

The np in these constructions is often that of cl. 1a, prefixed to inflected V. phrases.

(a) (1) Constructional pattern: np + principal inflected V. phrase

  e.g. Mahúraša (1a) (a name, viz. you have cast it, viz. uroyi) (witchcraft)
  Mandívenuqá (1a) (a name, viz. you have hated me)
  Manénda-rupí (1a) (name of a child. A veiled enquiry - How do I stand with you?)
  mafúká-dža-kare (6) (previous experience)
  marást-páší (1a) (name for sheep, or submissive person)
  Hándúrbú (1a) (name - I can't get away from trouble)
  maráfu-rá-hamwe (1a) (pickpocket)
  mafírá-kupá (1a) (very generous person)
  Nádyi-rá-pangč (1a) (Chídawo of Chief Gutu)
  chindandofereké (1a) (dwarf pygmy)
  tagtú-pádaré (1a) (soft-bodied cricket)

(b) (1) Constructional patterns: np + imperative inflected V. phrases

  e.g. Wanázá-motó (1a) (name given to a dangerous man, viz. build up the fire, he will knock you cold)
  paírá vará (1a) (one who gives bad example to his children)

(2) Constructional pattern: np + imperative inflected V. phrases + participial inflected V. phrases

  e.g. byunjá-zwábá (1a, 5/5) (an impetuous person or a calamity)
  jéká-wachéka (5) (name for whale or animal providing abundance of meat)

106 /shambá-wámedzá...
e.g. shambá-wángedžá (la) (greedy eater)
    vana-idya-ndígeré (rich people with income)

(3) Constructional pattern: np + imperative inflected V. phrase
+ subjunctive inflected V. phrase

  e.g. sínúká-ndękéré (la) (an unpopular person whom one wants to get up
  and go so as to be able to talk about him)
  inyunza-ndúbunwe (la) (a yes-man who agrees to whatever he is asked)
  Temá-ndíkutëwegë (la) (name of each of three stars very close to
  each other)
  Tángá-ndíkutungwë (la) (name of each of three people, very close to
  each other)
  Vamba-ndíkumumbëwo (la) (name of each of three people, very close to
  each other).

(c) Constructional pattern: np + relative inflected V. phrase

  e.g. Chapinge-mushá (la) (name given to a spinster; one who wards off
  trouble from the village)

(d) Constructional pattern: np + clause, viz. subject and predicate

  e.g. Mubiká-wéchingama (1a,3) (An obstinate person - viz. a log has fallen across
  the path)
  Búngó-ídëonwa (la,5/3) (name of person or calamity that cannot be avoided,
  viz. a mamba falling)
  Chikónó-baye (la,7/7) (a fearless person or occasion, viz. bull, gorel)
  kambil-wawázá-nóto (la) (sudden disappearance of a group of people; lit.
  Tortoise, you have scattered the fire)
  mudzimu-èrëmbera (3) (overcoa; lit. the ancestral spirit hung down)
  chibabá-munonzweyi? (7) (a windbreaker; lit. father, what do you fool?)
  Munitu-ndëripò (la,1) (a name; lit. I am a person, treated as such,
  only when present.)
3.5. OTHER SUBLTANTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Other types of substantive are the adjective, the enumerative, the quantitative, the selector, the demonstrative and the pronoun. Each of these terms indicates a distinct type of construction with its own constructional pattern. Common to all these constructional patterns, however, is the provision of a class prefix or affix as one constituent.

3.5.1. Determination of class affixes

For example, the adjective chi-kuru (big one) (7) has the adjective prefix chi-/ as one constituent. The prefix is not determined, as to its class, as in the case of the nouns, by the classificatory requirements of the second constituent the stem. It is determined, not from within the construction but from without, by the class of a noun with which it is made to agree. This determination may be effected in various ways. If a noun and a non-nominal substantive, for example an adjective, occur in a substantive phrase, the prefix of the latter is required to be in agreement with the noun class prefix.

e.g. vaskanā vátsuvukī (fair girls) (2)

If the non-nominal substantive occurs in the absence of a noun as constituent in a substantive phrase, its prefix is determined so as to agree with that of the noun whereby the item to which it refers is known. For example, if the situation includes girls, normally referred to as vaskanā, they can be referred to by the adjective as vátsuvukī (fair ones). Most non-nominal substantives is used in the absence of noun headwords in substantive phrases reflect a particular context of this kind which determines the shape of their class prefixes or affixes.

It is possible for non-nominal substantives to be of a class other than that to which the item they refer to is normally assigned. For example, if the situation includes girls who are fair, and the context contains the SP vaskanā vátsuvukī (2), the adjective zvísčuvukī (8) may be used to refer to them, not only as fair, but also as short and fat. This extra connotation is carried by the prefix which is of a class intentionally other than that to which the item referred to is normally assigned and intentionally that in which the prefix chosen carries this meaning in its secondary use. Compare zvísčuvukī (short, fat girls) (8). Hence secondary meanings can be carried by the prefixes or affixes of non-nominal substantives if there is calculated disagreement between the class of the chosen prefix or affix and the class to which the item being referred to normally belongs. These secondary meanings are conveyed by the substitution, for a prefix expected from the context, of another, chosen in order to bring out other aspects of the situation. These aspects are, of course, exactly those of the secondary noun prefixes which correspond to the chosen non-nominal prefixes or affixes. This process of substitution of a secondary prefix for an anticipated primary one, having regard to the context of the situation, is analogous to the substitution of secondary noun prefixes for primary ones and has the same semantic effect. In virtue of this we may call class affixes used in calculated disagreement secondary prefixes as well, e.g. secondary adjectives prefixes, secondary enumerative prefixes and so on, and refer to the meanings they carry as secondary references.

In many cases, non-nominal substantives of various classes are used without there being any particular determining item in the situation or context with which there is agreement or calculated disagreement.

e.g. vakůrú (elders, lit. big ones) (2)
vadikš (juniors, lit. small ones) (2)
zvísčuvukī (in a small way) (8)
zvikůrů (in a big way) (8)
zvimwe (perhaps, otherwise) (8)
kumwe (elsewhere) (17)

These forms are used seemingly without any implied reference to a determining noun or item. They have been termed semi-dependent nominals (1) to bring out the fact that they derive the shape of their prefix, not from the presence of any noun present or "understood" but from the inherent ability of certain classes to express general notions. These notions are those associated with the prefixes of the noun classes both as primary, for example the use of class 2 forms when the reference is to human being, and as secondary, for example the use of cl. 8 forms when the reference is to manner.

These remarks about the determination of the class prefix or affix in non-nominal substantives apply to all types as well as to the possessive and relative constructions.

The prefixes or affixes of each construction form a constituent class which will be listed in the descriptions which follow. These affixes, as already stated, cp. par.3.1.1., are fewer in number than the noun prefixes and in some cases several noun class prefixes control the same agreement in non-nominal substantives.

The affixes of non-nominal substantives are numbered according to the number of the noun prefix with which they show agreement. If there are prefixes of more than one noun class which all control the same dependent affix, then this is numbered after the first in the series. Thus the

108/dependent...
dependent affixes showing agreement with nouns of cll. 1 and 1a are numbered cl.1; those showing agreement with nouns of cll. 2, 2a and 2b are numbered cl. 2; those showing agreement with nouns of cll. 5 and 21 are numbered cl. 5.

3.5.2. The Adjective

The second type of construction at the level of the substantive is the adjective.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

\[
\text{adjectival prefix (AP) + adjectival stem (AS)}
\]

(b) The constituent class of AP contains the following members. As a set, they form Series II of the class affixes.

**Adjectival Prefixes (Series II)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-refú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>mu-refú</td>
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</table>

(c) Notes on the adjectival prefixes

The APs are the same in form as the corresponding base forms of the NPs after which they are numbered. APs have no allomorphs, other than those in cll. 5 and 9, doubtless because there are no vowel-commencing adjectival stems. The APs of cll. 5 and 9 are realised in exactly the same way as the NPs of these classes.

There is no cl. 10 AP with allomorph /dzi-/.

- e.g. dzimbá hiřú (big houses) (10, 9)
- mambé hiřú (big cattle) (10, 9)

An AP of cl. 21 exists, of shape /zi-/, which is used as a preprefix to that of cl. 5 in rare cases.

- e.g. zimbo horo ziguřú (a huge bottle) (21, 5)
- zimbo gůřú (a huge knife) (21, 5 + 5)

(d) The adjectival stems

Members of the constituent class of AS are the following. They are paired for mnemonic purposes and form a fairly comprehensive list.

- kúřú (big), -dikí (small)
- zhińřij (many), -shora (few, little)
- kuxú (hard), -nyoró (soft)
- reřú (long), -púpi (short)
- kóbúr (thick), -teťe (thin)
- tešaru (worn), -ťavá (new)
- uya (good), -vě (bad)
- -chena (white), -temá (black)
- -tayúkú (red), -pfúmbú (blue, grey)
- -shía (red, tawny), -shora (yellow)
- -pamú (broad), -penyú (alive)
- -taweně (pure), -mbeshí (unripe)
- -hambé (big), -svinú (good, nice, pleasing)

Adjectival stems, like the stems of other non-nominal substantival constructions, have been termed 'long-series' stems to indicate that they have no preference for an AP of a particular class or a pair of APs. Restrictions on possible combinations between APs and ASs arise on account of semantic factors, for example adjectives indicating number are not used with singular nouns, and from usage, for example the stems -una (good) and -vi (bad) occur only in a few idiomatic expressions.

Examples

Masángó-maví (la) (a name, lit. "bad forests", of a lion spirit in the Mount Darwin area)
Usíkú-uví (la) (a name, lit. "bad night", of one of the past leaders of the Mbarè)
makunú-maví (6) (lit. "bad firewood", a metaphor to indicate a troublesome affair)
musí-muví (3) (a non-working day in honour of a tribal spirit)
chív (7) (sin; also the name of a Karanga chief)
chúmú (7,3) (a female elephant that is barren and solitary)
Chirárá-paví (la) (a fee demanded by a n'anga because of uncomfortable lodgings; or a praise name (žíta rémádéùnlùríwú))
chínú-chúuya-uya (7) (a thing showing signs of beauty)
chíšíkánú-chúuya-uya (7) (a pretty girl)
mazví-muuya (6) (pleasing words)
Háñá-muuya (6) (He has no good news)
Zvíuya-zvúuya (8) (Fine things, e.e. pretty girls, have come)

(e) Adjectives which accompany noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them,
e.g. vasíkánú vátsükú (fair girls) (2)
In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.
e.g. vátsükú (fair ones) (2) - in the context of vasíkánú (2)
maví (two ones) - in the context of mauzá (days) (6)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the AP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.
e.g. Akáuya nezúro ndírí (Who came yesterday?)
- the context is dominated by ndírí a noun of class 1a
Chikúùchíyé chandísinú kúmbónú (That short, fat, old man whom I have never seen before)
- the use of cl. 7 AC in this context expresses the secondary meanings of that class.
Mámbónú chumário yónú herí (Have you seen my friend before?)
- the context is dominated by chumário, a noun of class 9
Urí kúróva rútete rwiwé gwánga 'úináwó (Are you referring to that miserable thin thing you were with?)
- the use of cl. 11 AC in this context expresses the secondary meanings of that class.

Examples of the semi-dependent use of adjectives have been given in par. 3.5.1. Other examples are vachena (whites), vatém (blacks), chitá (something new). Semi-dependent substantives of all kinds are frequently found in formulae such as proverbs.
e.g. Chitá vátsúva, muñúmú wéjewéchene (A new thing is a new thing like the milk of a newly calved cow; viz. Anything new is welcome because it is new)
Chitá chíri muronsoka (A new thing depends on the foot, viz. Travel teaches new things)

(f) Normally adjectives do not have more than one AP.
e.g. vasíkánú vátsükú (fair girls) (2)
Zvívaná zvidúku (small, naughty children) (8)
As the last example shows, adjectives show agreement with nouns of more than one prefix by a prefix in agreement with the first in order of the noun prefixes. But, of course, substantive phrases of noun and adjective can form the stems of complex nominal constructions.

*e.g.*

chi-hwani ydíki (the behaviour of small children) (7, 14)
mu-mba hirí (in the big house) (18, 9)

Both of these constructions appear in the following examples:

*e.g.*

pa-vanghu vadiki (by the little people) (16)
ku-naz kúgamhi (the wide exterior) (17)
kú-mutí murefu (at the tall tree) (17, 3)
mumá mudeki (in the small house) (18)
mu-mba hirí (in the big house) (18, 9)

(g) Adjectives with APs of cll. 16, 17 and 18 are good examples of ASs as 'long series' stems for, normally, noun stems, save the primary stems of cll. 16, 17 and 18, viz. -sí, -ná, -katî and a few others, do not appear with noun prefixes of these classes.

*e.g.*

pa-mhuca (by the animals) (16) not pa-pukí
ku-musa (on the back) (17) not ku-shá
mu-rukova (in the river) (18) not mu-kova

(h) Adjective stems are commonly reduplicated and the meaning conveyed is intensive or heightened quality.

*e.g.*

vakúru-kúru (very senior people)
va-fupí-fupí (very short people)
va-refu-refu (very tall people)
va-chena-chena (very poor, or very white people)
vakúku-kúku (very hard, or innocent people)

Note the morphophonemic changes associated with reduplications:

$$ HH > HH-HH; \quad HL > HL-HL; \quad LH > LH-HL; \quad LL > LL-HH $$

(i) In cll. 5, 9 and 10, the 1-syllable adjective stems -na (four) and -táva (new) have stabiliser /i/.

*e.g.*

i-táva (10) (new ones, e.g. houses)
i-dzva (5) (new one, e.g. cloth)
i-na (10) (four ones, e.g. cattle)

The stabiliser is used whenever these 1-syllable stems are reduplicated.

*e.g.*

va-táva-i-táva (very new ones)

(j) Some adjective stems appear with noun prefixes of cll. 14, 11, 12 and 7 in nominal constructions. e.g. the numeral stems:

u-úru (14) (twoness)
cp. uta uúru (14) (two bows) - where uúru is an adjective
ru-zhúru (11) (the majority)
chi-úru-úru (7) (twosome, as a pair)
ka-ta (12) (three)
ka-shúru (12) (many times)

(k) In Karanga the suffix /-sa/ and, in Ndeu, the suffix /-tu/, must be included within the constructional pattern of the adjective as an optional element. They indicate a heightened or more intense degree of the quality expressed by the adjective.

*e.g.*

Handúfu tsvambó yi, f-kuru-sá (I don't want this stick, it is too big)
Aka nga ñita usiyi here? (Was he like this one?)
Kwe-te, uyu mú-kuru-sá (No, this one is bigger - than he)

### 3.5.3. The Enumerative

The third type of construction at the level of the substantive is the enumerative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

```plaintext
enumerative prefix EP + enumerative stem ES
```

(b) The constituent class of EP contains the following members. As a set, they form Series III of the class affixes.
Enumerative Prefixes (Series III)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-mwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-mwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-mwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-mwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>ku-mwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-mwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set of EPs differs from both that of the NPs and APs.

(c) Enumerative stems

The following is a complete list of enumerative stems in Zezuru:

(i) -mwe (a certain, some, others, more)
(ii) -mwe (one, the same)
(iii) -i (of what sort?)

The meaning of the stems

(i) /-mwe/

e.g. rimwe zvíva (one day, a certain day)
    mamwe mazívá (some days)
    dzimwe ngúva (some times)

Rimwe zvíva mákudo mavirí ákáenda kuné rimwe nyika íri kúre
(One day two baboons went to a certain country far away)

Ndakáchêngeta imwe háná yangu
(I kept a certain kinsman of mine)

Váká dzimwe dzimbá
(Build other houses)

Hamifdi izvi, ndirí kuá dzvímwe
(I don’t want these, I want others)

/-mwe/ means both “one” and “another”, “some” and “others” and both these aspects, differentiated in English, emerge when /-mwe/ is repeated.

e.g. Vanwe vasíkaná várefú, vanwe vápfupi
(Some girls are tall, others short)

Mamwe mazívá anórwa, mamwe anóbídá zváké
(Some days he is sick, on others he goes out)

Nyama yácho imwe yákángóchera múngáro makáre, imwe
ikadzvika kuendwa nayô kumushú
(Some of that meat was roasted there in the forest and
the rest was carried to be taken home)

/-mwe/ usually precedes the headword in SPs.

(ii) /-mwe/ usually combines with chétè to form a phrase.

e.g. Hatídí zvízhúngí, tirí kudá chimwé chétè
(We don’t want many, we want only one)

Mwaná mumwé chétè (only one child) Ze.
Mwaná mumwé wóga (only one child) Ka.
Mwaná umwé bédéi (only one child) Ms.

Regá kúbiuka nhanga róse, bika chimwè chimwé chétè
(Don’t cook the whole pumpkin, cook only one part)
Hauísi mumwe heré iwé?
(Aren't you someone else?)

Rwete, handísi mumwe. Ndíní mumwe chetejo wakáre.
(No, I am not someone else. I am the same one as before)

Urí mumwe heré?
(Are you alone?)

Hee, ndíri mumwe. (Yes, I am alone)

Mití iyi haísi múmé, ndíyo mimwe chetejo
(These trees are not others, they are the same ones)

Mití uyu haísi múmé, ndíwo mumwe chêtejo
(This tree is not another one, it is the same one)

Ndínúda mábbhiza mumwe akárebí
(I want the very same horses)

Takáwara mazúva mumwe
(We were sick on the same days)

Ísí tóse tiri vamwe chête
(We are all one and the same)

Hence /-mwe/ can indicate "the same" in two senses:

(a) similar things among themselves in a group; and
(b) things the same as on another occasion.

(iii) /-k/-

E.g. Urí kuréva múnhu muí?
(What sort of a person are you discussing? - murúmi, mukádzi, etc.)

Urí kuréva mútí muí?
(What sort of a tree are you discussing - mutambó, mubacha, etc.)

(d) Enumeratives with accompanying noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them.

E.g. mumwe chete
(only one person) (1)

In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

E.g. Mumbe haísi wáme
(The ox has no nate)

Ndakánga ndándá kundoó múka múgá wángu
(I had gone to see my elder brother)

Wiendá kundoó muí?
(Gone to see what kind of person?)

Ndakánga ndárása mumbe yángu húru
(I had lost my big ox)

Wiíráwa í́f húru?
(Lost what big animal)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the EP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is convey:

E.g. Wakápiwa mumbe ndabá here?
(Were you given a beast by father?)

Rumwe chete rwandákapw nekundóndókwa?
(How will the one thin, miserable one which I was given help me?)

Wakátenga bángá here?
(Do you buy a knife)

Ndakátenge kamwe káko záka muchítóro
(I bought the one little one which remained in the store)

Wawánga úña ki ndóni?
(Who is the one you were with)

Rumwe rinóta kweChíwéshe
(A big fellow who comes from Chiwéshe)

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of enumeratives:
e.g. Chiko chaunoda? (What is it that you want?)
Zvi kuneni? (What is it to me?)
Waisa pa? (Where have you put it)
Membo haasi anotita zvi zvaunoda? (Is the chief not he who does what he likes?)
'Yumwe wangu (My companion)
Pemwe hafu ye (Perhaps he will not come)
Muperekedz, zvimwe iyangali (Accompany him, otherwise he will get lost)
Vaigara pemwe chete (They used to live together)

(e) /*-i?*/ is often used in a context where the class has been heard and an enquirer wishes to know the member of the class under discussion.*

e.g. Miko wauri mutora?
(What sort is the thing which you are talking about)
Munzi (a man) (1), munda (a field) (3), kana mubhokisi (the inside of a box) (18)?

Urfi kureva muri?
(What kind of /muri/ object are you talking about)
Ndiri kureva murume
(I am talking about a man)

Uri kureva ri?
(What kind of a /ri/ object are you talking about - one in class 21 or class 3?)

Ndiri kureva ziri
(I am talking about a huge man) - or banga (a knife)

(f) Reduplicated forms

Both as qualifiers and as headwords, the enumeratives may be reduplicated with or without linkage by /na/.

Reduplication

e.g. Vakupinda mumwe mumwe
(One, and then another, came in but only a few in all)

Vakupinda mumwe mumwe
(They came in one by one)

Taikira mapanga rimwe rime
(Carry the poles one by one)

Reduplication with /na/

e.g. Mumwe nomume atore pfuno rakwe
(Let each one take his spear)

Mbada yakauraya imwe nemwe
(The leopard killed the dogs, one after the other)

Mbada yakauraya imwe nemwe
(The leopard killed each dog)

Zuva rimwe nermwe
(Each day)

In this construction /*-i?*/ ceases to be interrogative.

e.g. Chiru chif necif chirimo ndinosibhisa
(I take whatever is inside)

Chiri chif necif chirimo, uya nacho
(Bring whatever is inside)

Kai neka
(Any small thing whatsoever)

**"Manyi (or muyi) ... mayi; bgyi; rwayi; etc. are used ... if the enquirer has, in the conversation, heard the class of the noun used, but not the name itself."
The Quantitative

The fourth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the quantitative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

quantitative prefix (QP) + /-Ω-/ + quantitative stem (QS)

(b) The constituent class of QP contains the following members. As a set they form Series IV of the class affixes. The set also includes affixes for the first and second persons, singular and plural.

Quantitative Prefixes (Series IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I s</td>
<td>nd-</td>
<td>nd-Ω-ga (I alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II s</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-Ω-ga (you alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I s</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-Ω-ga (we alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II p</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-Ω-ga (you alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 1</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>g-Ω-ga (he alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>v-Ω-ga (they alone)</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>w-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-Ω-ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set of QPs differs from those of the NPs, APs, EPs and Sel.Ps. The prefix /w-/ is used in free variation with /Ω-/ in class 1.

(c) Quantitative stems

In quantitatives, the stems are composite, being used with either of the two morphemes /-Ω-/ or /-Ω/- in free variation.

The following is a complete list of quantitative stems in Zezuru:

(i) /-Ω-/ (all)

(ii) /-Ω-ga/ (alone, only)

(iii) /-Ω-mené/ (self)

The latter stem is found rather rarely in Zezuru. It is found more commonly in Karanga and appears either with /-Ω-/ or as a single constituent with the affixes of the verbal subject prefix, participial series.

e.g. munhu ñmené (the person him-self) (1)

munhu ñmené (the person him-self) (1)

The meaning of the stems:

(i) /-Ω/

e.g. vanhu vóse
(all the people) (2)

Inf ndóse munhu wakáda, ndingáite zvúpwe re here?
(All of me, the person that I am, would I act childishy?) (Is)

Hardiná kámbura na népediku pósé
(I haven't seen him at all, even in the slightest degree) (16)

Wóse munhu anónzi mukázi ākúya kódare musi lwóyó
(Every woman came to the meeting place on that day) (1)

Wóva wáctóshaya nékadukudiku kése
(And so you lack even the smallest thing) (12)
Handinà Kumukwàzísí nàkàshomà kòsé
(I didn’t greet him at all) (12)

imwà mbirí dzosé
(both dogs) (10,9)

zvìgaro zvitatid zvòsé
(all three chairs) (8)

ruvìri twsè
(all of twice) Ka. (11)

(ii) /-ga/

e.g. iní ndògà (alone) (Is)

Húkú idzo dzògà dzàngara (Only those fowls remain) (10,9)

(iii) /-menè/

e.g. mambo ìmènè (the chief himself) (1)

(d) Quantitative with accompanying noun and pronoun headwords in SPs agree in person, number and class with them.

e.g. iní ndògà (I alone) (Is)

isì tòsè (all of us) (Ip)

Ndìzi dzòsé dzákápwa (All the rivers have dried up) (10,9 + 10)

In other cases, in the absence of noun or pronoun headwords, the prefix is determined by the person, number and class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

e.g. Imbìwa yakatí kubere, "Ọya tšénë kúmùsá kwángà, tìngàra tòsè!" (The dog said to the hyena, "Come, let us go to my home and live together")

Úyayí mosè kwàndìrí! (come to me, all of you!) (IIP)

Ọse akànga achìfìn'á
(All of them were growling) (6)

Ndakàndì ndìgà mugono (I went on to the hillside alone) (Is)

Taúko yákàsèka yëga (The hare laughed on his own) (9)

Ákàita ògà paúzìma (He did it alone by hìmself) (1)

Tòsè tìncìfùa kítì hañá kuìpà (All of us know that he is not bad) (Ip)

Tìngàra tògà (We live alone) (Ip)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the OP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

e.g. Múramú wàko ákaúyì náñì (With whom did your sister's husband come?)

A! Rwàkaúyì twèga (Oh! The lean fellow came by himself)

Vanà wàdýà heré? (Have the children eaten?)

Ee, twàdýà twèsè (Yes, all the little ones have eaten)

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of quantitatives:

e.g. kwòsé (all over the place) (17)

ásìnì kútrirímu kòsé (without being afraid in the least) (7)

(e) Quantitative are reduplicated for emphasis.

e.g. Vanà nòkaúpèdè a zvòsé-zvòsé
(Then the children finished absolutely everything)

Vòsè-vòsè vavuya (Everyone, without exception, has come)

Mungwarí, vándí mi mèse-mèse! (Good morning to you, all you ladies!)

Dzákàfúwà nekumbe dzòsé-dzòsé (They were all killed by the lion, down to the last)

Nòkaúpè cúve ògá-ògá àsìsìna hàmà pànyìka (And he was left absolutely alone, without a relative any longer in the country)

Wàkaúka hàmà dzàke dzòsé-dzòsé (He invited absolutely all his relatives)

Nikúdží wògà-wògà ánoríma munda wàkë (Each wife tills her own field)

Vanu wògà-wògà vánosungirwa kuúyà (Each and every person is obliged to come)

iní ndìmenè-menè (my very self)
3.5.5. The Selector

The fifth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the selector.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

selector prefix (SelP) + selector stem (SelS)

(b) The constituent class of SelP contains the following members. As a set they form Series V of the class affixes.

**Selector Prefixes (Series V)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ū-</td>
<td>ū-no (this one near me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vā-</td>
<td>vā-no (these ones near me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ū-</td>
<td>ū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>ā-no</td>
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<td>ḷi-no</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kū-</td>
<td>kū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tū-</td>
<td>tū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>hū-</td>
<td>hū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kū-</td>
<td>kū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pū-</td>
<td>pū-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>kī-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mū-</td>
<td>mū-no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set of SelPs differs from those of the NPs, APs, and EPS. Note that the SelPs carry a high tonomorph.

SelPs of cll. 11, 13 and 14 have alternative forms, */tu̯-, tw̯- and hu̯-*, which vary with those given above.

(c) **Selector stems**

The following is a list of selector stems found in Zezuru:

(i) */-no/*: (indicates close proximity to the speaker)

(-no/ as a qualifying stem indicates good quality)

(ii) */-ye/*: (indicates reference to objects formerly seen or referred to but now distant from the speaker, out of sight or out of the immediate context. Alternatively it refers to objects assumed to be known to the audience).

(iii) */-pi?/*: (which?)

The meaning of the stems:

(i) */-no/*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwanà ūno</td>
<td>(this child - e.g. which I am holding)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muti ūno</td>
<td>(this tree - e.g. which we are under)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuva ūno</td>
<td>(a hot day like this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwezi ūno</td>
<td>(this month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhasi ūno</td>
<td>(today)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chando chīno</td>
<td>(a cold day like this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhizhī ūno</td>
<td>(a wet time like this)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nzīvu ūno tinóxor̄̄̄̄̄̄r̄̄̄̄̄̄ (We are resting during these days)

nyika dzódu dzíno (these lands of ours)

Uya kúŋḡ̄̄̄̄̄ (Come here!)

Gar̄̄̄̄̄̄ paŋ̄̄̄̄̄̄ (Sit here by me)

N̄̄̄̄̄̄ h̄̄̄̄̄̄ (I am a child from within this same part)

zvīpenetí zv̄̄̄̄̄̄ (these safety pins which I have in my hand)

/*-no/*: mukâdzi ūno akâzv̄̄̄̄̄̄ (an excellent wife) (1)

In nuclear position, /*-no/* bears high tone.

e.g. Tóra dzíno (Take this one)

(ii) */-ye/*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mushû ūye</td>
<td>(that village, e.g. which I passed through; or which we were talking about)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

117 /Ākafambá...
\(AK\)afamba musangon muye ndo kuwana hvohwa ushomanan\(a\),
ndo kutang\(a\) kidzura hvohwa hv\(\text{\text{"y}}\)ye
(He walked through that forest (previously referred to) and
found a few mushrooms and began to pick those mushrooms)

In nuclear position, /-\(\text{\text{"y}}\)\(\text{\text{"e}}\)/ bears high tone.

