

**SHONA  
GRAMMATICAL  
CONSTRUCTIONS**

**VOLUME**

**2**

**BY  
GEORGE FORTUNE**

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CONSTRUCTIONS

PART II

by

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# SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

## PART 11

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## SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS PART 11

This volume is published as the second of a two-part series.

SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS PART I contains material on

1. Phonology
2. Morphophonemics
3. Substantive Constructions and  
some notes on  
Ideophones and Ideophonic Construction in Shona.

SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS PART II contains material on -

4. Verbal Constructions
5. The Ideophonic constructions

(These notes are a revised edition of the  
"Notes" published in Part I)

## FOREWORD

=====

This second volume of Shona Grammatical Constructions attempts to apply the method of Constituent Structure Analysis to the Verbal and Ideophonic constructions of Shona. Together with Volume 1, which deals with the Phonology and Substantival constructions, it is still substantially the same set of Course Notes compiled about 1970 for students of Shona in the Department of African Languages at the then University College of Rhodesia. Lack of opportunity and time have prevented any revision, though certain parts of the present volume call for it, particularly the section on the Verbal Clause. Nevertheless it is hoped that in its main outlines it will afford the student some insight, from one particular viewpoint, into the grammatical structure of Shona.

In compiling these notes I have been helped by Dr N C Dembetembe's study, Verbal Constructions in Korekore (University of London M. Phil Dissertation, 1969). Several references to his work in the present volume will reveal the extent of my indebtedness. I have referred to my own earlier grammar, An Analytical Grammar of Shona (Longman, 1955), in several places as AS.

My greatest indebtedness is to my former assistant and colleague, the late Mr Aaron C Hodza (Hon M A) whose untimely death in 1983 robbed Shona of an outstanding writer and researcher.

*G. Fortuna*



# SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

## PART II

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4.0.

## THE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1.

## THE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GENERAL

Verbal constructions constitute a second main type of grammatical construction in Shona. Like the substantival constructions, verbal constructions also are arranged in a hierarchy of levels according to their constructional patterns. The main levels of construction appear to be these:

- |                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| a) the verb radical <sup>1</sup> | e.g. -bat-  | (work)  |
| b) the verb phrase               | e.g. -bat' bása nébadzá                                 | (work with a hoe)                               |
| c) the inflected verb phrase     | e.g. vá-no-bat-á bása nébadzá                           | (she works with a hoe)                          |
| d) the verbal clause             | e.g. Amái vāngu vānobátá bása nébadzá                   | (Mother works with a hoe)                       |
| e) the verbal sentence           | e.g. Kana mvúrá yānyá, amái vāngu vānobátá bása nébadzá | (When rain has fallen, mother works with a hoe) |

As in the case of the substantival hierarchy, the constructions at each level are constituents at the level of construction just above them and the verbal hierarchy, like the substantival, comes to a climax in a special type of sentence. The constructions are based upon a specifically verbal morpheme, the verb radical, which is the second major type of root morpheme, and the verbal constructions, of the first three levels at least, are specific and peculiar to the verbal hierarchy.

4.1.1. Substantival constructions as constituents in verbal constructions

Substantival constructions enter the verbal constructions mainly at levels (b) and (d).

At level (b), substantival phrases occur as complements and as constituents in adjuncts of verb phrases; at level (d) substantival phrases occur as subjects of clauses. Other examples of substantival constructions as constituents in verbal constructions are the very limited number of verb radicals based on noun stems, and the similarly limited occurrence of copulative phrases as complements of auxiliary verbs. The relationships within verbal constructions are clearly based on the verb radical and, though substantival constructions enter into verbal constructions as the terms of these relationships, the verb radical remains the nucleus from which those relationships flow.

4.1.2. Verbal constructions as constituents of substantival constructions

Verbal morphemes and constructions of every level also enter into the substantival constructions termed complex nominal constructions, so called because in them noun prefixes form one constituent. The verb radical, the verb phrase, the inflected verb phrase and the verbal clause and sentence all appear as constituents.

- |  |      |   |
|--|------|---|
| e.g. chi-gar-o                           | (7)  | (chair)   |
| cp. verb radical: -gar-                  |      |   |
| e.g. chi-nzvéng-á mutsváifo              | (7)  | (lazybones)   |
| cp. verb phrase: -nzvéng' mutsváifo      |      | (dodge the broom)                                       |
| e.g. Madyirá panzé                       | (1a) | (praise name of Chief Gutu)                             |
| cp. inflected verb phrase: madyirá panzé |      | (you have eaten outside)                                |
| e.g. Mutándá wáchingama                  | (1a) | (a name)  |
| cp. verbal clause: Mutándá wáchingama    |      | (The log has fallen across the path)                    |
| e.g. ku-mazíva ndádzoká                  | (17) | (a dangerous place)                                     |
| cp. verbal sentence: Mazíva ndádzoká     |      | (You know I have been there only when I have returned). |

4.1.3. Verbal and ideophonic constructions

There is a similar commerce between the verbal and ideophonic constructions. Many verb phrases consist of transformed ideophone phrases, and ideophone phrases form one type of complement of the verb /-ti/.

- |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| e.g. -páru-r- jirá              | (tear the cloth)        |
| cp. ideophone phrase: jira paru | (tearing the cloth)     |
| e.g. Amái vákati' jirá páru     | (Mother tore the cloth) |
| cp. ideophone phrase: jirá páru | 2/On the...             |

1. The simplex radical is only a constituent. At the level of the radical however, are found constructions, e.g. the derived radicals, which are morphemically complex.

On the other hand there is a large class of ideophone phrases which consist of verb phrases which have been transformed.

- e.g. munda rim-é (hoeing, ploughing the field)  
 cp. verb radical: -rim- munda (hoe, plough, the field)
- e.g. ramb-é ákadáro (he continuing like that)  
 cp. auxiliary radical and complement: -ramb- ákadáro (he continue like that)

## 4.2.

THE VERB RADICAL

The verb radical is the morpheme or construction at the first level of analysis upon which the other verbal constructions are based. It is, for example, the nuclear constituent in the verb phrase whose constructional pattern is:

- +/- object prefix + radical +/- complements +/- adjuncts  
 e.g. -bát- bása nébadzá (work with a hoe)

In the constructions at the third level of analysis, viz. the inflected verb phrases, the constituent which combines with the verb phrase is the inflection. This is a combination of inflecting morphemes which are prefixed and suffixed to the verb radical in the verb phrase, e.g. the inflection vá-no....a in the inflected verb phrase:

vá-no-bát-á bása nébadzá (she works with a hoe)

Thus in the inflected verb phrase, though the constituents are (1) the inflection e.g. váno...a, and (2) the verb phrase, e.g. -bát- bása nébadzá, it is the nuclear element of the verb phrase viz. the radical, which combines primarily with the inflection and forms one phonological word with it.

## 4.2.1.

Types of verb radical

Radicals may be simplex, adoptive, derived, extended or reduplicated.

Simplex radicals consist of a single morpheme.

- e.g. -tór- (take)  
 -bvunz- (question)

Adoptive radicals are loans from other languages adapted to the system of verbal constructions in Shona. Like simplex radicals they are single morphemes,

- |               |                   |              |        |            |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------|--------|------------|
| e.g. -sévénz- | (work)            | cp. -sebénz- | (work) | Ndebele    |
| -bvákách-     | (take recreation) | vacachao     | (?)    | Portuguese |
| -dhír-        | (be expensive)    | duur         | (dear) | Afrikaans  |
| -óf-          | (be off duty)     | off          |        | English    |

Derived radicals are constructions of which the constituents are (a) either a substantival stem or an ideophone and (b) a verbaliser.

- |               |           |           |           |           |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| e.g. -tete-p- | (be thin) | cp. -tete | (thin)    | adjective |
| -nzvé-ng-     | (dodge)   | nzvé      | (dodging) | ideophone |

Extended radicals are constructions of which the constituents are (a) a radical of any kind, simplex, adoptive, derived or extended and (b) a verbal extension.

- |               |             |          |                       |
|---------------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|
| e.g. -róv-és- | (beat hard) | cp. -es- | (intensive extension) |
|---------------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|

Reduplicated radicals. All the above types of radical can be reduplicated and thus form a construction of another kind.

- |                    |                           |              |                |
|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| e.g. -fám-b-fám-b- | (walk all over)           | cp. -fám-b-  | (walk, travel) |
| -nzvéng-nzvéng-    | (dodge here and there)    | cp. -nzvéng- | (dodge)        |
| .. róv-és-róv-és-  | (thrash indiscriminately) | -róv-és-     | (thrash)       |

## 4.2.2.

The phonology of the verb radical

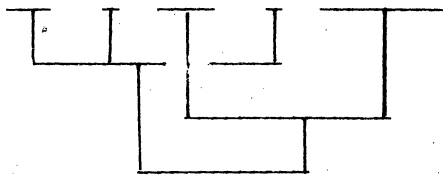
## 4.2.2.1.

The segmental phonology of radicals

Radicals of all types are not phonologically free forms and only occur as inflected. Inflected radicals are phonological words which consist of (1) a verb radical and (2) an inflection.

e.g. N d - a t ó r - a...

e.g. Nd - a - t ó r - a d á n d á (I fetched a log)



The constituents of this inflected verb phrase are, as indicated, the inflection (consisting of a combination of inflecting morphemes both prefixal and suffixal to the R) and the verb phrase (consisting here of a R and complement). The first phonological word of this construction, however, is the inflected radical.

Though the inflected radical is phonologically a word, it is not a constituent of the inflected verb phrase.

The prefixal inflecting morphemes are commonly subject prefixes and tense signs and there are constituent classes of each. The suffixal inflecting morphemes are the terminal vowels and these too form a class, in this case a class of two, viz. /-a/ and /-e/.

e.g.	ku-p-á	(to give)	terminal vowel	: /-a/
	nd-a-ká-p-a	(I gave)	"	: /-a/
	ha-ndí-p-e	(I do not give)	"	: /-e/
	ndí-p-e	(give me!)	"	: /-e/

In the above examples, the R is /-p-/ (give). Other examples of radicals, with phonological structure indicated, are,

	High Rs		Low Rs
e.g.	C	-d <sup>z</sup> (want)	-rw- (fight)
	CVC	-tór <sup>z</sup> (take, fetch)	-bvunz- (question)
	CVCVC	-zórór <sup>z</sup> (rest)	-vereng- (read)

As can be seen, Rs are phonologically incomplete in so far as they always end in a consonant or consonant cluster (indicated by C). The vowel which invariably follows and completes the verb radical syllabically is the terminal vowel of the inflection.

e.g.	ku-tór-á	(to take)
	ku-bvunz-a	(to question)
	nd-a-tór-a	(I took)
	nd-a-bvúnz-a	(I asked)

#### 4.2.2.2. The tonal phonology of radicals

When inflected, Rs carry a tone-pattern which always contains one toneme in excess of the number of vowels in the R. It is the terminal vowel of the inflection which carries the extra toneme. In itself this is a tone-less morpheme and is realised as a segmental vowel phoneme alone.

At the terminal there is thus an overlap of constituents. The final toneme is part of the tone pattern of the R, i.e. part of its phonemic realisation. The terminal vowel is a tone-less morpheme, part of a combination of inflecting morphemes which form the inflection. The analysis of verbal constructions does not therefore result in syllabically discrete constituents. Not only is the inflection a discontinuous constituent, but, at the terminal vowel, the toneme belongs to the radical (part of the verb phrase constituent) and the segmental vowel phoneme is part of the inflection.

e.g.	kù - t ó r - á   m à r í	(15) (to take money)
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	kù - b v ù n z - á   m ì b v ù n z ò	(15) (to ask questions)
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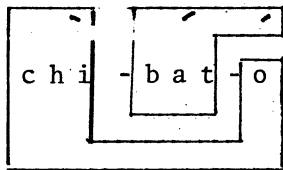
In these infinitive phrases the constituents are:

- (1) the noun prefix /ku-/ of class 15 and tone-less terminal vowel /-a/;
- (2) the verb phrase of which the nucleus is the R bearing a tone-pattern whose final toneme is carried by the terminal vowel.

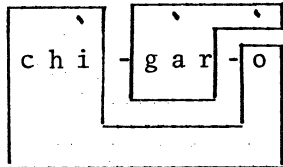
4/A tone-less...

A tone-less terminal vowel appears to be a feature of all constructions, nominal, verbal and ideophonic, in which Rs are constituents. The full tone-pattern, with tonemes one in excess of the number of vowels in the R, is part of the phonemic realisation of these morphemes even though the extra toneme is carried physically by the terminal vowel.

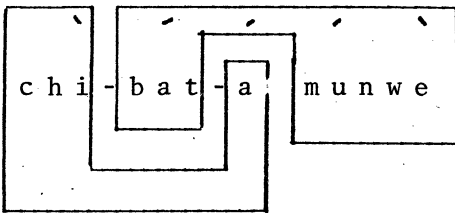
e.g. nominal constructions



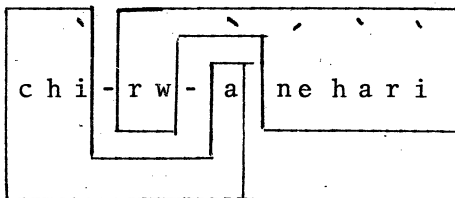
(7) (handle)



(7) (seat)

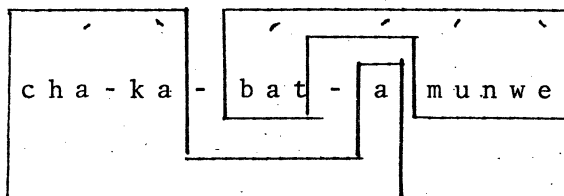


(7) (finger ring)

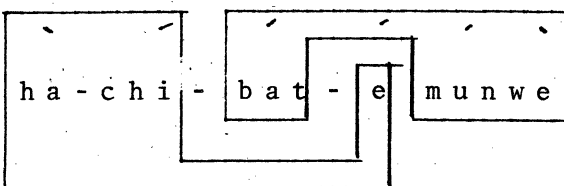


(7) (a glutton, lit. one who fights with the pot)

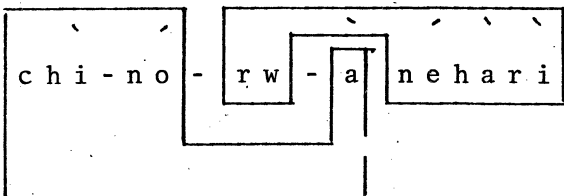
e.g. verbal constructions



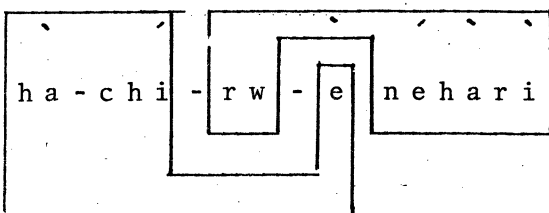
(it holds the finger)



(it does not hold the finger)

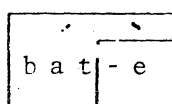


(one who fights with the pot)

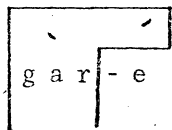


(it does not fight with the pot)

e.g. ideophonic constructions



(holding)



(sitting)

#### 4.2.2.2.1.

#### Tone classes of verb radicals

- a) Thus far the discussion, though applicable to radicals of all kinds, has been illustrated only by examples of simplex radicals. This has been done in order not to complicate the description with the further problem of the assignment of tonemes to morphemes in complex radicals.

e.g. ku-tór-ér-á babá dándá (to fetch a log for father)

This problem is dealt with later, in 4.2.2.2.3. It is first necessary to deal with the more fundamental question of the classification of radicals according to tone pattern and the interpretation of the changes in the tone-patterns of radicals when these are variously inflected.

- b) Radicals of all kinds belong to one of two complementary tone classes. These are termed respectively high and low from the tone-patterns carried by radicals in the infinitive inflection, i.e. when they appear with the inflecting morphemes /ku-....-a/.

The following are examples of the high (H) class of radicals with phonological shape indicated, the first three being simplex, the fourth an extended radical.

e.g. ku-p-á	(to give)	H	C
-tór-á	(to take, fetch)	HH	CVC
-zórór-á	(to rest)	HHH	CVCVC
-zórór-ér-a	(to rest for)	HHL	CVCVCVC

The following are examples of the low (L) class of radicals, with phonological shape indicated, the first three being simplex, the fourth an extended radical.

e.g. ku-rw-a	(to fight)	L	C
-bvunz-	(to question)	LL	CVC
-vereng-a	(to read)	LLL	CVCVC
-vereng-er-a	(to read for)	LLLL	CVCVCVC

The tone-patterns of H radicals are not always high, however, in comparison with L radicals. Nor is the tone-pattern of L radicals always low in comparison with H radicals. The tone-patterns carried by Rs varies with the inflection and, in the affirmative principal future I singular, for example, H radicals bear low-toned patterns and L radicals commence with a high tone.

e.g. ndí-chá-tór-à	(I shall take)	LL
ndí-chá-bvunz-à	(I shall ask)	HL

In some inflections, e.g. the affirmative principal recent past I singular, the tone-patterns carried by both H and L radicals are the same.

e.g. nd-à-tór-à	(I took)	HL
nd-à-bvunz-à	(I asked)	HL

Most often, however, the tone-patterns carried by H and L radicals are complementary and contrastive.

The choice of the infinitive inflection as the form on which to base the classification of radicals into H and L classes is an arbitrary but convenient one. Note that when radicals are cited independently of any inflection, as in 4.2.1., they carry the tone-patterns of the infinitive inflection in order to indicate to which tone class they belong.

e.g. H		L	
-tór-	(take, fetch)	-bvunz-	(question)

- c) H, HH, HHH, HHHL<sup>1</sup> etc. are the normal tone-patterns carried by H radicals in the infinitive inflection.

1. H radicals may not carry a sequence of high tonemes in excess of three. Any further tonemes carried, e.g. by CVCVCVC, CVCVCVCVC and CVCVCVCVCVC radicals, are low.

There is a small sub-group of CVC and CVCVC H radicals, however, which carry III and IIII respectively. These are not treated in the discussion which follows.

e.g.	ku-fúnd-a	(to learn)
	ku-fár-a	(to be glad)
	ku-chímídz-a	(to hurry)
	ku-símuk-a	(to rise)

#### 4.2.2.2.2. Tone conjugations

The tone-pattern carried by a R in any inflected verb phrase depends on three factors :

- the number of vowel phonemes it has;
- the tone class, H or L, to which it belongs;
- the inflection with which it combines.

Thus, for example, if we take the following eight Rs in the infinitive inflection,

viz.	ku-p-á	(to give)	ku-rw-a	(to fight)
	-tór-á	(to take)	-bvunz-a	(to question)
	-zórór-á	(to rest)	-vereng-a	(to read)
	-zórór-ér-a	(to rest for)	-vereng-er-a	(to read for)

we find (a) that the Rs bear tone-patterns consisting of a sequence of tonemes always one in excess of the vowels in the radical and increasing as the number of vowels increases;

(b) that the tone-patterns carried by the Rs fall into two complementary classes, the H class, including the following patterns: H, HH, HHH and HHHH, and the L class including the following: L, LL, LLL and LLLL;

(c) a set of tone-patterns which always occur when Rs are infinitively inflected. The presence of this set of tone-patterns is dependent upon the presence of the infinitive inflection. Certain other inflections also condition the appearance of this set of tone-patterns, for example the past and present habitual inflections.

e.g.	ndi-nó-p-á	(I give)	ndi-nó-rw-a	(I fight)
	-tór-a	(I take)	-bvunz-a	(I ask)
	-zórór-á	(I rest)	-vereng-a	(I read)

Still other inflections, however, condition different sets of tone-patterns on the radicals. For example, if we inflect the above six radicals imperatively, using the inflection /.....-a/ we find a different over-all set of tone-patterns. Those of the H radicals are the same as in the infinitive inflection, but those carried by L radicals are different.

e.g.	i-p-á <sup>1</sup>	(give!)	i-rwá	(fight!)
	tór-á	(take!)	bvunz-á	(ask!)
	zórór-á	(rest!)	veréng-á	(read!)

In this study, such sets of tone-patterns, depending, as stated, on the number of tonemes involved, the tone classes of the radicals and the inflection involved, are termed tone-conjugations. The following is the set of tone-patterns, called Tone Conjugation I, which is found on Rs from 0 - 5 vowels, in both H and L classes, in the infinitive inflection.

#### Tone Conjugation (TC) I

<u>High Class</u>	<u>Low Class</u>
H	L
HH	LL
HHH	LLL
HHHL	LLLL
HHHLL	LLLLL
HHHLLL	LLLLLL

The following is the set of tone-patterns carried by the same Rs in the imperative inflection. It is called Tone Conjugation II

#### Tone Conjugation (TC) II

<u>H class</u>	<u>L class</u>
(L) H	(L) H
HH	LH
HHH	LHH
HHHL	LHHH
HHHLL	LHHHH
HHHLLL	LHHHHH

The series of tone-patterns carried by Rs in the totality of inflections requires a statement involving eleven such tone conjugations.

1. C radicals require a stabiliser /i-/ in this and certain other constructions. See below.



4.2.2.2.3.

Assignment of tonemes to morphemes in complex radicals

The factors listed in 4.2.2.2. which determine the tone-pattern carried by radicals in an inflected verb phrase operate irrespective of whether the R is simplex or complex.

a) Simplex radicals

When the R is simplex the whole tone-pattern is part of the phonemic realisation of the radical. The tone-pattern may vary from one inflection to another. These changes are regarded as morphophonemic changes of the R, determined by the presence of different inflections. Thus, for example, the R -bvunz-, having this form in the infinitive inflection, is found as bvunz in the imperative inflection, and as -bvunz in the affirmative principal, recent past I singular inflection

viz. kù-bvunz-à	(to ask)	LL
bvunz-á	(ask!)	LH
nd-a-bvunz-a	(I asked)	HL

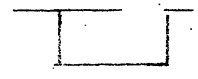
b) Complex radicals

Where the R is complex, the tone-pattern cannot be referred wholly to one morpheme but, in part, to each of the morphemes making up the radical.

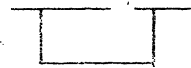
1) Derived radicals

Radicals derived from substantival stems or from ideophones are constructions at the level of the radical.

e.g. - t e t e - p - (be thin) cp. -tete (thin)



- n z v é - n g - (dodge) nzvé (dodging)



The ideophones and substantive stems are commonly of CVCV or CVCVCV shape so that the ideophone and verbaliser or substantive stem and verbaliser usually carry three or four tonemes. Sequences of two, or more than four, tonemes on syllables of that number are uncommon.

Derived Rs, like simplex Rs, fall into two tonal classes with the same tone-patterns in each as are found on simplex Rs. The assignment of a derived R to the H or L class depends upon the tone-pattern of the ideophone or substantival stem from which the R is derived. Ideophones and stems from which H radicals derive bear the following patterns: H, HL, HHL, HHH; those from which L radicals derive bear the following patterns: L, LL, LH, LLL, LLH, LLLL.

e.g. Derived radicals including ideophones, with TC I tone-patterns

H	dó	(setting, going down of sun)	cp. H-H	-dò-k-	(set)
HL	páru	(tearing)	HH-H	-páru-k-	(get torn)
HHL	pfúúgú	(uncovering)	HH-L	-pfúúgú-k-	(get uncovered)
L	svì	(being dark)	L-L	-svì-b-	(get dark)
LL	kòchè	(looping round)	LL-L	-kòchè-k-	(loop round)
LH	bwodó	(dislocating)	LL-L	-bwodó-k-	(get dislocated)
LLL	kwanyànù	(rising)	LLL-L	-kwanyànù-k-	(rise)

e.g. Derived radicals including substantive stems with TC I tone-patterns

HH	-kókó	(pot scrapings)	cp. HH-H	-kókó-t-	(scrape pot)
HL	-pfúfí	(short)	HH-H	-pfúfí-k-	(be short)
LL	-tètè	(thin)	LL-L	-tètè-p-	(be thin)
LH	-tsvené	(pure, clean)	LL-L	-tsvené-k-	(be clean)

Within the derived R, the final toneme is assigned to the verbaliser and the rest to the ideophone or stem, which is the other constituent. Both of these carry a number of different patterns, different from that of their basic forms, in different inflections of derived R. The verbaliser also may carry H or L depending on the pattern carried by the derived R as a whole.

e.g. Kòchè (linking up, looping round) has basic pattern LL.

In	kù-kòchè-k-à	(infinitive)	it has the pattern.....LL-L;
in	kòchè-k-a	(imperative)	it has the pattern.....LH-H;
in	nd-á-kòchè-k-à	(princ. recent past I)	it has the pattern.....HL-L.

dó (setting) has basic pattern H.

In kù-dó-k-á (infinitive) it has the pattern..... H-H;  
 in kw-á-dó-k-á (princ. recent past III) it has the pattern..... L-L.

These different forms of the ideophones and substantive stems are the result of morpho-phonemic changes as the ideophones and stems are adapted in tone-pattern to the patterns of the derived R which is inflected as a construction.

### c) Extended radicals

Radicals of all kinds, simplex, adoptive, derived and extended, may be extended. Combinations of up to three extensions, but rarely more than that, are common.

All the extensions, save two<sup>1</sup>, are of VC shape and enlarge the radical which they extend by one vowel. They therefore increase the number of tonemes carried by the R by one.

Extended radicals remain within the tone class of the R which is extended. Thus a H CVC radical, carrying HH tone-pattern in TC I, will carry HHH when extended. A L CVC radical carrying LL tone-pattern in TC I, will carry LLL when extended. In the following examples the extensions used are the applied /-ir-er-/ and the reciprocal /-an-/.

e.g. H class

-d-ir <sup>2</sup>	(love for)	H-H	cp.	-d <sup>2</sup>	(love)	H
-tór-ér <sup>2</sup>	(take for)	HH-H		-tór <sup>2</sup>	(take)	HH
-zórór-ér <sup>2</sup>	(rest for)	HHH-L		-zórór <sup>2</sup>	(rest)	HHH
-zórór-ér-an <sup>2</sup>	(rest for one another)	HHH-L-L				
-dó-k-ér <sup>2</sup>	(set for)	H-H-H		-dó-k <sup>2</sup>	(set)	H-H
-páru-r-ir <sup>2</sup>	(tear for)	HH-H-L		-páru-r <sup>2</sup>	(tear)	HH-H
-páru-r-ir-an <sup>2</sup>	(tear for one another)	HH-H-L-L				

e.g. L class

-rw-ir <sup>2</sup>	(fight for)	L-L	cp.	-rw <sup>2</sup>	(fight)	L
-bvúnz-ir <sup>2</sup>	(ask for)	LL-L		-bvúnz <sup>2</sup>	(ask)	LL
-vèrèng-ér <sup>2</sup>	(read for)	LLL-L		-vèrèng <sup>2</sup>	(read)	LLL
-vèrèng-ér-an <sup>2</sup>	(read for one another)	LLL-L-L				
-svi-b-ir <sup>2</sup>	(darken for)	L-L-L		-svi-b <sup>2</sup>	(be dark)	L-L
-kòchè-k-ér <sup>2</sup>	(loop for)	LL-L-L		-kòchè-k <sup>2</sup>	(loop)	LL-L
-kòchè-k-ér-an <sup>2</sup>	(loop for one another)	LL-L-L-L				

The tonemes carried by, and assigned to, the extensions are those that follow the tonemes of the tone-pattern of the unextended R. Thus the final toneme of the R tone-pattern is carried by the vowel of the extension and the tonemes which are carried by the vowel following each extension are to be assigned to that extension.

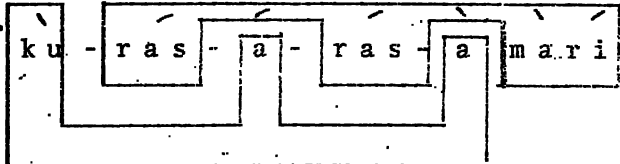
e.g. kù - t ó r <sup>2</sup> + - e r <sup>2</sup> + - a > kù - t ó r - e r - a

kù - b v ù n z <sup>2</sup> + - i r <sup>2</sup> + - a > kù - b v ù n z - i r - a

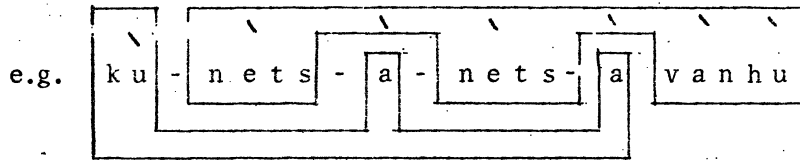
In this way the final tonemes of R tone-patterns and those carried by extensions are passed to the vowel of the next morpheme in each case. Extensions show no inherent tone but carry the toneme, H or L, required by the tone-pattern of the extended R as determined by number of vowels in the extended R, its tone class and the inflection it appears with.

### d) Re-duplicated radicals

The tone-patterns of reduplicated R's are the same whether the Rs which are reduplicated be simplex, derived or extended. Once again the tone-patterns carried depend on the usual three factors, viz. the number of vowels in the R, the tone class affiliation of the R and the inflection. The additional complicating factor, of course, is that the R is reduplicated and there are two terminal vowels, not one.

e.g.  (to throw money  
away carelessly)

1. These are the passive and causative extensions, symbolised by /-w-/ and /-y-/ respectively, which are of C shape.



(to trouble people again  
and again)

The constituents in these infinitive inflected Rs are, therefore:

1. prefix /kù/ and two tone-less terminal vowels /-a/ and /-a/;
2. the verb phrase of which the nucleus is the reduplicated R bearing a tone-pattern of which the final toneme of each radical is carried by its terminal vowel.

When combined with inflections conditioning TC I, the tone-patterns of reduplicated radicals are, save in the case of C Rs, the same as those of corresponding non-reduplicated Rs of the same phonological shape. C Rs are linked by a stabiliser /i:/<sup>1</sup> which is part of the second constituent, the VP, not the inflection.

TC I inflection : /ku-...-a ...-a/

		<u>H class</u>
C-i-C	kù-p-á-i-p-a (to give away without due thought)	H-H-L
CVC-CVC-	-rás-á-rás-a (to waste)	HH-HL
CVCVC-	-pópót-á-popot-a (to grumble continually without due cause)	HHH-LLL
CVCVCVC-	-kángáníš-a-kanganis-a (to go on making mistakes in spite of correction)	HHHL-LLLL
CVCVCVCVC-	-zórórèrán-a-zororeran-a (to rest between quarrels before resuming again)	HHLL-LLLLL
CVCVCVCVCVC-	-kángáníširan-a-kanganisiran-a (to go on offending one another in spite of periodic reconciliations)	HHLLL-LLLLLL

L class

C-i-C	ku-rw-à-i-rwà (to fight every so often without due cause)	L-L-L
CVC-CVC-	-bvùnz-à-bvùnz-à (to ask repeatedly even though told the answer)	LL-LL
CVCVC-	-tàris-à-tàris-à (to look superficially at one thing after another)	LLL-LLL
CVCVCVC-	-bvùnzìrán-à-bvùnzìrán-à (to ask repeatedly on one another's behalf)	LLLL-LLLL
CVCVCVCVC-	-verèngèrán-à-verèngèrán-à (to copy from one another)	LLLLL-LLLLL
CVCVCVCVCVC-	-kòchèkèrèrán-à-kòchèkèrèrán-à (to wind round each other several times)	LLLLLL-LLLLLL

When combined with the imperative inflection the tone-patterns of the above radicals are as follows:

TC II imperative inflections : /....-a ....-a/

	<u>H-group</u>	<u>L-group</u>
i-C-i-C	LH-HL	LH-HL
CVC-CVC-	HH-HL	LH+L
CVCVC-CVCVC-	HHH-LLL	LHH-LLL
CVCVCVC-CVCVCVC	HHHL-LLLL	LHHH-LLLL
CVCVCVCVC-CVCVCVCVC	HHHLL-LLLLL	LHHHH-LLLLL
CVCVCVCVCVC-CVCVCVCVCVC-	HHHLLL-LLLLLL	LHHHHH-LLLLLL

The problem of the assignment of tone-patterns and tonemes to the morphemes of the verb-radicals must be solved in this case as in the earlier cases of derived and extended radicals. The tone-patterns which are grouped as sets into tone conjugations are set out in the section dealing with the various inflections of verb phrases. The tone pattern carried by any verb radical depends on

1. Cp. the use of the stabiliser in the imperative inflection of C Rs.

the three factors already listed, viz. tone group affiliations of the R, its number of vowels and the inflection. It has nothing to do with whether the R is simplex, derived or extended. From this point of view the tone-patterns are determined mechanically and automatically. The tone-pattern or tonemes to be attributed to the constituent morphemes of the radicals will vary mechanically according to the overall system and can be ascertained quite easily by reference to it.

e.g. Verénga-ér-án-á-vereng-er-an-ai (Copy from one another)

The R has two forms: /vèréng-/ and /vèrèng-/.

The extensions /-er-/ and /-an-/ have each two forms with H and L tones respectively, viz., /-er' ~ -er-/ and /-an' ~ -an-/

## 4.2.3.

The simplex radical

## 4.2.3.1.

Phonological types

As stated above, simplex radicals consist of a single morpheme. They are commonly CVC in segmental form. There are also examples of VC, C, CVCVC and VCVC shapes. More complicated shapes usually prove to be derived or extended Rs of which, sometimes, the unextended form is no longer extant. For example, the R /-tever-/ (follow) has no corresponding unextended form \*/-tev-/ in contemporary use outside certain formulae which retain the older simplex radical and indicate that /-tever-/ may once have been an applied extended R.

e.g. nheva-vadzimba (9) (one who follows the hunters)  
nheva-vauya (9) (an animal which follows a spirit inhabiting a lion)

Part of the phonological substance of the R, as in the case of almost all morphemes, is a toneme or sequence of tonemes. As stated above in 4.2.2.2., these tone-patterns depend upon the tone class to which the R belongs, are always one toneme in excess of the number of vowels in the R and are subject to frequent changes occasioned by the inflection with which the R combines. The following are examples of simplex Rs divided according to phonological type (viz. segmental shape and tone class), the tone-patterns carried being those of TC I.

## 4.2.3.2.

Examples of phonological types of simplex Rs

(1) CVC	-péng-	(be mad)	-svik-	(arrive)
	-bat-	(hold)	-bik-	(cook)
	-vhim-	(hunt)	-nak-	(become good)
	-búd-	(come out)	-pind-	(go in, go by)
	-tór-	(take)	-kuhw-	(kindle fire)
(2) VC	-ibv-	(get ripe)	-end-	(go)
	-imb-	(sing)	-is-	(place)
	-ip-	(become bad)	-it-	(do)
	-om-	(become hard)		
	-on-	(see)	-omb-	(growl)
	-ond-	(become thin)	-on-	(growl)
	-ong-	(collect gold)	-or-	(go bad, corrupt)
	-údz-	(tell)	-un-	(shrive)
	-úk-	(foretell)	-un'	(hum)
	-umb-	(mould)	-uny-	(contract, fold)
	-urd-	(soil)		
	-úng-	(resound)		
	-uy-	(come)		

There do not seem to be any clear examples of Rs commencing with /a/, or, apart from /-end-/, those commencing with /e/. The following are CVC in shape with the semivowel glide /y/ acting as syllabic onsets.<sup>1</sup>

	-yárw-	(suckle)	-yam-	(support)
	-yáng-	(desire to hurt)	-yanzv-	(try, to divert, rely on)
	-yedz-	(dawn)	-yedz-	(try)
	-yéng-	(oscillate)	-yem-	(rely on)
			-yer-	(revere)
(3) C			-yer-	(measure)
	-b-	(steal)	-bv-	(come from)
	-d-	(love)	-n-	(rain)
	-dy-	(eat)	-na-	(be with)
	-dzv-	(lose in game)	-nge-	(seem; as auxiliary, be)
	-f-	(die)	-nyn'-	(defecate)

11/-nw'...

1. In the case of these Rs some speakers omit the /y/. Thus two forms of each exist in free variation.

-nw-	(drink)	-nzi	(be said, done)
-nzw-	(hear)	-ri	(be)
-p-	(give)	-rw-	(fight)
-sv-	(do rather)	-sw-	(spend the day)
-pw-	(dry up)	-ti	(say, do)
-ts-	(dig)	-w-	(fail)
-tsw-	(pound)	-z-	(come) <sup>2</sup>
-tsv-	(burn)		
-ty-	(fear)		
-v-	(become)		

This group includes a sub-group of L Rs with invariant terminal vowel

(4) <u>CVCVC</u>	-kanganw-	(forget)	-mangar-	(complain)
	-kendeng-	(be concerned)	-raram-	(live, exist)
	-kivar-	(get hurt)	-ruram-	(be straight, fair)
	-nyangar-	(be ugly)	-tever-	(follow)
	-roor-	(marry)	-vereng-	(read)
	-shevedz-	(call)		
	-zoror-	(rest)		
(5) <u>VCVC</u>	-igir-/vigir-	(get for)	-erer-	(flow)
	-odzong-/wodzong-	(gash)		
	-uchik-	(restore fertility)	-odzek-/wodzek-	(keep milk)
	-uchif-	(greet)		
	-uray-	(kill)		

#### 4.2.4.

#### Adoptive radicals

A number of verb radicals in Shona are forms adapted from loanwords borrowed from other languages. They are here referred to as adoptive radicals<sup>3</sup>. Adoptive radicals, like other loans, undergo a twofold adaptation, phonological and morphological. The adaptation which is of interest here is the latter but it has phonological aspects.

Like simplex radicals, adoptive radicals consist of a single morpheme and, in phonological shape, end in a consonant or consonant cluster. Hence when the form from which the adoptive radical is formed ends in a vowel, this is elided.

e.g. -fót- (photograph, take photos)

They are also assigned to tone classes.

e.g. H class of adoptive radicals:

-chis-	(iron, cp. -tshis- (be hot) (Ndebele))
-dhur-	(charge high prices; be expensive, cp. duur (dear) Afrikaans))
-fon-	(telephone)
-hur-	(be a prostitute)
-ker-	(carry on carrier; address letter, cp. 'care of')
-kiy-	(lock, cp. key)
-kot-	(quote)
-of-	(be off duty)
-pomb-	(pump)
-ponj-	(be punctured)
-sef-	(sieve)
-sut-	(don a suit)
-tich-	(teach)
-vhót	(vote)
-bvakach-	(take recreation, cp vacachao (Portuguese))
-foyir-	(fail an examination)
-kanik-	(repair, cp. mechanic)
-kweret-	(borrow, cp. chikwereti (debt); skuld (debt) (Afrikaans))
-perenger-	(spell)

e.g. L class of adoptive radicals

-bhej-	(bet, wager)
-chinj-	(change)
-chip-	(be cheap)
-chovh-	(push, shove)
-dhak-	(intoxicate)
-for-	(drill, cp. 'form fours')
-ger-	(cut with scissors, cp. sker (scissors) (Afrikaans))

12/-hor-...

2. The R /-z-/ survives only in a few names and idiomatic expressions, e.g. Muzanenhano (One who comes with misfortune - a name) (la). Chazepi (Where has it come from? - a name) (la). Gore harizi pakaza rimwe (A year never comes from whence another has come, never the same twice)

3. A usage borrowed from D Gowlett Morphology of the Verb in Lozi

e.g.	-hor-	(be paid, draw wages, cp. -hol- (draw pay) (Ndebele))
	-wach-	(wash clothes)
	-forom-	(make bricks, using a form)
	-furez-	(speak sensibly, cp. phrase)
	-tambuz-	(multiply, cp. 'times')
	-dhiraivh-	(drive)
	-zamanich-	(examine, cp. examination)
	-supavhaiz-	(supervise)

Some adoptive Rs are commonly found with passive extension .

e.g.	-chaj-w-	(be charged at a police station)
	-fayind-is-w-	(be fined, made to pay a fine)
	-forom-w-	(be acted as foreman)
	-oparet-w-	(be operated on)
	-tirit-w-	(be treated in hospital)
	-sitirech-w-	(be straightened, of hair; cp. stretched)

The vast majority of adoptive Rs are from English but, as the examples show, other and earlier forms are from Portuguese, Afrikaans (often via Ndebele) and from Ndebele itself. The fact that radicals have been adopted does not mean that they have not been fully assimilated into Shona as full members of the constituent class of R in verb phrases.

It is now impossible to speak or write "pure and unadulterated" Shona as some purists would like. However, the phonology of incompletely assimilated Rs, which perhaps will never now be completely assimilated to the Shona phonology, betrays the presence of a borrowed word.

e.g.	-inkway-	(enquire)
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The use of adoptives, particularly in the case of recent borrowings, varies much from the speech of one person to another and even when commonly used, its contexts are uncertain for some time. In some cases a verb phrase and not merely a verb is borrowed.

e.g.	-sirow- daundi	(slow down)
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In some cases there appears to be the use of a verbaliser in the formation of the adoptive radical.

e.g.	-háfu-r-	(reduce to half, cp. half)
	-kámi-r-	(comb)
	-ráfú-r-	(be rough, cp. rough)
	-jóbhó-r-	(work, cp. job)

Adoptive Rs with more than three vowels all appear to belong to the L group.

e.g.	-bhoyikot-	(boycott)
	-dhiribur-	(dribble)

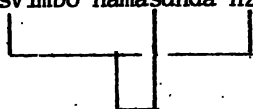
#### 4.2.5. Derived radicals

Derived radicals are constructions in which the first constituent is a member either of the class of ideophones or of the substantival stems. The second constituent is a verbaliser.<sup>1</sup> There are a great number of radicals consisting of ideophone and verbaliser but only a few consisting of substantive stem and verbaliser.

##### 4.2.5.1. Radicals derived from ideophones

A difficulty arises in connection with the treatment of radicals derived from ideophones at the level of the radical because these radicals seem to be derived, not from ideophones as such, but in the derivation of verb phrases from ideophone phrases. The constructional pattern of the ideophone phrase is:

e.g.	tsvímbó namásundá nzvé	(dodging a stick by moving backwards)
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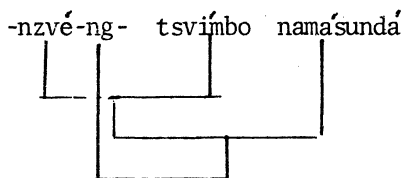
Such an ideophone phrase can be transformed into a verb phrase by combination with a verbaliser.

viz.	-nzvé-ng-	tsvímbó namásundá	(dodge a stick by moving backwards)
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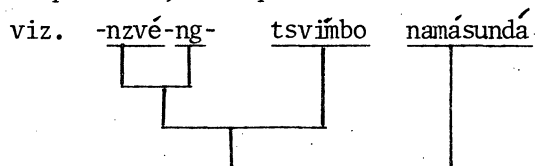
This would seem to hold in respect of all radicals derived from ideophones, viz, that the derivation occurs in the larger context of the derivation of verb phrases from ideophone phrases. This being so, it would seem, at first sight that the immediate constituents of the derived verb phrase are (1) the ideophone phrase and (2) the verbaliser. If this were so the radicals formed from ideophones could only be regarded as a phonological unit, not a morphological construction; it would not be proper to discuss it save, as has been done, in regard to its phonological characteristics, at the level of the radical; and its internal relationships would be represented by the following tree:

13/-nzve-...

1. This term was first coined, as far as I am aware, by Professor D T Cole. C M Döke referred to stems derived from ideophones and nouns as deideophonic and denominative respectively.



This interpretation is clearly absurd for obviously the derived radical is related as a whole, viz. as a construction, to its complement and adjuncts in much the same way as the ideophone of the ideophone clause. The relationships within the VP approximate to the following, rather than the previous, interpretation.



If this is so, it means that the structure of the derived construction cannot be represented by citing the two units from which it is derived as immediate constituents. As a result of derivation, the elements within the derived VP are restructured and yield a derived radical, a construction consisting of ideophone and verbaliser, which is a constituent with complements and adjuncts within the VP. It is therefore proper to discuss the radicals which result from the transformation of ideophone phrases into verb phrases at the level of the radical.

This case illustrates the fact that inflection must be distinguished from derivation. Inflection of constructions does not result in restructuring of compound elements whereas derivation may.

In the case of certain ideophone phrases, the relation of ideophone to other constituents may be ambiguous.

e.g. *jírá páru* (tearing the cloth; or the cloth getting torn)

This ambiguity is resolved by the derivation of a verb phrase in one or other of the two senses depending on whether verbaliser /-k-/ or verbaliser /-r-/ is used to derive it.

In the VP *-páru-r- jira* (tear the cloth), *jírá* is a primary object complement of the derived R; but in the VP *-páru-k- jira*, *jírá* is required to be subject to the derived radical. This appears to show that restructuring occurs within the derived VP in accordance with the comparatively greater definition required in VPs as opposed to ideophone phrases which, while being vivid and immediate, are more confused and less explicit in indicating relationships.

#### 4.2.5.1.1. Adaptations of ideophones as constituents in derived radicals

The constructions whose constituents are an ideophone and a verbaliser are radicals of either the H or L group. Ideophones with tone-patterns H, HL, HHL, HHH are constituents in H radicals; those with tone-patterns L, LH, LL, LLL, LLH, LLLL are constituents in L radicals. They may be divided, like the radicals, into two groups, H and L, not only on the basis of the tone-patterns of the derived radicals, but also on the basis of their initial toneme, H or L<sup>1</sup>.

e.g. H radicals

-nhó-ng-	(pick up)	cp. nhó
-páru-k-	(get torn)	páru
-tándáva-r-	(stretch out)	tándáva
-púrúru-dz-	(ululate)	púrúru

L radicals

-mha-r-	(perch)	cp. mha
-bwodo-k-	(get dislocated)	bwodo
-koche-k-	(hang up)	koche
-yangara-r-	(float)	yangara

As has been pointed out in 4.2.2.2.3.(b), the tone-patterns of constituent ideophones undergo changes in various inflections according to the over-all pattern of the R. These are set out in the list of tone conjugations, cp. 4.4.3.

The toneme assigned to the verbaliser also changes in the same way. These are regarded as morphophonemic changes of the morphemes concerned.

Ideophones as constituents of derived radicals are changed in other ways as well. In general they are not so open and subject to expressive features in such constructions as when they are constituents of ideophone phrases and clauses. For example, in ideophones we find long consonants and vowels, the latter accompanied by falling tone. These are not present in derived radicals.

e.g. -shi-nyir-	(hiss)	cp. sh:i
-svi-b-	(be dark)	svi-i
-kéké-dz-	(cluck)	ké-ké-ké-e

14/Vowels are...

1. This observation is made by Dembetembe, p.30, footnote. In the following treatment of derived Rs, I am indebted to Dembetembe's dissertation for a number of items, particularly the adaptation of certain ideophones when they are constituents in derived Rs.

Vowels are often devoiced or elided in onomatopoeic ideophones but voicing is restored in the derived radicals.

e.g. -tùtù-m- (foam, seethe) cp. tu tu tu  
-pùrùrù-dz- (ululate) pur-r-r-

Occasionally the tone-patterns of ideophones and derived Rs do not correspond.

e.g. -zvámbara- (lie prone) cp. zvambara

The pitch of ideophones as constituents in derived Rs conforms to the pattern of tone stepping and is not capable of the extremes of high and low expressive pitch which they carry as constituents in ideophonic constructions.

#### 4.2.5.1.2. The phonology of ideophones as constituents

##### a) Normal constituents

Ideophones which are constituents in derived Rs are commonly of 1, 2, 3, or 4 syllables.

e.g.	CV	dó	(setting)	cp.	-dó-k-	(set, go down)
	CVCV	zúngu	(shaking)		-zúngu-z-	(shake)
	CVCVCV	rótómo	(raving)		-rótómo-k-	(rave)
	CV	ndo	(extinguisher)		-ndo-k-	(go out - of fire)
	CVCV	sarú	(choosing)		-saru-k-	(choose)
	CVCV	koche	(hanging up)		-koche-k-	(hang up)
	CVCVCV	tuturu	(swelling)		-tuturu-k-	(swell)
	CVCVCVCV	piripiti	(running together)		-piripiti-k-	(run together, stampede)

Derived Rs normally consist of constituents of this type. Departures from this pattern are listed and exemplified below.

##### b) Shortened ideophones

Certain ideophones undergo elision of a syllable or a final vowel.

(1) The final vowel may be elided, the remnant becoming a derived R without verbaliser.

e.g.	pésvu	(winnowing, stirring up)	cp.	-pésv-
	chérengu	(scratching deeply)		-chéreng-
	chézengu	(wounding)		-chézeñg-
	détambu	(praising)		-détamb-
	dyadyátu	(crunching)		-dyadyat-
	kádzongo	(stirring)		-kádzonw-
	kwidiba	(covering)		-kwidib-
	bandú	(cracking with teeth)		-band-
	bvutú	(snatching)		-bvut-
	denhú	(provoking)		-denh-
	kwenyú	(scratching)		-kweny-
	zeyu	(chewing)		-zey-
	zunzu	(shaking)		-zunz-
	fukushu	(roasting nuts)		-fukush-
	tubvunyú	(pressing something soft)		-tubvuny-
	ngwerevere	(being transparent, letting in light)		-ngwerever-

Elision of the final vowel occurs with reduplicated ideophones as well.

e.g.	n'uzhú-n'uzhú	(eating hurriedly)	cp.	-n'uzh-
	todó-todó	(shelling nuts)		-tod-
	tutunu-tutunu	(cracking with teeth)		-tútun-
	n'un'unú-n'un'unú	(gnawing)		-n'un'un-

(2) In other cases, which are somewhat rarer, the final syllable of a ideophone may be elided and replaced by a verbaliser.

e.g.	checheteré	(trimming)	cp.	-chéché-té-dz-
	checherere	(running with a hoop, a bicycle rim)		-chéché-ré-dz-
	kúkúriḡo	(crowing of cock)		-kúkúri-dz-

Elision of a final syllable occurs rather more frequently in reduplicated ideophones.

e.g.	kéré kéré	(clucking)	cp.	-kéréké-dz-
	ngwéré ngwéré	(tinkling)		-ngwéréngwé-dz-
	tiki tiki	(perspiring)		-tikiti-r-



Elision of the third, or the second and third, of three triplicated mono-syllabic ideophones often occurs.

e.g.	gō gō gō	(knocking)	cp	-gōgō-dz-
	kó kó kó	(tying to, securing)		-kó-mér-
	pfi pfi pfi	(squeaking)		-pfipfi-dz-
	sé sé sé	(trotting of a dog)		-sésé-dz-
	tsvú tsvú tsvú	(urging on a dog)		-tsvútsvú-dz-ír-
	chi chi chi	(trotting)		-chichi-nh-
	fe fe fe	(blowing of wind)		-fe-mb- (sniff)
				-fefe-t-er- (blow)
	go go go	(groaning)		-gó-mér-

### c) Reduplicated ideophones

Reduplicated ideophones rarely feature as such as constituents. As just indicated in (2), one or two of the triplicated monosyllabic ideophones are elided.

CV CV CV appears as CVCV-C, CVCV-CVC, CV-CVC, CV-C

e.g.	tu tu tu	(spluttering, boiling)	cp	-tutu-m-
	tsvú tsvú tsvú	(urging on dog)		-tsvútsvú-dz-ír-
	dú dú dú	(pounding)		-dú-n-ír-
	vhi vhi vhi	(paining)		-vhi-t-

Of reduplicated CVCV or CVCVCV ideophones, normally only one form appears as a constituent.

e.g.	cháku cháku	(munching like a pig)	cp	-cháku-r-
	tepu tepu	(swaying)		-tepu-k-
	n'un'unú n'un'unú	(gnawing)		-n'un'unú-r-
	ribídu ribídu	(galloping)		-ribídu-k-
	bhidhiri bhidhiri	(rolling over)		-bhidhiri-k-

#### 4.2.5.1.3. The phonology of verbalisers

- a) Ideophones normally combine with a verbaliser of C shape which may be a single consonant phoneme or a phoneme cluster. Verbalisers of this type are as follows -

/b, dz, k, m, mb, n, nd, nh, ng, ny, p, r, t, v, z/.

- b) In some constructions verbalisers are VC in shape. The forms are /-ik/ and /-ir/. They may occur with ideophones with elided final vowel or without elision.

- (1) A number of ideophones with identical vowels in all syllables elide the final vowel and combine with verbaliser /-ik-/.

e.g.	rukutu	(being weak)	cp	-rukut-ik-
	vhúkútu	(dashing to pieces)		-vhúkú-ik-
	parapáta	(waking up at once)		-parapat-ik-

- (2) Some ideophones with primary vowels in V<sub>1</sub> position and secondary vowels in V<sub>2</sub> position elide V<sub>2</sub> and combine with verbaliser /-ir-/.

e.g.	ndure	(stinging)	cp	-ndur-ir-
	tande	(stretching)		-tand-ir-

- (3) Many ideophones ending in /a/, usually reduplicated and indicating intermittent action, or action here and there or to and fro, combine with verbaliser /-ir-/.

e.g.	téka téka	(swaying from side to side)	cp	-téka-ír-
	ríta ríta	(walking aimlessly)		-rita-ir-

- c) In a few cases the verbaliser is complex, viz. /k-ir-, -m-ar-, -m-adz-, -m-ar-adz-/.

e.g.	gwádi	(squeezing)	cp	-gwádi-ki-ír-
	wútu	(sitting huddled)		-wútu-már-
	pa	(slapping)		-pa-madz-
	bhá	(heating)		-bhá-marádz-

#### 4.2.5.1.4. The constructions in detail

This section is concerned with listing and exemplifying the verbalisers and the classes of ideophone which occur with them as well as referring to their meaning and distribution where this is possible.

- a) Verbalisers /-k-/ and /-r-/

A large class of ideophones with final /-o/ or /-u/ are constituents with two verbalisers  
16// -k/...

/-k-/ and /-r-/ at once. Derived Rs with verbaliser /-k-/ occur in verb phrases normally with only secondary object complements, viz. those which may not co-occur with an object prefix. Derived Rs with verbaliser /-r-/ occur with an object prefix.

e.g. páru (tearing)	-páru-k-	-páru-r-
simu (rising)	-simu-k-	-simu-r-
pfúúgu (uncovering)	-pfúúgú-k-	-pfúúgú-r-
kwáchánu (coming away from wall)	-kwáchánu-k-	-kwáchánu-r-
bwodó (dislocating)	-bwodo-k-	-bwodo-r-
undu (moulting)	-undu-k-	-undu-r-
tepfenu (slackening)	-tepfenu-k-	-tepfenu-r-
tasanu (being straight)	-tasanu-k-	-tasanu-r-

These verbalisers also occur with a class of ideophones which are constructions consisting of verb radicals and an ideophonic formative of reverse meaning. This formative is /-u/ with a rather small number of radicals.

e.g. dzim-u- (extinguishing)	cp. -dzim-ir-	(burn grass to forestall a veld fire)
nyuk-u- (taking from water)	-nyik-	(steep in water)
pind-ú (turning round)	-pind-	(go in)
dziv-ú (uncorking)	-dziv-	(hinder)
nam-ú (unsealing)	-nam-	(plaster)

More common is a longer reversive formative of shape /-V<sub>1</sub>nV<sub>2</sub>/, HL after H Rs,

LH or LL after L Rs, and in which V<sub>1</sub> is the same as the final vowel of the R and V<sub>2</sub> is /u/ after /a, e, i, u/ or /o/ after /o/.

e.g. kát-ánu (uncoiling)	cp. -kát-	(coil)
píng-ínu (unlatching)	-píng-	(latch)
kiy-ínu (unlocking)	-kiy-	(lock)
pómb-óno (unwrapping)	-pómb-	(wrap with string)
súng-únu (untieing)	-súng-	(tie)
chat-anú (divorcing)	cp. -chat-	(marry)
pet-enú (unfolding)	-pet-	(fold)
pfek-enú (undressing)	-pfek-	(dress)
roy-onó (unwitching)	-roy-	(bewitch)
ruk-unú (unplaiting)	-ruk-	(plait)

Examples of the derived radicals:

-súng-únu-k- (get untied)	cp. súng-únu
-súng-únu-r- (untie)	
-pet-enu-k- (get unfolded)	pet-enú or
-pet-enu-r- (unfold)	pet-enu

These reversive derived Rs were treated in AS par. 452-8 as the reversive species.

A number of the underived ideophones which are constituents with /-k-/ and /-r-/ indicate division, destruction or fragmentation.

e.g. mwau (breaking)	cp. -mwau-k- -mwau-r-	(get broken, torn) (break, tear)
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Others convey the notion of undoing, changing or displacing<sup>1</sup>.

e.g. nyandu (disordering)	-nyandu-k- -nyandu-r-	(be dishevelled) (disorder)
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## b) Verbaliser /-r-/ 2

The following classes of ideophone appear as constituents in derived Rs with verbaliser /-r-/.

17/ 1) A number...