(iii) /-pi\(\text{\text{"i}}\)/: Mataora mombe dz\(\text{\text{"i}}\)pi?
(Which cattle did you take?)
Tin\(\text{\text{"e}}\)nda nenzi\(\text{\text{"e}}\) ipi?
(Which path do we go by?)
Munhu ar\(\text{\text{"i}}\) upi \(\text{\text{"i}}\)nodye sa\(\text{\text{"d}}\)za
(Everyone, lit. a person who is which one, eats stiff
porridge)

(d) Selectors with accompanying noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mazovva (\text{\text{&quot;a}})no</td>
<td>these days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamwan(\text{\text{&quot;a}}) k(\text{\text{&quot;a}})ye</td>
<td>(that little child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mombe dz(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi</td>
<td>(which cattle?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasi (\text{\text{&quot;a}})na</td>
<td>(here below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunsk(\text{\text{&quot;u}})no</td>
<td>(outsiders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumb(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) m(\text{\text{&quot;u}})no</td>
<td>(inside the house)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the
class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N(\text{\text{&quot;a}})tora dz(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi?</td>
<td>(Which one am I to take?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- in the context of nd(\text{\text{&quot;i}})ro (plates)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{\text{&quot;u}})y(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) ak(\text{\text{&quot;a}})pfuura ne(\text{\text{&quot;a}})no ne(\text{\text{&quot;u}})ro, ha(\text{\text{&quot;a}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}}) k(\text{\text{&quot;a}})zorera h(\text{\text{&quot;a}})sikoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(That one who passed by here yesterday has not returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the bicycle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- in the context of mur(\text{\text{&quot;u}})m(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) (man)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the
class of the selector. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is
conveyed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N(\text{\text{&quot;a}})(\text{\text{&quot;u}}) upi an(\text{\text{&quot;o}})ni Shon(\text{\text{&quot;i}})wa, k(\text{\text{&quot;a}})y(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) kakauya t(\text{\text{&quot;a}})ri p(\text{\text{&quot;a}})dare?</td>
<td>(Which one is called Shoniwa, that little chap who came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>while we were at the council place?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kvete, ri(\text{\text{&quot;y}})(\text{\text{&quot;i}})(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) rak(\text{\text{&quot;a}})nga rf(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) map(\text{\text{&quot;u}})(\text{\text{&quot;o}}) n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})vir(\text{\text{&quot;i}})</td>
<td>(No, that big fellow who had the two spears)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of selectors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p(\text{\text{&quot;a}})no</td>
<td>(hereabouts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kun(\text{\text{&quot;u}})</td>
<td>(hereabouts - a wider area is implied)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;u}})no</td>
<td>(in here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zv(\text{\text{&quot;i}})no</td>
<td>(now, this time)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Reduplicated forms

Selectors with stem /-\(\text{\text{"o}}\)/ and /-\(\text{\text{"e}}\)/ are reduplicated for emphasis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v(\text{\text{&quot;a}})(\text{\text{&quot;e}})-v(\text{\text{&quot;a}})ye</td>
<td>(those same ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zv(\text{\text{&quot;i}})no-zv(\text{\text{&quot;i}})no</td>
<td>(these very ones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selectors with stem /-\(\text{\text{"i}}\)/ are reduplicated with the link element /na-/ and the
combination indicates whichever, thus ceasing to be interrogative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kunyangwe p(\text{\text{&quot;a}})(\text{\text{&quot;i}})(\text{\text{&quot;o}}) kita ch(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi nech(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi hand(\text{\text{&quot;i}})kwani(\text{\text{&quot;e}})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuk(\text{\text{&quot;a}})t(\text{\text{&quot;e}})(\text{\text{&quot;a}})k(\text{\text{&quot;a}})l(\text{\text{&quot;a}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;o}})se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ch(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi nech(\text{\text{&quot;i}})pi chin(\text{\text{&quot;o}})s(\text{\text{&quot;a}})r(\text{\text{&quot;a}}), (\text{\text{&quot;i}})f(\text{\text{&quot;e}}) zv(\text{\text{&quot;a}})nu(\text{\text{&quot;o}})d(\text{\text{&quot;a}}) nach(\text{\text{&quot;o}})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note...
(f) Note on the dialectal incidence of the selector stems

The stem /-ye/ occurs as /-ya/ in Karanga and Manyika. In Manyika the stems /-mwe/ and /-mwe/ are selector stems.

In Korekore, e.g. Bunji, there is a selector stem /-ina/ which indicates "other" and which appears with allomorphs of the Sel.Cs as a result of morphophonemic changes.

viz. 1. wîna 2. vêna
3. wîna 4. yîna
5. rîna 6. êna
7. chîna 8. zvîna
9. ūna 10. dzîna
11. rvîna
12. kêna 13. twîna
14. twîna

e.g. Opâ ūna (Take another!) (Ro.)

3.5.6. Stemless Substantives

The substantival constructions described thus far are all of a similar structural type: prefix + stem. The last two constructions at the level of the substantive are stemless and consist essentially of a morpheme expressive of class or person.

e.g. →yu : demonstrative, cl. 1
→ye : pronoun, cl.1

Unless these morphemes are suffixed as enclitics to preceding constructions, they appear with stabilisers, viz. vowels which supply the demonstrative or pronoun with a penultimate syllable capable of bearing penultimate length and which, with the demonstrative or pronoun, form an acceptable phonological unit which functions as a free form.

e.g. munhu uyu, uyu munhu (this person) (1)
cp. munhu:yu (this person) (1)

3.5.7. The Demonstratives

The sixth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the demonstrative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

either (i) stabiliser + demonstrative affix:

or (ii) stabiliser + demonstrative affix + /-o/

The first pattern is that of the "near" demonstratives, the second that of the "far" demonstratives.

(b) The stabiliser is a variable vowel, /i-/ /u-/ or /a-/, depending on the characteristic vowel of the affix and its class (*).

The stabiliser is not an essential part of the demonstrative but is required in order that this construction may be a phonological word with penultimate length. It disappears in cases where the demonstrative affix is suffixed to another construction, the accent of penultimate length now falling on the last syllable of that construction.

e.g. mukâdzî (woman)
cp. mukâdzî-yu

The style or register of utterances which include an SP consisting of noun and demonstrative differs somewhat from those including merely a noun and a demonstrative affix. The latter is more emphatic and emotionally charged, and directs relatively more attention of this kind to the SP than the former. Thus the presence and absence of the stabilizer appears to have semantic effect. Its presence also allows the demonstrative to function as a free form and allows a word order in SPs in which, for example, the demonstrative precedes the noun.

e.g. uyu mukâdzî

(c) The constituent class of demonstrative affix contains the following members. As a set they form Series VI of the class affixes. Examples are given of both "near" and "far" demonstratives in all classes.

---

* By the characteristic vowel of a class is meant the vowel found in the noun prefix and the other prefixes of that class.
Demonstrative affixes (Series VI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>u-yu (this one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-va</td>
<td>a-va (these ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>u-yu (that one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>i-yi (those ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>i-ri (these ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>a-ya (those ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-chi</td>
<td>i-chi (this one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-zvi</td>
<td>i-zvi (that one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>i-yi (that one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-dzi</td>
<td>i-dzi (those ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-twu</td>
<td>u-twu (those ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>a-ka (these ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>u-tu (that one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>u-ku (this one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>a-pa (those ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>u-ku (that one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>u-mu (this one)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The class affixes of Series VI are clearly different from those of Series I–V in both form and the sort of construction in which they function as constituents. They most resemble those of Series V but the forms for classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9 consist, not of /y/ but of /i-/.

Demonstratives carry LL tone pattern.

(d) Reduplicated forms

Reduplicated and triplicated forms of the demonstrative affixes dispense with the stabiliser. These are more emphatic than the simple forms, stabiliser + affix. Thus the following convey three rising degrees of emphasis:

- iri (this one - of cl. 5) iro (that one - of cl. 5)
- riri (this one) roro (that one)
- ririri (this one) rocoro (that one)

These forms can carry expressive tone patterns, respectively high-low and high-mid-low.

E.g. chigaro chichichi

Jackson states that when demonstratives act as objects they are usually duplicated.

E.g. Ndiro yuyu (I want this one)
     Munobani kudzidza zvīzvi (You must learn this)

(e) The enclitic demonstratives

The demonstratives are used with substantives in substantive phrases, either in the disyllabic forms with stabiliser, or as enclitic suffixes without stabiliser. The tone in the enclitic is high or low in polarity with the final tone of the substantive to which it is suffixed and the word accent moves forward to penultimate position.

E.g. mwaná yuyu / mwanaya (this child)
     munú yuyu / munuyú (this person)
     mupamú yuyu / mupamýú (this man)
     mibíra yiyí / mibírayí (this dassie)
     vakurú ava / vakurúyá (these elders)
     vanemé ava / vanemewá (these others)
     vagvwe ava / vagvweva (these same others)
     víva ava / vívaya (these ones encountered before)
     vísvé ava / vísvaya (all these)
     iye yuyu / iyeýú (this very one)

In classes with prefixal vowel /a/, viz. cl. 2, 6, 12, 16, the vowel /o/ of the pronoun may be assimilated to /a/.

Viz. Ļövo ava : Ļövoyi/îvoyé (these very ones) (2)
    Ļövo yuyu : Ļövoyí/îvoyé (these very ones) (6)
    Ļižo aka : Ļižoká/îkaká (this very one) (12)
    Ļo apa : Ļopapó/îpapé (this very one) (16)

CP Ļo yuyu Ļooyí (this very one) (3)
    Ļo iri Ļorí (this very one) (5)

120/ The enclitic...
The enclitic demonstratives can be suffixed to the disyllabic forms of the demonstratives as an alternative to the reduplicated demonstrative but in this case there is no polarity of tone.

e.g. yu yu or yuyu (this precise one) (1,3)
    uyo uyo ... uyo yo (that precise one) (1,3)

These forms are similar in meaning to the reduplicated affixes, yuyu, yo yo.

(f) The affixes are also suffixed to inflected verb radicals. In this case there is no polarity between the final tone of the verb and the demonstrative suffix but similarity of tone.

e.g. ndindo yu
    ndindo yu (I want this one)
    ndindo yu (I ask this one)

Note that when the disyllabic forms follow constructions ending with high tones, either substantives as qualifiers or verbs as complements, their tone patterns are not altered by assimilation.

e.g. marumė yu
    kutōrā ichi (this man)
    (to take this)

However, reduplicated or triplicated affixes are subject to tonal assimilation.

e.g. marumė yu (this man)

(g) The meaning of the demonstratives

The demonstratives refer to objects respectively as relatively near to or far from the speaker in place, time or conception. Increased distance in space is indicated by higher pitch and lengthened final vowel.

(1) "near" demonstratives:

    e.g. Shimbe yăkăti, "Hńitūyă vană avu".
        (The lion said, "Let us eat these children").
        Kusvůzv uku kūngina muniwānomō
        (This ignorance leads into trouble).
        Hwanti uwa hwēkōn kwejwari, "Hńozorimikwa muniwāndi.
        (This beer was intended for getting the field ploughed).

(2) "far" demonstratives:

    e.g. Shumwari, chíko iko chauwōkwevēra rushirē mēnōyō?
        (Friend, what is it that you are pulling behind you?)
        Chiwewera kurī kūenda vówīmūl emu; ndūko kumē dōro
        (Follow now where those women are going; it is there
        that there is beer).
        Tiwāzi mukī uyo mōmuti YU:
        (Look at that tree and that tree yonder).

(3) In regard to time a combination of selector and near demonstrative refers to recently elapsed time or the proximate future.

    e.g. kumaziva āno ayu achāngapūdūrā/achāngonyū
        (During the last few days/next few days).
        Nemuni wa25 mwēzzi wakēpēra uyu/urī kūyō uyu
        (On the 25th of last/next month).
        Mumasa wendo āno achāngapūdūrā ayu
        (In these last few weeks).

(4) "Near demonstratives also refer to recent past and proximate future time.

    e.g. mumwēzzi urī kūyō uyu
        (In this month which is coming).

(5) "Far" demonstratives are used to refer to time in the future and past which are remote.

    e.g. Mumasa āno achāuyə tichātongana
        (In the weeks that are to come, we shall see one another).
        Mumasa wendo ašandjwē ēni pőno hupũkūkũwa rēntśwā
        (In those weeks when he was here there was no leisure at all,
        lit. there was not eating anything left).
Relative distance to the past and future event is indicated by expressive pitch and length.

e.g. gorē rakāpera iro (that past year)
gorē rakāpera IBO: (that past year - e.g. two years before that)

(6) "Near" and "far" demonstratives can be used to refer to objects encountered in the past and which were respectively near or far then. With this reference, they may be used with the selector stem /-ya/ (previously encountered).

e.g. Vāye ava vakānga vātaūraa havānu kūkūtāa
(Those ones who were near and were told did not come)
Vakōmānā vakākaumārē mūsvikwata zvirīri ndōkunzi, "Chienda" mūnzimbo mbirī dzakāsiyang-ṣiyana nūgōnu yių mūntchupīriū. Zvīnō vāmwe vakā̃ēnda asi vāmwe vāye ava vākasa vāmire. (The boys were divided into two groups and were told to go to two different places and return on Tuesday. The one party went but those others who were near us remained standing.
Vāye avo vakāngwa vākāza kunzi musāndē nezępa; uvo vāsara vōtā zvāka zvavāndō ndōkubwa vāmire mūporganā. (Those people who were far from us had been instructed not to come through here; now they did just what they pleased and as a result fell into a ditch).

(7) Similarly the selector stem /-no/ can refer to objects one was in contact with in the past.

e.g. Vahu vafū pumwume vān'gwa vakatīza asi vāmwe vandaivé navō vakāsa vāmire
(The people who were with my companion ran away but those near me at the time remained standing)

3.5.8. The Pronoun

The seventh type of construction at the level of the substantive is the pronoun.

(a) Its constructional pattern is of two kinds:

(i) for the I and II persons and III person, cl. I; and
(ii) for the III person, cl. 2-10.

(i) constructional pattern: stabiliser + affix of person, number and class:
(ii) constructional pattern: stabiliser + affix of class + /-o/

The Stabiliser for all persons and classes is /-i-

(b) The constituent class of affix for all persons and classes contains the following members. As a set they form Series VII of the class affixes.

Pronominal affixes (Series VII)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I s</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II s</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I p</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II p</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>i-v-o</td>
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The set of pronominal affixes differs from those of Series I-V, including those of Series IV which are also differentiated according to person, as well as number and class.
(c) The pronouns of the I and II persons have usually been considered as different in structure from those of the III person, and to consist each of a single morpheme. This is because the adverbial inflected forms of the I and II persons are different from those of the III person.

e.g. nemf (with me) < /na- + inf/
cp. naye (with him) < /na- + -ye/
naiye (he also) < /na- + -yee/

However, there are other cases where the affix of the I and II person pronouns appears without the initial /i-/ and it appears best to treat it as a stabiliser as in the case of the III person pronouns.

In the following cases the affix is used without /i-/: (1) in reduplicated forms:

inini (I myself) isiisi (we ourselves)

iyewe (you yourself)

(2) in emphatic forms:

iyenzi (my very self) iyeye (our very selves)
iyewa (your very self) iyemf (your very selves)

e.g. Vadjimbi imf, murf tavyuramuzo kwazo, imf; ndichazodya iyemf
kana musingamwe zwandinorere (Woman you, you make me chase my lips with correcting you; I shall eat you (instead of your child) if you don't listen)

Wabé nzurgu dzangó iwe! (You, you have stolen my groundnuts!)

Inini?
(Do you mean me?)

(3) in enclitic vocative position (IIp. only)

e.g. Usákaró mwanawe!
(Don't do that, child!)

Musákaró vanamf!
(Don't do that, children!)

Usákaró vanamf!
(Don't do that, you people!)

Iwe imbawe!
(I say, you, you senseless person! Lit. You dog!)

VaShemi! (Oh, Lord)

In all cases the enclitic form of the pronoun carries a tonomorph opposite in tone to that of the preceding syllable.

e.g. muriyewe! (you man!) vakudzimi! (you woman!)

IIIp pronouns do not appear to be used in reduplicated, emphatic or enclitic forms.

(d) The stabiliser /i-/ is retained with the affixes of the I and II persons and coalesces with the vowel /a/ of the preceding morpheme, in two other cases.

(1) in possessive inflection:

e.g. Mwanå wenf, h aprèswa
(The child of mine, old man as I am)

Tsaka dzési, vâtemâ
(Our customs, we the blacks)

cp. Mwanå wafyo, hârâhwa
(The child of the old man himself)

In this possessive inflection, the possessive inflection is low, being followed by the pronoun with tone pattern unchanged.

(2) as complements in a verb phrase immediately following upon the R

e.g. Usatúkenf!
(Don't swear at me!)

1. The final low tone is associated with vocative function.
'Anoróvó, iwe'
(He will beat you, even you)

Uchándosangana nésyakapínde su
(You will meet on your way with bigger ones than we)

Isi ticháunkámi vëmboshawa kana chijana chëka chësiká
(We will beat you people of Damboshawa when our turn comes)

cp. Níchárova fye nokúti ñakúf, "Tísá!"
(I shall beat him because he told you to run away)

As complements, the enclitic forms of I and II person pronouns carry the same tone as that of the preceding syllable.

e.g. kuróvó
(to beat you)
kuendesu
(to send us)
cp. kuróvó + iwe
cp. kuendesu + isá

cp. kuendesa fye (to send him)

(e) In the copulative inflection, the stabiliser /i-/ is dropped in all cases.

e.g. ndiší (it is I)
ndísvó (it is we)
ndíswé (it is you)
ndívó (it is they)

(f) Note that the tone pattern of the I, IIp forms is LH, that of the III p. being HL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Base forms</th>
<th>/nà-/ infl.</th>
<th>/sà-/ infl.</th>
<th>pras. infl.</th>
<th>cop. infl.</th>
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</table>

(g) Cl. 2a prefix can be added to the pronouns of the II p. in an ironic sense.

e.g. váišé! (wonderful you)
váini! (you wonderful people!)

(h) The meaning and function of the pronouns

(1) Pronouns do not appear to function as qualifiers in SPs. Like nouns, their function appears to be limited to that of headwords. This applies to I and II person forms, as well as III persons, and to both uninflected and inflected forms.

   e.g. iní wényú (your me)
siší vamwe (we others)
imí mósé (all of you)
Vákarovala iní wikubá
(They beat me as the thief)
Bábá ñakútna ñchó chokúntaka
(Father took the sweet one)

Nálapánda ndíní wényú
(I have finished, being yours (sincerely))
nómi mósé (with all of you)
Ndívó vanózíva
(It is they who know)
Fye uyu
(This very one) (1)
Íro irí
(This very one) (5)

These forms are usually abbreviated by the elision of the demonstrative stabiliser viz. fyeýú, ñiro

(2) When used in collocations with noun headwords, the relationship between these two substantives, as in the similar case of nouns in collocation, is termed apposition. Nouns are used in apposition to add a comment, one to the other.

   e.g. musikáná, nherora (an orphan girl)

Pronouns are used in apposition to convey pointed and definite reference, or emphasis or prominence to the noun with which they are in apposition. In the case of pronouns of I or II p. they identify the noun with the speaker or hearer.

One again this applies to both inflected and uninflected forms of the pronouns.
e.g. Nyóka, fyo ýurayiwa nábábá  
(The snake itself was killed by father)

cp. Nyóka ýurayiwa nábábá  
(The snake was killed by father)

e.g. Ónáika, váshamvarí vángu, inf, ngúruve, hándifgoné kucwírá  
(Now see, my friends, I, the pig, cannot climb)

Isí, vázánsú, háfína mámbó wa sóódírwá  
(We, Zezuru, have no one chief over the whole people)

Nkdáókera nayé, háráhwa  
(I came back with the old man himself)

cp. Nkdáókera nehéráhwa  
(I came back with the old man)

e.g. Mwaná wéni, háráhwa  
(A child of my own, old man that I am)

Idzi nyika dzemá, vátemá  
(These lands of ours, we Africans)

cp. Mwaná wobháhwa  
(A child of an old man)

Mwaná wájé, háráhwa  
(A child of the old man himself)

(3) In cases of apposition, the pronoun agrees in class with the noun with which it is in this relationship.

e.g. Vákómaná, ndingó  
(I have the boys)

cp. Nlána vákómaná  
(I have some boys)

e.g. Ndíáyó, mári  
(I have the money)

cp. Ndíiné mári  
(I have some money)

e.g. váná wádzó, mómbé  
(the calves of the cattle)

cp. váná vémómbe  
(calves of cattle)

e.g. Uuyu ndióye mwaná wángu  
(This is my child himself)

cp. Uuyu mwáña wángu  
(This is my child)

e.g. Íchá, chisíkana cháké, cháúya  
(She, his short fat girl, has come)

Iró, zísíkana ráké, ráúya  
(She, his big fat girl, has come)

Note the idiomatic use of ími in apposition to convey pity.

e.g. ...báábá ími naamáí imí hope dzikati dzábáta. Báábá imí, takávata 
(damn négumwó zvíví kumusóró). Amái imí, takakotsíra kuti...  
(At last the poor father and mother fell asleep. Poor father 
slept with his axe and spear at his head. As for the poor 
mother, she slept....(Cp. Pímbo rerópa by Patrick Chakaipa, 
Longmans, Harírare).

(4) In the case of the III a pronouns, the use of the stabiliser appears compulsory in 
cases of adverbial inflection with /ga/-.

e.g. Itá saíjo, bàábá  
(Do it like father and no other)

It does not appear in copulative inflection.

e.g. Mwaná úye ndióye  
(That child is he)

In cases of adverbial inflection with /na/- the use of the stabiliser results in 
forms differing slightly in meaning from those without the stabiliser.

e.g. naíyo

kana naíye  
(and he too, he as well)

Naíye mwódá kuirá  
(even he as well)

Inf naíye tinówirírana  
(And he too wants to come as well)

Vákāríróvá, inf naíye  
(He and I get on together)

In cases of possessive inflection, the use of the stabiliser appears to give a more 
pointed and definite emphasis than the non-use thereof.

e.g. mwaná wáýó, háráhwa  
(the child of the old man himself)

cp mwaná wáýó háráhwa  
(the child of the old man)

e.g. mwaná wáýó múkádží  
(the child of the woman herself)

cp mwaná wáýó múkádží  
(the child of the woman)

mwaná wálé múkádží  

The use of the pronoun in the absence of an SP in apposition conveys emphasis. Here the class of the pronoun is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned. The pronouns of the I and II persons are of course used to refer to the speaker or speakers, the hearer or hearers, quite independently of the class to which, in reference, they might be assigned.

- Râkârëdzira pfuti, íro rikati, "Nâshâtitirwa."
  (Having had a gun fired at it, it got angry)
In the context íro refers to bveni (baboon)

The use of a pronoun, in addition to, or preference to, a concord, either subject or object, conveys emphasis.

- Inf handúndè
  (I am not going)
  Vamwe vâkângwâra kupinda isû. Isû chinôrirâmbôdzâ kucchengeta madzimbahwe chma dzěâdu chîfî?
  (Others are wiser than we. What prevents us from caring for the graves of our ancestors?)

- Nâñoso yatîzâ
  (It is the one which ran away)
  cp Yâtîzâ
  (It ran away)

- Nâñoso yatîndâ
  (It is the one we want)
  Tinôidâ
  (We want it)

- Áva nânîye babâ wâmukâdzi wâkè
  (He has become a father himself to his wife)
  cp Áva babâ wâmukâdži wâkê
  (He has become a father to his wife)

- Mumbâ ñmônô munôva nímô che te machepiwa bondwe
  (That very house which is the one in which he will be given a second wife)
  cp Mumbâ munôva maâchepîwa bondwe
  (The house in which he will be given a second wife)

- Inf nânîye tirîwirîrana
  (He and I agree well together)
  Feso ákabáta tsvîmbô, inî ndôkutîzâ
  (Feso took hold of a stick and I ran away)

In the last example the subject is not indicated by the inflection of the verb radical so some substantival indication is necessary if /-tîzî/ has a subject other than Feso. The use of the pronoun here, however, conveys emphasis which also depends on the contrast. The sentence is more emphatic than the following:

- cp Feso ákabáta tsvîmbô, ndikatîzâ
  (Feso got hold of a stick and I ran away)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and that of the pronoun. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

- Nzou netaíro zvâkatâkâna asi íko taure kâkânkândâ
  (The elephant and the hare had a tug of war but the little one, the hare, was the victor)
  Vâkâmanâ vánta vívakâvvmâ kûdhoróôha havânnâ kûdzoka nokûti íro Tânee râksâvîkâ rôngûtsa dzîvô
  (The three boys sent to town did not return because Taone, the big quarrelsome fellow, started a fight there)

Pronouns may be used where a contrast has to be brought out, either explicitly or merely implied.

- Inf ndirî múchokwâdi, iwe warásikirwa
  (I am in the right, you are in the wrong)
  Chîsarári zvénû, tavâ kûnda iwa
  (Farewell to you, we are off)
  Vâkâdzì vânobâtâ bâsa, ívo varûme vâgerè zvâvô
  (The women do the work while the men are just seated, for their part)
(9) Where the pronoun is inflected without stabiliser, mere reference may be conveyed without emphasis. The pronoun here is merely a substitute.

  e.g. nzira yatákafūmba nayo
       (the path by which we travelled)
       mhou némiharú yáyo
       (the cow and its calf)
       Vána varí kutámba here?
       (Is it the children who are dancing?)
       Hónu, náivo
       (Yes it is)
       Ndáuganga néshamwarí vàngu ndáukudzokera nayo
       (I met my friend and came back with him)
       Mumé múto here?
       (Have you any soup)
       Hónu, tinávo
       (Yes, we have some)
       Mundźó mwaná here?
       (Do you want the child?)
       E-e, úyá nayó
       (Yes, come with him)

(10) To sum up

The pronoun may be used to refer, as a mere substitute, to some SP in the context.

  e.g. Endź úndokwá bézdó ñúyé naró
       (Go and get a hoe and come here with it)
       Hóyu mwaná wángu. Úfámbó nayó
       (Here is my child. Go along with him)

The use of the stabiliser and affix is in some cases more emphatic.

  e.g. Úfámbó náyé
       (Go with him)

Where a pronoun is used in addition to a concord, it is emphatic and confers prominence.

  e.g. Ìye ãnóziwa
       (He knows)
       Ìye òrí kuchémá
       (He is crying)
       Ívo vachíšeka zvávó
       (While they laugh)
       Íñú ndírí kúseka
       (I am laughing)

Still more emphatic and prominent is a copulatively inflected pronoun followed by a relative.

  e.g. Ndíye ãnóziwa
       (It is he who knows)
       Murúmè uyu ndíní ndáuyó nayó
       (It is I who came with this man)

Emphasis, precision, definiteness, prominence are conveyed by the use of pronoun in apposition to SPs.

  e.g. Èró, rímwe zimbardara ráké
       (The other big girl of his)
       Murúmè, ìye ndíye ãnóziwa
       (The man himself is the one who knows)
       Ndáuambúya vápi, ìvávó vangátorerwe mwaná wávo nézwakádaró
       (Which is the mother-in-law who exists who would allow her daughter to be taken by such trash as this)
3.6.

THE SUBSTANTIVE PHRASE

3.6.1.

The Substantives

The constructions at the level of the substantives have been described. In general they are based on two types of constructions:

(i) those consisting of prefix and stem, viz. the noun⁴, adjective, enumerative, quantitative and selector; and
(ii) those consisting of stabiliser and affix, plus in some cases, a morpheme /-y/, viz. the pronoun and demonstrative. These have been called stemless nominals.

There are thus seven types of substantive. Each type is divided according to the class affix into groups belonging to, or corresponding to, one of the noun classes.

3.6.2.

Types of substantive phrase

Substantives combine among themselves, at a level of construction one above their own, into phrases. There are various types of substantive phrase according to the combinations of substantives found, and we should look at these before attempting to set out the constructional pattern of the SP.

(a) Noun headword and qualifiers

In one, the most common, type of SP, we find a noun or nominal construction accompanied by other types of substantive, viz. the adjective enumerative, quantitative, selector and demonstrative in a semantic relationship of headword and qualifier.

E.g. (noun underlined)

vakádzí vávirí (two women) (noun + adjective)
numwe múši (a certain day) (enumerative + noun)
vaná vóse (all the children) (noun + quantitative)
manúva áno (these days) (noun + selector)
murúmē yuyu (this man) (noun + demonstrative)

(b) Pronoun headword and qualifiers

The pronoun is also accompanied by these five types of substantive as qualifiers.

E.g. (pronoun underlined)

iší vámatú (we three) (pronoun + adjective)
vamwe imi (you others) (enumerative + pronoun)
iši ndóga (I alone) (pronoun + quantitative)
lye úúye (that very same one) (pronoun + selector)
lye yuyu (this very one) (pronoun + demonstrative)

(c) Possessive and relatives as qualifiers

Nouns and pronouns are also accompanied in such phrases by constructions other than the substantives and are qualified by them.

Viz. by possessives (q.v.)

E.g.

baba vêmaná (the father of the child) (noun + possessive)
ini wényu (I who am yours) (pronoun + possessive)

and relatives (q.v.)

E.g.

vaná vásingazive (children who do not know) (noun + relative)
vaná várj kumá (the children at home) (noun + relative)
vaná vané (children at home) (noun + relative)
mabhákú ávé (children who have their books) (noun + relative)
isa tizingazive (we who do not know) (pronoun + relative)

(d) Agreement in substantive phrase

With regard to these phrases note that all the constituents agree in person and class with the following limitations:

1. Nominal constructions incorporating verb radicals consist of:

(1) noun prefix and terminal vowel; and
(2) either verb radicals or verb phrases.

E.g. chi-gar-ô (chair)
chi-tut-a-mátvů (dung beetle)
Pronouns of I, II persons are accompanied by I, II forms in agreement only in the case of quantitatives and relatives; in other cases they are accompanied by cl. 1 forms, agreeing with pronouns of I singular and II singular, and by cl. 2 forms, agreeing with pronouns of I plural and II plural.

E.g. imi mese (all of you)
    imi tofa (we who are about to die)

But imi vatafu (we three)
    imi vamwe (you others)
    imi vaye (you previously encountered)

Nouns of cl. 1a are accompanied or qualified by cl. 1 forms, those of cl. 2a and 2b by cl. 2a forms, those of cl. 10, 9 by cl. 10 forms (but by 10, 9 forms in the case of adjectives), and those of cl. 21 by cl. 5 forms (save in the case of adjectives where cl. 21 forms are possible).

E.g. baba uyu (this father) (la) murume uyu (this man)
    vadzina uyu (these women) (2a) vakazi uyu (these women)
    amali uyu (this mother) (2b) zwakabere uyu (these women)
    mumo idzi (these cattle) (10,9) dzimba idzi (these houses) (10,9)
    chikana iri (this big girl) (21) bangu iri (this knife) (5)

Occasionally cl. 1a nouns are accompanied by cl. 2 forms.

E.g. baba avu (this family)
    mambwa avu (this chief)

Infinitive clauses which control, or are accompanied by, cl. 8 subject and object concords in verbal constructions do not appear to control cl. 8 concords in SPs.

E.g. Kuti avu zvinosivikana
    (The fact that he has come is known)
    Zvakanikana kuti mumwe mukomana akafirwa nevabereki vake
    (It happened that a certain boy was bereaved of his parents)

CP. Kudzakumusha kwevyu
    (Your love of home)

3.6.3.
Control of agreements in substantive phrases

(a) In the above types of substantive phrase, the person or class of the qualifiers is determined by that of the noun or pronoun headwords. Every noun belongs to one or other of the 22 noun classes in virtue of its prefix, whether the relationship between its prefix and stem be primary or secondary.

The constituents which accompany noun headwords in SPs, and qualify them, agree with them in class, the shape of their class prefix or affix being controlled by the noun prefix of the headword. In the case of pronoun headwords, it seems reasonable to postulate the same control over the class and hence the form of qualifiers. This is evidently the case with III p. forms as well.

E.g. imi ndose (all of me)
    imi musingazive (you who do not know)
    iwe uyu (this same one)
    iwe vaye (those same others encountered before)

(b) The form of the pronoun headword, however, is determined by the person addressed or referred to and, in the case of the III p., the class of the substantive to which reference is made.

I p. forms are used to refer to the speaker and those associated with him;
II p. forms are used to address those to whom he speaks;
III p. forms are used to refer to items mentioned in the discourse, or present in the situation, and to which the content system of the language assigns a noun of a particular class, by a pronominal form of that class. In some cases, however, reference may be made to items by a pronoun of a class other than that to which the nouns denoting them are normally assigned. Purposeful or calculated disagreement is used in order to refer to items under the aspect of the meanings carried by the noun prefix of the class chosen as a secondary prefix.

E.g. imi tinoga pan (we who live here)
    imi mose (all of you)
    iwe avo (those same ones)
    iwe uyu (this very one)

But iro rech, Matigimu (that big one of ours, Matigimu)
A substantive phrase may not have more than one headword, either noun or pronoun. Adjacent nouns, or a combination of noun and pronoun, are considered to form two SPs in apposition. The class of a pronoun is determined by the noun to which it is in apposition unless there is calculated disagreement.

e.g.

féye, mwaná wéda (1-1) (she, our daughter)
Iro réfi, Matigímu (5-1a) (our big one, Matigímu)
isko chédi, kambá chinékwatí (7-1a) (our little chap, the scaly tortoise)
isko kédú, Chónósi (12-1a) (our little one, Charlie)
isko kédú, tsário magén'a (12-9/6) (our little one, the hare of the plains)
ive, mútú kwéye, Sekésáí (11-12/1a) (you, a true person, Sekésáí)
isko chédú chikómá chaemhínu, (7-7/5) (Our fat little chap, always turning, the crab)
gakandéye
Ngingiráparé kúrúvérá chihiré (1-1) (Should I not bolt the door, I, a person on my own?)
Munóti isí, vanth vàvakázízi (1-2) (Where do you think we women could find it?)
tingi wáwanepe? (2) (When did these kraals of oxen which plough for us come?)
Áwo matangá aya ané münde dzirí (6-6) (Is this crowded township full of educated people only?)
Kutólímóra idzi ákuyá rini? (11-11) (Will this daughter of ours bring us a pen full of cattle?)
Irwo rukisheni ruzeré uwu rú- (11-1) (When he, he alone, their elder child, entered into the discussion, he caused the price to be reduced)
zeré néyakudzidzidz chéte heré?
Íye mwanámikana wédí wu ánczo- (1-1)
Bvaráso dangá remünde?
Ákatí óipína féye, mwaná múkuru (1-1-1)
Wáwó féye óga, imí wéé ndíye akázoita kuti idzorére pasi

Types of substantive phrase (continued)

(a) Substantives, as well as possessives and relatives, may combine into SPs without any noun or pronoun headword.

e.g.
vaviri' avá (these two) (2) (adjective + demonstrative)
vamwe vósé (all the others) (2) (enumerative + quantitative)
vóse vaviri' (both of them) (2) (quantitative + adjective)
váye avá (these ones we saw before) (2) (selector + demonstrative)
avá vángu (these ones of mine) (2) (demonstrative + possessive)
dzángu idzi (these ones of mine) (10) (possessive + demonstrative)
vasingáziye avá (these ones who do not know) (2) (relative + demonstrative)
tose tisingáziye (all we who do not know) (2) (quantitative + relative)
vamwe tisingáziye (we others who do not know) (2) (enumerative + relative)
vamwe tose (all we others) (2) (enumerative + quantitative)
tóse tisingáziye (all we who do not know) (2) (quantitative + relative)
vamwe tisingáziye (we others who do not know) (2) (enumerative + relative)
vamwe tóse (all we others) (2) (enumerative + quantitative)

Note that there is agreement in person and class between the constituents of these substantive phrases. Only quantitatives and relatives have I and II person forms, and these are accompanied by cl 1 and 2 forms of other substantives.

(b) In these phrases there does not appear to be any headword which determines the class. The class of the phrase as a whole is determined as in the case of the pronoun and, as in the case of the pronoun, there is agreement between the substantive referred to and the SP, or else calculated disagreement. The substantives carry a note of reference to the determining item in the discourse or situation in addition to their own meanings, viz. those proper to the morphemes of each type of substantive.

e.g.

vángu uyá (1) (this one, e.g. mwané (1), of mine)
vasingáziye avá (2) (these ones, e.g. vakadzi (2), who do not know)
vaviri' avó (2) (those two, e.g. vaná (2))
vápi (2) (which ones?, e.g. vaná (2))
vóse avá (2) (all these ones, e.g. vaná (2))
váye avá (2) (these ones previously encountered, e.g. vaná (2))
avá (2) (these ones, e.g. vaná (2))

To bring out this fact, all the types of substantive referred to in 3.6.5. were termed qualitative pronouns in the analytical Grammar of Shona which followed Doke's usage on this point (cp. Doke, pars. 260-293).
3.6.6. Word order in substantive phrases

(a) In SPs with noun or pronoun headwords, the noun or pronoun headwords usually precede the qualifiers. This word order is disturbed if prominence or emphasis is laid on the qualifiers.

  e.g.  nzira yáké (his way)
  cp.  Mumwe nemumwe áne yáké nzíra yokúita izvi
        (Everyone has his own way of doing this)

In these cases the headword ceases to be the first word.

Some examples of SPs with normal word order and with noun or pronoun headwords:

Vaná vakúrú vátorá děmó  (n, a)
(The big children have taken the axe)

Mome húrí ndíCharúvéki  (n, a)
(Charuveki is the big ox)

Bángá íri nderangu  (n, d)
(This knife is mine)

Vaná avó váví kutámba  (n, d)
(Those children are playing)

Mome imwe írí kuúyá  (n, e)
(Another ox is coming)

Urí kútaura mutú muí?  (n, e)
(Of what kind of tree are you speaking?)

Tiri vanhu vamwé chete  (n, e)
(We are all one and the same people)

Vaná vósé váénda kumushá  (n, q)
(All the children have gone home)

Vaná vángú havásatí váúya  (n, poss)
(My children have not yet come)

Vanhu vasingázive izvi havábvumírwé  (n, r)
(kufámbsa mótokari
(People who do not know this are not allowed to drive cars)

Ndákásara iní nédóga  (p, q)
(I stayed alone)

Isí tósé tinóxyá sódzá  (p, q)
(All of us eat stiff porridge)

Isí vátemá tafvůsá můká  (p, q)
(We black people used to hunt game)

Vakúrú vósé vákabúá, ítwo tume tuchísárácí  (p, e)
múmbá
(All the elders went out, the little ones themselves remaining at home)

Iwo asa ndéángú  (p, d)
(These very ones are mine)

Ndásíra, iní wênú  (p, poss)
(I remain yours)

(b) This normal word order is departed from when it is desired to give prominence to the qualifier.

  e.g.  Húrí mómbé nórioitę́nę́ga  (a, n)
        (IʼLL buy the big ox)

        Húrí mómbé ndíCharúvéki  (a, n)
        (The big ox is Charuveki)
Iři bángá ndinóriténqá.
(I'll buy this knife)
Pané ṭino mana népané róro mana
(At this hamlet and at that hamlet)
Nko waśu pachisaro cheři bíra rekúonekana
naváDěnera
(The one who was in the chair at this feast to say goodbye to Mr Děnera)
Ndíye munhu mutemá wékutángá waší svondo
akándá mhiri
(He is the first black man belonging to this denomination who went overseas)
Ríye dómána handířáde
(I don't like that big fellow)
Imwe mombe űří kušýá
(Some ox is coming)
Tirí vanwe vánhu
(We are one and the same people, without prejudice against one another)
Ro, wákó musikaná áří kúnyatsotoréka heré?
(Do your girl ready yet?)
Kana hwángu hwángu háhàbitwe
(Neither is my beer to be touched)
Wóše munhu ancúni mumúčí ákaúya kúdare
zúva riye
(Every person called a woman came to the meeting on that day)
Wóše marí yakánga yábbíva yáivé nánanimashánu
(All the money which was stolen was $500)

Note that the sequence, enumerative-noun, is placed among the cases of abnormal word order although these sequences are rather more frequent than their opposites in the case of /mwe/
(some, other).

(c) More complicated SPs with noun headwords:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>headword</th>
<th>modifiers</th>
<th>notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>munhy mukúřú uyú</td>
<td>(n, a, d)</td>
<td>(this big person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwańa uyú mukúřú</td>
<td>(n,d,a)</td>
<td>(this big child)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mombe hirí imwe cheté</td>
<td>(n.a.e)</td>
<td>(only one big ox)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mombe imwe nhemá</td>
<td>(n.e,a)</td>
<td>(a certain black ox)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanhu vóšé vótatú</td>
<td>(n,a,q)</td>
<td>(all three people)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanhu vóšé vótatú</td>
<td>(n,q,a)</td>
<td>(all three people)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marí vóšé kíyí</td>
<td>(n,q,d)</td>
<td>(all this money)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná avá vóšé</td>
<td>(n,d,q)</td>
<td>(all these children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakándí váké vachínjí</td>
<td>(n,posq,a)</td>
<td>(his many wives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basa râvó iro</td>
<td>(n,posq,d)</td>
<td>(that work of theirs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwańa wáké munwe cheté</td>
<td>(n,posq,e)</td>
<td>(his one child)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwańa munwebyó</td>
<td>(n,e,d)</td>
<td>(that same (one) child)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakándí váké vóšé</td>
<td>(n,posq,g)</td>
<td>(all my wives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váshlíra vángu vanwe váye</td>
<td>(n,posq,e,sel)</td>
<td>(those other privileged friends of mine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná vángu vóšé vákándí</td>
<td>(n,posq,a)</td>
<td>(all my elder children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná vángu vakúřu vóšé</td>
<td>(n,posq,q)</td>
<td>(all my elder children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná vángu vakúřu vóšé vaná vángu vóšé váse avá</td>
<td>(n,posq,a,q,d)</td>
<td>(all these elder children of mine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná vángu vóšé vámwe vakúřu avá</td>
<td>(n,posq,q,e,a,d)</td>
<td>(all these other elder children of mine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaná vángu vakúřu vámwe vóšé avá</td>
<td>(n,posq,a,e,q,d)</td>
<td>(all these other elder children of mine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanándí vángu vámwe vakúřu avá</td>
<td>(n,posq,e,q,a,d)</td>
<td>(all these other elder children of mine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the SP there is the question of the order of the qualifiers. This is also a problem in structure. Can there be variation within the order of qualifiers after a noun headword for the sake of emphasis? Quite obviously there is this variation, but there has not been enough material collected to make a firm judgement. We can note some of the above common sequences and that the tendency of possessives is to come first and demonstratives last.
(d) Of course qualifiers can precede noun headwords of these more complex SPs.

\[ \text{e.g. Uyu mwan\'a mukur\'u nd\'i\'ang\'u} \quad \text{(d,n,a)} \\
\text{(This big child is mine)} \]

\[ \text{V\'ose v\'asik\'an\'a ava v\'ak\'ang\'a v\'ari vam\'\'rug\'ar\'o} \quad \text{(q,n,d)} \\
\text{rwech\'at\'at\'u nor\'wech\'an\'a)} \]

\[ \text{(All these girls were in standards III and IV)} \]

\[ \text{Uku kup\'er\'a kw\'am\'\'ur\'iri kw\'ak\'as\'ak\'a kuti muj\'i\'za} \quad \text{(d,n,poss)} \\
\text{uyu \'i\'iswa w\'\'eng\'ow\'\'ag\'a\'ra} \]

\[ \text{(This losing weight made the dress fit her)} \]

\[ \text{Vanwe vanhu vazin\'i\'i v\'ak\'ang\'a v\'ari\'im\'o} \quad \text{(e,n,a)} \\
\text{(Many other people were in there)} \]

(e) Some examples of SPs with normal word order without noun or pronoun headwords:

\[ \text{Vatem\'a ava v\'\'ang\'\'ara Har\'are} \quad \text{(a,d)} \\
\text{(These black people live at Harare)} \]

\[ \text{Vak\'\'ang\'\'u v\'\'ang\'\'urate v\'\'aw\'\'o} \quad \text{(a,poss)} \\
\text{(My elders have not changed yet)} \]

\[ \text{Vare\'f\'oh\'ose v\'ak\'ak\'\'un\'\'u\'wa} \quad \text{(a,g)} \\
\text{(All the tall ones were beaten)} \]

\[ \text{Vanwe ava v\'an\'o\'d\'a k\'up\'i\'inda} \quad \text{(e,d)} \\
\text{(These others want to enter)} \]

\[ \text{Vanwe v\'\'ose v\'ak\'\'an\'e\'nda} \quad \text{(e,g)} \\
\text{(All the others have gone)} \]

\[ \text{Vanwe v\'\'ang\'\'u av\'a} \quad \text{(e,poss,d)} \\
\text{(These companions of mine)} \]

3.6.7. **Modifiers in substantive phrases**

Of the qualifiers some of the adjective stems, the enumerative stems and the selector stem /-pi?/ (which?) can be accompanied by modifiers:

\[ \text{e.g. munhu \'u-m\'i\'e\' che\'to\'e} \quad \text{(only one person)} \\
\text{munhu \'u-pi\'e\'i\'e\' za\'k\'ak\'e\'} \quad \text{(any person at all)} \\
\text{munhu nu-\'i\'i\'e\' kw\'a\'z\'u\'o\'k\'o\'} \quad \text{(a very big person)} \\
\text{munhu n'\'i\'e\' kw\'a\'z\'u\'o\'k\'o\'} \quad \text{(another child also)} \\
\text{imwe\'e\'i\'e\' m\'i\'o\'\'a\'w\'e\'} \quad \text{(another one again)} \\
\text{munhu m\'\'u-re\'f\'u\'e\' z\'i\'i\'i\'e\'\'a\'n\'a\'} \quad \text{(a slightly tall person)} \\
\text{munhu m\'\'u-re\'f\'u\'e\' z\'a\'k\'a\'n\'a\'\'y\'a\'} \quad \text{(an exceedingly tall person)} \\
\text{munhu m\'\'u-re\'f\'u\'e\' z\'u\'i\'i\'i\'a\'n\'a\'m\'\'a\'\'u\'} \quad \text{(a very tall person)} \\
\text{munhu m\'\'u-re\'f\'u\'e\' z\'u\'i\'i\'i\'a\'\'i\'\'u\'i\'a\'n\'a\'} \quad \text{(a remarkably tall person)} \\
\]

The modifiers within the qualifier phrase consisting of qualifier stem +/- modifier consist of one or two particles like che\'to\'e (only), /-pi?/ (which) and substantive constructions of cl. 8 indicating manner, mainly adjectives, possessives and relatives. The qualifier phrase as a whole, stem +/- modifier, is brought into agreement with the headword, or made to refer to a noun or group of nouns, by the appropriate prefix and thus becomes a substantive construction.

\[ \text{e.g. vanhu vazin\'i\'i kw\'a\'z\'u\'o\'\'a} \quad \text{(very many people)} \\
\text{vazin\'i\'i kw\'a\'z\'u\'o\'\'a} \quad \text{(very many)} \]

3.6.8. **The constructional pattern of the SP**

(a) The SP is a very flexible structure. Three varieties have been noted. The SP may consist of (i) a noun headword and qualifiers, and (ii) a pronoun headword and qualifiers. The class and person affixes of the qualifiers are determined by those of the headwords with which they occur in varying sequences of word order according to the placement of emphasis. SPs may also consist of combinations of substantives which do not include headwords and which appear in sequences determined by placement of emphasis. The class of these substantives is determined by their reference.

The constructional pattern of all these varieties is

- **substantive + substantive(s) in agreement**

\[ \text{e.g. mwan\'a uy\'u} \quad \text{(this child)} \\
\text{i\'i\'o\'\'a} \quad \text{(all of us)} \\
\text{vamwe v\'\'ose} \quad \text{(all the others)} \]

(b) When the SP is considered, not as a construction at level II, but as a constituent in constructions at other levels, it is convenient to define it more widely as

- **nuclear substantive +/- substantive(s) in agreement**

For example, at level III, the level of the inflected SP, where the constructional pattern is inflection + SP, it is convenient to be able to include within the constituent class of SP, not only complete, but also incomplete, phrases.
e.g. né-mwaná uyu    (with this child)
    né-mwaná        (with a child)

Regarded as a constituent, the SP consists essentially of a nuclear substantive, together with optional substantives in agreement.

(c) Within the SP the constituent class of substantive includes both the seven types of substantive which are so by construction, and two others, namely possessives and relatives. As constructions these are not substantives, but they become constituents in SPs by rank-shifting.

  e.g. mwaná wē-mukádzi uyu  (a child of this woman)
       mwaná akáuya neziko    (a child who came yesterday)

3.6.9. The distribution of substantive phrases in other constructions

(a) SPs are constituents in inflected substantive phrases
    viz. possessive : mwaná wē-mukádzi uyu (the child of that woman)
           adverbial : ḥukáyu ne-nezi lyl (he came by that path)
           copulative : iri I-benga rāngu (this is my knife)
           presentive : ḥu-und mwaná (here is the child)

(b) They also feature as stems in nominal constructions: 1

  e.g. chi-vanhu vadōki (7) (the way of little children)
       pa-musha mukūru (16) (at a big village)
       ku-miša nūrū (17) (at the big house)
       nu-chororo gūrū (18) (in a big town)
       Kuné kwenyika (1a) (a name: Outside the country)
       ād-dunhu iri (1a) (the head of this district)

(c) They are complements in verb phrases, both as objects and adverbs:
  e.g. tūm-mwaná mudi ka (send a small child to his home)
(d) They are subjects in clauses, substantival, verbal and ideophonic:

  e.g. Bāngā iri nē-rangū (This knife is mine)
        Bāngā iri rākāwa pasi (This knife fell down)
        Imbā ṣēkisa nyama piki mumbā (That dog snatched the meat from inside
        the house)

(e) They are circumstantial phrases in sentences:

  e.g. Minda yeńh hatiwanē zvīo (As far as our fields are concerned, we
     get no grain)

3.6.10. Compound phrases

Substantive phrases occur in combination either (a) in apposition, or (b) as joined by conjunctives.

(a) Substantive phrases occur in juxtaposition, one being a comment on, or description of the other, in different times, but of the same structural pattern, viz. nuclear substantive +/− substantive(s) in agreement.

  e.g. babā wāngu, ishe wē-mwanyika (my father, chief of the Manyika)

(1) Sps in apposition may be either full phrases or nuclear substantives juxtaposed. Thus two nouns, or a noun and pronoun, rank as SPs in apposition even though the phrases are represented by their compulsory constituents only.

  e.g. musikaná nherera (an orphan girl)
        hurhuma buku (a blind old man)
        mukwaná musikwa (a Shatune boy)
        varumé nyanzyi (men who are craftsmen)
        vakādzi nyanzvi dzoků (expert women cooks)
        babá wāngu, Mutasa (my father, Mutasa)

I. These are rank-shifted constituents.
SPs in apposition consisting of nuclear substantives only must be distinguished from compound nouns described under nominal constructions (cp. 3.4.2.3.). These latter are "tight" constructions under one noun prefix whose order cannot be interrupted by other words, e.g. by qualifiers agreeing with the first member.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{ tsuro-magen' a} & \text{(hare of the plains)} \\
\text{tsuro-shápé} & \text{(hare of the sandy soil)} \\
\text{kadende-mafútá} & \text{(a type of locust)} \\
\text{kambóya-mudereré} & \text{(a mantis)}
\end{align*}
\]

Substantives in apposition are not so tightly constructed and allow of the development of the SPs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{ musíkaná yyu, nherera} & \text{(this girl orphan)} \\
\text{nzu} & \text{ yyi, hédzi} & \text{(this cow elephant)}
\end{align*}
\]

The nouns mukóno (3), hóno (9), or gómó (5), all indicating male, and hédzi (9) gádzi (5), and nhunzvi (9) indicating female, are used in apposition to indicate sex in animals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{ nzu hóno} & \text{(a bull elephant)} \\
\text{nzu hédzi} & \text{(a cow elephant)} \\
\text{mhembwe hóno} & \text{(a buck duiker)} \\
\text{mhembwe nhunzvi} & \text{(a doe duiker)} \\
\text{nhíma hédzi} & \text{(a lioness)} \\
\text{ingwe hédzi} & \text{(a leopardess)} \\
\text{nhamu hédzi} & \text{(a cow rhinoceros)} \\
\text{nombe hédzi} & \text{(a cow)} \\
\text{imbó hédzi} & \text{(a bitch)} \\
\text{bhízó gádzi} & \text{(a mare)} \\
\text{hesera gádzi} & \text{(a mare mare)} \\
\text{nguru nhunzvi} & \text{(a sow)} \\
\text{hwí nhunzvi} & \text{(a ewe)} \\
\text{mulá nhunzvi} & \text{(a she goat)} \\
\text{hódd nhúnzvi} & \text{(a fowl)}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) The distribution of the SPs in apposition in larger constructions is similar to that of SPs.

viz. (1) **in inflected phrases**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mwa} & \text{ ná-Mútsa, ishe wawányika} \\
\text{(The child of Mutsa, chief of the Manyika)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{Nduúya né-musíkaná, nherera} \\
\text{(I have come with an orphan girl)}
\]

(2) **as complements in verb phrases**

\[
\text{-bay- nzú hóno} \\
\text{(kill a bull elephant)}
\]

(3) **as subjects in clauses**

\[
\text{Zinzú hédzi ráfa} \\
\text{(The huge cow elephant has died)}
\]

(b) Substantive phrases are joined by the conjunctives /na-/ (and) and /kana/ (or)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. } & \text{ babá rámái} & \text{(father and mother)} \\
\text{mukúdáza iše umutimwe wáke} & \text{(the son-in-law and his messenger)} \\
\text{babá kana amái} & \text{(father or mother)} \\
\text{vakúmái kana vásíkaná} & \text{(the boys or girls who have been educated)} \\
\text{vakačúlúzísa} & \text{(the boys or girls who have been educated)}
\end{align*}
\]

(1) The compound SP /na-/ SP is reinforced by the addition of a quantitative after the first SP. Different possibilities are found, reflected in the agreement of the quantitative. The quantitative may agree with the first SP which may be singular or plural.
(2) It is possible to have an SP or SPs in apposition to a compound SP.

E.g. vséšē vemána, vechúdu nevečikěnē
(all those of the hamlet, young and old)

vakáándi všē, chěmbiré némáándara
(all the women, old and young)

Chěmbiré, tsvánbårēmē, hārahwa, mānāna, chīřěkāndi,
vané varúme varí kūbasa nēvané varúme vasirí kūbasa,
všē vākāándi vāripō
(Old women, young men, old men, mothers of children,
widows, those with husbands at work and those with
husbands not at work, all were there)

Such compound phrases have a distribution similar to SPs and SPs in apposition.

(3) Substantive phrases preceded by /na-/ /kana na-/) and /za-/ are found with a limited distribution, e.g. as subjects of clauses or complements in verb phrases. The SPs inflected by /na-/ are usually accompanied by the enclitics /-wo/ (also) or /-zve/ (again), or by a quantitative accompanied by an adverbial to reinforce the implication of "even" which is present with /na-/ and /kana na-/

E.g. nābañē wāngwā
(kana naamā)
Kana nenzāra yākāmba yāpēra
(Kana nebre réše zvārǔn nēřo)
ringādye zvigungada izi herē?
(Kana nēmba yoswē indvivizvā)
Savāeni vōkutāngā hāvanā kudā
(kusvika mangvānān)

(3.7)

Inflected substantive phrases

The constructions described as substantive phrases are inflected by the following affixes, and are thus constituents with them in inflected substantive phrases.

(a) The copulative affix
(b) The possessive affixes
(c) The adverbial affixes
(d) The "ownership" affixes

3.7.1.

Constructional pattern and distribution

The inflected substantive phrases (inflected SPs) are all similar in constructional pattern, consisting of an inflecting affix and an SP. Some have a number of morpheonomic and tonal changes in common. The morpheonomic changes affect the form of the inflecting morpheme while the tonal changes affect the tone patterns of the nucleus of the SP. Nevertheless the details of their construction, including these changes, are sufficiently varied to call for a separate treatment of each inflected SP. They also differ considerably in their distribution and in their potentiality to enter larger constructions as constituents. It is on the basis of these considerations that the different types of inflected SP have been distinguished.
Copulative inflected SPs (called copulative phrases for short) are predicates in substantival clauses; possessive phrases are either nuclear, or attendant, constituents in SPs; adverbial phrases are adjuncts in verb phrases; and ownership phrases are constituents in nominal constructions belonging to one or other of the noun classes.

e.g. (a) Murúmé uyu ndí-bábabá wángunu (This man is my father)
(b) móbé dzá-bábabá wángunu (cattle of my father)
(c) -dý· ndí-bábabá wángunu (come with my father)
(d) sá-dubhí iri (owner of this district)

The SPs which are constituents in inflected SPs are the single SPs, the SPs in apposition, and the compound SPs joined by conjunctives. Constituents in the possessive phrase are not only SPs but also participial clauses. For this reason a wider term than SP should be used to indicate the second constituents in these constructions viz. the term stem phrase. By stem phrase in these constructions is meant the second constituent, the construction which is inflected by the inflecting affix. The general constructional pattern is therefore:

inflecting affix + stem phrases

3.7.2 Copulative phrases

Copulative phrases consist of the copulative affix and a stem phrase.

There are two copulative morphemes of base form /ndí-/ and /bá-/ respectively. Of these, the latter is used to inflect SPs with demonstrative and selector nuclei only. Phrases inflected by /bá-/, for which Fivaz has coined the useful term presentative phrases, are treated in 3.6.2.8., after the copulative phrases.

The copulative morpheme has several allomorphs whose distribution is determined morphologically by the type of nucleus of the stem phrase, viz. the type of nuclear substantive in the SP. These are /ndí-, ndá-, í-, H-, ndá-, ndáy. The allomorphs /ndí-/ and /í-/ are in free variation with /H-/ in certain tonological environments. The last two allomorphs, /ndá-/, and /ndá-/, are realised as /ndá-/, and /ndá-/ in free variation with /ndá-/, or /ndá-/, and /ndá-/, or /ndá-/ respectively, in certain phonological environments.

The stem of the copulative phrase consists of an SP, viz. a nuclear substantive +/- a substantive or substantives in agreement.

The effect of the copulative inflection is to transfer an SP into a substantival predicate.

e.g. ndí-bábabá mukúrú (it is, or he is, my senior father)
    cp babá mukúrú (senior father)

3.7.2.1. Nuclear substantive: noun or nominal construction of class la

e.g. babá mukúrú (senior father, father's older brother)

The copulative morpheme in /ndí-/. The construction, /ndí-/ and SP is accompanied by tonal changes which affect the tone pattern of the nuclear substantive only. Initial high tones of high tone patterns, either single or in a successive series, are lowered. There is a raising of one single initial low tone of low tone patterns, or of two when the prefix of cl. la is prefixed to a secondary stem with at least three low initial tones, and consisting of a syllabic noun prefix and a stem of at least two low tones. The tone carried by /ndí-/ is H.1

(a) The tonal changes are summarised and exemplified as follows:
    ndí- + H>ndí- + L e.g. ishé wángunu (my chief)> ndisé wángunu2

1. Recall that L tone patterns consist either of a single low tone or commence with two low tones. All other tone patterns are high.