1. These observations are made by Dembetembe, p.44-5 who also treats the reversives in this place.
2. In the following sections the ideophones are cited without gloss as they do not differ in meaning from that of the derived R.

- 1) A number of ideophones with final syllable /ma/ and which all indicate some kind of posture, position, disposition or arrangement of parts.

e.g.	-chónjómá-r-	(squat with knees up)	cp.	chónjōma
	-súnzúmá-r-	(squat)		súnzūma, súnza
	-túnhúmá-r-	(be undulating)		túnhūma, túnhu
	-fúndúmá-r-	(be sulky)		fúndūma
	-pafam-r-	(be flat)		pafama, pafa
	-tasama-r-	(be straight)		tasama, tasa
	-yangama-r-	(float, lie on water)		yangama

Doubtless the syllable /ma/ represents a "stative" ideophonic formative. The derived Rs are inchoative and are followed in verb phrases, if at all, only by secondary object complements.

- 2) A number of other ideophones ending in /-a/ and indicating posture, mién or gait.

e.g.	-tándává-r-	(stretch out)	cp.	tandáva
	-zvámbará-r-	(lie prostrate)		zvambara

- 3) A number of ideophones ending in /-ai/ and conveying types of gait and other types of activity composed of repeated movements.

e.g.	-nánái-r-	(move painfully, slowly)	cp.	nánái
	-kámái-r-	(crawl)		kámái
	-tsváí-r-	(sweep)		tsváí
	-sai-r-	(push)		sai
	-vhai-r-	(show off)		vhai
	-n'ai-r-	(glitter)		n'ai

- 4) Numerous miscellaneous ideophones ending in /i/ or /u/.

e.g.	-nyú-r-	(sink)	cp.	nyú
	-dáví-r-	(answer)		dáví
	-kwégú-r-	(grow old)		kwégu
	-márángú-r-	(scratch surface)		márángu
	-gachi-r-	(receive)		gachi
	-kambu-r-	(scoop food with fingers)		kumbu

- 5) Ideophones with secondary vowels /e/ and /o/.

e.g.	-gómé-r-	(groan)	cp.	góme
	-tónhō-r-	(be cold)		tónho
	-tónóngó-r-	(shell nuts)		tónóngo
	-ndonye-r-	(plant a shoot)		ndonye
	-momote-r-	(swarm around)		momote

- 6) A few ideophones with secondary vowel /e/ in final position and primary vowels elsewhere elide /e/ and combine with verbaliser /-ir-/. e.g. -tand-ir- (stretch out) cp. tande  
-ndur-ir- (sting) ndure

- 7) A few onomatopoeic ideophones indicating cries.

e.g.	-húku-r-	(bark, of dog)	cp.	húku
	-kókóró-r-	(croak, of frog)		kókóro, kókóroró

- 8) This verbaliser also occurs with a class of ideophones which are constructions consisting of verb radicals and an ideophonic formative of extensive meaning, /-au/

e.g.	rúm-áu	(biting all over)	cp.	-rúm-	(bite)
	súng-áu	(tying all over)		-súng-	(tie)
	tánh-áu	(pluck from all over)		-tánh-	(pluck)
	món-áu	(twisting indiscriminately)		-món-	(twist)
	rím-áu	(hoeing everywhere)		-rím-	(till)
	paz-áu	(pulling down here and there)		-paz-	(demolish)

Examples of the derived radicals:

-tánh-áu-r-	(remove nuts from plant; legs and wings from a locust)
-paz-au-r-	(pull down, e.g. a building, here and there)

### c) Verbaliser /-k-/

The following classes of ideophone appear as constituents in derived Rs with verbaliser /-k-/.

- 1) A number of ideophones of all kinds and ending in any of the four vowel phonemes /e, i, o, u/.

e.g.	-téré-k-	(place on fire)	cp	tére
	-pépéré-k-	(wave in wind)		pépéré
	-páyi-k-	(hang up)		páyi
	-tógó-k-	(emit smoke)		tógo
	-rótómó-k-	(rave)		rótómo
	-svétú-k-	(jump)		svétu
	-téndéú-k-	(turn round)		téndéu
	-koche-k-	(hook up)		koche
	-dzedzere-k-	(totter)		dzedzere
	-dimi-k-	(speak in metaphors, hint)		dimí
	-bhidhiri-k-	(roll over) allude)		bhidhiri bhidhiri
	-koto-k-	(disperse)		koto/kotó
	-chenu-k-	(be covered with dust)		chenu/chenu
	-bhururu-k-	(fly)		bhururu

- 2) Ideophones with vowel /a/ throughout elide final /a/ and combine with verbaliser /-ik-/.

e.g.	-parapat-ik-	(wake up suddenly)	cp	parapata
	-tsakat-ik-	(get lost, vanish)		tsakata

- 2) Three ideophones formed from adjectives by addition of ideophonic formative /-ru/,

viz.	chene-ru	(being whitish)	cp	-chena	(white)
	pfumbu-ru	(being greyish)		-pfumbú	(grey)
	tsvuku-ru	(being reddish)		-tsvukú	(red)

The derived Rs are:

-chene-ru-k-	(be whitish)
-pfumbu-ru-k-	(be greyish)
-tsvuku-ru-k-	(be reddish)

d) Verbaliser /-m-/

The following classes of ideophone appear as constituents in derived Rs with verbaliser /-m-/.

- 1) A number of disyllabic ideophones ending in /-a/ and indicating position or posture.

e.g.	-kómhá-m-	(be bowed, bent)	cp	kómhá
	-pfúgá-m-	(kneel)		pfúgá
	-gwada-m-	(kneel)		gwada
	-kwata-m-	(lie prone)		kwata

- 2) Ideophones ending in vowels of all types and indicating actions or sounds.

e.g.	-dengu-m-	(wobble)	cp	dengú
	-dhuru-m-	(thunder)		dhuru
	-gudu-m-	(rumble)		gudu
	-pfocho-m-	(disappear)		pfocho
	-fasha-m-	(overflow)		fasha
	-dhiri-m-	(resound)		dhiriri <sup>1</sup>

All these derived Rs appear to belong to the L group.

- 3) Reduplicated or triplicated monosyllabic ideophones indicating intermittent or vibratory action<sup>2</sup>.

e.g.	-tutu-m-	(rise - of dough)	cp	tu tu tu
	-vhuvhu-m-	(moan - of wind)		vhu vhu vhu
	-bhabhá-m-	(flap - of wings)		bha bha bha
	-vhái-m-	(boil)	cp	vhai vhai
	-vai-m-	(flash)		vai vai
	-tai-m-	(glitter)		tai tai

All these derived Rs appear to belong to the L group.

e) Verbaliser /-dz-/

The following classes of ideophone appear as constituents in derived Rs with verbaliser /-dz-/.

- 1) Ideophones indicating animal cries and other sounds.

e.g.	-bhárará-dz-	(shout, bleat)	cp	bharara
	-njééré-dz-	(sing, of a cicada)		njééré

1. Cp. 4.2.5.1.2. (b) (2)

2. Cp. 4.2.5.1.2. (c)

-kúkúri-dz	(crow, of a cock)	cp	kúkúriǵo <sup>1</sup>
-púrúru-dz	(ululate)		púrúru <sup>2</sup>
-dhiriri-dz	(thunder, roar)		dhirifrr
-ngururu-dz-	(growl, of leopard)		ngurr

(2) Triplicated or reduplicated ideophones characteristic of the movement of persons, animals, objects etc.

e.g. -chóchó-dz	(run, of a cock)	cp	cho cho cho
-dá-dá-dz	(run, of a dassie)		da da da
-dódo-dz	(hammer)		do do do
-dede-dz	(toddle)		de de de
-bhábhá-dz	(flap wings)		bha bha bha

Derived Rs in both these groups appear to belong to the H group.

f) Verbaliser /-t-/.

The following classes of ideophone appear as constituents in derived Rs with verbaliser /-t-/.

(1) A number of disyllabic ideophones ending in /-a/ and indicating contact with an agent in various ways.

e.g. -pfúmbá-t	(grasp)	cp	pfúmba
-gúmbá-t	(embrace)		gúmba
-búngá-t	(fold in arms)		búnga

Derived Rs in this group appear to belong to the H group.

(2) A group of miscellaneous ideophones.

e.g. -gwáú-t	(bark loudly)	cp	gwáú
-gwékwé-t	(take large sips)		gwe-e
-bvuku-t	(turn seed into soil before rains)		bvúku bvúku
-chacha-t	(drip)		cha cha cha
-hwata-t	(crouch suddenly)		hwata

g) Miscellaneous verbalisers

The following are examples of verbalisers which do not appear extensively or with any clearly defined group of ideophones.

(1) /-b-/-p-/

e.g. -svi-b-	(be dark)	cp	svi-i
-svi-p-	(be dark)		

(2) /-d-/

e.g. -gágá-d	(hack, chop)	cp.	gá gá gá
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(3) /-n-/

e.g. -gónyá-n	(curl up)	cp.	kónya
-fínyá-n	(pucker, wrinkle)		fínyá
-piríngá-n	(interlace)		piríngá
-gamhi-n	(limp)		gamhi
-bvuva-n	(be responsible for)		bvuva

(4) /-ng-/

e.g. -nzvé-ng	(dodge)	cp.	nzvé
-dyú-ng	(pierce)		dyú-ú
-bishi-ng	(be very busy)		bishi
-kódzó-ng	(stir)		kódzo

(5) /-nh-/

e.g. -do-nh-	(drop)	cp.	do
-kwa-nh-	(cut down)		kwa

(6) /-nj-/

e.g. -bvungu-nj-	(crush meat with mallet)	cp	bvungú
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(7) /-v-/

e.g. -fóvo-v	(shriveled up)	cp	fóvo
-kwe-v	(pull)		kwe-e <sup>3</sup>

1. Cp. 4.2.5.1.2.(b)(2)

2. Cp. 4.2.5.1.1.

3. The incidence of ideophones as constituents in derived Rs is much greater than can be described here. It is also capable of clearer definition from the semantic angle and hence needs further study. Some of the commonest Rs are derived from ideophones.

#### 4.2.5.1.5. Augmentative derived Rs

Ideophones with initial unvoiced C, or initial and medial unvoiced C, are subject, in suitable cases to a process of initial, or initial and medial, voicing and murmur.

e.g.	páru kádu	báru gádu	bháru gádhú	(tearing) (hitting someone on the face with fists)
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The first member of such related classes indicates a light or slight action, the second, voiced, member a heavier or stronger action, while the third, murmured, member indicates very heavy or violent action. These distinctions are found also in derived Rs.

e.g.	-pwany-	(crush, e.g. with the finger nails)	cp	pwanyú
	-bwany-	(crush, e.g. with a log)		bwanyú
	-kwiz-	(polish, rub)	cp	kwizú
	-gwiz-	(rub against, e.g. an ox against tree)		gwizú

-fóshó-k-	(pour out)	cp	fósho
-vhózhó-k-	(gush out)		vhózho
-tsamu-r-	(take a pinch)	cp	tsamú
-dzamu-r-	(take a big handful)		dzamú
-sésémú-r-	(cut out section)	cp	sésému
-dzédzémú-r-	(cut out large section)		dzédzému
-chachu-r-	(take from pot)	cp	chachú
-jaju-r-	(take from pot greedily)		jajú
-kwata-m-	(bend down)	cp	kwata
-gwada-m-	(kneel down)		gwada
-kaka-m-	(stammer)	cp	ka-ka-ka
-gaga-m-	(stammer noisily)		ga-ga-ga
-kwátái-r-	(walk with bended knees)		kwátái
-gwádái-r-	(walk on knees)		gwádái
-kákái-r-	(drink noisily)	cp	kákái
-gákái-r-	(gulp down noisily)		gákái

Voicing of initial consonants in order to convey a weightier action appears to occur in a few cases in non-derived Rs.

e.g.	-tever-	(follow)
	-devedz-	(follow, observe, pursue)
	Ari kúdevedza mutémó (He is observing the law)	
	-kwát-	(shiver with fear)
	-gwát-	(shiver with fear - of a big person)
	-tung-	(pierce)
	-dung-an-nashé	(go straight to the top, i.e. the chief)
	-tém-	(cut)
	-démérér-	(blunt an axe against a stone)

#### 4.2.5.2. Radicals derived from substantival stems

The stems which are constituents in these constructions are noun and adjectival stems.

e.g.	-tete-p-	(be thin)	cp.	-tete-	(thin)
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Derived radicals of this kind belong to both the H and L classes. Stems with H, HH, HL and HLH tone-patterns are constituents in H radicals; those with LL and LH tone-patterns are constituents in L radicals. Thus stems clearly fall into two classes, H and L, on the basis of the tone-patterns of the derived radicals and these are clearly conditioned by the initial toneme, either H or L, of the stems.

The tone-patterns of substantival stems when constituents in derived verb radicals are adapted to those of H and L radicals generally. For example, with inflections conditioning TC I tone-patterns, HL and HLH stems become HH and HHH respectively while LH stems become LL.

Verbalisers combining with adjective stems are /-k-, -p-, -v-, -s-, -mar-/ Those combining with noun stems are /-k-, -r-, -t-, -dz-, -mar-/. The tones attributed to the verbalisers are also adapted to the tone group and tone conjugation involved.

Examples of these derived radicals are not numerous.

#### 4.2.5.2.1. Adjective stems as constituents

(a) Verbaliser /-k-/

e.g. -pfúpi (short) cp -pfúpi-k-; -tsvené (clean) cp -tsvene-k-  
 -kobvú (thick) cp -kobvu-k-  
 -shoma (few) cp -shome-k-<sup>1</sup>

(b) Verbaliser /-p-/

e.g. -ví (bad) cp -í-p-; -tete (thin) cp -tete-p-  
 -dúku (small) cp -dúku-p-

The following forms also exist, some the result of metathesis: (-díki-p- (cp. -díki-), -dókó-p-, (cp -dóko-), -dúpi-k-, -dúpu-k-.

(c) Verbaliser /-v-/

e.g. -nyóró (soft) cp. -nyóró-v-

(d) Verbaliser /-s-/<sup>2</sup>

e.g. -pfúpi (short) cp -pfúpi-s- (shorten) -chena (white) cp chene-s-<sup>3</sup>  
 -dúku (small) cp -dúku-s- (make small)

The form -dúpu-dz- also exists by metathesis, cp -dúpu-k-.

(e) Verbaliser /-mar-/

e.g. -kobvú (thick) cp -kobvu-mar- (be thick)

#### 4.2.5.2.2. Noun stems as constituents

(a) Verbaliser /-k-/

e.g. N-pfĩmbi (9) (hole dug in which cp -pfĩmbi-k- (ripen fruit)  
 to ripen fruit)

(b) Verbaliser /-r-/

e.g. ma-kókó (6) (pot scrapings) cp -kókó-r- (scrape pot)

(c) Verbaliser /-t-/

e.g. ma-kókó (6) (pot scrapings) cp -kókó-t- (clean pot with finger,  
 consuming remnants)

(d) Verbaliser /-dz-/

e.g. N-shámwari (9) (friend) cp -shámwari-dz-an- (be mutually  
 friendly)

(e) Verbaliser /-mar-/

e.g. bofu<(ri-)-pofu (5) (blind person) cp -pofu-mar- (be blind)

1. Here the stem is adapted to /-shome-/ , perhaps by false analogy with the extensions /-ik-/ ~ -ek -/, /-is- ~ -es-/.

2. This verbaliser is causative in meaning, cp. the causative extension /-is- ~ -es-/.

3. Here the stem is adapted to /-chene-/ , perhaps by false analogy with the extension /-ik- ~ -ek -/, /-is- ~ -es-/.

## 4.2.6.

Extended Radicals

Extended radicals are formed when a verb phrase is combined with a verbal extension. The construction pattern of the VP is:

+/- object prefix + R +/- complements +/- adjuncts

e.g. -róv- imbwá nésamhú (beat a dog with a switch)

Examples of this VP with extended radical would be:

- (a) -róv-és- imbwá nésamhú  
(beat a dog hard with a switch)
- (b) -róv-ék- (imbwá) nésamhú  
((for a dog) to get beaten with a switch)
- (c) -róv-ér- imbwa nésamhú  
(beat a dog with a switch for...)

(a) and (b) are extended VPs; (c) is a VP with extended R. It is not yet a complete extended VP.

Extensions are suffixed to the R they extend. Since it is properly VPs and not merely Rs which are transformed by extensions, the same question occurs here as occurred in the treatment of Rs derived from ideophones. Are extended Rs morphological constructions which can be properly treated at the level of the R? The answer here, as there, appears to be that extended Rs, which are morphological constructions with ICs consisting of (1) the extension and (2), in whole or in part, the R of the transformed VP, do result from the transformation as the result of a restructuring of relationships with the extended VP.

Verbal extensions are of three types according to the effect they have on the VP they transform.

- a) Extensions of type (a) reinforce the collocational relationship of R to object complement in the VP which is transformed, e.g. the intensive extension.

e.g. -róv-és- imbwá nésamhú (beat a dog hard with a switch)

- b) Extensions of type (b) restrict the collocational relationship of R to the object complement in the VP which is transformed, e.g. the neuter extension.

e.g. (imbwá) -róv-ék- nésamhú [(for a dog) to get beaten by a switch]

The relationship of imbwa to the R /-rov-/, now extended, can only be expressed at clause level by the former complement becoming a subject.

e.g. Imbwá inoróvéká nésamhú (A dog can be beaten by a switch)

In VPs extended by extensions of both types (a) and (b), the result of the transformation appears to be an extended R, viz. a construction at the level of the R and related as a radical to the other constituents of the extended VP.

- (c) Extension of type (c) widen the collocational relationship of R to object complements by requiring a further object complement as the object of the extended radical.

e.g. -rov-er- mwana imbwa neshamhu (beat the dog with a switch for a child)

The result of adding extensions of all kinds appears to be an extended R, viz. a construction at the level of the R and related as a radical to the other constituents of the extended VP.



A recurrent feature determining the distribution of extensions of VC shape is that of assimilation of V to the final vowel of the R which is extended. Rs with final vowels /i, u, a/ are followed by extensions with primary vowels, whereas those with final vowels /e, o/ are followed by extensions with secondary vowels.

e.g. -bát-ís- (hold hard)  
-chéñ-és- (cry loudly)

This feature does not obtain universally.

Another recurrent feature is that C radicals are extended sometimes by reduplicated or triplicated forms of the extensions.

#### 4.2.6.1. Verbal extensions of type (a)

##### 4.2.6.1.1.

###### (1) The contactive<sup>1</sup> /-at-~et-/

This extension is found only in a few forms, contactives not being in active formation.

e.g. -súng-át-	(tether)	cp. -súng-	(tie)
-bind-at-	(wear loin cloths)	-bind-	(cover loins)
-nam-at-	(adhere to)	-nam-	(plaster)
-cheng-et-	(preserve)	-cheng-	(keep)

This extension is akin to the verbaliser /-t-/ which combines with ideophones to indicate contact. Cp.4.2.5.1.4.(f).

##### 4.2.6.1.2.

###### (2) The extensive /-ik-~ek-/

This extension is also found only in a few forms, extensives not being in active formation.

Extensive Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is projected in space.

e.g. -rádz-ík-	(put down)	cp. -rádz-	(lay down)
-rúm-ík-	(bleed)	-rúm-	(bite)
-sím-ík-	(plant out)	-sím-	(plant)
-tónd-ék-	(point to)	-tónd-	(face)
-gadz-ík-	(put down)	-gadz-	(settle)

Rádzíká mwana (Make the child lie down to rest)  
Gadzíká móyo pasi, áchaúyá (Do not fret, he will come)

##### 4.2.6.1.3.

###### (3) The intensive /-is-~es-/

This extension is realised as /-is-/ after C radicals and Rs with final primary vowels /a, i, u/ and as /-es-/ after Rs with final secondary vowels /e, o/.

Intensive Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is heightened or made more vigorous or effective. The extension may be reduplicated or, after C radicals, triplicated for further emphasis.

e.g. -d-ís-	(love much)	-d-ísišíš-	(love very much)	cp. -d-	(love)
-nzw-ís-	(understand)	-nzw-ísišíš-	(understand very well)	-nzw-	(understand well)
-bát-ís-	(hold firmly)	-bát-ísišíš-	(hold very firmly)	-bát-	(hold)
-nak-is-	(be very good)	-nak-isis-	(be extremely good)	-nak-	(be good)

Chawáwaná bátisiśa, mudziímú haupe kaviri  
(Hold on firmly to what you have found, the spirit does not give twice)

Munógona asi hamúsáti mágonésésa  
(You can manage but you cannot manage perfectly yet)

##### 4.2.6.1.4.

###### (4) The perfective /-irir-~erer-/

This extension is realised as /-iririr-/ after C radicals, as /-irir-/ Rs with final primary vowels, and as /-erer-/ after Rs with final secondary vowels. Perfective Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is carried through to completion.

e.g. -dy-iririr-	(eat a lot, eat to repletion)	cp. -dy-	(eat)
-chék-erer-	(cut up meat and fill the pot)	-chék-	(cut)
-sek-erer-	(laugh on and on, be happy)	-sek-	(laugh)

1. The extensions are classified by a number as well as a descriptive label for reference.

Nhási tinónzwirírira

(Today we shall hear some wonderful stories)

-dyár-írír- némhodzi (mix up seed in planting)  
-dy-íríríf- némachinda (eat grubs (in the honey) by mistake)

#### 4.2.6.1.5.

##### (5) The repetitive /-urur- ~ -oror-/ .....

This extension is realised as /-urur-/ after Rs with final vowels /a, e, i, u/ and as /-oror-/ after Rs with final vowel /o/. Repetitive Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is done for the second time or done thoroughly. There is some overlap between this extension and the perfective but the two extensions are distinct.

e.g.	-dyár-úrur-	(resow)	cp.	-dyár-	(sow)
	-fám-úrur-	(walk a second time)		-fám-	(walk)
	-túk-úrur-	(curse with repetitions)		-túk-	(curse)
	-dzóŋ-órór-	(resow)		-dzóŋ-	(sow)
	-send-urur-	(replane)		-send-	(plane)
	-dzok-oror-	(plant, weed, plough for the second time)		-dzok-	(come back)
	-dzím-úrur-	(extinguish thoroughly)		-dzím-	(extinguish)
	-rév-úrur-	(confess)		-rév-	(say)
	-zív-úrur-	(know well)		-zív-	(know)
	-ón-órór-	(see clearly, scrutinise)		-ón-	(see)
	-tsets-urur-	(grind fine)		-tsets-	(grind)
	-rond-oror	(track thoroughly)		-rond-	(track)

Chindumuré chiři kúrondorora makombá énzungú  
(The little weanling is following the drills, digging up the ground-nut seeds already planted)

Zviŋonororé mwóyo wákó (Scrutinise your heart)

Ndinókuzivúrá (I know you well)

#### 4.2.6.1.6.

##### (6) The stative /-ar- ~ -arar-/ .....

This extension is found only in a few forms, statives not being in active formation.

e.g.	-óm-arár-	(become hard, dry)	cp.	-óm-	(be dry)
	-shám-arár-	(shout with wide open mouth)		-shám-	(open mouth)
	-cháchám-ár-	(project)		-cháchám-	(bulge)

Muné dziŋwe nyika, hova dzósé dziŋoómárára dzichivá chándo  
(In some countries, all the rivers freeze hard)

The extension is akin to the verbaliser /-r-/ which combines with ideophones to indicate posture. Cp. 4.2.5.1.4.(b).

#### 4.2.6.2.

##### Verbal extensions of type (b)

#### 4.2.6.2.1.

##### (7) The associative /-an-/ .....

This extension is found only in a few forms, associatives not being in active formation. Associative Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is common to a group or a body in the form of an action or state which prevails over the whole.

e.g.	-góny-an-	(be curly, twisted)	cp.	-góny-	(bond)
	-nyong-an-	(be confused)		-nyong-	(upset)
	-úŋ-an-	(assemble)		-úŋ-	(collect)
	-ndándádz-an-	(be ready)		-ndándádz-	(prepare)
	-gadz-an-	(settle down together)		-gadz-	(settle)
	-petan-	(crumple up)		-pet-	(fold)
	-zvuk-an-	(be pulled out, elongated)		-zvuv-	(pull)
	-bvunduk-an-	(be muddy, dirty all over, of water)		-bvunduk-	(be muddy)

Kana táŋganá, tinózorangana zvokúita  
(When we are assembled, we will decide together what to do)

Nyangá dzakáfonyana  
(Curly horns)

Vanhu vákandádzána  
(The people are all ready)

Mvurá yágádzana  
(The water has settled down, is calm)

Muromo wámídhendérende wákazvúukana  
(The mouth of the shrew is drawn out)

Mvúrá inobvudukana  
(The water becomes turbid)

4.2.6.2.2.

(8) The potential or neuter /-ik-~ek-/

This extension is realised as /-ik-/ after C radicals and Rs with final primary vowels; it is realised as /-ek-/ after Rs with final secondary vowels. Potential Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is possible or easily accomplished in the circumstances or, simply, though this is less common, that it is performed.

e.g.	-dy-ik-	(be edible)	cp.	-dy-	(eat)
	-nw-ik-	(be drinkable)		-nw-	(drink)
	-rw-ik-	(be worth fighting for)		-rw-	(fight)
	-bv-ik-	(be removable)		-bv-	(come from)
	-ziṽ-ik-	(be knowable, get known)		-ziṽ-	(know)
	-gon-ek-	(be feasible)		-gon-	(be able)
	-vereng-ek-	(be countable)		-vereng-	(count, read)

Sadza riṅodyika, hariṣi mbódzá kunyanya  
(The porridge is edible, it is not too uncooked)

Hwahwá huṅonwika, hahuṅá kúwanda mvúrá  
(The beer is drinkable, it's not too diluted)

Mhósva iyi inorwika  
(The case is worth fighting)

Pamushá pánobvika, zvikóñzéro zviripo  
(It is allowable to leave the village, where there are sufficient grounds)

Kúnovimbwa kuti vanhu vanógara Mzinyáti vánozoyamurika kwaṽvo  
(It is hoped that the people who live at Mzinyati will be greatly helped)

Ngúvá dzézhizhá hová zhinji dziṅenge dziṣisáyambúkike  
(In the rainy season, many rivers will no longer be passable)

Mumwe weáva vakómaná uyo wairatidzika sémutúku wakaróhwá kátsi chéte  
(One of the boys who was clearly the youngest was merely given strokes)

Iyi imbwá inochengeteka, haitize  
(This dog is easy to keep, it doesn't run way)

Itá kúti úziviḱé  
(Act so as to get known!)

Ndakarasika ndichiéndá kumushá  
(I got lost going home)

Zvakaitika kuti ndiéndé kuAmérika  
(It happened that I should go to America)

4.2.6.2.3.

(9) The passive /-w-~iw-~ew-/

This extension is realised as /-iw-/ after C radicals. Elsewhere it is /-w-~iw-/ after Rs with primary vowels and /-w-~ew-/ after Rs with secondary vowels. In some dialects, e.g. S.W. Karanga and Korekore, the longer forms are favoured but in Zezuru the shorter form is more common.

Passive Rs imply that the action of the unextended R is undergone. The action may be performed on the subject, if this exists, and by an agent indicated by an adjunct, if this exists. But mention of both subject, either by a subject in a clause or by the subject prefix, or the agent, may be omitted, impersonal or locative subject prefixes being used.

e.g.	-p-iw-	(be given)	cp.	-p-	(give)
	-d-iw-	(be loved, wanted)		-d-	(love, want)
	-rw-iw-	(be fought)		-rw-	(fight)
	-bv-iw-	(be come out)		-bv-	(come out)
	-tap-w-	(be captured)		-tap-	(capture)
	-sung-w-	(be bound)		-sung-	(bind)
	-bik-w-	(be cooked)		-bik-	(cook)
	-reg-w-	(be left)		-reg-	(leave)

Rs with /y, w/ as final C usually appear with longer allomorphs /-iw-~ew-/.

e.g.	-gáy-iw-	(be ground)	cp.	-gay-	(grind)
	-ray-iw-	(be warned)		-ray-	(warn)
	-úráy-iw-	(be killed)		-úráy-	(kill)



e.g.	-nw-ir-	(drink for)	cp.	-nw-	(drink)
	-w-ir-	(fall into, onto)		-w-	(fall from)
	-siy-ir-	(leave for)		-siy-	(leave)
	-tsvag-ir-	(search on behalf of)		-tsvag-	(search)
	-dziidz-ir-	(learn for)		-dziidz-	(learn)
	-chenget-er-	(look after for)		-chenget-	(look after)

Bvutira mwaná banga, ánozovicheka  
(Snatch the knife away from the child, he will cut himself)

cp. Bvutá banga (Snatch the knife away)

Vánotichéngétera amái  
(They will keep them for mother)

Ndipogarira kuti vaná vangu váuyé  
(I wait for my children to come)

Ndinogar-irir-ira kuti mapfoni áregé kuúyá kumunda  
(I am waiting on and on so that the baboons may not come to the field)

Ndinonwira kúti ndipédzè nyótá  
(I drink in order to quench my thirst)

Vákatanga kúitira shanje Vakufakunesú  
(They began to be jealous of Vakufakunesu)

Tsvagira babá danda nokúti vári kurwára  
(Look for a log for your father for he is sick)

Wakápiindirepi chikoro  
(Where did you go for your schooling?)

Munonwifepi tii?  
(Where do you have your tea?)

Tinonwira mumbá húru  
(We have it in the big room)

Imba yokubikira ndeipi?  
(In which house is the cooking done?)

Dzimba dzinodyira vanhu dziiripi?  
(Where are the dining-rooms?)

Unomirireyi  
(What are you waiting for?)

cp.	-dzok-	(return from)	-dzok-er-	(return to)
	-tinh-	(drive from)	-tinh-ir-	(drive to)

Mumbá matandwa vanhu (People were driven out of the house)  
Mumbá matandirwa vanhu (People were driven into the house)

Mukanwa masvipwa mate (Saliva was spat out of his mouth)  
Mukanwa masvipirwa mate (Saliva was spat into his mouth)

The connotation of place appears in nominal constructions derived from R + /-ir-/.

e.g. Fambiro ráké rákaipa (The place he frequents is bad)  
Chiurayiro chemombe (Abattoir for cattle)

But nominal constructions in classes 3, 4, 6 carry the connotation of manner of action.

e.g.	mup-ir-o	(way of giving)
	mutum-ir-o	(way of sending)
	muzoror-er-o	(way of resting)
	mukurumidz-ir-o	(way of hurrying)
	murw-ir-o	(way of fighting)
	mubvunz-ir-o	(way of asking)
	mutaris-ir-o	(way of looking)
	muverenges-er-o	(way of reading)

This meaning is not apparent in VPs save when suffix /-mo/ is used. In this case it is implied, idiomatically, that the action is done ignorantly.

e.g. Ari kuyiramo  
(He is just eating ignorantly, without regard to owner, usage, etc.)  
Ari kudaidziramo savamwe  
(He is just joining in the shouting, not knowing what it is all about)  
-fambiramo/-fambiramo  
(walk not knowing what one is doing)

A number of cases of Rs + /-ir-/ occur without R being used alone (Whiteley: compound minimal radicals) and without any obvious applied meaning (cp. AS.423).

e.g.	-mir-	(stand)	cp.	-m-	(stand) Kl.
	-swer-	(spend the day)		-sw-	(spend the day)
	-fánir-	(be fitting)		-fán-	(resemble)

Extension /-ir-/ can be suffixed to these.

e.g. Akafániirira kuvá muC.I.D.  
(He is just the sort of man to join the C.I.D.)

kuswerera sadza  
(to spend the day eating)

There is an emphatic reduplicated use of /-irir-/  
e.g.

-son-	(sew)	cp.	-son-erer-	(sew on patch for)
-rév-	(speak)		-rév-érér-	(speak as a witness for)

Sonérérá mwaná chigamba  
(Sew on a patch for the child)

Kurévéréra vátezvara, kútya kurambwa  
(If one speaks as a witness for one's father-in-law, it is because one is afraid of being denied one's wife)

#### 4.2.6.3.2.

(12) The causative : (a) /-y- ~ -idz- ~ -edz-;/ (13) (b) /-is- ~ -es-/.  
.....

There are two causative extensions, (a) and (b)

(a) /-y-/ indicates the causative extension. It never appears as such but only in the series of morphophonemic changes which take place at the boundary where the morphemes R + extension meet. /-y-/ occurs only with a very limited number of Rs, viz. a certain number with final C /k, r/ and a very few with final C /p, b, v, mb, nd, ng/.

/-y-/ appears commonly with Rs with C<sub>2</sub> /k, r/.

e.g.	-sek-	(laugh)	-sets-	(amuse)
	-muk-	(rise)	-muts-	(rouse)
	-rir-	(sound)	-ridz-	(make sound, play)
	-rár-	(sleep)	-rádz-	(bury)

It appears very commonly with derived Rs with verbalisers /-k-, -r-/,

e.g.	-simú-k-	(rise)	-simú-ts-	(cause to rise)
	-simú-r-	(raise)	-simú-dz-	(help to raise)

Otherwise its appearance is very sporadic.

#### C<sub>2</sub> labial:

-tép-	(be thin)	-tésv-	(make thin, pare)
-reb-	(be long)	-redzv-	(lengthen)
-váv-	(be sour)	-vázvo-	(make bitter)
-nyoro-v-	(be soft, moist)	-nyoro-zv-	(soften, moisten)
-vimb-	(be proud)	-vinzv-	(make proud)

#### C<sub>2</sub> alveolar:

-óndz-	(be lean)	-ónz-	(make lean)	
-péng-	(be mad)	-péngz-	(madden)	
cp	Ka: -paradzan-	(be separate)	-paradzany-	(separate)
	Ma: -úy-	(come)	-únz-	(bring)

With other Rs a longer extension is in use, /-idz-/ after C radicals and Rs with final primary vowels and /-edz-/ after Rs with final secondary vowels. This extension can be considered as an allomorph of /-y-/, appearing with radicals with which /-y-/ itself does not appear.

e.g.	-shamb-idz-	(wash others)	cp.	-shamb-	(wash)
	-bvum-idz-	(allow, permit)		-bvum-	(agree)

The presence of this extension indicates a participation by an agent in some activity, a personal participation involving action by an agent on someone or something.

e.g.	-kwidz-	(lift up, help up)	cp	-kwir-	(climb)
	-ridz-	(play an instrument)		-rir-	(sound)
	-bár-idz-	(cure someone of sterility)		-bár-	(bear)

(b) There is a second causative extension somewhat different in its meaning and effect from the first. It is realised as /-is-/ after C radicals and non-C radicals with primary vowels; and as /-es-/ after non-C radicals with secondary vowels:

e.g.	-ziv-is-	(inform)	cp	-ziv-	(know)
	-úy-is-	(send)		-úy-	(come)

The presence of this extension indicates one of two things, either that someone is made to act or that someone is made to be acted on. Thus the causality is not so much direct as indirect action by an agent upon another agent causing it to act or be acted on. This latter aspect is indicated by the presence of an adjunct, an adverbial inflected substantive phrase.

e.g. Jongwē riñobāriśá shēśhe  
(The cock causes the hen to bear)

Vākāndiurāyīśá hāmā yāngu  
(They made me kill my kinsman)

Ndarūmisa imbwá mwana  
(I made the dog bite the child)

Regā kundirūmīśa nēmbwa yāko  
(Don't cause me to get bitten by your dog)

Wakāurayisa shē wēdū nómukādzi wākō wēshumba  
(You caused our chief to get killed by means of your lion-wife)

-kwír-is-	(make someone climb)	cp.	-kwír-	(climb)
-rir-is-	(make someone cry)		-rir-	(sound)
-shamb-is-	(make someone wash)		-shamb-	(wash)
-bvum-is	(make someone agree)		-bvum-	(agree)

A further implication of /-is-/ is that things are used as instruments.

e.g. Ndipewó nhabvú nditāmbisé<sup>??</sup>  
(Please give me a ball to play with)

Vádzībabá védú váizívá kúitisa basa matāre  
(Our father knew how to make iron work)

Ivhú rokūnamisa imbá  
(Earth to plaster a house with)

Gashu rokūsūngīśá mómbe  
(A thong to tether an ox with)

The causative extension increases the possibility of complements in the VP by one.

e.g. Ndamúka mangwānani  
(I got up in the morning)

cp. Ndamúkisa vanhu mangwānani nemhēremhere yandaítá  
(I made the people get up, such was the noise I made)

cp. Ndamútsa mwaná mangwāna-ngwana kúti ádyé bōtá  
(I roused the child early to eat his porridge)

e.g. Chibahwé cháoma  
(The maize has grown dry and hard)

cp. Ndaómesa mamera nēzuva paruwaré  
(I dried out the malt in the sun on the flat rock)

cp. Ndiómédzēwo chibahwé  
(Stay with me until the maize hardens, until the harvest)

e.g. Gará uchifará mazúvá ósé  
(May you have happiness every day!)

cp. Fariśá vānhu kumushá  
(Greet the people at home?)

cp. Nhaú dzáké dziñofádzá nani wése  
(His news please everyone)

Further examples of /-idz-/ and /-is-/ compared<sup>??</sup>

Ndigaridzeyiwo kusvikira Sadza áuya  
(Stay with me until Sadza has come)

cp -gar- (stay, sit)

gariśá vana  
(make the children sit down)

Ndimidzewó  
(Stand with me, e.g. in a photograph)

cp. -mir- (stand)

Misá vānhu mumudungwe  
(Make the people stand in a line!)

Ndikuyidzewó  
(Keep me company while I am grinding)

cp. -kuy- (grind)

Kuyisá muróora chimera  
(Make the daughter-in-law grind the malt!)

kuyidzá mūnhu  
(to keep someone company until he has finished eating)

cp. -dy- (eat)

30/Kudyisá ...

kudyisá mūhu  
(to feed someone)

-dyidz-án-, -nwidz-án-, -putidz-an- (to share food, drink, tobacco)  
-fámbidz-án- (visit one another freely) cp. -fám<sup>2</sup> (travel)  
-fám<sup>2</sup>is-án- nhando (make one another travel for no reason)

Takúdz-án-á-í mabhúku aya cp. -takur- (carry)  
(Divide these books into two loads)

Takúr-is-áí vāhu ava mabhúku  
(Make these people carry the books)

## 4.2.6.4.

Double Extensions

Verb phrases are found not only with single extensions but multiply extended as well. The simplest combination of extensions is the double extension. Doubly extended VPs are treated here as the transformation of an already extended VP by the addition of a further extension.

Since there are three types of extension distinguished according to the effect they have on the VP, either (a) reinforcing the relation of the radical to its object complement, (b) restricting that relationship or (c) raising it to a more complex relationship, there are nine possible types of doubly extended VPs.

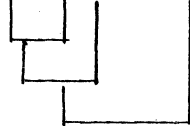
## 4.2.6.4.1.

An extended VP of type (a) may be extended by extensions of either type (a), type (b) or type (c).

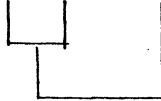
(a) Double extensions of type (a)-(a)

e.g. extensive extended VP with intensive extension.

-sím-ík-is- mití (2 + 3) (plant out trees firmly)



cp. -sím-ík- mití (2) (plant out trees)



The effect of this transformation is a doubly extended R and the relationship between extensive extended R and complement reinforced.

Examples of such doubly extended VPs are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1-1 : Anongo-sung-át-át-a zvii nézvii kūnyangwe zvakáipa  
(He gets involved in everything indiscriminately, even unpleasant things)

1-3 : Nyatsócheng-et-es-a mombe yāngu  
(Look after my ox well!)

2-3 : Ú-sím-ík-is-é, úrégé kúdzurwa návanā vadúku  
(Plant it out firmly so that it may not be pulled up by the little ones)

3-3 : Mhāny-is-is-a, regá kūnonoka  
(Run very hard, do not delay!)

4-3 : Basa iri riño-būd-írír-is-a zvokúti tinéngé tágarika  
(This job succeeds so well that we shall be well off)

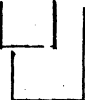
5-3 : -pamh-urur-is-  
(resume vigorously)

Dyár-úrúr-is-a, zúvā rónánzvā mákomo  
(Put your back into your replanting, the sun is going down)

(b) Double extensions of type (a)-(b),

e.g. intensive extended VP with neuter extension.

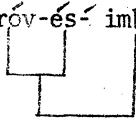
-róv-és-ék- (3 + 8) (be capable of being beaten hard)



1. Combinations of extensions are indicated by their numbers. Some of the combinations are reduplications of the same extension.



cp. -róv-és-imbwá (3) (beat a dog hard)



Effect: Doubly extended R with restriction of relationship in the extended VP.

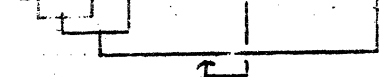
Examples of (a)-(b) doubly extended VPs:

- 1-7 : Vavákiǰzáni váno-súng-át-án-a muzvinhu zvósé zvavánóita  
(Neighbours are closely associated in everything they do)
- 1-8 : Nyama isińá kúiswa muchando hai<sup>2</sup>cheng-ét-ék-e  
(Meat not placed in a refrigerator is not easy to preserve)
- 1-9 : -súng-át-w<sup>2</sup> (be tethered)
- 1-10 : Vańga vachi-zhám-b-át-án-a musweró wóse wézuva  
(They were shouting at one another the whole day)  
-súng-át-án- (mislead one another)
- 2-8 : Nhondo yéfodya ińo-sím-ík-ik-a zvakánáka kana kwánaya mvúra  
(Tobacco plants are easy to plant out when it has rained)
- 2-9 : -sím-ík-w<sup>2</sup> (be planted out)
- 3-8 : Chinhu chácho chíńodá ku-bát-ís-ík-a. Mukasadáro ingózi  
(The thing needs to be held firmly. If not, it is dangerous)
- 3-9 : -róv-és-w<sup>2</sup> (be beaten hard)
- 3-10 : Váka-bát-ís-án-a manéka  
(They troubled each other severely)  
-róv-és-án- (beat one another hard)
- 4-7 : Vanhu vábud-irir-an-a  
(The people have all been successful together)
- 4-8 : Basa iri rińo-búd-írif-ik-a  
(This job is one in which it is easy to succeed)
- 4-9 : -túk-irif-w<sup>2</sup> (be thoroughly scolded)
- 4-10 : Váka-túk-irif-an-a vakabvisana chirí muzísó  
(They cursed one another exhaustively and had nothing further to say)
- 5-8 : Zvinhu izvi idamba-kamwe, hazví-pamh-úruř-ík-e  
(These things are a unique event, not easily repeated)
- 5-9 : -pamh-uru-w<sup>2</sup> (be repeated)
- 5-10 : Vákapámh-urur-an-a kutúkáná  
(They resumed cursing each other after an interval)
- 6-6 : -simb-ar-ar- (be strong)
- 6-8 : Menó ákó áchagúma á-cháchám-ár-ik-á  
(Your teeth will end up by sticking out)
- 6-10 : Vanhu vákanga vachińgo-shám-árar-an-a zuva rósé,  
tikasazivá kúti chikónzóro chíí  
(The people were just calling out to each other all day and we did not know what the reason was)

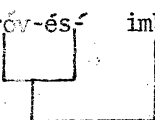
(c) Double extensions of type (a)-(c),

e.g. intensive extended VP with applied extension.

-róv-és-ér- mwaná imbwa (3 + 11) (beat a dog hard for the child)



cp. -róv-és-imbwá (3) (beat a dog hard)



Effect: Extended R is related to a further extension to a further object.

Examples of (a)-(c) doubly extended VPs:

- 1-11 : súng-át-ir (tie to, tie for)  
Ibvá wárambá wáka-mú-nam-át-ir-a kudzámárara másvitsána  
kwáMvura-yácheka-makumbo  
(Be sure to stick to him until the bitter end)

- 1-12 : Nam-át-ídz-á chiremo pachúbhú  
(Stick a patch onto the tube)
- 1-13 : -cheng-et-es- (Cause someone to keep)
- 2-11 : Síim-ík-ír-a babá fódya  
(Plant out the tobacco for your father)
- 2-13 : Síim-ík-ís-a vanhu fodya, mvurà yánáya  
(Make the people plant out the tobacco, the rain has fallen)
- 3-11 : -rov-és-ér- (hit hard for someone)  
-taur-is-ir- (talk up for)
- 3-13 : -taur-is-is- (cause someone to talk loudly)
- 4-11 : -búd-írír-ir- rudzi (succeed on behalf of one's people)
- 4-12 : -son-eredz- (keep putting on patches, one on another)
- 4-13 : -búd-írír-is- vanhu (promote people)
- 5-11 : Kutúká, áka-pámh-urur-ir-a kutúká vaná vaké vakánga vásinā kūnyatsotsvitsa  
vamwe vāvó kutsimé  
(He took up the scolding again on behalf of his children who had not sworn  
at their companions effectively enough)
- 5-12 : Dzak-óródz-á kúsvikira mbéu dzábúda  
(Resow again and again until the seeds come up)  
Mí-dyár-úrúdz-e mómwe wákó  
(Help him to sow again)  
Zvandákáwirwá némhosva, ndakázoténg-úrúdz-a mombe yāngu  
(When I got into legal trouble, I resold the ox I had bought previously)
- 5-13 : -dyā-rúrúr-is- (make someone sow again)
- 6-12 : Simb-árádz-á vanhu (Encourage the people)
- 6-13 : Uyu ndiye anó-simb arar-is-a vanhu  
(This is the one who confirms the people in their endeavour)

#### 4.2.6.4.2.

An extended VP of type (b) may be extended by extensions of either type (b) or type (c).

(a) Doubly extended VPs of type (b)-(a) do not seem to occur.

(b) Double extensions of type (b)-(b).

e.g. neuter extended VP with associative extension:

-bát-ík-án- (8 - 7) (be adjacent, be held together)

cp. -bát-ík- (8) (get held, be holdable)

Effect: Doubly extended R with restriction on object complements reinforced.

Examples of (b)-(b) doubly extended VPs:

7-8 : Nzvimbo ino inogona ku-ung-án-ír-a naváhu  
(This place is one where people can gather)

8-7 : -pfúdz-ík-án- (get rubbed off all over)

Áka-rov-ék-án-a pakusanwá hwahwá zvakánaka  
(He got beaten by all and sundry through not taking the beer in a seemly fashion)

8-8 : Nyama yechiropa ino-bik-ik-ik-a nyoré nyóre  
(Liver is very easily cooked)

8-9 : -reg-ek-w- (be left)  
-ón-ék-w- (be seen)  
-nzw-ik-w- (be heard)  
-gon-ek-w- (be possible)

8-10 : Taká-bat-ik-an-a nebása  
(We are occupied with work)

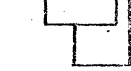
The passive is normally in the last place in multiply extended Rs.

10-8 : Ánga-túk-án-ík-e- iye úye akasarwa  
(Can he be cursed without this provoking him to a fight?)

## (c) Double extensions of type (b)-(c)

e.g. neuter extended VP with applied extension:

-shay-ik-ir- (8 - 11) (get lost at some place or for someone)



cp. -shay-ik- (8) (get lost)



Effect: Extended VP is raised by further extension into a more complex doubly extended VP.

10-9 : Hapána chisingá-sek-án-w-e, inga kufá kúno-sek-an-w-a-wáni

(There is nothing for which people are not being laughed at by others, for, even in death, people laugh at one another's predicament)

Pánoshámwáridz -an-w-a- kwázvo

(Here people get on very well together)

Combinations of reciprocal with other extensions often involve a triple combination, the second extension both preceding and following the reciprocal.

e.g. -reg-w-an-w- (be left mutually)  
-sek-w-an-w- (be laughed at, each one laughing at the other)

Páno-reg-w-an-w-a mumwe átofa

(There will only be an end (e.g. to this mutual quarrelling) when one of them is dead)

Kuzvárà kúno-sek-w-an-w-a

(Begetting means having one's children laughed at just as one laughs at those of others!)

Kwátuk-w-an-w-a nhási zvokúti, kana páne kasára, káne mudzímù wáko

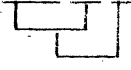
(There was such a scolding today that, if anything went unmentioned, its spirit must have protected it)

10-10 : -túk-án-án- (curse one another with hearty mutuality)

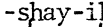
## (c) Double extensions of type (b) - (c)

e.g. neuter extended VP with applied extension:

-shay-ik-ir- (8-11) (get lost at some place or for someone)



cp. -shay-ik- (8) (get lost)



Effect: Doubly extended R is related to a further object.

Examples of (b) - (c) doubly extended VPs:

7-11 : Vanhu wáka-úng-án-ir-a mudzímù, ukasvika

(The people came together for the ancestral spirit and it came forth)

7-12 : Mapúriša wámambo ákaúng-án-ídz-a vanhu padare

(The chief's messenger assembled the people at the court)

7-13 : úng-án-ís- (cause to assemble)

8-11 : Sékúru wángu áka-sháy-ik-ir-a kure

(My grandfather died far away)

8-13 : Ndíye aká-sháy-ik-is-a mbúdzi' dzángu nókudzišasádzíra imbwa

(He it was who caused my goats to get lost by setting dogs on to them)

-hwánd-ik-ís- (cause to get hidden)

10-11 : Munó-rw-ir-an-ir-e-i? (What are you fighting one another for?) (cp. 10-9 above)

10-12 : -bát-án-ídz- (connect)

10-13 : Á-ndi-túk-án-ís-a munhu uyu wandísiná kútaura naye

(He was responsible for making me curse this person with whom I have never spoken)

Uyu ánditúk-án-ís-a nevámwe (This one has made me get scolded by others)

Á-tuk-is-an-a vanhu pamusána pemákuhwa áké (He caused people to curse each other because of his slanders)

Á-tuk-is-an-is-a vanhu vagére zvávó neshíri' dzanyámhindirira (He caused innocent people to be reviled by passers-by) (cp. 10-9 above)

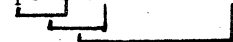
## 4.2.6.4.3.

An extended VP of type (c) may be extended by extensions of either type (a) or type (b) or type (c).

## (a) Double extensions of type (c)-(a)

e.g. causative extended VP with perfective extension.

-pedz-érér- basa (12-11) (finish work right off)



34/cp. -pedz...

cp. -pédz- basa (12) (finish work)

Effect: Doubly extended R with extended VP relationships reinforced.

Examples of (c)-(a) doubly extended VPs:

- 12-3 : -ridz-is (Play loudly)  
 12-4 : -pédz-érér- (finish right off)  
       -muts-irir- (resume, renew)  
 13-3 : -vák-is-is- (make someone build with urgency)

(b) Double extension of type (c)-(b),

e.g. applied extended VP with reciprocal extension.

-it-ir-an- basa

cp. -it-ir- mumwe basa

Effect: Double extended R with restriction of relationship within the extended VP.

Examples of (c)-(b) doubly extended VPs:

- 11-8 : Ríño-reg-er-ek-a (It can be left without causing harm)  
       -bvum-ir-ik- (fall a prey to wild animals)
- 11-9 : This combination often occurs and implies an action performed to or for a subject by someone or something. The subject is involved willy-nilly and unable to do anything himself about it. He has just to accept the situation which is often amusing or tragic)
- dók-ér-w- nezuva (to have the sun set on one while one's work or journey is still unfinished)  
 -f-ír-w- nevábereki (to be bereaved of one's parents)  
 -pind-ir-w- nényoka (be visited by a snake)  
 -svik-ir-w- neváeni (be visited unexpectedly by guests)
- 11-10 : -it-ir-an- basa (do work for one another)  
       -cheng-er-an- (treat one another with suspicion)  
 Á-tuk-an-ir-an-a navátezvara chii?  
 (What caused him to quarrel with his father-in-law?) (cp. 10-9)
- 12-8 : Bát-íd-ík-a-wó basa (Be easy to help, show yourself thankful for help in your work)
- 12-9 : -muts-w- (be roused)
- 12-10 : Vá-tuk-an-idz-an-a (They have quarrelled and one cannot tell who started it so mutual is the quarrelling) (cp. 10-9)
- 13-8 : -dy-ís-ík- (be easily fed)  
       -tend-es-ek- (be trustworthy)  
 Váno-vák-ís-ík-a pómurúmé zvakánáka  
 (She lives on tolerant terms with her husband)
- 13-9 : Handí-end-és-w-e navó, ndinó-sár-iš-w-á kumushá mazúvâ óse  
 (I am not taken with them but made to stay at home everyday)  
 -dy-ís-w- (be fed)
- 13-10 : -sár-ís-án- (bid farewell to one another, try to stop one another from going)  
       ón-és-án- nhámó (make each other suffer)

(c) Double extensions of type (c)-(c)

e.g. causative extended VP with applied extension.

-bik-is-ir- hanzvādzi sadza munūn'ūna (13-11) (make my sister cook porridge for my younger brother)

cp. -bik-is- hanzvādzi sadza (13) (make my sister cook porridge)

Effect: The doubly extended R is related to a further object.

Examples of (c)-(c) doubly extended VPs

- 11-12 : -vāk-īdz- mūmwē imbā (help someone build a house)  
 -bāt-īdz- mūmwē basa (help someone to work)  
 -bvunz-ir-idz- (make diligent enquiries for)  
 -dzor-er-ādz- (reconcile)
- 11-13 : Unó-ndí-bik-ír-is-a néi? (What are you going to have cooked for me as relish?)  
 -bik-ir-is- sadza munhu néhuku (cook porridge for a person using chicken as relish)  
 Húkú nda-í-bík-ír-is-a amái (I have cooked the chicken as relish for mother)  
 -bik-ir-is- mhembwe sadza (use duiker meat as relish for porridge)
- 12-11 : Unó-ndí-néts-ér-a chíi? (Why do you worry me?)  
 -kand-idz-ir- (throw at)
- 12-13 : -zādz-ís- (make someone fill)
- 13-11 : -vāk-ís-ír-ir- amái imbā nomūmwē (have a house built for mother by someone)  
 -dý-ís-ír- (feed for)
- 13-13 : -vāk-ís-ís- imbā kumushá nomūmwē (have a house built at home by someone)

#### 4.2.6.5. Triple and quadruple extensions

Doubly extended VPs may be further extended but not all combinations of extensions are found. The following are the instances of triple and quadruple extensions which have been noted. In most cases the effect of the third and fourth extension on the doubly extended VP is predictable in terms of the cumulative effect of the different types of extension, (a), (b) or (c), involved.

##### (a)-(b)-(b)

3-10-9 : Kwá-rov-es-an-w-a zvinótyísa (There were terribly hard blows exchanged)

##### (a)-(c)-(b)

- 5-11-10 : Varúmé váno-dyár-úrur-ir-an-a mbéú (The men resow for each other - they are friendly and readily exchange services)
- 5-12-8 : Zvinhu zvinóténgwá pánó hazvi-téng-úrúdz-ike (Things which are bought here have no resale value; cannot be sold again)
- 6-12-8 : Mwaná uyu haá-nyár-ādz-ík-e kana twáké twáúya (This child cannot be comforted when he has his little troubles)
- 6-12-10 : Vanhu váchema, vaka-nyár-ādz-an-a (The people mourned and comforted one another)

##### (a)-(c)-(c)

- 6-12-11 : Áno-simb-aradz-ir-a vanhu kuti áwáné mari (He encourages people for his own gain)
- 6-12-13 : Simb-arādz-ís-á vanhu pabasa (Make the people take heart over their work!)

(b)-(b)-(b)

- 8-7-9- : Kudyā uku kūno-d-ik-ān-w-ā nevānhu  
(This kind of food is favoured by people)
- 9-10-9 : Kufā kufa kuno-sek-w-an-w-a inga!  
(Even the death of people is laughed at by others!)  
Kwātezvara kwā-bv-w-ān-w-a nhāsi  
(At the father-in-law's place there was a dispersal today - sons-in-law leaving without settlement)
- 10-10-9 : Kwā-tuk-an-an-w-a- zvbūrītsā nyckā mūnwenā  
(There was such mutual recrimination as to make the snakes come out of their holes)

(b)-(c)-(b)

- 7-12-10 : Ndakā-sang-an-idz-an-a nēshumba  
(I bumped into a lion, met a lion unawares)
- 7-12-11 : Sūng-ān-idz-ir-a vanā gūrumbiro  
(Join up the rope for the children!)
- 8-11-9 : Ndīye akā-bv-īk-ir-w-a navānhu  
(It was on account of him that people left the place)
- 10-11-10 : Vā-rov-an-ir-an-a kugara nhaka  
(They fought one another to gain the inheritance)
- 10-13-9 : Misōrō yēvanā yā-bōnd-an-is-w-a naticha  
(The children's heads were knocked together by the teacher)
- 10-12-10 : Vā-tuk-an-idz-an-a pazéré vānhu zvinónyādzā  
(They scolded one another in public in such an embarrassing way)
- 7-12-11 : Ūng-ān-idz-ir-a vanā pfūma ūsati wāfa  
(Amass some property for your children before you die!)
- 7-13-11 : Ā-ndi-tūk-ān-īs-ir-a imbwā yandānyīma sadza  
(He caused me to be scolded on account of the dog to which I denied food)
- 10-12-11 : Ā-fan-an-idz-ir-a kuti mūsikanā wāsekuru wāké  
(He thought it was his uncle's girl-friend)

(c)-(a)-(b)

- 12-2-9 : Īwe, kwīdz-īk-w-ā pāmusōrō pēbhiza  
(You, get mounted on the horse's back!)
- 12-2-8 : Munhu haā-kwīdz-īk-īk-e pāmusōrō penzōu pāsina mādambiko  
(A person cannot easily be placed on an elephant's back without a ladder)
- 12-2-10 : Vāno-kwīdz-īk-ān-a-kwīdz-ik-an-a  
(They help each other up in various ways)

(c)-(a)-(c)

- 12-2-12 : Rādz-īk-idz-a mwanā kūti āgochūmbidzobātwa néhope  
(Lie down with the child so that he may go to sleep quickly!)
- 12-2-11 : Ndī-kwīdz-īk-ir-é sāga iri pambongoro  
(Lift up this sack onto the donkey for me!)
- 12-2-13 : Kwīdz-īk-īs-a vamwe masaga  
(Help the others put the sacks up on top!)