2. In cases of inflection of SPs with nuclei consisting of noun or adjectives of monosyllabic stem of cl. la, 5, 9 and 10,9, the stabiliser usually does not enter into the construction but is replaced by the inflecting morpheme. But it may be freely retained and is inflected as a disyllabic noun or adjective,

   e.g. néimbé or némkwa (with a dog), cp imbá (dog) (9)
The details of these changes may be grouped together as tonal declension I (TD.I). It is the same series of changes as was described in the formation of cl. 2a nouns and nominal constructions in 3.3.4. They apply to all nouns and nominal constructions of cl. 1a, both to those in which the prefix is primary, and to those in which the prefix is secondary, and notwithstanding the complexity of the cl. 1a nominal construction. There is one exception. Nominal constructions with ownership affix /sá-/ affix /ndi-/ of high tone without change.

e.g. /ndí/- with nuclear substantives with H tone patterns.

ndí-nhasi (it is today) cp. nhési
ndí-kondo (it is a hammerkop) kondó
ndí-aní? (who is it?) aní?
ndí-nhingí (it is So-and-so) nhingí
ndí-Takáwíra (it is Mr Takawira) Takáwíra
ndí-Tamúka-nénhamo (it is Mr Unfortunate) Tamúka-nénhamo
ndí-taté-guru (it is grandfather) taté-guru
ndí-Qumi-nddóga (it is Mr Self-confident) Qumi-nddóga
ndí-Pfumo-jena (it is Mr White Spear) Pfumo-jena
ndí-Pfumo-rerópa (it is Mr Spear-of-Blood) Pfumo-rerópa
ndí-Mhánsa-mámbye (it is Mr Lucky) Mhánsa-mámbye
ndí-Goré-nusandú (it is Mr Changeable) Goré-nusandú
ndí-sáhwíra (it is the privileged friend) sáhwíra

e.g. /ndí/- with nuclear substantives with L tone patterns.

ndí-Zúnúto (it is Big Brother) (Zúnúto) Zúnúto
ndí-Vhúdzi-íjena (it is White Hair) Vhúdzi-íjena
ndí-Kúgíra-húhíswína (it is Mr To-live-peacefully-is-to-understand-one-another) Kúgíra-húhíswína

The tonal changes affect only the prefix and R and terminal /-a/ in nominals based on verb phrases.

e.g. ndí-Símuka-ndíkúrévé (it is Mr Unpopular) Símuka-ndíkúrévé

(b) In the case of nuclear substantives with certain tone patterns, the affix can be dispensed with and the inflection effected by replacing the low tone of the first syllable by H with consequent TD.II changes described in 3.7.2.4. These tonomorphs are IH and LL. In these cases /ndí/- is in free variation with /H/.

e.g. Munhu uyu bába wángu cp. bába
(This man is my father - though he doesn't seem to be acting like it)
Uyu mámbo cp. mambo
(This is the chief)

c) Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership" affix /sá-/ have affix /ndí/- of high tone.

e.g. ndí-sáźita, LL (it is my namesake) cp sáźita, zítá
ndí-sámsúshá, LL (it is the village head) sámsúshá, musúshá
ndí-sáchígaró, LL (it is the chairman) sáchígaró, chígaró

3. These are both nouns of cl. 1a with secondary prefix /-á/- . The secondary stems are haráwa (old man) (9) and chígaró (chair) (7). The tonal change LL>HH only takes place when the secondary stem, of LL... tone pattern, has a syllabic noun prefix.
Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership" affix /nd-/ have affix /ndi-/ of high tone and they are raised if they bear a low tone pattern.

e.g. ndi-nyawana (it is the one with a scar) cp. nyawanga, vanga
ndi-Nyaguwan (it is the bridegroom) nyaguwan
ndi-Nyadenga (it is the Heavenly One) Nyadenga, dénga

Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership" affix /ne-/ with high or low tone have affix /ndi-/ of high tone, and are lowered if they commence with single high tone followed by a low.

e.g. ndi-nevaná (it is a spirit medium) cp. névaná

3.7.2.2. Nuclear substantive: a noun or nominal construction of cl. 2a or 2b

e.g. važimáíi væzhúñjí (many wives)
amáí vángu (my mother)

The copulative affix is /nda-/. There are no tonal changes in this construction.

e.g. ndavážimáíi vángu (it is my wife)
ndaamáíi vángu (it is my mother)
ndaambia vaýá (it is mother-in-law who has come)
Ava ndaváztúro (This is Mr Tsuro)
Ava ndavásekuru (This is uncle)
Ava ndaváchirwa-néhári (This is Mr Glutton)

3.7.2.3. Nuclear substantives: nouns and adjectives of cl. 5, 9 and 10, 9

(a) e.g. banga gúrú (a big knife) (5)
mbímbe nhemá (a black ox or black oxen) (9 or 10, 9)
jena gúrú (a big white one, e.g. moon) (5)(adj., cp. -chena)
hemá iyi (this black one) (9)(adj., cp. -temá)
hemá idzi (those black ones) (10, 9)(adj., cp. -temá)
ivhí iyi (this soil) (5)
imbá nyúró (quiet dog or quiet dogs) (9 or 10, 9)
idzvá iyi (this new one) (5)(adj., cp. -tsvá)
itsvá iyi (this new one) (9)(adj., cp. -tsvá)

The copulative affix is /i-/ . It replaces the stabiliser in cases of monosyllabic nouns and adjectives. The construction, /i- + SP/, is accompanied by tonal changes which affect the tone of the nuclear substantive only. The changes are the same as those grouped under TD.I save that /i- + /L/ always /HLL/.

This group of changes can be referred to as TD.II.

e.g.

(i- + H) (i- + L) e.g. imbá iyi (this dog) > imbá iyi
HH LL bángá iyi (this knife) > bángá iyi
HL LL gónhi iyi (this door) > gónhi iyi
HHH LLL dhmbó iyi (this rock) > dhmbó iyi
HHH LLL gárángá iyi (this big junior wife) > gárángá iyi
HHL LLL húvhite iyi (this navel cord) > húvhite iyi
HHL LLL nyényedzi iyi (this star) > nyényedzi iyi
HHL LLL dhengwá iyi (this basket) > dhengwá iyi
LHL LHL goróngá iyi (this sulley) > goróngá iyi

(i- + L) (i- + H) e.g. igo iyi (this hornet) > igo iyi
LL HL mbíra idzi (this mbíra) > mbíra idzi
LLL HLL harahwa iyi (this old man) > harahwa iyi
LLL HLL hwéyaná iyi (this lamb) > hwéyaná iyi

(b) In the case of nuclear substantives with certain tone patterns the affix can be dispensed with and the inflection effected by replacing the low tone of the first syllable by H with consequent TC.II changes described in 3.7.2.4. These tonomorphs are LH or LL only. In these cases /i-/ is in free variation with /H-/.

139, e.g. iri...
3.7.2.4. Nuclear substantives: nouns of classes other than 1a, 2a and 2b, 5, 9 and 10,9, adjectives other than of cll. 5, 9 and 10,9 and enumeratives of all classes

(a) e.g. murúne úye (that man aforementioned) (1)
    mwañúd úye (that child aforementioned) (1)
    vazhínjí avá (these many (people)) (2)
    mukirú úyu (this senior (person)) (1)
    mwmwe mwañá (another child) (1)
    vamwe chètè (the same ones, ones all the same) (2)
    chìf? (what one?) (7)

The copulative affix is /H/ or a high toneme. The construction is /H + SP/ and this involves the replacement by /H/ of /L/ on the first syllable of the nuclear substantive. This syllable is either a syllabic prefix (noun, adjective or enumerative) or, in the case of non-syllabic allomorphs of noun prefixes with vowel-commencing stems, the prefix and the first syllable of the stem. This inflection is accompanied by tonal change which affects the tone pattern of the stem or, in the case of vowel-commencing stems, the tone pattern of the stem less the toneme on the first syllable. This series of changes is summarised by the term TD.II

(b) Initial syllables of the nuclear substantives discussed in this section are almost always low in tone. In cases where the prefixal syllable is high, e.g. in nominal constructions of cl. 7 with prefix /chá-/, or in rare cases of other classes, e.g. rwávi, rwávi or ruávi (chameleon) (1l), the copulative form of these substantives with high-toned prefixal syllables is the same as the base form.

This is also the case with nominal construction of cl. 1a with ownership prefix /sá-/. In all these cases the copulative morpheme is /H-/ without attendant tone changes.

e.g. chámupúpúri (it is a whirlwind) cp. chámupúpúri (7)
    ruávi (it is a chameleon) ruávi (1l)
    súkánu (it is a district head) súkánu (l)
    cp chápúngu (it is a bateleur eagle) cp chápúngu (7)
    ruávi (it is a chameleon) ruávi (1l)
    súkánu (it is a district head) súkánu (l)

There are of course no monosyllabic forms in this group of nuclear substantives. The prefixal syllable which carries the copulative affix /H/ may be a secondary prefix substituted for or prefixed to a primary prefix.

e.g. pesumá ava

(c) e.g. H + L-H > H-L e.g. mazáyí aya (these words) > mazáyí aya
    H + L-HH > H-LL e.g. murúmú úyu (this man) > murúmú úyu
    H + L-IL > H-LHI e.g. ruákáru (this spoon) > ruákáru
    H + L-ILH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this Karanga) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this Karanga) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this salesman) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this salesman) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this small hat) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this small hat) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this small hat) > múkírra
    H + L-LH > H-LLL e.g. múkírra (this small hat) > múkírra

Examples of inflected adjective and enumerative nuclear substantives:

- Vazhijnji ava (these many)
- Mumwe mwaná (another child)
- Vamwe cheté (the same ones)
- Chi? (what?)

(d) Nominal constructions of cl. 15 replace prefix /mu-/ with /hú-/ in the copulative in some sentences, e.g. in proverbs.

- E.g. Kutauriwa húnyima
  (To be told is to be stunted, viz. the event boggles description)
- Cp ku-núnya-á
  (to be stunted)

The copulative affix seems to consist of /Ní/- + /H/.

- E.g. Múdží kudýa mufénje, húfane-nyina
  (For a goat to eat the mufénje bush is to resemble its mother)
- Cp ku-fán-á
  (to resemble)

3.7.2.5. Nuclear substantives: pronouns

(a) E.g. Iú tose (all of us)
- Íye yu (this very one, this one himself)

The copulative affix is /ndí-/. The construction is /ndí + SP/ and the stabiliser of the pronoun is replaced by the affix. There are no tonal changes.

- E.g. Ndísí taúyawó (it is we who have come as well)
- Ndíye yu (it is this one himself)
- Ndíni wáko (it is your me, viz. I am yours)

The form for the I person plural is also found as tísí.

(b) The copulative inflected pronouns of the III person may all be abbreviated to ndó.

- E.g. Ndó mumwe
  (He is someone else)
- Ndíye mumwe
  (He is someone else)

Ndó frequently occurs as the abbreviated form of ndíko with íko in apposition to an infinitive or nominal construction of cl. 15.

- E.g. Íní ndó kuenda kumbá (and I went home)
- Íní ndíko kuenda kumbá (and I went home)

(c) There is a negative copulative inflection of pronoun nuclei recognised in Shavu. The copulative affix is /hándí-/- and is followed by the pronoun (less stabiliser) with H tone.

- E.g. Yúu hándíye wáti? Kútsvaga? (Isn’t this the one we are looking for?)
  Ava hándívó avá? (Aren’t these they?)

In other dialects there is a complete negative copulative inflection which is affixed to all types of nuclear substantive.

- E.g. Hungwe : Hándi-chikúrú-bá
  (It isn’t a big one)
  Hándi-kyú-bá
  (It isn’t this one)
  Hándi-zváqá-bá
  (It isn’t all)
  Hándi-múmbéyo-bá
  (It isn’t the same one)
  Hándi-wánu-bá
  (It isn’t my one)
  Hándi-yé asingazví-bá
  (It isn’t he who doesn’t know)
  Hándi-ní-bá
  (It isn’t I)
3.7.2.6. Nuclear substantives: possessives, quantitatives, enumeratives with stems /-mwe/ and /-/i/, and relatives

(a) Possessives. e.g. wényu yu (this one of mine) (7)
   vēchidiki ava (these young ones) (2)
   chenzira ichi (this one on the road) (7)
   chavachingizive ichi (this which they do not know) (7)

(b) Quantitatives e.g. dzósé (all of them) (10)

(c) Enumeratives e.g. mawé (the same ones) (6)
   chii (what one?) (7)

(d) Relatives e.g. vasíngágone izvi (they who cannot manage this)
   vásín hyathwa (those who have no beer)

The copulative affix in all these cases is /ndá-/ . The construction is /ndá- + SP/, and this is accompanied by tonal changes in the case of possessives and quantitatives.

The affix /ndá-/ has the following allomorphs:

/ndá-/ before nuclei of classes with /i/ in the class affix.
/ndá-~ ndá-/ " " " " " /i/ " " " "
/ndá-~ ndá-/ " " " " /i/ " " " "

(a) Possessives (q.v.): We have here an inflection of an inflection.

(1) Possessives with H on the possessive affix undergo a change of tone pattern. These are possessives with the following nuclei –

(1) primitive pronomininal stems;
(2) cl. la nouns;
(3) common nouns with H tone patterns;
(4) adjectives with H tone patterns;
(5) enumeratives with high stems;
(6) quantitatives;
(7) relative and
(8) possessive constructions.


The tone on the possessive affix is lowered in copulative inflected constructions, and the basic tone pattern of the nucleus of the possessive is restored. Note, however, that cl. la nouns with basic 1 tone patterns retain TD.I tone patterns, and that the primitive pronominal possessive stems become high (TD.III).
e.g. (1) ndé-zvangu izvi (it is these ones of mine)
(2) ndé-zvatsévára izvi (... of father-in-law)
(3) ndé-zvamábo izvi (... of the chief)
(4) ndé-zvechaká izvi (... of the relatives)
(5) ndé-zvechémwe chité izvi (... of the single ones)
(6) ndé-zvecházvi izvi (... of them all)
(7) ndé-zvevúmangáizvi izvi (... of those who do not know)
(8) ndé-zvezvúmánhu izvi (... of those who have no beer)
(9) ndé-zvevúmánhu izvi (... of the people's one, e.g. mvena)
(10) ndé-zvevúmánhu izvi (... of the animals' one, e.g. mwaná)

This change of tone patterns is a neat example of tonal polarity. The polarity which resulted from the possessive inflection is here reversed by that resulting from the copulative inflection.

(ii) Possessives with L on the possessive affix undergo no change. These are possessives with the following nuclei:
(1) nouns of c11. 2a and 2b;
(2) common nouns with L tone patterns;
(3) adjectives with L tone patterns;
(4) demonstratives;
(5) enumeratives with L stems;
(6) selectors;
(7) participial clauses.

e.g.
(1) ndé-zvavámbuya izvi (it is these ones of mother-in-law) cp. vámbya (2a)
(2) ndé-zvamáfí izvi (... mother) amáí (2b)
(3) ndé-zvenzíra izvi (... the path) nzíra (9)
(4) ndé-zvechámná izvi (... the few) shona (10, 9)
(5) ndé-zvedyu izvi (... this one) uyu (1)
(6) ndé-zvukámwe izvi (... the others) vanwe (2)
(7) ndé-zvechámná izvi (... this region) kúndó (17)
(8) ndé-zvechámná izvi (... which they do not know) vásingáizvi (2)

In these inflections, the polarity established by the possessive inflection coincides with, and is not reversed by, that established by the copulative inflection.

(b) Quantitative: The tone pattern on the quantitative is changed from HH/L/LH > LH. This is one of a short series of changes which affect tone patterns of possessives with pronounal stems, quantitatives, and demonstratives. The first two constructions have H tones, with HH or HL, and the third LL. The changes undergone by these tone patterns in these constructions give tone patterns which can be labelled TD.III.

viz. HH/L/LH > LH e.g. dzáké : ndé-dzáké
      LL > HL  idzi : ndé-idzi

Quantitative are not frequently the nucleus for copulative inflection, the inflection of pronoun and quantative being much more natural and common.

e.g. ndé-dzózé idzi (it is all these) cp. dzózé (10)
      ndé-dzózé idzi (it is all these) idzo dzózé (10)

(c) Enumeratives and (d) Relatives: There is no change of tone pattern in these constructions.

  e.g. Makudo ndámamwe (Baboons are one and the same)
  Ichl ngéchii (What is this?)
  Ava ndévasingáizvi (These are those who cannot do this)
  Ava ndévasiná hámwe (These are those who have no beer)

3.7.2.7. Nuclear substantives: demonstratives, enumeratives with stem /-mwe/, and selectors

(a) Demonstratives: e.g. ava vóse (all these)
      avó vanwe (those others)

(b) Enumeratives: e.g. mumwe wangu (my other, viz companion)

(c) Selectors: e.g. vóvé várefú (those tall ones)
      pánó apa (hereabouts)
The copulative affix in all these cases is /nda-/ The construction is /nda- + SP/ and is accompanied by tonal changes in the case of the demonstratives and the enumeratives, the first syllable of the nucleus being raised. The affix /nda-/ has similar allomorphs to those described in 3.7.2.6.

(a) Demonstratives: e.g. ndaáya vósoé (it is all these)
ndaúvo vanwe (it is those others)

(b) Enumeratives: e.g. ndemúmwe wángu (it is my companion)

(c) Selectors: e.g. ndeáya várefú (it is those tall ones)
ndeápánó apa (it is hereabouts)
Ndókunó mwanángu (It is hereabouts my child: viz. we are well)

3.7.2.8. Presentative phrases

There is another copulative morpheme which is used exclusively with demonstratives and selectors (not, however, with selector stem /-pi7/ (which?) and only rarely with /-ye/). The affix is /hé-/. Constructions of /hé-/+ SPs with demonstrative (without stabiliser) or selector nuclei are transformed into predicates. The tone carried by /hé-/ is H, and the construction is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.III patterns in the case of selectors. Demonstratives remain low. The affix /hé-/ has the following allomorphs:

/hé-/
/hé- há-/
/hé- hó-/

Before nuclei of classes with /i/ in the class affix
eg. héchi chigaro (there is a chair) ichi chigaro
hécho chírongó (there is a waterpot) icho chírongó
hávanó vaná (here are the children here) váno vána
hávaya váuya (there they are, the ones we have vaye
beem talking about, they have come)

Mate hérwe rukova, nzara ikati ndááya váshemí
(As for saliva, there is a river for you, and hunger
then gnawed, O Lord!)

Héndinó ndááya ndósoé
(here I am, entirely present). This may be said by a son-in-law
asking for money back after divorce.

Héndinó tava pano
(here we are waiting for you). This could be said early in the
morning, to someone still in bed by someone wanting to continue
an argument, e.g. begun the previous evening.
### Summary of copulative inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear Substantives</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Cop. Affix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Tonal Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>- cl. 1a</td>
<td>bába</td>
<td>ndí-</td>
<td>ndí-bába</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cl. la + sá-</td>
<td>súzita</td>
<td>ndí-</td>
<td>ndí-súzita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cl. 2a</td>
<td>vámbuya</td>
<td>nda-</td>
<td>nda-vámbuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cl. 2b</td>
<td>amái</td>
<td>nda-</td>
<td>nda-amái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>- cl. 5/9/10,9</td>
<td>mombe</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-mombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>- cl. 5/9/10,9</td>
<td>nhuma</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-nhuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cl. 17</td>
<td>mherí</td>
<td>H-</td>
<td>H-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>- other cll.</td>
<td>muremé</td>
<td>H-</td>
<td>H-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>- other cll.</td>
<td>murefú</td>
<td>H-</td>
<td>H-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeratives</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>humwe</td>
<td>H-</td>
<td>H-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>înf</td>
<td>ndí-</td>
<td>ndí-ínf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessives</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>wámgu</td>
<td>ndí</td>
<td>ndí-wámgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>dzosó</td>
<td>ndí</td>
<td>ndí-dzosó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>vásingágóne</td>
<td>ndí</td>
<td>ndí-vásingágóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>- cl cll.</td>
<td>uyú</td>
<td>nda-</td>
<td>nda-uyú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selectors</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>kínó</td>
<td>nda-</td>
<td>nda-kínó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative/Sel</td>
<td>- all cll.</td>
<td>vanó</td>
<td>há-</td>
<td>há-vanó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. /ndí-/ and /n-/ may be replaced by /H-/ with accompanying tonal change, before nuclei with LH and LL tone pattern. /H-/ with accompanying tonal change is the only inflecting affix found with SP nuclei of cl. 17 with prefix /H-/. Only nuclei with LH and LL tone patterns appear to be inflected.

2. In the cases of all nouns, adjectives and enumeratives, the tonal changes affect the tone patterns of stems. These may include prefixes of secondary stems, e.g. in the case of cl. 1a constructions with LL⋯⋯ tone patterns.

3. In some cases the tone of the copulative affix is given, viz. /ndí, i-, H, ndí-/(with cl. 2a and 2b nouns) and /nda-/(with possessives). The tonal changes that follow show polarity with the tone of the copulative affix in the case of H tone patterns but not in the case of L tone patterns. L tone patterns change in a way showing polarity with the changes affecting H tone patterns.

4. In other cases the tone of the copulative affix is determined by, and shows polarity with, the tone patterns of the nucleus. These may be fixed or changeable. It is high before the H tone pattern of the quantitative and the possessive with pronominal stem which is changed. It is low before the L tone pattern of the demonstrative which is changed.
### 3.7.3. Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases consist of a possessive inflecting affix and a stem phrase which is either a substantive phrase or a participial clause.

- e.g. mmbé yá-tevára uyu (the ox of this father-in-law)
- cp tēvára uyu (la) (this father-in-law)
- e.g. mmbé ya-njákaténga (this ox I bought)
- njákaténga (I having bought)

#### 3.7.3.1. The possessive affix

The possessive affix is complex and consists of a class affix, one of a series of 18, and the possessive morpheme /-A/. The class affixes are those of series VIII. These are set out below together with the possessive morpheme /-A-/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>No Number</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. w-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. v-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. w-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. y-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. r-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. ø-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ch-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>8. zw-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. y-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>10. dz-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tw-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>13. tw-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. k-a-</td>
<td>14. hw-a-</td>
<td>15. kw-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. p-a-</td>
<td>17. kw-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. m-a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The choice of the class affix is determined in the same way as that of the non-nominal substantives, viz. by agreement with a controlling headword or by reference to a noun. The possessive affix (class affix + /-A-/) indicates a relation between the headword or noun referred to and the nucleus of the possessive phrase. This relation includes that of possession indicated by the nucleus. But other relationships are also conveyed. See below.

- e.g. mwaná wá-tabá (the child of his father)
- mvirá yó-kumwá (water for drinking)
- ká lá yé-vhu (a pot made of clay)
- vaná va-njíndóda (children whom I love)

#### 3.7.3.2. Possessive inflected substantive phrases

The first type of stem phrase is the SP. As in the case of the copulative phrases, the form of the possessive affix and the tone pattern of the construction varies according to the nucleus of the SP. The various types of phrase, distinguished according to nucleus, are set out below.

#### 3.7.3.2.1. Nucleus: Pronominal stem

Among the stems which are possessively inflected are pronominal stems which, being bound morphemes, suggest that the constructions of which they are constituents, belong, not to the level of the inflected phrase, but to that of the substantive.

- e.g. mwaná wá-ngu (the child of me, my child)
- mwaná wá-ké (the child of him, his child)

In these cases the possessor is indicated by a pronominal stem. The following table sets out the pronominal stems which combine as though they were single immediate constituents with the possessive affix.

---

146 / (Table) ...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>No Number</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I -ngu</td>
<td></td>
<td>-idú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II -kê</td>
<td></td>
<td>-înyû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 1. -ké</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-v-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -w-o</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-y-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. -r-o</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>-w-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. -ch-o</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>-zv-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. -y-o</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>-dz-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. -tw-o</td>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. -ko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. -hw-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. -k-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. -p-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. -k-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. -m-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Should not constructions consisting of possessive affix (varying according to headword or noun referred to) and possessive stem (referring to possessor) be treated as constructions at the level of the substantive like the enumerative or quantitative?

e.g. vaná vá-n̂gu (my children)
cp vaná vá-mwe (other children)
e.g. vaná vá-kê (his children)
vaná vó-sê (all the children)

However, the pronominal possessive stems are not stems in the same sense as the enumerative, quantitative and other substantival stems. The forms for cl. 2-18 are clearly the pronouns, less stabiliser, and can thus be headwords or nuclear substantives in a substantive phrase.

e.g. mwaná vá-vó vó-sê (the children of them all)
cp 1-vo vó-sê (all of them)

Even the forms /-ngu/, /-kê/, /-w-o/, /înyû/ for the I and II persons, singular and plural and the III persons, /-cl. I/ can be accompanied by qualifiers in agreement and which therefore act as nuclei in phrases of a special sort.

These qualifiers are mainly quantitative and relativs but other substantives can be used in agreement with these stems.

e.g. mwaná w-ánl tóšó (quantitative I plural) is in agreement with /-ânl/;
zvombo zv-înyû múnógona (the implements of you who are able) where múnógona (relative, II person) is in agreement with /-înyû/.

The pronominal possessive stems are comparable to the pronouns with stabiliser as headwords of SPs.

e.g. imbwa-ya-ngu ndóga (the dog of myself alone)
imbwa yenî n̂ôga (" " " " )
imbwa ya-kêyû (the dog of this self of his)
imbwa ya-iye uyu (" " " " " " )

Hence these constructions are listed here with the possessive inflected phrases, although the “phrase” of which they are the nuclei are bound and not free like all the other phrases which are constituents in the possessive construction.

1. Note that there is coalescence of vowels when the possessive affix inflects the pronominal possessive stems /-ânl/ and /-înyû/.
The form of the possessive morpheme with pronominal stems is /-á-/.  

\[ \text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{babá wá-ngu} & \quad \text{babá mukúru} \\
\text{(my father)} & \quad \text{(senior father)} \\
\text{anái vá-vó} & \quad \text{simushá} \\
\text{(their mother)} & \quad \text{(village head)} 
\end{align*} \]

### 3.7.3.2.2. Nucleus: Nouns and nominal constructions of cl. la

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{babá mukúru} & \quad \text{babá mukúru} \\
\text{(senior father)} & \quad \text{(the child of the senior father)} \\
\text{simushá} & \quad \text{cp. babá mukúru} \\
\text{(village head)} & \quad \text{(the child of this owner)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-babá mukúru} & \quad \text{ténzi uyu} \quad \text{(la)} \\
\text{(the child of this owner)} & \quad \text{mambo} \quad \text{(la)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-ténzi uyu} & \quad \text{(the child of the chief)} \\
\text{(the child of this owner)} & \quad \text{mambo} \quad \text{(la)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-mambo} & \quad \text{simushá} \quad \text{(la)} \\
\text{(the child of the chief)} & \quad \text{(the child of this owner)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-mambo} & \quad \text{simushá} \quad \text{(la)} \\
\text{(the child of the chief)} & \quad \text{(the child of this owner)} \\
\end{align*} \]

Other examples of possessive phrases with nuclear substantives of cl. la:

- **with H** tone patterns:
  \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{zvinhu svánhasi úno} & \quad \text{(things of today)} \quad \text{(8)} \\
\text{nyika yásabá wángu} & \quad \text{(the country of my father)} \quad \text{(9)} \\
\text{nymbe yánhiti gí yyu} & \quad \text{(the ex of so-and-so here)} \quad \text{(9)} \\
\text{mwaná wáTakáwira} & \quad \text{(the child of Takáwira)} \quad \text{(1)} \\
\text{mwaná wáPúrou-jena} & \quad \text{(the child of White-Spear)} \quad \text{(1)} \\
\text{mwaná wáSimuka-nikurévé} & \quad \text{(the child of Mr Unpopular)} \quad \text{(1)} \\
\end{align*} \]

- **with L** tone patterns:
  \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{nyika wámambo yyu} & \quad \text{(the country of this chief)} \quad \text{(9)} \\
\text{nyika yáziístó} & \quad \text{(Big Broth's country)} \quad \text{(9)} \\
\text{imbá yákúgára-húnzwana} & \quad \text{(the house of Mr To-live-peacefully-is-to-understand-one-another)} \quad \text{(9)} \\
\text{mishongá yáchirembá} & \quad \text{(the medicines of the doctor)} \quad \text{(4)} \\
\end{align*} \]

(b) With nominal constructions of cl. la which include ownership inflections with affixes /-á-/, /nyá-/, and /né-/, the possessive morpheme is also /-á-/. Tone patterns of constructions including /-á-/ are not changed, but those including /nyá- and /né-~ ne-/ are changed, and TD.I tone patterns result.

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{mwaná wásimushá} & \quad \text{(the child of the village head)} \quad \text{cp. simushá} \\
\text{ropsa ránýávanga} & \quad \text{(the blood of the one with the scar)} \\
\text{mushá wánenevaná} & \quad \text{(the village of the spirit medium)} \\
\text{mushá wánechónbo} & \quad \text{(the village of the medium's attendant)} \\
\end{align*} \]

### 3.7.3.2.3. Nucleus: Nouns and nominal constructions of clls. 2a and 2b

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{vádiizíái ava} & \quad \text{(these mothers)} \\
\text{anái ava} & \quad \text{(this mother)} \\
\end{align*} \]

The possessive affix is class affix + /-á-/.  

The construction, possessive affix + cl. 2a and 2b nucleus, is not accompanied by any tonal changes.