(c)-(b)-(b)

- 11-7-9 : Āgūmira vasīkanā ndókubva ā-kōmb-ēr-an-w-ā névemūmamana  
(He knocked up the girls and was at once surrounded by the villagers)
- 12-8-10 : Mwanā wāngu nōmurūmé wāké vāka-gādz-ik-an-a zvakānāka  
(My daughter and her husband get on well together)
- 13-10-9 : -rov-es-an-w-  
(be made to beat each other)

(c)-(b)-(c)

- 11-10-11 : Vā-rw-ir-an-ir(-an)-a chiyi?  
(What did they fight each other for?)
- 12-8-11 : Āno-nets-ek-er-a vanā vāké kūti vādzīīdzé  
(He suffers for the sake of his children's education)
- 12-7-13 : Āno-pinz-an-is-a hēmbē  
(He puts on two shirts, one inside the other)

(c)-(c)-(b)

- 11-13-10 : Váno-tsits-ir-is-an-a nēmhosva, nēmhaká yemákuhwa  
(They cause one another to be involved in a case through their lies)
- 12-11-10 : Váno-fung-idz-ir-an-a, saka vachivéngaña  
(They suspect each other and so they hate one another)
- Váno-nets-er-an-a mari yavákapóshaná  
(They are involved in the trouble of one worrying the other for the money he lent him)
- 12-13-10 : Váno-kwídz-ís-án-a matare  
(They bring one another to court)
- Váka-rég-edz-es-an-a hwahwá  
(They stopped one another from drinking beer)
- Vá-reg-edz-es-an-a basa  
(They made each other stop work)
- 13-10-13 : Áno-rw-is-an-is-a vanhu mazúvá ósé  
(He involves people in enmity every day)

(c)-(c)-(c)

- 12-11-12 : Á-múts-iridz-a mungava wáké  
(He made a renewed attempt to recover his debt)
- 12-13-11 : Zád-z-ís-ír-a amái chirongó chémvura  
(Fill up the water-pot for your mother!)
- 13-7-13 : Váno-tsvag-is-an-is-a vanhu ruvéngó  
(They are seeking to cause enmity among people)

(b)-(c)-(b)-(b)

- 10-12-10-9 : Kwá-tuk-an-idz-an-w-a zvakōnzérá makúyu kudonha  
(Such mutual cursing took place as to cause the wild figs to drop)

(c)-(a)-(c)-(b)

- 12-2-11-10 : Váno-gadz-ik-ir-an-a tsáyá páchotó  
(They place the pots on the hearth for one another)

(c)-(b)-(c)-(b)

- 12-10-13-9 : Váno-túk-ídz-án-is-w-a kana vákakótsirá  
(They are made to scold one another if they are foolish enough)
- 12-8-11-10 : Váno-kodz-ek-er-an-a mukaka  
(They make sour milk for one another)
- 13-10-13-10 : Váno-tsvag-is-an-is-an-a chabvépi  
(They are making one another look for what doesn't exist, are bluffing one another)

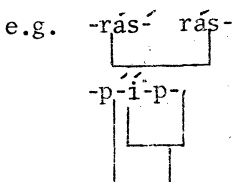
(c)-(c)-(b)-(b)

- 12-11-8-7 : Ndakápiwa mari yakákwana ndika-báts-ír-ík-an-a kwázvo panyaya yéchikóro chévana  
(I was given sufficient money and greatly helped in the whole matter of the children's education)

(c)-(c)-(c)-(b)

- 12-11-11-10 : Váka-múts-irir-an-a narwó  
(He resumed his work)

**4.2.7.**Reduplicated radicals

Reduplicated radicals form a construction at the level of the radical. The two constituents are segmentally identical Rs save in the case of C Rs when the second constituent is prefixed by the stabiliser /i-/.  


e.g. -rás- rás- (throw away carelessly)

-p-í-p- (give away to all and sundry) Note that reduplicated H C radicals and stabiliser carry HHL tone patterns in TC 1

The reduplicated radical is clearly a construction. When inflected, inflection and reduplicated R form one phonological word and the R is inflected as a unit. The tone-patterns carried by the reduplicated R are determined by it as a unit. The meaning of the reduplicated R differs from that of the R repeated.

e.g. Róv-á! Róv-á! (Hit! Hit!)  
cp. Róv-á-róv-a! (Hit all over indiscriminately!)

In the main, the reference of the reduplicated form is repetitive, meaning that the action is done over and over again. Compared to the reference of the single R which conveys an action done once for all, that of the reduplicated form is pejorative.

e.g. -p <sup>h</sup> -i <sup>h</sup> -p	(give away without due thought)
-fám <sup>h</sup> -fám <sup>h</sup> -	(walk all over, without purpose)
-sím <sup>h</sup> -k <sup>h</sup> -sím <sup>h</sup> -k	(be fidgety)
-rw-i-rw-	(be quarrelsome)
-bvunz-bvunz-	(ask many unconnected questions)
-taris-taris	(stare about)

Other examples:

-n-i-n-  
(rain all over, even on the fields of those from whom the spirit could withhold the rain because of their misdeeds)

-nw<sup>h</sup>-i<sup>h</sup>-nw<sup>h</sup>-  
(drink indiscriminately)

Iyi nyayá íchiri kuféyewá-feyewa  
(This matter is still being investigated)

Ánongorará-rara  
(He just sleeps fitfully)

Ánoda kuóná-óna zvishoma-shoma  
(He wants to see a little of everything)

Nyatsógara! Regá kusímúká-simuka  
(Sit properly! Don't keep getting up and sitting down all the time)

Ánonyanya kufám<sup>h</sup>báfám<sup>h</sup>  
(He keeps walking about to no purpose)

Regá kúngodyá-ídyá sadza kwóse kwóse  
(Don't just eat sadza indiscriminately, from house to house, you don't know what sickness you will pick up)

-rás-rás-	(be careless)
-nets-nets-	(give trouble continually)
-rúts-rúts-	(vomit often)
-cher-cher-	(dig everywhere, leaving jobs half-finished)
-róv-ék-rov-ek-	(be always easily beaten)
-róhw-róhw-	(be beaten all over)
-chat-chat-	(marry all over the place)
-pópót-popot-	(be always grumbling for no reason)
-chéngédz-w <sup>h</sup> -chéngédz-w <sup>h</sup> -	(be always cheated)

Extended Rs are reduplicated as such, not as R-R-extension, viz.

e.g. -túk-is-w <sup>h</sup> -tuk-is-w <sup>h</sup> -	(be continually made liable to scolding)
not *-túk-túk-is-w <sup>h</sup> -	

#### 4.2.8. Irregular radicals

##### 4.2.8.1.

The following verb radicals are of CV shape and are never extended or reduplicated as such, /-ri/ (be), /-na/ (be with), /-nge/ (seem), /-nzi/ (be said, called), /-ti/ (say, do), /-va/ (be, become).

##### 4.2.8.2.

The radicals /-ti/ and /-nzi/ are constituents in the following complex forms.

-dái	(do like this)	-nzái	(be done like this)
-dáro	(do like that)	-nzárwo	(be done like that)
-díi?	(do like what?)	-nzái?	(be done like what?)

The non-interrogative complex Rs above have applied, extended and reciprocal extended forms as well as combinations of these.



e.g. -dá-ir-ó (do for, in this way)	-nzá-ir-w-ó (be done for, like this)
-dá-is-ó (cause to do, in this way)	-nzá-is-w-ó (be caused to do like this)
-dár-ir-ó (do for, in that way)	-nzár-ir-w-ó (be done for, like that)
-dár-is-ó (cause to do, in that way)	-nzár-is-w-ó (be caused to do like that)
-day-an-o (to thus to one another)	
-dar-an-o (do like that to one another)	
-day-an-is-an-o (cause one another to do thus)	-nzay-an-is-an-o (to be caused, the one by the other, to do thus)
-dar-an-is-an-o (cause one another to do that)	-nzar-an-is-an-o (be caused, the one by the other, to do that)

The radicals /-deno/ (do thus) and /-deya/ (do like that) occur in Karanga and Manyika.

## 4.3.

## THE VERB PHRASE

The verb radical discussed in 4.2. is the nuclear constituent of the construction at the next level in the verbal hierarchy, viz. the verb phrase. The constructional pattern of the verb phrase is:

+/- object prefix (op) + R +/- complements (Cs)  
+/- adjuncts (As)

e.g. -dzi-tém-á húní nédemo  
(cut the firewood with an ax)

The existence of the verb phrase as a constant constituent can be recognised by comparing several, differently inflected, forms.

e.g. ku-dzi-tém-á húní nédemo	(infinitive)
Dzi-tém-é húní nédemo	(imperative)
Ndi-nó-dzi-tém-á húní nédemo	(affirmative, principal, present, habitual, Is)
Ha-ndi-dzi-tém-é húní nédemo	(negative, principal, present, Is)

It is this unit and its internal relationships which are studied in this section<sup>1</sup>.

## 4.3.1.

## The structure of the verb phrase

The nuclear or compulsory constituent of the verb phrase is the radical which may be either simplex or complex. The verb phrase is characterised, however, by its optional constituents which are, as stated, of three main kinds:

- the object prefix;
- the complements;
- the adjuncts.

These are optional in the sense that a verb phrase and an inflected verb phrase may exist without them. All the following are inflected verb phrases with identical inflection, viz. /ndi-no....a/ (aff. princ. pres. hab. Is)

viz. Ndi-nó-tém-á	(I chop)
Ndi-nó-tém-á húní	(I chop firewood)
Ndi-nó-tém-á nédemo	(I chop with an ax)
Ndi-nó-dzi-tém-á húní nédemo	(I chop the firewood with an axe)

The verb phrase is a construction which shows enormous variety in its possible realisations. In order to describe this variety and, at the same time, the underlying structure, each of the constituents must be examined in turn. They will be described in this order:

- the adjuncts;
- the complements;
- the object prefixes.

## 4.3.1.1.

## The adjuncts

The term adjunct indicates a constituent class which includes both constructions and particles.

## 4.3.1.1.1.

## Adverbial phrases

The constructions are the adverbial phrases, viz. adverbially inflected substantive phrases,

1. In this section, VPs, when inflected are underlined.

cp. 3.7.4. These are of two types, those with inflecting morpheme /na-/ and those with inflecting morpheme /sa-/

(a) The morpheme /na-/ is capable of indicating a number of different relationships which link the phrases it inflects to a R in a verb phrase. These relationships, distinguished according to their reference, are of

- 1) instrumentality;
- 2) association;
- 3) agency.

1) The term "instrumentality" is a blanket term which covers the relation of use as instrument, as well as a number of other relationships illustrated below.

e.g. Áka-röv-á mwaná neshamhú  
(He beat the child with a switch)

Tinó-fámb-á nenzira iyi  
(We go by this path)

...rika-pind-a nomumunda  
(... and it went through, viz. by means of the interior of, the field)

Úy-á-i nepánó!  
(Come by this place, this way!)

Ta-f-á nenzára  
(We are faint with hunger)

Ta-nónok-a némvura yanaya  
(We are late because of the rain which fell)

Unó-ziv-e-i- nebása iri?  
(What do you know about this work?)

...rik-fung-a néchingabatsire nyika  
(... and he thought of what could help the country)

Ta-úy-a nókukurúmidza  
(We came in haste)

Included among the SPs which are inflected by /na-/ are infinitive phrases.

In Manyika the inflecting morpheme for instrumental phrases is /nge-/ except where the nuclear substantive is a pronoun, when it is /ndi-/

e.g. Ta-fámb-a ngetsóka-  
(We travelled on foot)

Ta-úy-a ngékuchinbidzá  
(We came in haste)

Ta-úy-a ndiyo nzira  
(We came by the path itself)

2) The term "association" indicates clearly enough the relation of a substantive phrase to a R in a verb phrase.

e.g. Ndaká-énd-a nababá wangu  
(I went with my father)

Úy-á némvura  
(Bring, viz. Come with, some water!)

Ndai'-v-é nembwa  
(I used to have, viz. be with, a dog)

The morpheme /na-/ which links infinitive clauses to verbal clauses is interpreted as a conjunctive not a mere phrase inflection.

e.g. Ndaká-svík-a nokúpinda mumbá  
(I arrived and entered the house)

Ndichá-rim-a mangwana nokudyará mbeú kúswerahwedza  
(I shall plough to-morrow and sow the day after)

The morphemes /na-/ and kana, which link Sps into compound SPs, are interpreted as conjunctives, not phrase inflections,

e.g. -d- babá náamái (love father and mother)  
-ramb- babá kana amái (reject father or mother)

In Manyika the inflecting morpheme in associative phrases is also /na-/

Associative phrases occur after reciprocal extended Rs and indicate one of the parties to a reciprocal action.

41/e.g. Áno-d-án-á...

- e.g. Áno-d-án-á nómusíkaná wáke  
(He and his girl love one another)
- cp. Áno-d-á musíkaná wáke  
(He loves his girl)
- e.g. Chínósaka kuti tí-néts-án-e nómurúme wángu ndéchokúti anóruta  
(What makes me and my husband quarrel is that he is a glutton)
- cp. Ndinó-nets-a murúme wángu  
(I trouble my husband)

3) Agentive phrases occur in passive extended verb phrases and indicate the agent of the action indicated by the R which is performed on the subject.

- e.g. Wa-p-íw-a marí náani?  
(By whom were you given money)
- Á-rum-w-a nembwa yángu  
(He has been bitten by my dog)
- Vasíkaná vá-tum-w-a kundoitei náamai?  
(What were the girls sent to go and do by my mother?)

In Manyika, the inflective morpheme for agentive phrases is /nge-/ except with nuclear substantives consisting of 1a and 2a nouns and pronouns when it is /ndi-/,

- e.g. Wá-rum-w-a ngenyoka  
(He was bitten by a snake)
- Wá-ner-w-a ndíbabá wáke  
(He was beaten by his father)

b) The morpheme /sa-/ indicates a relationship of manner between the phrase it inflects and a R in a verb phrase.

- e.g. Áno-bát-á bása somínhu mukúru  
(He works like a grown person)
- Áno-it-a sébenzi  
(He acts like a fool)

Included among the SPs which are inflected by /sa-/ are infinitive phrases of which the nuclei are infinitive clauses (q.v)

- e.g. It-á sókuzíva kwényu  
(Do it as you know)

/sa-/ like the possessive inflection, can also inflect participial inflected verb phrases, a fact which makes its distribution different from that of /na-/.

- e.g. Tinó-it-a setínorwára  
(We act as if we are sick)
- It-á seúnógona  
(Act as you are able)

#### 4.3.1.1.2. The particles

Among the adjuncts should be listed the following particles, some of which do not occur as phonologically free forms but as enclitics, suffixed to the inflected R.

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| viz. chéte | (only)  |
| bédzi      | (only)  |
| gasho      | (completely)  |
| -wó        | (again, also; please (after imperative inflection)) |
| -zvé       | (again)   |
| -ká        | (emphasis and urgency)                              |
| -sú?       | (surprise and interrogation)                        |

The enclitics are H and cause a R tone-pattern ending in ..HH to change to ..HL. After final LH, however, they are L.

- e.g. Ndinó-tór-a-wó (I take as well)  
Handi-bvunz-é-zve (I do not ask again)  
Tari's-a-ká! (Look)  
Haúchá-pind-á-su? (Won't you come in then?)  
Kú-dy-a-sú? (Do you mean eating?)  
Kú-dy-a-sú? (Is it eating you mean)  
Áno-úy-á chéte (He will definitely come)  
Aka-úy-á chéte.... (If he so much as comes....)  
Anototi á-úy-e-wó chéte (He has simply got to come)

#### 4.3.1.2. The complements

Complements differ from adjuncts in being substantive phrases whereas adjuncts are either adverbial inflected substantive phrases or particles. Complements may consist, further, not only of single SPs but of compound SPs and SPs preceded by conjunctives.

- e.g. -gar- pasi (sit down)  
-gar-pasi napamusoro (sit on the ground and on top)  
-gar- kana napamusoro-wó (sit even on top as well)  
-dy nyana zvése némiriwo-wó (eat meat and vegetables as well)

#### 4.3.1.2.1. Adverbial complements

Complements differ from one another in class, in meaning and in the range of Rs with which they appear. The following types of complement can appear with the widest range of Rs. Like the adjuncts they are adverbial in reference and define that of the R in terms of place, time, degree and manner.

##### a) Adverbial complements of place

SPs of classes 16, 17 and 18 as well as certain members of classes 9 and 14 are locative complements. Cp.3.3.30, 21, 22.; 3.3.18. (d) (1) (vi).

- e.g. Ta-sangan-a panzira (16)  
 (We met on the way)  
Vá-énd-a kumusha kwangu (17)  
 (They went to my home)  
Ári kú-taur-a mukati umo (17)  
 (He is speaking in the middle over there)  
Usa-kwir-é mberí kwéimba (17)  
 (You must not climb up on the shelf at the back of the House)

The names of the areas in which tribes and clans live are often nouns of class 9.

e.g. Mbire, Harava, Manyika, Hungwe, Nhohwe.

Ndiri kú-end-a Harava (I am going to Seke's country)

The names of other areas are nouns of class 14.

e.g. ukárangá, uHerá, uNjanja, uRozvi, uHota

Ndiri ku-tám-á úHota (I am moving from the Chihota area)

##### b) Adverbial complements of time

These are SPs of classes 16, 17 and 18 as well as certain members of classes 6, 11 and 1a. Possessive inflected participial clauses of cl. 8 are common. Cp.3.3.20, 21, 22.; 3.3.9, (d) (1) (v); 3.3.15. (d) (1) (ii); 3.3.3. (d) (1) (ii).

- e.g. Pakutángá hatihá ku-nzw-ánán-á (16)  
 (At first we did not agree)  
Kumazúvá áye, nyika haihá kú-shomek-a (17)  
 (In those days, land was not scarce)  
Tinó-bát-á kwázvo muzhizhá (18)  
 (We work hard in the rainy season)  
Tinó-end-a nhási kumunda  
 (We are going to the field today)  
Áka-múk-a rufurá-mhembwe (11)  
 (He rose early, at the time when duikers graze)  
Mamwe mazúvá áno-rwár-á, mamwe áno-búd-á zváke (16)  
 (Some days he is ill, on others he goes out of doors)  
Zvandákápiná mumbá, ndaká-gár-a pasi (8)  
 (When I entered the room, I sat down)

##### c) Adverbial complements of degree

These are SPs of cl. 12. In Karangá, they may be in cl. 11. Cp.3.3.16. (d) (1) (ii).

e.g. Áka-táur-a kamwé cheté  
 (He spoke once)

##### d) Adverbial complements of manner

These are certain SPs of Cl. 7 and 8. Cp.3.3.0. (d) (1) (v); (2) (ii); 3.3.11(d).

43/e.g. Hazví-...

e.g. Hazvi-itik-e- chirungu chiño (7)  
(That is not possible during this time when western ways are dominant)

Vã-it-a zvakanãka (They did well) (8)

The common possessives zvãngu, zvãkó, (in my fashion, in your fashion) etc. as well as the two constructions kwãzvo, chãizvo (very much, greatly) which have cl. 8 possessive stems, are adverbial complements of manner.

#### 4.3.1.2.2. Object complements

Other types of complement, viz. SPs of other classes, as well as those of Cl.1, 1a, 6,7,8,9,11, 12 and 14 with other references, do not have such a wide distribution in verb phrases as the adverbial complements. The reason for their comparatively restricted distribution lies in the fact that the collocations of radicals with object complements are restricted whereas those with adverbial complements are comparatively unrestricted.

In a recent study, Verbal Constructions in Korekore<sup>1</sup> N D Dembetembe has studied this question of the collocation of radicals and object complements. His classification is in terms of classes of radicals but, as is clear from the terms of the problem, the level at which his discussion moves is that of the verb phrases and it is in terms of classes of verb phrases that his conclusions will be given here.

He distinguished object complements in verb phrases into two types, termed, respectively, primary and secondary. Primary object complements in VPs are those which may be either accompanied by an object prefix as co-referent or give place to an op. as substitute referent.<sup>2</sup> For example, the object complement minda (fields) is primary in the VP -rim- minda (till fields).

e.g. Tairima minda néchiféngu  
(We used to till our fields with a curved hoe)

cp. Tairiima minda néchiféngu  
(We used to till the fields with a curved hoe)

Tairiima néchiféngu  
(We used to till them with a curved hoe)

The object complement musóro (head) is secondary in the VP -chen- musóro (become grey-haired, lit. become white of head)

e.g. Vãsekuru vãchéna musóro  
(Grandfather is grey-haired)<sup>3</sup>

A further characteristic of VPs with primary and secondary complements respectively is that the former are transformable into passive extended VPs, the primary complements becoming subjects of clauses, whereas the latter are so transformable only if the subject of the passive extended VP is locative and the complement remains a complement.

e.g. Minda yáirimwa néchiféngu  
(Fields were tilled by a curved hoe)

cp. Kwãchénya musóro  
(The head has become grey, e.g. You are now grey)

On the basis of these criteria, and from his corpus, Dembetembe distinguishes five types of combinations between Rs and object complements within VPs:

#### (A) R with nil object complements:

e.g. -net- (become tired)  
-nak- (become good)  
-tirir- (endure)  
-gwádaír- (move on knees)

#### (B) R with one secondary complement

e.g. -f- zísó (have an eye damaged, lit. die as to an eye)  
-simb- muviri (be strong in body)  
-muk- nyóká (rise as a snake)  
-chen- musóro (be white of head)  
-tsvuk- mesó (be red of eye, have bloodshot eyes)  
-kuvar- gumbo (be hurt on the leg)

1. University of London M.Phil. Dissertation, Department of African Languages, University College of Rhodesia, 1969.

2. Dembetembe borrows the terms 'object substitute' and 'co-referent' from M Guthrie, Journal of African Languages, Vol. I, No. 3 pp.202-220. I have used the terms co-referent and referent.

3. Op. cit., pp.56, 58.

(C) R with one primary complement:

- e.g. -gút- hwahwá (be satisfied, have enough beer)  
 -ramb- mukádzi (refuse, reject a wife)  
 -tend- midzímú (thank the spirits)  
 -rim- minda (till the fields)  
 -tádz- bása (fail in one's work)

(D) R with one primary and one secondary complement:

- e.g. -róv- mwaná zísó (hit a child on the eye)  
 -tém- mwaná mbónje (inflict a bruise on a child)  
 -zív- rúkodzi kuita kwárwo (know how a hawk behaves)  
 -vák- mwaná tsíka (build a child's character)  
 -bát- vānhu musóro (hold people by the head)

(E) R with two primary complements:

- e.g. -p- vaná mari (give money to children)  
 -nyím- imbwa sādza (stint dogs of their food)  
 -údz- vānhu nyaya (tell the people the news)  
 -pósh- vānhu mari (lend people money)

Dembetembe's classification of Rs, rather than of VPs, has this consequence that the classification is in the terms of collocability rather than in terms of actual collocations. Rs are classified in terms of their maximum collocability but this does not prevent their appearing with fewer complements than they are able to collocate with. E.g. /-p-/ (give), a class E radical, need not appear with two primary object complements.

Further observations by Dembetembe on the secondary object complements are as follows:

- (i) Secondary complements of B radicals indicate, more often than not, something which is a part or aspect of the subject of the clause in which the VP appears.

- e.g. Imbwa yāngu yākafá zísó  
 (My dog had an injury done to its eye)  
 Vásekuru vachéna musóro  
 (Grandfather's head is now grey)

Such complements may be transposed to subject position but in this case require as qualificative a possessive inflected phrase with the original subject as nucleus.

- e.g. Zísó rémbwa yāngu rákafá  
 (My dog's eye was damaged)

- (ii) Secondary complements follow primary in class D verb phrases.

- e.g. -tém- mwaná mbónje  
 (lit. strike a child a bruise)  
 -bát- vānhu musóro  
 (hold people by the head)

The secondary complement is, more often than not, a part or aspect of the primary complement.

Though this analysis was made on Korekore material, Dembetembe's findings, albeit tentative, are, in the main, suggestive for Zezuru as well. The corresponding Zezuru material shows, however, rather more flexibility than is claimed for Korekore. Radicals with no object complements in Korekore appear with object prefixes in Zezuru, at least in certain contexts which call for certain culturally defined styles. For example, the R /-nak-/ (be good, be beautiful) is classified as appearing in A type VPs in Korekore. In Zezuru they may occur with object complements like uso (face), moyo (heart), i.e. in B type VPs.

- e.g. -nak- usó (be fair of face)  
 -nak- moyo (be good of heart)

From the look of them, and from intuition of the relationship between the R and its complements, they would appear to be secondary. However, in a common style of speech called mavingu (reproaches mixed with innuendo and sarcasm) these VPs may incorporate an object prefix and be passively transformed.

- e.g. Kuhúnaka usó wakáhunáka, así mwóyo haúná  
 (You may be fair of face but you have no heart) (op. of cl. 14)  
 Usó hahunakwé névasingáshambé, usó hunonakwa navānhu huchigézwawó  
 (People who don't wash don't improve their faces, people have nice faces  
 when they are washed too) (passive extended VP)  
 Kuúnaka mwoyo húngé uchinátsawó  
 (To be kind-hearted comes from being kindly treated) (op. of cl. 3)  
 Mwóyo únonakwawó  
 (The heart can be good as well) (passive extended VP)

Again in the register or style called gúdzírá-múkanwa which is used for story-telling or entertainment (something that grows in the mouth, the telling), object prefixes occur in inflected VPs where again the relation of R to complement appears to characterise them as secondary.

e.g. -f' únhu  
(lit. die in regard to one's humanity, become senseless)

Akaróhwa akahífá únhu  
(He was beaten and lost all feeling) (op. of cl. 14)

-chen- musóró  
(become white headed)

Vásekuru vákaúchéna musóró amirépo sébenzi  
(Grandfather's hair grew grey as he was left waiting there like a fool)

With these reservations, Dembetembe's classification is a useful one for the VPs which occur, i.e. VPs which consist of:

- i) a radical alone, without object complements;
- ii) a radical with one object complement;
- iii) a radical with two object complements.

The relation of R to object complements is sometimes such that object prefixes either in agreement or as substitutes are not acceptable. These are called secondary object complements.

e.g. -tór- musíkaná uyu moyo (appeal to this girl)

In this VP the op. /-u-/ of cl. 3 can co-occur with moyo only if it is related to musíkaná uyu by a possessive inflection.

e.g. Zvautóra móyo wómusíkaná uyu  
(It took the heart of this girl)

In the former VP moyo is a secondary object complement but, in the latter, it is primary.

The obstacle to using an op. as referent or co-referent may arise, not from the VP as such, but from the use of the VP in a certain style or styles. Thus, for example, in chitorwa (speech between relative strangers or matter-of-fact narrative not intended to entertain) the use of the op. which mavingú or gúdzírá-múkanwa permit would not arise or be considered suitable. In these styles or registers then, object complements in VPs not allowing an op. would be secondary.

#### 4.3.1.3. The object prefixes

(a) The object prefixes for the Ist, IInd and IIIrd persons, all classes, are as follows :

Number	
I s	-ndi-
pl	-ti-
II s	-ku-
pl	-ku...i'
III 1	-mu-
2	-va-
3	-u-
4	-i-
5	-ri-
6	-a-
7	-chi-
8	-zvi-
9	-i-
10	-dzi-
11	-ru-
12	-ka-
13	-tu-
14	-hu-
15	-ku-
16	-pa-
17	-ku-
18	-mu-

The constituent class of op. represents series XI of the person and class affixes. The op. of II pl. is complex, consisting of the op. of II s together with the pluralising morpheme /-i/, also found in plural imperatives, suffixed to the terminal vowel of the inflection.

e.g. ku-kú-ón-á-i'- (to see you (pl.))  
ón-á-i' (see!)

The following dialectal variants are of interest.

II pl	-mu-....-i'	(some forms of Karanga)
	-mu-	(Manyika)
cl. 3	-u- ~ -mu-	(Karanga)
4	-i- ~ -mi-	(Karanga)
6	-a- ~ -ma-	(Karanga)
14	-vu-	(Karanga)
19	-svi-	(Karanga)
20	-ku-	(Karanga)

b) The above are the allomorphs of the person and class affixes which occur in VPs. They are prefixed immediately to the R, only one in any one VP,

e.g. Ha-ndĩ-mu-ziv-é (I don't know him)

#### 4.3.1.3.1. The object prefixes as referent

a) The op. may be used as a referent without any agreement with, or reference to, complements within the VP, either because there are no complements, or because the reference of the op. as a substitute referent is to something else already within the discourse. Object prefixes of I and II persons do not appear to need such an antecedent context to be immediately intelligible as they refer to speaker(s) and hearers. But those of the III person appear to need this.

e.g. U-nó-ndi-ziv-á heré?	(Is)	(Do you know me)
Ha-ndĩ-ku-ziv-é	(IIs)	(I do not know you)
Nd-a-mũ-on-a nhási	(I)	(I saw him today)
Vá-no-ndĩ-sém-á	(Is)	(They hate me)
Mũ-röv-e!	(I)	(Beat him!)
Regá ndĩ-ku-p-é uchi'	(IIs)	(Let me give you some honey)
Nd-a-i'-nyim-a sadza	(9)	(I denied it food)
M-a-pá-ziv-a?	(16)	(Did you know the place?)
Handĩdi-ku-kú-énd-a	(17)	(I don't want to go there)

b) Where there is need to refer to combinations of complements, viz. such as would be expressed by a compound SP, the op. selected is usually either of cl.2 (to refer to combinations of substantives of cl. 1, 2, 1a, 2a or 2b) or of cl.8 (to refer to combinations of substantives of other class).

e.g. Nd-a-vá-on-a	(mukómaná némusĩkaná)
(I saw them - a boy and a girl)	
Nd-a-vá-on-a	(vakómaná nãvasĩkaná)
(I saw them - the boys and girls)	
Nd-a-zví-tor-a	(mukombe nechĩrongó)
(I took them - the ladle and the waterpot)	
Nd-a-zví-tor-a	(sadza nómuriwó)
(I took them - the porridge and relish)	

When the combination consists of substantives of the same class and the same semantic sub-class, referents of that class, or its linked plural, or of cl.8, may be used.

e.g. muzhanje némukũyu	: /-zvi-/-i-/ (8) or (4)
(a wild loquat and a fig tree)	
harahwa nechembere	: /-zvi-/-dzi-/ (8) or (10)
(an old man and an old woman)	

c) A subsidiary member of the constituent class of op. is the reflexive prefix /-zvi-/ which never refers to object complements but only to the subject of the inflected VP. It is used only as a referent and refers to the subject irrespective of its person or class.

e.g. Ko, rizé riŋga-zví-rum-é heré?  
(Tell me, can a scorpion sting itself?)

The use of the reflexive prefix with non-C radicals is accompanied by a special R tone-pattern irrespective of the tone class of the R and the inflection. This tone-pattern consists of low tones with final high, carried by the terminal vowel. In this way, /-zvi-/ (reflexive) is distinguished from /-zvi-/ (op., cl.8) with which it is segmentally identical.

e.g. nd-a-zví-kudz-á	(I prided myself)
cp. nd-a-zví-kudz-a	(I praised them (8))
e.g. ngá-ti-zví-sevenzes-é	(Let us put ourselves to work)
cp. ngá-ti-zví-sévénzēs-e	(Let us make them (8) work)



In the case of C radicals, there is no difference between the tones accompanying the use of /-zvi-/ reflexive or /+zvi-/ (8).

- e.g. Nd-a-zvi<sup>ˀ</sup>-dy-a moyo (I am fed up as the result of continual troubles)  
 Nd-a-zvi<sup>ˀ</sup>-dy-a (I ate them (e.g. zvipembenene) (flying insects))  
 ku-zví-p-á nhámó (to give oneself troubles)  
 ku-zví-p-á nhámó (to give them (8) troubles)

Other examples:

- ku-zví-tum-á (to apply oneself)  
 -nyim- (to deny oneself)  
 -fung- (to be selfish)  
 -kudz- (to be boastful)  
 -futis- (to puff oneself up)  
 -pingur- (to train oneself)  
 -tunhidz- (to praise oneself)

Wáidá ku-zví-tsvagir-á nzvímbó  
 (He wanted to look for a place for himself)

- d) Object referents agree in class with the SP referred to. There can, however, be calculated disagreement between the class of the SP and that of the op. when it is desired to use an op. of a class other than that of the SP in order to refer to it under the aspect of one of the secondary ideas conveyed by the chosen and incongruent class.

e.g. Ko, vádzimái váChirúmé, unó-va-zív-á here?  
 (Tell me, do you know Chirume's wife?)

A, ndinó-ri-zív-á  
 (Yes, I know her all right)

These secondary ops. convey the same references as secondary noun prefixes, viz. /-ri-/ (5) (large), /-chi-/ (7) (short), /-rwu-/ (11) (long), /-hu-/ (14) (medium sized), /-ka-/ (12) (small), with an additional pejorative implication. However, the use of such ops is accompanied by expressive intonation which may modify the reference. A slow, low condemnatory tone may indicate a large woman with wicked ways; a sprightly intonation accompanying /-ri-/ a large woman with clever ways.

- e) VPs with ops may be found as constituents in complex nominal constructions. Such VPs are usually applied extended Rs. Cp.2.4.2.8.(b)(7).

e.g. ma-i-pingudzír-ó (mombe)  
 (a way of training it, viz. an ox)

mu-ti-túmír-o  
 (a way of sending us)

e.g. mu-zví-kudzir-ó  
 (way of praising oneself)

mu-zví-chengeter-ó  
 (way of looking after oneself)

#### 4.3.1.3.2. The object prefixes as co-referent

- a) In section 4.3.1.2.2., a distinction between primary and secondary object complements was made. The latter were defined as complements which, because of their relation to the R and the style of speech being used, could not be accompanied by an op as co-referent. The use of an op as co-referent adds prominence, emphasis or definiteness to the complement to which it refers and it is clear why its use should be more common in styles and registers which convey pointed references and which aim at characterisation or caricature than in styles which are not so colourful.

- b) Object prefixes may refer to adverbial complements, particularly those of place and time.

e.g. Nd-a-pá-svík-a pamushá pangá pachińzí hapásvíkwe  
 (I reached home which I had been told could not be reached)

Áno-hú-rár-á usíkú hwóse  
 (He sleeps the whole night).

- c) Object prefixes refer to object complements. Some object complements, because of their relationship to the R, may be accompanied by an op co-referent in any style. These are primary object complements. Others may not be so accompanied and still others only in certain registers and styles. These are secondary object complements. Presumably it is considered that such object complements cannot support emphasis or only in certain literary contexts.

(1) e.g. Usa-i-pósh-é marí yáko mńhu wése wése  
 (Don't lend your money to anyone)

Usá-mú-pósh-é mari'múnhu uyu, haázodzora  
(Don't lend your money to this fellow, he won't give it back)

cp. -pósh' mari'múnhu  
(lend money to someone), a VP with two primary complements.

e.g. Ku-i-údz-á vánhu vakúru nyaya, húngé wányatsóiñzwá  
(To tell senior people some news means that you have understood it yourself)  
Ku-vá-údz-á vánhu nyaya, húngé úne chokwadi' nayo'  
(To tell senior people some news means that you are sure of it)

cp. -údz' vánhu vakúru nyaya  
(Tell senior people some news), a VP with two primary complements.

(2) e.g. Áka-mú-tém-á mukómaná wáké mbónje  
(lit. He struck his son a bruise)

cp. -tém' mukómaná wáké mbónje  
(strike his son (and cause) a bruise), a VP with one primary and one secondary object complement).

e.g. Áka-mú-it-a mwanákomana wáké beñzi pávamwe zvinová zvinhu zvakányadzisa kwázvo.  
(He treated his son like a fool in front of others in a very shameful way)

cp. -it- mwanákomana béñzi  
(treat a son like a fool), a VP with one primary and one secondary object complement.

(3) e.g. Usá-i-kángánw-é tsíka yamádzibabá yokúti, Chawáwaná, idyá néhamá  
(Do not forget that custom of our fathers which says, 'Share what you have with your brother')

cp. -kángánw' tsíka  
(forget customs), a VP with one primary object complement.

e.g. Áka-ri-gádzw-a dare  
(He was taken to court at last)

cp. -gádzw- dare  
(to be taken to court), a VP with primary object complement

e.g. Áno-hú-simb-a hwahwá  
(He is strong at drinking beer)

cp. -simb- hwahwá  
(be a great beer drinker).

(4) e.g. Ku-simb-a muviri húngé uchiđyá uchiđutá  
(To be strong of body means you eat enough)

cp. -simb- muviri  
(be strong of body), a VP with one secondary object complement.

e.g. Áka-vát-á nzára, akafúma ákabáta pahura  
(He went to sleep hungry, and he got up early holding his stomach)

cp. -vát' nzára  
(go to sleep hungry), a VP with one secondary object complement.

#### 4.3.1.3.3. The contexts in which the object prefix occurs

In his study entitled Yao Sentences, Whiteley lists a number of conditions under which the object prefix is used in Yao. He states that there are four main contexts in which the op regularly, though not invariably, occurs, and four others in which its occurrence is regularly correlated with a particular meaning. Described in the terminology used in this study, these contexts are as follows :<sup>1</sup>

- (a) Where the object referent refers to an object complement mentioned in the discourse but not in the VP;
- (b) where two object complements occur in a VP;
- (c) where the primary object complement is front-shifted;
- (d) in 'relative' clauses whose subject is other than an SP being qualified;
- (e) where emphasis is laid on a primary object complement;
- (f) where 'professionalism' or 'habituity' of action is implied;
- (g) where 'excess' or 'great quantity' is implied.

Of these contexts (a) has been dealt with in 4.3.1.3.1. Context (b) does not appear to require an op co-referent in Shona save when associated with context (e), cp. 4.3.1.3.2. Context (c) is dealt with in section 4.3.2. Context (d) appears to occur in the Korekore dialects of Shona.

1. Yao Sentences by W H Whiteley, O U P, p. III I have listed only seven of Whiteley's eight contexts as the eighth does not seem relevant here.

e.g. hóvé aká-dzi-téng-á babá  
(the fish father bought)

In Zezuru these clauses are rendered either by a possessive inflected participial clause or an inverted relative.

op. hóvé dza-aka-téng-a baba  
hóvé dzaka-téng-a babá  
(the fish father bought)

It remains to exemplify (f) and (g).

e.g. (f) vo-kú-dzi-téng-á mómbe  
(professional buyers of cattle)

vó-ku-hú-bík-a hwahwá vátya  
(the professional brewers of beer have come)

vo-kú-dzi-vhĩm-á mhuká  
(professional hunters of game)

e.g. (g) Áno-í-rĩmĩr-a kuti áíté mbiri  
(He tills many of them (viz. minda) so as to increase his reputation)

Áno-vá-róór-á nēi?  
(With what does he lobola so many?)

The context of this question is the remark: Áno-vá-kumb-a kudái  
(He gathers them in like this)

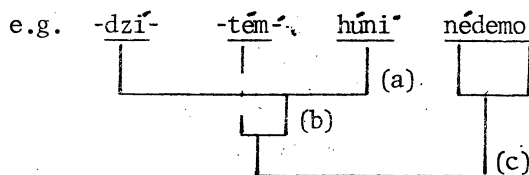
Áno-vá-róórér-a kuti vāmuriĩmife ágeré  
(He marries them (in numbers) so that they may plough for him while he does nothing)

#### 4.3.2.

#### Order of constituents in the verb phrase

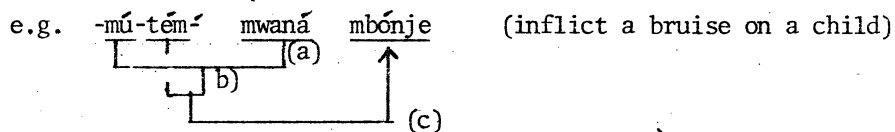
The normal, unemphatic order of constituents in VPs is exemplified in the examples so far given which follows that set out in the constructional pattern, viz.

+/- op + R +/- C(s) +/- A(s)

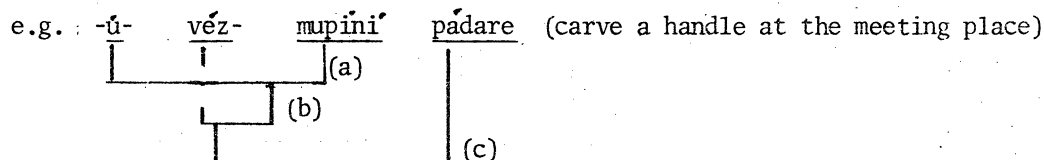


The internal relationships of the VP are reflected by the above tree which indicates the immediate constituents. The object prefix as co-referent appears to form a construction with object complement and, at level (b) the R and this emphatic object complements are ICs; at level (c), R + C is one constituent and the adjunct another.

Other VP relationships are as follows:



- Level (a) : op + primary object complement  
 (b) : R + emphatic object complement  
 (c) : (i) R + C and (ii) secondary complement



- Level (a) : op + primary object complement  
 (b) : R + emphatic object complement  
 (c) : (i) R + C and (ii) adverbial complements

#### 4.3.2.1.

#### Front-shifted complements

Further prominence is given to a complement by departing from the normal order of constituents and making the complement precede, rather than follow, the R.

In a verbal clause, the emphatic position is before the subject, or, if the subject too is to be given prominence, between the subject and the inflected radical.

e.g. Kumúnyéngá musíkáná ungányenge así mari yókumúróóreša haú-i-wan-é  
(Court the girl if you like but you will not get the money for her bride-price)

Front-shifted complements are accompanied by op co-referents. There is also a pause between them and the rest of the clause.

e.g. Mupíni, ndaká-u-véz-a padare (así mugóti musāngó)  
(I carved the handle at the village meeting place  
( but the stirring stick in the veld))

Ini, yāngu mbanjé, hándimbo-i-téngesér-a vanhu vanópúta, bodo  
(I don't sell any of my dagga to smokers, not on your life)

Adverbial complements of time are often front-shifted without, seemingly, any prominence conveyed.  
Cp. 4.3.1.2.1.(b).

#### 4.3.2.2. Front-shifting of phrases from adjuncts

The SP in an adverbial phrase, functioning as adjunct, may be given prominence by front-shifting, its place in the adjunct being taken by the pronoun as substitute. The front-shifted SP may be accompanied by an object prefix co-referent.

e.g. Á-famb-a netsóka  
(He travelled on foot)

cp. Tsoka, á-dzi-famb-á nadzó nhási  
(He walked on foot today (that was not his inclination))

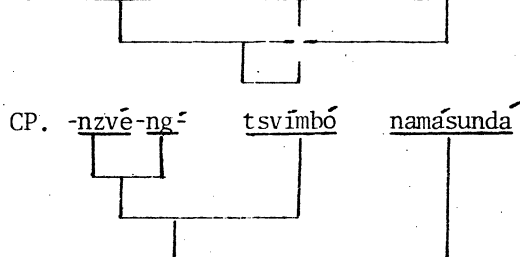
e.g. Á-famb-a nebhásikoro nhási  
(He went by bicycle today)

cp. Bhásikoro, á-famb-a naró nhasi. Hapána chisingapére.  
(He went by bicycle today. Nothing ever lasts forever,  
viz. his habit of travelling by car)

#### 4.3.3. Derived verb phrases

Verb radicals which incorporate ideophones as constituents are derived as the result of the transformation of ideophone phrases into verb phrases by addition of a verbaliser.

e.g. tsvimbó namásundá nzvé (dodge a stick by moving backwards)

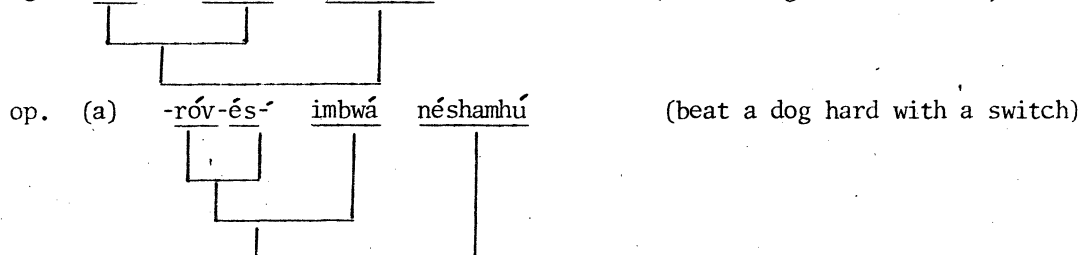


As stated in 4.2.5.1., the relationships of ideophones to complements and adjuncts in ideophone phrases are restructured, the ideophone now being related to them only mediately, as a constituent in a derived radical. It is the latter, viz. the derived radical, which is related immediately to the complements and then, with them, to the adjuncts.

#### 4.3.4. Extended verb phrases

VPs are transformed into extended verb phrases by the addition of a verbal extension.

e.g. -róv- imbwá néshamhu (beat a dog with a switch)



i.e. VP + verbal extension 3, (type (a))

op. (b)    -róv-ék-    (imbwá)    néshamhú    [(for a dog) to get beaten or be beat-able  
with a switch]

i.e. VP + verbal extension 8, (type(b))

(c)    -róv-ér-    mwaná    imbwá    néshamhú    (beat a dog with a switch for a child)

i.e. VP + verbal extension 11, (type (c))

As stated in 4.2.6., verbal extensions are of three types according to their effect on the VP which they transform, mainly on the relationship between Rs and primary object complements. Extensions of type (a) appear not to restrict the collocational relationships within the VP between R and primary object complement. On the contrary, they appear to reinforce them. As a result of transformation, an extended R is formed.

Extensions of type (b) restrict the relationship of R and primary object complements. As a result of the transformation, an extended R is formed here as well.

Extensions of type (c) widen the collocational relationship of R to primary object complements by requiring a further primary object complement as the object of the extended radical.

In 4.2.6., extensions were studied in regard to their form, distribution, meaning and, to some extent, their effect on the VP they transform.

In the following subsections of 4.3.4. further details of extended VPs of types (a), (b) and (c) are examined in order to apply, refine and amplify, where necessary, the general statements made above.

#### 4.3.4.1.

#### Extended verb phrases of type (a)

Extended Rs which are formed as the result of the transformation of VPs with type (a) extensions do not appear to be modified in regard to their collocability with primary complements in general. Extensions (1) /-at-/, (2) /-ik-/, and (6) /-ar-/ are no longer active so the discussion here is concerned with extensions (3) /-is-/, (4) /-irir-/, and (5) /-urur-/.

(a) Examples of extended VPs with extensions (1), (2) and (6).

##### Extension (1)

e.g. Súng-át-á imbwá íregé kútsukunyika  
(Tie up the dog so that it may not move)  
cp. -súng- imbwá (tie the dog)

##### Extension (2)

e.g. Ta-sím-ik-a mapuránga angá ári mubhókisi  
(We planted out the gumtree plants which were in the seed box)  
cp. -sím- mápuránga (plant gumtrees)

##### Extension (6)

e.g. Hakúná gumbéze rakásimbarara segúza  
(No blanket is as strong in texture as one woven from bark fibre)  
cp. -simb- segúza (be strong as a bark blanket)

- (b) Extensions (3) and (5) do not interfere with the collocational relationships of the VPs they transform.

Extension (3)

- e.g. -taur-is- mazwĩ, ánzwiké  
(speak words loudly so that they may be heard)  
cp. -taur- mazwĩ (speak words)

Extension (5)

- e.g. Kana ndátádzirá múnhu, ndinófániírá ku-ré-úrur-a chitemá  
(If I have offended a person, I should confess the fault)  
cp. -rév'-chitemá (mention a fault)
- e.g. Nda-sénd-urur-a mupĩnyĩ nokúti handĩná kúnge ndá-send-á zvakanáka  
(I replanned the handle as I had not planned it properly)  
cp. -send- mupĩnyĩ (plane a handle)

- (c) Extension (4) modifies the R which it extends in meaning ('carry through to completion', 'happen completely') and thus the extended R has, in many cases, different ranges and types of collocation with complements.

- (1) It may require or permit adverbial complements not required or permitted by the R.

- e.g. -chék-érér- nyama muhári  
(cut up meat small for the pot) (locative)  
cp. -chék'-nyama (cut up meat)
- e.g. -nw-ířĩř- hwahwá zvókupédzérédza  
(drink beer on and on so as to finish the last drop) (manner)  
cp. -nw'-hwahwá (drink beer)
- e.g. -ték-érér- mvúrá múchirongó kusvikira cháti tubú  
(draw water, pouring it into the water-pot until it is full)  
cp. -ték'-mvúrá (draw water)

- (2) It may not permit secondary object complements permitted by the R.

- e.g. -búd'-rópa  
(exude blood, come out in blood)  
cp. -búd-ířĩř- (succeed, come out well)
- e.g. -f'-ziso'  
(be damaged in the eye)  
cp. -f-ířĩř- (exert oneself in work)

- (3) It may not permit primary object complements permitted by the R, being restricted to others.

- e.g. -tém'-múnda  
(cut a new field)  
cp. -tém-érér- nyama (chop meat up small)

- (4) In order to indicate the extent to which the action proceeds, it may permit conjunctive object complements not normally found with Rs, in addition to, or instead of, object complements.

- e.g. -dy-ířĩř- negonyi  
(eat up everything, worms and all)  
cp. -dy'-múchero  
(eat fruit)
- e.g. -súngifĩř- mbatya pabhasikoro  
(tie belongings securely to a bicycle)  
-súng-ířĩř- nemúnwe  
(tie so securely that the finger of one holding an object,  
e.g. a withy, is tied as well)  
cp. -súng'-mbatya  
(tie one's belongings)
- e.g. -túk-ířĩř- navámbuya  
(curse on and on, even including one's mother-in-law)  
cp. -túk'-vámbya  
(curse mother-in-law)

- e.g. -tór-érér- nédzisií-dzake  
(gather up everything, taking in the process even things not belonging to one)
- cp. -tór- dzisií-dzake  
(take the wrong things)

#### 4.3.4.2. Extended verb phrases of type (b)

Extended Rs which are formed as the result of transformations of VPs with type (b) extensions are considerably modified in regard to their collocability with object complements. VPs of this type when thus extended undergo extensive restructuring when inflected and as predicates in clauses. Hence it is necessary at this stage to widen the terms of reference of the present discussion to that of the verbal clause. Extension (7) /-an-/, is no longer active, at least as a single extension, hence the discussion here is mainly concerned with extensions (8) /-ik-/, (9) /-w-/ and (10) /-an-/.

##### (a) Extension (7)

Extended VPs with extension (7) do not include object complements possible in the non-extended VP save in a clause with locative or impersonal subject. Otherwise SPs which are object complements in a VP are not referable to the extended VP save as subject at clause level. When this happens, subjects which are compatible with the non-extended VP are not transferable as such as constituents in the extended VP. They are only referable by circumlocutions in adjuncts, or in possessive phrases agreeing with the new transferred subjects.

##### (1) Clauses with locative or impersonal subjects

e.g. Kumushá kwá-ung-an-a hūní  
(At home firewood was gathered)

cp. -úng- hūní  
(collect firewood)

e.g. Mudziva má-gádz-án-a mvúra  
(In the pool the water settled down)

cp. -gádz- mvúra  
(lay down water)

##### (2) Object complements transferred to subject positions

e.g. Kana hūní dzá-úng-an-á, tinózodzokera kumushá  
(When the firewood is gathered, we will return home)

Mvúra yá-gádz-an-a patsíme  
(The water has settled at the well)

Makumbo áno-góny-án-á pákugara pakámánikidzana  
(One's legs fold up when sitting in a confined place)

cp. -góny- mákumbo  
(fold, bend legs)

##### (3) Subjects of inflected VPs not transferable as such

e.g. Vakádzi váka-úng-á hūní  
(The women gathered the firewood)

cp. Hūní dzáka-úng-án-á (nókushingiriira basa kwáita vakádzi)  
(The firewood was gathered together (through the energy of the women))

e.g. Mwaná áka-gónyá mákumbo pakurára  
(The child bent up his legs in sleeping)

cp. Makumbo émwaná áka-góny-án-á pákurára  
(The child's legs were bent during sleep)

##### (b) Extension (8)

The addition of extension (8) to a VP restricts by one the primary object complements possible to it save when the extended VP is inflected in a clause with locative or impersonal subject prefixes. The primary object complements so restricted are relatable to the extended VP as subjects at clause level.

Secondary object complements are not so relatable.

When clauses of this kind are formed by such a transformation, subjects which occurred or could occur with the non-extended VP are transferable, if relevant, and as such, as constituents of the extended VP, normally as nucleus of an adjunct.

It is necessary to give examples of VPs of all types with nil, one and two object complements, both primary and secondary.

(1) Clauses with locative or impersonal subjects<sup>1</sup>(i) VPs with nil object complement

- e.g. Kúno-tándár-ík-a-sú kumbá kuné múnhu akáipa?  
(Is it possible to converse at a house where an evil person is present?)
- cp. -tándár- kumbá  
(converse in a house)
- e.g. Pajécha páno-kámbáír-ik-a  
(On sand it is easy to crawl)
- cp. -kámbáír-  
(crawl)

VPs with nil object complements when thus extended can only occur in clauses with locative or impersonal subjects.

(ii) VPs with one object complement

- e.g. Kúno-chen-ek-a musóró  
(Grey hairs come; lit. It grows white as to the head)
- cp. -chen- musóró  
(become grey-haired)
- e.g. Kúno-f-ík-á zísó  
(Eyes get damaged)
- cp. -f- zísó  
(suffer an injury to the eye)
- e.g. Nhási kwá-simb-ik-a muviri zvaánga achírwá  
(Today his body showed strength when he was fighting)
- cp. -simb- muviri  
(be strong of body)
- e.g. Nhási kwá-múk-ik-a nyóka  
(Today at last there has been a rising from the dead as a snake!)
- cp. -múk- nyóka  
(rise, come back from the dead, as a snake)
- e.g. Kwá-tem-ek-a húni  
(There was a lot of firewood cut today)
- cp. -tém- húni  
(chop firewood)
- e.g. Kúno-tend-ek-a midziímú  
(The ancestral spirits are thanked)
- cp. -tend- midziímú  
(thank the spirits)

(iii) VPs with two object complements

- e.g. Kúno-chék-ék-á nyáma tunhindi tunhindi  
(Meat is cut into small pieces)
- cp. -chék- nyáma tunhindi tunhindi  
(cut meat into small pieces)
- e.g. Kwá-tor-ek-a musíkaná mpyo nētunónaka  
(The girl's fancy was really taken by the tit-bits)
- cp. -tór- musíkaná móyo  
(take a girl's fancy)
- e.g. Kúno-nyím-ík-á sádza imbwa  
(No porridge is given to dogs)
- cp. -nyím- sádza imbwa  
(deny porridge to dogs)
- e.g. Kwá-udz-ik-a vakúru nyayá  
(Something new has been told the elders - the impossible has happened)
- cp. -údz- nyayá vakúru  
(tell news to elders)

1. The reference of the subject prefix of cl.17 may be impersonal as of a happening when there is no explicit locative reference. This construction needs, of course, as in the case of all constructions, a relevant context. It often carries a special emphasis and in the absence of a subject, gives a special prominence to the VP as a happening. The reference of cl.16 and cl. 18 is locative.



(2) Object complements transferred to subject position(i) VPs with one object complement

- e.g. Muviri úno-simb-ik-a kana uchidyá uchigúta  
(The body can be strengthened if you eat enough)
- Nyóká íno-muk-ik-a kana wákadyá pfutá  
(A snake may be the form of your return if you eat the properly treated fat)
- Húni dzíno-tém-ék-á nédemo  
(Firewood can be cut with an axe)
- Midzímú íno-tend-ek-a nemádiramhamba  
(The ancestral spirits can be thanked by sacrificial offerings)

VPs with one secondary object complement when extended occur in clauses with locative or impersonal subjects. Cp. 1(ii) above.

(ii) VPs with two object complements

- e.g. Nyama íno-chék-ék-á túnhindi tunhindi  
(Meat can be cut into small pieces)
- Musíkaná áno-tór-ék-á móyo nētunónaka  
(A girl's fancy can be caught with delicacies)

The secondary object complements of these VPs can not be so transferred save by making them the nucleus of an SP qualified possessively by the primary complement.

- e.g. Moyo wómusíkaná úno-tór-ék-á nētunónaka  
(The fancy of a girl can be drawn with delicacies)
- Sadza ríno-nyím-ík-á imbwá  
(Porridge can be denied to dogs)
- Imbwá dzíno-nyím-ík-á sádza  
(Dogs can be denied porridge)
- Nyayá dzíno-údz-ík-á vakúru kana úiné tsíka  
(New things can be told to the elders if you are polite)
- Vakúru váno-údz-ík-á nyayá kana uchívakúdzá  
(Elders can be told new things if you show them respect)

Both object complements in the above examples are primary in the unextended VP and can be transferred to subject position.

(3) Subjects of inflected VPs transferable

Since the reference of the extended R with extension (8) is potential or neuter, referring to the possibility or to the happening of the unextended VP, it is usually felt that mention of the agent, e.g. in the form of an adjunct, is uncalled for. However, it is possible to do this in the case of the potential reference.

- e.g. Hombarume áno-vhiy-a mhuká  
(The skilled hunter skins the animals)
- cp. Mhuká dzíno-vhiy-ik-a nahombarume  
(Animals can be skinned by a skilled hunter)
- e.g. Kana vádzimái vése váno-tém-á húni idzi nédemo  
(Even women cut this firewood with an axe)
- cp. Húni idzi dzíno-tém-ék-á nédemo kana navádzimái vése  
(This firewood can be cut with an axe even by women)

(c) Extension (9)

The addition of extension (9) to a VP restricts by one the primary object complements possible to it save when the extended VP is inflected in a clause with locative or impersonal subject prefixes. The primary object complements so restricted are relatable to the extended VP as subjects at clause level. Secondary object complements are transferable to subject position with special stylistic connotations. When clauses of this kind are formed by such a transformation, subjects which occurred or could occur with the non-extended VP are always transferable as constituents of the extended VP, as nuclei of adjuncts.

(1) Clauses with locative or impersonal subjects(i) VPs with nil object complements

- e.g. Kúno-tándár-w-á usíkú!  
(The time for recreation is at night!)
- cp. -tándár- usíkú  
(converse at night)
- e.g. Kúno-kámbáir-w-a návadíkí!  
(Crawling is for children - not big boys)

cp. Vadiki vāno-kāmbáir-a  
(Children crawl)

VPs with nil object complements when thus extended can only occur in clauses with locative or impersonal subjects.

(ii) VPs with one object complement

e.g. Kwá-chén-w-a musóró nábabá. "Kare kángu handáidái."  
(The hair on father's head is now grey; viz. he is now old. He was not like that before.)

cp. Babá á-chéna musóró  
(Father has become grey-haired)

e.g. Kwá-dzi-iw-a motó némwaná  
(Lit. There has been a warming of himself at the fire by the child; i.e. he has been there a long time, or the fire is very big, and he must have been very cold)

cp. Mwaná á-dzi-a motó  
(The child has warmed himself at the fire)

e.g. Kwá-múk-w-a nyóká námambo  
(A resurrection by the chief in the form of a snake has taken place)

cp. Mambo á-múk-a nyóká  
(The chief has risen in the shape of a snake)

e.g. Kwá-vhiy-iw-a mhuká návazúkúrú  
(There was an animal skinned by the nephews - who did it eagerly for the sake of their perquisites and to the chagrin of their uncles who had to stand by)

cp. Vazúkúrú vā-vhiy-a mhuká  
(The nephews have skinned the animal)

e.g. Kwá-tem-w-a hūnī nábabá nédemo.  
(There has been some wood cut by father with an axe - as a result of a scolding by his wife (árarotúkwá usíkú hwóse))

cp. Babá á-tem-a hūnī  
(Father has cut some wood)

e.g. Kwá-nw-iw-a hwahwá navátenzi! Hwánwirwa kunzi, 'Ndaónerei?'  
(There was a drink for you as the drinker lowered his draft, drunk as if to make up for lost time!)

cp. Vátenzi vā-nw-a hwahwá  
(The drinker drank his beer)

(iii) VPs with two object complements

e.g. Kwá-vak-w-a vaná tsíka naambúya  
(The children have been chided by their aunt - angrily as a result of representations made to her by their father that she was failing in her responsibility)

cp. Ambúya vāno-vak-á vaná tsíka  
(The grandmother forms the children in morals)

e.g. Kwá-tem-w-a mukómaná mbónje negándanga  
(A bruise was inflicted on the boy by the robber - so desperate was he!)

cp. Gandanga rá-tem-a mukómaná mbónje chitéme-téme  
(The robber inflicted a bruise on the boy for no reason other than the desire to hurt)

e.g. Kwá-nyim-w-a vanhu sadza nhāsi nababá  
(There was no food given to people today by father - out of revenge)

cp. Babá á-nyim-a vanhu sadza nhāsi  
(Father gave no food to the people today)

e.g. Kwá-udz-w-a nyayá vakúrú námambo  
(Today, at last, the chief has spoken his mind to the elders since they showed no sign of correcting themselves)

cp. Mambo á-udz-a nyayá vakúrú  
(The chief informed the elders what was on his mind)

(2) Object complements transferred to subject position(i) VPs with one object complement

- e.g. Musóró úno-chen-w-a naváhu kana vákúra  
(lit. The head is grown grey by people when they grow old)
- Moto wáka-dzi-íw-á némwaná  
(lit. The fire was got warm at by the child)
- Nyóka' íno-muk-w-a nomúhu kana ákadyá pfutá  
(lit. A snake is the form in which it is risen by a person who has partaken of the properly treated medicine, mixed with castor-oil seeds)

Some object complements in VPs which may not be transferred to subject position in extended VPs with extension (8) are transferable in these constructions.

- e.g. -chen- musóró  
(become grey-haired)

There are object complements which are not transferable to subject position in extended VPs either with extension (8) or (9).

- e.g. -pér- hwahwá  
(return to a sober state)
- f- zísó  
(suffer an injury to one's eye)
- tsvuk- mazi'só  
(be of bloodshot eyes)

These VPs when extended with extension (9) may occur in clauses with locative and impersonal subjects.

Object complements which are clearly primary in the unextended VP are transferable.

- e.g. Híni' dzáka-tém-w-á nábabá  
(Fire wood was cut by father)
- Mhuká dzáka-vhíy-íw-á náhombarume  
(The animals were skinned by the hunter)

(ii) VPs with two object complements

- e.g. Vaná váka-vák-w-á tsíka naambúya  
(The children were formed in character by their grand-mother)
- Musíkaná wáka-tór-w-á móyo nómukómaná nótunónaka  
(The girl was attracted by the boy by means of delicacies)
- Mukómaná áka-tém-w-á mbónje negándanga  
(The boy was given a bruise by the robber)

The second complement in each of these examples is also transferable to subject position. The style in such cases is markedly different from that of those in which clearly primary complements are transferred. It is more forceful and, for that reason, not so normal as the other construction. For normal "historical" statements of events, such object complements "of the part concerned" are non-transferable and secondary. Examples of such sentences in special style are as follows :

- e.g. Tsika dzáka-vák-w-á vaná náambúya  
(The children were really taken in hand by their grandmother(when their father pointed out their faults to her))
- Moyo wáka-tór-w-á musíkaná nómukómaná nótunónaka  
(The girl's fancy was really captivated by the boy using delicacies to do so)
- Mbonje yáka-tém-w-á mukómaná nēgándanga  
(A bruise was inflicted quite gratuitously on the boy by the robber)

In cases of VPs with two primary object complements both are normally transferable.

- e.g. Kana nesádza ríno-nyím-w-á vánhu nababá  
(Even porridge is denied to people by father)
- Vanhu vāno-nyím-w-á sádza nababá  
(People are denied porridge by father)
- Nyayá dziño-údz-w-á vakírú návánózivá  
(Affairs are told to the elders by those who are informed)
- Vakírú vāno-údz-w-á nyayá návánózivá  
(The elders are told about affairs by the informed)

(d) Extension (10)

- (1) Normally extension (10) cannot be added to VPs without at least one primary object complement. The effect of the addition of the extension is to change the object complement into a conjunctive adjunct. 58/viz...

viz. R + C ---- R -an- + na-C

e.g. Mukómaná áno-d-á musíkaná  
(The boy loves the girl)

cp Mukómaná áno-d-án-á nó-musíkaná  
(The boy loves mutually with the girl; viz. The boy loves the girl and the girl loves the boy)

(2) This adjunct is transferable to subject position where it forms a compound subject with the existing subject indicating the other party to the mutual action.

e.g. Mukómaná nómusíkaná váno-d-án-á  
(The boy and girl love one another)

Two other constructions are possible.

(3) The compound subject may be split, the adverbial phrase following the inflected extended R.

e.g. Mukómaná váno-d-án-á nómusíkaná wáké

This form carries a note of exaggeration.

(4) The verbal inflection may be impersonal, the compound SP which expresses the subject following the inflected extended R.

e.g. Kúno-d-án-á mukómaná nómusíkaná  
(As this affair stands, the boy and the girl love one another (but not their parents))

Of course, the subject may consist of plural SPs in all these combinations, with or without adjuncts.

e.g. Vanhu ava váno-d-án-á  
(These people love each other)

The addition of extension (10) to VPs and their transformation is somewhat limited semantically as only VPs allowing of mutual action or an action in which two items are involved, one acting on the other, can be so transformed.

e.g. Áno-róv-án-á navádzimái  
(He beats his wife)  
Áno-túk-án-á navádzimái  
(He and his wife scold one another)

#### Further examples

Jinda riño-bátsif-án-a namambo pakutóngā  
(The district-head and the chief help one another in judging cases) (Construction 1)

Chinósaka kuti tinétsane nómurúmé. wángu ndéchokúti ánoruta  
(What makes me and my husband get on each other's nerves is that he is a glutton)

Zváka-náng-án-á nebása redú  
(It concerns our work) (Construction 1)

Kúno-túk-án-á isú, vanwe vágere zvávo  
(Only we fight each other, every one else is at peace) (Cp. Construction 4)

Babá nómwaná váka-fán-án-á  
(The father and the child resemble one another) (Construction 2)

VPs with two object complements retain one when extended.

e.g. Mukómaná nómusíkaná váno-tór-án-á móyo nézvavánoitirana  
(The boy and the girl attract each other by what they do for one another)

Gandanga némukómaná váka-tém-án-á mbónje  
(The robber and the young man inflected bruises on each other)

Babá áno-nyim-án-á sáza naváwe wáké  
(Father and his friends are stingy to each other over food)

Mambo áno-údz-án-á nyayá návakurí  
(The chief and the elders tell one another what is on their minds)

Ta-rákidz-an-ausanza hweshíri nazvitete  
(I showed Zvitete a bird's nest)

Váka-kwérét-án-a marí goré riye vakazo-nets-an-a  
(He borrowed some money from a creditor that year and later had trouble from him)

4.3.4.2. Extended verb phrases of type (c)

The addition of extensions of type (c), viz. extensions (11), (12) and (13), to VPs produces a VP with extended R needing, in most cases, a further complement as constituent. Extended VPs with extension (11) /-ir-/, extensions (12) /-y- -idz-/ and (13) /-is-/ are in active formation.

(a) Extension (11)

- (1) Examples of extended VPs with extension (11) are given with each type of VP distinguished on the basis of collocation of R and complements. The further complement which becomes possible in an extended VP is a primary object or adverbial locative. It may take the form not only of an SP but of an op referent.

(i) VPs with nil object complements.

In the following examples, this further complement is underlined.

e.g. Endá úndo-tándár-ír-a vanhu  
(Go and keep the gentleman company - a direction given to a girl to entertain her elder sister's husband)

cp. -tándár- (converse, take recreation)

e.g. Hwahwá hwá-per-er-a vanhu  
(The beer has run out and there is none for the people)

cp. -pér- (come to an end)

e.g. Ta-rár-ir-a mutakurá  
(We supped on cooked beans)

cp. -rár- (go to sleep)

(ii) VPs with one object complement

e.g. Unó-ti-f-ír-á zísó  
(You will damage your eye and involve us in having to help you)

cp. -f- zísó (damage one's eye)

e.g. Usá-ndi-chén-ér-e musóró  
(Don't get grey-haired waiting for me - said by a girl to an unwelcome suitor)

cp. -chén- musóró (grow grey-haired)

e.g. Ndinó-ku-múk-ír-a nyóká  
(I shall die and turn into a snake to take vengeance on you)

cp. -múk- nyóká (rise as a snake)

e.g. -simb-ir- muviri patete  
(be strong alongside somebody weak)

cp. -simb- muviri (be strong of body)

e.g. -par-ir- mhósva paréré nhemá  
(involve others in trouble - from the belief, applied metaphorically, that the eagle sees a black fowl if a white one is scratching near where it is lying)

cp. -par- mhósva (commit a crime)

e.g. Ibvá! Unó-ti-nzw-ír-á úrombó  
(Go away! You will be involved in our trouble)

cp. -nzw- úrombó (feel suffering, feel sorry)

e.g. -tend-er- munwe midzímú  
(thank the spirits on someone's behalf, e.g. someone in hospital after an accident)

cp. -tend- midzímú (thank the spirits)

e.g. -rim-ír- mukómá munda  
(till a field for one's elder brother)

cp. -rim- munda (till a field)

e.g. -nw-ír- munwe hwahwá  
(drink beer instead of someone; or for someone's correction, the taking of beer and the removal of shyness being a necessary prelude)

cp. -nw- hwahwá (drink beer)

e.g. -dy-ír- mwaná sádza  
(eat the child's porridge, in his stead, depriving him of it)

- cp. -dy' sáda (eat porridge)  
 e.g. -téng-ér' mómwe hémbe  
 (buy a shirt for someone)  
 cp. -téng' hémbe (buy a shirt)  
 e.g. -tém-ér' babá hūnī  
 (cut firewood for father)  
 cp. -tém' hūnī (cut firewood)  
 e.g. -tór-ér' musíkaná nzungú  
 (Take the ground-nuts for the girl, or deprive the girl of ground-nuts)  
 cp. -tór' nzungú (take nuts)

(iii) VPs with two object complements

- e.g. -vák-ír' hanzvádzi vana tsíka  
 (build up the characters in children for one's brother (or sister))  
 cp. -vák' vaná tsíka (build up the characters of children)  
 e.g. -tém-ér' musíkaná mukómaná mbónje  
 (inflict a bruise on a boy for the sake of a girl)  
 cp. -tém' mukómaná mbónje (inflict a bruise on a boy)  
 e.g. -bát-ír' vaombeki vanhu musóró  
 (hold people by the head for those who baptise)  
 cp. -bát' vanhu musóró (hold people by the head)  
 e.g. -nyim-ír' babá vaná sáda  
 (deny children porridge in order to give it their father; or because of the father's behaviour)

## 2. In the case of certain VPs, or of certain VPs with certain restricted idiomatic meanings, no further complements are required.

- e.g. -róv-ér' chipíkiri'  
 (hammer in a nail)  
 cp. -róv' chipíkiri' (hit a nail)  
 e.g. -bát-ír' munda nhási  
 (start work on a field today)  
 cp. -bát' munda (have full responsibility for working a field)  
 e.g. -zvár-ír' mwana'  
 (pledge a child in marriage from birth)  
 cp. -zvár' mwana' (beget a child)  
 e.g. -pind-ír-  
 ('go in', in the sense of, e.g., using forceps in the case of a difficult birth; or trespass on sanctuary)  
 cp. -pind- (go in)

## 3. The need for a further complement in an extended VP of this type can be fulfilled by possessively inflecting an infinitive or participial inflected clause containing the extended VP.

- e.g. imbá yó-ku-dy-ír-á  
 (a room in which to eat)  
 imbá yó-kutándár-ír-a  
 (a room for recreation)  
 Ndíni' wa-má-chen-ér-a musóró?  
 (Is it for me that you have become grey-haired - that you wish to court me in your old age?)  
 Ndizvo zva-ndá-it-ír-a izvi  
 (This is the reason why I did it)

(b) Extensions (12 and (13)

Examples of extended VPs with extensions (12) and (13) are given with each type of VP distinguished on the basis of collocation of R and complements.<sup>1</sup> The further complement which becomes possible in an extended VP is a primary object. This may, of course, take the form of an op substitute referent.

1. Examples of extension (12) are listed under (a), those of extension (13) under (b).

(i) VPs with nil object complement

In the following examples, the further object complement is underlined>.

- e.g. (a) Ndi-tándár-idz-é  
(Keep me company)
- (b) -tándár-is- vanhu  
(exchange views with people)
- cp -tándár- (converse, take recreation)
- e.g. (a) -pédz- hwahwá  
(finish the beer)
- (b) -pér-és- hwahwá  
(be responsible for the beer running out)
- cp -pér- (come to an end)
- e.g. (a) -rádz-, -rár-idz- mwana  
(lie down with a child, pretending to sleep with him, so that he may sleep the sooner)
- (b) -rár-is- mwana  
(make a child go to sleep)
- cp -rár- (go to sleep)
- e.g. (a) -gadz- mwana pasí  
(sit down with a child, not leaving him alone)
- (b) -gar-is- mwana pasí  
(make a child sit down)
- cp -gar- pasí (sit down)
- e.g. (a) Wa-ngwád-z-a vanyámukuta, kuzvárá úchakúda  
(You have made the midwife wary of you while you still intend to bear children) (Prov.)
- (b) -ngwar-is- vanhu  
(sharpen people's wits, e.g. by introducing them to clever people)
- cp -ngwar- (be alert)
- e.g. (a) -kúváz- múmwe  
(hurt someone)
- (b) Ndiwé wa-ndi-kubar-is-a  
(It is you who were responsible for me getting hurt)
- cp -kúvár- (get hurt)

(ii) VPs with one object complement

- e.g. (a) -chen-edz- munhu moyo  
(cheer up someone by, e.g., talking about his troubles)
- (b) -chen-es- munhu moyo  
(cheer someone up)
- cp -chen- moyo (be cheerful)
- e.g. (b) -tsvuk-is- mumwe mesó  
(make someone get angry)
- cp -tsvuk- mesó (get angry)
- e.g. (a) -muts- mumwe nyóká  
(make someone rise again as a snake)
- (b) -muk-is- háma yáko nyóká  
(make your kinsman rise again as a snake. In this case there appears to be a doubt as to whether the person addressed has the right medicine)
- cp -muk- nyóká (rise again as a snake)
- e.g. (a) -tend-edz- vanhu midzimú  
(swell the number of people thanking their ancestral spirits)
- (b) -tend-es- vanhu mudzimú  
(make people acknowledge their ancestral spirits)
- cp -tend- midzimú (thank, acknowledge the ancestral spirits)
- e.g. e.g. (a) Ndichábono-sakudz-a amái munda  
(I am off for a while, if I may, to help my mother to weed her field)

- (b) -sakur-is- munhu munda  
(make someone weed a field)  
cp. -sakur- munda (weed a field)
- e.g. (b) -nzw-ís- múnwe urombó  
(make someone suffer, feel sorry)  
cp. -nzwá úrombó (feel sorry)
- e.g. (a) -dy-idz- múnwe sadza  
(eat porridge with someone)  
(b) -dy-ís- múnwe sadza  
(feed porridge to someone)  
cp. -dy- sádza (eat porridge)
- e.g. (a) -tém-édz- babá húní  
(help father to cut firewood, e.g. needed for a brewing of beer which one hopes to share)  
(b) -tém-és- múnwe húní  
(make someone cut firewood)  
cp. -tém- húní (cut firewood)
- (iii) VPs with two object complements
- e.g. (a) -vák-idz- hanzvádzi vaná tsíka  
(support one's sister in her building up of one's childrens' characters)  
(b) -vák-ís- hanzvádzi vaná tsíka  
(cause one's sister to build up one's childrens' characters)  
cp. -vák- vaná tsíka (build up childrens' characters)
- e.g. (b) -tém-és- mukómaná mbónje negándanga  
(cause a boy to get a bruise from a robber)  
cp. -tém- mukómaná mbónje (inflict a bruise on a boy)
- e.g. (b) -bát-ís- vánhu musóró neváombeki  
(have people's heads held by baptisers)  
cp. -bát- vánhu musóró (hold people by the head)
- e.g. (a) Hándér, úno-ndí- pòsh-édz-a-wó vánhu mari  
(Let's go so that you may witness my loan of money to the people)  
(b) -pòsh-és- múnwe vanhu mari  
(cause someone to lend money to people)  
cp. -pòsh- vánhu mari (lend money to people)
- e.g. (b) -nyím-ís- vaná sádza nababá  
(cause children to be denied porridge by their father)  
cp. -nyím- vaná sádza (deny children porridge)

#### 4.3.5. Defective verb phrases

VPs in which the following radicals are the nuclei are defective and irregular in various ways, /-ri/ (be), /-na/ (be with), /-nge/ (seem), /-ti/ (say, do), /-nzi/ (be said, be called), /-va/ (be, become). Cp. 4.2.8.

- (i) They do not require a terminal vowel as part of their inflection, these radicals being of CV shape;
- (ii) they are not extended;
- (iii) they never include an op as constituent.

e.g. Ndi-ri múZezúru	(I am a Zezuru-speaking person)
Ti-né hama zhiñji	(We have many kinsmen)
Nd-é-ngé rómbe	(I seem to be a wanderer)
T-a-vá yánhuwó	(We have become people also)
Y-á-i-vé nzára húrú	(It was a great famine)
Mhuká iye y-á-ká-ti úmunhu, i-ka-ti umombe	(That animal was half man and half beast)





inflections, the tense signs /-ó-/ (immediate future), /-â-/ (recent past), /-chá-/ (far future) /-ká-/ (remote past) and /-ngá-/ (potential) occur.

e.g. <u>habitual</u> ,	present	:	<u>ndi-nó-tór-á</u>	(I take)
	past	:	<u>nd-a-i-tór-á</u>	(I used to take)
<u>incidental</u> ,	near future	:	<u>nd-ó-tor-a?</u>	(am I to take?)
	recent past	:	<u>nd-a-tór-á</u>	(I took)
	far future	:	<u>ndi-chá-tor-a</u>	(I shall take)
	remote past	:	<u>nd-a-ká-tor-a</u>	(I took)
	potential	:	<u>ndi-ngá-tor-a</u>	(I can take)

#### 4.4.1.4. Frequentative habitual and incidental exclusive inflections

The habitual inflections have further, frequentative, forms with morpheme /-chi-/; while the incidental inflections have further, exclusive, forms with another morpheme of form /-chi-/.

e.g. <u>habitual</u> ,	present, frequentative	:	<u>ndi-nó-chi-tór-á</u>	(I often take)
<u>incidental</u> ,	remote past, exclusive	:	<u>nd-a-ká-chi-tor-a</u>	(I then took)

The exclusive morpheme /-chi-/ occurs in non-finite and secondary finite inflections as well.

e.g. <u>imperative</u>	:	<u>Chi-tor-á!</u>	(Take now!)
<u>hortative</u>	:	<u>Ngá-ti-chi-tor-a!</u>	(Let us take now!)

#### 4.4.1.5. Affirmative and negative inflections

Inflections are affirmative unless marked by a negative morpheme. This is the prefix /há-/ in the case of principal inflections and /-sí-/ , /-sâ-/ or /-sô-/ in the case of others. In general there is a corresponding negative inflection for every affirmative one.

#### 4.4.2. Inflecting morphemes of VPs

##### 4.4.2.1 Prefixal morphemes

In finite inflections the sp is the first constituent save in the negative principal and hortative. In these inflections two morphemes precede the sp,

- viz. (a) the negative prefix /há-/ ;  
 (b) the hortative prefix /há- ~ ngá-/.

The tone of these morphemes is fixed. They are followed by sps with tone conditioned by polarity with that of the prefix concerned, viz. H after L and L after H.

e.g. <u>há-ti-namát-e</u>	(we don't pray)
<u>Há-ti-namat-e!</u>	(Let us pray!)

The negative prefix /há-/ occurs in most negative principal inflections.

e.g. <u>Ha-ndí-zív-é</u>	(I do not know)	(present)
<u>Ha-ndí-nga-zív-e</u>	(I cannot know)	(potential)
<u>Ha-ndí-cha-zív-a</u>	(I shall not, or, no longer know)	(future, progressive)
<u>Ha-nd-a-i-zív-a</u>	(I used not to know)	(past habitual)
<u>Ha-ndí-sa-zív-a</u>	(I did not know)	(recent past)
<u>Ha-ndí-sa-ká-zív-a</u>	(I did not know)	(remote past)

##### 4.4.2.2. Subject prefixes

In all finite inflections, one member of the constituent class of subject prefix (sp) appears as a constituent of the inflection. The constituent class of sps in their  $\mathcal{V}$  shape is represented as series X of the personal and class affixes.

There are two segmentally different forms for the affixes of each person and class. The second of the two forms is of C shape and is the allomorph which occurs with the tense signs /-â-/ and /-ó-/ . This series of forms is identical with that listed as series IV.

Is.	<u>ndí-</u>	~	nd-
pl.	<u>tí-</u>	~	t-
IIs.	<u>ú-</u>	~	w-
pl.	<u>mú-</u>	~	m-

III.1.	a-	~	Ø-
2.	va-	~	v-
3.	u-	~	w-
4.	i-	~	y-
5.	ri-	~	r-
6.	a-	~	Ø-
7.	chi-	~	ch-
8.	zvi-	~	zv-
9.	i-	~	y-
10.	dzi-	~	dz-
11.	ru-	~	rw-
12.	ka-	~	k-
13.	tu-	~	tw-
14.	hu-	~	hw-
15.	ku-	~	kw-
16.	pa-	~	p-
17.	ka-	~	kw-
18.	mu-	~	m-

The following dialectal variants are of interest:

class 1 :	u-	~	w <sup>1</sup>	(Karanga, Manyika)
class 14 :	vu-	~	vw-	(Karanga)
class 19 :	svi-	~	sv-	(Karanga)
class 20 :	ku-	~	kw-	(Karanga)

In all finite inflections, save the negative principal and the hortative, the sp is the first constituent of the inflection in order of appearance. In negative principal and hortative inflections, sps carry H and L respectively, and these tones appear to be merely phonemic and to be determined by polarity with the fixed tones of the negative and hortative prefixes. In other primary inflections the tones carried by sps appear to be morphemic, not merely phonemic. They are constituents of the inflections. In secondary inflections the tones carried by sps, as in the case of the hortative, are phonemic.

#### 4.4.2.3. Modal morphemes of tone

The tones carried by sps in the majority of primary inflections are modal morphemes because they determine and mark the presence of one or other of three moods, principal, participial or relative. They are carried either by the sp when it is of CV shape, or by the tense signs /-ā-/ or /-ó-/ which are preceded by SPs of C shape. The modal morphemes of tone are the following:

Mood	Modal morpheme
(a) Affirmative principal, I and II	L(1)
(b) Affirmative principal, III	H(1)
(c) Participial, I, II and III	H(2)
(d) Relative, I, II and III	L(2)
e.g. (a) L(1) : <u>ndi-cha-tor-a</u> <u>nd-a-tor-a</u>	(I shall take) (I took)
(b) H(1) : <u>va-cha-tor-a'</u> <u>v-a-tor-a</u>	(they will take) (they took)
(c) H(2) : <u>ndi-cha-tor-a</u> <u>nd-a-tor-a</u> <u>va-cha-tor-a</u> <u>v-a-tor-a</u>	(I about to take) (I having taken) (they about to take) (they having taken)
(d) L(2) : <u>ndi-cha-tor-a</u> <u>nd-a-tor-a'</u> <u>va-cha-tor-a</u> <u>v-a-tor-a'</u>	(I who will take) (I who took) (they who took) (they who took)

1. In affirmative principal and relative inflections.

Since the sps carrying these modal morphemes of tone are themselves toneless, another allomorph must be added to those that already exist for each sp. The sps of each person and class have each four allomorphs,

- viz. (1) sp of CV shape with H phonemic tone;  
 (2) sp of CV shape with L phonemic tone;  
 (3) sp of CV shape without phonemic tone;  
 (4) sp of C shape.
- e.g. CV : ha-vā-ziv-e (they don't know)  
 CV : hā-va-tor-e (let them take)  
 CV + H(1) : vā-nō-tór-ā (they take)  
 C : v-ā-tor-a (they have taken)

The allomorphs of the sps of each person and class are referred to as sp(1), sp(2), sp(3) and sp(4).

It is necessary to postulate the presence of modal morphemes of tone in the primary inflections where the sp is the first element in the inflection as there is no other element to determine the mood. For example, the affirmative future cl. 2 inflection, apart from the modal morphemes, is as follows :

va-chā- .....-a

This identical inflection, in which both sp and terminal vowel are toneless, is used for the principal, participial and relative moods,

- e.g. vā-cha-tór-ā (they will take) - principal  
vā-cha-tór-a (they about to take) - participial  
va-chā-tor-a (they who will take) - relative

The total principal inflection is :

va- + H(1) (affirmative principal III) + -cha-... +a,

an inflection which determines TC IX radical tone pattern.

The total participial inflection is:

va- + H(2) (participial I, II, III) + -cha-...+a,

an inflection which determines TC Va radical tone pattern.

The total relative inflection is:

va- + L(2) (relative, I, II, III) + -chā-....+a

an inflection which determines TC VI radical tone pattern.

It is not necessary to postulate modal morphemes of tone in the case of the non-finite and finite secondary inflections. One primary inflection is also distinctive enough in terms of syllabic morphemes not to require the postulating of a modal morpheme of tone. This is the affirmative participial present with tense sign /-chī-/.

- e.g. ndi-chī-tór-ā (I taking) va-chī-tór-ā (they taking)

#### 4.4.2.4. Tense signs

Primary finite inflections contain one or more members from the constituent class of tense signs. These fall into sub-classes,

- (1) those used in incidental inflections, and  
 (2) those used in habitual inflections.

- e.g. (1) (a) -ō- (near future)  
 (b) -ā- (recent past)  
 (c) -chā- (far future; progressive)  
 (d) -kā- (remote past)  
 (e) -ngā- (potential)  
 (f) -chī- (affirmative participial present)  
 (g) -chī- (affirmative progressive)  
 (h) -i- (participial)
- (2) (a) -nō- (present)  
 (b) -i- (past)

##### 4.4.2.4.1. Tense signs in incidental inflections

(a) /-ō-/ (near future)

(i) The consonantal allomorphs (series 4) of the sps occur with this tense sign, and with that which follows. But whereas tense sign /-ā-/ bears all four tonal morphemes of mood, tense sign /-ō-/ bears only two, distributed as follows:

- Principal and relative I, II and III: H(1)  
 Participial I, II and III: H(2)

- e.g. principal :  $v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}a$  (they then go)  
 participial :  $\underline{v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a}}$  (about to go)
- Kana  $vamwe\ v\acute{a}svik\acute{a},\ i\acute{v}o\ v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}a$  (principal)  
 (When the others have arrived, they then go)
- Ndak\acute{a}sv\acute{i}ka,  $vamwe\ \underline{v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a}}$  (participial)  
 (I arrived when the others were about to go)
- "Chisarai zveny\acute{u}, ini nd-\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a} kumush\acute{a}" (principal)  
 ("Goodbye, I'm off home). Vakati, "Isu  
 $\underline{t\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}w\acute{o}}$ " (And they said, "We'll go too")

As can be seen from the last example, modal morpheme (a), viz. /L(1)/ for I, II person principal inflections, is not used, /H/ being used for all persons. Perhaps as a result of this, modal morpheme (d), viz. /L(2)/ for relative inflections, is not used either, relative inflections and the R tone patterns they determine being the same as principal.

- e.g. Ndi\acute{v}o  $\underline{v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a}}$  (It is they who now go) (relative)  
 Ndi\acute{v}o  $\underline{v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}\acute{e}nd\text{-}\acute{a}}$  (It is they who are now to remain) (relative)

(ii) Reference

/-\acute{o}\text{-}/ indicates a time which is imminent with reference to the time in mind. Thus in principal inflections it can refer to the imminent future.

- e.g.  $\underline{W\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}nonok\text{-}\acute{a}}$  ukabat\acute{a}\text{-}b\acute{a}ta (principal)  
 (You will be late if you start touching everything)
- $\underline{Nd\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}pind\text{-}\acute{a}}$  her\acute{e}? (principal)  
 (Am I to come in?)

It can also indicate a time as occurring immediately, or soon after, that of another event. This is observed in principal clauses in sentences containing participial clauses introduced by kana (when), and in consecutive clauses.

- e.g. Kana  $v\acute{a}p\acute{e}dza\ kuch\acute{e}k\acute{a}\ zvi\acute{o},\ v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}pur\text{-}a$  (principal)  
 (When they have finished cutting the finger millet, they then thresh it)
- Kana  $v\acute{a}p\acute{e}dza\ kuk\acute{a}ng\acute{a}\ zvi\acute{o},\ v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}k\acute{u}y\text{-}a$  (principal)  
 (When they have finished toasting the finger-millet, they grind it)
- Vanobvunza  $\underline{v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}mir\text{-}a}$   
 (They ask and they wait)

(iii) Distribution

Tense sign /-\acute{o}\text{-}/ occurs in all affirmative primary inflections in which it is often accompanied by the exclusive sign /-chi-/ (q.v.)

- Principal : e.g. Kana  $v\acute{a}p\acute{e}dza\ kurima,\ v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}zoror\text{-}a$   
 (When they have finished tilling, then they rest)
- A, isu  $\underline{t\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}bud\text{-}\acute{a}}$   
 (Well, we are just going out now, whether you like it or not)
- Participial : e.g.  $\underline{Nd\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}pind\text{-}\acute{a}},\ ndakarumwa\ gumbo\ n\acute{e}nyoka$   
 (When I was about to go in, I was bitten on the leg by a snake)
- $\underline{Ndak\acute{a}sv\acute{i}ka\ \acute{o}\text{-}end\text{-}\acute{a}}$   
 (I arrived just as he was about to go)
- $\underline{Nd\acute{o}t\acute{o}zoti\ nd\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}nd\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}o\text{-}o\acute{n}\acute{a}}$   
 (I'll only bring myself to do it when I am about to visit the others)

The participial inflection often occurs in the complements of auxiliary Rs of types III and IV (q.v.).

- Type III : e.g.  $V\acute{a}nga\ v\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}p\text{-}a\ mari\ kun\acute{o}\ m\acute{u}ridzi\ asi\ yabv\acute{u}ta\ n\acute{e}mbavh\acute{a}$   
 (They were about to give the money to the owner but it was snatched by the thief)
- $\underline{Ndak\acute{a}ti\ nd\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}v\acute{a}wanira\text{-}a\ kudya},\ v\acute{a}k\acute{a}ndir\acute{o}v\acute{a}$   
 (When I was about to find them some food, they beat me)
- $\underline{P\acute{a}ye\ pot\acute{o}ti\ t\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}chi\text{-}dy\text{-}a\ sadza},\ mapfeni\ \acute{o}\text{-}svik\text{-}a\ mumunda$   
 (Just when we are on the point of eating our food, the baboons go into the field)
- Type IV : e.g.  $M\acute{u}gouya\ m\text{-}\acute{o}\text{-}kw\acute{a}zis\text{-}\acute{a}\ van\acute{a}am\acute{a}i\ nabab\acute{a}$   
 (Greet the ladies and gentlemen when they come)
- $\underline{Ndak\acute{a}yamura\ munhu\ akadzoko\ \acute{o}\text{-}ndi\text{-}bay\text{-}\acute{a}}$   
 (I helped a certain person and in return he stabbed me)

Kana mósara m-ó-wan-á mómbe dzóse móchítora zvényú  
(If, after I have gone, you find all the cattle, then you keep them)

Ndakázósaka nd-ó-famb-a nokúti ndakánga ndátúkwa  
(The reason why I went away was because I had been cursed)

Ndinózosaka nd-ó-bv-á nokúti vanhu vanenge voñdivénga  
(The reason why I am going is because people are on the point of turning against me)

Relative : e.g. Ndiwo v-ó-tor-a izvi  
(It is they who fetch these things)

This inflection also appears in some constructions and contexts, both affirmative and negative, where the subjunctive normally appears, viz. as the inflection of VPs which are complements of auxiliary /-ti/ conveying an action or state aimed at, in deliberative questions, and requests and orders with II person subject prefix.

e.g. ...kuitira kuti chandínege ndánzwa, nd-ó-z-o-nyórā  
(..so that I might write what I would hear)

Kana páne váenzi, ánosungá nyama negávi kuti, kana ndópakurá, nd-ó-mup-a nhango hiru dzaanege asunga negavi  
(When visitors are present, he ties the meat with a string so that, when I am serving it out, I may give him the big pieces which he has tied with a string)

Nd-ó-sá-pind-a heré?  
(Am I not to enter?)

M-ó-uy-a m-o-kwázis-á vanáamái nababa  
(You must greet the ladies and gentlemen when they come)

Gúkúrumé izvozvo richimhanyiira múrukato richiti, "W-ó-g-o-chitanga nókuróva!  
W-ó-g-o-chitanga nókuróva!"  
(The cock running into the thorn bush crying, "You hit first! You hit first!")

Another context in which this inflection occurs, and in which the subjunctive inflection is also used, is the consecutive clause which indicates action subsequent upon that of a preceding clause.

Ndakánga ndichirwára kwázvo; ndatópóná mazúvá áno, nd-ó-dy-a-wó sáza kudái  
(I was very ill; I have only recently recovered and now eat food once again).

Kuzoti áóna kuti amái vaké vakótsira, ákatóra zimbwá, ó-vanzarik-a kumuúuo, iye akagorinda pakati  
(When he saw that his mother was asleep, he took a large dog and settled it at the doorway, while he slept within)

Mhuno dzáyo ndókubva dzápfumbirirwa névhu, váshe'mi, v-ó-tadz-a kufema;  
v-ó-t-ó-fema nomúkanwa  
(Its nose was stuffed up with soil, and it couldn't breath; it had to breath through its mouth)

Garé garé, rimwe zúvá, musikaná wákaimbá rwió rwáke rwokúsanduka w-ó-v-a shumba  
(Later on, one day, the girl sang her song to change her form and she became a lion).

Tense sign /-ó-/ occurs only with negative sign /-sa-/.

e.g. Nd-ó-sa-dy-á sáza kuti ndadí  
(lit. I not to eat food means I have done what? viz. What is that will stop me from eating food?)

Nd-ó-sa-famb-á kúti ndasúngirirwa heré?  
(Am I tied to something that I cannot move?)

(b) /-â-/ (recent past)

(1) Tone

The consonantal allomorphs (series 4) of the sps occur with this tense sign. It has no inherent phonemic tone but carries one of the modal morphemes of tone, either (a) L(1), (b)H(1), (c)H(2) or (d)L(2).

e.g. Ini nd-a-tór-a izvi	(I fetched these)	(principal)
Sáza á-tor-a izvi	(Sadza fetched these)	(principal)
nd-á-tór-a izvi	(I having fetched these)	(participial)
mwaná a-tór-á izvi	(the child who fetched these)	(relative)

(ii) Reference

When used to inflect VPs in which the R does not have an inchoative reference, the tense sign /-â-/ indicates performance or completion in the recent past. The time referred to, either from the standpoint of the present or some other point of time, is generally taken to fall within the same day. It is the tense sign found in the commonest daily greetings.

e.g. M-a-râr-a heré?  
(Have you had a good night?)

M-a-swér-a heré?  
(Have you had a good day?)

W-a-bv-é-pikó?  
(Where have you come from?)

Nd-a-bv-á págan'a panávámwe. Nd-a-siý-a-wó mómbe dzángupo  
(I have come from the plain where the others are. I have left my cattle there too)

In the case of VPs with certain radicals of inchoative reference the tense sign /-â-/ may indicate present state as the result of recent action.

e.g. Nd-a-gút-a sadza (I have had enough porridge to eat)  
T-a-nét-a nebása (We are tired from work)

Mapfeni ákarásá miswé, akati, "Zviño t-a-v-á vānhuwó"  
(The baboons cast away their tails and said, "Now we are humans too")

The recent past tense sign has an elastic reference, however, and may refer to a period before the day of the utterance or the day referred to if that period is somehow continuous with these times.

e.g. Nd-a-pédz-a basa ra-nd-á-nga ndichĩtá goré riño  
(I have finished the work which I have been doing this year)

T-a-garik-a mazúvá año némari némhaka yemómbe dzatákaténgesá  
(We have been living at ease these days on the money we got from the sale of the cattle)<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Distribution

Tense sign /-â-/ occurs in all primary affirmative inflections. It also occurs in combination with tense sign /-ká-/ (q.v.) to give a remote past reference and with the tense sign /-i-/ (q.v.) to give a past habitual reference.

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| e.g. Ngoró y-á-nyur-a mudope<br>(The waggon has sunk into the mud)  | (principal)                |
| Vaná vākásvika kumushá masíkati, vabereki vávó v-á-end-á<br>kare kuminda<br>(The children arrived home at midday, their parents having<br>already gone to the fields) | (participial)              |
| Ava ndívo v-a-ndíp-a mhósva<br>(There are the ones who have accused me)   | (relative)                 |
| Ngoró y-á-ka-nyúr-á mudope<br>(The waggon sank into the mud)  | (principal, remote past)   |
| Ndíri mwaná mudíki, nd-a-i-fudz-a mbúdzi nehwái<br>(As a small child, I used to herd goats and sheep)   | (principal, past habitual) |

(c) /-chá-/ (future or progressive)<sup>2</sup>(i) Reference

The reference of /-chá-/ is twofold, future and progressive in both affirmative and negative inflections. The future referred to is of any time, near or distant.

e.g. Kudá á-cha-kúshévdz-á-í  
(Perhaps he will call you)

Kaseké á-cha-kókér-á vazhínjí, kana nemi'  
(Kaseke will invite many people, even you as well)

Ikati, "Ezvo, mukúru wāngu, mandídukupisa.  
Ha-ndi-cha-z-ó-simúdzir-a musóro wāngu pakáre!"  
(And it said, "So my lord, you have humbled me. I shall not lift up my head again")

1. Dembetembe points out that the recent past tense sign is a natural inflection for VPs containing as an adverbial complement an SP with selector stem /-no /.

e.g. goré riño (this year). Cp. Dembetembe, 6.2.3.1., p. 177

2. The tonal behaviour of the tense and negative signs and their combinations is described in 4.4.3.

Kana wāndifaúriira, ndi-chā-énd-a. Kana úsinā kunditaúriira, ha-ndi-chā-énd-a  
 (If you tell me, I shall go. If you do not tell me, I shall not go)

The same tense sign is progressive in reference with the implication that the action of the VP has already begun.<sup>1</sup>

e.g. U-chā-ndiziív-á here?  
 (Do you still know me?)

Asi mwaná wākábvúnza, achiti, "Sékúru, ha-mú-cha-ndíp-a-wó kudya here?  
 (But the child asked, "Uncle won't you give me any more food?")

(ii) Distribution

Tense sign /-chā-/ occurs in all primary inflections, both affirmative and negative. In the negative participial and relative it is assimilated to the form of the negative sign in the combination /-si-sā-/ (no longer) but occurs as /-chā-/ in the combination /-singāchā-/. It combines with /-ká-/ to provide a present progressive stative reference to VPs with inchoative Rs.

e.g. Ibva! Ha-ndi-cha-kúd-a!  
 (Go away! I no longer want you!)  
Vákáfambá-famba wakarásiká, vá-si-sá-zív-e (participial)  
 kwokúenda  
 (They wandered about lost, no longer knowing where to go)  
Ndipo pavá-si-ngā-chā-pind-é (participial)  
 (It is there that they no longer go in)  
Dándá ri-cha-ká-bát-a (The log still holds)  
Ri-cha-ká-simb-á (It is still strong)  
Ha-ri-si-sá-ka-bát-a It no longer holds)

(d) /-ká-/ (remote past, present or stative)

(i) Reference

The reference of /-ká-/ is to past time, before the day of the utterance referred to. Adverbial complements of time in VPs inflected by /-ká-/ commence in time with usiku (the previous night) and nezúro (yesterday). There is no continuity of the action up to the time of speaking.

e.g. V-á-ká-téver-a tsoro, vakaóná nyúchí dziri múmuti  
 (They followed the honey-guide and saw the bees in the tree)  
Nezúro nd-a-ká-swér-a ndichirímá múmunda mángu  
 (Yesterday I spent the day ploughing in my field)  
Nd-a-ká-dy-a sadza nezúro pahópé-dzichibva-mundiro  
 (I had my supper last night (lit. yesterday) at the time of "the sleep which follows on the dish")

/-ká-/ is also used in the inflection of numerous VPs with inchoative R nuclei to indicate present state. In these VPs the appropriate adverbial complements refer to present time.

e.g. Vanhu ava v-á-ká-nák-a kwázvo (These people are very good)  
M-a-ká-simb-a here? (Are you well?)

(ii) Distribution

In affirmative primary inflections other than the progressive, /-ká-/ always occurs in combination with /-á-/, viz. as /-á-ká-/.  
 e.g. Itá zv-a-ká-nák-a! (relative)  
 (Do it properly, viz. in a way which is good)  
Nd-a-ká-gárik-a cháiivo mazúvá áno (principal)  
 (I am very well off these days)  
Anonditárisa, mesó á-ká-tsvuk-á (participial)  
 (He looks at me, his eyes red with anger)

As noted under (c)(ii) above, the combination /-chā-kā-/ is used to inflect VPs with inchoative R nuclei with present progressive stative reference,

e.g. Zví-cha-ká-rúrám-a (principal)  
 (Things are still right)

In negative primary inflections /-ká-/ occurs in Manyika and Zezuru in combination with the negative sign /-sā-/ (in Karanga /-zā-/)

e.g. Ha-ndi-sa-ká-énd-á nezúro (principal)  
 (I did not go yesterday)

1. Dembetembe suggests that the progressive implication requires an absence of any adverbial complement of time in the VP. Cp. Dembetembe, 6.2.3.9.



Ánongozvííta zvi-sá-ká-rurám-a (relative)  
 (He only does unjust things, or He only does them wrongly)

(e) /-ngá-/ (potential)

(i) Reference

The reference of /-ngá-/ is to possible occurrence due to the subject of the inflection having the necessary ability, incentive, duty or authority to perform an action.

- e.g. Nháí, ndi-ngá-far-e chókwađí  
 (Indeed, I should be glad)  
 Á-nga-úy-é ngúvá yése yése  
 (He might, could come at any time)  
 U-ngá-teerer-e zvakánáka  
 (You should listen properly)  
 Ha-ú+nga+ndiimbir-é ndikanzwá?  
 (Could you not sing for me and I listen?)

(ii) Distribution

Tense sign /-ngá-/ is found in affirmative and negative primary inflections. In the negative principal potential inflection, the inflections /há-sp-ngá-/ or /sp-ngá-sá-/ are used. In the participial and relative the inflection is /sp-sí-ngá-/. The reference of the latter is now more often simply negative present than negative potential.

- e.g. Ha-ndí-ngá-gon-é (I could not be able) (principal)  
 Kana ndí-si-ngá-gon-é... (If I am unable...) (participial)  
 mwana a-si-ngá-gon-é (a child who is unable) (relative)

(f) /-chí-/ (affirmative participial present)

(i) Tone

In the system described in this study, the tense sign /-chí-/ carries a high tone, determined by polarity with the tone of the sp which is low for all persons and classes in this tense.

(ii) Reference and distribution

Tense sign /-chí-/ is limited to the affirmative participial present inflection of VPs.

- e.g. Kana a-chí-zív-a....  
 (If he knows.....)  
 Rimwe zúvá bveni rákásángana néhamba i-chí-kwév-á pasí tsápo yézungú  
 (One day a baboon met a tortoise dragging a bag of nuts along the ground)

(g) /-chí-/ (progressive)

Reference and distribution

The tense sign /-chí-/ is progressive in implication. It is limited to the restricted inflection, affirmative and negative, of VPs with nuclear Rs /-ri/ (be) and /-na/ (be with), and to the present inflection, affirmative and negative, of VPs whose nuclear R is one of the following: /-gar-/ (sit, stay), /-rár-/ (go to sleep), /-zár-/ (become full), /-vát-/ (go to sleep), /-nyárar-/ (fall silent) and /-mír-/ (stand up).

- e.g. Vá-chí-ri pánó (They are still here)  
 Vá-chí-né mari (They still have money)  
 Á-chí-gér-e (He is still seated)  
 Ha-vá-chí-sí-ri pánó (They are no longer here)  
 Ha-vá-chí-sí-na mari (They have no longer any money)  
 Ha-ndí-chí-gér-e (I am no longer seated)

(h) /-í-/ (participial)

This tense sign is optionally employed in the participial inflection of VPs with nuclear R /-na/ (be with).

- e.g. Kana mú-i-né banga (If you have a knife)

4.4.2.4.2. Tense signs in habitual inflections

(a) /-nó/ (present habitual)

(i) Reference

Tense sign /-nó/ may, depending on the VP which is inflected and its context, have three time references, habitual present, firmly intended future and simple present. The habitual reference covers customary activities as well as general statements based on observed natural phenomena.

- e.g. Vanhu vá-no-rim-a nemómbe  
 (People plough with cattle)

Shaveshávé rí-no-tót-á máruva  
(The butterfly sucks from the flowers)

/-nô-/ is used to inflect VPs in the future to indicate certainty or a definite intention in the mind of the speaker.

e.g. Regá kúti, "Ndicháuya," mwanáwe! Kana uchídá kuuya, ingóti "Ndi-nó-úy-á"  
(Don't say, "I'll come", child! If you mean to come, simply say, "I shall come")

Chókwadí goré ríno ndi-nó-téng-á mbúdzí dzángu nézvió zvángu  
(Certainly I shall buy goats with my millet this year)

Sékuru ákápíndura achítí, "Uri kupéngá! Ndi-nó-kuróv-á!"  
(The uncle replied and said, "You are mad! I shall beat you")

The simple present reference is found in current comment, for example on what the speaker is doing, or in newspaper reports.

e.g. Ndi-nó-nyór-á izvi nomwóyo u-nó-ramb-a uchirángárira nebása rakáitwa navó  
(I write these things with a heart which keeps reflecting on the work done by them)

Iní ndi-nó-ti á-no-fánir-á kúregererwa  
(I say he should be released)

(ii) Distribution

Tense sign /-nô-/ is used in the affirmative primary inflections only. It may combine with the frequentative morpheme /-chí-/ (q.v.).

e.g. Mombe dzi-nó-fur-a mazúvá ósé (principal)  
(The cattle graze every day)

Kurwizí ndiko kwa-dzi-nó-fur-a mazúvá ósé (participial)  
(The river is where they graze every day)

Mombe dzi-nó-fur-a mazúvá ósé (relative)  
(Cattle which graze every day)

(b) /-î-/ (past habitual)

(i) Reference

Tense sign /-î-/ in the combination /-â-î-/ has, likewise, a number of references which vary according to the content and context of the VP inflected. Habitual past action or action in the past over a period are two references normally conveyed.

e.g. Vanhu vekáre v-â-î-fung-a kuti varungu havána mabví (principal)  
(People of old used to think that white people had no knees)

Nezúro t-â-î-rim-a munda wédu  
(We were cultivating our field yesterday)

Another reference, difficult to combine with the above, is a potential and conditional reference similar to that conveyed by tense sign /-ngâ-/.

e.g. Zvikóro munyika íno há-zv-â-î-mír-a kudái kúsíná (principal)  
ruyamuro rwemari inóbva kunzé kwenyika  
(The schools in this country would not be standing as they do without the help of funds from outside)

Chiiko ch-â-î-z-o-itika kudái tisingáteré? (relative)  
(What would happen if we were not to pay our taxes?)

T-â-î-g-o-nzá chando séi tíri pámbéri péHosi hurú?  
(How could we feel cold in the presence of the Great Queen? - said by Lobengula's envoys in the presence of Queen Victoria)

(ii) Distribution

The combination /-â-î-/ is used in primary inflections only, both affirmative and negative. Like /-nô-/, it combines with the frequentative morpheme /-chí-/ (q.v.).

The negative inflection employs either the negative prefix /há-/ or the negative sign /-sâ-/, or, in the speech of some, a combination of both.

e.g. Ha-v-â-î-vhím-a nokúti vakánga vásíná mabára (principal)  
(They used not to hunt because they had no bullets)

Nd-â-î-sâ-end-a nokúti nd-â-î-nge ndichírwará (principal)  
(I used not to go because I used to be ill)

Ha-nd-â-î-sâ-tór-á chandísakápiwa (principal)  
(I would not take what I was not given)

4.4.2.5. Aspect signs

## 4.4.2.5.1.

The exclusive morpheme /-chí-/ (now, then) is used with incidental tense signs, particularly with /-ó-/

- e.g. Zvinó nd-ó-chí-fir-a munyika ino  
(Now I am going to die in this land)  
Hakúná pókurará! A, zvinó nd-a-chí-net-a kuzonosvika mberí  
(There is nowhere to sleep! Ah, I'm too tired now to go any further)  
Akanga achirwára kwázvo. Zvinó a-chí-pon-a  
(He was very sick. But now he has recovered)

The exclusive morpheme /-chí-/ may occur in all secondary and non-finite inflections as well.

- e.g. Ngá-ti-chí-end-a zvédu! (hortative)  
(Let us go now!)  
Zvakánaka kuti kudimúrwá kwemómbe ku-chí-regerw-a (subjunctive)  
(It is desirable that the limitation of cattle should be stopped from now on)  
Ishé ákaudzá vavhimí kuti vá-chí-gar-a pasí (subjunctive)  
(The chief told the hunters that they should sit down at that point)  
Imbwa yákarúma bvéni, i-ka-chí-tiz-a (consecutive)  
(The dog bit the baboon, and then it fled)  
Ko, ku-chí-end-a zvédu? (infinitive)  
(What about our going now?)  
Chí-rind-a-í, vaseskuru (imperative)  
(Sleep now, uncle)

## 4.4.2.5.2.

The frequentative morpheme /-chí-/ (often) is used with habitual tense signs /-ño-/ and /-î-/

- e.g. Nhái, amái, ríva rí-no-chí-buk-a kavirí here? (principal)  
(Tell me, mother, does a trap sometimes go off twice?)  
Mukádzí : Unóregereí kudya sáza rángu randinóbiká?  
Murume : Rí-no-chí-uy-a ndáguta (principal)  
(Wife : Why don't you eat the food I cook?  
Husband : It usually comes when I have had enough)  
Munhu a-sí-nga-chí-end-a kuhóka dzavamwe haázowana vanhu  
kana bitá yáke (relative)  
(A person who doesn't usually go to other people's work parties  
will not get people when he holds his)  
Amái v-a-i-chí-cher-a ivhu paróndó iro vachíumbisá harí  
(His mother used often to dig (for clay) at that pit when she was  
moulding pots)

4.4.2.6. Negative signs

The signs referred to here are the morphemes /-sâ-/ and /-sí-/ all of which occur after the sps. Since their function is to change an affirmative inflection into a negative one, their reference is clear. The distribution of each should be stated.

## 4.4.2.6.1. /-sâ-/

(a) Principal inflections

This sign occurs with the following combinations of inflecting morphemes .

- há-ndí-sâ-...-a<sup>1</sup> (negative principal recent past)  
há-ndí-sâ-ká-...-a (negative principal remote past)

1. The subject prefix /ndi-/ (Is.) is included merely as a typical example from the constituent class of sps. The recent and remote past negative inflections listed here are more typical of Manyika and Karanga (where /-za-/ replaces /-sa-/) but they are accepted in Zezuru and in the case of the very important auxiliary R /-ti/, the recent past negative inflection is the one commonly used.

e.g. Há-ndí-sá-tí ndaendá (I have not yet gone)

(a) Its presence is optional in the following :

ha-nd-á-i-sá-zív-á ha-nd-á-i-zív-a (negative principal past habitual)  
(I used not to, would not, know)

But it is compulsory in the following principal inflections, alternative to those with negative prefix /há-/.  
há-nd-á-i-sá-zív-á (negative principal past habitual)

cp. nd-a-í-sa-zív-á (I used not to know)  
há-nd-á-i-zív-a (negative potential)

cp. ndi-nga-sa-zív-á (I would not know)  
há-ndí-nga-zív-e (negative potential)

e.g. Ukandirátidza, ndi-nga-sa-zív-á nókukurúmídza heré?  
(If you were to show me, would I not get to know quickly?)