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{váná wá-vádiizíái ava} & \quad \text{(the children of these mothers)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-apái ava} & \quad \text{(the child of this mother)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-simushá} & \quad \text{(the child of the village head)} \\
\text{mwaná wá-váSáda} & \quad \text{(Mr Sadza's child)} \\
\text{muzukúri wá-ambúya} & \quad \text{(the nephew of an aunt)} \\
\end{align*} \]

### 3.7.3.2.4. Nucleus: Selector

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{e.g. } \begin{align*} 
\text{pánó apa} & \quad \text{(right here)} \quad \text{(16)} \\
\text{kúnu kwéhú} & \quad \text{(here at our place)} \quad \text{(17)} \\
\end{align*} \]

The possessive affix is class affix + /-á-/. The possessive morpheme has allmorphs with the usual distribution, viz.
The construction, possessive affix + selector nucleus, is not accompanied by any tonal changes.

**e.g.**
- mwaša vo-kung ko kwědí (a child of our place here)
- vanu vo-kupí (people from where?)
- tsika dz-e-dzívě nyůká (customs of those countries referred to before)

**3.7.3.2.5.** Nucleus: Relative inflected verb phrases

**e.g.**
- vasíngázi vese baza rávo (those who do not know their work) (2)
- vakašůká nezúro (those who arrived yesterday) (2)

The possessive affix is class affix + /-á-/ . The possessive morpheme has allomorphs with the usual distribution. The construction, possessive affix + relative inflected verb phrase, is not accompanied by any changes.

**e.g.**
- marí yévasíngázi vese baza rávo (the money of those who do not know their work)
- kuuya kwakašůká nezúro (the coming of those who came yesterday)
- kuÍa kwašůká hwalá (the drunkenness of the one without beer)

**3.7.3.2.6.** Nucleus: Quantitatives

**e.g.**
- dzóóse idži (all these) (10)
- kwěése kwatónófámbo (all the area over which we travel) (17)

Possessive affix: class affix + /-á-/ .
Allomorphs of /-á-/ : usual distribution

The construction, possessive affix + quantitative, is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.III tone patterns.

**e.g.**
- kwondá kwědīsgwe idži (the leanness of all these)
- tsika dzëvevó vandogara múrů (the outcome of all who live here)

**3.7.3.2.7.** Nucleus: Possessive

Possessive affix: class affix + /-á-/ .
Allomorphs of /á/: usual distribution

(a) The construction, possessive affix + possessive, is accompanied by tonal changes only in the case of possessives with possessive affix of high tone.

These are:
1. possessive affix + pronominal stem e.g. wángu (mine)
2. possessive + cl. 1a noun e.g. wátemzi (the owner's)
   wánumů (the chief's)
3. possessive affix + relative verb phrase e.g. wědíisíngázi (of those who do not know)
4. possessive affix + quantitative e.g. wědídě (of them all)
5. possessive affix + possessive e.g. wědźaké (of his ones)
   wědžěmá (of the kin's)
   wědževůlu (of the people's)
6. possessive affix + noun (other than cl. 1a, 2a and 2b), adjectives and enumeratives of H tone pattern
   e.g. wěhema (of the kin)
   wěhrů (of the big one)
In the possessive inflection of these types of nuclei, the possessive suffix of the nucleus is lowered and the nucleus reverts to basic tone pattern, save in the case of the possessive pronoun stem, which becomes H (T.3), and cl. 1a nouns with basic L tonomorphs, which continue to bear T.1.I tone patterns.

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

(1) zвину zве-wanä (the things of my one e.g. mwanä (1))
(2) zвину zве-wa-tëni (the things of the owner's one, e.g. mwanä (1))
(2) zвину zве-wa-mämbo (the things of the chief's one, e.g. mwanä (1))
(3) zвину zве-wa-dzisizgasë (the things of the one of these who do not kown e.g. mushä (3))
(4) zвину zве-wa-dzösë (the things of the one of them all, e.g. mushä (3))
(5) zвину zве-wa-džákë (the things of the one of his ones, e.g. mushä (3))
(5) zвину zве-wa-džäm-a (the things of the one of the kinsmen's ones e.g. mushä (3))
(5) zвину zве-wa-dże-vähnu (the things of the one of the people's ones e.g. mushä (3))
(6) zвину zве-wa-hämä (the things of the kinsmen's one e.g. mwanä (1))
(6) zвину zве-wa-mhuka (the things of the animal's one, e.g. mwanä (1))
(6) zвину zве-wa-huru (the things of the big one's one, e.g. mwanä (1))

(b) Possessive constructions with possessive suffix of low tone undergo no tonal change when they are possessively inflected.

These are -

1. possessive suffix + nouns of cl. 2a and 2b, e.g. wawambuya (of the mother-in-law)
2. possessive suffix + selector, e.g. wokünä (of these parts)
3. possessive suffix + nouns (other than those of cl. 1a, 2a and 2b), adjectives and enumeratives of L tone pattern, as well as demonstratives, e.g. wawänä (of the people), wemütämä (of the black man), wevämwe (of the others), weväva (of these)
4. possessive suffix + participial clause e.g. wandínä (the one I love)

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

(1) zвину zве-wawambuya (the things of the mother-in-law's one e.g. mwanä (1))
(1) zвину zве-wamämä (the things of the mother's one e.g. mwanä (1))
(2) zвину zве-wokünä (the things of the one of these parts e.g. mushä (3))
(2) zвину zве-wawänä (the things of the people's one e.g. mushä (3))
(3) zвину zве-wemütämä (the things of the black person's one e.g. mwanä (1))
(3) zвину zве-wemütämä (the things of the others' one e.g. mwanä (1))
(3) zвину zве-wemütämä (the things of these one e.g. mwanä (1))
(4) zвину zве-wandínä (the things of the one I love e.g. mwanä (1))

3.7.3.2.8. Nouns and nominal constructions of classes other than 1a, 2a and 2b; adjectives, enumeratives and demonstratives

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

mombe iyí (this ox) (4)
rukova rurefu (a long river) (11)
kubätšira wänä (to help people) (15)
kusümä (not to know) (15)
vatätä ava (these three) (2)
dzämä zhinji (the many others) (10)
ava vaviri (these two) (2)

Possessive suffix: class suffix + /-ä-~ -a-/ Allomorphs of /-ä-~ -a/-: usual distribution

The possessive suffix bears H when affixed to nuclei of H tone patterns and L when affixed to nuclei of L tone patterns. The construction, possessive suffix and nuclei of the types listed, is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in the tone patterns of T.1.I.
e.g. **Possessive affixes with nuclei of 1₁ tone pattern**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbende dzé̩-bana dzangu</td>
<td>hámá</td>
<td>the cattle of my relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taške dzé̩-kubásáirá vánha</td>
<td>kubásáirá</td>
<td>habits helpful to people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mende dzé̩-vazhip̊iñjí</td>
<td>vazhip̊iñjí</td>
<td>the tools of these five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zvmbo zve-vashān̩u ava</td>
<td>vashān̩u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g. **Possessive affixes with nuclei of 1₁ tone pattern**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mui̩jí ve-mone idži</td>
<td>mone</td>
<td>the owner of these cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu̩rú̩y yo-rukova kure̩ñjí</td>
<td>rukova</td>
<td>the water of a long river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwanà ve-kü̩sizívá</td>
<td>kü̩sizívá</td>
<td>an ignorant child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zvínhu zve-kú̩ta</td>
<td>kú̩ta</td>
<td>things to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutāmbužika kwedz̃imwe zhinjí̩ła</td>
<td>dz̃imwe</td>
<td>the suffering of the many others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mari yeiva vaviri</td>
<td>ava</td>
<td>the money of these two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.3.2.9. **Nucleus: Pronoun**

The pronominal possessive stems which were mentioned in 3.7.3.2.1. as being inflected by possessive affixes as nuclei of phrases of a sort were identified, as far as the cl. 2-18 forms are concerned, with the pronouns less stabiliser. It is possible that we should distinguish two separate series of nuclei here (as was done in the Analytical Grammar of Shona).

(i) the pronominal possessive stems /-nu, -ko/ etc.../-mo/ from Ip. to cl. 18

(ii) the pronouns i-ní, i-wo etc... i-mo from Ip. to cl. 18

In the construction, possessive affix + pronoun nucleus, the possessive affix carries L₁, and its vowel coalesces with the stabiliser of the I and II person pronouns. The stabiliser of the III person forms may be elided or retained with slightly different emphasis.

e.g. mone dzé̩n̩í | (the cattle of me, my cattle) |
| mone dzaye | (his cattle) |
| mone dzáye | (his cattle) |

The pronoun is often possessively inflected when in apposition to an SP.

e.g. Chirembá chátora zín̩o rení, harahwa
(The doctor took the tooth of me, an old man)

Ndín̩ó̩ńa taške dzé̩n̩í, vátemá
(I like the customs of you, black people)

Mukatí nemí, vámwé maká̩d̃a̩r̃á
(In the midst of you, others who are like that)

Vá̩ká̩p̃í̩va mone dzáye murombe
(He was given the cattle of the poor man himself)

Mwaná vevéwé watórwá nén̩z̃u̩z̃á
(Your child was taken by the water sprite)

Harahwa yení | (the old man I look after) |
| muniwé weni | (someone like me) |

The inflection of III person less stabiliser gives a tone pattern of LH (or LHL with stabiliser).

This tone pattern is different from the normal possessive with primitive pronominal stem:

e.g. mone dzávo | (their cattle) |
| mone dzávo/mázávo | (their cattle) |

e.g. muko wáwo | (its observance - i.e. muk̊a) |
| muko wáwo/má̩wo | (its observance) |

Further, the meaning conveyed appears more emphatic.

e.g. chinhu chaʃúye | (his thing - emphatic) |
| chinhu chaʃúye mamo | (the thing of the chief himself) |

151 | e.g. chinhu chaʃúye...
Possessive inflected pronouns with possessive affixes of cl. 17 or cl. 7 are used in apposition to Sps.

e.g. munhu kwáje (a real person)
munhu chaíye (a real person)

The pronoun must agree, in these compound phrases, with the Sp in apposition. The possessive affix of cl. 17 inflects the pronoun less stabiliser, that of cl. 7 the pronoun plus stabiliser. The respective tone patterns are HL and LHL.

e.g. zviro kwázvo (true, real things)
varúmê chaívo (true men)

3.7.3.3. Possessive inflected participial clauses

(a) The possessive affix is also used to inflect participial clauses. These are a type of verbal construction and do not, of course, consist of nuclear substantive +/- substantives in agreement. Their constructional pattern consists of +/- subject + predicate which, in this case, is a participially inflected verb phrase.

e.g. babá ásingázíve zvakanaka (father not knowing well)
nádáya nhási (I have eaten today)

The possessive affix, when inflecting participial clauses, is prefixed directly to the inflected verb radical, irrespective of the presence or absence of a subject. Subjects of possessive inflected clauses follow the predicate.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ásingázíve zvakánaka babá (things which father does not know well)

zvinhu zva-nádáya nhási (things which I ate today)

(b) The possessive affix is class affix +/-a/-.

The construction, possessive affix + participial inflected verb radical, is not marked by any tonal changes.

e.g. zvinhu zva-nádingázíve (things I do not know)

Where the participial inflection is that of the affirmative near future with tense sign /-a/-, the vowel of the possessive affix is /-o/- as well.

e.g. mumbá mo-tórindá (in the house where we must now sleep)
Inzvá zve-tódá kuita (Listen to what we now mean to do)

This is the only allomorph of the possessive morpheme which appears in this construction in Zerzuru. In other dialects, e.g. Ndu, the full range of allomorphs /~a~ -e~ -o~ -a/~ appears.

e.g. zvinhu zve-tipoziya (things which we know) - Ndu
zvinhu zva-tipoziye (things which we know) - Zezuru

In Manyika and some dialects of Karanga we find a construction consisting of demonstrative (second position) and participially inflected verb phrases. This corresponds to the above construction which is found in Zezuru and other dialects of Karanga.

e.g. zvinhu izvo tísingázívi (things which we do not know) - Na
zvinhu izvo nádáya nhási (things I ate today) - Na

(c) Possessive inflected clauses are involved in the same kinds of relationship to other constituents of substantival phrases as the other non-nominal substantives.

Their agreement, as expressed by the possessive affix, is controlled either by the class of a headword in the Sp.

e.g. zvinhu zva-nádingázíve (things I do not know);

or more remotely by the class of a noun or pronoun to which it refers,
Further such possessive inflected clauses may be either substantives in agreement with a nuclear substantive or in the nuclear position themselves.

e.g. mumwe wa-dzingazive
     zva-dzingazive izvi
     (one, e.g. mune, whom I do not know)
     (these, e.g. zviri, which he does not know)

(d) Some remarks on the internal structure of participial clauses themselves are necessary as the normal internal relationships of clauses are disturbed by the inflection of the clause as a whole by the possessive affix.

As already stated, the normal order of subject–predicate is disturbed by possessive inflection since the nucleus to which the possessive affix is prefixed is the inflected verb radical. The subject position in such inflected clauses is after the predicate.

e.g. zvinhu zva-dzingazive
     zva-dzingazive izvi
     (things which father does not know)
     (things which I do not know)

hwa-hwale chineje nezuro babu
     (the beer which father drank yesterday)

When possessively inflected, participial clauses are brought into agreement with substantives which are semantically in the relation of complement, or of nucleus to an adjunct, to the verb radical of the clause.

e.g. -bik- nyama
     (cook meat)

The SP nyama, which is complement to the R /-bik-/ retains its relationship of /object/ to this radical when qualified by a possessive inflected participial clause containing /-bik/ and in agreement with it.

e.g. nyama ya-kubikidzwa
     (the meat I cooked)
     nyama ya-vakubikidzwa amadi
     (the meat which mother cooked)

-nyama caiza pa-dare
     (eat sadza at the council place)

cp. sadza ra-ta-iya pa-dare
     (the sadza we ate at the council place)
     padare pa-ta-iya sadza
     (at the council place where we ate sadza)

-nyama nemahwa
     (come by the path)

-nyama nemahwa
     (the path I came by (it))

-nyama nemahwa
     (cut meat with a knife)

-nyama nemahwa nemahwa
     (the meat I cut with a knife)

-nyama nemahwa nemahwa
     (the knife I cut the meat with (it))

All the relationships of the SPs to verb radicals which are found in the verb phrase can be expressed, mutually mutatis, in this construction of headword + possessive inflected participial clause. This is described in (e) and (f) below.

e) radical-complement

In other languages where the headword is in the relation of complement (e.g. object) to the R of the participial clause, this relationship is signalled by the use of an object prefix in the participial inflected R.

e.g. in Ndebele : Indoda e-nqiyibonayo
     (The man whom I see (him)) - object prefix underlined.

cp Zgururo : Muqinse wa-nqiyibonayo
     (The man whom I see)

As this example shows, the object prefix is not used in this construction in Zgururo to signal this relationship. But it does seem to be used in Karanga in conjunction with the alternative construction mentioned above where a demonstrative (second position) is used instead of a possessive inflection.

e.g. Muki uyo vanhu vakudzana wakanga wkorerera kwavvo
     (The tree which the people cut down was very tall) (Kar.)
In this alternative construction there also seems no need to disturb the order of subject-predicate within the clause.

e.g. Mombe idzo baba wangu akadzitenga
(The cattle my father bought) (Ma.)

.f) Radical-adjunct

Where the headword is in the relation of instrument or associate to the R of the participial clause, this is signalled by the use of an adjunct, consisting of the morpheme /na-/ + a pronoun in agreement with the headword, in the participial clause.

e.g. banga ra-mdacheka nyama na-ro
(the knife with which I cut the meat)

mwana wa-mdayya na-ye
(the child with whom I came)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear Substantives</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Poss.Affix Cl.8</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Tonal change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal stem</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-ngu</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun - cl. 1a</td>
<td>buhá</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-buhá</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun - cl. 1a + /sá-/</td>
<td>sašušá</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-sašušá</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun - cl. 1a + /nýa-/ , and</td>
<td>nýušušá</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-nýušušá</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nhe-/ ~ no-/</td>
<td>něváša</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-něváša</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun - cl. 2a</td>
<td>vnhuša</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-vnhuša</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun - cl. 2b</td>
<td>nhíuša</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-nhíuša</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns non-cl. 1a, 2a, 2b</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-nařa</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with H tone patterns</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with L tone patterns</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives with H tone pattern</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-hu</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives with L tone pattern</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-sa</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeratives with H tone patterns</td>
<td>mž</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-mž</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeratives with L tone patterns</td>
<td>mž</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-mž</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessives with H possessive affix</td>
<td>wénama</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-wénama</td>
<td>Yes, to basid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessives with L possessive affix</td>
<td>wénamu</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-wénamu</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitatives</td>
<td>dží</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-dží</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selectors</td>
<td>kží</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-kží</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>aží</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-aží</td>
<td>Yes... TD.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>ží</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-ží</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>varí pano</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-varí pano</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial clauses</td>
<td>vásingazívé</td>
<td>zvá-</td>
<td>zvá-vásingazívé</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases consist of an adverbial inflecting affix + a substantive phrase.

e.g. na-babá wángu (with my father)
    sa-ténzi yuu (like this owner)

3.7.4.1. The adverbial affixes

(a) The two inflecting affixes are: /na-/ (with) and /sa-/ (like).

/na-/ in Zezuru, in adverbial phrases, indicates a number of relationships rendered
in English, according to the different situations, by "by", "by means of", "about"
and "with".

e.g. Mwaná ákarówa nábabá wáké
    (The child was beaten by his father) (agentive relationship)
Vaní vánkúya nábabá wáké
    (The people came with his father) (associative relationship)
Mukánaná ákatemá mtifí néchemo ráké
    (The boy cut the tree with his axe) (instrumental relationship)

In Manyika, agentive and instrumental relationship is indicated by a number of different
inflections, the affixes varying according to the nucleus of the SP.

With cl. 1a and pronoun nuclei the affix is /néi-/

e.g. Mwaná sëngëwë ndiéba wáké
    (The child was beaten by his father)
Mwaná ákózwë néfifí
    (The child was told by me)
Tawána chekëviwë nififí
    (We found a way whereby to reach
     the king)

With nuclei of other types, the affix is /öne-/. 

e.g. Iyi tsambo yakanyórwa ngëchana yángu
    (This letter was written by my relative)
Vákëfambé ngëzšíra iyi
    (They travelled by this path)

In Manyika /na-/ indicates only association, "with".

(b) Each of the adverbial affixes has several allomorphs whose distribution depends on the
    type of nucleus of the SP. With nuclei consisting of nouns and nominal constructions of
    cl. 1a, 2a and 2b and pronouns the form of the affixes is /na-/ and /sa-/ respectively.
    With all other nuclei allomorphs of the affixes are found with varying vowels whose
    distribution is determined as usual.

viz. /na-~ne-~no-~/; /sa-~se-~so-~/.

e.g. na-babá (with father)
    sa-fye (like him)
    ne-pwura (with water)
    né-mwaná (with a child)
    so-éyu (like this one)

3.7.4.2. Nucleus nouns and nominal constructions of cll. 1a, 2a, 2b; the pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mambo yuu</td>
<td>(this chief)</td>
<td>(1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tézvára wángu</td>
<td>(my father-in-law)</td>
<td>(1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vágzimái ava</td>
<td>(these wives)</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambuyá wángu</td>
<td>(my grandmother)</td>
<td>(2b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverbial affixes /na-/ and /sa-/: 
The construction, adverbial affix + SP, is not accompanied by tonal changes.

e.g. na-mambo yuu (with this chief)
    na-tézvára wángu (with my father-in-law)
    na-vágzimái ava (with these wives)
    na-ambuyá wángu (with my grandmother)

156 /na-šamushá...
Constructions of adverbial affix + I and II persons pronouns always involve coalescence of the vowel of the adverbial affix and the stabiliser (a + i > e).

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{na-} \text{ålɨ̃n} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{ålɨ̃n} \]

\[ \text{na-} \text{dikɨ̃n} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{dikɨ̃n} \]

\[ \text{na-} \text{dikɨ̃n} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{dikɨ̃n} \]

\[ \text{na-} \text{ulatory} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{ulatory} \]

With III persons pronoun nuclei the stabiliser is either elided or present in the inflected form with slightly different emphases.

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{na-} \text{sy} \quad \text{(with him)} \quad \text{na-} \text{sy} \quad \text{(he too; by him himself)} \]

### 3.7.4.3. Allomorphs of adverbial affixes

With all other nuclei, allomorphs of the adverbial affixes are used with varying vowels whose distribution is determined as usual.

\[ \text{viz.} \quad \text{na-} \text{~ ne-} \text{~ ne;} \quad \text{sa-} \text{~ se-} \text{~ so/} \]

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{na-} \text{sɪ́n} \quad \text{(with a lot of water)} \quad \text{sa-} \text{ɪ́n} \quad \text{(much water)} \]

\[ \text{cp} \quad \text{mvə́rə́ sɪ́n} \quad \text{(9)} \]

And the tonal changes found with adverbial inflections are the same as those of the possessive with identical nuclei.

### 3.7.4.3.1. Nuclear substantive: quantitative, relative or possessive

With the following as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries H:

- (a) Quantitatives e.g. dẑŝŝê id̂ŝ (all these) (10)
- (b) Relatives dẑŝŝgarware id̂ŝ (these which are not sick) (10)
- (c) Possessives dẑŝŝgū (mine) (10)

(a) Tone patterns on inflected quantitatives are those listed in TD.III.

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{nd̂ŝ̃ŝê id̂ŝ} \quad \text{(with all these)} \]

(b) Tone patterns on relatives are not disturbed.

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{n̂ê-dẑŝŝgarware id̂ŝ (with those who are not sick)} \]

(c) (i) In the case of possessives, those with low-toned possessive affix are not changed in tone pattern.

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{n̂ê-wa-v̨̄mbuya (with the mother-in-law's one)} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{wa-v̨̄mbuya} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-wa-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝ (with the one I love)} \quad \text{wa-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝ} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-wa-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝ (with the one from here)} \quad \text{we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝ} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-xor-ẑ̃ŝ̃ễ (with the one on the wayside)} \quad \text{we-ẑ̃ŝ̃ễ} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-ssĥ̃a (with the one belonging to the few)} \quad \text{we-ssĥ̃a} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-v̨̄mbwe (with the one belonging to the others)} \quad \text{we-v̨̄mbwe} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-v̨̄mbwe (with the one belonging to these)} \quad \text{we-v̨̄mbwe} \]

(ii) Possessives with high-toned possessive affix are lowered and the nucleus reverts to basic tone pattern save in the case of the pronominal stem which becomes H (TD.III) and cl. la nouns with basic L tonomorphs which bear TD.I tone patterns.

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{n̂ê-ẑa-nḡ̨ (with mine)} \quad \text{cp} \quad \text{ẑa-nḡ̨} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-ẑa-t̂ễn̂zi (with the owner's ones)} \quad \text{ẑa-t̂ễn̂zi} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-wa-m̨̄mb̨̄ (with the chief's one)} \quad \text{m̨̄mb̨̄} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễḡ̨ẑ̃ive (with the one belonging to the ones who do not know)} \quad \text{we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễḡ̨ẑ̃ive} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝễḡ̨ (with the one belonging to them all)} \quad \text{we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễd̂ŝễḡ̨} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễḡ̨ (with the one belonging to his ones)} \quad \text{we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễḡ̨} \]

\[ \text{n̂ê-we-d̂ŝ̃ŝ̃ễḡ̨ (with the one belonging to the relative's ones)} \]

\[ 157/\text{n̂ê-we-hama...} \]
With selectors as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries L:

\[ \text{e.g. no-kínó (through this part)} \]
\[ \text{chínó nchéfýé (this one here and that one we saw before)} \]
\[ \text{so-kínó (as hereabouts)} \]

3.7.4.3.3.
Nucleus: Noun, adjective enumerative, demonstrative

With the following as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries H with nuclei bearing H tone patterns and L with nuclei bearing L tone patterns. The construction is accompanied by tonal changes, the resulting patterns being those of TD.II

\[ (i) \text{ nouns of classes other than 1a, 2a, 2b;} \]
\[ (ii) \text{ adjectives;} \]
\[ (iii) \text{ enumeratives;} \]
\[ (iv) \text{ demonstratives.} \]

**Nuclei with H tone patterns:**

\[ \text{e.g. námvura zhúnjí (with much water)} \]
\[ \text{mbíra irí kúgamo (with a dassie on the hill)} \]
\[ \text{nénaná wádíki (with small children)} \]
\[ \text{náguřú (with a big one)} \]
\[ \text{chíf néchéfí (whatever)} \]

\[ \text{cp múná zhúnjí} \]
\[ \text{mbíra irí kúgamo} \]
\[ \text{vaná wádíki} \]
\[ \text{gúřú} \]
\[ \text{chíf (what?)} \]

**Nuclei with L tone patterns:**

\[ \text{e.g. nevánu wázhúnjí (with many people)} \]
\[ \text{nejéná gúřú (with a big white one)} \]
\[ \text{nevámwe avá (with these ones)} \]
\[ \text{ndžžidžidží (with these)} \]

\[ \text{cp vaná wázhúnjí (many people)} \]
\[ \text{jena gúřú} \]
\[ \text{vámwe avá} \]
\[ \text{dzžidžidží} \]

3.7.5.
Ownership Phrases

There are a number of affixes which may be prefixed to SPs, the resulting constructions forming a complex stem which together with a noun prefix forms a complex nominal construction.

\[ \text{e.g. sá-dúnhu irí (the head of this district) (la)} \]
\[ \text{dúnhu irí (the one who has his wife) (la)} \]
\[ \text{ne-chumbó (acolyte) (la)} \]
\[ \text{mu-zúñá-núŋya (the owner of a big field) (l)} \]

**Nuclei to which the ownership affixes are prefixed are limited to nouns.**

The ownership affixes are:

3.7.5.1. \(/-sá/-\)

Constructions consisting of \(/-sá/-\) and nominal nuclei are accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.I.

\[ \text{e.g. sá-zíta (namesake) (cp. zíta (name)) (5)} \]
\[ \text{sá-mughsé (village head) (mushá (village)) (3)} \]
\[ \text{sá-chúŋáro (chairman) (chúŋáro (chair)) (7)} \]

3.7.5.2. \(/-nya/-\)

Constructions consisting of \(/-nya/-\) and nominal nuclei are not accompanied by tonal changes.

\[ \text{e.g. nya-kúhá zvúčávúčá (one who steals others' things)} \]
\[ \text{cp kúhá zvúčávúčá (15) (to steal others' things)} \]

Prefix /-sá/ of cl. la is a constituent with phrases inflected by /-sá/- and /-nya/- to form complex nominal constructions of cl. la.
e.g. sá-dunhu-irí uyu (this owner of this district)
ndí-nyá-kubá vavóamwe (it is the one who steals others' things)

3.7.5.3. /-zvina-/ 

Constructions consisting of /-zvina-/ and SPs are not accompanied by tonal changes other than that of the raising of the first syllable of nuclei with L tone patterns.

Noun prefixes /-mu-/ (cl. 1) and /-va-/ (cl. 2) are constituents with phrases inflected by /-zvina-/ to form complex nominal constructions of cl. 1 and 2.

e.g. Wátatú múzvinaghwa (The third one is a tale bearer)

In these nominal constructions of cl. 1, 2, and 2, it is not common to find the nucleus accompanied by a substantive in agreement.

3.7.6. The distribution of Inflected phrases

3.7.6.1. Copulative phrases:

(a) Copulative phrases belong to the constituent class of predicate in substantival clauses whose constructional patterns is

/+/- subject + predicate

e.g. Murúmá uyu ndúngwira vúngu (This man is my familiar friend)

(b) Copulative phrases with pronoun nuclei in apposition to another SP function as complements of auxiliary verbs /-vá/ and /-mwe/ (seem) (q.v.) They are thus members of the constituent class of auxiliary verb complements.

e.g. Mumhu skéndézé kundovháné isivé ndívó firó yaké (The man went hunting and that was the end of him)

Vári kudínó sokinge ndívó vasingazive zvokútsa (They seem to be the ones who do not know what to do)

(c) Copulative phrases with pronoun nuclei of cl. 15 (abbreviated or unabbreviated), in apposition to a nominal construction of cl. 15, function as consecutive clauses in complex sentences. They are thus members of the constituent class of consecutive clauses.

e.g. Múndwíndwí ndúungi ndá kugara pasí (I went into the house and sat down)

Ndákópá ndúungi ndákóká pasí (I went into the house and sat down)

These copulatives may be introduced by, and be complements of, the auxiliary /-vá/.

3.7.6.2. Possessive phrases:

Possessive phrases belong to the constituent classes of substantive in agreement and nuclear substantive in substantive phrases.

e.g. múná wemínhu uyu (the child of this person)
vénýika dzínó ava (these ones of these lands)

3.7.6.3. Adverbial phrases:

(a) Adverbial phrases belong to the constituent class of adjuncts in verb and ideophone phrases.

e.g. ŋüyú néwáná uyu (cone with this child)

Vúva néwáná uyu (They came with this child)

pasíú névnychí ndúre, kuruawa (being stung by bees on the eye)

Nguruva yávú pasíí ndúreu névnychí (The pig was stung on the eye by the bees)
It would be possible to treat constructions such as the following as adverbial phrases inflected predicatively, viz. as cases of multiple inflection of the SP.

\[ \text{e.g. ndi-né-mari žhunjí (I have a lot of money)} \]
\[ \text{né-mari žhunjí (with a lot of money)} \]

In this interpretation the SP would be inflected (a) by the adverbial affix /na/- and then (b) by the subject prefix, e.g. /ndi-/, (I).