Kare kare, pasi pachírohwa nédonzvo, vanhu v-á-i-sa-tór-á zvinhu zvavamwa  
(In the past, people would not take the property of others)

Inflections with tense sign /-ó-/ are negated with /-sa-/ and not with /há-/.

e.g. Nd-ó-sa-zív-á amái séi? (negative near future)  
(How can I not know my mother?)

Iyi imbwa inotéérera. Kana yápiwa bvúpa, ikaúdzwa kumirá,  
y-ó-sá-bvut-a, Inomirá iti yábvumídza (negative near future)  
(This is an obedient dog. When it is given a bone and told to wait, it does not snatch it at once. It waits until it is allowed to do so)

(b) In participial and relative constructions

The negative prefix /há-/ is limited to principal inflections. Negative participial and relative inflections employ negative signs after the subject prefix and either before the tense sign (in the case of /-ká-/) or after (in the cases of /-í-/ , /-ngá-/ , /-ó-).

e.g. ndí-sa-zív-a (negative participial recent past)  
(not having known)

ndí-sa-ká-zív-a (negative participial remote past)  
(not having known)

nd-á-i-sa-zív-á (negative participial past habitual)  
(not having been used to know)

ndí-nga-sa-zív-á (negative participial potential)  
(not being able to know)

nd-ó-sa-zív-á (negative participial immediate future)  
(not being about to know)

All the above participial forms carry H(2), the participial tonal morpheme, on the sp(3) or tense sign. The same segmental form, but carrying L(2), the relative tonal morpheme, would be relative.

e.g. Ndianí a-nga-sá-fung-a mhósva?  
(Who is it who would not suspect a crime?)

(c) Secondary inflections

Há-ndi-sa-on-e izvi! (negative hortative)  
(Let me not see these things!)

(kuti) ndí-sa-zív-é (negative subjunctive)  
((so that) I do not know)

u-sá-tór-é (negative imperative)  
(do not take)

ndi-ka-sa-zív-á (negative consecutive)  
(and I did not know)

(d) Non-finite inflections

ku-sa-zív-á (negative infinitive)

4.4.2.6.2. /-sí-/

(a) Principal inflections

Negative sign /-sí-/ occurs optionally in the negative inflection of VPs with nuclei R /-ri/ (be) and /-na/ (be with)

75/e.g. Há-ndí-ri...

e.g. Ha-ndí-ri muZezúru ~ Ha-ndí-si-rí múZezúru  
(I am not a Zezuru) (negative principal present)

Ha-ndí-ná bángá ~ Ha-ndí-si-ná bángá  
(I have not a knife) (negative principal present)

(b) Participial and relative inflections

/-sí-/ occurs in the participial and relative inflections of VPs with nuclear Rs /-ri/ (be), /-na/ (be with) and the six Rs listed in 4.4.2.4.1. (g).

e.g. ndí-si-rí páno (negative participial present)  
(not being here)

ndí-si-ná bángá (negative participial present)  
(not having a knife)

ndí-si-gér-e (negative participial present)  
(not being seated)

It also occurs in negative inflections with tense signs /-chá- ~ -sá-/; /-ngâ-/ and /-nô-chî-/.

e.g. ndí-si-sá-zív-e (negative participial future progressive)  
(not longer knowing)

ndí-si-ngâ-zív-e (negative participial present progressive)  
(not knowing)

ndí-si-nô-chî-end-a (negative participial present frequentative)  
(not often going)

All the above participial forms carry H(2), the participial tonal morpheme, on the sp(3). The same segmental forms, but carrying L(2), the relative tonal morpheme, would be relative.

e.g. ndi-sí-nga-zív-e (negative relative present)  
(I who do not know)

The sign /-sí-/ occurs alone as a negative inflecting morpheme in some proverbs and formulaic sayings.

e.g. Ínhenhá i-sí-b-i inóraya (negative relative present)  
(It is a woman who does not steal who gives instruction)

Mambo u-sí-tandavar-e (negative relative present)  
(Lord, who does not stretch out his legs - a line from a Rozvi clan praise)

4.4.2.6.3. /-sô-/

This sign has been found only in negative participial and relative present inflections.

e.g. somúRozví a-sô-bátírw-a cháké (negative relative present)  
(like the Rozvi who would not have his property taken)

zvipúngú zvi-sô-donhedz-a mu-nhengá pasí (negative relative present)  
(bateleur eagles who do not let a feather fall to the ground - a symbol of lack of generosity)

4.4.2.7. Terminal vowels

A terminal vowel is the last element in any verbal inflection.<sup>1</sup> The constituent class of terminal vowels in Zezuru inflections is limited to two, /-a/ and /-e/. Karanga and Manyika have a third, /-i/, in negative present and potential inflections.

In all cases the terminal vowel is discontinuous with the rest of the inflection from which it is separated by /+/- op +R /.

e.g. Ha-ndí-ku-zív-é (I do not know you)

In the approach to the tonology of inflected VPs adopted here, the terminal vowel has no inherent tone of its own but carries the final tone of the R tone pattern. It completes syllabically the incomplete phonological form of the R.

e.g. ku-zív-á múnhu (to know a person)

ha-ndí-zív-é múnhu (I don't know a person)

4.4.2.7.1. /-e/

This terminal occurs in the following inflections -

1. Save for the plural imperative where the inflection is /...-a-í/. In nominal constructions based on the R, terminals /-i/ and /-o/ are common,  
e.g. mu-zív-í (one who knows); chi-gar-o (a chair) 76/(a) The affirmative...

- (a) The affirmative potential.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) The negative primary present and potential tenses.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) The affirmative and negative hortative and subjunctive.<sup>4</sup>
- (d) The perfect of VPs with nuclear R /-gar-/ , /-zar-/ , etc.<sup>5</sup>
- (e) The affirmative imperative of VPs which include an op.
- (f) The negative imperative.<sup>6</sup>

e.g.

(a) <u>Ndi-nga-tor-e</u> marí	(I can fetch the money)
(b) <u>Ha-ndi-tor-é</u> marí	(I do not fetch the money)
<u>Ha-ndi-nga-tór-e</u> marí	(I cannot fetch the money)
<u>ndi-si-nga-tór-e</u> marí	(I not fetching the money)
(c) <u>Ha-ndi-tor-e</u> marí	(Let me fetch the money)
<u>Ha-ndi-sa-end-e-ko!</u>	(Let me not go there!)
<u>ndi-tór-é</u> marí	((so that) I fetch the money)
<u>ndi-sa-tór-é</u> marí	((so that) I do not fetch the money)
(d) <u>Ndi-gér-é</u> kúpinda	(I have not yet entered)
(e) <u>I-tór-e</u> marí!	(Fetch the money!)
(f) <u>U-sá-tór-é</u> marí!	(Do not fetch the money!)

#### 4.4.2.7.2. /-a/

This terminal occurs in the remaining inflections in Zezuru.

- (a) All affirmative primary inflections save the potential and perfect inflections noted on (a) and (d) above.
- (b) All negative past and future primary inflections.<sup>1</sup>
- (c) The affirmative and negative consecutive.
- (d) The affirmative imperative of VPs without op.
- (e) The affirmative and negative infinitive.

e.g.

(a) <u>Ndi-no-tór-á</u> marí	(I fetch the money)
(b) <u>Ha-ndi-cha-tór-a</u> marí	(I shall not fetch the money)
(c) <u>ndi-ka-tór-á</u> marí	(and I fetch the money)
(d) <u>Tór-á</u> marí!	(Fetch the money!)
(e) <u>ku-tór-á</u> marí	(to fetch the money)

#### 4.4.3. Inflections and the radical tone-patterns they condition

In 4.2.2.2.2. it was stated that the tone-pattern carried by the R in any inflected VP is determined by three factors:

- (a) the number of vowel phonemes in the R;
- (b) the tone class, H or L, to which it belongs;
- (c) the inflection with which it combines.

It was also stated that it is possible and convenient to group the tone-patterns carried by Rs of both H and L tone classes into sets called tone-conjugations (TCs). In this present section it is proposed to combine the material of 4.4.1., namely the categories of conjugations, and that of 4.4.2., the inflecting morphemes of VPs, by presenting a scheme of common inflections grouped according to the sets of R tone-patterns which they condition.

The sets of tone-patterns treated as tone conjugations are limited to those of Rs of up to six tones. Some reference must be made, however, to the tone-patterns of such Rs when reduplicated, and this involves reference to patterns of up to twelve tones. Finally it is necessary to refer to the tone-patterns of Rs preceded by ops since R tone-patterns in /+ op + R/ are usually different from those in /- op + R/.

It is well to repeat again the descriptive approach adopted here. The only morphemes of tone or tonomorphs which are postulated are those of single tone which determine the mood of the inflection and are carried either by sps(3) or the vowel tense signs /-a-/ and /-o-/ when sps(4) are the first element in the inflection. The various forms of the R, involving now one tone-pattern and now another as one inflection replaces another, are regarded as variant forms or allomorphs whose different shapes are conditioned by the presence of different inflections.

2. The terminal is /-a/ in Karanga and Manyika, e.g. Ndi-nga-tór-á marí.
3. Terminal /-i/ in Karanga and Manyika, e.g. Ha-ndi-tór-i marí.
4. Terminal /-a/ in Karanga in the negative subjunctive, e.g. ndi-sa-tór-á marí
5. This inflection is absent in Manyika /-a-ka-...-a/ replacing it,  
e.g. nd-á-ka-gar-á (I am seated)
6. Terminal /-a/ in Karanga, e.g. U-sa-tór-á marí!

1. Terminal /-i/ in Karanga and Manyika in the negative future,  
e.g. Ha-ndi-cha-tór-i marí

#### 4.4.3.1. The tonology of the inflections

Before setting out a scheme of VP inflections and relating them systematically to the tone patterns carried by the nuclear Rs, it is necessary to say something about the tonology of the inflections.

##### 4.4.3.1.1. Inflecting morphemes with invariable tones

Certain morphemes bear an invariable tone and to that extent provide fixed points to which the system is pegged. Since these have been mentioned in 4.4.2. a list will suffice here.

(a) Morphemes with invariable H : The hortative prefix /há-~ngá-/; the exclusive sign /-chí-/; the plural suffix /-i/, which occurs in affirmative plural imperatives and some hortatives.

(b) Morphemes with invariable L : The negative prefix /há-/; the consecutive sign /-kâ-/; the stabiliser in the affirmative imperative of C Rs; the infinitive prefix /kù-/ which, like all noun-class prefixes save 2a, is L, but is liable to raising; the negative sign /-sà-/; always L after consecutive /-kâ-/ and infinitive prefix /kù-/.

##### 4.4.3.1.2. The tones carried by subject prefixes

In all primary inflections in which the sp is the first element, a tonal morpheme of mood is postulated. The exception is the affirmative participial present with tense sign /-chí-/ . This tonal morpheme is carried by the sp unless the latter is of C shape due to the presence of tense signs /-â-/ or /-ó-/ when the morpheme of tone is passed to the tense sign and is carried by it. The morpheme of tone is but one element in such primary inflections, but it is a most decisive one, determining the mood of the inflected VP or predicate, and hence of the clause in which it occurs. Further it provides another fixed point in reference to which the tones of other inflecting morphemes are determined by polarity.

In inflections in which the sp is not the first element, its tone is determined by polarity with the tone of the preceding prefix.

#### Summary of sp tones

Primary tenses	+	-	Secondary tenses	+	-
Principal I, II	L <sup>(1)</sup>	H	Hortative	L	L
Principal III	H	H	Subjunctive	H	H
Participial	H <sup>(2)</sup>	H	Consecutive	L	L
Relative	L <sup>(1)</sup>	L	Imperative	-	L

##### 4.4.3.1.3. Tones of inflecting morphemes determined by polarity

The tones carried by inflecting morphemes other than those mentioned in 4.4.3.1.1. and 4.4.3.1.2. are determined by polarity, that is they come under the play of a process whereby each successive tone is opposite to, or different from either the preceding, or the following, or both. Morphemes and morpheme combinations whose tones are determined by polarity are the following:

-chá-	-nô-	-nô-chí-	-sí-nô-chí-
-ká-	-î- (habitual)	-î-chí-	-sí-ngâ-châ-
-ngâ-	-sâ-	-chá-kâ-	-sí-sâ-kâ-
-chí- (participial present)	-sí-	-sâ-kâ-	
-chí- (progressive)	-sô-	-sí-ngâ-	
-î- (participial)	-chí- (frequent-ative)	-sí-sâ-	

The tones of object prefixes are also determined by polarity. Polarity does not occur in the hortative inflection of /-op + R/VPs.

- 
- (1) Save in the near future inflection where tense sign /-ó-/ is H with sps of all save three persons in both principal and relative forms.
  - (2) Save in the present with tense sign /-chí-/ where sps of all three persons carry L phonemic tone.

(a) When the inflection commences with /H/

If the number of syllables between /H/ and the R is even, the tones on these syllables will show polarity with /H/. If the number of syllables is odd, the tones on these syllables will show polarity with /H/ except the last which will show polarity with the initial tone of the R tone-pattern. The R tone-pattern is conditioned independently of polarity by the inflection, the tone class of the R and the number of vowels it contains.

e.g. nd-á-ka-zív-a	(I having known)	(odd)
nd-á-ká-bvunz-á	(I having asked)	(odd)
ndí-sí-ngá-zív-e	(I not knowing)	(even)
ndí-sí-ngá-bvunz-é	(I not asking)	(even)
ndí-sí-nó-chí-tór-á	(I not usually taking)	(odd)
ndí-sí-nó-chí-bvunz-a	(I not usually asking)	(odd)

(b) When the inflection commences with /L/

If the number of syllables between /L/ and the R is odd, the tones on these syllables will show polarity with /L/. If the number is even, the tones on these syllables will show polarity with /L/ except the last which will show polarity with the initial tone of the R tone-pattern, determined independently of polarity in the inflection.

e.g. nd-a-ká-zív-á	(I knew)	(odd)
nd-á-ká-bvunz-a	(I asked)	(odd)
ndí-chá-ka-gút-a	(I am still replete)	(even)
ndí-chá-ká-net-á	(I am still tired)	(even)
ndí-sí-no-chí-tór-á	(I who usually take)	(odd)
ndí-sí-no-chí-bvunz-a	(I who usually ask)	(odd)

4.4.3.2. Tone Conjugation I

## 4.4.3.2.1.

As already stated in 4.2.2.2.2., the classification of verb radicals into two tone classes, high and low, is based on the tone-pattern they carry in the infinitive inflection. The set of tone-patterns carried by Rs when infinitively inflected is called Tone Conjugation I.

e.g. High :	ku-p-á	(to give)
	-tór-á	(to take)
	-tengés-á	(to sell) <sup>1</sup>
	-kangánís-a	(to offend)
	-zórórérán-a	(to rest for one another)
	-kangánísíran-a	(to offend against one another)
Low :	ku-rw-a	(to fight)
	-bvunz-a	(to ask questions)
	-taris-a	(to look at)
	-bvunzírán-a	(to ask for one another)
	-verengerán-a	(to read for each other)
	-kochekerérán-a	(to wind around each other)

Thus TC I consists of the following sets of patterns:

H	L
HH	LL
HHH	LLL
HHHL	LLLL
HHHLL	LLLLL
HHLLLL etc	LLLLLL etc

H Rs carry high tones up to a maximum of three syllables, all succeeding tones being low. L Rs carry only low tones

1. The system of R tone-patterns conditioned by the various inflections depends on the three factors listed and is not affected by the morphological complexity of the R save in the case of reduplicated Rs. Hence all Rs are written as units in this part of the study without any indication of their constituent structure. As stated in 4.2.2.2., the special case of the subclass H Rs with TC I patterns, H, HL, HHL etc. is not considered explicitly here. They differ from the type of H Rs described in having a final L where the latter are uniformly H up to the maximum of three successive high tones.

e.g. ku-búk-a (to go off, of a trap)



**4.4.3.2.2.** Inflections conditioning TC 1 tone patterns

The following inflections condition TC 1 tone patterns on the verb radicals in verb phrases:

1. the affirmative principal present habitual, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -nó-....-a
2. the affirmative principal present habitual, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -nó-<sup>1</sup>....-a
3. the affirmative principal present frequentative, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -nó- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
4. the affirmative principal present frequentative, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -no- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
- 5-8 the corresponding relative present and past, habitual and frequentative, all persons,  
viz. sp- + -a- + L(1) + -i<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + H(1) + -i<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + L(1) + -i<sup>^</sup> + -chí<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + H(1) + -i<sup>^</sup> + -chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
- 9-12 the corresponding relative present and past, habitual and frequentative, all persons  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -nó-....-a  
sp- + L(2) + -nó- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + L(2) + -i<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + L(2) + -i<sup>^</sup> + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
- 13-14 the affirmative participial<sup>2</sup> present and past frequentative, all persons,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -no- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a  
sp- + -a- + H(2) + -i<sup>^</sup> + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
15. the negative principal past habitual, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + -sp- + -á- + -i- + -sa<sup>3</sup>....-a
16. the negative principal past habitual, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + L(1) + -i<sup>^</sup> + -sá<sup>4</sup>....-a
17. the negative principal past habitual, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + H(1) + -i- + -sa-....-a<sup>4</sup>
18. the negative principal present frequentative, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- sp<sup>^</sup>- + -no- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
19. the negative principal past frequentative, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp- + -á- + -i- + chí<sup>^</sup>....-a
20. the negative principal potential, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -ngá- + -sá<sup>5</sup>....-a
21. the negative principal potential, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -ngá<sup>5</sup> + -sá<sup>5</sup>....-a
22. the negative principal near future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -o- + H(1) + -sá<sup>6</sup>....-a<sup>6</sup>
23. the negative relative recent past, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sá<sup>6</sup>....-a

- 
1. Morphemes marked with a circumflex in these sections, e.g. /-chí<sup>^</sup>-/ are variable in tone, being L before H Rs and H before L Rs in accordance with the rule of polarity described in 4.4.3.1.3.
  2. Some Zezuru speakers use TC 1 patterns with habitual participial inflections, others those of TC Va. The latter usage is followed here. Cp. 4.4.3.7.2.
  3. The tones carried by /-sa-/ in inflections 15 and 17 are not influenced by polarity just as inflections 25 and 27. The tones carried by /-nga-/ in inflection 21 are not influenced by polarity either.
  4. The same inflection is used for the negative participial past habitual. For another negative principal past habitual inflection cp. 4.4.3.7.2. inflection 11.
  5. The tone on the tense sign of inflection 21 is always high and hence it does not follow the rule of polarity.
  6. The same inflection is used for the negative relative near future.

24. the affirmative consecutive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -ka-....-a
25. the negative consecutive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -ka- + -sa-....-a
26. the affirmative infinitive,  
viz. ku-....-a
27. the negative infinitive,  
viz. ku- + -sa-....-a

4.4.3.2.3. Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. ndi-nó-tór-á<br>(I take)                           | ndi-nó-bvunz-a<br>(I ask)                          |
| 2. vá-no-tór-á<br>(they take)                         | vá-nó-bvunz-a<br>(they ask)                        |
| 3. ndi-nó-chi-tór-á<br>(I often take)                 | ndi-nó-chi-bvunz-a<br>(I often ask)                |
| 4. vá-no-chi-tór-á<br>(they often take)               | vá-no-chi-bvunz-a<br>(they often ask)              |
| 5. nd-a-i-tór-á<br>(I used to take)                   | nd-a-i-bvunz-a<br>(I used to ask)                  |
| 6. v-á-i-tór-á<br>(they used to take)                 | v-á-i-bvunz-a<br>(they used to ask)                |
| 7. nd-a-i-chi-tór-á<br>(I used often to take)         | nd-a-i-chi-bvunz-a<br>(I used often to ask)        |
| 8. v-á-i-chi-tór-á<br>(they used often to take)       | v-á-i-chi-bvunz-a<br>(they used often to ask)      |
| 9. va-nó-tór-á<br>(they who take)                     | va-nó-bvunz-a<br>(they who ask)                    |
| 10. va-nó-chi-tór-á<br>(those who often take)         | va-nó-chi-bvunz-a<br>(those who often ask)         |
| 11. v-a-i-tór-á<br>(those who used to take)           | v-a-i-bvunz-a<br>(those who used to ask)           |
| 12. v-a-i-chi-tór-á<br>(those who used often to take) | v-a-i-chi-bvunz-a<br>(those who used often to ask) |
| 13. ndi-no-chi-tór-á<br>(I often taking)              | ndi-no-chi-bvunz-a<br>(I often asking)             |
| 14. nd-á-i-chi-tór-á<br>(I often being used to take)  | nd-á-i-chi-bvuna-a<br>(I often being used to ask)  |
| 15. ha-nd-á-i-sa-tór-á<br>(I used not to take)        | ha-nd-á-i-sa-bvunz-a<br>(I used not to ask)        |
| 16. nd-a-i-sa-tór-á<br>(I used not to take)           | nd-a-i-sá-bvunz-a<br>(I used not to ask)           |
| 17. v-á-i-sa-tór-á<br>(they used not to ask)          | v-á-i-sa-bvunz-a<br>(they used not to ask)         |
| 18. ha-ndi-no-chi-tór-á<br>(I do not often take)      | ha-ndi-no-chi-bvunz-a<br>(I do not often ask)      |
| 19. ha-nd-á-i-chi-tór-á<br>(I used not often to take) | ha-nd-á-i-chi-bvunz-a<br>(I used not often to ask) |
| 20. ndi-ngá-sa-tór-á<br>(I cannot take)               | ndi-ngá-sá-bvunz-a<br>(I cannot ask)               |
| 21. vá-ngá-sa-tór-á<br>(they cannot take)             | vá-ngá-sá-bvunz-a<br>(they cannot ask)             |
| 22. nd-ó-sa-tór-á<br>(I do not now take)              | nd-ó-sá-bvunz-a<br>(I do not now ask)              |
| 23. va-sá-tór-á<br>(those who did not take)           | va-sá-bvunz-a<br>(those who did not ask)           |
| 24. va-ka-tór-á<br>(and they take)                    | va-ka-bvunz-a<br>(and they ask)                    |
| 25. va-ka-sa-tór-á<br>(and they take not)             | va-ka-sa-bvunz-a<br>(and they ask not)             |

- |     |                              |                               |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 26. | ku-tór-á<br>(to take)        | ku-bvunz-a<br>(to ask)        |
| 27. | ku-sa-tór-á<br>(not to take) | ku-sa-bvunz-a<br>(not to ask) |

#### 4.4.3.3. Tone Conjugation II

4.4.3.3.1. TC II consists of the following sets of patterns:

(L)-H	(L)-H
HH	LH
HHH	LHH
HHHL	LHHH
HHHLL	LHHHL
HHHLLI	LHHHLL

(L) is the tone of the stabiliser which occurs with Rs that consist of a consonant or consonant cluster. H Rs carry high tones up to a maximum of three syllables, all succeeding syllables being low. The first syllable only of L Rs is low, all succeeding syllables being high.

#### 4.4.3.3.2. Inflections conditioning TC II tone patterns

The affirmative imperative inflection alone conditions TC II patterns on the verb radicals of verb phrases.

Viz. ....-a(-í) (i-....-a(-í) in the case of C ks)

e.g.	tór-á!	(take!)	bvunz-á!	(ask!
	i-p-á!	(give!)	i-bv-á!	(go away!)
	tór-á-í!	(take! - pl.)	bvunz-a-i!	(ask! - pl.)
	i-p-á-í!	(give! - pl.)	i-hv-a-i-!	(go away! - pl.)

#### 4.4.3.4. Tone Conjugation III

4.4.3.4.1. TC III consists of the following set of patterns:

H	H
HH	HH
HHH	HHL
HHHL	HLLL
HHHLL	HLLLL
HHHLLL	HLLLLL

H Rs carry high tones up to a maximum of three syllables, all succeeding syllables being low. L Rs carry high tones up to a maximum of two syllables, all succeeding syllables being low.

#### 4.4.3.4.2. Inflections conditioning TC III tone patterns

1. the affirmative participial present, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -chí- + ....-a
2. the affirmative relative recent past, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + L(2) + ....-a
3. the affirmative subjunctive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + ....-e
4. The negative subjunctive, I, II, III p.,  
viz. sp- + -sa-....-e
5. the negative imperative, IIP.,  
viz. sp- + -sá-....-e

#### Examples

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. ndi-chí-kúmbír-á<br>(I asking)           | ndi-chí-táris-a<br>(I looking)          |
| 2. v-a-kúmbír-á<br>(those who asked)        | v-a-táris-a<br>(those who looked)       |
| 3. ndí-kúmbír-é<br>((that) I ask)           | ndí-táris-e<br>((that) I look)          |
| 4. ndí-sa-kúmbír-é<br>((that) I do not ask) | ndí-sa-táris-e<br>((that) (do not look) |
| 5. u-sá-kúmbír-é!<br>(do not ask!)          | u-sá-táris-e!<br>(do not look!)         |

#### 4.4.3.5. Tone Conjugation IV

4.4.3.5.1. TC IV consists of the following sets of patterns:

H	H
HL	HL
HLL	HLL
HLLL	HLLL
HLLLL	HLLLL
HLLLLL	HLLLLL

Both H and L Rs carry a high tone on the first syllable and all succeeding syllables are low.

#### 4.4.3.5.2. Inflections conditioning TC IV tone patterns

The affirmative principal recent past, I and IIP. inflection alone conditions TC IV pattern on the radicals of verb phrases.

viz. sp- + -a- + L(1) + ....-a

e.g. nd-a-tór-a (I have taken)	nd-a-bvúnz-a (I have asked)
nd-a-gút-a (I am replete)	nd-a-nét-a (I am tired)

#### 4.4.3.6. Tone Conjugation V

4.4.3.6.1. TC V consists of the following set of patterns:

L	L
HL	LH
HLH	LHL
HHLH	LHHL
HHHLH	LHLL
HHHLH	LHLLL

Both H and L C Rs are low. H and L CVC and CVCVC Rs carry contrastive patterns, HL and LH, HLH and LHL. Thereafter the characteristic patterns become clear, H Rs commencing with a series of high tones and ending ....LH, L Rs commencing with LHH.... and ending with a series of low tones.

## 4.4.3.6.2.

Inflection conditioning TC V tone patterns

A number of inflections condition TC V tone patterns on the radicals of verb phrases.

1. the affirmative principal present progressive, IIIp.,<sup>1</sup>  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -cha- + -ká-....-a
2. the affirmative participial present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -cha- + -ká-....-a
3. the affirmative, participial, recent past, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- +H(2) +....-a
4. the affirmative participial near future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -o- + H(2) + ....-a
5. the negative principal remote past, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + -sp' + -sa + -ká-....-a
6. the negative principal present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp' + -cha- + -ká-....-a
7. the negative participial present, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -si- + -ngá-....-e
8. the negative participial present progressive/future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- = H(2) + -si- + -sá-....-e
9. the negative participial remote past, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -sa- + -ká-....-a
10. the negative relative present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sí- + -sa- + -ká-....-a
11. the negative relative present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sí + -nga- + -chá-....-a

Examples

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. vá-cha-ká-gút-a<br>(they are still replete)      | vá-cha-ká-net-á<br>(they are still tired)         |
| 2. ndí-cha-ká-gút-a<br>(I being still replete)      | ndí-cha-ká-net-á<br>(I being still tired)         |
| 3. nd-á-tór-a<br>(I having taken)                   | nd-á-bvunz-á<br>(I having asked)                  |
| 4. nd-ó-tór-a<br>(I being about to take)            | nd-ó-bvunz-á<br>(I being about to ask)            |
| 5. ha-ndí-sa-ká-tór-a<br>(I did not take)           | ha-ndí-sa-ká-bvunz-á<br>(I did not ask)           |
| 6. ha-ndí-cha-ká-gút-a<br>(I am no longer replete)  | ha-ndí-cha-ká-net-á<br>(I am no longer tired)     |
| 7. ndí-si-ngá-tór-e<br>(I not taking)               | ndí-si-ngá-bvunz-é<br>(I not asking)              |
| 8. ndí-si-sá-tór-e<br>(I no longer taking)          | ndí-si-sá-bvunz-é<br>(I no longer asking)         |
| 9. ndí-sa-ká-tór-a<br>(I not having taken)          | ndí-sa-ká-bvunz-á<br>(I not having asked)         |
| 10. va-sí-sa-ká-gút-a<br>(those no longer replete)  | va-sí-sa-ká-net-á<br>(those no longer tired)      |
| 11. va-sí-nga-chá-tór-a<br>(those no longer taking) | va-sí-nga-chá-bvunz-á<br>(those no longer asking) |

Inflections conditioning TC V tone patterns have certain characteristics in common.

- (i) Sps, or sps with V tense signs /-á-/ or /-ó-/, which carry high tone (inflections 1-9), are separated from the R either by zero or two syllables carrying LH.

1. Inflections 1, 2, 6 and 10 occur with verb phrases in which radicals are inchoative.

- (ii) Sps which carry low tone (inflections 10-11) are separated from the R by three syllables carrying respectively HLH. (Cp. 4.4.3.1.3. for the statement on polarity of tones on inflecting morphemes).

#### 4.4.3.6.3. The inflection of VPs which include object prefixes

All the above inflections also condition TC V tone patterns on radicals preceded by object prefixes.

The tone on the op is determined by polarity with the succeeding tone. Thus ops before H radicals are low but before L radicals they are high. Cp. 4.4.3.1.3.

e.g. nd-á-mu-tór-a (I having taken him)	nd-á-mú-bvunz-á (I having asked him)
ndí-si-ngá-mu-tór-e (I not taking him)	ndí-si-ngá-mú-bvunz-é (I not asking him)

In addition certain other inflections which condition other TCs on /- op + R/ condition TC V tone patterns on radicals preceded by the op. They are as follows :-

1. All the inflections which condition TC Va tone patterns.
2. the affirmative imperative, otherwise conditioning TC II,  
viz. ....-e
3. the affirmative hortative, otherwise conditioning TC X,  
viz. ngá + -sp-....-e

#### Examples

1. ha-ndí-cha-mú-pa (I will not give him)	ha-ndí-cha-rí-rwa (I shall not fight it)
2. Mú-tór-e! (Take him!)	Mú-bvunz-é! (Ask him!)
2. Ngá-ti-mú-tór-e! (Let us take him!)	Ngá-ti-mú-bvunz-é! (Let us ask him!)

#### 4.4.3.7. Tone Conjugation Va

- 4.4.3.7.1. TC Va is the same as TC V save that C Rs carry high tone.

H	H
HL etc	LH etc

#### 4.4.3.7.2. Inflections conditioning TC Va tone patterns

A number of inflections similarly condition TC Va tone patterns on the radicals of verb phrases.

1. the affirmative principal present progressive, I, IIp.,<sup>1</sup>  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -chá- + -ká-....-a
2. the affirmative relative present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -chá- + -ká-....-a
3. the affirmative participial present habitual, I, II, IIIp.,<sup>2</sup>  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -nô-....-a
4. the affirmative participial past habitual, I, II, IIIp.,<sup>2</sup>  
viz. sp- + -a- + H(2) + -î- ....-a
5. the affirmative participial remote past I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + H(2) + -ká-....-a
6. the affirmative participial future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -chá-....-a

1. Inflections 1, 2, 12 and 14 occur with verb phrases in which radicals are inchoative.
2. Cp. 4.4.3.2.2., fn. 2.

7. the affirmative participial potential, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + ngâ-....-e
8. the negative principal recent past, I,II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp' + -sâ-....-a
9. the negative principal future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp' + -châ-....-a
10. the negative principal potential, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp' + -ngâ-....-e
11. the negative principal past habitual, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp- + -â- + -î-....-a
12. the negative principal present progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp- + -si- + -sâ- + -kâ-....-a
13. the negative participial recent past, I, II IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -sâ- ....-a
14. the negative participial present progressive I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp + H(2) + -si- + -sâ- + -kâ- ....-a
15. the negative participial present progressive I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -si- + -ngâ- + -châ-....-a
16. the negative relative present and potential, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sí- + -ngâ-....-e
17. the negative relative future or progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sí- + -sâ-....-e
18. the negative relative remote past,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sâ- + -kâ-....-a

#### Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. ndi-chá-ka-gút-a<br>(I am still replete)           | ndi-chá-ká-net-á<br>(I am still tired)           |
| 2. va-chá-ka-gút-a<br>(those who are still replete)   | va-chá-ká-net-á<br>(those who are still tired)   |
| 3. ndí-no-tór-a<br>(I usually taking)                 | ndi-nó-bvunz-á<br>(I asking)                     |
| 4. nd-á-i-tór-a<br>(I having been used to take)       | nd-á-i-bvunz-á<br>(I having been used to ask)    |
| 5. nd-á-ka-tór-a<br>(I having taken)                  | nd-á-ká-bvunz-á<br>(I having asked)              |
| 6. ndí-cha-tór-a<br>(I about to take)                 | ndí-chá-bvunz-á<br>(I about to ask)              |
| 7. ndí-nga-tór-e<br>(I being able to take)            | ndí-nga-bvunz-é<br>(I being able to ask)         |
| 8. ha-ndí-sa-tór-a<br>(I have not taken)              | ha-ndí-sá-bvunz-á<br>(I have not asked)          |
| 9. ha-ndí-cha-tór-a<br>(I shall not take)             | ha-ndí-chá-bvunz-á<br>(I shall not ask)          |
| 10. ha-ndí-nga-tór-e<br>(I cannot take)               | ha-ndí-nga-bvunz-é<br>(I cannot ask)             |
| 11. ha-nd-á-i-tór-a<br>(I used not to take)           | ha-nd-á-i-bvunz-á<br>(I used not to ask)         |
| 12. ha-ndí-si-sá-ka-gút-a<br>(I am no longer replete) | ha-ndí-si-sá-ká-net-á<br>(I am no longer tired)  |
| 13. ndí-sa-tór-a<br>(I not having taken)              | ndí-sá-bvunz-á<br>(I not having asked)           |
| 14. ndí-si-sá-ka-gút-a<br>(I no longer replete)       | ndí-si-sá-ká-net-á<br>(I no longer tired)        |
| 15. vá-si-nga-cha-tór-a<br>(they no longer taking)    | vá-si-nga-chá-bvunz-á<br>(they no longer asking) |
| 16. va-sí-nga-tór-e<br>(those who do not take)        | va-sí-nga-bvunz-é<br>(those who do not ask)      |
| 17. va-sí-sa-tór-e<br>(those who not longer take)     | va-sí-sá-bvunz-é<br>(those who not longer ask)   |

18.  $\acute{v}a-s\acute{a}-ka-t\acute{o}r-a$  (those who did not take)       $va-s\acute{a}-k\acute{a}-bvunz-\acute{a}$  (those who did not ask)

Inflections conditioning TC Va tone patterns have certain characteristics in common, complementary to those conditioning TC V.

- (i) Sps, or sps with V tense sign /- $\acute{a}$ -/, which carry low tone (inflections 1-2, 16-18), are separated from the R by two syllables carrying HL before H Rs and HH before L Rs.
- (ii) Sps, or sps with V tense sign /- $\acute{a}$ -/, which carry high tone (inflections 3-15), are separated from the R either by one or three syllables carrying respectively L or LHL before H Rs and H or LHH before L Rs. (Cp. 4.4.3.1.3. for the statement on polarity of tones on inflecting morphemes).

4.4.3.7.3. The inflection of VPs which include object prefixes

The affirmative subjunctive which conditions TC III tone patterns in the case of /-op + R/, conditions TC Va tone patterns in the case of /+op + R/.

- e.g.  $nd\acute{i}-mu-t\acute{o}r-e$  (that) I take him       $nd\acute{i}-m\acute{u}-bvunz-\acute{e}$  (that) I ask him

4.4.3.8. Tone Conjugation VI

4.4.3.8.1. TC VI consists of the following sets of patterns:

L	H
LL	HL
LLL	HLL
LLLL	HLLL
LLLLL	HLLLL
LLLLLL	HLLLLL

H Rs carry uniformly low tones while L Rs carry high tone on the first syllable alone.

4.4.3.8.2. Inflections conditioning TC VI tone patterns

- the affirmative principal recent past, III p.,  
viz. sp- +-a- + H(1)....-a
- the affirmative principal near future, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -o- ....-a
- the affirmative principal remote past I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + L(1) + -k\acute{a}.....-a
- the affirmative principal future, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -ch\acute{a}.....-a
- the affirmative principal potential, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -ng\acute{a}.....-e

Examples:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. $v-\acute{a}-tor-a$<br>(they have taken)  | $v-\acute{a}-bvunz-a$<br>(they have asked) |
| 2. $v-o-tor-a$<br>(now they take)            | $v-o-bvunz-a$<br>(now they ask)            |
| 3. $nd-a-ka-tor-a$<br>(I took)               | $nd-a-k\acute{a}-bvunz-a$<br>(I asked)     |
| 4. $ndi-ch\acute{a}-tor-a$<br>(I shall take) | $ndi-ch\acute{a}-bvunz-a$<br>(I shall ask) |
| 5. $ndi-ng\acute{a}-tor-e$<br>(I can take)   | $ndi-ng\acute{a}-bvunz-e$<br>(I can ask)   |

4.4.3.9. Tone Conjugation VII

4.4.3.9.1. TC VII consists of the following sets of tone patterns:

L	L
HH	LH
HHH	LHL
HHHL	LHHL
HHHLL	LHHLL
HHHLLL	LHHLLL

The tone patterns of H Rs are, with the exception of C Rs, those of TCs I-III. The tone patterns of L Rs are those of TC V.



4.4.3.9.2. Inflections conditioning TC VII tone patterns

The negative principal present, I, II, IIIp. inflection alone conditions TC VII patterns on the verb radicals of verb phrases both without and with object prefixes,

viz.	ha- + sp-....-e	
e.g.	ha-ndí-tor-é (I don't take)	ha-ndí-bvunz-é (I don't ask)
	ha-ndí-mu-tor-é (I don't take him)	ha-ndí-mú-bvunz-é (I don't ask him)

4.4.3.10. Tone Conjugation VIII

4.4.3.10.1. TC VIII consists of the following sets of tone patterns:

H	H
HH	HL
HHH	HHL
HHHL	HLL
HHLL	HLLL
HHLLL	HLLLL

The tone patterns of H Rs are those found in TCs I-III. High tones are carried by L Rs on the first syllables of C and CVC forms. Longer L Rs carry high tones on the first two syllables.

4.4.3.10.2.

Many inflections which condition other TCs when inflecting /- op + R/ condition TC VIII tone patterns when inflecting /+ op + R/. They are TCs I, III<sup>1</sup>, VI, IX and X.<sup>2</sup>

TC I > VIII

e.g.	ndi-nó-mu-kumbír-á (I ask him)	ndi-nó-mu-tarís-a (I look at him)
------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------

TC III > VIII

e.g.	ndi-chí-mu-kumbír-a (I asking him)	ndi-chí-mu-tarís-a (I looking at him)
------	---------------------------------------	--

TC VI > VIII

e.g.	nd-a-ká-mu-kumbír-á (I asked him)	nd-a-ká-mu-tarís-a (I looked at him)
------	--------------------------------------	---

TC IX > VIII

e.g.	vá-cha-mú-kumbír-á (they will ask him)	vá-cha-mú-tarís-a (they will look at him)
------	---	--

TC X > VIII

e.g.	nd-a-ká-chí-mu-kumbír-á (I then asked him)	nd-a-ká-chí-mu-tarís-a (I then looked at him)
------	---	--

The tone carried by the op follows the rules of polarity outlined in 4.4.3.1.3.

4.4.3.11. Tone Conjugation IX

4.4.3.11.1. TC IX consists of the following sets of tone patterns:

H	H
HH	HL
HHH	HLL
HHHL	HLLL
HHLL	HLLL
HHLLL	HLLLL

The tone patterns carried by H Rs are those of TCs I-III, VIII. The tone patterns carried by L Rs are those of TCs IV, VI.

1. The affirmative present subjunctive inflection conditions TC Va patterns with /+ op + R/.
2. The affirmative hortative inflection conditions TC V patterns with /+ op + R/.

4.4.3.11.2. Inflections conditioning TC IX tone patterns

1. the affirmative principal remote past, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + -a- + H(1) + -ka-....-a
2. the affirmative principal future, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -cha-....-a
3. the affirmative principal potential, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -nga-....-a

Examples

- |                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. v-á-ka-tór-á<br>(they took)      | v-á-ka-bvúnz-a<br>(they asked)    |
| 2. vá-cha-tór-á<br>(they will take) | vá-cha-bvúnz-a<br>(they will ask) |
| 3. vá-nga-tór-é<br>(they can take)  | vá-nga-bvúnz-a<br>(they can ask)  |

4.4.3.12. Tone Conjugation X

- 4.4.3.12.1. TC X consists of the following sets of tone patterns:

L	L
LL	LL
LLL	LLL
LLLL	LLLL
LLLLL	LLLLL
LLLLLL	LLLLLL

The tones carried by both H and L Rs are low.

4.4.3.12.2. Inflections conditioning TC X tone patterns

1. the affirmative hortative, I, IIIp.,  
viz. nga- + -sp-....-e
2. all inflections which include the exclusive morpheme /-chí-/ , that is, primary incidental, secondary, and non-finite inflections.  
e.g. (a) the affirmative hortative exclusive  
viz. nga- + sp- + chí-....-a  
(b) the affirmative subjunctive  
viz. sp- + chí-....-a  
(c) the affirmative consecutive  
viz. sp- + -ka- + chí-....-a  
(d) the affirmative imperative  
viz. chí-....-a  
(e) the affirmative infinitive  
viz. ku- + chí-....-a

Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. ngá-ndi-tor-e<br>(let me take)                   | ngá-ndi-bvunz-e<br>(let me ask)                  |
| 2.(a) ngá-ti-chí-tor-a<br>(let us now take)         | ngá-ti-chí-bvunz-a<br>(let us now ask)           |
| (b) (kuti) ndí-chí-tor-a<br>((that) I may now take) | (kuti) ndí-chí-bvunz-a<br>((that) I may now ask) |
| (c) ndi-ka-chí-tor-a<br>(and I then took)           | ndi-ka-chí-bvunz-a<br>(and I then asked)         |
| (d) Chí-tor-a!<br>(Take now!)                       | Chí-bvunz-a!<br>(Ask now!)                       |
| (e) ku-chí-tor-a<br>(to take then)                  | ku-chí-bvunz-a<br>(to ask then)                  |

4.4.3.13. Tone Conjugation XI

4.4.3.13.1. TC XI consists of the following sets of tone patterns:

LH	LH
LLH	LLH
LLLH	LLLH
LLLLH	LLLLH
LLLLLH	LLLLLH

The tones carried by both H and L Rs are low save for the last tone in each case. These tone patterns are invariably found, irrespective of the inflection, when the VP to be inflected commences with /reflexive affix -zvi- + R/.

e.g. ku-zvī-kudz-á (to praise oneself)	ku-zvī-fung-á (to think of oneself)
v-á-zvi-kudz-á (they praised themselves)	v-á-zvi-fung-á (they were selfish)

The tone carried by C Rs is no different from that carried in the combination /+ op c1.8 + R/.

e.g. ku-zvī-dy-á mōyo ku-zvī-dy-á zvió.	(to be worried) (to eat the finger millet)
--	---

The tone carried by the reflexive affix follows the rule of polarity,

e.g. nd-a-zvī-kudz-á	(I prided myself)
v-á-zvi-kudz-á	(they prided themselves)
nd-a-kā-zvī-kudz-á	(I prided myself)
v-á-kā-zvi-kudz-á	(they prided themselves)
va-si-nga-zvī-kudz-é	(those who do not pride themselves)
vā-si-nga-zvi-kudz-é	(not priding themselves)
va-si-nga-chā-zvī-kudz-é	(those who no longer pride themselves)
vā-si-nga-chā-zvi-kudz-é	(no longer priding themselves)

4.4.3.14. 4 The inflection /sp-....-e/

There are six verb radicals which have additional inflections, e.g. /sp-....-e/, not shared by others. These are /-mír-/ (stand), /-rār-/ (go to sleep), /-vát-/ (go to sleep), /-zār-/ (become full), /-nyarār-/ (fall silent) and /-gar-/ (sit down, dwell). When inflected as above, stem vowel /a/ is assimilated to /e/. The inflection peculiar to these Rs may be affirmative and negative, principal, participial and relative. They are all present perfect in tense. There are three TCs carried by these Rs.

TC(a)	TC(b)	TC(c)
HH	LH	HL
HHH	LLH	HLH

4.4.3.14.1. TC(a) is conditioned by the following inflections:

1. the affirmative principal, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1)....-e
2. the affirmative relative, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2)....-e

Examples

1. ndi-mír-é (I am standing)
2. va-mír-é (those who are standing)

4.4.3.14.2. TC(b) is conditioned by the following inflections:

1. the affirmative principal, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1)....-e
2. the affirmative participial, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2)....-e
3. the negative principal, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + sp-....-e
4. the negative relative, I, II, III  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -sí....-e
5. the affirmative principal progressive, I, IIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(1) + -chí-....-e
6. the affirmative relative progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + L(2) + -chí-....-e

Examples

1. va-mir-é (they are standing)
2. ndi-mir-é (I standing)
3. ha-ndi-mir-é (I am not standing)
4. va-si-mir-é (those who are not standing)
5. ndi-chi-mir-é (I am still standing)
6. va-chi-mir-é (those who are still standing)

4.4.3.14.3. TC(c) is conditioned by the following inflections:

1. the negative participial, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -si-...-e
2. the affirmative principal progressive, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(1) + -chi-....-e
3. the affirmative participial progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. sp- + H(2) + -chi-....-e
4. the negative principal progressive, I, II, IIIp.,  
viz. ha- + -sp- + -chi-....-e

Examples

1. ndi-si-mir-é (I not standing)
2. va-chi-mir-é (they are still standing)  
va-chi-nyerer-é (they are still silent)
3. ndi-chi-mir-é (I still standing)
4. ha-ndi-chi-mir-é (I am no longer standing)

Other negative progressive inflections do not employ this inflection.

- cp. ndi-si-si-na-kumira (I no longer standing)  
va-si-si-na-kumira (they who no longer stand)

4.4.4. Reduplicated verb radicals

4.4.4.1.

As an extension of the system of R tone patterns conditioned by inflections, the patterns of reduplicated Rs are set out briefly below according to tone conjugations. Cp. 4.2.7.

4.4.4.2. Reduplicated radical patterns with TC I inflections

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| H-HL <sup>1</sup><br>HH-HL<br>HHH-LLL<br>HHHL-LLLL etc. | L-LL<br>LL-LL<br>LLL-LLL<br>LLLL-LLLL etc.          |
| e.g. ku-p-a-ip-a<br>ku-bik-a-bik-a                      | (to give now and again)<br>(to cook without method) |

4.4.4.3. Reduplicated radical patterns with TC II inflections

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (L)H-HL<br>HH-HL<br>HHH-LLL<br>HHHL-LLLL etc.               | (L)H-HL<br>LH-HL<br>LHH-LLL<br>LHHH-LLLL etc.                      |
| e.g. Rov-a-rov-a!<br>Tavis-a-tavis-a!<br>Bvunza-a-bvunza-a! | (Hit indiscriminately!)<br>(Stare about)<br>(Ask again and again!) |

4.4.4.4. Reduplicated radical patterns with TC III inflections

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| H-HL<br>HH-HL<br>HHH-LLL<br>HHHL-LLLL etc.        | H-HL<br>HH-LL<br>HHL-LLL<br>HHLL-LLLL etc.                 |
| e.g. ndi-chi-famb-a-famb-a<br>a-chi-nets-a-nets-a | (as I walk about)<br>(as he bothers everyone continuously) |

1. Tone patterns of reduplicated C Rs include the tone carried by the stabiliser.

## 4.4.4.5.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC IV inflections

H-HL	H-HL
HL-LL	HL-LL
HLL-LLL	HLL-LLL
HLLL-LLLL etc.	HLLL-LLLL etc.

e.g. T-a-famb-a-famb-a (We walked about)

## 4.4.4.6.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC V inflections

L-LL (TC Va: H-HL)	L-LL (TC Va : H-HL)
HH-LH	LH-HL
HLL-LLL	LHL-LLL
HHLH-LLLL	LHLL-LLLL
HHHLH-LLLLL	LHLLL-LLLLL
HHHHLH-LLLLLL etc	LHHLLL-LLLLLL etc

e.g. t-a-famb-a-famb-a (we having walked about)  
t-a-bvunz-a-bvunz-a (we having asked many questions)

## 4.4.4.7.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC VI inflections

L-LL	H-LL
LL-LL	HL-LL
LLL-LLL	HLL-LLL
LLLL-LLLL etc	HLLL-LLLL etc.

e.g. V-a-famb-a-famb-a (They have walked about)  
V-a-bik-a-bik-a (She has cooked without method)

## 4.4.4.8.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC VII inflections

L-LL	L-LL
HH-HL	LH-LL
HHH-LLL	LHL-LLL
HHHL-LLLL etc	LHHL-LLLL etc.

e.g. Ha-ndi-ras-e-ras-e mari (I don't waste money)  
Ha-ndi-taris-e-taris-e (I don't stare about)

## 4.4.4.9.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC VIII inflections

H-HL	H-LL
HH-HL	HH-LL
HHH-LLL	HHL-LLL
HHHL-LLLL etc	HLLL-LLLL etc

e.g. Ndi-no-mu-kumbir -a-kumbir-a (I keep asking him)  
V-a-i-ri-bik-a-bik-a (She used to cook it anyhow)

## 4.4.4.10.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC IX inflections

H-HL	H-LL
HH-HL	HL-LL
HHH-LLL	HLL-LLL
HHHL-LLLL etc	HLLL-LLLL etc

e.g. V-a-ka-famb-a-famb-a musangó (They walked all over the veld)  
V-a-ka-bik-a-bik-a kudyá (She cooked the food anyhow)

## 4.4.4.11.

Reduplicated radical patterns with TC X inflections

L-LL	L-LL
LL-LL	LL-LL
LLL-LLL etc.	LLL-LLL etc.

e.g. Chi-rov-a-rov-a- imbwa! (Now pat the dog!)  
Ngá-ti-famb-e-famb-e muruwa (Let us walk around the district)

## 4.4.4.12.

Reduplicated tone patterns on /-zvi--R-R-/

L-LH	L-LH
LH-LH	LH-LH
LLH-LLL	LLH-LLL
LLLH-LLLL etc.	LLLH-LLLL etc.

e.g. g ku-zvi-tum-a-tum-a mumabasa (to apply oneself to a variety of jobs)  
ku-zvi-taris-a-taris-a muchioneone (to look at oneself in a mirror)

## 4.4.5.

Inflection of defective verb phrases

Of the defective VPs mentioned in 4.3.5., those with nuclear Rs /-ri/ (be) and /-na/ (be with) share a limited set of inflections, viz. those of the present tense and progressive aspect, affirmative and negative. The tones carried by the inflections, as well as by /-ri/ and /-na/, are determined mainly by polarity with the first tone of the inflection. Differences from this rule are indicated.

a) Affirmative inflections

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. principal present, I, IIp.,<br>e.g. ndi-rí-múridzi<br>(I am the owner)                         | sp- + L(1)<br>ndi-né-sádza<br>(I have some porridge)                     |
| 2. principal present, IIIp.,<br>e.g. vá-rí kúre<br>(they are far off)                             | sp- + H(1) + -ri; + -na<br>vá-ne-sádza<br>(they have some porridge)      |
| 3. principal progressive, I IIp.,<br>e.g. ndi-chí-ri múridzi<br>(I am still owner)                | sp- + L(1) + -chí-<br>ndi-chí-ne sádza<br>(I still have some porridge)   |
| 4. principal progressive, IIIp.,<br>e.g. vá-chi-rí váridzi<br>(they are still owners)             | sp- + H(1) + -chi-<br>vá-chi-né sádza<br>(they still have some porridge) |
| 5. participial present, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ndí-ri múridzi<br>(I being the owner)               | sp- + H(2)<br>ndí-ne sádza<br>(I having some porridge)                   |
| 6. participial progressive, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ndí-chi-rí múridzi<br>(I still being the owner) | sp- + H(2) + -chi-<br>ndí-chi-né sádza<br>(I still having some porridge) |
| 7. relative present, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. va-rí- kure<br>(those who are far away)                | sp- + L(2)<br>va-né- sádza<br>(those who have some porridge)             |
| 8. relative progressive, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. va-chí-ri váridzi<br>(those who are still owners)  | sp- + L(2) + -chí-<br>va-chí-ne sádza<br>(those who still have porridge) |

(i) The rule of polarity of tones obtains in the inflection and on the R.

Polarity extends beyond the R on to the complements of the VP as follows. Complements with tone patterns commencing with H are lowered after inflections 1 and 7.

e.g. ndi-rí hama yényú (I am your relative) cp. háma  
ndi-né mvura zhinjí (I have much water) cp. mvura

Complements with tone patterns commencing with LL are raised after inflections 2, 3, 5 and 8 (although the R carries L) and, of course, after inflections 1, 4, 6 and 7 (because R carries H).

(ii) VPs with nuclear R /-ri/ and non-locative complements are not inflected by inflections 2 and 7 (IIIp. only).

(iii) The morpheme /-na/ which has been interpreted here as a R has the same segmental forms as /na-/, inflecting morpheme of substantive phrases. Cp. 3.7.4.

b) Negative inflections

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. principal present, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ha-ndí-ri múridzi<br>(I am no owner)                        | ha- + -sp' + -ri; + -na<br>ha-ndí-ná sádza<br>(I have no porridge)                     |
| 2. principal progressive, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ha-ndí-chirí múridzi<br>(I am no longer an owner)       | ha- + sp' + -chi-<br>ha-ndí-chi-ná sádza<br>(I have no more porridge)                  |
| 3. participial present, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ndí-si-rí múridzi<br>(I being no owner)                   | sp- + H(2) + -si-<br>ndí-si-ná sádza<br>(I having no porridge)                         |
| 4. participial progressive, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. ndí-chi-sí-ri múridzi<br>(I no longer being an owner) | sp- + H(2) + -chi- + -si-<br>ndí-chi-sí-na sádza<br>(I no longer having any porridge)  |
| 5. relative present, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. va-sí-ri váridzi<br>(those who are not owners)               | sp- + L(2) + -si- + -ri; + -na<br>va-sí-na sádza<br>(those who have no porridge)       |
| 6. relative progressive, I, II, IIIp.,<br>e.g. va-chí-si-rí váridzi<br>(those who are no longer owners) | sp- + L(2) + -chí- + -si-<br>va-chí-si-ná sádza<br>(those who no longer have porridge) |

- (i) Polarity of tones obtains in the inflections and the R with the exception of inflections 1 and 5 above in which /-na/ carries H.
- (ii) The R /-na/ retains this form in all negative inflections.

## 4.5.

THE AUXILIARY VERB PHRASE

## 4.5.1.

The auxiliary verb phrase is a special type of VP. Its constructional pattern may be defined as follows.

+ auxiliary verb radical + complement

e.g. /-rí kutórá marí/ (be taking money)

Being a type of VP, it might have been treated in 4.3. save that the complement in auxiliary VPs is usually an inflected VP and therefore, in a discussion, and particularly a classification, of auxiliary VPs, it is convenient to have already described the main types of verbal inflection. In 4.5 both the structure of auxiliary verb phrases and their inflection will be described.

## 4.5.2.

The characteristics of the auxiliary VP

- (a) The auxiliary VP may not have as immediate constituents any of the optional constituents of the VP, that is the op, the object or adverbial complements, or the adjuncts.
- (b) The complement in the auxiliary VP is not optional.
- (c) The complements of auxiliary Rs consist of predicates, either inflected VPs or inflected SPs.
- (d) Auxiliary verb radicals form a restricted class among verb radicals in general.
- (e) Auxiliary verb radicals fall into a number of sub-classes according to the type or types of complement with which they may appear as constituents. Consequently auxiliary Rs and auxiliary VPs may be classified according to their complements.
- (f) Some auxiliary VPs are restricted in inflection, but others are fully inflected. Some Rs have a double role, that is, as normal Rs in VPs, and as auxiliary Rs in auxiliary VPs. The range of inflection of each auxiliary VP is indicated below.

## 4.5.3.

The classification of auxiliary VPs

Auxiliary VPs, and consequently auxiliary verb radicals, may be classified as follows, according to the types of complement which occur as constituents.