Another interpretation has been chosen in this book, viz. the interpretation of /-na/ followed by the SP as a verbal segment similar to the verbal segments whose radical is /-kí/, cp.

\[ \text{e.g. ndine múvura žhunjí (I have a lot of water)} \]
\[ \text{ndiri hama yenyu (I am your kinsman)} \]

### 3.8

**SUBSTANTIVAL CLAUSES AND SENTENCES**

**3.8.1. Substantival Clauses**

The substantival construction at the level above that of the inflected substantive phrase is that of the substantive clause. Its constructional pattern is as follows:

\[ +/- \text{subject + predicate} \]

**3.8.1.1. Subject**

The first constituent, as in all types of clause, is an optional one. The term subject stands for a constituent class of constructions which include the following, all discussed in the section on the substantive phrase.

(a) the substantive phrase, SP;
(b) SPs in apposition, SP, SP;
(c) SPs joined by conjunctions, SP + SP;
(d) Conjunctions followed by SP, + SP;
(e) combinations of the above, e.g. SP, SP + SP.

\[ \text{e.g. (subjects underlined)} \]
\[ \text{(a) Imbwa nyoro ndízo neyúri dzamátehwe (SP)} \]
\[ \text{(Quiet dogs are the ones that gnaw the karasses)} \]
\[ \text{(b) Zinzou gádzi ndíro ratórá mití (The big cow elephant is the one which bro} \]
\[ \text{keh the trees)} \]
\[ \text{(c) Mapere ése nshumba zvizka zvinótyéva naváhu (Hyenas and lions are wild beasts which are feared by the people)} \]
\[ \text{(d) Kana nhabá wángwá ndíye wandáiti, "Zvimwe yanguzawo" (And even my father was one of whom I thought, "Perhaps he may be chosen)} \]
\[ \text{(e) Vosó xemána, yéchidúku novéchikúru vádyi venhaka (all the people of the hamlet, young and old, are to inherit)} \]

...
3.8.1.2. Predicates

The term *predicate* as a constituent class is limited to copulative and presentative phrases. Subjects do not appear to be used with presentative phrases which consist of an inflected SP.

* e.g. *Mwaná uyu ñangwe rámímbo
  (This child is the chief's first born)
  Kúyo mwaná wenyú
  (There is your child)

The predicate of the substantival clause may include complements and adjuncts.

* e.g. *Munímé uyu ndímímbo nokuti vakóma vosé váshívika
  (This man is the chief because all his elder brothers are dead)
  Munímé uyu mužezíru seaqí
  (This man is a Zezuru like us)
  Ndhizovwevwe nokuchísa
  (It is the same with ironing)
  Uyu múnhi pemwé není
  (This is a person along with me)
  Musikaná pakare
  (It is a girl furthermore)
  Magovéra chísí masvondo esé kwanMutumba
  (Saturday is a holiday every week in Mutumba's country)
  Mwaná wáshe múnánda kumwe
  (The son of a chief is a servant elsewhere)
  Uyu mwána wángwé
  (This is my child also)
  Iyi ūmvuravwe
  (This is water again)
  Iyi ūmvura zvakáre
  (This is water once again)

The predicate of the substantival clause has nothing of the variety of forms which are found in the predicates of verbal clauses. With one small exception, only affirmative forms are found; predicates are always principal and the tense present. Perhaps the latter two categories should not be included since there are no contrasts with any others. Thus we should say there are only affirmative, and a very few negative forms, and no contrasts in the fields of mood, tense and aspect.

3.8.1.3. Proverbs as examples of substantival clauses

Substantival clauses seem ideally adapted for statements of general truths in which we find the affirmation of identities and, true enough, a number of proverbs are substantival clauses in form:

* e.g. *Mwaná wáshe múnánda kumwe
  (The son of a chief is a servant elsewhere, viz. he must show humility outside his father's realm)
  Rusémá chíví huona chiwuya
  (To hate the bad is to see the good, viz. you discard what is old on obtaining something new, even though the old one served very well)
  Mnjoní wépwere nñyó asínyó
  (The one who can manage a child is the one who is without one, viz. no one can prevent small children from being naughty but the man without a child can take pleasure at reporting other people's children knowing that he will not receive similar complaints himself)
Mutända makuru mázungurumwa
(Big logs are to be shaken, viz. don’t be intimidated by their outward appearance, try them, perhaps you can carry them)

Kwandimipiri makuti, ndi kwandimipiri
(Where they are hit on the belly, that is where they run to, viz. harshness attracts more than kindness. Said of women who marry men who treat them harshly)

Timba kuhaya bezi imwe kanyang’ana
(For a little when to lack a tail means that it is called a fledgling, viz. do not be led by appearances)

Musiyazi wenzira yapawaire, ndifye musimbi wayo
(The one who can tell the way over a rock surface is the one who travels by it, viz. the man with a knowledge of secret things must have had a part in them)

Kure kwégawa ndókusiá na mutaíbu
(Where there is no blackberry tree is far for a jackal, viz. effort requires a motive)

Mbabvá ímbatwa
(A thief must be caught, viz. suspicions are not enough)

Chidziva chihiku ndócho chinógara ngwena
(In the little pool is where the crocodile lives, viz. don’t judge by appearances)

Muto wetsensa ndiéo mumwe
(Soup from vans is always the same, viz. women are the same the world over)

Chakávanzha mbayo maitenga
(What has hidden the rafters is the roof, viz. every family has its secret troubles)

Chakákónda bere mópfuma
(What fattened the hyena was bones, viz. look after the pennies and the pounds will look after themselves)

Dzvinyá kuzamba kúona bakho
(For a lizard to bask in the sun means that it sees a cave to run into, viz. if you take up a position in a case, you must have something with which to support it, or another to retire to)

Imwe nyoro ndínzoro nyári dzébagóó
(Gentle dogs are the ones which gnaw the karosses)

Many proverbs consist of two clauses, one substantival and the other verbal, placed side by side.

E.g., Dúndinó ḱízi. Nhlopíqóra chéro
(The chest is a barn which encloses what it holds, viz. you can’t force someone to reveal secrets)

Uvázízíze mbódza. Nhíye inzóvímbíra
(Don’t despise ill-cooked food, it is that which swells you up, viz. don’t treat anyone with contempt, it will rebound on you)

Chishícho kusimbó máshína. Ushíungire hata sécháko
(What is not yours you have no authority over; do not roll a headpad for it as if it were your own, viz. don’t treat borrowed property as if it were your own)

Makuru mákuru. Bángá haigáre pfundo
(An elder is an elder, a guinea fowl doesn’t sit on a Raffia-corn stalk, viz. you should behave as befits your age)

Chóko ndóchoka. Kuseva musiyá múto
(Your own is your own, in dipping into relish you leave the gravy, viz. you look after your own things thinking of the morrow)
Mhembwe rúdzí. Inozvára ūna kázhumú
(The duiker is a species, each one born has a tuft of hair on its head, viz. like father, like son, bad character will come out)

Inóngóndi ndégoranya. Younýeré haítaniré
(The boaster's dog is the one that gives chase, the silent man's dog does not, viz. the boaster achieves little)

Chakánga rúdza. Chigutšá hechikáni nhñé
(The thing that forgets is the axe, the stump - which was once a tree - does not forget, viz. the person who has been injured does not forget although the one who injured him may)

Mwoyú ai. Unoma pañondžá
(The heart is a tree, it grows where it wants to, viz. there is no accounting for where one's heart is drawn to)

Chirema ndécháva nezámó. Chínboramba chákazándàmirá kumádziro
(The cripple is one who has learned sense; he dances leaning against the wall, viz. it is part of wisdom to know one's limitations)

Zíno ñrëma. Rúmýeréka waríshi ndidzi
(The tooth is a fool which laughs at him whom it does not like, viz. a chief may forget the mistakes he has made but those will not be forgotten by the man who has suffered them though he will not show it)

Makudo ndómambó. Rukúte-mhání ñorwirana
(Baboons are the same kind; in catching a centipede, they help each other, viz. birds of a feather flock together)

Nhumbu múkázdi múkarú. Haítéva chatáya
(The stomach is a grown woman, it never says what it has eaten, viz. each one has his secrets(?))

Gengeri hukunómbó. Hazvíenzáne nókumwá nédambó
(A worn-out ladle is still a ladle, it is not the same as drinking with a potsherd)

Chembere múkázdi. Hazvíenzáne nókuvatá gótá
(An old woman is still a woman, it is not the same as sleeping in the boys' hut)

Others consist of two clauses, both substantival:

Chákó ndéchawádyá. Chasará mútoró wamámbó
(Your own is what you have eaten, what remains are the chief's takings)

Vavíří vávíří. Watótu múzvina-gwá
(Two are two. The third one is a tale bearer)

Still others consist of two principal verbal clauses

Chibwe chínoremera varí kúre. Varí pëdyo vánótambó náchó
(The little round stone is heavy for those who are far from it, but for those who are near it, it is a plaything, viz. familiarity breeds contempt)

Akuñérne ání múnźiva, nhäsí ūno ání múzambuko
(What were once pools have today become fords, viz. fortunes change)

Alternative form:

Áñí múnźiva, ání múzambuko. Áñí múzambuko, ání múnźiva
(What were pools, have become fords. What were fords, have become pools)

3.8.1.4. Variety of constructions in the substantive clause

The constructional pattern

+/− subject + predicate

163/is a formula...
is a formula which covers a great variety of constructions and combinations of constructions. As pointed out the term substantive indicates a very large constituent class of constructions which include not only the single SP but various combinations of SPs. The SP whose constructional pattern is

nuclear substantive +/- substantive in agreement

is itself a formula which covers a great variety of combinations since the term substantive indicates a constituent class of construction which include both primary members, viz. the seven types of substantive, and secondary members, viz. the possessive phrases and relative verb phrases. Thus the term substantive includes not only the variety of constructions possible under the SP constructional pattern but also the further variety which results from the various combination of SPs.

All this variety is possible also within the predicate since the predicate in a substantive clause is nothing else than a copulative or presentative inflected substantive phrase. Something of this variety is shown in the examples given below but first a further point should be discussed, viz. the extent and manner in which verbal phrases occur in substantival clauses.

It might seem, from the fact that the inflection of copulative and presentative phrases is a very simple one, and that the predicate in substantival clauses as such is limited to an affirmative principal statement, that this type of clause is very limited in the information or relationships which it can express. This is not true, however. The complex relationships of verbal phrases, inflected verb phrases, verbal clauses and even sentences are brought into substantival clauses through being constituents in substantival constructions.

(a) Verbal phrases with constructional pattern

 +/- cp + R/- complement(s) +/- adjunct(s)

are constituents in complex nominal constructions, both those of cl. 15 and other classes.

e.g. ku-d-á vánu (loving people) (15)
    mu-d-á vánu (one who loves people) (1)

(b) Inflected verbal phrases enter into substantival constructions.

(i) Complex nominal constructions may occupy the nuclear position in SPs and be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.

e.g. Rugara húnzwa (To live properly is to understand others)
    imbá yó-kuvhímá mhúká (a dog for hunting game)
    (Ndúzvozvówe nó-kuchísa hémbe (It is the same with ironing clothes)

They are also constituents in "ownership" phrases.

e.g. nya-kúbá zvavánwe (one who steals other things) (1a)
    sá-kúntása (do-gooder) (1a)
    nya-múza néthamo (an illegitimate child) (1a)
    muzúfíná-kuenda (one who has to go) (1)

(ii) Inflected verbal phrases of various types are constituents in nominal constructions.

e.g. chimanzínérí (a little "where did you see me?", a pigmy) (7)
    ma-takandya kare (the fact of having eaten before, previous experience) (6)

(iii) Relative inflected verb phrases belong to the constituent classes of nuclear substantive and substantive in agreement in SPs.

e.g. vasingamwe hyaúa (those ones who do not drink beer)
    vanhi vanórwa laúwe

In nuclear position within the SP they may be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.
(c) Verbal clauses enter into substantival constructions.

(i) The relative clause is a SP consisting of nuclear substantive, which is at the same time the subject of the clause, and substantive in agreement, viz. the relative inflected verb phrase.

  e.g. vanhu vanónwá hwaké (people who drink beer)

  These clauses may be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.

  e.g. Mufánó woncé másháve-sháve / anóbhururuka
       (The joys found outside are butterflies which fly away)

       Kuverenga makóre chínhu / chakánina chísiná múnhu mukúrú
       andżiفشha vaná wadšwa
       (To count the years is a thing which had no senior person who taught it to small children; viz. no elder thought of teaching the children to count the years)

       Chínhu chaśiswa kuti chñosìngérwá chínhu / chakáitwa kana
       kudzírwá nomúnhu
       (The thing which he knew that it is sold is a thing which was made or planted by man; viz. things to be sold were things made or planted by man)

As the translation intimates, the relation between subject and predicate is not limited to affirmative identity but, thanks to the relative which is able to convey relationships of affirmative / negation, tense and aspect, these as well. In the above examples, the copulative affix, in these cases /H/, is affixed to the subject of the relative clauses as nucleus of the SP which is copulatively inflected.

  Mínó ndámítara / sékúrú wákó mukúrú, mukona mánhindíri, anóva
  ndiye akándisíyírá chídsímba chokúpúrá
  (In here is where lived your senior-grandfather, Nhindíri's elder brother, who is the one who left to me his skill in black-smithing)

In this example a relative predicate with inverted subject is the nucleus of the copulative inflection.

(ii) Participial clauses are possessively inflected.

  e.g. zva-vanónwásvásvá ensi
       wa-nízíngísvásvá insi
       (what mother is looking for)
       (one whom I am not looking for)

(iii) Verbal clauses are constituents in complex nominal constructions.

  e.g. mudzírwá-wárebera
       (an overcoat; lit. an ancestral spirit hung down) (3)

(iv) Infinitive clauses no less than infinitive inflected verb phrases are nominal constructions and so are members of the constituent class of substantive. The constructional pattern of infinitive clauses is the same as that of verbal clauses in general, viz.

        */- subject + predicate

  e.g. imbwá kurúmá múridzi wáyo
       vanhu kurwa daka
       (for a dog to bite its owner)
       (fighting a grudge on the part of people)

There are thus a number of substantival constructions in which the relationships of the verb phrase (between the verb radical and its complements and adjuncts), of the inflected verb phrase (between inflection and verb phrase); of the clause (between subject and predicate) and of the sentence (between clauses) appear. A further dimension of complex verbal relationships enters when auxiliary verb phrases, i.e. auxiliary verb radicals with their complements, are the constituents. Substantival clauses therefore, because of the possibilities of shift from verbal to the substantive hierarchy, are capable of conveying not only the affirmation of identity,

  e.g. Ishé ndíshe
       (A chief is a chief)

but a great number of the relationships caused by verbal constructions, both those conveyed by the verbal inflections, viz. affirmation or negation, tense and aspect, as well as those of the verbal phrase, clause and sentence.
Examples of substantive clauses

This variety should now be illustrated by examples. Examples are arranged under the various members of the constituent class of subject and then, as a sub-division of each of those types under the various members of the constituent class of predicate. Not all possible combinations of course are, or can be, illustrated.

(a) **Subject:** Zero

(i) **Nucleus of copulative phrase:** noun

*e.g.* /Mütì somewàshyà / (Which medicine is it which he ever lacked) (/n,s,poss-partic)

Dài achüyàwà námùsàrò, / námùnà amànsìsìwà cùmùnìmùchìrì / (if he returned cheerfully, who is it who could fail to welcome him cheerfully) (/n,r)

(ii) **Nucleus of copulative phrase:** pronoun

*e.g.* Infí núsé úrumbò námùnà wénù wàyò úu nòkúti / nòfùwà wànùnéngò màjìlìrà nùmù nòsè
(I am sorry for this child of yours, since he is the one to whom you will leave all the trouble) (/p,poss-partic)

Angùjì nùgù wàyò, akúva sùngà kufùn wézwà nùntì nòkúti / nòfùwà pàjìwà pàmùsà pùkè
(Oh seeing this village he began at once to think about Yunjai because it was there that her home was) (-/p,r)

/A ngùkù saksì wàndìsì nùnkùmùndì nùntì nòfùwà nwìdùfì / (That is why you saw me leaning against the tree with a spear in my hands) (-/p, inf. of aux.R + complement)

Nòfùwàwò / nòfùwà wàndàkàngà nùntì nùnkùmùndìwùfì pàmù fùmò ràkànìjà ràrèmìwà nàsàkì fùwò mmùkù/rd
(And he is the one for whom I intended to forge the spear which was planned by your senior grandfather) (/p,poss-partic with auxiliary R controlling complement with auxiliary R -ti whose complement is a principal clause)

Sàrùnùjì ñàngà ànì nhìfà dínìndìsì nàjìwà. / Nòfùwà dìsàngà achtìrìàmìsì wùmùnà nàdìwà. / Nòfùwà dìsàngà achtìrìa kùtì àchìrìwà wùsàmùfì / (Seraoge has seen some locusts which prey on flowers. It was then which he was chasing like a small child, then that he wanted to kill completely) (/p, poss-partic)

(iii) **Nucleus of copulative phrase:** selector

*e.g.* Mòjìrì jùndì mìnùjìmìjì sàkàwàyànhà, wàrùnù nhìta kùtì
(Which race has a higher rate of divorce, whites or blacks?) (-/s,n,rs n kùtì n, a in opposition).

(b) **Subject:** noun or nominal constructions +/- substantives in agreement

(i) *e.g.* Mòfùfùdùfìrì / kùfìrìfìrì zìmòfùdwà dètì / (Love chems consist in only doing pleasing things for one another) (n/infinitive)

1. The examples are taken from a chapter of each of three books, viz. Kunazivanda-dzoka by J W Marangwanda, 1965, chapter 5; Pfungwa dzagensana Nfunshi by P Chidyausiku; Pfumò rengò by P Chakalipa, chapter 9. The fact that these chapters could produce such an abundance of variety of examples shows how common this construction is used.

2. The constituents of the clauses are divided by a slash into those of the subject, normally to the left of the slash, and those of the predicate, normally to the right. After each example, abbreviations indicate the various constituents in brackets.
Nucleus of copulative phrase: *pronoun*  

**e.g.**  
Munhu akadaro / ndiye anonzi anopora masikatike mache  
(Such a person is one who is said to be a sorcerer in broad daylight) (n, r/p, r of aux. -zi with sentence as complement)

Pevanu vanhindi, babu vaiko / ndiye wandai tsi mure  
(Among the sons of Nhindi, your father is the one whom I considered to be a man) (n, poss/p, poss-partic)

Dai aiya, babu / ndiye anapoese izvi  
(If he were to come, father is the one who would finish this) (n/p, r)

Kuita izvi, msanangu, / nako mupfumirira chako unoashada  
(Doing this, my child, is the genuine love medicine which works with me, which I am telling you about now, my niece) (n/p; n, poss/p, poss-partic)

In a very common form of this construction, a copulative inflected pronoun of cl. 15, usually abbreviated to the form *nů*, is followed by an infinitive clause in position. These copulative phrases function as consecutive clauses in sentences.  

**e.g.**  
Asi sezvinekwo zvakazvidzana chako umwe chino kubwa asedeka padve nachito, nako kubaita kwe mwenje, nako kuturina zvakadzana, nako kudzana chakwadzidzidzidzi, inoga chiswe chido.  
(However, he saw a piece of tail which is what upset him and then he went close to the hearth and lit a light and looked closely and saw, true enough, it was a lizard’s tail)

Vakatara midziyo yavo, veleripotse nako kuzembera panuti puro rigorimumakwone  
(They put down their things and Haripotse leaned against a tree, his spear in his hands)

Nako kusika wanyuna ndi kudziwamudzidzidzidzidzidzi pamutuli nepfurumumakwone  
(That is the reason you saw me leaning by a tree with a spear in my hands)

Asi yapo yavo pado, ikaita yashama muroko rukushatirwe, nako kubwa nako pindzidzidzi pamakwane buvo, nako kuti pasi zyi.  
(But when it came near and opened its mouth with rage, then I hurled my spear through its mouth, and it fell down flat on the ground)
(iii) Nucleus of copulative phrase: adjective
e.g. Kutenga shawari yakaniwa inoveribira munthe kana váva kúita

zvinhu zvinè ngazvi / zviikukútu kwasvo
(In seek for a good friend who warns his companions when they are doing something dangerous is very difficult) (inf./a followed by adverb of manner)

(iv) Nucleus of copulative phrase: possessive
e.g. kó, govo réye rekúvinga ríre kúndi, némhira zhinji, matumúru, nitchi néshezi dzepámpakó áve / nésheziño zváro
(that hill of having with squirrels and many dassies, wild fruit and the wild mice of those caves, whose is it?) (n.s. poss-SP, r/poss-SP)

Sadza izii / nésavángwa vachívíva, váchíi vándi kúbasa
(This porridge is what they were eating before they went to work) (n, d/poss-partic)

Murúma uro / nésachakánga chórivačíwé
(In that darkness it was in there that it could now see well) (n, d/poss-partic)

Zvíro zvinu zvakaníwa / nésavokútoróanga basa rúnu i
(now the right thing to do is to arrange the work of the day for a time which suits it) (n, r/poss-inf.)

(v) Nucleus of copulative phrase: relative
e.g. Variné, vanánga / ndávaná-mutír—a-nxámuta, uchíiná vákañáa
(Men, my children, are people who are happy as long as their stomachs are full) (n/r)

Vaná vangu / ndívanzhíndí mubhíwa, váchípíva múbayiro pasvondo rūga rúga
(My children are the ones who work in the bar and are paid weekly) (n, r/poss/r)

(c) Subject: pronoun +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus of copulative phrase: pronoun
e.g. Ġove / ndívé usingóonga kigarírene navámwe zvakaníwa
(You, it is who is unable to live peacefully with others) (g/p, r)

nché zvAIWA ndika uwe akópiníwa / ndíwe uprofánírú /kúmbó módzé
(You, a young boy with sharp eyes, are the ones who ought to see the honey flies) (p; n, a, r/p, r)

(d) Subject: enumerative +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus of copulative phrase: possessive
e.g. Chinche chíchawenso kati izi váñakuvačí tisózutíe navěshure / něchíningá
(The thing which causes us woman to differ with the men is what concerns time) (e, r/poss-SP)

(e) Subject: quantitative +/- substantives in agreement
e.g. Zvíro kwáro / zvíro zvawáweva
(All you have said is true) (q, poss-partic/n followed by adverb of manner)

zvíro izvi / pémwana púkhúuríra múmbí
(All this is on account of growing up in a house) (q, d/n, poss-inf.)

(f) Subject: selector +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus: relative
e.g. Múno / njómałghara sèkíru wákó mukúrú anóva ndíye akánthísíyírá chídúmba chokúphúrã
(In here is where your senior grandfather used to live who is the one who left me the skill in smithing) (a/r with inverted subject qualified by a further relative which includes a substantival predicate as complement)

(g) Subject: demonstrative +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus: noun

e.g. Uvu / mwána wángu
(This is my child) (d/n, poss.)

Izví / ndíezvakúwikisa sadza
(This is to cook the porridge with) (d/poss-inf.)

Uwé / hwehwa hweásingázořá áhuńwa babá
(This is beer which father will never drink) (d/n, poss-partic)

(h) Subject: possessive +/- substantives in agreement

(i) Nucleus: noun

e.g. Wángu mítí / káńga ndíchikúnda pímuño
(My medicine is to practise throwing spears) (poss, n/inf.of aux, verb with partcipial complement)

Mándúři kúyá / múnhi ańkókita óróva vaná váké
(The one I am talking about is a person who would unexpectedly beat his children) (poss-partic/n,r)

(ii) Nucleus: possessive:

Chááízíva / ndíechokúti mítí nésango wákásíkwe némónó
Muví Muví
(What he know is that the trees and veld were made by one called Muví by the elders) (poss-partic/poss-aux-inf.)

(i) Subject: relative +/- substantives in agreement

(i) Nucleus: noun

e.g. Panórwařa múmu neńzíra vanátembúzico / ñíńзуřá yıpůzvízířá
(Where someone is ill on account of suffering it is through being aware of them) (r with inverted subject/n, poss-inf.)

Ko, akátemgá jíři gúří remáźhanje rokúmušíňá kwédu rýfe
Dúaniko, / pumé chéte něbani růñiyamatořo ríné nhapí
Zhůńjí rýfe
(Who is it who bought that big grove of wild fruit trees at home together with that vlei of Nyamato with so many cane rats?) (r/n)

Vaná ngózi / ndé vanófámbísa nótokare váasingáźive zvkúkita
(The dangerous ones are those who drive motorcars not knowing what to do) (r/n)

Zvakúkítica / ndíezvakúkíti mwaná hańka kúdzokerá kúmushá
(What happened is that the child did not return home) (r, poss-aux.inf.)

Anókuníhízáwa návakhníńjí achínźi múńířá / ndíye mbavíñá
(The one who is praised by many people and called a good man is in fact a thief) (r/p; n)

(ii) Nucleus: pronoun

e.g. Núźžó / zvíńóti vanú vanórambana
(That is what people who divorce do) (r with inverted subject/p)

(iii) Nucleus: enumerative

e.g. Zvíńó, káńga múří ſó, chaaśáńźtša upenyú hvěńyú kudái / chí cháiźó?
(now, if you are the same ones, what is it indeed which has changed your life like this?) (r/e followed by adverb of manner)

169 / (iv) Nucleus...
(iv) Nucleus: demonstrative
   e.g.  Zvnó, zvakázóitika / ndezvízi
        (Now what happened is this) (r/d)

(v) Nucleus: possessive
   e.g.  Zvakázóitika / ndézvokúti mwaná haáná kúdzokerá kumushá
        (what happened is that the child did not return home)
        (r/pose-infinitive of auxiliary R-iti with sentence as complement)

(j) In substantival clauses, the predicates consist of copulative phrases +/- complements +/- adjuncts. The following are some examples of full predicates (complements and adjuncts underlined)

Locative:
   Namátambuziko nénhamo dziné vánhu píndó pányika úsiku kumwaná mubuku
   (And the trials and tribulations which people suffer here below are
    darkness to a small child)

Time:
   Nakúngúw azaakatýa akafá mángani
   (How many were the crows that died when they showed fear)

Manner:
   Ko, gomo ríye riné tsindi ndéraaníko zváro?
   (What about that hill with squirrels, whose is it?)

   Zvínó, kana múri svo, chesándútsa upenyú hwényú kudai chí
   cháfvo
   (Now, if you are these same people, what is it that has changed
    your lives like this?)

/asz/- adjunct:
   fbenzi sèi?
   (How is he a fool?)

/asan/- adjunct:
   Rutevaga shémare yakúna inóyambira numwe kana vava kúita
   zvinhu zvíní moci zvikuku kwáro nokúti vanhu vahýeji vánopagana nembirani vevanhu
   (To seek a good friend who will warn his companion when they are
    doing something dangerous is very difficult by reason of the
    fact that many people differ from each other because of human laws)

   Uyu mwána wankúti éne mhópe guèf
   (This is my child because he has ten warts)

(k) Other varieties of substantival clause are:
   (i) those with circumstantial phrases:
   e.g.  Sekúru Mafusíre, ndízvo zvaváingúntsvagá lsvovó
        (As for uncle Mafusíre, this is what he was looking for all
         the time)

   zíga ráko ndízvo aní?
   (What is your name?)

   (ii) those with inverted word order:
   e.g.  Zvíro kwáro zvóso zvaváreva
        (All you have said is true)

   (iii) those with split subject, half before and half after the predicate:
   e.g.  Ko, akatónga jirí gúri remázhane rokumushá kwáro ríye /
        ndízvóka / pemwe chétè nébeni rińe nhapí zhinjí ríye
        (Well, who bought that big grove of fruit trees at our
         village along with that vlei full of so many cane rats?) 170/(iv) those...
(iv) those with interjectives and connectives:

  e.g. Ínga, ínyoka!
      (I say, it is a snake!)
  Ínga chıkwadi ndîbâne!
      (It is indeed father!)

(1) (i) The copulative phrases in which the inflected nuclear substantive is a pronoun followed by a relative or possessive inflected participial clause, deserve notice because they instance transformations whereby SPs belonging to the various constituent classes in the verbal clause receive emphasis and prominence.

  e.g. - the SP subject of a verbal clause
        Mwaná ákaróva imbwa nétsëvimbo
        (The child beat the dog with a stick)
  cp. Mwaná ndîye akârova imbwa nétsëvimbo
      (The child it was who beat the dog with a stick)

  e.g. - the SP object-complement of a verbal clause.
        Imbwa ndîyo yaákárova nétsëvimbo mwaná
        (The dog it was which the child beat with a stick)

  e.g. - the SP in an adjunct of a verbal clause
        Tsëmbó ndîyo yaákárova intwá nayó mwaná
        (The stick it was with which the child beat the dog)

Other examples

  Zvínó chisioni, vanângu, kuti ndîvo zvinóita vanhu vanórambana
  (Now see, my children, that is what people who divorce one another do)

  Iní ndîni urombo némwaná wényá uyu nekúti ndîye wámunénge
  māsīyíra nhâmo yósé
  (I am sorry for this child of yours because it is he to whom
   you are transferring this whole trouble)

This is more emphatic than:

  ........ nokúti munénge māmusíyíra nhâmo yósé

  Hvarâsrí vakâdzí kana varùmbe vanopóngâ asî kúti iyewé
  ndîwâ usingâgónô kúgarízana navâmwe zvakanâka
  (It is not the wives or husbands who are mad but that you
   cannot live peaceably with others)

(ii) This construction features as a complement to the auxiliaries /-vá/, /-mê/ (seem) and, apparently in older forms of Shona, /-rî/ (in negative inflections). These compound constructions consisting of an inflected auxiliary R with copulative phrase as complement are seemingly needed when aspects other than simple emphatic affirmation are needed. Thus the auxiliary /-mê/ conveys the added notion of "seemingly", the auxiliary /-vá/ is often used when the affirmation itself is conveyed relatively (e.g. "... who is the one who...", "... who are the ones who...") or in a consecutive sense (e.g. "... and that was what happened."). Most other inflections of /-vá/ with copulative phrase are seemingly possible where a combination of a particular mood or tense together with emphasis are required.

  e.g. Vâinge ndîyo vaâinge mûfudzi wezvíkawâ zvēzango
        (He seemed to be the one who was the herder of wild creatures)

        Pandâkâmunóa âkânga achûinge ndîye mukuîrú wâwô
        (When I saw him he was, seemingly, the chief among them)

        âkâfînga kuti ânînge ndîye muchengeri wâmakuîvâ
        (She thought he was probably the one in charge of the graves)

        Ishé ârfungá ênge ndîye mutóngi wâmhosva asî hâsaâtî ñîiyêba
        (The chief thinks he is the judge of the case but it is not he)

171 Vâkâzônda...
Vákázdóna Zindóga anéngé ndíye akátora Sárága
(She hated Zindóga who appeared to be the one who had taken Sárága)

/-vá/

e.g. Múnó ndhángaka sëkúru wákó mukúri anóva ndíye akándisíyífíra
(chížimba chótupfúfú)
(Here is where your senior grandfather lives who is the one who left me my skill in smithing) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Ákanga ári munu aífi, kaña óona munu, aíchóna-chéma kusjaya
chókukutá, anóva ndíye akánga ári munu, anóva ndíyezevé aífi
akábaba munu we tse ngé aífíndzí ndíye changamire íye aíri ndíye
(he was a man who, when he saw another, used to complain at having nothing to give him, who was indeed a full person, who was the one who was responsible for the whole village as if he were the chief, though in fact he was not) (affirmative relative present inflection) (negative participial present inflection of /-vá/

Nyíka ánótengéswá ndhúruméndé anóva ndíye anóvézú pasíí na tèngéswá
nákátíngwá
(land is sold by the Government which is the body which knows what has not been sold and what has been sold) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Takúruhídawa kusífúi namúngwáwa, tímína ndízi takúrala
(We have been forbidden to walk in the road, we who are the ones who made it) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Nokúli, múnúm anéngé ássai kúka, avó ndíye bahá wómukári
(because the husband will have changed and have become the father of his wife) (affirmative participial perfect inflection)

Zwíngevé ndízvo
(It may be just that) (affirmative potential inflection)

Mehometení : ákave ndó akámasákiisa kuviira zvikúru nénahashe
(The Mohamedens were the ones who made him boil with wrath) (affirmative relative remote past inflection)

Vóchóvó ndíyo vanzénda
(They will be the ones who will go) (affirmative participial future inflection)

Munú ákánda kuvuvinomú múkave ndíko káti kweká
(The man went hunting and that was his death)

The auxiliary R /-vá/ can be followed by a copulative inflected pronoun, in full or contracted as is exemplified above. This pronoun may be of cl. 15 and be followed by an infinitive clause in opposition. The auxiliary R /-vá/ may be inflected either by an inf of cl. 15 or one agreeing with the subject of the clause of which it is the predicate. The infinitive clause may be qualified by a possessive with pronominal stem agreeing with the subject of the clause.

e.g. Mapféní ákave ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwaó)
Mapféní kwákave ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwaó)
(And that was the end of the baboons)

The inflection of auxiliary (-vá/ may be consecutive and be attended by the same freedom.

e.g. Mapféní akáve ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwaó)
Mapféní kunkáve ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwaó)
(And that was the end of the baboons)

As stated in AS, p. it is probably from this long construction by the elision of new optional elements, that we get the common contemporary construction:

ndó/ndíko + infinitive clause

which is used a great deal as a main or consecutive clause (these distinctions cannot be conveyed merely by the copulative inflection).

e.g. Nnumwe wovó ákáti, "Nántündíe nevó kúrukáva". Vakáve ndó kutakura
chíthumá cháké, vachínzíndu nachó kúrwízi
(One of them said, "Let us take him to the river." Then they took up his corpse, taking it to the river)
Pavákanswá kúti ákotsíra, vakachíve ndó kuýá (kwávó) nchúpinda mumbá ēhinyararire
(When they heard he was asleep, they came and entered the house secretly)
Kupérá kwézvi zvihunhá iZvo zvivenýu zvikavé ndó kuitwa (kwávó) mudungwe
(After this, those living corpses were formed into a line)
Vákásíva pamushá vakavé ndó kuZofará (kwávó)
(They arrived home and were glad)
Vákachira ndiya vakavé ndó kupona kwávó
(They dug out the root and survived)
(iii)Where assertion or denial of identity, without emphasis, is required in moods
and tenses other than in the affirmative present, the copulative radicals /-vá/,
/-mg/- and /-ri/ appear to be used without copulative complements.

e.g. Dái zvákagůmírá ípapo chéte, zvínzgadáí zvákavá nání
(If things ended there, they would be tolerable)
Muchipáná chidó chakáperera, chókwadá íkana zvigungů zvínzgavé
zvishona pamana pénýi
(if you give on another this complete love, truly even grumbles
would be few in your home)
Así handíti vaná dzínenge dzavá nhere zása zvízíná babá naamáí?
(But do the children not appear to have become orphans without
father or mother?)
Zvínhu zvősé zvává zvitsvá kwári
(Everything was new to him)
Saka úri bénźí nokúti hauńzwe
(You are a fool because you do not listen)
cp Saka íbenzi kana achůlāró
(So he is a fool if he does that)
Seí ríri bénźí?
(Why is he a fool?)
cp Íbenzi séí
(How is he a fool?)

3.8.2.
Types of substantival sentence

3.8.2.1
Substantival clause +/- subordinate clauses

One type of substantival sentence may be defined as substantival clause +/- subordinate
clauses. Subordinate clauses are to be understood as participial clauses which are verbal
constructions. These may or may not be introduced by conjunctions.

e.g. Zvínó, kana múří ívo, chasándůtsa upenyú hwényú kudái chíi chaízvo?
(Now, if you are the same ones, what indeed has changed your lives like
this?)
Kana achichéná, muñá neðúkí
(if he cries, he is a small child)
Varimé ava, uchívóndó vákádaí, tůmbwana
(These men, as you see them acting like this, are just puppies)
Muñá wángu chero ání mhópo güní
(He is my child as long as he has ten warts)
Dái achůyawó nómufará, ndíaní angatódzewó kumugámučira nókufará
(If only he were to come smiling, who could fail to welcome him
happily)

173
3.8.2.2.
3.8.2.2. Copulative clauses + infinitive clauses

Infinitive clauses also function as subordinate clauses in sentences.

e.g. Runyangwe áiné mhpó gúmí ndówángú mwaná chéte
(Even though he has ten warts, he is my child and none other)

Kubvira goré rakópéra, ndíye angá achíndiyamíra
(Since last year, it is he who has been helping me)

3.8.2.3. Compound substantival clauses

Copulative clauses may be joined to verbal or other copulative clauses by conjunctives.

e.g. Uyu mwángu así uyo haáí wángu
(This one is my child but that one is not)

Iyi imbudzi así/yé iyo ímái
(This is a goat but/and that is a sheep)

Ichokwadí kúti áichíenda musángó así áichíenda nokífú
(It is true he used to go into the forest but he used to take flour with him)

3.8.2.4. Substantival clauses in sentences

Copulative clauses form part of larger verbal sentences in several ways.

(a) The commonest way is by the use of a copulative clause as consecutive.

e.g. Tánga ákatémá mússasa ndó kusika moto
(Tanga cut a shelter and made a fire)

(b) in parenthesis

e.g. Murúmí akapímá múpfukwíra chéto, ndíko kúti múpfukwíra wéchidó chéto,
ánóti kana akaswipawa kumwe, ánngumudzi achiširíóya kumusha; kana
akadziviríwa némvura kumwe, ánñóyé achiširíóya kumusha
(If a man is given a true love philtre, that is to say the love potion
of real love, he will not rest if he is overtaken by night somewhere but
come home; or if he is held back by rain, he will break through and come home)

(c) as a complement to the auxiliary /-ti/

e.g. Zvimí, vanángu, ndinóndó kúkutáúríí kúti munhu akádaró ndíye anónzi
ánóryó masikúti múcúna
(Now, my children, I went to tell you that a person like that is one who
can be said to be a witch in broad daylight)

(d) as a connective

e.g. Ndíye Sáróga zvakamúmára kúti múva zahasí rákápesana némwángwána
(So it irked Saraoga that today was different from the morrow)

Hézy, tava náparadzana tísátí taúkúríí
(So here we are, parting before we have exchanged a word)

cp ndíye, hézyó etc.

3.8.2.5. The following are some examples of substantival sentences with copulative inflected demonstratives and selectors as nuclei (representative phrases);

e.g. Hézyó zvákó
(Here are your things)
Héríndí denga pasí pípo
(Here is heaven on earth)
Vákásímúka, hévo toróvakánó nga nkumadzimáwe
(They got up and went off, heading straight through the graves)
Varúme vákásímúka pípo, hévo nkkumwámbó, bindemupinde shaangu kumukaráti
(The men arose from here and went on to the chief; from there they passed on and went to
the magistrate)
Nadzimái vákásímúka paruwar, pazví zvávó mbutó, hévo kumushé
(The women arrived at the threshing floor, picked up their millet, and went straight
home)

/SOME NOTES...
SOME NOTES ON IDEOPHONES AND IDEOPHONIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN SHONA

by

G FORTUNE

INTRODUCTION

0.0.

Ideophones and verb radicals are the basis of two predicative styles

In 1962 the writer of this paper put forward an interpretation of the ideophone in Shona which made it comparable to the verb. Highly distinctive in every way, in phonology, as a constituent in constructions and in stylistic use, the ideophone was found, nevertheless, to be analogous to the verb and this analogy was found to be useful in distinguishing speech styles characterised respectively by the presence of verbs and ideophones. "When we compare speech in which a high proportion of ideophones is found with the more normal speech, we find that we are led to distinguish two quite different styles. In ideophonic speech verbs are replaced more or less entirely by ideophones." (Fortune, 1962, p.4). This interpretation and distinction of styles was supported by Kunene in an article entitled 'The Ideophone in Southern Sotho' which he summarised as follows. "The main thesis put forward here is that the ideophone is a dramatisation of actions and states, and the conclusion is that two predicative types must be recognised for the Bantu languages, viz. the 'narrative' and the dramatic." (Kunene, 1965 p.20)

This article aims at defining a little more exactly and in detail what was adumbrated in the earlier paper by applying an analysis, along constituent structure lines, to the constructions in which ideophones occur.

0.1.

Three lexical groups exist, the members of each being distinguished by the constructions of which they are constituents.

In the lexicon ideophones form a large group of items side by side with those consisting of the substantival stems and the verb radicals. It is relatively easy to distinguish these three different types of item by reference to the constructions of which they are constituents. Substantival stems are normally constituents along with class or person affixes in the formation of substantives. Thus the noun stem /-kâdz/ combines with the affixes of classes 1 and 2 to form nouns.

  e.g. mu-kâdz (woman) (1)
  va-kâdz (women) (2)

The verb radical /-bt-/ (snatch) combines with complements and adjuncts to form verb phrases,

  e.g. -bt nyama sgororo (snatch meat like a robber)

Verb phrases combine with verbal inflections to form inflected verb phrases,

  e.g. yâ-bt-â nyama rgororo (it snatched the meat like a robber)

0.2.

Ideophones are constituents of ideophonic phrases and the ideophonic phrase is the marker of a vivid, dramatic style.

Analogous to verb radicals, ideophones combine with complements and adjuncts to form ideophonic phrases,

  e.g. nyama pikú somuridzi (taking up meat as its owner)

Unlike verb radicals, ideophones are always phonologically complete and free forms, needing no inflection before they are capable of movement in relation to other free forms in an utterance,

  e.g. nyama somuridzi pikú (taking up meat as its owner)
  nyama pikú somuridzi (taking up meat as its owner)

Many ideophones are constituents in the formation of nouns, normally according to specific constructional patterns.

  e.g. cha-mu-púpúrí (whirlwind, dust-devil) (7)
  c.p. púpúrí púpúrí (whirling)

176 /G Fortune...
C G Fortune, Department of African Languages, University of Zimbabwe, May 1971. However, some ideophones combine with single class affixes just like noun stems and form a secondary sub-class of the constituent class of noun stem,

e.g. Chí-mbinyu (short, excitable person) (7)

cp. Mbinyu (changing suddenly, e.g. a position or opinion)

The characteristic note of ideophones is that they are constituents in ideophonic phrases and the linguistic marker of a vivid, dramatic style is the presence of ideophonic phrases instead of verb phrases in predicates.

0.3 The substantival verbal and ideophonic constructions each form a hierarchy

The substantival stems and the verb radicals are each the nuclei upon which a hierarchy of constructions is built. In the case of the substantival stem we have the following successive levels:

1. Complex stem e.g. -nhu-kadzi (female)
2. Substantive e.g. mu-mhukadzi (woman, female person) (1)
3. Substantive phase e.g. mhukadzi mukúrú (grown woman) (1)
4. Inflected SP e.g. múnghukadzi mukúrú (she is a grown woman)
5. Substantival clause e.g. Hanzvádzi yangu múnghukadzi mukúrú (My sister is a grown woman)
6. Substantival sentence e.g. Hanzvádzi yängu múnghukadzi mukúrú asi što índiki kunéni (My sister is a grown woman but she is younger than I)

In the case of the verb radical we have the following successive levels:

1. Complex radical e.g. -tēng-ēs- (sell)
2. Verb phrase e.g. -tēng-ēs- mombe négumi ramadhóra (sell an ox for ten dollars)
3. Inflected VP e.g. āka-tēng-ēs-ā mombe négumi ramadhóra (he sold an ox for ten dollars)
4. Verbal clause e.g. Babá wángu ākatēngēsā mombe négumi ramadhóra (My father sold an ox for ten dollars)
5. Verbal clause e.g. Babá wángu ākatēngēsā mombe négumi ramadhóra vanihu vakaífórá kúmahúro (My father sold an ox for ten dollars and the people fetched it from the pastures)

There is also a small hierarchy of ideophonic constructions,

1. Complex ideophone e.g. tsiku-re (speaking)
2. Ideophone phrase e.g. mazví manyóró taurei (speaking soft words)
3. Ideophone clause e.g. Mambo mazví manyóró taurei (The chief spoke soft words)
4. Ideophone sentence e.g. Mambo mazví manyóró taurei, vanhu vóse múnyi priwe (The chief spoke soft words and everyone was mollified)

0.4 Rank shifting occurs within hierarchies

The feature about hierarchies is that constructions at any level have constituents from lower levels and are constituents themselves at higher levels. This does not prevent "rank-shifting" from taking place, i.e. a construction of a higher level acting as a constituent at a lower level, e.g. a substantival phrase acting as a complex stem and becoming a secondary member of the constituent class known by that name,

e.g. chi-hwáná udíki (the behaviour of small children) (7,14)

cp. Hwáná udíki (small children) (14)
0.5. Shifting occurs between hierarchies

There is also much "hierarchy-shifting", i.e. the functioning of morphemes or constructions from one hierarchy as constituents in either of the others. Thus, substantive phrases and inflected substantive phrases are the normal members of the constituent classes of complement and adjunct in verb and ideophone phrases.

- Example:
  - nyama ségóró
  - nyama semiriđi

0.5.1. Ideophones are constituents in nominal constructions

As already stated, ideophones are constituents in nominals or nominal constructions. Normally they figure in nominal constructions in a complex stem. Complex stems with ideophones as constituents are often reduplicated, or, if they are monosyllabic, triplicated. The tone patterns of such nominal constructions may reflect the tone patterns of the constituent ideophones but this is not always the case.

Common constructional patterns are listed as follows.

1. Class affix + ideophone + ideophone

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual uncovering) (3)
  - (uncovering)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual withdrawing, changing of position) (3)
  - (withdrawing)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (starting without method, anyhow) (7)
  - (starting), -nyu-

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (cooking without method) (7)
  - (cooking), -njú-

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual gripping) (7)
  - (gripping)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (falling, knocking, hammering) (7)
  - (falling, knocking, hammering)

2. Class affix + ideophone + class affix /nu/ + ideophone

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual hanging up) (7)
  - (hanging)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual picking up from all over) (7)
  - (picking up)

3. Class affix /chu+/ class affix /nu/ + ideophone + class affix /nu/ + ideophone

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (snipping all over) (7)
  - (cutting, snipping)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (plucking feathers from all over) (7)
  - (losing feathers)

Monosyllabic ideophones are reduplicated to fit into this pattern to yield a construction of seven syllables.

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual dodging all over) (7)
  - (dodging)

- Example:
  - nyu-njú-bu-nyu
  - (continual falling of light objects everywhere) (7)
  - (falling lightly, e.g. as of a leaf)
Trisyllabic ideophones are merely reduplicated,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>čh-á-mu pfúgu-pfúgu</th>
<th>(continual uncovering)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>pfúgu</td>
<td>(uncovering)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>čh-á-mu-rá-danu-rá-danu</th>
<th>(continual uprooting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>rá-danu</td>
<td>(uprooting)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monosyllabic ideophones may be triplicated,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>čh-á-mu nhí-nhí-nhí</th>
<th>(continual gripping)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>nhí</td>
<td>(gripping)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0.5.2. Ideophones are constituents in derived verb radicals

Ideophones are also constituents in the formation of derived verb radicals, the construction pattern being as follows:

ideophone + verbaliser

e.g. -svétu-k- (jump)  
    -pépére-k- (wave in the wind)  
    -dimí-k- (speak in metaphors)  
    -bhrúru-k- (fly)  

cp. svétu : (jumping)  
    pépére : (waving)  
    dimí : (hinting)  
    bhrúru : (flying)

The list of verbalisers in Shona is a long one. The majority are of C, with two or VC, shape.

viz. /b/ e.g. -svi-b- (be dark)  
     /d/ e.g. -gá-gá (chop)  
     /dz/ e.g. -púru-púru (applaud, shrilly)  
     /k/ e.g. -púru-púru (split)  
     /m/ e.g. -gwa-da (kneel)  
     /mb/ e.g. -f'é-bá (sniff)  
     /n/ e.g. -góná-ná (curl up)  
     /nd/ e.g. -ndhí-dhí (stamp)  
     /nh/ e.g. -ndhí-dhí (drop)  
     /ng/ e.g. -n'g'g'g'g'g' (dodge)  
     /ny/ e.g. -tsa-te (crush)  
     /t/ e.g. -púru-tá (tear)  
     /t/ e.g. -púru-tá (grasp)  
     /v/ e.g. -kwe-vé (pull)  
     /z/ e.g. -üzü-zu (shake)  
     /k/ e.g. -ru-ik (be weak)  
     /r/ e.g. -ndur-ir (sting)  

cp. sví-b-  
    gá-gá  
    púru-púru  
    púru-púru  
    gwa-da  
    f'é-bá  
    góná-ná  
    ndhí-dhí  
    ndhí-dhí  
    n'g'g'g'g'g'  
    tsá-te  
    púru-tá  
    púru-tá  
    kwe-vé  
    üzü-zu  
    ru-ik  
    ndur-ir

There is some correlation between the tone patterns of ideophones and those of derived verb radicals as between the tone patterns of ideophones and those of nominal constructions. Ideophones with the tone patterns H, HL, HH, HHH are constituents of radicals of the high group; those with tone patterns L, LL, LH, LLL, LHH, LLLL are constituents of radicals in the low group. The number of derived radicals of this sort is very great.

IDEPHONES

Monosyllabic ideophones need no stabiliser

Underived ideophones are apparently all unit morphemes. They function as constituents in ideophonic clauses without any inflection, no matter what their syllabic shape. Thus the need for a stabiliser, such as we observe in monosyllabic substantival and verbal constructions, does not obtain in the case of ideophones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>pamushedá vhu (arriving at home)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cp</td>
<td>i-vhí (soil) 5 - noun with stabiliser /i-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-dýá (eat) - verb with stabiliser /i-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1. Ideophones, which are unit morphemes, may consist of one, two, three or more syllables

Ideophones are realised in forms which consist of one, two, three or more syllables, those of two and three syllables being the most numerous.
Most ideophones are phonologically similar to substantival and verbal constructions.

In their syllabic structure and phonology generally, most ideophones, expressive features apart, are no different from substantival and verbal constructions. Their syllables are made up of the consonantal margins and vowel nuclei common to morphemes of all kinds, each carrying either a high or a low tone and a relatively short or relatively long unit of length. The common tone patterns are either H, HL, HH, HHH in the high group and L, LL, Ll, LLL, LHL in the low group, the following patterns not being so common:

- H group: HH, HHH, HHL
- L group: LLL, LHL

Dramatic speech may be phonologically similar to narrative speech.

Ideophones also commonly carry vowel length patterns similar to those of substantival or verbal constructions which are phonological words of similar syllabic composition, viz. they are marked with an accent of relatively greater length and accompanying stress on the penultimate syllable.

e.g. ráru (tearing)
gu-rwi (swallowing)

The very many ideophones which are constituents in nominal constructions and verb radicals are obviously not exotic in their phonology. Similarly the derived ideophones, in which verb radicals and adjective stems are constituents, are different from most of the underived ideophones only in their morphology, viz. in being constructions.

e.g. tóm-e (cutting) cp. -tóm- (cut)
rim-e (tilling) -rim- (till)
tsvuku-ru (being reddish) -tsvuku- (red)

In these cases, and they are very numerous, it is clear that the segmental and suprasegmental phones used are common to the three hierarchies, the latter, viz. the units of tone and length being used as in narrative speech. Furthermore, dramatic speech in which ideophonic phrases occur can be quite like narrative speech in its sentence intonation and the marking of clauses by extra penultimate length and pauses. Dramatic speech marked by the presence of ideophonic phrases can be uttered as casually as narrative speech using verb phrases.

However, dramatic speech is very prone to the addition of expressive features.

However, ideophonic phrases, and ideophones in particular, are very prone to the addition of expressive features. A narrator using this dramatic style and wishing to convey an exact impression of the individual event or situation he is describing, will want to use the features of stress, pitch, length, tempo, constriction, voicing and even extra syllables in their correct proportion, neither too little nor too much of each. The human voice as trained by the requirements of Shona dramatic recitals is a marvellously adequate instrument for conveying all sorts of different aspects and degrees of existence, e.g. the progress of a broken-down bicycle swerving and creaking, the gait of a young and shapely woman or the extent and vastness of an empty hall. When these expressive features are laid on to the ideophones, their phonology is considerably modified. The effects possible in an oral recital are very difficult, if not impossible, to convey in writing.

Frames for expressive features

The sentence:

- e.g. ńati bhye rangu ńiy, n̄z̄w客气 pasi
  (I hung up my jacket and sat down)
may be uttered without special effects. It is very common, however, though not compulsory, for ideophones to be marked off from the rest of the sentence before and after by means of pauses,

\[ \text{e.g. N\dja'th\'atye r\'an\'gu} \neq \text{p\'ayi} \neq, \text{nd\'okugara pasi} \]

When this occurs the ideophone may be freed, as regards its pitch, from the rule of down-drift or controlled down-stepping which is the common phonological marker of the sentence. It may be realised at a pitch either higher or lower than that appropriate to its position in the sentence. In this respect it is helpful to compare ideophones with citations of direct speech which may also be introduced by the verb radical /-ti/ as ideophone phrases are and which may also signal their presence by freedom from the rule of intonational down-stepping within the sentence.

\[ \text{e.g. N\dja'ti, "Ch\'embom\'ira! [--- ---]} \]

(I said, "Just wait a moment")

The more expressive the speech, the more likely it is that ideophones will be given prominence in this way. Some ideophones are more prone to receive this prominence than others, viz. preliminary and subsequent pause and freedom from intonational fall. The examples which come to mind are from the second great class of ideophones, viz. those not used as constituents in derived verb radicals and which may have special phonological features of their own such as exotic phonemes, lack of penultimate accent and extra length.

\[ \text{e.g. K\'ov\'o: [ - - ] (being dark)} \]

(The symbol /\w/ stands for an infra-flapped labiodental in the articulation of which the lower lip is flicked outwards and downwards, having been drawn behind the upper teeth).

\[ \text{e.g. t\'o\'ra [ - - ] (crowning of a cock)} \]

\[ \text{kw\'i\'ra [ - - ] (donning of a garment)} \]

(Both syllables of these ideophones are short).

\[ \text{e.g. ndo: [ - - ] (being dark)} \]

\[ \text{nz\'i: [ - - ] (being black)} \]

(Low pitch, length and hence falling tone are essential to these ideophones)

Often the preliminary pause serves not only as a frame but as a source of breath which is rather necessary for special dramatic effects.

### 1.2.2. Expressive stress.

Stress, constriction and a faster tempo indicate actions done in angry haste or angry deliberation. The ideophones are raised in pitch above the level of the sentence intonation at which they occur. The stress falls on the initial syllable of the ideophone and if this is also the penultimate, the word accent is obliterated. Further, if the initial consonant is a continuant, it may be considerably lengthened in expressive stress.

\[ \text{e.g. \dja'ti s\'i\'mu, nd\'iye w\'owo} \]

(He stood up deliberately and went off)

### 1.2.3. Expressive tempo

The parameter between fast and slow tempo is used to convey the degree of speed and size involved. A quick tempo favours high pitch and slow tempo, low.

\[ \text{e.g. r\'a\'nu: (standing up and jumping away)} \]

\[ \text{cp r\'a\'iz\'nu: (the same, of a large and heavy person)} \]

\[ \text{e.g. s\'and\'u: (turning over, e.g. small piece of meat in a pan)} \]

\[ \text{cp s\'ain\'d\'u: (the same, only larger and more slowly and by a larger person)} \]

181 /e.g. r\'ab\'a\'da
The tempo employed indicates the size of the object.

1.2.4. **Expressive pitch**

The parameter between high and low pitch is used to indicate distance and tenseness. Low tone refers to a nearby situation viewed in a relaxed manner, high tone to one far off accompanied by a feeling of tenseness.

* e.g. **twiriri** (standing still and gazing into the distance)

All possible degrees of pitch may be used with this ideophone to indicate different degrees of tenseness in the subject gazing and the distance of the object gazed at.

1.2.5. **Phonemic and expressive tone**

In ideophones in Shona some of the special phonological features of ideophones were mentioned, viz. the relation of their tone and tone patterns to expressive pitch, vowel length and stress. Most of what was stated there still appears to be valid but the question as to whether phonemic tone is necessarily part of the syllables of all ideophones is still uncertain. In many ideophones this appears to be the case, e.g. in those which function as constituents in verb radicals, if these may be referred to again. But, in many others, the case seems to be that they only have expressive tone and length and that this is judged according to the context. For example, the sentence,

Ndiikati pa, ndava pamberi

can be uttered with a great variety of pitches on /pa/. When the pitch is [−], the sentence may be translated as, "I suddenly remembered when I was well on my way." Pitches such as [−] and [−] indicate lesser degrees of importance of the item remembered and greater relaxation on the part of the subject. Variable expressive pitches, different degrees of length and special features are all part of the make up of this class in ideophones.

* e.g. **kuti pa**, kurová (to boat)

With [−], a light but sharp sound is implied, but with [−], a light but dull sound.

Another aspect is conveyed by a similar example.

* e.g. **kuti pa**, kupitíka kwechidzoro (the popping of a cork)

If [−], the popping is presented as taking one by surprise; if [−], the sound is not unexpected.

**cp**

_kuti pa:_, kupaipa můri

(to blow water out of the mouth, e.g. to ward off the ill effects of adultery from affecting one's children)

_kuti pa:_

(to blow out a quantity of water quickly, e.g. as an insult to others)

This last example requires voicelessness and length.

**cp**

Ndzakamúé ≠ dzadžú = ndzakamúi pasá ≠ pí:sá [−]

(I took him up and threw him head foremost to the ground)

Here we have an example of an adjective consonant together with a vowel with very short length and high pitch, all combined dramatically in the right proportion. If the sentence had ended thus:

* e.g. **ndzakamúi pasá zvi**

(and threw him sideways on to the ground)

the ideophone could have had either an emphatic attack with pauses, stressed consonantal onset and shortened vowel or a more relaxed pronunciation with no preliminary pause or stress and medium vowel length. The former would indicate rough, the latter gentle, action. But in neither case would it be appropriate for /zvi/ to be high in pitch. Such an ideophone does not appear to exist.

...
1.2.6. Parameters of expressive features exist in which the use of pitch, length, etc. is not contrastive

Thus the different degrees of pitch, length, stress, constriction and speed are used expressively, different points along the various parameters indicating different degrees of size, proximity, intensity and so on. The contrastive phonemic use of tone and length does not obtain here or is superseded.