- (a) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and an infinitive inflected VP.  
 e.g. -rí kutórá marí (be taking some money)  
 ndi-rí kutórá marí (I am taking some money)
- (b) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and a contracted infinitive inflected VP.  
 e.g. -svik-o-tórá marí (arrive and take some money)  
 cp. nd-a-ká-svik-o-tórá marí (I arrived and took some money)
- (c) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and an unrestricted participial inflected VP.  
 e.g. -nga ndátóra marí (am having taken some money)  
 cp. nd-a-nga ndátóra marí (I had taken, lit. was having taken, some money)
- (d) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and a restricted participial inflected VP  
 e.g. -ramb- ndichítóra marí (I to go on taking money)  
 cp. nd-a-ká-ramb-a ndichítóra marí (I went on taking money)
- (e) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and a subjunctive inflected VP.  
 e.g. -ti ndítóré marí (I to attempt to take money)  
 cp. nd-a-ká-tí ndítóré marí (I tried to take some money)
- (f) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and a consecutive inflected VP.  
 e.g. -dzímar- ndikátóra marí (I to go on until taking money)  
 cp. nd-a-ká-dzimar-a ndikátóra marí (I took the money in the end)
- (g) Auxiliary VPs consisting of auxiliary Rs and a copulative inflected SP.  
 e.g. -vá ndíye mukádzi wāngu  
 cp. a-no-vá ndíye mukádzi wāngu (she who is my wife)

#### 4.5.4. The constituent structure of auxiliary VPs

The auxiliary VP has been defined as:

+ auxiliary R + complement

What is implied is that the auxiliary radical and its complement are, in every case, two independent constituents of this intermediate construction.

The inflected auxiliary VP is defined as:

inflection + auxiliary VP

Here again the definition indicates two independent constituents.

- e.g. ndi-rí-kutórá marí (I am taking some money)
- 1 2  
3 4
- ha-ndí-ná kutórá marí (I did not take any money)
- 1 2  
3 4
- e.g. ku-nge ndátóra marí (my having taken money)
- 1 2  
3 4
- ndi-nó-svik-o-tórá marí (I take some money on arrival)
- 1 2  
3 4
- ku-svik-o-tórá marí (to take some money on arrival)
- 1 2  
3 4

#### 4.5.5. Auxiliary VPs with infinitive inflected VPs as complements

The auxiliary radicals which are constituents in this type of verb phrase are /-ri/ (be), /-na/ (be with), /-va/ (become), and /-ti/ (do, say).

##### 4.5.5.1. /-ri/

Auxiliary VPs consisting of /-ri/ and an infinitive inflected VP are inflected as already described in 4.4.5. The limitations noted in 4.4.5(a) (ii) in regard to inflections 2 and 7 do not apply to VPs in which /-ri/ is auxiliary.

- e.g. vá-rí kútsvaga basa (they are seeking work)

This inflected auxiliary VP is described as the present continuous. It conveys the aspect of uncompleted action taking place in the present. The present in mind need not be the actual present moment, but may extend somewhat into the past.

- e.g. Kubvira musí uye, ndi-rí kútsvaga basa  
(Ever since that day, I am (viz. have been) seeking work)
- Kufará, ti-rí kufará zvedú así chinhu chimwé cheté chatísirá mwána  
(As for being happy, we are happy in our fashion, but the one thing we are without is a child)
- Ha-ndí-chi-sí-ri kuenda kumushá  
(I am no longer going home at this time)

##### 4.5.5.2. /-na/

Auxiliary VPs consisting of /-na/ and an infinitive inflected VP are inflected as described in 4.4.5(b) 1, 3 and 5, that is, only in the negative simple.

- e.g. Ha-vá-ná kuzívá kúti vaRungu váne mabví  
(They do not know that Europeans had knees)

These inflected auxiliary VPs are negative past in tense, save when the radical in the complementary infinitive is inchoative, when the tense is present perfect.

95/e.g. Ha-vá-ná...



e.g. Ha-vá-ná kúnaka  
(They are not good)

#### 4.5.5.3. /-va/

Auxiliary VPs consisting of /-va/ and an infinitive inflected VP are mainly inflected in the affirmative recent past forms.

- (1) e.g. Nd-a-vá kúenda kumbá  
(I am now going home)  
Ndinómuka, nd-á-va kuenda kubasa  
(I get up when I am about to go to work)
- (2) T-a-vá kudá kúsvika  
(We are now on the point of arriving)  
Nd-a-vá kuzvínzá  
(I am understanding it now)

These inflected auxiliary VPs indicate actions that have just commenced or are about to commence in relation to the time of speaking or the time in mind. The tense is similar to that of the sign /-ó-/. It has been conjectured that /-ó-/ may be a contraction of the string /-â-vâ-kû-/.

#### 4.5.5.4. /-ti/

Auxiliary VPs consisting of /-ti/ and an infinitive inflected VP are fully inflected.

- (4) e.g. Nd-a-ká-tí kúpinda mumbá, ndikagara pasí  
(I went into the house and sat down)  
Nd-a-í-ti kupinda mumbá, ndikagara pasí  
(I used to go into the house and sit down)
- (5) Ndi-nó-ti kupinda mumbá, ndígógara pasí  
(I go into the house and I sit down)  
Ha-ndí-ti kupinda mumbá, ndígógara pasí  
(I do not go into the house and then sit down)  
V-á-i-ti kungo-sangana, vórwá  
(They used merely to meet and then fight)

viz. They had only to meet and they would fight)

The As the examples show, clauses in which inflected auxiliary VPs of this type are predicates are not complete but need to be followed by another consecutive clause. The use of these auxiliary VPs indicates a time and an action upon which a sequel follows.

#### 4.5.6. Auxiliary VPs with contracted infinitive VPs as complements

##### 4.5.6.1.

(7) The auxiliary radicals which are constituents in this type of verb phrase are as follows:

- |      |                                 |                            |                               |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (8)  | -d-<br>(do eagerly)             | -fúm-<br>(do on rising)    | -bang-<br>(do without reason) |
|      | -g-<br>(do before, for a while) | -ísv-<br>(do exceedingly)  | -fan-<br>(do meanwhile)       |
|      | -nd-<br>(go to)                 | -ngún-<br>(do meanwhile)   | -gar-<br>(do always)          |
|      | -ng-<br>(do merely)             | -rár-<br>(do at night)     | -kar-<br>(do almost)          |
| (9)  | -t-<br>(do perforce)            | -zív-<br>(do as a rule)    | -nyang-<br>(even do)          |
|      | -z-<br>(come to)                | -chimbídž-<br>(do quickly) | -nyany-<br>(do excessively)   |
| (10) |                                 | -dákár-<br>(do at length)  | -nyats -<br>(do well)         |
|      |                                 | -hwírír-<br>(do again)     | -ping-<br>(do rashly)         |
| (11) |                                 | -rárír-<br>(do at night)   | -rind-<br>(do at night)       |
| 1.   |                                 | -zívír-<br>(do as a rule)  | -svik-<br>(do on arrival)     |

-swer-  
(do during the day)

-wanz-  
(do often)

#### 4.5.6.2.

In the inflected auxiliary VPs in which these Rs are constituents,

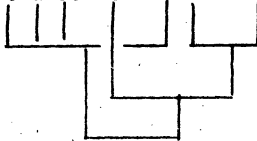
e.g. t-a-ká-rar-o-támǎ (we danced all night)

coalescence has taken place historically between the terminal vowel of the auxiliary VP inflection and the prefix of the complement, formerly an infinitive inflected VP.

t-a-ká-rar-a kutámǎ > t-a-ká-rar-o-támǎ.

Analysing the forms as we have them today, we describe the vowel /-o/ as the terminal vowel of the inflection of the auxiliary VP and the contracted infinitive VP which follows as being inflected by the t.v. /....-a/ alone,

e.g. t-a-ka-rar-o-tamb-a



Interpreted in this way, the t.v. of all inflections of such auxiliary VPs is /-o/.

e.g. Ha-ndí-nyats-ó-taura (negative present)  
(I do not speak well)

(kuti) ndí-nyats-ó-aura (subjunctive)  
((so that) I may speak well)

Nyats-ó-aura! (imperative)  
(Speak properly!)

The corresponding forms in the Manyika dialect, where coalescence of the sort which characterises auxiliary VPs of this kind is not found so widely, are as follows :

viz. Ha-ndí-nats-í kúaura (I do not speak well)

(kuti) ndí-nats-é kúaura ((so that) I may speak well)

Nats-á kúaura! (Speak properly!)

#### 4.5.6.3.

The tone patterns carried by the auxiliary R are those conditioned by the inflection in use, e.g. those of TC I for the affirmative principal present, those of TC II for the imperative and so on. The tone patterns of the complements are, of course those of TC I, the complements being contracted infinitives.

e.g. Ti-nó-svik-o-tórá marí (TC I)  
(We take the money on arrival)

Ngoma í-no-rar-ó-rira (TC I)  
(The drum beats all night)

Svik-ó-tórá marí (TC II)  
(Take the money as soon as you arrive!)

However, irrespective of the tone patterns conditioned by the various inflections, the C auxiliary Rs, which all belong to the low group, carry L before H complements.

e.g. nd-a-z-o-tórá marí (TC IV)  
(I then took the money)

cp. nd-a-z-ó-bvunza (TC IV)  
(I then asked)

e.g. (kuti) ndí-zotórá marí (TC III)  
((so that) I may then, or afterwards, take the money)

cp. (kuti) ndí-z-ó-bvunza (TC III)  
((so that) I may ask afterwards)

Further, the pattern HH or HHH on the auxiliary R is changed to HL or HHL before H complements.

e.g. v-á-ka-rar-o-támǎ (TC VI)  
(they danced all night)

c.p. v-a-ka-rar-ó-aura (TC VI)  
(they talked all night)

97/e.g. va-chí-swer-o-  
tamba...

- e.g. va-chi-swér-o-tambá (TC III)  
(dancing all day)
- cp. va-chi-swér-ó-taura (TC III)  
(talking all day)

#### 4.5.6.4. Notes on the auxiliary Rs<sup>1</sup>

- (1) /-d-/ indicates that the speaker or agent comes to the event with some emotion, some hope, but finds it somewhat contrary to what was expected.  
e.g. V-á-ka-d-ó-svika, vakawana dzámira némhuru  
(They arrived confident (of finding milk) but found (the cows) standing with their calves)
- (2) /-g-/ (do as a result, do then) indicates that its complement is a sequel to what went before and so is often found in consecutive clauses. It is perhaps an abbreviated form of /-gon-/ (be able).  
e.g. Makudo ákakumbirá kúrapíwa kuti á-g-o-fanána naváhu  
(The baboons asked to be treated so that they might resemble men)
- (3) /-mb-/ (do once) indicates that its complement is to be related to a definite occurrence indicated by the tense of the inflection. It may be an abbreviated form of /-vamb-/ (begin).  
Chí-mb-o-mirá! (Wait a while!)  
Á-mb-o-úyá. Zvíno áuyazvé (He came once before. Now he has come again)
- (4) /-nd-/ (go) is the abbreviated form of /-end-/ (go), often further abbreviated to /-n-/.  
e.g. Nd-a-ka-nd-o-chérá mvúra (He did not come at all)  
Ind-o-téngá upfu! (I went to draw water)  
(Go and buy some flour!)
- (5) /-ng-/ (do merely) indicates that its complement merely happens, or that nothing more or nothing better than it happens.  
e.g. Ti-nó-ng-o-píwá zvisadza zvakaipa  
(We are only given inferior food)  
Iní ha-ndí-ng-o-taura pazaré váhu pamusána pokú-ng-o-dá kútaura chéte  
(I don't speak before people just for the sake of talking)
- The inflection /sp- r -cha-....-o/ indicates that the action of the complement has just happened.  
e.g. Ndi-cha-ng-o-budá mumbá iko zvíno mavári  
(I have just left the house, where they are, this minute)
- (6) /-t-/ (do perforce) indicates some necessity in regard to the action of the complement.  
e.g. Mudándira iri mhuká hadziwirémó dzoga. Dzinototínhirwa kwázvo naváhu ári masíkati.  
(Animals do not fall into this trap themselves. They have to be driven in by people in broad daylight)
- (7) /-z-/ (come) is a R now obsolete, save as an auxiliary and in a few stereotyped forms.  
e.g. Muzanénhamo (a name, One who comes with misfortune)  
Chazépi? (a name, Where has it come from?)  
Goré harizi pakáza rímwe (No year comes from where another has come)  
Regá kufambá wóga! Ungá-z-o-dyíwá  
(Don't travel alone! You may come to be eaten)
- (8) /-fúm-/ (do on rising), cp. /-fúm-/ (rise early).  
e.g. Nd-a-ka-fum-o-endako, ndikachera gombá, ndikadzoka  
(I went there very early, dug a hole, and came back)
- (9) /-isv-/ (do exceedingly), cp. /-isv-/ (spoil), probably a causative extended form of /-ip-/ (become bad).  
e.g. Nd-a-isv-o-zíya (I am terribly hungry)
- (10) /-ngún-/ (do concurrently with another event being referred to).  
e.g. Vakómaná vakatizá, mapfeni a-chí-ngún-o-nóngá nyímo dziye  
(The boys ran off while the baboons were occupied in picking up those ground-peas)
- (11) /-rár-~ -rárír-/ (do at night), cp. /-rár-/ (go to sleep).  
e.g. U-nó-ng-o-rárír-o-nwá (You just drink all night).

1. For a fuller treatment of these auxiliary radicals cp. AS, 740-766

- (12) /-zív-~ -zivir-/ (do as a rule), cp. /-zív-/ (know).  
e.g. Pamusaná pokunyimá kwávo, ti-nó-zív-ó-dzoka nenzára yédu  
(On account of their meanness, we generally come back hungry)
- (13) /-chimbídiz-/ (do quickly), cp. /-chimbídiz-/ (hurry).  
e.g. Chimbídiz-o-uyá! (Come quickly!)
- (14) /-dakar-/ (do at length), cp. /-dakar-/ (do at last).  
e.g. Ndakáfamba zúva róse, ndi-ka-dakar-ó-neta  
(I travelled all day and I got tired at last)
- (15) /-hwirír-/ (do again), cp. /-hwirír-/ (return).  
e.g. Ndakambodyá, zvikandinákira, ndi-ka-hwirír-o-dyá zvakare  
(First of all I ate, it pleased me and I ate again)
- (16) /-bang-/ (do senselessly).  
e.g. "Mwana mudiki chirangaranga. Kwachinotúka chinongoenda." Zvinó iwé  
u-ngá-bang-o-enda kwañnotúka sépwere?  
('A small child is a fool. It simply goes where it is scolded.' Can  
you then go so thoughtlessly like a child to where you will be scolded?)
- (17) /-fan-/ (do beforehand), cp. /-fan-/ (anticipate).  
e.g. ku-fan-o-paridzá (to announce beforehand)
- (18) /-gar-/ (do constantly), cp. /-gar-/ (stay).  
e.g. Á-no-gar-o-rim-a mumunda máké  
(He is always cultivating his field)
- (19) /-kar-/ (do almost), cp. /-kar-/ (like very much).  
e.g. U-nó-kar-o-dyá nembwa dzése!  
(You (are so unselective that you) almost eat even dogs!)
- (20) /-nyang-/ (even do)  
e.g. Nyang-o-pá mari zhinji, hapána chinomubátsira  
(Even giving him a lot of money is no way of helping him)
- /-nya-/ appears to be a participial tense sign in Manyika and Korekore, somewhat like  
/-chi-/ but carrying a concessive connotation.  
e.g. Kana ndi-nyá-pf-a, hauna chaunwana  
(Even though I die, you will obtain nothing)
- In Zezuru /-nya-/ occurs in the form cited.  
e.g. U-ka-nyang-o-wana pfuma dzosé.....  
(Even though you obtain all the riches you want,.....)
- (21) /-nyany-/ (do excessively), cp. /-nyany-/ (exceed).  
e.g. W-a-ka-nyany-o-kúra! (You are very tall!)
- (22) /-nyats-/ (do well), cp. /-nats-/ (improve), causative of /-nak-/ (become good).  
e.g. Nyats-ó-fambá! (Walk properly)
- (23) /-ping-/ (rashly).  
e.g. Nd-a-ka-ping-o-ita, ndisati ndafungá  
(I did it rashly, before thinking)
- (24) /-rind-/ (do at night), cp. /-rind-/ (go to sleep)  
e.g. V-a-ka-rind-o-tambá ngóma (They danced all night)
- (25) /-svik-/ (do on arrival), cp. /-svik-/ (arrive).  
e.g. Svik-ó-vakwázisa! (Greet them when you get there!)
- (26) /-swer-~ -sór-/ (do all day), cp. /-swer-/ (spend the day).  
e.g. Ndiudze ndisati ndakurova! M-a-sór-o-dye-i?  
(Tell me before I beat you! What have you been eating all day?)
- (27) /-wanz-/ (do often), cp. /-wanz-/ (increase, the causative of /-wand-/ (be plentiful).  
e.g. Á-no-wanz-o-rová mukadzi wake pasiná chikonzero  
(He often beats his wife without any provocation)

## 4.5.7.

Auxiliary VPs with unrestricted participial complements

## 4.5.7.1.

The auxiliary radicals which are constituents in this type of verb phrase are as follows:

/-nga ~ -nge/	(be)
/-dái/	(do thus)
/-ti(2)/	(do) <sup>1</sup>

The characteristic of this group is that members may appear as constituents in auxiliary VPs with participial inflected VPs of all kinds, both affirmative and negative; past, present or future; progressive or exclusive.

- e.g. -nge nd-á-tór-a marí (am having taken some money)  
 -nge ndi-chí-tór-á marí (be taking money)  
 -nge ndi-cha-tór-a marí (be being about to take money)

Such auxiliary VPs may be fully inflected but are normally found in the affirmative.

- e.g. the affirmative principal remote past Ip.

Nd-a-ká-nga nd-á-tór-a marí	(I had taken, lit. was having taken, some money)
Nd-a-ká-nga ndi-chí-tór-á marí	(I was taking some money)
Nd-a-ká-nga ndi-cha-tór-a marí	(I was about to take some money)

In inflected auxiliary VPs of this kind, a relationship of two tenses is conveyed, the tense of the inflection of the auxiliary VP (the time in mind) and that of the complement. In the above examples, the relationship of the time in mind to that of the action at that time is respectively remote past - recent past, remote past - present and remote past - future. In these examples the time in mind is constant, whereas the relationship to it of the time of the action, conveyed by the complement, varies. In the following examples, the time in mind varies whereas the relationship to it of the time of the action remains constant.

- e.g. Nd-a-ká-nga ndi-chí-tór-á marí (I was, remotely, taking some money)  
 Nd-a-nga ndi-chí-tór-á marí (I was, recently, taking some money)  
 Ndi-né-nge ndi-chí-tór-á marí (I will be taking money; or I am usually taking money)

## 4.5.7.2. /-nge ~ -nga/

## 4.5.7.2.1.

This R occurs as a constituent of defective VPs followed by object complements. These are normally realised as substantive phrases, including those in which relative inflected VPs form the nuclear constituent. In such VPs, the R carries the meaning 'seem, resemble'.

- e.g. Á-né-nge mukómaná wakátédeka (principal present)  
 (He seems a trustworthy boy)
- I-ngé múnhu! (imperative)  
 (Behave like a proper person; lit. seem a person!)
- Rodzǎ mapfúmó á-ngé chisvó! (subjunctive)  
 (Sharpen the spears so that they may be like a razor)
- Y-áka-ngé nyáti (principal past)  
 (It looked like a buffalo)
- Así rúsvingo ru-né-nge rwatabva mukutsana-  
 ngura rúchiri kuwanikwa muné dzimwe nyika (relative present)  
 (But a wall which resembles the one which we  
 have just been describing is still found in some  
 countries)
- Rega kutítsiurá so-kunge tisingárimé! (infinitive)  
 (Do not criticise us as if we were not working)
- Vá-ne-nge vanófunga kuti mumwedzi múnogara  
 tsuro (principal present)  
 (They seem to think, lit. they seem to  
 be those who think, that there is a hare  
 living on the moon)

(In the two latter examples /-nge/ is followed by a relative inflected VP as complement).

1. For a more extended treatment of these radicals, cp. AS 769-783.

## 4.5.7.2.2.

The tense signs /-nô-/ and /-ô-/ are assimilated to /-nê-/ and /-ê-/ when inflecting VPs, both auxiliary and non-auxiliary, in which R /-nge/ is a constituent. Further, the terminal vowel /-o-/, used in the inflection of the auxiliary VPs discussed in 4.5.6., is assimilated to /-e/.

- e.g. A-ne-nge asákápfeká (principal present inflected VP)  
 (He seems undressed)  
 A-ne-nge ásakápfeká (principal present inflected auxiliary VP)  
 (He will be undressed)  
 T-é-nge tichárumwa (principal near future, inflected VP)  
 (We are now likely to be bitten)  
 Va-ne-z-e-nge vakachenjera (contracted infinitive inflected VP)  
 (They will appear to be wise)  
 Nd-a-ká-mb-é-nge ndíri páno (contracted infinitive inflected auxiliary VP)  
 (I was once here)

## 4.5.7.2.3.

As a R in an auxiliary VP, the form is /-nga/ after remote and recent past tense signs /-â-kâ-/ and /-â-/ and after the consecutive sign /-ka-/. Otherwise the form is /-nge/. In auxiliary VPs, /-nge~ -nga/ carries the meaning 'be'.

- e.g. Ndi-né-nge ndichísvika mangwána (I shall be arriving tomorrow)  
 V-á-i-nge vachívhíma múdondo (They used to be hunting in the forest)  
 Nd-a-ngá ndísingáziwe izvi (I was ignorant of this)  
 T-a-ká-nga tichífará kwázvo (We were very glad)

## 4.5.7.2.4.

As already stated, cp. 4.5.7.1. auxiliary R /-nge/ is followed by participially inflected VPs of all types as constituents in auxiliary VPs.

These auxiliary VPs are fully inflected, even negatively, though this is not so common.

- e.g. Ha-ndí-nge ndáendá kumushá (negative principal present-future)  
 (I will not have gone home)

A very common inflection is the infinitive.

- e.g. ku-nge ndásviká kumbá (infinitive)  
 (me to have arrived home)  
 ....kundozvionerá kú-nge hósiyó íchirí kúrarama  
 (... to see for themselves that queen to be still alive)  
 Havána kú-nge ványatsózvinzwísísisá  
 (They have not understood this properly)

Infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs, as substantial constructions and nuclear constituents of SPs, may be inflected substantivally.

- e.g. adverbial inflection (e.g. in adjuncts of VPs)

Zvinhu zvíchápfáva no-kunge wáendá nekó  
 (Things will be easier once you have gone past there)

possessive inflection (e.g. in constituents of SPs)

Hatídí kumáníkídzá, Tinódá kúti vanhu vedú ványátsoóná vóga mumashúre  
 me-kunge távadudzira  
 (We do not wish to use force. We want our people to see for themselves  
 after we have explained to them)

Hapána munhu anóbvumirwa kutéma mutí kunzé kwo-kunge átóbvumirwa  
 nashe wedunhu iroro  
 (There is no one who is allowed to cut down a tree unless permitted  
 by the chief of that district)

copulative inflection (e.g. in predicates of substantival clauses)

Kufará hungé wádyá, wágúta  
 (Happiness is to have eaten enough)

## 4.5.7.2.5.

Some Zezuru speakers use /-ve~ -va/ instead of /-nge~ -nga/ in auxiliary VPs of the type being described,

- e.g. Ndi-chá-ve ndísipó (I shall not be there)  
 V-á-i-ve vachívhíma múdondo (They were hunting in the forest)  
 V-á-i-ve váendá kudoro (They had gone off to the beer)

## 4.5.7.3. /-dái/ (do thus, do at this time)

## 4.5.7.3.1.

This auxiliary R is a co-constituent in auxiliary VPs with participial inflected VPs as complements. Similar auxiliary Rs, dialectically differently distributed, are /-dáno/, /-dénó/ (Ma.), /-déya/ (Ka.) etc..

In inflected auxiliary VPs of this kind, the action conveyed by the complementary VP, as inflected and therefore as set in relation to the tense of the auxiliary VP, is indicated as having happened, as happening or as about to happen at about the same time of day as the moment of speaking.

- e.g. Mukómaná wamákatúma w-a-ka-dái ásviká nezúro (remote past-recent past)  
 (The boy you sent had arrived yesterday by  
 this time (at which we are now speaking))  
 Mwaná wángu á-no-dái achísviká nayé pánó (present-present)  
 (My child is usually arriving here with him  
 at this time)

## 4.5.7.3.2.

Potential inflected auxiliary VPs of this type indicate hypothetical action in the past, present or future. The "past habitual" and the "recent past" inflections also convey the same meaning. There is no implied reference in this inflection to the time of speaking.

- e.g. Ndi-ngá-dái ndákásviká nezúro (potential-remote past)  
 (I would have arrived yesterday)  
 Ndi-ngá-dái nd-a-sviká nhási (potential-recent past)  
 (I would have arrived today)  
 Ndi-ngá-dái ndi-chí-sviká zvinó (potential-present)  
 (I would be arriving now)  
 Ndi-ngá-dái ndi-chí-zósvika mangwáná (potential future)  
 (I would be arriving to-morrow)

## 4.5.7.3.3.

Infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs of this type, with or without /ku-/, are used as circumstantial (conditional) clauses in sentences in which the predicate is potentially inflected.

- e.g. Chíiko chaizoitika ku-dái tísingáteré?  
 (What would happen if we were not to pay tax?)  
 Dái ndichízivá, ndingákuzivísé  
 (If I knew, I would tell you)  
 Dái wámuóna, u-ngá-dái wáitéi?  
 (If you had seen him, what would you have done?)

Such infinitive clauses express the hypothetical conditions under which the hypothetical actions, expressed by potential inflected auxiliary VPs and described in 4.5.7.3.2., would occur, in the past, present, or future.

- e.g. (Ku)-dái ndákazíva nezúro, ndi-ngá-dái ndákáuya  
 (If I had known, I would have come)  
 (Ku)-dái achízouyá mangwáná, ndi-ngá-dái ndichífará  
 (If he were to come tomorrow, I would be happy)

## 4.5.7.3.4.

Infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs are used to convey wishes of which the outcome is not certain.

- e.g. Dái tichíngósvika tósé takadáro!  
 (If only we might all arrive together!)  
 Dái ári pánó!  
 (If only he were here!)

## 4.5.7.4. /-ti/(2) (do)

## 4.5.7.4.1.

In inflected auxiliary VPs in which /-ti/ is auxiliary, an event (indicated by the complement) is described as having happened, as happening or as about to happen relative to the tense of the inflection.

Unlike inflected auxiliary VPs in which the Rs /-nge/ or /-dái/ are constituents, clauses with these inflected auxiliary VPs are not complete. They state a time, and the occurrence of an event relative to that time, in such a way as to be introductory to a further clause or further clauses.

- e.g. Mazúvá matatú á-ka-tí ápera....  
 (Three days had passed and...., vix. When three days had passed,...)  
 Mazúvá matatú á-ka-tí ápera, amái váké vákadzókera kumushá  
 (Three days had passed and his mother returned home)

#### 4.5.7.4.2.

Further clauses consequent upon these clauses, which have an inflected auxiliary VP as described in 4.5.7.4.1., as predicate, are either principal or "consecutive" (in the wide sense). It is difficult to define what governs the occurrence of either but the following theory is advanced tentatively.

A principal clause follows if it is wished to give emphasis to the sequel, to portray it as carrying concern, interest or satisfaction. A consecutive clause appears to lack these characteristics and to convey the sequel merely as a happening.

- e.g. Majáji akatí iwo, hapána akákunda mumwe. Zvá-ka-tí zvodayidzirwá  
 izvozvo, vanhu vakapururúza kwázvo (principal-principal)  
 (As for the judges, they said that neither had beaten the  
 other. As soon as this was announced, the people applauded loudly)

The use of the principal inflection in the second clause appears to indicate satisfaction on the part of the narrator. Use of the consecutive inflection,

viz. vakapururúza

indicates a much more detached attitude..

#### 4.5.7.4.3.

In Zezuru it is usual to find the infinitive inflected compound auxiliary VP of form: ku-z-o-ti + participial VP. This is a "circumstantial" (temporal) clause.

- e.g. Ku-z-o-ti vásviká kumbá, vakamuwana árimó  
 (When they arrived, they found him inside)  
 Ku-z-o-ti modzoká, munondiwana ndaenda  
 (When you return, you will find me gone)

#### 4.5.7.4.4.

Infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs are "circumstantial" (conditional) in meaning.

- e.g. Ku-ti uchimhanya, regá kucheúka!  
 (If you run, do not look round!)  
 Ku-ti Mukwanda ásipo, ndiye waitóngá nhau  
 (If Mukwanda were absent, it is he who used to try the cases)  
 Ku-sa-ti iní ndichidawó kufá, naizvozvo ndinogonawó kufunga kuti chiiko  
 chinósakisa kuti vamwe vanhu vawire munjodzi  
 (Unless I too wish to die, I can also consider what causes other people  
 to fall into trouble)  
 Haáiiita kudáro ku-sa-t-o-ti akánga achidá!  
 (He would not act like that unless, and only unless, he wanted to)

#### 4.5.7.4.5.

As in the case of /-nge/, infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs may be further, substantively, inflected.

- e.g. possessive inflection  
 Pashúre po-kuti tabva kumushá, takasangana nayé  
 (After we had left the village, we met him)

#### 4.5.8. Auxiliary VPs with restricted participial complements

The auxiliary VPs of this type all contain participial inflected VPs as constituents, but these complements are restricted in their inflection. The relation between auxiliary R and type of complementary inflection is strict and a number of sub-types of auxiliary VPs may be distinguished according to the inflection of the complement.<sup>1</sup>

1. For a fuller treatment of these auxiliary VPs, cp. AS para.784-811; Jackson, Shona Lessons pp.178-183, 206. Jackson points out that some of these auxiliary Rs appear in a derived ideophonic form and still control the appropriate participial inflection. 103/4.5.8.1....



4.5.8.1. Auxiliary VPs with complement inflection limited to participial present

4.5.8.1.1.

In the first sub-type the auxiliary radicals are /-ramb-/ and /-gar-/ (keep on, persist) followed by participial complements with the following inflections:

affirmative, present	: sp- + -chí-....-a
near future	: sp- + -ó- + H(2)...-a
progressive	: sp- + H(2) + -châ-....-a
perfect	: sp- + H(2) ....-e
perfect progressive	: sp- + H(2) + -chi-....-e
perfect	: sp- + -a- + H(2) + -ká-....-a
perfect progressive	: sp- + H(2) + -cha- + -ká-....-a
negative, present	: sp- + H(2) + -si- + -ngá-....-e
progressive	: sp- + H(2) + -si- + -sá-....-e

Participially inflected VPs with nuclear radicals /-ri/(be), /-na/(be)with) and the six radicals listed in 4.4.3.14 are also constituents of these auxiliary VPs.

4.5.8.1.2.

These inflections all appear to have the present tense as a common characteristic and the fact that they indicate actions and states present to, or contemporaneous with, the tense of the auxiliary VP. The auxiliary VPs appear to be fully inflected.

e.g. /-ramb-/

W-áka-ramb-a achípútídza motó múshoma-shóma (principal remote past)  
(He kept on feeding a very small fire)

Kana matambudziko á-i-ramb-a áripo, n'anga yáibvunzwa kana chíripó chímwé  
chakásiyiwa (participial past habitual)

(If the trouble continued to be present, the  
diviner would be asked whether there was something  
which had been omitted)

U-ramb-é wakandídzvinyata ruókó rwángu tífé tákadáro (subjunctive)  
(Keep on holding me by the hand so that we  
may die like that)

Ndíro zítá raakazo-ramb-a ódánidzwá naró (contracted infinitive)  
(It is the name by which he was thenceforward  
always called)

/-gar-/

Wakámbo-gar-a úsingányíme heré? (contracted infinitive)  
(Was there ever a time when you were not stingy?)

Zúvá iri há-ri-gar-e richídzóká nékufará! (hortative)  
(May this day keep coming back with happiness; viz.  
Many happy returns of the day!)

Nd-a-í-gar-a ndákátí mbí (principal past habitual)  
(I stood firm)

4.5.8.2. Auxiliary VPs with participial complements inflected by /-a/, /-ó-/ and /-chí-/ tense signs

4.5.8.2.1.

The auxiliary radicals are /-dzímár-/ (do at length), /-svikir-/ (arrive at, end by), /-bvir-/ (come from, start by). They are followed by participial VPs with the following inflections in which the actions of the complements appear to be presented merely as events.

affirmative, perfect	: sp- + -a- + H(2)...-a
near future	: sp- + -o- + H(2)...-a
present	: sp- + -chi-....-a

Speakers feel free to use a variety of participially inflected complements after these Rs and at times their auxiliary status may be doubted. The first two inflections listed are the commonest but subjunctive and consecutive inflected VPs occur very commonly as complements after /-dzímár-/ and /-svikir-/. The auxiliary VPs appear to be fully inflected.

## 4.5.8.2.2. /-dzímar-/

- e.g. Munhu ákaramba órwára (ku-)dzímará áfa (infinitive)  
(The person continued to be ill until he died)
- Ndichágára páno kudzímár-á kámhurú kófamba (infinitive)  
(I shall stay here until the little calf starts to walk)
- Vákatsvága zano rókunyímá, ró-ku-dákar-á vánhu vóendá (infinitive)  
(They sought a plan how to be stingy, and to go on being so until people were going)
- Nd-a-ká-dzimar-a ndámubáta ruókó (principal remote past)  
(I finally gripped him by the arm)
- Chí-cha-dzímár-á chófa chakadáro (principal future)  
(It will end up dying like that - unless it corrects itself)
- Nd-a-dzímár-a ndichíendá kumbá. Havána kuuyá (principal recent past)  
(In the end I went home. They did not come)
- Ku-dzímár-á ndichípédzá bása iri handíde ku- (infinitive)  
taudzwa  
(Until I am finishing this work, I do not want to be spoken to)

There are a number of allomorphs of /-dzámár-/ of varying dialectal distribution viz. /-dákár-/ /-dzámár-/ , /-dzámárár-/ , /-dzíman-/ (Xa.), /-dzíkan-/ (Ma.). In Kalanga the form is /-dzín-/ and is followed by the consecutive inflection.

## 4.5.8.2.3. /-bvir-/

- e.g. Ku-bvir-a ndiri kúita basa iri, handísatí ndáona munhu (infinitive)  
(Ever since I have been doing this work, I haven't yet seen a soul)
- Nd-a-ká-bvir-a ndíchavábáta ruókó kusvikira ndá- (principal remote past)  
vabáta muviri  
(I started by holding on to her arm until I found myself holding her by her body - in order to restrain her)
- Ku-bvir-a ndóitá bása iri, hapana chinóndi-tádzísá (infinitive)  
(Ever since I began to do this work, nothing has caused me to make a mistake)
- Mutambwí wa-nd-á-bvir-á ndámubáta ruókó, árí (participial perfect)  
kúngochémá chéte  
(Ever since I gripped him by the arm, he has just been crying)

## 4.5.8.2.4. /-svikir-/

- e.g. Tichátándara ku-svikir-a kunzé kwóédza/kwáédza (infinitive)  
(We shall talk until it dawns/has dawned outside)

## 4.5.8.3. Auxiliary VPs with participial complements inflected by /-a-/ and /-ó-/ tenses

## 4.5.8.3.1.

The auxiliary radicals are /-ti/(3) (do), /-bv-/ (do forthwith), /-yerekan-/ (happen to do). They are followed by participial complements with the following inflections.

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Affirmative, past/perfect | : sp- + -a-+ H(2)....-a  |
| near future               | : sp- + -o- + H(2)....-a |

## 4.5.8.3.2. /-ti/(3)

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-ti/ are inflected in the recent past with present perfect meaning. The auxiliary VP conveys an exclusive notion, usually, in the affirmative, a query whether an event or state has commenced 'yet'; or, in the negative, a denial that it has commenced 'yet'.

- e.g. Vanhu v-á-tí vórimá heré? (principal recent past)  
(Are the people on the point of ploughing?)
- M-a-tí máona nyóká heré? (principal recent past)  
(Have you seen a snake yet, up to this time?)
- Kwete, ha-ndi-sa -ti ndáiona (negative principal recent past)  
(No, I have not yet seen one)

- Ndakánga ndi-sa-tí ndáenda  
(I had not yet gone) (negative participial recent past)
- Unéngé w-á-ti wáona amái manherú heré?  
(Will you have seen your mother by evening?) (participial recent past)
- hóswa yákbomíswa kutóngwá dzimára ava v-á-ti  
vápona kurwára  
(The case was deferred for judgement for a while  
until these people had recovered from their sickness) (participial recent past)

4.5.8.3.3. /-bv-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-bv-/ are fully inflected. The auxiliary VP indicates that the event indicated by the complement issues "forthwith", "thereupon". Cp. the meaning of /-bv-/ as non-auxiliary, "move from".

- e.g. Vanhu yá-no-by-a várimá kana mvúra  
ichingé yanaya (principal present)  
(People plough at once when the rain has fallen)
- Vaná vadiki vánozárura mombe v-ó--bv-a vóenda  
kumafuro (principal near future)  
(The children let the cattle out and then go  
off at once to the pastures)

The use of the /-ó-/ tense sign in the complement indicates, perhaps, a more immediate sequence.

- e.g. Mwachéwe, muzukúru, kubva wádaró hanzvá-  
dzi yaamáí vákó! (infinitive)  
(Now, now, nephew to go and treat your  
mother's brother like that!)
- I-bv-á-í máregá kúzarira musúo! (imperative)  
(Be sure not to close the door!)
- Ngá-ti-bv-e tázvígúra zvokúitira va-  
mwe makuhwa (hortative)  
(Let us repent at once of slandering others)

4.5.8.3.4. /-yerekan-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-yerekan-/ are fully inflected. The auxiliary VP indicates that the event indicated by the complement occurs without warning or prevision.

- e.g. Nd-a-ká-yérekana ndásangána némhandu yángu (principal remote past)  
(I came face to face unexpectedly with my enemy)
- Vanhu vazhinji vánongo-yerekan-a vóbunzwá  
namapurisa (contracted infinitive)  
(Many people are just interrogated by the police  
without warning).

4.5.8.4. Auxiliary VPs with participial complements inflected by /-a-/ tense

4.5.8.4.1.

The auxiliary radicals are /-f-/ (die), /-man-/ (do at once), /-mb-/ (do actually, really), /-nguv-/ (do over a period), /-sív-/ (leave having done), /-sv-/ (do rather than omit), /-tang-/ (do first) and /-ziv-/ (do sensibly). They are followed by the "past" inflection with perfect meaning. The auxiliary VPs all appear to be widely inflected.

4.5.8.4.2. /-f-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-f-/ are inflected in the negative to rule out the possibility of the action indicated by the complement.

- e.g. Haámbo-f-á ágoná kútaura kana kunzwá kú-  
satoti ásekéswa nechimwe chinhu (contracted infinitive)  
(She will never be able to speak or hear  
until she has been made to laugh by something)
- Ha-ndí-f-e ndákáitá izvi (negative principal present)  
(I never do this)
- Ha-ndí-nga-f-é ndákátsiká pánó (negative principal potential)  
(I can never come here again)

4.5.8.4.3. /-man-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-man-/ indicate that the notion conveyed by the complement is to be done quickly. They are mainly Manyika constructions.

e.g. U-na-man-á wáuya  
W-á-ka-man-á áuya

(You must come back quickly)  
(He came back at once)

4.5.8.4.4. /-mb-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-mb-/ indicate that the action of the complement has happened indeed, or with some effect. They are mainly Karanga constructions.

e.g. W-á-mba áwirá pasí (principal recent past)  
(He fell down well and truly)  
Ú-mb-á wáindá! (subjunctive)  
(Go at once!)

4.5.8.4.5. /-nguv-/

Auxiliary VPs with a nuclear /-nguv-/ indicate the action of the complement as taking place over a long time. Another form of the auxiliary R is /-nguri/.

e.g. M-a-ka-nguv-a magari panhu pamwé ngúvá  
nenguva. Kumbofambawo, bodo! (principal remote past)  
(You spent a long time sitting in one  
place and didn't move at all!)  
Murúme wángu w-á-nguv-a ágará pamukova (principal recent past)  
(My husband spent a long time seated at the door)  
P-á-ka-nguv-á pamirwa apo (principal remote past)  
(They stood there for a long time)

4.5.8.4.6. /-siy-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-siy-/ indicate that the action of the complement is left behind after an implied separation or departure.

e.g. Ngatiédzei kutóra uchi nenzira ya-tí-si-  
nga-siy-e táuraya nyuchi dzácho (negative participial present)  
(Let us try to remove the honey in such a  
way that we do not leave the bees dead behind us)  
Ndakasángana negándanga ndichibvá nd-á-  
siy-a ndaróhwa (participial perfect)  
(I met a robber and was left beaten as a result)

4.5.8.4.7. /-sv-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-sv-/ indicate that the action of the complement is preferable to its contrary or omission.

e.g. Ndi-nó-sv-á ndáfa panzvimbo yókumáni-  
kidzwa kuenda kwandisingáde (participial perfect)  
(I will rather die than be forced to go  
where I do not want to go)  
I-sv-á wándifúra mmhuno dzákó, ndifé  
zvangu (imperative)  
(You had better blow me out of your nose  
that I may die; viz. better send me away and  
let me die)

4.5.8.4.8. /-táng-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-táng-/ indicate that the action of the complement happens before some other event.

e.g. Vaidá kúti á-táng-é akotsifa, vógózotaura mushúre (subjunctive)  
(They wanted him first to sleep and then they would talk afterwards)

4.5.8.4.9. /-ziv-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-ziv-/ indicate that the action of the complement is done with sense, deliberation or purpose

e.g. Ziv-á wáendá nénari nokúti ungatámbudzike (imperative)  
(See that you take money with you as you may be in need)  
Dái mu-ka-ziv-á mambodúda návana vanóchéna (conjunctive)  
(If only you would have the sense to take the crying children outside)

4.5.8.5. Auxiliary VPs with participial complements inflected by /-o-/ tense

## 4.5.8.5.1.

The auxiliary radicals are /-dzok-/ (happen contrary to expectation), /-fum-/ (do on rising), /-sak-/ (do for a reason), /-sár-/ (do after a separation), /-úy-/ (do on arrival), /-wan-/ (happen unexpectedly). They are followed by the "near future" inflection with the meaning of immediate effect. The auxiliary VPs appear to be widely inflected.

## 4.5.8.5.2. /-dzok-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-dzok-/ indicate that the action of the complement happens contrary to expectation or reason.

- e.g. Ndakayámura munhu a-ka-dzok-o óndíbaya (consecutive)  
 (I helped someone and he stabbed me in return)
- Ndakabababadzira imbwa i-ka-dzok-a yondiruma (constructive)  
 (I patted the dog and it bit me in return)

## 4.5.8.5.3. /-fum-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-fum-/ indicate that the action of the complement will happen the next day or very soon.

- e.g. Ukarera imbwa nomukaka, mangwana í-no-fum-á yókuruma (principal present)  
 (If you bring up a dog on milk, it will soon bite you for your pains)
- .... nyika yokugara nezvimbo dzokugara dzavanziva (contracted infinitive)  
 havazo-fum-á votandaniswa  
 (.... a country to inhabit and places to live in from which they know that they will not soon be chased away)

## 4.5.8.5.4. /-sak-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-sak-/ indicate that the action of the complement has been forced on the subject for a reason indicated therein.

- e.g. Ndinozo-sak-a ndobva nokuti vanhu vanenge vondivena (contracted infinitive)  
 (I shall have to leave because people will dislike me)

## 4.5.8.5.5. /-sár-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-sar-/ indicate that the action of the complement happens after a separation or departure.

- e.g. Kwamazuva nazhinji, ziva ar-a-i-sar-a robuda, iye (principal past habitual)  
 azarura momba dzake kare kare  
 (For many days the sun would have risen he having let out the cattle long before)
- Kana m-o-sar-a mowana dzose, mochitora zvenyu (participial near future)  
 (If you find them all after I have gone, just keep them)

## 4.5.8.5.6. /-uy-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-uy-/ indicate that the action of the complement takes place on the arrival of someone other than the subject.

- e.g. Kana vakaba, muridzi asipo, imbwa y-a-i-uy-a yorakidza (principal past habitual)  
 kuti pabiwa ndepapa  
 (If they stole anything while the master was away, the dog would show where the theft had taken place on his return)

## 4.5.8.5.7. /-wan-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-wan-/ indicate that the action of the complement is an unexpected one, a result which had not been foreseen from what had gone before.

- e.g. Vakazoti vagona kutaura ndimi dzenyika, va-ka-wan-a (principal remote past)  
 vobva vawandirwa navafundi  
 (When they came to be able to speak the languages of the country, they found themselves unexpectedly overwhelmed with pupils)
- Ndakamhanya kwazo, ku-wan-a ndobuda ropa munhu (infinitive)  
 (I ran hard and all of a sudden my nose started bleeding)

4.5.8.6. Auxiliary VPs with participial complements inflected by /-chí-/ tense

4.5.8.6.1.

The auxiliary radicals are /-pót-/ (do continually) and /-vá/ (become). They are followed by the participial present inflection.

4.5.8.6.2. /-pót-/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-pót-/ are widely inflected. They indicate that the action of the complement occurs from time to time.

- e.g. U-sá-pót-é uchiíta izvi! (negative imperative)  
 (Do not keep on doing this, time after time!)
- Vanhu váiíta misangano, yávo yo-ku-pót-á  
 vachikurukirirana zvinovánakidza (infinitive)  
 (The people used to hold meetings for (the purpose  
 of) discussing what interested them from time to time)

4.5.8.6.3. /-vá/

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-vá/ are inflected apparently only in the imperative and indicate that the action of the complement should be done continually.

- e.g. I-vá uchiúya nekunó! (imperative)  
 (Keep on coming this way)

4.5.9. Auxiliary VPs with subjunctive complements

The auxiliary VPs of this type all contain subjunctive inflected VPs as constituents. Three auxiliary radicals, which are constituents of this type of auxiliary VP, are listed, viz. /-ti/ (4) (do), /-dzimar-/ (do at last) and /-svikir-/ (end up by).

4.5.9.1. /-ti/ (4)

4.5.9.1.1.

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear /-ti/ (4) present the action of the complement as aimed at, attempted and an object of conation. The constructions also imply that what was attempted did not come to pass. They are usually inflected in the past tense in vivid narrative, but other inflections occur.

- e.g. VáKaríkoga vāngu v-á-ka-tí vátémé zinyóká,  
 rikabva ránzvénga (affirmative principal past)  
 (Poor Karikoga tried to hit the huge snake, but  
 it dodged)
- Karíkoga ákadó-ti áritémé, rikabva rá-nzvénga (contracted infinitive after /-d-/  
 (Karikoga tried to strike it, but it dodged)
- Shumba idó-tí ímurúme, Karíkoga akabva árambá  
 ákati zenze dzvi (contracted infinitive after /-d-/  
 (Try as the lion might to bite him, Karikoga  
 kept holding on to it by the mane)

4.5.9.1.2.

This construction usually appears in a style where vivid effects are sought. Cp. the use of vāngu and /-d-/ above. Another device used in vivid narrative is to use 1st person subject prefixes in the subjunctive complement.

- e.g. Murúme á-ka-tí ndiyāmbuke rukova, akabva  
 áyerédzwa (principal remote past)  
 (The man attempted to cross the river, and he  
 was swept away as a result)
- Mwana á-ka-tí ndísímúdze sága, ndókukonewa (principal remote past)  
 (The child wanted to lift the sack, but failed)
- Shiri y-á-ka-tí ndiváké dēndere mubiravira,  
 ndókurumwa nenyoka (principal remote past)  
 (The bird wanted to build a nest in the thicket  
 over the stream, and was bitten by a snake)

Makudo á-ka-tí tídyé chibahwé, ndókupfúrwá (principal remote past)  
(The baboons wanted to eat the maize, but they  
were shot)

## 4.5.9.1.3.

Inflected auxiliary VPs of this type must be distinguished from constructions in which subjunctive clauses are complements of auxiliary verb /-ti/,

e.g. Ndirí kudá kú-ti vanhu ava vávúmírane  
(I am anxious that these people should agree)

Ndangá ndi-chí-tí vánhu ava vávúmírane  
(I was anxious to make, lit. aiming at making, these people agree)

Such constructions are treated in the section which deals with the distribution of the subjunctive clause.

## 4.5.9.1.4.

The subjunctive inflection of the complement of /-ti/ often includes the exclusive sign /-chí-/

e.g. Kuzoti iní ndi-ka-ti ndíchíkwazisa óbva ányárárá (consecutive)  
(When I try to greet(him), he keeps quiet)  
Kuzoti ó-tí ndíchízonqti swatanure, ndókubva  
áti mesó gagadara navámbuya (participial near future)  
(When he was on the point of stretching himself,  
his eyes met those of his mother-in-law)

## 4.5.9.1.5.

Auxiliary R /-nzi/, the passive of /-ti/ is used when the subject of the auxiliary VP is acted on in the pursuance of the aim.

e.g. Gungáno r-á-i-nzi rívé réchinyáráríré, así  
rákazozívikanwa navánhu vesé vese (principal past continuous)  
(The meeting was meant to be a secret one but it got  
to be known by everyone)

## 4.5.9.2. /-dzímár-/ (end up by, finish by, go as far as)

## 4.5.9.2.1.

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-dzímár-/ and allied forms (cp. 4.5.8.2.2.) appear to present the action of the complement as an aim or perhaps an ongoing process which has not reached its term.

e.g. Vamwe vá-no-dzímár-á váité vaná vávírí vásiná  
kúchata (principal present)  
(Some go as far as to have two children without marrying)  
Ndichárámba ndichífámbá ku-dzímár-á ndísvíké (infinitive)  
(I shall go on walking until I arrive)  
Ndichágára panó ndí-dzímár-é ndípiwé zvandiri kudá ("consecutive" subjunctive)  
(I shall stay here until I am given what I want)  
Mumbá ímomó múnoberekwa vaná káshoma nekáshoma  
vá-dzímár-é vávandé ("consecutive" subjunctive)  
(In that home children are born little by little until  
they are numerous)  
Ngényi kuzo-dákar-á múdé kúbayana némapfúmó músiná  
kútaurirana? (contracted infinitive)  
(Why go on until you are on the point of stabbing one  
another before you talk to one another?)

The infinitive inflection of these auxiliary VPs may dispense with the prefix /ku-/.

e.g. Dzíchamirá dákar-á dzírúmwé nenzára (infinitive)  
(They will wait until they feel hungry)

Infinitive inflected auxiliary VPs may of course, be substantivally inflected.

e.g. Ndirí kútsvaga zano ró-ku-dzímár-á ndírípwe nésona (possessive inflection)  
(I am seeking a plan to be eventually compensated by  
a life, lit. a head)

## 4.5.9.2.2.

As in the case of /-ti/ (4), cp. 4.5.9.1.3., subjunctive clauses may be complements of auxiliary R /-dzimár-/.

- e.g. Ndichásevenza zúvá rósé ndi-dzámárar-e  
(or ku-dzámárar-a) imbá yángu ipéré kuturikwa dénga  
(I shall work all day and go on until my house is completely roofed) ("consecutive" subjunctive or infinitive)

Such constructions are treated in the section which deals with the distribution of the subjunctive clause.

4.5.9.3. /-svikir-/ (arrive at)

## 4.5.9.3.1.

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-svikir-/ are similar to those with /-dzimárar-/ in having a subjunctive inflected VP in complement.

- e.g. Ndichámira ku-svikir-a vámuke  
(I shall wait until they rise) (infinitive)

## 4.5.9.3.2.

As has already been pointed out, the Rs /-dzimár-/ and /-svikir-/ may also occur with consecutive inflected VPs as complements.

- e.g. Kunz kw-á-ka-dzimár-á kukaédz-á, isú tichí-  
taúra chéte (principal remote past)  
(Outside it dawned at length while we were still talking)  
Unózo-dzimár-á ukaróóra, ndichiri kudziídzá (contracted infinitive)  
(You will end by marrying while I am still a student)

4.5.10. Auxiliary VPs with copulative phrases as complements

The auxiliary VPs of this type contain copulative phrases, that is, the predicates of substantial clauses, as complements.

The nuclear substantive which is copulatively inflected is normally a pronoun, but other types of nuclear substantive occur as well. Auxiliary Rs which are constituents in these constructions are /-vá/, /-nge/ and /-dzimár-/.

4.5.10.1. /-vá/

## 4.5.10.1.1.

In the following examples the pronoun, which is the nuclear substantive of the copulative phrase, agrees with the subject prefix of the inflection of the auxiliary VP.

- e.g. Vá-cha-vá ndivo vanoénda (principal future)  
(They will be the ones who will go)  
Zví-nga-vé ndízvo (principal potential)  
(It may be so indeed)  
Masyesvé á-ka-vé ndiwo akamusákisa kuvira zvi-  
kurú néhasha (principal remote past)  
(The ants were what made him particularly angry)  
Murumé ánge ásandúka, á-va ndiye babá wómukádzi (participial perfect)  
(The husband will have changed, having become the father of his wife)  
Takáwana vachirwá, ti-ka-vé ndisú takázóra ndutsira (affirmative consecutive)  
(We found them fighting and we were the ones who intervened)  
Unótambudzireí mómbe dzi-nó-vá ndidzo dzino-kurímira? (relative present)  
(Why do you trouble the oxen which plough for you?)  
Akaramba achiíta munamoto wáké u-nó-vá-ndiwo (relative present)  
wókupédzisira waákáita  
(He continued making his prayer which was the last he would make)



Munhu ákaénda kundovhíma, i-ka-ve ndiyo pfiro yáke (consecutive)  
 (The man went off to hunt and it was his death)

Munhu ákaénda kundovhíma, ku-ka-ve ndiko kufá kwáke (consecutive)  
 (The man went off to hunt and it was his death)

## 4.5.10.1.2.

Relative inflected auxiliary VPs of this type provide a relative transformation of copulative predicates in substantival clauses.

e.g. Munhu uyu a-nó-vá ndiye mukádzi wángu  
 (This person who is my wife)

cp. Munhu uyu mukádzi wángu  
 (This person is my wife)

This is the only construction possible since VPs with nuclear R /-ri/ are not inflected in the affirmative principal or relative.

## 4.5.10.1.3.

In other inflections the use of inflected auxiliary VPs of this kind seems to be indicated by a need to convey pointed emphasis for which the vehicle is the pronoun, and the notion of 'being' rather than 'becoming'.

e.g. Kuti á-ve ndiye mukádzi wángu (subjunctive)  
 (So that she may be my true, real wife)

cp. Kuti á-ve mukádzi wángu  
 (So that she may become my wife)

e.g. Munhu uyu angángo-vá ndiye mukádzi wángu (contracted infinitive)  
 (This person who is indeed likely to be my wife)

cp. Munhu uyu angáve mukádzi wángu  
 (This person who may become my wife)

## 4.5.10.1.4.

Consecutive inflected auxiliary VPs of this type often contain as complement a copulative inflected pronoun of class 15 which is in apposition to an infinitive phrase.

e.g. Mumwe wávo ákati, 'Ngátiendei náye kúrukova; va-ka-ve/  
 ku-ka-ve ndiko kutakura kwávo chitunhá cháke (affirmative consecutive)  
 (One of them said, "Let us take him to the river", and they carried his corpse)

There are several variations possible in these constructions.

1. The inflection of the auxiliary VP may contain the subject prefix agreeing either with the agent or that of class 15;
2. The infinitive phrase may be accompanied by a possessive in which the inflection is of class 15, agreeing with the infinitive phrase, and the stem a pronoun agreeing with the agent. Both these features appear in the above example;
3. A third variation is that the copulative inflected pronoun may be shortened from ndiko (common in Ma) to ndó or ndó.