1.2.7. A parameter which overrides the distinctiveness of the otherwise distinctive features of voicelessness, voicing and murmur

Degrees of size and of the weightiness of an action may be indicated by the choice of one of the following features of the initial, and sometimes the medial, consonant of an ideophone:

1. in the case of oral stops, voicelessness, voicing and murmur;
2. in the case of spirants, voicelessness and murmur with sometimes affrication;
3. in the case of affricates, voicelessness and murmur,

* e.g. páru, báru, bháru (tearing)
indicate actions which are respectively on a small, medium and large scale.

* e.g. pitiri, bidiri, bidhiri (falling, e.g. from a roof)
indicate the falling of objects which are of light, medium and heavy weight respectively.

* e.g. ka, ga
  * (striking of a snake, of respectively small and big size)
  * gve, dzve
  * (sipping of a thin and thick liquid respectively)
  * tsamu, dzamu
  * (taking a small or a large handful)

Here we have continuity established between voiceless, voiced and murmured consonants, the different realisations indicating, not contrastive units, but underlying unity and different degrees. In the morphology of the substantive and verb, these differences are phonemic but not in these ideophones. Three otherwise distinctive features are here merely expressive and they remain so when ideophones liable to this sort of expressive feature are constituents of verb radicals.

* e.g. -tepu-k-
  * (sway of slim tree)  cp. tepu
  * -debu-k-
  * (sway of large tree)  debu
  * -dhebhu-k-
  * (sway of huge tree)  dhebhu

1.2.8. Expressive addition of syllables

There is finally the indication of degrees of intensity by the addition of extra syllables to the ideophone. This phenomenon was listed in the morphological section in Ideophones in Shona but it now appears as another expressive feature, not a morphological process resulting in a derived ideophone.

* e.g. mbug
  * (being white)
  * mbure:
  * (being very white)
  * mburete:
  * (being extremely white)
  * tve:
  * (throwing away of an object of medium weight which lands with a slight sound)
  * tvéréstè:
  * (throwing away of an object of light weight which lands with a slight sound)
  * tonho
  * (being quiet)
  * tonhono
  * (being very quiet)
  * tonhono:
  * (being as quiet as the grave)
  * bha
  * (shining of the sun)
  * bha:
  * (rising of the sun)
  * bhanan'anan'anan'ana
  * (coming out of the first rays of the sun)

These syllables are added, again according to the dramatic requirements of the situation, and are accompanied by the other expressive features in the requisite combination. It is noteworthy that these additional syllables appear to be normally alveolar commencing. But they are not morphemes.

183 / 1.3. ...
1.3 Variations in the form of ideophones

The use of features which are distinctive in the normal phonology and morphology as expressive is linked to a great freedom in the forms in which many ideophones are pronounced.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{báru} \sim \text{bháru} \quad \text{(tearing)} \\
\text{tögo} \sim \text{nígö} \quad \text{(going up, as of smoke)} \\
\text{nyápu} \sim \text{nyámü} \quad \text{(beating lightly)}
\end{align*} \]

These forms are equivalent to one another. Related to this freedom of realization is the fact that ideophones may be made up by the individual speaker, freedom thus being exercised not only in the realization of accepted ideophones but in their creation as well. What will guide him will be his feeling for the phonology and phonotactics special to ideophones and the requirements of the context for something apt, vivid and yet spontaneous. If there is an element of guessing involved, light can be conveyed by an accompanying infinitive and by gesture.

\[ \text{e.g.: kwárú kwárú} \quad \text{(writing under dictation in a somewhat confused manner)} \]

Ideophones may be used first in the secret language or chibhende of friends and then find their way out into more general currency later.

1.4 Metathesis

A final indication of the freedom of ideophones in regard to phonemic form is the practice of metathesis.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{tögúti, nígúti} \quad \text{(being thin-waisted)} \\
\text{síngúti, síngúti} \quad \text{(untying)}
\end{align*} \]

This practice may also have had its origin in chibhende since this is a common form taken by children's secret language.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{namwa ngúwa} \quad \text{(my child - in chibhende)} \\
\text{cp} & \quad \text{mwana vángu} \quad \text{(my child)}
\end{align*} \]

1.5 Syllable repetition, recurrent partials and vowel harmony

The phonotactics of Shona ideophones would be susceptible of the sort of detailed treatment given to those of Zulu (Fivaz, 1953) and this would yield analogous results in the shape of (a) syllable repetition and (b) recurrent partials. Vowel harmony, (c), would be another feature.

\[ \begin{align*}
(a) & \quad \text{bábandú} \quad \text{(chewing hard and brittle food)} \\
& \quad \text{bashàngu} \quad \text{(splashing water during swimming)} \\
& \quad \text{bhábharú} \quad \text{(unfolding)}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
(b) & \quad \text{sírúdúdú} \quad \text{(sitting with bowed head)} \\
& \quad \text{nyúrúdúdú} \quad \text{(going down into the water)} \\
& \quad \text{nánáí} \quad \text{(moving painfully)} \\
& \quad \text{kámbái} \quad \text{(crawling)} \\
& \quad \text{tsáí} \quad \text{(sweeping)}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
(c) & \quad \text{nyángáda} \quad \text{(dissolving)} \\
& \quad \text{nyamwere} \quad \text{(smiling)} \\
& \quad \text{mínání} \quad \text{(lifting a thin object pointing upwards)} \\
& \quad \text{rmwódo} \quad \text{(falling gently to the knees)} \\
& \quad \text{tutútúrú} \quad \text{(arriving)}
\end{align*} \]
Repetition

A very simple form of complexity is represented by the repetition of an identical ideophone. Repetition results in reduplicated forms, or, in the case of monosyllabic ideophones, triplicated.

e.g. 附属 (running with short steps)
    nğá nğá nğá (tying of knots)
    půgu půgu (puffing out smoke)
    dhabhu dhabhu (flying slowly of a large bird)
    gagamí gagamí (limping)
    nyororo nyororo (moving slowly)

2.1 Ideophones derived from verb radicals

Derived ideophones are formed with verb radicals as constituents, a variety of 'ideophonisers' being used, viz.

1) R + e ~ -e (depending on whether the R belongs to the high or low group)

   e.g. tek-e (drawing water)  cp -ték’ (draw water)
        muk-ě (rising from lying down) -muk- (rise)

2) R + -eí ~ -ñeí (of gentle action)

   e.g. tek-ñeí (drawing of water in leisurely fashion)
        muk-ñeí (rising slowly, gingerly)

3) R + u ~ -u (reversing action)

   e.g. dzúm-u (extinguishing)  cp -dzúm-ire (burn a fireguard)
        dzúv-ú (uncorking)  cp -dzúv- (hinder)

The governing suffix /u ~ -u/ is used with only a restricted group of radicals. Of much wider currency are the allomorphs /Hu ~ -ono/, V being a variable vowel identical with that of the radical and the tone pattern of the suffix being HL with high radicals and LH with low.

   e.g. kát-ánú (uncoiling)  cp -kát’ (coil)
        pfek-enû (undressing) -pfek’ (dress)
        píng-ínu (unatching) -píng’ (block, hinder)
        roy-onó (unwitching) -roy’ (bewitch)
        súng-únu (untying) -súng’ (tie)

4) R + -áù ~ -áú (extensive action)

   e.g. tánh-áû (plucking from all over) -tánh’ (pluck)
        rim-áû (hoeing all over) -rim’ (hoe)

5) R + úru ~ -uru (repetitious action)

   e.g. dyár-úru (sowing over again, too little and too late) -dyár’ (sow)
        bay-úru (stabbing again and again for the sake of so doing, even though the victim is dead) -bay’ (stab)
        ré-úru (confessing, possibly imprudently) -rév’ (say)
        zív-úru (knowing a lot about something rather pointless) -zív’ (know)
        dzok-oro (ploughing, weeding or hoeing for a second time) -dzok’ (come back)
        send-úru (planing again) -send’ (plane)

Ideophones...
Ideophones with suffixes 3 and 5 are constituents in derived verb radicals formed by suffixing verbalisers /k/ and /r/.

- saŋg-ũnú-r- (untie) - saŋg -ũnú-k- (be untied)
- bay-uru-r- (stab repeatedly) - bay-uru-k- (be stabbed repeatedly)

Ideophones with suffix 4 are constituents in derived radicals formed by suffixing verbaliser /r/.

- tänh-au-r- (pluck all over)

2.2. Ideophones derived from adjective stems

The three adjective stems /-chena/ (white), /-pfumbu/ (grey) and /-tsvuku/ (red) are constituents with governing suffix /-ru/ in the formation of ideophones.

- chene-ru (being whitish)
- pfumbu-ru (being greyish)
- tsvuku-ru (being reddish)

These ideophones too are constituents in derived radicals formed by suffixing verbaliser /k/.

- chene-ru-k- (be whitish)

Possibly other substantival stems are constituents in this way.

2.3. Reversive ideophones

The suffixes /-u/ and /-Vhu ~ -ono/ when substituted for the final vowels of simple ideophones yield reversive ideophones. The substitution is accompanied by retrogressive assimilation as well.

- zar-u (opening) - zarí (closing)
- kúdúb-u (uncovering) - kwídíña (covering)
- pfúdú-g-u (uncovering) - pfúdíga (covering)
- fásh-ánu (water running out) - fashe (water flooding in)
- páy-ánu (taking down) - páyi (hanging up)
- pit-inu (going out) - piti (going in)
- koch-ono (unhooking) - koche (hooking, coupling)
- túr-ánu (taking down) - túrí (hanging up)
- pfúmb-ánu (removing fruit from ripening hole) - pfúmbí (putting fruit into ripening hole)

The reduplicated form /bidúnumbidúnum/ could be used of a large snake edging its way out of a hole in the ground backwards.

**IDEOPHONIC PHRASES**

3. The constructional pattern of ideophonic phrases

The constructional pattern of the IP is as follows:

ideophone +/- complements +/- adjuncts.

The constituent class of complement consists of substantive phrases while that of adjunct consists of adverbial phrases and adverbial particles.

- nyama pikú smúridzi (taking the meat as its owner)
- ñá (biting)
- ñá gombo romuridzi (biting the leg of its owner)
IDEOPHONIC CLAUSES

4. The constructional pattern of ideophonic clauses

The constructional pattern of ideophonic clauses is as follows:

 +/- subject + predicate.

The constituent class of subject consists of substantive phrases while that of the predicate consists of ideophonic phrases.

e.g. Imbá yangu nyama pikú somúridzi
 (My dog took the meat as if it were its owner)

IDEOPHONIC SENTENCES

5. The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences

The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences is as follows:

 ideophonic clause +/- ideophonic clauses

 e.g. Imbá yangu nyama pikú somúridzi, washu, toro
 (My dog took the meat as if it were its owner, ran off and disappeared)

 Zirúmí ríye zibúrgá pikú, chéke zinhindi, mukanwa muki
 (The giant took up a knife, cut off a huge piece and tossed it into his mouth)

 Rumbada ware, nésango tetere
 (The lean leopard ran off and disappeared through the bush)

5.1. Sentences of mixed type

Of course, sentences of mixed type exist. These are combinations of various types of clauses, substantival, verbal and ideophonic.

 e.g. Musí wéchínhati vanátsáro pfacha, vanhu vápóda kusvúsvúrá
 (On the sixth day the hares (or Mr Hare) arrived after the people had breakfasted) (Ideophonic 'main' clause and participial verbal clause)

Sentences consisting of one or more ideophonic clauses normally occur in discourse in which reference to past time has taken place. These can also, no doubt, as Runene says, be used in the context of present tense (Runene, 1965, p.23). The tense signs will occur in accompanying verbal constructions. This applies to all the constructions in which ideophonic phrases occur and which do not have tense signs themselves.

FURTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

6. Ideophonic phrases in other constructions

Ideophonic phrases are used in a variety of other constructions each clearly susceptible of an interpretation in terms of constituent structure.

6.1. Ideophonic phrases in apposition to the pronoun /-ye/, copulatively inflected

In the first construction, the ideophonic phrase appears in apposition to the pronoun /-ye/ of class 1, the combination, pronoun and ideophonic phrase, forming a compound substantive phrase. This compound phrase is always copulatively inflected.

187/e.g. ndí-ye...
e.g. ndī-ye (lit: it is a biting)

ndī-ye gumbo romúridzi n'ā (lit. it is a biting of its owner's leg)

ndī-ye muguru romuśwe bidinu (lit. it is a coming out of the hole tail first)

Copulative phrases of this kind are constituent predicates in substantival clauses, the other and optional constituent being a subject or "topic" consisting of a substantival phrase.

e.g. Imbwā yāngu ndīye n'ā
(lit. As for my dog, it is a biting; viz. My dog made a bite)

Imbwā ndīye gumbo romúridzi n'ā
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting of the leg of its owner;
 viz. The dog bit its owner in the leg)

Imbwā ndīye nyama pikū mumbā somūridzi
(lit. As for the dog, it is a taking of the meat from the house as its owner; viz. The dog took the meat from inside the house as if it were the owner)

Nyōkā ndīye muguru romuśwe bidinu
(lit. As for the snake, it is a coming out of the hole tail first;
 viz. The snake came out of the hole tail first)

6.1.1. This construction is similar to the copulative inflection of pronoun /-ko/ and infinitive phrase.

If the pronoun /-ye/ occurs in apposition to the ideophonic phrase, it is because there is grammatical agreement between them. Just as the pronoun /-ko/ of class 15 appears in apposition to, and agreement with, infinitive verb phrases, so the pronoun /-ye/ must be taken as standing in a similar relation to the ideophonic phrases.

e.g. ndī-ko kurūmā (lit. it is a biting)

Imbwā ndīko kurūmā
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting; viz. The dog makes a bite)

cp ndīye n'ā (lit. it is a biting)

Imbwā ndīye n'ā
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting; viz. The dog make a bite)

Both these sentences are substantival because their predicates are copulative phrases.

Ideophonic phrases are clearly treated in these compound phrases as nominal constructions of class 1a since otherwise there would be no reason for choosing the pronoun of class 1 as the other member of the compound phrase. The relation between the two members in

-ye n'ā (a biting itself)

or in

-ye muguru romuśwe bidinu
(a coming out of the hole tail first)

is similar, as far as the apposition and agreement between pronoun and nominal construction is concerned, to that in compound phrases like,

e.g. f-ye nhāsi (today itself) (1a)

f-ye bhā (father himself) (1a)

The compound phrase is not the only context where ideophones (ideophonic phrases?) are conceived of as being of class 1a. Ideophones control agreements of class 1 in sayings which fit into a common frame.

e.g. Gonē una gonē wākewō
(Mr Able has one who is able for him too)

Thūre una thūre wākewō
(Mr Put-down has one able to put him down too)
Dzamú úna dzamú wakewó
(Mr Take-a-handful can have a handful taken from him too)

It may be that the class la-l agreement in these sayings is due to the ideophones having been personified in both cases and, becoming names, serving as constituents in class la nominal constructions.

viz. Ø-dzamú (Mr Take-a-handful) (l1) cp dzamú (taking a handful)
cp. chi-mbányu (short, excitable person) (7) mbányu (changing suddenly e.g. an opinion or a position)

6.1.2. The nominal status of ideophonic phrases analogous to quotations

What is perhaps more relevant a parallel is the class la status of quotations when they are constituents in phrases.

e.g. "Hóngu wáko na-"kwete" wáko handíne navó (I have nothing to do with your "Yes" and your "No")

"Nyinógoné" wáko na-"hánógoné" wáko handíne navó (Your "I can" and "I can't" mean nothing to me)

The agreement between the pronoun /-wo/ and these segments of direct speech is similar to that between the pronoun /-ye/ and ideophonic phrases. Again we see a similarity between direct speech and ideophonic phrases which are as vivid and as immediate as an utterance. One is reminded of G.M. Hopkins'

"Each thing does one thing and the same
Selves, goes itself, myself it speaks and spells."

Citations of direct speech may also occur in apposition to the pronoun /-ye/, the compound phrase being similarly inflected by the copulative morpheme /ndi-/ as in the case of /-ye/ + ideophonic phrases.

e.g. náíye, Saráí (and he said, "Goodbye")

The construction in its context means, "and he died", direct speech being a vivid way of indicating action.

Infinitive verb phrases may always accompany ideophones. The collocation is again one of apposition though here, the two constructions being both nominal, there is no necessary agreement of class and the purpose of the collocation is to clarify the meaning of the ideophonic phrase should it be obscure.

e.g. Imbáná ndíye ná, kurúná
(The dog bit; lit. As for the dog, it is a snapping, to bite)

The English translation, of course, suffers from the lack of something more immediate than "snap", or "gnash".

6.2. Ideophonic phrases introduced by "presentatively" inflected demonstratives or selectors

In a second construction, a "copulative" inflected demonstrative or selector appears to introduce ideophonic clauses.

e.g. Bhátye héro ráru
(lit. The jacket, there it is, splitting; viz. The jacket split)

The inflection has been called "presentative" by Fivaz to distinguish it from the more widely used copulative inflection. (Fivaz 1966, p.82). Both inflections result in predicative constructions. The morpheme has a number of allomorphs /há~ hé~ hó~/ depending on the class affix of the demonstrative or selector which is inflected.

e.g. Húnó mwana wénýú (Here is your child)
Húnó musúkaná wándíndí (Here is the girl I love (line from a courtship poem)
These examples appear to be simple clauses in which what is inflected is a demonstrative or selector in apposition to, and in agreement with, a substantive phrase. These clauses may include a subject or topic.

e.g. Maté hónvo rukova
        (As for the saliva, there is a river; viz. His saliva flowed like a river)

In the construction under discussion, the demonstratives or selectors which are inflected agree with the subjects of ideophonic clauses.

e.g. Bháte héro púru        (There is a jacket splitting)
    Nýóká héro piti piti       (There is a snake going in)
    Chincóbité-regé héro yhu       (There is Mr Shilly-shally arriving)
    Varimé váye hávo mbá kamunda ýye(There are those men going off to that field)
    Imbwá héro pikú nyáma mumbá, wasú, toro (There is the dog taking the meat from the house, running off and disappearing)

This is a way of introducing ideophonic clauses which presents events vividly as if happening before the eyes of the audience. Once again, the tense of the event being described will depend upon that of the discourse and is usually past.

6.3. Ideophonic phrases complements of introductory verb radicals
/-ti/ and /-nzi/

In the third and commonest construction, ideophonic phrases are complements of the auxiliary verbs /-ti/ and /-nzi/.

e.g. -ti náá (lit. going snap; viz. biting)
    -nzi náá (lit. being gone snap; viz. being bitten)

The construction, auxiliary verb + ideophonic phrase, results in an auxiliary verb phrase. Before this can function as a predicate, it needs to be verbally inflected. The full range of verbal inflections are available to these auxiliary verb phrases. The subjects of these inflected auxiliary verb phrases control, of course, that part of the inflection which is the subject prefix.

e.g. Imbwá yáka-ú náá
        (The dog bit)
    Muridzi wáka-nzi nembwa yáké náá
        (The owner was bitten by his dog)

These subjects are those which would be used in direct collocation with the ideophonic phrase in ideophonic clauses.

e.g. Imbwá náá (The dog biting, the dog bit)

The ideophonic phrase retains all its own internal relationship when it is the complement of the auxiliary verbs.

e.g. Ndáti bháte rángu páyi
        -(I hung up my jacket)
    Nýorwe yákana pázió ndure nénuchí
        (The pig was stung on the eye by a bee)

In the above example, the SP /bháte rángu/ is the object complement of /páyi/. The SP /pázió/ and the adverbial phrase /nénuchí/ are respectively the adverbial locative complement and the agentic adjunct of the ideophone /ndure/. The internal relationships of ideophonic phrases, similar to those of verb phrases, are retained when these are complements and constituents in larger constructions.

A relevant analogy of this last point is provided by the verbal complements of auxiliary verbs, e.g. the auxiliary verb /-ngi/ (be).

e.g. (bere)...-ngi rádyá nyáma yáro nénbufú
        (its (viz. the hyena's) having eaten its meat greedily)
        (auxiliary verb phrase)

190/bere kunge...
e.g. bere kunge rádyá nyama yáro nénhařú
(for a hyena to have eaten its meat greedily)
(infinitive inflected auxiliary verb clause)

Bere rákángá rádyá nyama yáro nénhařú
(The hyena had eaten its meat greedily)
(principal past inflected auxiliary verb clause)

In all these examples the relationships internal to the verb phrase between the radical /-dy-/
and its complement /nyama yáro/ (its meat) and adjunct /nénhařú/ (with greed) are, of course,
retained though the verb phrase /-dy- nyama yáro nénhařú/ is involved as constituent in
constructions of higher and higher rank.

6.3.1. The object prefix as constituent

If the ideophonic phrase is regarded as a complement of the auxiliary verbs /-ti/ and /-nzí/,
auxiliary verb radical and ideophonic phrase being the two constituents of the construction
auxiliary verb phrase, a problem is posed by the interpretation of the object prefix which,
in this construction, may occur immediately in front of the auxiliary radical.

e.g. imbúyá yáka-í-ti nyama mumbá pikú yakángá yánsí śgóchewé
(The dog took the meat from the house which had been meant for roasting)
Shimbá yáka-dzí-nzí mbiirádzakanda ngá ngá ngá
(The lion was securely trussed up, a stick being passed under the knees and
over the elbows)

It seems that we should regard the object prefix as part of the ideophonic phrase, whether an
expressed complement is included or not. This is analogous to the interpretation of object
prefixes in verb phrases.

e.g. Bhere rákángá rá-í-dya nyama mumushá yánsí íšíšíkwé jámořó
(The hyena had eaten the meat in the village which was meant
to be dried at the fire)

viz. -í- dy- nyama mumushá

|             |
|             |

cp -i-ti nyama mumba piku

However, in auxiliary verb phrases with verbal complements, object prefixes are never prefixed
to auxiliary verb radicals. In auxiliary verb phrases with ideophonic phrase complements, the
object prefix may only precede the auxiliary radical.

6.3.2. A series of ideophonic phrases as complements

A whole series of ideophonic phrases may be introduced by /-ti/ or /-nzí/ as their complements.

e.g. Mái Tafi-fúmánei vákángóti gwá tarevárángá váka-bánta pasí guñcata,
mutsváiro pasí kandé, chimero chávó bá pado nečoto
(Mother Tafumanzi let fall to the ground the piece of bark which she had been
holding, threw the broom down and sat with folded legs near the hearth)

The auxiliary radicals /-ti/ and /-nzí/ are used to introduce direct speech, the citations
being complements of still another kind.

e.g. Máñá, "Chúñomirá!" (I said, "Just wait a moment!"
Vákángí, "Miráí!" (They were told, "Wait!")

There are many similarities between ideophones and quotations. Some of these have already been
mentioned. There are two other interesting usages which this comparison suggests, in one of
which the auxiliary radicals introduce a complement of direct speech.

In narrative, the action of an agent may be indicated by using an auxiliary verb phrase consist-
ing of /-ti/ or /-nzí/ followed by a principal inflected verb phrase.

191 e.g. Kungoti...
The principal inflected verb introduced by /-ti/ or /-nzô/ in this construction is often inflected in the 1st person for greater immediacy and vividness. In this way the action is further dramatised as speech.

...munhu akati, mákusvîyi (lit... and the person said, I have left you; viz. and the person died)
...nzara nényota zvikatî, Ko watîkanganwe? Tinèwô. Tirî tese. Hândîf (lit... and hunger and thirst said, Have you forgotten us? We are with you. We are together. Let's go! viz. hunger and thirst made themselves felt as he went along)

...nyôkâ ikatî, Zvînzwé izvo (lit. and the snake said, Feel that; viz. and the snake made a vicious bite)
...munhu akati, Mukabika idyãfî (lit. and the person said, If you cook, eat it up; viz. and the person dies)

...munhu akati, Zvâva zvénů izvo (lit. and the person said, It's all yours now; viz. the person died, leaving mortal care behind)

...ngozi ikatî, Ndîrî mushiře (lit. and the avenging spirit said, I am behind; viz. the avenging spirit came after to take its revenge)

A final usage which may be mentioned in this context is the use of pronouns and inflected pronouns instead of ideophonic phrases.

... akanzi ūcô pâmûno (he was dealt a blow on the nose; lit. it (cp. chibhakera (a fist)) on the nose)
Nyôkâ nôjye navô nàryô nayô, nomóguru potyo (The snake moved along it (viz. nzira (path)) and entered the hole)
Inf nènhumûka ndîú ndîfî nôjî; nomôziva rogoro tirî tese (I chased the waterbuck and we both fell into the pool)

EXEMPLIFICATION

The description of the ideophone and of the constructions in which it occurs as a constituent can be tested and exemplified by applying it to the analysis of a passage written in the dramatic style characterised by the use of ideophonic phrases. The passage chosen is one from the story by Patrick Chakaipa entitled Karîkoga Guniremigwâve and is reproduced here by kind permission. It describes a fight into which Karîkoga, the orphan hero of the story, is drawn, first with the leader of the group of herd-boys of which he is a somewhat estracised member, and then with the others.

The passage

7.2. The translation of the passage

1. When at length the two boys had tired each other out, they faced each other like two bulls.
2. Karikoga had only to look at the gross Benyumundiro for his eyes to become inflamed with anger. 3. Benyumundiro made a pass at him, but Karikoga dodged it. 4. In turn he struck his enemy squarely on the knee and he collapsed in a heap on the ground. 5. The sturdy little fighter gave another on the head and the blood began to flow like water. 6. He gave him another and another and he lay stretched out on the ground. 7. The others thought he was done for.
8. When they saw what had happened, they snatched up their fighting sticks and all piled onto him at once. 9. The little chap was prepared to take them on. 10. He ran this way and that and at last stood his ground like a little leopard. 11. And now the others went down like ninepines (lit. pumpkins). 12 They had only to come near for them to be knocked down. 13. At last, when all of them had had their fill of bruises, one remained on his feet, prepared to fight. 14. Just when Karikoga was aiming a blow at him, the big fellow dodged and then closed with him. 15. He tried to throw him down, but Karikoga resisted and both of them fell together. They struggled together on the ground, pulling one another this way and that, until at last the big boy gave in, crying, "Let me go, my chief. I'll never do it again. I'll never, never fight with you again. You have beaten me." 17. So Karikoga let him go. 18. The other struggled clumsily to his feet and went away.

7.3. Comment on passage

The first paragraph describes the fight provoked by the leader of the band, Benyumundiro (lit. the one who comes to life before a plate of food). The auxiliary verb radicals /-ka/, /-co/ and /-ti/ are much in evidence in their varying linking and introductory functions, and the contrast between the little hero and the large bully is marked by the use of class 12 concords and the class 5 pronoun, both classes used with the secondary references of small and large size respectively. These are all features which accompany the use of ideophonic phrases to produce a vivid and clearly defined impression. The first appearance of ideophonic phrases is in sentences 3 and 4. The action in them is prepared for by the circumstantial character of the first two sentences. The ideophonic phrases, all introduced by /-ti/ and preceded by a pause (not marked in the text), are /kikikita/ (dodging), /-mu-/negotete pabiri ga (hitting him separately) and the knee, /-ka/ (falling on him on the ground). In sentences 5 the substantive phrase consisting of the pronoun /ivo/ (9) (it, viz. the stick (tsvímbo) (9)) qualified by the predicate /iri muusoro/ (on the head) seems to do service as an ideophonic phrase. In sentence 6, the ideophone /tasa/ (lying out straight) presents vividly the result of the re-duplicated action, /kakagumuphanhiza, kakagumuphanhiza/ (He hit him again and again).

The action of the first paragraph is both clearly and convincingly portrayed. It is otherwise with the second paragraph in which Karikoga is described as taking on the rest of the band. The action is vivid and dramatic enough but it is told in the register of the folk tales and in a way more appropriate to the figures on which Chakaipa has based his Karikoga than that of credible fiction. These models are Mhimbinda or Karikoga, the wonder boy, and the small trickster heroes of the animal tales who always emerge victorious from their ordeals, no matter what the odds against them are. This difference as between two worlds, the world of reality and that of folklore, is one which runs through the whole work. Chakaipa's intention is to describe the heroic attempts of an orphan boy to survive and take his place as a mature man under the old conditions of life. He does this, not by magic, but by his own determined efforts. However, the adventures in which he is involved are not free from the marvellous. In this one can see clearly the pull of the oral literature and its conventions on a writer embarked on his first published work of fiction.

In the second paragraph the ideophonic phrases come clearly. In sentence 8 the phrases /tsvímbo kacha/(snatching up their sticks) and /naye nemete/ (engaging him, falling upon him) are both introduced by auxiliary /-ti/. In sentence 9 the sentence /kondief nare/ (let's go with it, viz. the crowd) is speech describing and conveying action and is similarly introduced by /-ti/.
In sentence 10 the derived and reduplicated ideophone /móvye móvye/ (running here and there) is introduced by /-ti/ but is followed by the ideophone clause /apo mbi sekámba/ (standing there like a little leopard) which is consecutive. Sentences 11 and 13 contain instances of vivid use of the principal perfect inflection introduced by /-ti/ itself consecutively inflected. Sentence 14 contains the ideophone /virikiti/ (Dodging), a repetition which balances its use in the first paragraph. We have also a sentence /ómi rákadya vávirí/ (lit. Ten ate two, viz. wrestling) which is functionally an ideophonic phrase. The passage has been made to end with the ideophonic clause /iro kwanyanu/ (that one getting up) which is "presentatively" inflected.

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