Elision of the first two features, and abbreviation of the third, have resulted in this "consecutive" form normally consisting of +/- subject + ndó + infinitive phrase.

e.g. Mumwe wávo ákati, 'Ngátiendei náye kúrukova', ndó kutakura  
 chitunhá cháke  
 (One of them said, "Let us take him to the river", and they took up his corpse)

Pavákanzáwá kúti ákótsira, (va-ka-chí-ve/ku-ka-chí-ve)  
 ndó kuiyá (kwávo) (affirmative consecutive,  
 cl. 2/15)  
 (When they knew he was asleep, they then came)

## 4.5.10.1.5.

Auxiliary VPs of this kind may also be participially inflected or infinitively inflected with the addition of further, substantive inflections.

e.g. Ndakápinda mumbá ku-ka-va/ku-chí-ve ndó kutizá  
 kwángu pakuóna mhandú yángu irimó (consecutive/participial)  
 (I entered the house and then ran away on seeing my enemy inside)

Imbwa yakarúma gúdo, ku-chi-ve/ku-ka-ve ndó  
kutizá kwáro  
(The dog bit the baboon, and then it (viz. gúdo (5))  
ran away)

(participial/consecutive)

Ndakanganisirwa, chikavé chisakiso chó-ku-vá ndó  
kutizá kwángu  
(I was treated shabbily and that was the reason for  
my running away)

(possessive infinitive)

## 4.5.10.1.6.

The auxiliary VP with nuclear R /-vá/ can be transformed into an ideophonic phrase by the addition to /-v-/ of an ideophonic formative, /-e(i)/.

e.g. Akabátwa ába mazái avámbuya, ivéi ndó kutizá kwáke  
(He was caught having stolen the eggs of his mother-in-law, and then he ran away)

Of course other auxiliary VPs can be similarly transformed into ideophonic phrases.

e.g. nuclear R /-ramb-/ (continue)  
Ivo ramb-é-i vakadaro (And they remained like that)

nuclear R /-nge/ (be)  
Pagotosvikwa, i-ngé-i váendá, panopara muchenje  
(If he arrives late and finds them gone, there will be some trouble)

## 4.5.10.1.7.

The use of inflected auxiliary VPs with copulative inflected pronouns and infinitive phrases in consecutive clause position appears to convey not only mere succession of events but that the situation indicated by the infinitive clause is a result of what is described in the preceding clause.

e.g. Ndakáuya Haráre, ndikapinda muchitoro  
(ndi-ka-ve/ku-ka-ve) ndiko/ndó kuténgá hémbe(kwángu) (consecutive Ip. sing.cl.15)  
(I came to Harare and went into a shop and (having done so/this being so) I bought a shirt)

## 4.5.10.2. /-nge/ (seem)

e.g. Vári kuonéka so-ku-nge ndivo vasingazive zvokuita (adverbial infinitive)  
(They seem to be the ones (a group among others) who do not know what to do)

Akafunga kuti á-ne-nge ndiye muchengeti wamakiva. (affirmative present)  
(She thought he was probably the one who looked after the graves)

## 4.5.10.3. /-dzimar-/ (do at last)

## 4.5.10.3.1.

Auxiliary VPs with nuclear R /-dzimar-/ may include a copulative inflected infinitive phrase.

e.g. Vasekuru vangu hu-dzimar-a hufa, vasiná kuripwa (copulative infinitive)  
(My uncle died in the end, without having been paid compensation)

## 4.5.10.3.2.

Such auxiliary VPs may also include ideophonic phrases as complements.

e.g. Vasekuru vangu hu-dzimar-a ifei, vasiná kuripwa (copulative infinitive)  
(My uncle died in the end, without having been paid compensation)

Byeni, huzimara svetu mudziva risati rasvotonora mbovha (copulative infinitive)  
(The baboon finally threw itself into the pool before having anything to eat)

## 4.6.

VERBAL CLAUSES

## 4.6.1.

The verbal constructions so far.

The verbal constructions met so far can be arranged in the following series of levels:

- I. The verb radical - simplex, adoptive, derived, extended, reduplicated;
- II. The verb phrase - with one radical nucleus;
- III. The inflected verb phrase, viz. verb inflecting morphemes and verb phrases
- IV. Auxiliary verb phrases - with more than one radical nucleus;  
Auxiliary Rs with inflected phrases as complements;
- V. Inflected auxiliary verb phrases.

The constructions at levels III and V are constituents of the construction at the next level, viz. that of the verbal clause whose constructional pattern is +/- subject and predicate.

Before dealing with the constituent class of subject and with the characteristics of the clause we must first deal in detail with each of the different kinds of inflected verb phrase. The predicates in clauses consist of inflected verb phrases of various kinds and we must study the distribution of each type. The types of inflected verb phrases correspond to the different types of inflection or bundle of inflecting morphemes as outlined in the study of these latter. The different types of inflection are outlined in the following scheme, resulting in the distinction of all inflected verb phrases into eight moods.

1. Finite
 

- primary	:	principal, participial, relative
- secondary	:	hortative, subjunctive, consecutive
2. Non-finite
 

:	infinitive, imperative
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The study of the distribution of inflected verb phrases in each mood provides material for the identification of the different types of clause of which the predicates, consisting of inflected verb phrases are the nuclear elements. The study of the distribution of inflected verb phrases includes that of inflected auxiliary verb phrases as well. The same general treatment applies to both but for clearness sake 1-verb radical forms will be illustrated apart from multi-verb radical forms.

4.6.2. The non-finite inflections

Both infinitive and imperative verb phrases differ from all other inflected verb phrases in not having a subject prefix as part of their inflection. They belong to the constituent class of predicates in an analogous sense and, in the clauses in which they occur, there is no relation between subject and predicate. They do co-occur however, as inflected verb phrases, with SPs which are related to them and with which they form a construction. Infinitives occur with SPs which are notionally their subjects and which can be called "topics";

e.g. Kana kufá múnhu paHararé kwaári zváinge zvíri zvikúkútu  
(Even for a person to die in Harare where he happened to be was very difficult)

and imperatives occur with SPs as vocatives with which they agree in number.

e.g. Shámwari, ndípe nzungú  
(Friend, give me some nuts)

Vádzimái, ndíbátsíreyí  
(Ladies, help me)

4.6.2.1. Infinitive inflected verb phrases (these are referred to hereafter as infinitives)

Infinitives are nomino-verbal constructions and it is necessary here to study them, both as constructions and constituents, in order to make their nomino-verbal character clear and to list their extensive distribution both in substantival and verbal constructions.

## 4.6.2.1.1.

As constructions, infinitives are nomino-verbal. They are nominal because a noun class prefix, that of class 15, is the first element in their construction. They are verbal because the rest of the construction is made up of purely verbal morphemes.

a) The inflections are :

<u>Pos.</u>	ku.....a	TC I
<u>Pos. excl.</u>	ku chi.....a	TC X
<u>Pos. prog.</u>	ku cha.....a	TC X
<u>Neg.</u>	ku sa.....a	TC I
<u>Neg. excl.</u>	ku sa chi.....a	TC X

Neg. prog.

ku sa cha..... TC X

e.g. ku-tór-á	(to take, taking)
ku-chí-tor-a	(to take now, to take then)
ku-chá-b-a zvakáre	(still to steal again)
ku-sa-tór-á	(not to take, not taking)
ku-sa-chí-tor-a	(not to take then)
Ko, ku-sa-chá-edz-a?	(What about no longer trying?)

Infinitives form a class of nomino-verbals which is noun class 15. This class consists only of inflected verb phrases and differs from other noun classes in the very limited character of constructions found in it. Other classes, besides having constructions based on the pattern np + ns, have nomino-verbal constructions based on verb radicals alone, e.g. chi-gar-o (chair), as well as those based on verb phrases.

e.g. chi-tút-á-mátuzví	(dung beetle)	(7)
cp. ku-tút-á-mátuzví	(to move dung)	(15)

Cp. the description of class 15 and the complex nominal constructions; also that of the verbal inflecting morphemes.

b) The same inflections, not necessarily in their total range, are constituents with auxiliary verb phrases as well.

e.g. ku-ti gudo raénda	(the fact that the baboon went)
ku-ti gudo riénde	(the aim that the baboon should go)
ku-nge wába zvakámwe	(your having stolen other peoples' things)
ku-dzimar-á wóba	(your going on until you steal)
ku-bv-a wáéndá	(your going forthwith)
ku-chí-bv-a wáéndá	(your then going forthwith)
ku-chá-dzimar-a wóba	(your still going on until you steal)
ku-zo-ti wáéndá	(your having gone then)
Ko, ku-sa-chí-bv-a wáéndá?	(Why not go now, straightaway?)
Ko, ku-sa-ngo-yerekan-a wáéndá?	(What about just going off without warning?)

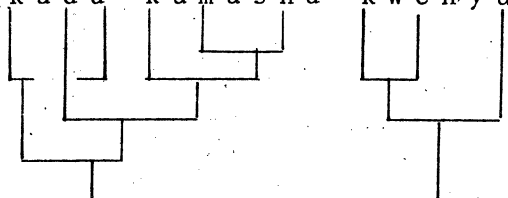
Cp. the description of the inflection of auxiliary verb phrases.

#### 4.6.2.1.2.

As constituents, infinitives show, by their distribution, a nomino-verbal character since they are found as constituents in both substantival and verbal constructions.

#### 4.6.2.1.2.1. Infinitives as substantival constructions

Infinitives, being nominal constructions, belong to the constituent class of headword in substantive phrases.

e.g. k u d a k u m u s h a k w e n y u	(your love of home)
	<u>Headword</u> : Nominal construction of class 15
	<u>Qualifier</u> : Possessive

e.g. Infinitive inflected verbs as headwords:

kufámá uku	(this travelling)
kusazivá kwosé	(all ignorance)
kumwe kunyóra	(other writing)
kurwa kukurú	(great fighting)
kushanda kusingapere	(working without end)
kurwa kusingadotse zuvá	(fighting that does not last a day)

e.g. Infinitive inflected auxiliary verb phrases as headwords:

Kudzímára wófa uku kúngé úsinganzwe zvinóréva vamwe	(This ending up in death is due to your not listening to others)
Kunge wáéndá uku hakuná zvakúnotibátsirá	(This instance of your having gone has got no help for us in it)

Cp. the description of the substantive phrase and the constituent class of headword.

#### 4.6.2.1.2.2. The Infinitive Clause

Infinitives occur with SPs which have a semantic relation of subject to predicate in the following construction:

+/- Topic and infinitive

- e.g. Kurwa vanhu kusingadotse zuva  
(For people to fight less than a day)  
Imbwa kuruma muridzi wayo chivare  
(For a dog to bite its master is an unheard of thing)

The infinitive clause despite the presence of a 'subject' or topic, appears still to belong to the constituent class of headword in the SP.

- e.g. Vanhu kurwa daka uku hakuna kuka  
(This fighting grudges on the part of people is no good)

In the listing of the distribution of the infinitive, the term infinitive henceforward means infinitive clause.

**4.6.2.1.2.3.** Distribution of infinitives as substantival constructions

Substantive phrases with infinitives as headwords belong to the same constituent classes as other SPs. Thus they are found as constituents in the following constructions :

- i) in apposition to other SPs;
- ii) as complements in verb phrases;
- iii) as subjects in verbal clauses;
- iv) as subjects in substantival clauses;
- v) as circumstantial phrases in sentences;
- vi) after conjunctions kana and na, as linked to verbal clauses;
- vii) as stems in complex nominal constructions;
- viii) in inflected SPs,

- viz. (a) adverbially inflected SPs as adjuncts in verb phrases and  
as further inflected by a restricted verbal inflection;
- (b) possessively inflected SPs as headwords and qualifiers in SPs;
- (c) ownership inflected SPs as headwords in SPs;
- (d) copulative inflected SPs as predicates in substantival clauses.

The infinitive as constituent in each of these constructions is studied at the relevant place in the total description. Examples of each of the constructions are given here together with references to the relevant section.

i) Infinitives are often found in apposition to the pronoun

- e.g. Iko kuenda kwake kuneyi nesu?  
(How does his going affect us?)  
Iko kunge waba zvamwe kuitireyi nharo?  
(Why argue about your having stolen other people's things?)  
Iko vanhu kurwa daka hungé pasina matare  
(The fact of people fighting their own grudges means there are no courts)

These compound SPs, pronoun + infinitive, are inflected copulatively,

- e.g. ndi-ko kuenda kwake (lit. it is his going)

This is a construction used, with or without an auxiliary R -v-, as a consecutive clause in principal-consecutive sentences.

- e.g. Akasara mazuva maviri, (akave) ndiko/ndo kuenda (kwake)  
(He stayed two days and then went)  
...ndo kutosara kakomana kamwe chete  
(..and only one little boy survived)  
...ndo kukoka nzou varanda vayo  
(..and the elephant summoned his servants)  
Vanhu vakaswerurayiwa zuva rose. Kuzoti manheru, hondo yapera,  
(vakava/kukave) ndo / ndiko kuzodya sádza kwavo  
(People were killed all day. In the evening, after the battle, they ate their food at last)

In these constructions, when an SP stands in relation of subject to the infinitive, it may be expressed as subject in the older and optional longer constructions which make use of an auxiliary -v-;

- e.g. ...kakomana kakachive ndo kutosara kamwe chete  
(..and then only one little boy survived)

or it may remain as topic to the infinitive, the subject concord of class 15 being used.

- e.g. ...kakómaná kukachíve ndó kutosára kamwé cheté  
 (...and then only one little boy survived)  
 ..nzou ikachíve ndó kukóká vāranda váyo  
 (...and then the elephant summoned its servants)
- cp. ... nzou kukachíve ndó kukóká vāranda váyo  
 (...and then the elephant summoned its servants)

Cp. the description of predicates in substantival clauses; and that of the auxiliary verbs -v- and -nge with copulative phrases as complements.

ii) Infinitives as complements in verb phrases

- e.g. Ndakápedza kutsváirá mumbá (I have finished sweeping in the house)  
 Handízivé kúnge ishé áendá (I don't know whether the chief has gone)  
 Kurangarira mwaná kutúká amái (To think of a child cursing his mother)

Infinitive clauses are found as complements in -ri segments in the following idiom:

- e.g. Havásirí vānhu kuwanda (They are not people to be many; viz. the people are very many)  
 Harísirí rúva kunaka (The flower is very beautiful)

Cp. the description of the constituent class of complement in verb phrases.

iii) Infinitives as subjects in verbal clauses

- e.g. Kudá kumushá kwényú kwákonzera zvóse izvi  
 (Your love of home has caused all this trouble)  
 Kugocha kúnodá amái, kwómwaná kúnodzima motó  
 (Roasting requires the mother, the child's efforts put out the fire;  
 viz. A mother may correct a child but not vice versa)  
 Kuti achiúyá zvínenge zvichiónéka  
 (Whether he will come will appear later)  
 Kutórerwá mwaná kwaári uku kúnotsamwisa kwázvo  
 (This having a child taken from her is very saddening)  
 Kurangarira mwaná kutúká amái zvínorwádza kwázvo  
 (To think of a child cursing his mother is very painful)  
 Imbwá kurúma múridzi wáyo zvínoréva kúti yákarérwa nomúkaka  
 (For a dog to bite its master means it was brought up on milk; viz. was  
 treated too kindly)  
 Kurwa vanhu kusíngadótse zúva hazvípédzé hódó OR hakúpédzé hódó  
 (For people to fight less than a day does not finish a war)  
 Kana kufá múnhu paHaráre kwaári zváinge zvikúkútu  
 (Even for a person to die where he was in Harare was very inconvenient)  
 Kuzenge maomerwá zváita séyi, amai vomóyo wángu?  
 (How is it that you seem so hard and unfriendly, my dear?)  
 Ko, kuzogara muríma zváita séyi nhási?  
 (What are you sitting in the darkness for today?)  
 Kusíyá kwáké mushá zváiréva kúti amái vacházotambudzika  
 (His leaving home meant that his mother would suffer)

Cp. the description of the constituent class of subject in verbal clauses.

iv) Infinitives as subjects in substantival clauses

- e.g. Kuvhunduka chatí kwata, húngé une katúrike  
 (To be alarmed at the fall of something means that you have hung up something)  
 Kusená chivi húona chiwuya  
 (To hate the bad is to see the good; viz. to part with a well worn thing indicates  
 that you have replaced it with a new one)  
 Kunge waba zvavámwe chinhu chakáshata  
 (Your having stolen other people's things is a bad business)  
 Iko vanhu kurwa daka húngé pásiná matare  
 (This fighting grudges on the part of people means there are no courts)  
 Mbizi kúgara munondo húnzi ndava nondo  
 (For a zebra to live among hartebeests is equivalent to being said:  
 "I am now a hartebeest too.")  
 Mwaná kutúká amái inzira yokúti vakamúita mutambá wepáruware  
 (The child's cursing his mother is because she treated him too kindly, lit.  
 like a klapper apple tree on a flat rock outcrop)  
 Kakara kununa húdya kamwe  
 (If one little beast is to be fat, it must eat another one)

- e.g. Mbúdzí kudyá mufénjé, húfane nyina  
(For a goat to eat the mufenje bush means it is like its mother)  
Timbá kúshaya bésu húnzí inyn'aná  
(For a wren to lack a tail means it is called a fledgeling; people say it is a young one because it is small)  
Moyo chena ndéweyí, bere kurinda mhurú yakáfa?  
(For a hyena to look after a dead calf is what sort of kindness, disinterestedness?)

Cp. the description of the constituent class of subject in substantival clauses.

v) Circumstantial phrases is a term designed to cover an optional element in sentences which appear to be something other than a simple complement in a verb phrase,

- e.g. Minda yédu, hatiwané zvio'  
(As for our fields, we get no corn)  
Rwendo rwédu, tinówana kudyá  
(As for our journey, we find food)  
Babá wángu, hachingáitike chinhu  
(As for my father, he can't be turned into anything)  
Chisi chako masimbá mashoma; usakungiré hátá séchako'  
(As for what is not yours, lessen your powers; do not roll a headpad for it as if it were yours)

#### Infinitives as circumstantial phrases

- e.g. Muranda, kunyanganaka, haátongerwé mhósva ásipó  
(Though a servant be ever so good, he is not to be tried in a case in his absence)  
Mbizi kúgara munondo, inoti, ndavá nóndowó  
(If a zebra lives among hartebeests, he thinks he is a hartebeest too)  
Mwaná kudákará ótúka amái, zvinenge zvamúsviká kútsvukú  
(For the child to go the lengths of cursing his mother, something will have touched him on the raw)  
Kuramba tinyéreré, hapána chédu  
(If we keep quiet, there won't be anything for us)  
Kunyarará, hatiwané chinhu  
(If we keep quiet, we get nothing)  
Kuzoti mumwe musí, Gwarí wákandoshányirá Gondó  
(One day later, Partridge went to visit Eagle)  
Kubvuma rwendo kwómwaná mudúku, rwáké rúrí mberí  
(If a small child agrees to go an errand, his own journey lies ahead)  
Kugara, tángé nhámó, rugaré rúgoteverera  
(In living, start with the troubles and let peace come later)  
Ko hopé dzakubátá zvakádiyí, munhu kupinda mumbá, kuzarura bhókisi, kutóra mari, kuenda zváké  
(What sort of a sleep was it that held you for someone to enter the house, to open the box, to take the money, to go away)

Cp. the description of the constituent class of circumstantial phrase in the discussion of the sentence.

#### vi) Infinitives joined to clauses by the conjunctives kana and na

Infinitive clauses are joined to preceding clauses by the conjunctives kana (or, even) and na (and, even)

e.g.

na

- Mazúvá ósé ndinómuka nokúshamba nokúpfeka nókudyá bótá  
(Everyday I rise and wash and dress and eat soft porridge)  
Kuzoti avá máuró, Chinzvéngá-mutsváiro wákatorá máfutá nókuátákúra pamusóro wáké nokúenda kumushá  
(When it was evening, Dodge-broom took the butter and put it on his head and went home)  
Vaná vákaúyá vachifará nokúridza ngoma  
(The children came rejoicing and beating drums)  
Ndakápinda mumbá ndikagara pasí nokúverenga tsamba  
(I went into the house and sat down and read the letters)  
kudyá sádfa nókunwá hwahwá  
(eating porridge and drinking beer)

The infinitive clause includes a topic if a subject, different from that in the preceding clause, is to be indicated.

e.g. Mazúvá ósé ndinósangana naKufá naRínosi, nókufámbá isú tósé kúchikóro  
(Every day I meet Kufa and Linus and we all go to school)

e.g. kana

Kudyá sádza kana kunwá hwahwá zváimurémera  
(Eating porridge or even drinking beer was too much for him)

Idyá kana kunwá!  
(Eat or drink!)

Ndinódya sádza kana kunwá múkaka  
(I eat porridge or drink milk)

Handifaré kana kudyá zváko  
(I am not happy nor do I even eat)

Havafaré kana kuseka zvávó  
(They are not happy nor do they even laugh)

Kana vachípindá mumbá kana kumírírá pámusúo vánogarotúkwa  
(When they go into the house or even stand at the doorway, they are usually scolded)

Ngávamire kana kugara pasí  
(Let them stand or sit down)

Aidísá kúti ndíwáne bása kana kudzokera kumba  
(He wanted me to find work or return home)

Kutarisa kana kuóná mwaná kúdzoko órambá amái zvinoshura  
(It is terrible to look at or see a child disowning his mother contrary to all duty)

Babá kúramba mwaná kana mwaná kúramba amái hazváizívíkánwa kare  
(For a father to reject his child or a child his mother was not known of old)

Babá haaná kúramba mwaná kana mwaná kúramba babá  
(Father did not reject his child or the child his father)

It is only infinitive clauses which can be joined to preceding clauses by these conjunctives. The construction with na provides a type of consecutive construction in which clauses are linked to one another in a series in narrative. Principal clauses can be linked to preceding clauses by kana and na if they are the complements of infinitive auxiliary -ti.

e.g. Mazúvá áno vanhu vánorohwá várí pánzira kana kúti marí yávó ínótorwá páchena  
(These days people are beaten on the roads or their money is taken openly from them)

Ndakámuúdzá kúti amái váiva mumbá úyevé nokúti babá ákanga áuya  
(I told him that mother was in the house and that father had come)

Páne murúme anókuzívá kana kúti ákuzívá  
(Here is a man who knows you or who knew you)

Gombo kana rákabátirwá kana kúti ráva munda womúwe, hazvíkódzeri  
kúti páwane anóuya achítí órina, iye nyamuzvínágombo áripó  
(When a patch of ground is occupied or has become someone's field, it is not right that someone should come intending to cultivate it, while the owner is there)

Zvinotodá áfa kana kúti átomúpa  
(A prior condition is that he should have died or given it to him)

The above description in the case of na seems preferable to treating na- + infinitives as adjuncts in a verb phrase.

e.g. Ndinómuka mangwanani nokupfeka hémbe itsvá  
(I get up in the morning and put on a new shirt)

cp. Ndinóuya némwana (I come with a child)

Na in the first example is treated as a conjunctive, not as an adverbial inflecting morpheme. It is a conjunctive also in the case of compound SPs,

e.g. Babá ndamáí vakaiya (Father and mother came)

cp. Neniwo ndinoda kuyawo (And I too want to come)  
Kana neniwo ndinoda kuyawo (And even I too want to come)

Cp. the description of consecutive clauses and that of principal-consecutive sentences which list a number of constructions whereby clauses can be linked.

#### vii) Infinitives in complex nominal constructions

Infinitives with prefix  $\emptyset$  of class 1a appear as stems in complex nominal constructions.

e.g. Kutya-uripo (1a) (a name meaning one who fears but does not run away)  
Kugara-hanzwana (1a) (name of a dog: a request for peace. Lit. To live is to understand one another) 119/cp. gwendá-...



cp. gwenda'-kwenda (5) (coming and going) cp. kuenda (to go)

viii) Infinitives in inflected SPs.

a) Infinitives in adverbially inflected SPs.

These constructions occur as adjuncts in verb phrases.

e.g. Ndanéta nokufamba nzendo dzakawanda  
(I am tired from making many journeys)

Ákafa nokuti akanga achirwara kwenguva ndefu nokutizve vanhu havana  
kumuchengeza zvakanaka

(He died on account of the fact that he had been sick for a long time and further because people had not cared for him properly)

Ndauya nokukurumidza. (I came with haste)

In these constructions, the morpheme na- (nge- in Manyika) is instrumental in meaning. Associative na-, when joining infinitive clauses, has been treated as a conjunctive.

Handibvumirane nazvo sokufunga kwangu  
(I don't agree with it according to my opinion)

Zvinhu zvakanamirira sokuti munhu asina mari  
(Things were hard for him as a person who had no money)

Cp. the description of the construction of adverbial phrases and the constituent class of adjunct in verb phrases.

Infinitive inflected verb phrases, not clauses, can be inflected by associative na- (with).

e.g. Uya nokudya kuzhinji (Bring a lot of food)

These inflected SPs can be verbally inflected with the restricted inflection used also with -ri segments.

e.g. Handina kusimba kwakwana (I haven't enough strength)  
Ndiye kudyakusina kukwana (I have insufficient food)

Cp. the description of the construction of verbally inflected adverbial phrases.

b) Infinitives in possessive inflected SPs.

e.g. as headwords

Rwokufira munhu Harare kwaari  
(That - viz. the plight, calamity - of a man dying where he is in Harare)

Chokudya hachipate munhu  
(Food can always fit a person, is never - unlike clothes - dependent on size)

e.g. as qualifier:

Zvinhu zvokupfeka (things to wear)  
vanhu vokurwa daka (vengeful people)  
ivhu rokumbira hari (clay for moulding pots)

Akarohwa kwazvo zvokuti akanga asingagoni kugara pasi  
(He was beaten so hard that he was unable to sit down)

Ndiri kutsvaga mazano okuti ndibude muno  
(I am seeking for a plan whereby I may get out of here)

Hapana nomumwe munhu anobvumirwa kutema muti kunze kwokunge atobvumirwa  
nashewedunhu rose  
(There is no one who is allowed to cut down a tree apart from being allowed by the chief of the whole district)

Rushambwa rwokwanikidzwa munhu nomukadzi womumwe runonyadza  
(The scandal of a man being found with another's wife is shameful)

Cp. the description of the construction of the possessive phrase and the constituent class of headword and qualifier.

c) Infinitive in ownership inflected SPs

e.g. Nyakuba momba afa (The one who stole the ox has died)

Sakwana wedu ashayika (Our daughter-in-law has died)

Muzvina-kuenda nembwa dzake (The one who goes with his dogs)

Nyakuti mwanakaba mari auya  
(The one who said that the child stole the money has come)

Sakuti vanhu vanodiwa asungwa  
(The one who spread the report that the people were wanted has been arrested)

Muzvina-kuti vanhu vanda kumunda akorwa nehahwa  
(The one who said that the people had gone to the field was drunk)

Cp. the description of the structure of ownership phrases.

d) Infinitives in copulative inflected SPs, viz. predicates in substantival clauses.

e.g. Kutsvá kwendébvú dzévarúmé kúdzimurana  
(lit. The burning of men's beards is to extinguish them for one another; viz. In trouble people must help one another)

Hakúsi hwahwá, huti tínyéngané  
(It isn't beer - which is making us act like this, it's so that we may make love)

Íko vanhu kurwa daka húngé pásiná matare  
(This taking revenge on the part of people means there are no courts)

Cp. the description of the structure of copulative phrases.

4.6.2.1.2.4.

Infinitives as verbal constructions.

In the constructions listed and exemplified so far, infinitives occur as constituents as headwords or as SPs. Of course, owing to the verbal character of the infinitive and the relations between

- (i) the R and its complements and adjuncts;
- (ii) the auxiliaries and their complements; and
- (iii) the topic and the infinitive inflected verb phrase within the infinitive clause

infinitives are vastly more complex and expressive than other headwords or SPs. Nevertheless, the constructions listed are those in which SPs are constituents.

The constructions which follow are not those in which infinitives occur as headwords or SPs. These are:

- (i) infinitives as complements to auxiliary verbs;
- (ii) infinitives as principal clauses in sentences;
- (iii) infinitives in apposition to ideophone phrases.

(i) Infinitive inflected verb phrases, not clauses, occur as complements after the auxiliary verbs -ri and -v- (the latter only in the recent past)

e.g. Ndirí kúenda kumbá (I am going home)  
Ndavá kúenda kumbá (I am now going home)

The infinitive also occurs after -ti in complex principal-consecutive sentences.

e.g. Ndinóti kuenda kumbá ndóona vaná vachíchémá  
(Whenever I go home, I find the children crying)

Ndakátí kúpinda mumbá ndikagara pasí  
(I went in and sat down)

Infinitives also appear after negative inflected -na with past tense meaning.

e.g. Handíná kúenda kumbá nezúro  
(I didn't go home yesterday)

In these constructions, the infinitive is not usually qualified and hence does not appear to be a headword.

But cp. Handíná kútaura kwésé (I did not speak at all)  
Handíná nokútaura kwésé (I didn't even speak at all)  
Handíná kana nokútaura kwésé (I didn't even open my mouth)

ii) In graphic style, infinitive clauses are used as principal clauses followed by consecutive clauses.

e.g. Vanhu kungosangana vórwá  
(The people just meet and fight; they have only to meet and they fight)  
Mwaná kungosangana nényoka, achíbvá átíza  
(The child has only to meet a snake and straightaway he runs away)  
Babá kudokwirá múmutí, váshe vāngu imi, shumba ikati, hāndeyí  
(Father tried to climb up the tree for dear life and the lion came after him)  
Muridzi wēmbwa kudotéteréra námabví námagókorá - nēwazvīnzwa wósé-áíwa!  
(The owner of the dog implored on his hands and knees - but no one listened!)  
Kusvika kwakáita amái, vaná vésé vachíbvá vásímuká  
(Mother arrived and all the children rose to their feet)

If the second clause were principal, the infinitive would be a circumstantial phrase.

e.g. Kusvika kwakáita amái, babá ákanga áendá  
(On mother's arrival, father had gone away; when mother arrived, father had gone)  
Kudorangarira mambo padare, haána kúwana mazwí okúfunga kuti átóngé zvakanáka  
(Even though the chief tried to think hard, he did not find a just way of settling the case)

The infinitive of the auxiliary verb -ti with an ideophone or ideophone phrase is often used as a principal clause in graphic style.

e.g. Kuzoti ícho churá úyeyí, chikachíti, "Ndípeyíwo nzungú"  
(In came the frog and said, "Give me some nuts please.")

Kuzōzvítí chirikadzi íye kwí, néshungu di, ikati zvinó yótanga kuvingura  
(Then that widow suddenly noticed what was there and was cast down with disappointment and anger and began to voice her feelings).

iii) Infinitives in apposition to ideophones or ideophone phrases:

e.g. Mhénó chatí pu, kuwa

(I don't know what fell; lit. what went 'pu', to fall)

Nguruve ýanzi pazísó ndure, kurúmwa; zísó ndó kubva rítí tutututuzai, kuzvímá  
(The pig was stung on the eye; and the eye straightaway swelled up)

Ndíye ware, mwaná kutízá babá

(And away, the child running away from his father)

Ndíye popotyó, zinyóká kúpinda mumbá

(And coming in, the huge snake entering the house)

Ndíye zinyóká popotyó kupinda mumbá/mumbá kúpinda

(And the huge snake came into the house)

Cp. the description of the construction of the ideophone phrase.

#### 4.6.2.2. Imperative inflected verb phrases

In Doke's treatment of the different types of word, imperatives are listed, like the infinitive, under two headings. In the case of the imperative, the two headings are those of the verb and the interjective. This is a useful hint.

##### 4.6.2.2.1.

As a construction, the imperative has

(a) purely verbal inflecting morphemes,

viz. Pos. TC II e.g. tór-á! (take)

Pos.excl. chi-TC X e.g. chí-tor-a! (take now!)

and (b) the morpheme -yí which is used with interjectives with plural reference.

e.g. Manherú-yí! (Good evening') cp. manherú

Zvákánáka-yí! (Good) zvákánáka

cp. tór-á-yí! (take!)

chí-tor-a-yí! (take now!)

Other constructional details

(1) Stabiliser i- is part of the inflection of radicals consisting of a consonant in the absence of any other morpheme prefixed to the R (e.g. the exclusive chi- or the object prefix). This applies to auxiliary Rs as well.

e.g. i-dy-á sádza! (eat stiff porridge!)

i-dy-á-yí sádza (eat stiff porridge!)

Regáyí kukónya! Igópikayí namañwe mazwí sokúti 'Chókwadí!', 'Zvirokwázvo!', munotenderwa

(Don't curse! Just swear with other words like 'Truly!', 'Truth!', and you will be believed)

i-ngó-ndí-p-a-wó! (just give it to me please!)

i-ndó-f-á-yí zvényú (go and die as far as you are concerned!)

but chí-dy-a! (eat now)

chí-ndi-p-á gumí chéte! (give me only ten now!)

(2) Radicals with object prefix have the following inflection ....-e

e.g. mú-p-e! (give him!) vá-p-è-yí! (give them!)

zví-gadzir-e-yí! (prepare yourselves!)

(3) Adjuncts frequently used with imperatives are the enclitics -ka! (peremptory or insistent) and -wó! (persuasive or conciliatory)

e.g. i-nzw-á-ka! (listen, I say!)

ndí-p-e-wó! (give me, please!)

(4) Prohibitions are commonly expressed by the imperative of the radical -reg- (stop, refrain) + infinitive.

e.g. reg-á kutórá! (don't take!)

reg-á-yí kutórá! (don't take!)

More polite prohibitions are expressed by the subjunctive inflection:

Sp + sa TC III .....e

e.g. u-sa-tor-é (don't take!)  
mu-sa-tor-é (don't take!)

#### 4.6.2.2.2.

As a constituent, imperative inflected verb phrases belong to the constituent class of predicate in interjective clauses. Interjective clauses, hereafter termed imperatives, have the constructional pattern:

+/- vocative + predicate

e.g. Shamwari, uya kuno! (Friend, come here!)  
Imi vadzimai, ndibatsireyi! (You women, help me!)

Since the imperative is directed at the addressee indicated by the vocative, it appears to cohere rather more intimately with it than other predicates.

cp. Shamwari, ini ndaenda (Friend, I'm off)

In imperatives there is agreement between the vocatives and the interjective predicates in number, singular imperatives used with singular vocatives and plural with plurals, either honorific or of number.

e.g. Amai, nyararayi! (Mother, be quiet!)

The constituent class of vocative would appear to be made up of SPs. Vocatives have a special tonal inflection.

e.g.	Mwana!	(Child!)	cp.	mwana
	Baba!	(Father!)		baba
	Mukadzi!	(Woman!)		mukadzi
	Mukaranga!	(Young wife!)		mukaranga
	Muzukuru!	(Nephew!)		muzukuru
	Hama!	(Kinsman!)		hama
	Shamwari!	(Friend!)	cp.	shamwari
	Rugwaku!	(Spoon!)		rugwaku
	Mukosi!	(String!)		mukosi
	Mambo!	(Chief!)	cp.	mambo
	Chigaro!	(Chair!)		chigaro
	iwe!	(you!)		iwe
	imi!	(you!)		imi

i.e. All final high tones, either single or in a series, are dropped.

(a) Imperatives are stable clauses

e.g. Ibva! (Go away!)  
Ibva waendako! (Go there right away!)  
Kana tasvika, inge watopfeka kare! (When we come, be already dressed!)  
Dzimará upinde! (Go on until you enter!)

Yerekana watora mari! (Take the money unexpectedly!)

Vanhu vakukumbira kuti, 'Chengeta vana!' Dzoko worova vana!  
(The people asked you to look after the children. Instead, you beat them!)

Uya wovataurira kuti ndaenda!  
(When they have come tell them that I have gone!)

Iva uchienda kuti unyangadziire  
(If you spoil the work, be going! viz. so long as you know you are going!)

Iwe, rega kudaro!  
(You, stop doing that!)

(b) Imperative clauses, like principal and hortative clauses, occur as complements after auxiliary -ti.

e.g. Rega kuti, 'Idya!' Iti, 'Inwa!  
(Don't say, 'Eat!' Say, 'Drink!')

Kachembere kakavudza kuti, 'Regayi kunda nenzira yokudunhu!  
(The little old woman told them, 'Don't go by the hill road!')

Cp. the description of auxiliary verb -ti and its complements.

(c) Imperatives also occur as complex stems in nominal constructions with the noun prefix  $\emptyset$  of class 1a.

e.g.	Wanzayi-moto	(1a)	(a name referring to a dangerous man; Build up the fire, he will knock you cold)
	Bvunza-wabaya	(1a)	(a name! Stab first, then ask)
	Bvunza-wazarira	(1a)	(a name referring to one who plays safe: shut the door first, then ask)
	Bvunza-ndibvume	(1a)	(a name referring to compliant person; just ask and I'll agree)

123/Vana-idya-ugere....

Vaná-ídyá-ugere (People who give out pensions)  
 Vaná-búdá-ndíbúdewó (Children from the same mother)

Cp. the description of complex nominal constructions.

(d) Imperative clauses are nuclear constituents in interjective sentences.

e.g. Pindá urwé rvurá (Come in and drink water)  
 Kana uchídá kúpinda, pindá! (If you want to come in, come in!)  
 Kúmbíráyí munópiwá, (Ask and you will be given,  
 tsvagáyí munówana seek and you will find,  
 gugúdzáyí munózarurirwa knock and it shall be opened unto you)  
 Shámá múromo wákó ndígouzádzá (Open your mouth and I will fill it)

#### 4.6.3. The finite inflections

The remaining types of inflected verb phrases, viz. principal, participial, relative, hortative, subjunctive and consecutive, are termed finite. This term simply means that a subject prefix is part of their inflection. They all belong to the constituent class of predicate in verbal clauses of which the constructional pattern is:

+/- subject + predicate

In verbal clauses, the subject is optional. A great number of clauses dispense with subjects, the subject prefix, however, being used in agreement with and in reference to a substantive phrase in the discourse.

Normally there is agreement within the clause between the subject and the subject prefix in regard to person, number and class; and between the subject referred to and the subject prefix. There are cases of disagreement which are dealt with below.

In unemphatic speech, the subject normally precedes the predicate as one construction. Cases of abnormal word order in which the subject follows the predicate in order to convey emphasis are treated below.

Normally there is a pause between subject and predicate in principal clauses. This indicates that the primary cut in the clause is between subject and predicate.

Thus the characteristics of the clause are as follows :

- (i) agreement between subject and predicate; (ii) normal, unemphatic word order: subject followed by predicate; (iii) pause between subject and predicate in principal clauses.

These characteristics are reminiscent of the SP. A similar pause is found in the substantival clause between the subject and the predicate.

##### 4.6.3.1. Types of subject

The constituent class of subject of verbal clauses contains the following types of construction as its members. The types below are studied mainly with principal clauses in mind and are exemplified in principal clauses in the main. But they are also found in other types of clause. Details affecting the subject in particular types of clause will be mentioned under each type.

Constructions (\*) belonging to the constituent class of subject.

- i) substantive phrases;
- ii) compound SPs joined by conjunctions;
- iii) substantive phrases in apposition;
- iv) conjunctions + substantive phrases.

##### (i) Substantive phrases

Substantive phrases consist of various combinations of substantives, other than nouns, and which agree in class. Recall that pronouns of I and II persons agree with substantives of Classes 1 and 2, save that - when accompanied by quantitatives and relatives - there is agreement in person.

e.g. Vanhu vazhinji, vakauya kuna mambo (N, A) (2)  
 (Many people came to the chief)  
 Vamwe vanhu havazive izvi (E, N) (2)  
 (Some people do not know this)  
 Izvi zvakavafadza chose (D) (8)  
 (This satisfied her completely)  
 Vamwe vanhu ava + havazive izvi (E, N, D) (2)  
 (These other people do not know this)  
 Munhu wese anonzi mukadzi + akauya kudare zuva riye (N, Q, R) (1)  
 (Every person who was (called a woman came to the court that day)  
 Vose vasikana ava + vakanga vari vomurugwaro rwechitatu norwechina (Q, N, D) (2)  
 (All these girls were in Standards III and IV)

\*) The types of substantive in the examples below are indicated by customary abbreviations as well as the class of the subject. Also pauses in the examples are indicated by the /+ sign or by #.  
 123/Uku kupera...

Uko kupera kwemuviri + kwakasaka kuti mujiza uyu ubva wangovagara (D, N, P) (15)  
(This losing weight made the dress fit her)

Vose vanhurume ava + vakanga vachinwa hwahwa (Q, N, D) (2)  
(All these men were drinking beer)

Baba munini womusikana + akanga aenda Harare (N, A, P) (1a)  
(The girl's junior uncle had gone to Harare)

Zvekunodya zvakanga zvataurwa nomurungu + zvakanga zvambokanganwikwa (P, R,) (8)  
(The arrangements about going to eat which had been made by the white man were forgotten at that time)

Zvatakabva papurazi + baba waZviripi akatengesa mombe (N, P) (1a)  
(When we left the farm, Zviripi's father sold the cattle)

Vakabva vati bwa + vose + sare + foromani angova oga (Q) (2)  
(And everyone forthwith departed and the foreman was left on his own)

Izvozvi zvavava kuti mharadzo yehoka inonwirwa kumusha + zvinokonzerwa nekuda mari (Pr, D, P) (8)  
(This statement of theirs that the breaking-up drink is taken at the village is due to their love of money)

Misodzi yako iyi yauri kuchema + inondirwadza mwoyo + kupinda kurwadziwa kwandinoitwa nokukuvara kwandakaita (N, P, D, P) (4)  
(These tears of yours which you are shedding cause my heart more pain than that which I am suffering from my injury)

Vamwe vanhu vazhinji + vakanga varimo (E, N, A) (2)  
(Many other people were in there)

Ivo vana vangu + vakauya kuna mambo (Pr, N, P) (2)  
(My children themselves came to the chief)

Vana vakanga vachitamba munhandare + vakapinda mumba + zvakarira dare (N, R) (2)  
(The children who were playing in the yard came into the house when the bell rang)

Ivo vaTapfumaneyi + havana kuziva izvi (Pr, N) (2a)  
(Tapfumaneyi himself did not know this)

Ndingaregere kurovera chihuri + iyeni munhu ndinongova ndoga? (Pr, N, R)  
(1 with I person agreement)  
(Should I not lock the door, I a person on my own?)

Munoti isu vanhu vavakadzi + tingaiwanepi? (Pr, N, P) (2 with I person agreement)  
(Where do you think we women can find it?)

Iwo matanga aya ane mombe dziri kutirimira idzi + akauya rinhi? (Pr, N, D, R) (6)  
(These kraals of these oxen which plough for us, when did they come?)

Irwo rukisheni ruzere urwu + ruzere nevakadziidza chete here? (Pr, N, R, D) (11)  
(Is this crowded township full of educated people only?)

Ivo vose vamwe vakadzi vangu vakuru ava + vakanga vari pano (Pr, Q, E, N, P, A, D) (2)  
(All these other senior wives of mine were themselves here)

Ndasvika ini ndose (Pr, Q) (1)  
(The whole of me has come)

Iye mwanasikana wedu uyu + anozobvirawo danga remombe (Pr, N, P, D) (1)  
(Will this daughter of ours bring us a pen full of cattle?)

Pamusha pedu chaipo apa + pava kuita mashura (N, P, P-Pr, D) (16)  
(At our very home there are extraordinary things happening)

Iwe mukadzi waGunje + wati wamborohwa iyewe? (Pr, N, P) (II)  
(You Mrs Gunje, have you ever been beaten before?)

Iye zvino ava nesvondo mbiri asati atsika pamba, ari mudoro, ini ndiri pamusha ndoga navana (Pr) (I)  
(It is now two weeks since he put foot in the home, spending his time at beer while I am alone at home with the children)

Akati oipinda iye mwana mukuru wavo iye oga, imi wee, ndiye akazoita kuti idzorerwe pasi (Pr, N, A, P, Pr, Q) (I)  
(When he, their elder child and he alone, entered the discussion, he caused the price to be reduced)

(ii) Compound SPs also act as subjects and control agreement as compounds.  
Compound SPs are SPs joined by the conjunctions na-, kana, or kana na-. (\*)

e.g. Baba naamai vauya (N, naN) (1a, 2a; 2)  
(Father and mother have come)  
Mukuwasha nasamutume wake + vakasvika manheru (N, naN, P) (1, 1a; 2)  
(The son-in-law and his messenger arrived in the evening)

(\*) The structure of the compound SP is indicated after the translation; as well as the classes of the SPs and that of the subject prefix agreement.

Baba kana amai + vanogona izvi (N, kana N) (1a, 2a; 2)  
(Father or mother can do this)

Vakomana navasikana vakadzidziswa + vakafanira kuva chiedza chino-  
vhenekera vari murima + kuti vavewo nechiedza + nechimiro chakanaka (N, naN, R)  
(2, 2a; 2)  
(Educated boys and girls should be a shining light to those in darkness so that they may have the light and a good example)

When one of the SPs are of classes 1, 2, 1a or 2a, the subject prefix agreement is of class 2. When SPs of other classes are compounded, the agreement is usually of class 8, particularly if the objects represented are of different species or kinds though of the same grammatical noun class. But these are not stringent rules.

VaTapfumaneyi navadzimai vavo + sevabereki vechikomba + havana kuuya (N, naN, P)  
(2a, 2a; 2)

(Mr Tapfumaneyi and his wife, as the parents of the suitor, did not come)

Gumi ravasikana navakomana vashanu vadiki + vakagara kuno rumwe rutivi (N, P, naN, A, A) (5, 2; 2)

(Ten girls and five little boys sat on one side)

...zvokuti munyai wavo nomwanakomana wavo + vaende kundotsvaira madota  
kwatezvara (N, P, naN, P) (1, 1; 2)

(... so that their messenger and their son might go and 'sweep up' the ashes at the father-in-law's place)

Mujiza wavaive nawo webasa netswanda yemuriwo wawakanga vatanhira amai vaMavis,  
yavakanga vakadengezera hazvina kumboshamisa (N, P, P, naN, P, P) (3, 9; 8)

(Her working dress and the basket full of vegetables which she had picked for Mavis' mother excited no surprise)

Mwana nehanzvadzi yake + vasvika (N, naN, P) (1, 9; 2)

(The child and his sister have come)

Mwana neharahwa + vakanga vagere pasi (N, naN) (1, 9; 2)

(The child and the old man were sitting down)

Chembere neharahwa dzasvika (N, naN) (9, 9; 10)

(The old woman and the old man have come)

Gava nebere hazvigusane misoro (N, naN) (5, 5; 8) (The jackal and the hyena do not shave each other's heads)

Gonhi rakanga richatsemuka, makumi maviri ane vana vashanu vomhanyira kunoita  
zvakanga zvaehwa nomudzidzisi (N, A, R) (6; 2!)

(The door seemed about to split as twenty five, lit. two tens which are with five children, ran to do what was told them by the teacher)

(Here the subject concord agrees with a complement in a relative qualifying the subject and not with the subject itself)

Chimwe chingwa namabhanzi zvakatosara (E, N; naN) (7, 6; 8)

(Some bread and buns were all that remained)

Mombe nembudzi zvinofura pamwe chete (N, naN) (10, 10; 8)

(Oxen and goats graze in one place)

Rugwaku nerukukwe zvinotengeswa pano (N, naN) (11, 11; 8)

(The spoon and the sleeping mat are sold here)

Kakomana nekasikana zvakadzurirana kumuganho (N, naN) (12, 12; 8)

(The little boy and the little girl had a fight)

Uchi noupfu zvinowanikwa mumba (N, naN) (14, 14; 8)

(Honey and flour are found in the home)

Kure nepadyo zvinozivikanwa nevanhu (N, naN) (17, 16; 8)

(Far and near are known to the people)

Mumba nemuhoro zvinoshandiswa nesu (N, naN) (18, 18; 8)

(The space in the house and in the hall is used by us)

Mikuyu nemizhanje hazvidyiwe nembwa (N, naN) (4, 4; 8)

(Wild figs and loquats are not eaten by dogs)

The compound is sometimes reinforced by the addition of a quantitative to the first SP and this also raises problems in agreement sometimes.

e.g. Baba vese naamai vakauya (N, Q, naN) (1a, 2a; 2)  
(Father together with mother, came)

Madzitete ese navasikana vasiri vanyarikani vakauya (N, Q, naN, R) (6, 2; 2)  
(The father's sisters together with the girls who were not involved in the close relationship came)

Mapere ese neshumba zvinouya (N, Q, naN) (6, 10; 8)  
(Hyenas together with lions come)

SPs connected by kana are usually found as a 'topic' to a predicate with an 'impersonal' subject prefix of class 15.

- e.g. Kwakasvika munyai kana kuti sadombo (N, Kana N) (k, 1a; 15)  
(There arrived the messenger or the go-between)  
....kufemedza kuti kunouya mbada kana shumba (N kana N) (9, 9; 15)  
(...to smell out whether a leopard or lion be coming)  
Handizvive kuti kuri kuuya baba kana amai (N, kana N) (1a, 2a; 15)  
(I don't know whether father or mother are coming)

but cp. Pane munhu ano munda kana gombo zvaro zvisiri zvangu muno munyika here?  
(Is there anyone who has a field or a patch of virgin land in this country which does not belong to me?)

(iii) SPs are in apposition:

- [1] when they are of different classes,  
e.g. musikana nherera (an orphan girl);  
or [2] when, of the same class, they each contain nouns,  
e.g. mwana wedu, musikana (our child, a girl);  
or [3] when one is a compound SP,  
e.g. vose vemana, vechikuru nevechiduku (everyone in the hamlet, old and young)
- [1] When SPs are of different classes, the subject prefix is often in agreement with the first but agreement with the other is possible too.
- e.g. Musikana nherera + akawanikwa (or yakawanikwa) mushure maGocha-nhembe  
(N: N) (1, 9; 1 or 9)  
(An orphan girl was found after the famine)  
Harahwa bofu + yakawira (or rakawira) mutsime (N: N) (9, 5; 9 or 5)  
(An old blind man fell into the well)  
Mabiko siri + akadyiwa pashure penhatu (N + N) (6, 9; 6)  
(A special dinner was eaten after three)  
Amayi vangu + chirikadzi yakadayi + havanganzarwo (N, P; N, R) (2a 9; 2)  
(My mother, an old lady like this, cannot be treated like that)  
Dzimwe nguva varume nyanzvi + havana nhamo iyi (N; N) (2, 10; 2)  
(Sometimes men who are experts do not have this trouble)  
Mangwanani aye + vakadzi nyanzvi dzokubika + dzakatanga kuundura huku (N; N, P) (2, 10; 10)  
(On that morning, the women who were expert cooks, began to pluck the fowls)

[2] When, of the same class, SPs each contain nouns,

- e.g. Iye mwana wako uyu, + musikana + anozonyora muhofisi  
yaani? (Pr, N, P, D: N) (1, 1; 1)  
(In which office will she, this child of yours, this daughter, be divorced?)  
Baba wangu Mutasa anozovapo (N, P; N) (1a, 1a; 1)  
(My father, Mutasa, will be there)

Relative inflected verb phrases appear to be in apposition in long constructions.

- e.g. Uyu tezvara wake + Kufahakurambwe + akanga zvino aneta nokutamba + aive agere munyasi maMhofu (D, N, P; N; R) (1a, 1a: 1)  
(This father-in-law of his, Kufahakurambwe, who was now tired from dancing, was seated next to Mhofu).  
Ukama hwezvirokwazvo + hune chokwadi + hune chido + humodaidza makumi masere here + kuti huvepo (N, P; R; R) (14, 14, 14; 14)  
(Does true and loving kinship require eighty pounds for it to exist?)

[3] SPs are in apposition when one is a compound SP,

- e.g. Varume vose, harahwa nemajaya zvinorima minda (N, Q; N naN) (2, 10 + 6; 8)  
(All the men, young and old, cultivate the fields)  
Chembere, tsvimborume, harahwa, myana, chirikadzi, vane varume vari kubasa nevane varume vasiri kubasa, vese vakanga varipo (N; N; N; N: R naR; Q) (10, 10, 10, 10, 2, 2)  
(Old women, young men, old men, mothers of children, widows, those with husbands at work and those with husbands without work, all were there)  
Vakati vaungana vose vemana rokwaMushayavanhu, vechikuru nevechiduku, aa, baba wee Moyo, ndakati nhasi ndinoitwa kanyama kanyama navaShawasha, ndiri ndoga ndoga muno umu (Q, R; P naP) (2, 2 + 2; 2)  
(When everyone from the hamlet of Mushayavanhu's place had gathered, oh, my Father Moyo, I thought I would be cut up into little pieces by the Shawasha being all alone in there)



Vakadzi + varume nevana + vasikana navakomana + vose vakapfeka mabhachi avo emvura + vamwe vakapfeka masaga okudzivirira mvura + vonanga kwaiva nomurungu  
(Women, men and children, girls and boys, all dressed in rain-coats, some in sacks to keep off the rain, headed for where the white man was) (N; N naN; N naN; Q; R; E, R,) (2, 2+2, 2+2, 2, 2; 2)

Vakadzi vese, chembere nemhandara, zvinotamba ngoma (N, Q; N naN) (2, 10+10; 8)  
(All the women, old and young, dance)

Baba naamai Tapfumaneyi vakati vapedza chirariro chavo, vakaenda mumba yavo yokuvata (N naN; N) (1a + 2a, 1a; 2)

(Father and mother Tapfumaneyi, having finished their supper, went into their bedroom)

There appears to be apposition and not a compound SP in some cases when a quantitative is used to reinforce the compound.

eg. Mwana vese nababa vaenda (N; Q naN) (1, 2 + 1a; 2)  
(The child, together with his father, have gone)

Chibahwe zvese nezvio zvinotengeswa (N; Q naN) (7, 8 + 8; 8)  
(Maize together with finger millet are sold)

[47] There are other cases of apposition of a different type where SPs are accompanied by substantives or inflected SPs of adverbial meaning.

e.g. Musikana pakare + akasiyiwa asina muchengeti (N; P) (1, 16; 1)  
(The girl furthermore was left without someone to look after her)

Vanhu pavopo + vakaswera varipo (N: P) (2, 16; 2)  
(The people in their places spent the day there)

Amai nababa, sevabereki vechikomba, havana kuenda (N naN; saN, P) (2a + 1a; sa2; 2)  
(Mother and father, as the parents of the suitor, did not go)

Iyesu patiri nhasi takura tisingazive kuti mhamba inotengeswa (Pr; P) (1, 16; 1)  
(We as we are today grew up unaware that beer was sold)

Still another case is present where an SP includes an enclitic adverb.

Imwezve mombe + yakapinda mudanga (E, N) (9; 9)  
(Another ox again entered the cattle pen)

Varumewo + vakatora mapadza + ndo kuchera nzungu (N) (2; 2)  
(The men also took hoes and dug up the nuts)

#### (iv) Conjunctions and substantive phrases

e.g. Kana naamai + havazive izvi (kana na + N) (2a)  
(And even my mother doesn't know this)

Nababa wanguwo + anoda kuuya (na + N + P) (1a)  
(And my father also wants to come)

Handiti apo vanhu vakanzwa kuti + mhamba yemangezi yava kuzotengeswa mumisha, + kana ivo vaisotengesa vachiita zvokuba, + vakati hekani waro (kana Pr, R) (2)  
(Isn't it so that when people heard that white men's beer was being sold in the village, even those who used to sell it in secret, were glad of the chance)

Kana nerzara yakabva yapera (kana naN) (9)  
(And even hunger came to an end)

Savayeni vokutanga + havana kuda kusvika mangwanani (saN + P) (2)  
(As visitors for the first time they did not want to get there early in the morning)

Kana naivo vose vamwe vakadzi vangu vakuru ava + vakanga vari pano (kana naPr, Q, E, N, P, A, D) (2)  
(And even all these other senior wives of mine themselves were here)

In the following example, a participial clause is subject of a principal clause:

Zviri zvehwaha zvamuri kuda kupengereka nazvo zvinotoda mukadzi chaiye, ano moyo wakatsiga, anogona kuzvibata, anonwa achiziva kuti zvino, ndikapfuurikidza apa, zvaipa. (8; 8)  
(This matter of beer about which you are mad, needs a real woman, who has a steady heart, who can control herself, who drinks with the knowledge that if she goes too far, it's a bad business)

#### 4.6.3.2. Special cases of agreement between subject and predicate

##### 4.6.3.2.1.

Infinitives are usually followed by subject prefixes of class 8, sometimes of class 15.

- e.g. Kugara munyasi maMhofu kudai, kwaiva kuti ndisiyirwe doro (15; 15)  
(Sitting next to Mhofu like this was so that I should be left some beer)
- Kunotsvaira dota zvinoreva kuti mukuwasha anoenda kokutanga pachena kwavatezvara  
(15; 8)  
(Going to sweep up the ashes means that the son-in-law goes openly for the first time to the father-in-law's place)
- Kukuvara kwako uku kuri kurwadza mwoyo wangu sokunge ndachekwa nebanga (15; 15)  
(This hurt of yours is paining my heart as if I had been cut by a knife)
- Kuziva izvi kwako kwakutorera (or zvakutorera) mumhosva (15; 15 or 8)  
(Your knowing this has brought you into trouble)
- Kuti ndiunganidze makumi mashanu zvawo zvainge zviri zvikukutu (15; 8)  
(For me to find even forty pounds would be difficult)
- Ko, kuzouya nhasi nechipiri, vanhu makaenda noMugovera, zvaita seyi? (15,8)  
(What does it mean coming back on Tuesday, you having gone off on Saturday?)

Long infinitive constructions often follow the predicates of which they are the subjects.

- e.g. Zvino imwi munofunga kuti zvingafe zvakamboitika here kuti mumutunhu uno musabikwe doro? (15; 8)  
(Now do you think that it could ever happen that beer would not be brewed in this district?)
- Zvakamboitika rinhi kuti tippedze dzimba mbiri? (15; 8)  
(When did it ever happen that we should finish two barns?)
- Hazvisati zvamboitika kuti vanhu vasevenze kwenguva ndefu yakadayi vasati vadya (15, 8)  
(It has never happened that people should work for such a long time before eating)
- Zvakamushamisa kuti fodya yose iyi yakasimwa naani uye rinhi (15; 8)  
(It made him wonder by whom and when all this tobacco had been sown)
- Wadyazheve zvakamubaya moyo chaizvo kuona mwana wake akanga akasimira zvakanaka kudai achisvikoti guruwada muvhu dzvuku (15, 8)  
(To see his child who so nicely dressed kneeling in the red dust went to Wadyazheve's heart)

#### 4.6.3.2.2.

There is an agreement between class 1, 1a, 2 and 2a nouns and subject prefixes of the I and II persons, the nouns used as vocatives or in reference.

- e.g. Ko, kuzouya nhasi nechipiri, vanhu makaenda noMugovera! (2, II pl.)  
(Fancy coming back today, Tuesday, (you) people who went away on Saturday)
- Iwe, mukadzi waGunje, wati wamborohwa, iyewe? (1; II s.)  
(You, Mrs Gunje, have you ever been beaten?)
- Munoona chiri apa, munhu unotofanira kurima (1; II s.)  
(You see what it is then, as a person you have to cultivate)
- Ndiri kuda kuti tose, vakadzi navarume, vanhu vose, tiende kufodya (I pl.; 2 + 2, 2; I pl.)  
(I want all of us, women and men, everyone, to go to the tobacco)
- Munotambireyiko nhasi, vanhu tinongova mako chete? (2; I pl.)  
(Why do you 'receive' us, people who have empty hands?)
- Kana changova chirimo chete, mwana-asina-hembe avhuruka, vakadzi toziva kuti zvigumba hazvichapera mudzimba (2; I pl.)  
(As soon as it is after harvest time and beer for sale has been brewed, as women we know that there will be no end of squabbles in the home)
- Mungafunge zvekurambana nemurume iye munhu ava nemhuri kudai? (1; II pl.)  
(Can you consider divorcing your husband, a person with a family like this?)

#### 4.6.3.2.3.

In some instances an impersonal subject prefix of class 15 or 17 is used; the topic, which would otherwise control the agreement, follows the predicate.

- e.g. Nomusi weKisimisi, kuchauya vanhu vazhinji kwazvo kuzondibvakachira ini  
(On Christmas day, there will be a lot of people coming to see me)
- Kwakatangiswa ngano, kuchizotevera zvirahwe, ndo kuzopedzisira nechidyaro  
(A beginning was made with stories, then a follow-up with riddles, and an end made with 'hunt the slipper').
- Kwaingunofarwa kwazvo, haiwa hakwaidanwa anonzwa  
(There was great enjoyment during all this time, there was no calling anyone who could hear)

## 4.6.3.3.

Where the R is one of the copulative verb radicals -v-, -ri or -nge, the subject prefix may agree with either subject or complement.

- e.g. Akawana pangonzi mwii, varume navakadzi, vasikana navakomana chakanga  
chava chipatapata  
(He found the place quiet with men, women, boys and girls busily working)
- Ndakaona munhu achifamba, richinge bveni  
(I saw a person walking, like a baboon)

## 4.6.3.4.

Possessive inflected participial clauses with subjects are often turned into relative clauses, the subject prefix being of the class of which the possessive inflecting morpheme would be and no longer agreeing with the SP which is still semantically its subject,

- e.g. Tarisa zvinoita baba wenyu for zvaanoita baba wenyu  
(Look at what your father is doing)
- Ndo zvinongoita varume vose vomuno muruzevha for zvavanongoita.....  
(That is what all the men in this reserve do)
- Kufahakurambwe haana kunzwa zvaingunoreva Mhirimo for zvaaingunoreva...  
(Kufahakurambwe did not hear what Mhirimo was saying)
- Zvakanga voruzhinji voenda kumusha, amai vaPaurosi vakati kuna  
baba vaMavis.... for Zvavakanga.....  
(When most of the people were about to go home, Paul's mother said to Mavis' father...)

4.6.3.5. Word order, subject and predicate

In normal word order the predicate follows the subject in finite clauses. The following are some cases where there is a departure from this order.

## 4.6.3.5.1.

In a common construction the sequence subject and predicate is interrupted by the insertion of a possessive inflected participial clause whose subject is also the subject of the sentence.

- e.g. Sekesai, # paakanzwa kuti ari kudiwa nomudzidzisi, # akapfeka shangu dzake nhema #  
dzaakambenge abvisa  
(Sekesai, when she heard that she was wanted by the teacher, put on her black shoes which she had left off for a while)
- Murairidzi, zvaakaona mwana wake uyu, # akaramba angoshama sokunonzi akanga asanganidza  
meso nomumwewo munhu zvake waakanga asati amboona  
(The teacher, when he saw this child of his, was gaping as if he had joined eyes with someone whom he had never seen before)
- Zviripi, # zvaakanzi atevere vana David # akabva awira munzira  
(Zviripi, when she was told to follow young David, straightaway took the path)
- Mudzidzisi wavo # paakangopfiga chikoro, # akabva atanga kushanda papurazi apa  
(Their teacher, as soon as he closed the school, began at once to work there on the farm)

These possessives of classes 8 or 16 are complements of the R segment. They are front-shifted between subject and predicate and this is an appropriate position as the subject agrees both with the subject prefix of the predicate and that of the participial clause. This is a stylistic device giving some prominence to the complement which otherwise may follow the verb. It is frequently used by Chakaipa.

## 4.6.3.5.2.

The subject may be backshifted and this position also conveys prominence.

- e.g. A: Mikuwasha haana kukusvika. Dayi akakusvika, vanhu vacho vangadayi vauya  
(The son-in-law did not go there. If he had gone, the people in question would have come)
- B: Kusvika akakusvika mukuwasha; chete vanhu vacho havana maturo  
(The son-in-law did get there; only the people in question are useless)
- Pfuma akaibisa mukuwasha  
(The son-in-law did pay the bride price)
- Munda akaurima mukomana gore rakapera  
(The boy did cultivate the field last year)

Sadza akaridya baba  
(Father did eat the porridge)

Kuumbwa zvakaumbwa chirongo negate  
(The waterpot and the large beer pot were moulded)

The relationships and roles of subject and complement in the sentence are not confused by this change from normal word order as they are signalled by the subject and object prefixes. The prominence conveyed seems to be on the assertion as of an event, not on the subject as such, and this is reinforced by the use of the infinitive with identical R as a circumstantial phrase. Prominence of the subject as such could be conveyed by the use of a pronoun or copulative construction. e.g. Ndibaba akadya sadza

or

Baba ndiye akaridya sadza (It is father who ate the porridge)

Other examples are probably stylistic.

e.g. Akarova gusvi rake mukomana zvaakanga apedza kutaura nhuna dzake  
(The young man clapped his hands when he had finished voicing his complaints)  
(Chidyausiku)

Akati arova gusvi munyai, akapira matama aakanga auya nawo  
(When the messenger had clapped his hands, he delivered the tidings with which he had come) (Chidyausiku)

Pinda zvako, chirongo changu chichi,  
Vachirera nherera vangu vavava,  
Vakati, "Pondai amai, ndisare ndichikurerai ini."  
(Come in, my dear Chirongo)

This one of mine who cares for orphans,  
Who said, "Put away your mother and let me look after you instead."  
(Traditional love poem)

#### 4.6.3.5.3.

In possessive inflected participial clauses the subject usually follows the verb, the possessive morpheme being prefixed immediately to the verb.

e.g. Matama aakapira munyai (The words which the messenger spoke)

In the example:

Kufa hapana zvaakataura (Kufa said nothing)

the subject is front-shifted for emphasis.

#### 4.6.3.6. The primary inflections

As constructions, primary inflected verb phrases are purely verbal. The range of inflections and their characteristics have been set out in Chapter 4.4. Categories that apply to all primary inflections are as follows -

According to conjugation, they are divided into affirmative and negative;

in tense, they are past (recent, non-recent), present, potential and future (near and far):

in aspect, there are habitual, frequentative, exclusive, progressive and perfect forms.

Characteristics of the primary inflections are as follows:

affirmative principal : low-toned subject prefix I, II persons  
high-toned subject prefix of III persons, all classes  
Exception: the near future. The syllable containing the subject prefix is high for all persons.

negative principal : negative prefix ha-  
Exception: Forms like ndaisauya, ndosauya appear to be principal.

aff./neg. participial : high-toned subject prefixes in all persons.  
Exception: The affirmative present participial, with tense sign -chi-, has low-toned subject prefixes.

aff./neg. relative : low-toned subject prefixes in all persons

The primary inflections are identified mainly by their distribution and the contexts in which they appear.

#### 4.6.3.7. Principal inflected verb phrases

As constituents, principal inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements) belong to the constituent class of predicate in principal clauses of which they are the nuclear element.

- e.g. Vádzimái vanóbika sadza mazúvá ósé  
(The women cook stiff porridge every day)  
Vánobika sadza mazuva ósé  
(They cook porridge every day)  
Mvurá zhínjí hainayé muchirimo  
(Much rain does not fall after the harvest)  
Mapfeni haawiriráne nengwé  
(Baboons do not get on with leopards)

#### 4.6.3.7.1. Distribution of principal clauses

- 1) Principal clauses with constructional pattern of  
+/- subject + predicate

are the nuclear element in sentences other than interjective or hortative.

- 2) They also occur as complements of the auxiliary -ti/-nzi

- e.g. Ndakábvúnza kuti babá ánouya rínhi  
(I asked when father would come)  
Rimwe zúvá, zvakáitika kuti mumwe mukómaná akafirwá navábereki vake  
(One day it happened that a certain boy was bereaved of his parents)

- 3) Principal clauses also occur as constituents in nominal constructions being members of the constituent class of noun stem, e.g. with prefix of class 1a. There are some examples of such constituents consisting of subject and predicate but, in the great majority of cases, only predicates occur.

- e.g. Kufá-hakúrambwe (a name, Death is not denied) (1a)  
Mutánda-wáchingama (a name, A log has fallen across the path) (1a)  
Mudzimu-wárembera (an overcoat; lit. the ancestral spirit hung down) (3)

- 4) Principal clauses are also found as complements of certain Rs, -on-, -wan-, -nzw-, and perhaps others without being complements of auxiliary -ti.

- e.g. ...akaóná, inga + ává maramba kuédzá  
(..and he saw that it was indeed early morning)  
...akaóná, ái + mukádzí ári kuchéna  
(..and he saw that, shame! the woman was crying)  
...akawana, inga + vanhu vágere zvávó  
(..and he found the people seated)  
...akaóná chókwardí + basa rábatwa  
(.. and he saw truly the work had been done)  
Vákaénda kuséri kwégonhi + vakasvikorítí dzvi + vakanzwá hazvítáurwe  
(She went behind the door and seized it and felt how plump it was)  
Murumé uyu wakaóná vaná vawanda mumbá, kudyá kúsisákwane  
(This man saw that there were many children in the house, their food no longer sufficient)

#### 4.6.3.8. Participial inflected verb phrases

As constituents, participial inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements) belong to the constituent class of predicate in participial clauses of which they are the nuclear element.

- e.g. amáí vachíkúyá zvió (mother grinding finger millet)  
vachíkúyá zvió (she grinding finger millet)  
vamwé vásatí váúya (the others not yet having arrived)  
vasatí vápindá mudáíro (they not yet having entered the dancing floor)

#### 4.6.3.8.1. Distribution of participial inflected verb phrases

- 1) Participial inflected verb phrases belong to the constituent class of complements of auxiliary verbs, occurring both with auxiliaries controlling participial complements of unrestricted type and those that control participial complements of restricted type. (Cp. Auxiliary verb constructions)

- e.g. Varumé vakánga váendá Haráre  
(The men had gone to Harare)

Vanhu v<sup>á</sup>nonogoyerekana v<sup>ó</sup>bátwa namápurisa  
(People are just arrested by the police without warning)

Participial complements of imperative or finitely inflected auxiliary verbs do not normally have subjects other than those of the auxiliaries themselves. Hence the complements are not participial clauses but participial inflected verb phrases. But after auxiliaries with infinitive inflection, the complements may be a participial clause.

e.g. Hapána anóenda kutosvikira dzimbá dzandáréva dzápéra  
(No one goes until the houses I specified are finished)

- 2 Circumstantial clauses agreeing with the subject of a clause do not have their own subject as a rule. See below.

Participial clauses with constructional pattern

+/- subject + predicate

are members of a number of constituent classes.

#### 4.6.3.8.2. Distribution of participial clauses

- (1) They are complements of auxiliary verbs when infinitively inflected (see above).

- (2) They are complements in verb phrases.

e.g. Ndakáona babá achifambá netsóka  
(I saw father travelling on foot)

Ndakámuóná achíúyá  
(I saw him coming)

Nómusí wechípírí, mashambanzou, ákanzwá mvúrá ichípúráná  
(On Tuesday, early in the morning, he heard the rain beating down)

Ákásvíka kumbá kwaákáwana rírí bongozozo  
(He arrived home where he found an uproar)

Takánzwa zvichínzí ndíyo ngúvá yavánopfiga chíkoro Chávez  
(We heard it being said that that was the time when they shut their school)

Ízvozví vána vachídá kupédzá dzóse dzírí mbírí  
(So they were wanting to finish off both)

Other examples are easy to imagine,

e.g. -róv- mwaná achíchémá  
-bat- tsuro ichítiza  
-siy- vanhu vaenda kúbasá

- (3) When adverbially inflected, participial clauses occur as adjuncts in verb phrases.

e.g. Ndakásángana nemuzúkúru wángu ákatakúra svínga réhuni  
(I met my nephew carrying a bundle of wood)

Ákáuýá névaná vachíchémá nenzára  
(He came with the children who were crying with hunger)

Rimwe zúvá bveni rákásángana néhamba ichíkwevá népasi tsápo yénzungú  
(One day a baboon met a tortoise dragging a bag of nuts along the ground)

Ákaréva somunhu achírwirá rúpenyú rwáke  
(He spoke like a man fighting for his life)

- (4) Where possessively inflected, participial clauses occur as qualifiers or headwords in SPs. (Note that the possessive morpheme is prefixed directly to the participial inflected verb phrases, the subject, if there be one, occurring either after the verb or before the possessive inflection).

e.g. Mwaná wa-vásingápe vádzimái vángu marí (qualifier in SP)  
(The child to whom my wife does not give money)

Wa-vásingáde vádzimái vángu uyu (headword in SP)  
(This one whom my wife does not like)

Pa-músingáde kugara panotínákídza, tinópadá (SP with possessive participial clauses as subjects)  
(Where you do not like to live pleases us, we like it)

Ízvozví zvaváva kúti mharadzo inonwirwa kumushá (subject)  
zvákonzérwa nókudá marí

(Their intention that the breaking-up drink should be drunk at the village is due to the love of gain)

Zva-murí kútaura tícha, ndirí kuzvínzwa (object complement)  
(I understand what you are saying, teacher)

Sadza zva-rákábikwa máheru áye, takáridyirá panzé (adverb complement)  
(When the porridge was cooked that evening, we ate it outside)

Amái pa-vákaóna motó kuchena mumbá, vákabúdá  
mavaivé, vachiénda kumbá yokúbikira (adverb complement)  
 (When the mother saw the firelight in the house, she  
 went out from where she was going, to the kitchen)

Vári kúgunománíkídzirwa kuita nézvavásingáde zvése (base of adjunct)  
 (Meanwhile they are being compelled to do even what  
 they don't want to do)

Váguta nézva-vásiná kúbikirwa néwavo (base of adjunct)  
 (They are filled with what was not brewed for  
 them by their person)

Zviya zva-ndákadimura népenyú muchirimo, ndakanga (SP with possessive participial  
ndátová chidhákwa, wani clause as qualifier is here an  
 (That time when I passed through your place in adverbial complement).  
 the after-harvest season, I was already a  
 drunkard)

(5) Participial inflected verb phrases in agreement with the subject of a clause.

In many sentences, participially inflected verb phrases occur in which there is agreement between the subject prefix of the participial and the subject of the principal clause.

e.g. Tsuro akauya achiridza mbira dzake  
 (Hare came playing his xylophone)

Zvandakadzokera kumusha nenyama yandakabaya, amai vakandigamuchira,  
vachipururudza nokupembera  
 (When I came back home with the meat which I had killed, my mother welcomed  
 me, ululating and dancing)

Vana vaigara kumisha vakadzokera vachifara nokuti vakaenda vava nezvipfeko zvitsva  
 (The children who lived in the village returned home happy because they were going  
 with new clothes)

Kumusha, ndiko kwamakabva mapedza svondo muri?  
 (Is it at home that you spent the week?)

Aiita basa rokunyora-nyora, dzimwe nguva achimbobatsira kutarisa vanhu kana foromani  
aenda kunotyaira tarakita  
 (He used to do odd secretarial jobs sometimes helping to oversee workers when the  
 foreman had gone to drive the tractor)

Pava pasipo, akamira achida kutura mafemo  
 (After a while she stopped, needing to draw breath)

Vakafamba kwechinhabwe vasingataure  
 (They walked for some distance without speaking)

Ndokubva ndazoriwana simba rokukotama, iro rokumuka mumubhedha ndichirishaya?  
 (And then would I find the strength to bend down, lacking as I do even that to get  
 up from the bed?)

Pfungwa akanga iri yokuti, mangwanani iwayo vamboona zvechingwa nenyama, zuva rodoka,  
vozosasana vachienda kumamwe mapurazi kundonwa hwahwa  
 (The plan was that, having had the bread and meat on that morning, at sunset they  
 would then take time off, going to other farms to drink beer)

Ini ndakazodai kuita mhindu dzechigadheni, ndaona kuti, ndikangogara zvangu, iye  
murume ari wemhamba, hapana chimuko  
 (I came to undertake gardening having realised that if I did nothing  
 while my husband was a drunkard there would be no help at all)

Iye zvino ava nesvondo mbiri asati atsika pamba, ari mudoro, ini ndiri pamusha ndoga  
navana  
 (Now he has spent two weeks without setting foot in the house, drinking, while I am  
 alone at home with the children)

Mhirimo akabva asimuka paakanga agere, otya, kuti hwahwa hungapedzwe  
 (Mhirimo suddenly got up at once from where he was sitting, afraid that the beer might  
 be finished off)

Gombo iri ndarida, ndinorima chete ndione chinouya  
 (If I want this patch of virgin land, I'll hoe it and see what ensues)

Kupedza kutaura kwakaita amai vaChikomba, murungu akamboti zii, achifunga  
 (When Chikomba's mother had finished speaking, the white man was silent for a time,  
 thinking)

In the above examples, where the participial inflected verb phrases agree with the subject of a clause, the question arises as to whether the subject + participial, as a participial clause, should be regarded as subject - just as the clause as such was regarded as complement of a Radical and the base of an adjunct.

e.g. Tsuro akauya achiridza mbira dzake

Is the subject Tsuro...achiridza mbira dzake, the combination of subject + participial inflected verb phrase equivalent to a SP?

cp. Tsuro aive nembira dzake akauya, achidziridza  
(Hare who had his xylophone with him came playing it)

In this sentence the noun Tsuro, followed by a relative inflected verb phrase, forms the subject. One feels that participial inflected verb phrases agreeing with the subject are not part of the clause with whose subject they agree but lie outside it. Such participials can be called circumstantial clauses. Their tense indicates their relationship in time to the clause they are circumstantial to. If present, this is a contemporaneous relationship, if past, then one of before and after; if future, the one of after and before. The aspects also enter into the relationship.

e.g. Ndopinda muchitoto, ndakawirwa nenyoka  
(As I was about to enter the store, a snake fell on me)  
Ndichiri kufunga, ndakazaririwa norukova  
(While I was still thinking, I was cut off by a flooded river)  
Ndaguta, ndakasimuka ndikaenda  
(Having had enough, I got up and went off)

#### (6) Other participial clauses.

If participials in agreement with the subject of a clause are to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, what about participials whose subject prefix does not agree with the subject of a clause? What is their relationship to it? Are they all cases of (2) or (3) above, complements or adjuncts in the verb phrase within the main clause or are there cases of circumstantial clauses which cannot be fitted within the constructions of the main clause and must be regarded as circumstantial to it?

e.g. Vavhimi vakafumomuka, zuva risati rabuda  
(The hunters got up early, before the sun was up)  
Mombe dzakanga dzatiza, mufudzi asingazive  
(The oxen had run away, without the herdsman knowing)  
Akapinda mumba mangu, ini ndichiziva, ndichida  
(He came into my house with my knowledge and consent)  
Akaona kuti vana vawanda mumba, kudya kuisakwane  
(He saw that the children were numerous in the home, the food no longer sufficing)  
...ndo kuenda kuchikoro kwavakasvika, mudziidzisi atovamirira kare  
(...and they went to the school where they arrived, the teacher having awaited them for some time)  
Zvino, kuri kuti Paurosi ada basa iri, aitoswera oiridza tapureta  
(Now, it being that (viz. if) Paul liked that work, he would spend the day working with the typewriter)  
Vakadomboti garei pasina chavaiita, vakaona kugara chete kwava kusvota, ndokubva vapinda mubasa  
(At first they were keen to spend their time doing nothing and then they found just sitting was tiresome and so they took up some work)  
Nomusi wechitatu, Kisimisi ichinzi inotambwa kuswera mangwana, zuva rodoka, vava kubva kubasa, foromani akati rega ndimbanyire kumusha  
(On Wednesday, Christmas being announced as to be celebrated on the day after the morrow, when the sun was about to set, after people had come from work, the foreman decided to go off to the village)  
Manje munofunga kuti unhu here ihwohwo hwokudya nyama yemombe nomusi weKisimisi, vamwe vachidya nyama yehuku, sokunonzi hatina kutambiriswa mari?  
(Now do you think that it is proper style to celebrate Christmas with beef while others are celebrating with chicken as if we had not received any money?)  
Pava pasipo, akamira achida kutura mafemo  
(After a while she stopped, needing to draw breath)  
Unofunga kuswera ndigere muno mukomboni, ivo vamwe vakadzi vachitswinyata mari, kwangu kusaida here?  
(Do you think my spending my day sitting here in the compound while other women are drawing money means I don't want it?)



Iye zvino ava nesvondo mbiri asati atsika pamba, ari mudoro, ini ndiri pamusha ndoga navana

(Now he has spent two weeks without setting foot in the house, drinking while I am alone with the children)

Akatozofunga zvekubasa, wava musu womuwhuro, zuva rodoka

(He only remembered about his work when it was already Monday at sunset)

Vanhu vakaswera iri iyo nyaya

(The people discussed nothing else all that day)

Vauya kuzokutorayi nokuti kwava nenguva musati matsika pamusha

(She came to fetch you because it is some time since you set foot at home, (lit. you not yet having set foot at home))

Anoenda, zvandareva zvisina kuitwa, zvinenge zvave zvakewo

(Whoever goes away with what I have said not done will answer for it)

Vakakwazisana nokubvunzana upenyu muchimbi-chimbi, mwoyo yava kuda kunzwa zvakanga zvafambirwa naVaMufiravvamwe

(They greeted each other and asked after each other's health quickly, their hearts anxious to hear how Mufiravvamwe had fared)

Asi nyakuroorwa ndiye akasara achisuka ndiro nemigoti kuti agoendawo zvake patove pasipo

(But the bride-to-be was the one who remained behind, washing dishes and stirring sticks so that she might go as well a little later)

Pavakamuona, vakarohwa nehana ndokuramba vangoti surududu somunhu afirwa, iko kapadza kavaicheresa muti womwana kari muruoko

(When she saw him, she was struck with fear and hung her head, standing like someone bereaved, the small hoe which she was using to dig medicine for her child being in her hand all the while.)

#### Summing up this point:

The constructional pattern of the participial clause is +/- subject + predicate. What is its distribution, and that of the participial inflected verb phrase?

In larger constructions, e.g. sentences, participial inflected verb phrases are found clustering around the principal clause and they may be in agreement with SPs as their subjects at several points.

They may agree with the complements of the verb phrase in the principal clause.

#### (i) Object complements:

e.g. Ndakaona baba achifamba netsoka  
(I saw father going on foot)

Ndakaona baba aenda kubasa  
(I found father having gone to work)

Takawana vasipo  
(We found them not in)

There are examples of participial inflected verb phrases used seemingly as complements without any SP or object prefix.

e.g. Takanzwa zvichinzi hapindé here?  
(We heard it being said, Don't you come?)

Takanzwa zvichirayirwa kunzi hamupindé apa  
(We heard the order being given that we should not go in there)

#### (ii) Adverb complements:

It is not common to find participial inflected verb phrases in agreement with SPs which, independently of the participial, could be considered adverbial complements of a verb phrase.

but cp. Takauya avá manheru  
(We came when it had become evening)

But there are many examples of participial clauses which appear to be complementary to verb phrases but which could not be split into complement adverb and participial in agreement. They appear to be complementary as clauses.

e.g. Vavhimi vakafumomuka, zuva risati rabuda  
(The hunters got up early, before the sun rose)

Vakadomboti garei, pasina chavaiita  
(They tried to stay without doing anything for a while)

Akadzokera, shiri dzichivaka usanza  
(He came back as the birds were building their nests)

#### (iii) Participial inflected verb phrases may agree with SPs which are the bases of adjuncts.

e.g. Ndakasángana nemuzúkurú ákatakúra svingá réhuni  
(I met my nephew carrying a bundle of firewood)

(iv) Participial inflected verb phrases may agree with the subject of the principal clause.

e.g. Tsuro ákaúyá achírídzá mbíra dzáké  
(Hare came playing his xylophone)

(v) Participial inflected verb phrases may be in agreement with SPs which are neither complements, bases of adjuncts or subjects within the principal clause. The only other structural position for an SP in a clause would seem to be that of "circumstantial phrase". Once again it seems difficult to find examples of participial inflected verb phrases in agreement with SPs which, independently, are circumstantial phrases attached to the principal clause.

But there are many examples of clauses which are circumstantial to the principal clause but which could not be split into circumstantial phrase and participial in agreement. They are circumstantial as clauses.

e.g. Vana vakawanda mumba, kudya kuisakwane  
(The children grow numerous in the home, the food no longer being sufficient)

It would be convenient to treat all these cases as being cases of circumstantial clauses but it does seem that there is a difference in structure between them though this may, in many cases, be hard to test and to describe.

e.g. Baba achiuya kumba akanzwa mwana achiridza ngoma nevamwe vana vasingaridze, vachichema, mhupo ichivhuvhuta kwazvo  
(Father on coming home heard a child playing a drum with other children not playing but crying, while the wind was blowing hard)

In most cases participial verb phrases are in agreement with the subject or are circumstantial clauses. In both of these cases, it seems best to treat the participial clauses as outside the structure of the clauses round which they cluster.

The clauses of which SPs which are complements, adjunct bases and subjects are subjects, and which belong with them to the structure of the clause to which they belong, are, of course, relative clauses.

#### Circumstantial phrases

Circumstantial clauses which cluster around another clause appear to have a counterpart in the circumstantial phrase which expresses an aspect which limits or defines in some way the clause to which it is attached.

e.g. Minda yedu, hatiwane zvio  
(As regards our fields, we get no grain)

Kurema ikoko, chokwadi rinokunda tsuro  
(With regard to that weight, truly it is heavier than a hare)

Izvozvi vanga vachida kupedza dzose dziri mbiri  
(Hence they were anxious to finish both barns)

Vanhu hadzi vakafuma vachinekaira. Vane huku, dzakanga dzava chikweeke; vakanga vasina, nyama yemombe neyenguruve zvakanga zvochekerwa mudzihari. Zvino vogadzirira kuti vanyatsoikanga. Vana mashave okukanga nyama, yakanga yatova pamoto yopopota, vana vanzi, 'Sudurukai, munotsva; taramukai!'  
(The women started bustling about their work early. In the case of those who had fowls, there was a continual squawking as each killed her fowl; in the case of those who had none, beef and pork were cut up into various pots. They they prepared to fry the meat properly. In the case of those who were good at frying meat, it was already bubbling on the fire, the children having been told to move back lest they be burnt)

Izvozvi zvakuri kupisa kudai, pamwe kuchanaya  
(Since it is so hot, perhaps it will rain)

Zvinhu zvose zvavaida kuti zviitwe, hapana chakanga charegwa kuitwa  
(In regard to all the things she wanted done, there was nothing which had been omitted)

Voruzhinji, muriwo wakanga wava mutetenerwa wenzungu nemhodzi netuterere twa indotsvagwa kumakan'a

(In the case of the majority, vegetable relish was a side dish of groundnuts and pumpkin seeds and a little wild spinach which had been gathered in the plains)

These phrases termed circumstantial do not appear to be complements of verb phrases in the clauses round which they cluster.

Infinitives are often used as circumstantial phrases (cp. Infinitive clauses). As these contain a verb phrase, the limitations expressed by infinitive circumstantial phrases are of considerable range and include relationships of time, condition and concession, especially when the infinitive

clause is the infinitive inflection of an auxiliary R + complement. Examples are given below of infinitive auxiliaries followed by participial complements, thus elaborating section 1 (4.6.3.8.2.) above, as also of infinitive inflected verb phrases.

- e.g. Kupedza kutaura kwakaita amai vaChikomba, murungu akomboti zii, achifunga  
(When Chikomba's mother had finished speaking, the white man kept quiet for a time, thinking)
- Kungonzwa izvi, vakadzi vakati vapenga  
(On hearing this, the women went mad)
- Kugara nokugara kwakaita madzvitateguru edu kana madzisekuru edu makambonzwa zvichinzi hwahwa hwaitengeswa muno mumusha?  
(Ever since our great grandfathers or our grandfathers lived, have you ever heard it said that beer was sold in a village?)
- Kusikwa kwakaitwa nyika yedu ino naMwari kana nokugara kwakaita madzitatateguru edu muno munyika, hatina kumbonzwa kuti muno munyika makatengeswa hwahwa  
(Ever since this country of ours was made by God or since our great grandfathers lived in this country, we have never heard that beer was ever sold in it)
- Kuva vanhu, tine hope  
(Since we are human, we are sleepy)
- Baba wake kumuti 'Kubasa', anoti, 'Hwahwa ndinohusiya naani?'  
(If you tell his father to go to work, he says, "Who will drink of the beer?")
- Mubindu ndima huru yakanga yarimwa naPaurosi, kutosiya rutivi rwaiva nemhodzi dzavo  
(In the plot, a large area had been ploughed by Paul, with the exception of the side where their seeds were)
- Kuuya kwaakaita uku kuzororo rake nemasvondo maviri aya, chikomba chake chinoda kutumira rusambo  
(Since his coming on holiday for two weeks, her suitor wants to send the initial marriage payment)
- Mapedza here kuzoti zvenyu gada kugara?  
(Have you finished that you sit at ease?)
- Kuenda uku haaende ari oga kwete asi kuti anoenda nomunyai  
(When he goes, he does not go alone but with his messenger)

Infinitives of auxiliaries followed by participial complements  
\*\*\*\*\*

These infinitives are taken to be circumstantial phrases in their relation to the clauses round which they cluster.

- e.g. Kuzoti izvi zvapera, vanhu vose vakakurumukira kumba kwomurungu  
(When this was finished, everyone knocked off, (going) to the house of the white man)
- Kuti zvitoro zviri padyo, tinganotenga chingwa  
(If the stores are near, we can go and buy bread)
- Kuti hove zhinji dzasasikwa, tichatenga, tigodzitakura  
(If a lot of fish have been dried in the sun, we shall buy them and take them away)
- Kuti mambo asipo, ndiye aitonga nhau  
(If the chief were absent, it is he who would judge the cases)
- Haambofa agona kutaura kana kunzwa kusatoti asekeswa nechimwe chinhu  
(She will never be able to speak or to hear until she is made to laugh by something)
- Kunge shiri dzavaka usanza, tozoenda kundodziteya  
(When the birds have built their nests, we go to set traps for them)
- Kunyange zvodiya zvazvo, handidzokere shure  
(Even though it does what, viz. whatever happens, I will not go back)
- (Ku)nyangove chisinganake, tambira chete udye  
(Even though it be not nice, just take and eat it)
- Kubvira ndakatama, handina kuzorora  
(Ever since I moved house, I have not rested)
- Ndakaramba ndichimimirira kusvikira auya  
(I went on waiting for him until he came)
- Kudzimara ndichiita basa iri, handidi kutaudzwa  
(Until I am actually doing this work, I do not want to be made to talk)
- (Ku)dayi nyika yoparara, handizokanganwa hwahwa  
(Even if the world were to come to an end, I would not forget my beer)
- (Ku)dayi baba venyu vanga vari pano nhasi, maidayi mambozvambaradzwa nokuti hamunzwe  
(If your father were here today, you would have been thrashed because you don't listen)

Note that a number of those auxiliary Rs omit the prefix ku- in the infinitive inflection.

(7) Participial clauses in consecutive sentences.

Participial clauses in the present tense are found in complex sentences as clauses consecutive to a principal clause.

e.g. Baba mukuru, vasati vapindura, vakatora chikwepa chavo, vachigogdzera papfihwa, vachichikweva-kweva, icho chisina fodya  
(Before replying, the elder father took his pipe and knocked it out against a hearth-stone, and drew on it again and again without tobacco though it was)

The relation of these participial clauses is not one of contemporaneity but of consequence.  
Cp. Complex consecutive sentences.

(8) Participial clauses are found in complex sentences linked to principal clauses by the following conjunctives:

chero : so long as, provided that  
kana : if, when

e.g. Tinoita mabasa mazhinji akaipa chero tisingaonekwe namapurisa  
(We do many evil things so long as we are not seen by the police)

Kana ndichafara, handichazofara sanhasi  
(If I shall be happy again, I shall not be as happy as today)

Kana vapedza kudya, vanosimuka voenda kundorara  
(When they have finished eating, they get up and go off to sleep)

Rwendo, kana zvarwo ruri rurefu, runotofambwa chete  
(Even though the journey be long, it must be travelled)

Cp. complex sentences.

(9) Two other contexts in which participial clauses are found are:

(a) after infinitive inflected Rs -sak- (cause), -on- (see) and perhaps others, in infinitive clauses, the equivalent of principal;

(b) after seyi? (how is that?), also in a stable sentence.

Example of (a):-

Kubvira iroro zuva, mwana akatangisa kudya nyama. Kusaka nanhasi achiichemera.  
(Ever since that day, the child began to like meat. That is why he is crying for it even today)

Akarohwa nayo mvuu. Kuona mviri watsvuka-tsvuka  
(He was beaten with a sjambok and everyone saw that his body was red all over)

Example of (b):-

Makanzuru ane mari zhinji; seyi vasingatore mari iyi, vachivakisa nayo zvikore zvikuru  
(The councils have a lot of money; why don't they take this money and build big schools with it?)

4.6.3.9. Relative inflected verb phrases

As constituents, relative inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements), belong to the constituent class of predicate in relative clauses of which they are the nuclear element.

e.g. Vanhu vasingazive izvi (People who do not know this)  
Vasingazive izvi vose (All those who do not know this)

4.6.3.9.1. Distribution of relative inflected R segments

The relative inflected verb phrase with subject belongs to the constituent class of qualifier, the relative clause, whose constructional pattern is +/- subject and predicate, being an SP, the subject being the headword and the relative inflected verb phrase the qualifier.

e.g. Vanhu vasingazive izvi (People who do not know this)

The relative inflected verb phrase also belongs to the constituent class of headword,

e.g. Vasingazive izvi (Those who do not know this)

4.6.3.9.2. Distribution of Relative clauses

SPs with relative inflected verb phrases as qualifiers (relative clauses) or headwords act as constituents in constructions in which SPs in general are constituents.

139/e.g. Subject:

- e.g. Subject: Vanhu vasingazive izvi havagone kufambisa motokare.  
(People who do not know this cannot drive motorcars)  
Vanhu vasingatvé havátané kúrwá  
(People who do not fear do not hesitate to fight)  
Chakó ndéchwádyá, chasará mútoro wámambo  
(What you have eaten is yours; what is over is the Lord's to dispose of to whom he likes - so make the most of the present)

as object complements after the R -nge- (seem)

Vánenge vanófunga kúti munwedzi munogara tsuro  
(They appear to think that there is a hare living in the moon)  
Ánenge asiná kúpfeka  
(He seem undressed)

Distribution of relative clauses as object complements cont:

Cp. the following interesting examples:

Kunenge kurerwé	(It looks as if people are sleeping)
" kugerwé	( " " " " people are still up)
" kuzerwé	( " " " " the place is full)
" kunyererwé	( " " " " the place is quiet)
" kumirwé	( " " " " there has been a quarrel)
" kudyiwé	( " " " " dinner is in process)
" kufiwé	( " " " " someone has died)

Kunge ndórwara  
(As if I am about to be sick)

Ánotarisika kunge órwara  
(He looks as if he is going to be sick)

Handíde mukómaná órwara  
(I don't want a boy who is about to be sick)

Cp. the following examples of the near future, principal and partipial inflection:

e.g. principal

Kana vanhu vóendá kúminda, órwara  
(When the people are about to go off to work in the field, he suddenly gets sick)

participial

Kunge órwara, anorwárirá kufá  
(When he gets sick, then he becomes desperately ill)

A further example of a relative clause as an object complement:-

Changamire mutékwátekwa wéchikóro + akati + "Chikoro ichi + hachide vadziidzi + vanogarira maoko"  
(The headmaster said, "This school does not want lazy pupils")

as adverb complements:-

Vakatámhá zvinógutsá móyo  
(They danced pleasingly)

Vánobika zvinonzi, "Úyayi múóné!"  
(She cooks in a way that no would not be ashamed to show others)

as the basis of adjuncts:-

Ndamurova nechimuti changa chakangorasirwa kunze kwemugwagwa  
(I beat him with a stick which had been thrown by the side of the road)

4.6.3.9.3.

Note that the tense of the relative inflection is determined in relation to actual time.

e.g. vanhu vakáuya nezúro	(people who came yesterday)
vanhu vauya nhási	(people who came today)
basa riri kungunóitwa	(a work which is under way)
vanhu vasiná kuzivá	(people who did not know)

In the case of participial clauses, apart from the clauses introduced by conjunctives, the tense is determined by the relation in time of the action in the participial clause to that of the principal:

e.g. Ini ndakasvika, vanhu vaenda kubasa  
(I arrived when the people had gone to work)

but Kana vakasvika nezuro, vakaregereyi kuuya kunesu  
(If they arrived yesterday, why did they not come to us)

Relation to actual time seems to be required in participial complements used after infinitive inflected auxiliaries (but not finite inflected auxiliaries save dayi)

e.g. Dayi wakasvika nezuro, ungapayi wakandiwana ndiri pano  
(If you had arrived yesterday, you would have found me here)

#### 4.6.3.10. The secondary inflections

As constructions, secondary inflected verb phrases are purely verbal with the exception of the hortative which may, in addition, include plural -yi (in the case of the I person plural). The range of inflections and their characteristics have been set out in Chapter 4.4. Categories applying to secondary inflections are the following:-

According to CONJUGATION, they are divided into affirmative and negative;  
in ASPECT, there are exclusive forms.

Secondary inflections do not appear to have tense or relation to time.

Characteristics of the secondary inflections are:-

hortative : low tone subject prefixes after prefix nga- or ha-;  
subjunctive : high tone subject prefixes;  
consecutive : low tone subject prefixes.

#### 4.6.3.11. Hortative inflected verb phrases

As constituents, hortative inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements) belong to the constituent class of predicate in hortative clauses of which they are the nuclear element.

e.g. Varúmé ngávapinde munó  
(Let the men come in here)  
Mushá ngáukomberwe nemikoronga  
(Let the village be surrounded by trenches)  
Izvi ngázviitwe  
(Let these things be done)  
Kudá kwényú ngákuitwe pasí sókudénga  
(Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven)  
Ngávarambe vachishanda kudzimara vapedza basa  
(Let them keep on working until they have finished the work)

#### 4.6.3.11.1. Distribution of hortative clauses

[1] Hortative clauses with constructional pattern of

+/- subject + predicate

are the nuclear element in hortative sentences.

e.g. Varúmé ngávapinde munó vágógara pasí  
(Let the men come in here and sit down)

[2] Hortative clauses, like principal and imperative clauses, belong to the constituent class of complement of the auxiliary -ti. Hortatives are used to render indirect commands.

e.g. Kachembere kákávaudzá kúti ngávarege kuenda nenzíra yókudúnhú  
(The little old woman told them that they should not go by the hill road)

cp. ....kakavaudza kuti, "Regáyí kúenda nenzíra yókudúnhú."

e.g. Izvi zvinotiratidza kuti ngatiregeyi kuzvidza zvose zvinoitwa navana  
(This shows us that we should not despise everything which is done by children)

cp. Regayi kuzvidza  
(Do not despise)

#### 4.6.3.11.2. Details of the inflection

Hortatives with II person subject prefixes do not seem to occur.

With I person plural concords, hortative inflected Rs may have plural -yi if addressed to more than one person,

e.g. Hatiendeyi  
(Let us go, two or more)

With subject prefixes of the III person plural -yi does not occur (Marconnes is wrong here)

e.g. Ngátitiyí jeje naye  
(Let us do the same as he)

- e.g. Ngáatemwe musóro  
(Let him be beheaded)
- Ngandiende ndomene kuti ndinyatsonzwa zvaanondidanira  
(Let me go myself so that I may understand properly what he is calling me for)
- Imi vakómana ngádzisungwe mombe  
(You boys must see to it that the oxen are inspanned; - a warning is implied by the intonation on the vocative)

#### 4.6.3.12. Subjunctive inflected verb phrases

As constituents, subjunctive inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements) belong to the constituent class of predicate in subjunctive clauses of which they are the nuclear element.

- e.g. (kuti) munyai asvike kuno  
(that) the messenger may arrive here
- asvike kuno  
(he arrive here)

#### 4.6.3.12.1. Distribution of subjunctive clauses

Subjunctive clauses with constructional pattern

+/- subject + predicate

are found in the following contexts:-

- (1) as complements of the auxiliary Rs -ti, -reg-, -dzimar- etc. and the combinations -nyangwe, -nyange.

- e.g. Jinda rakanga richiti nyaya idzi dzichiregerwa  
(The councillor was trying to ensure that these topics should be dropped forthwith)
- Ndichasevenza zuva rose kudzimara imba yangu ipere kuturikwa denga  
(I shall work all day going on until my house is completely roofed)
- Ngatiregeyi vaponde  
(Let us let them get killed)
- Kunyangwe kuuye munhu handirege kuya  
(Even though someone should come, I won't stop eating)
- Kunyangwe kufiwe handirege kuenda  
(Even though someone dies, I won't desist from going)
- cp. Kunyafiwa handirege kuenda  
(Even though someone dies, I won't desist from going - viz. No power on earth can stop me from going)

- (2) as constituents in complex sentences of constructional pattern:

- (a) principal clause +/- subjunctive clause(s)  
(b) hortative clause +/- " "  
(c) imperative clause +/- " "

Examples of (a):

Gombo iri ndarida, ndinorima chete ndione chinouya  
(If I want this patch of untilled land, I will plough it and see what happens)

Ndinovikapo chete ndione chandinoitwa  
(I will go there and see what will happen to me)

Mazuva ose ndinomuka zuva richibuda ndishambe kumeso, ndipfeke bhatye nebhurukwa, ndigodya bota nemukaka ndigobuda panze ndichienda kubasa  
(Every day I get up at sunrise and wash my face, put on my jacket and trousers, eat my porridge and milk and go outside on my way to work)

Mazuva ose ndinomuka zuva richibuda ndishambe kumeso, vadzimai vagondibikira chimutsanedako  
(Every day I get up at sunrise and wash my face and my wife cooks my breakfast)

Ndinovikapo chete vagoona zvinoitika/vaone zvandinaita  
(I will surely go there and they will see what I shall do)

Examples of (b):

Varume ngavapinde muno vagogara pasi  
(Let the men come in and sit down)

Hatinamateyi zvedu ndigovata zvangu; ndava nehope zvakaipa  
(Let us say our prayers and I'll go to sleep (so that I may so to sleep?);  
I am terribly sleepy)

Ngaanonge tione kuti mukomana anomuziva here  
(Let her pick it up and we'll see (so that we may see?) whether she knows the boy)

Varume ngavauye vadzimai vagovapemberera  
(Let the men come and the women receive them dancing)

Mukuwasha ngaatakurwe aendwe naye kuchipatara zvichapisa  
(Let the son-in-law be carried and taken to the hospital while his break is still fresh)

Ngandiendeko vaone zvandinoina  
(Let me go there and they will see what I mean to do)

Examples of (c):

Chindipayi shereni ndivatengeré hwahwa  
(Give me a shilling and I'll buy her some beer)

Aiwa! chiregayi ndinwe; ndinogopota ndichinwa ndichiziva  
(No! let me drink. I'll go on drinking reasonably)

Vaná, pindayi muchikoro mugare pasi mugodziidza chidziidzo  
(Children, come into the school and sit down and learn the lesson)

Zvino chindipayi mari ndinokuvigirayi mpunga nenzungu dzamaimboreva  
(Now give me some money and I'll (so that I may?) fetch you the rice and nuts which you were talking about before)

In sentences where subordinate clauses are consecutive, no conjunctives are used to link the clauses.

- (3) as constituents in complex sentences of constructional pattern:

+/- conjunctive +/- subjunctive clause + principal clause

Examples

Kana zviite seyi tinotowanana chete  
(Whatever happens, we are simply going to marry)

Kanapo kuuye vanhu, mhuka hadzitize  
(Although people come, the animals do not run away)

Kana zvazvo kuuye vanhu, mhuka hadzitize  
(Although people come, the animals do not run away)

Kuimbwe, hakuna chibatsiro  
(Though it be sung, it does not help)

Munhu ari upi anodya; anozvipfekedza; anoda zvizvaraidzo; arware, anoda mishonga  
(Everyone eats, dresses himself; needs recreation; if he gets sick, he needs medicines)

Apiwe zvimwe anongoparadza; adotengerwa zvakasimba, anongosakadza  
(If he be given more he just wastes them; even if he has durable things bought for him, he just wears them out)

In these sentences where subordinate clauses are conditional or concessive, there is place for a conjunctive.

- (4) As the nuclear and optional elements in subjunctive sentences of which the constructional pattern is:

+ subjunctive clause +/- subjunctive clause(s)

Examples:

Mundipe nzungu  
(Give me some nuts)

Vauye kuno vagogara pasi  
(Let them come here and sit down)

Tiite tsiye nyoro tikanganwe zvatakamboitwa isu  
(We should be merciful and forget how we ourselves were once treated)

Uvazivise vagoenda zvavo  
(Tell them and they will go (so that they may go?))

Ubude mumba ini ndigopinda zvangu  
(Leave the house and I'll go in (so that I may go in?))

**4.6.3.13. Consecutive inflected verb phrases**

As constituents, consecutive inflected verb phrases (whether of single Rs or of auxiliary Rs with complements) belong to the constituent class of predicate in consecutive clauses of which they are the nuclear elements.



- e.g. Mwana akapinda mumba (If the child goes into the house)  
akapinda mumba (if he goes into the house)

#### 4.6.3.13.1. Distribution of consecutive clauses-

Consecutive clauses with constructional pattern

+/- subject + predicate

are found in the following contexts (very similar to those of subjunctive clauses):

[ 1 ] as complements of the auxiliary Rs -ti, -dzimar- etc. and -reg-

- e.g. Vakakwira mumuti vakagaramo kudzimará vakapedzá kutéma miti  
 (They climbed into the tree and stayed there until they reached their aim of finishing cutting up the tree)  
Ndicháfamba kudzimará ndikasvika  
 (I shall travel until I fulfil my aim of arriving)  
Ndichádzimara ndikadzidza  
 (I shall go on till I reach my aim of studying)  
Ndakadzimara ndikadzidza  
 (I went on until I fulfilled my aim of studying)  
Ndakarega vakadzimará vakachémédzwa  
 (I kept quiet, until she was made to cry)  
Kuti akafá, munozviona  
 (If he dies, you will suffer)  
Ko kurega akaneta nebasa?  
 (What about letting him get tired as a result of his work?)  
Takamurega mwana akapondwa  
 (We let the child get murdered)

[ 2 ] as constituents of complex sentences of constructional pattern:

principal clause +/- consecutive clause

- e.g. Mudzidzisi akauya akagotsanangura zvaaida  
 (The teacher came and explained what he wanted)  
Vakomana vakakwira mumuti nyuchi dzikavaruma  
 (The boys climbed into the tree and the bees stung them)  
Pashure nyuchi dzakavarega vakagodzokera kumusha ndokusvikorohwa zvichinzi,  
"Munokonzera vakuru muchichi"  
 (Afterwards the bees let them go and they returned home and were beaten and told they were causing their elders extra trouble)  
Ndakasangana neshumba ichifura sora + ndikabata muromo + ndikati, "Hekuno kufa"  
 (I came across a lion feeding on grass, and I put my hand to my mouth and said, "My number is up")  
Zvatakabva kupurazi, baba akatengesa mombe, mari ikaperera muhwahwa  
 (When we came from the farm, father sold our cattle, and the money disappeared into beer)

In these sentences where the subordinate clauses are consecutive, no conjunctives are used to link the clauses.

[ 3 ] as constituents in complex sentences of constructional pattern:

+/- conjunctive +/- subordinate clause + principal clause

- E.G. Kana ndikakupayi mari, mungarambe here?  
 (If I give you money, would you refuse it?)  
Chero ukaguta, ndózvandinoda  
 (As long as you have had enough, that is what I want)  
Nyamba ukaguta hauite zvakana  
 (Even if you have your fill, you do not behave properly)  
Ndikauya kwamuri unondiramba here?  
 (If I come to you, will you reject me?)  
Ndinoti, ndikafá, guva rángu riiseyo paruwere  
 (I say, if I die, put my grave on the rock)

In these sentences which are conditional, there is place for a conjunctive.

THE IDEOPHONIC CONSTRUCTIONS

5.0.

5.0.1. Ideophones and verb radicals are the bases of two predicative styles

In 1962 the writer of this section 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 chapter 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.

5.0.2. 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 /-kádzi/ combines with the affixes of classes 1 and 2 to form nouns,

e.g. mu-kádzi (woman) (1)  
va-kádzi (women) (2)

The verb radical /-bvut-/ (snatch) combines with complements and adjuncts to form verb phrases,

e.g. -bvut- nyama ségoróro (snatch meat like a robber)

Verb phrases combine with verbal inflections to form inflected verb phrases,

e.g. yá-bvút-a nyama ségoróro (it snatched the meat like a robber)

5.0.3. 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 somúridzi (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 somúridzi pikú (taking up meat as its owner)  
nyama pikú somúridzi (taking up meat as its owner)

Many ideophones are constituents in the formation of nouns, normally accordingly to specific constructional patterns.

e.g. chá-mu-púpúrí (whirlwind, dust-devil) (7)  
cp. púpúrí púpúrí (whirling)

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. chi-mbínýu (short, excitable person) (7)  
cp. mbínýu (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.

5.0.4. 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:  
145/1. Complex...

- |                          |  |  |     |
|--------------------------|--|--|-----|
| 1. Complex stem          | e.g. -nhu-kadzi  | (female)   |     |
| 2. Substantive           | e.g. mu-nhukadzi   | (woman, female person)                                 | (1) |
| 3. Substantive phrase    | e.g. munhukadzi mukúru                                       | (grown woman)  | (1) |
| 4. Inflected SP          | e.g. múnhúkadzi mukúru                                       | (she is a grown woman)                                 |     |
| 5. Substantival clause   | e.g. Hanzvádzi yángu múnhúkadzi mukúru                       | (My sister is a grown woman)                           |     |
| 6. Substantival sentence | e.g. Hanzvádzi yángu múnhúkadzi mukúru así íyo índiki kunení | (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. -téng-es'  | (sell)   |
| 2. Verb phrase     | e.g. -téngés' mómbe négumi rámadhóra  | (sell an ox for ten dollars)   |
| 3. Inflected VP    | e.g. áka-téngés'-á mómbe négumi rámadhóra                                   | (he sold an ox for ten dollars)  |
| 4. Verbal clause   | e.g. Babá wángu ákaténgésá mómbe négumi rámadhóra                           | (My father sold an ox for ten dollars)   |
| 5. Verbal sentence | e.g. Babá wángu ákaténgésá mómbe négumi rámadhóra, vanhu vakaitóra kumafúro | (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. <u>taú-r-eí</u>  | (speaking)  |
| 2. Ideophone phrase   | e.g. mazwí manyoró <u>taureí</u>  | (speaking soft words)                                   |
| 3. Ideophone clause   | e.g. Mambo mazwí manyoró <u>taureí</u>                                  | (The chief spoke soft words)                            |
| 4. Ideophone sentence | e.g. Mambo mazwí manyoró <u>taureí</u> , vanhu vósé mwóyo <u>pfavéi</u> | (The chief spoke soft words and everyone was mollified) |

#### 5.0.5. 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-hwaná udíki | (the behaviour of small children) | (7,14) |
| cp. hwaná udíki      | (small children)                  | (14)   |

#### 5.0.6. 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,

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| e.g. -bvut- nyama ségoróro  | (snatch meat like a robber)   |
| nyama somúridzi <u>pikú</u> | (taking up meat as its owner) |

#### 5.0.7. Ideophones are constituents in nominal constructions

As already stated, ideophones are constituents in nouns 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

- |                        |   |                         |
|------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| e.g. mu-kúdúbu-kúdúbu  | (continual uncovering)                        | (3)                     |
| cp. <u>kúdúbu</u>      | (uncovering)                                  |                         |
| e.g. mu+suduru-suduru  | (continual withdrawing, changing of position) | (3)                     |
| cp. <u>suduru</u>      | (withdrawing)                                 |                         |
| e.g. chi-táng-é-táng-é | (starting without method, anyhow)             | (7)                     |
| cp. <u>táng-e</u>      | (starting), -táng' (start)                    | 146/e.g.chi-bik-e-bik-e |

- e.g. chi-bik-é-bik-e (cooking without method) (7)  
 cp. bik-e (cooking) -bik- (cook)
- e.g. chi-nhi-nhi-nhi (continual gripping) (7)  
nhi (gripping)
- e.g. chi-do'-do'-do' (falling, knocking, hammering) (7)  
do (falling, knocking, hammering)

## (2) Class affix + ideophone + class affix /mu-/ + ideophone

- e.g. nhuri-mu-turi (continual hanging up)  
 cp. turi
- e.g. mhiku-mu-piku (continual picking up from all over)  
piku (picking up)

## (3) Class affix /cha-/ + class affix /mu-/ + ideophone + class affix /mu-/ + ideophone

- e.g. cha-mu-chetu-mu-chetu (snipping all over)  
 cp. chetu (cutting, snipping)
- e.g. cha-mu-undu-mu-undu (plucking feathers from all over)  
undu (losing feathers)

Monosyllabic ideophones are reduplicated to fit into this pattern to yield a construction of seven syllables.

- e.g. cha-mu-nzve-nzve-mu-nzve-nzve (continual dodging all over)  
 cp. nzve (dodging)
- e.g. cha-mu-pu-pu-mu-pu-pu (continual falling of light objects everywhere)  
 cp. pu (falling lightly, e.g. as of a leaf)

Trisyllabic ideophones are merely reduplicated,

- e.g. cha-mu-pfudu-gu-pfudu-gu (continual uncovering)  
 cp. pfudu-gu (uncovering)
- e.g. cha-mu-radanu-radanu (continual uprooting)  
 cp. radanu (uprooting)

Monosyllabic ideophones may be triplicated,

- e.g. cha-mu-nhi-nhi-nhi (continual gripping)  
 cp. nhi (gripping)

5.0.8. Ideophones are constituents in derived verb radicals

Ideophones are also constituents in the formation of derived verb radicals, the constructional pattern being as follows:

ideophone + verbaliser

- |      |             |                      |     |         |           |
|------|-------------|----------------------|-----|---------|-----------|
| e.g. | -svetu-k'   | (jump)               | cp. | svetu   | (jumping) |
|      | -pepere-k-  | (wave in the wind)   | cp. | pepere  | (waving)  |
|      | -dimi-k-    | (speak in metaphors) | cp. | dimi    | (hinting) |
|      | -bhururu-k- | (fly)                | cp. | bhururu | (flying)  |

The list of the verbalisers in Shona is a long one. The majority are of C, with two of VC shape.

- |      |      |      |             |                   |     |               |
|------|------|------|-------------|-------------------|-----|---------------|
| viz. | /b/  | e.g. | -svi-b-     | (be dark)         | cp. | <u>svi-i</u>  |
|      | /d/  | e.g. | -gaga-d'    | (chop)            | cp. | <u>ga ga</u>  |
|      | /dz/ | e.g. | -pururu-dz- | (applaud shrilly) | cp. | <u>pururu</u> |
|      | /k/  | e.g. | -paru-k'    | (split)           | cp. | <u>paru</u>   |
|      | /m/  | e.g. | -gwada-m-   | (kneel)           | cp. | <u>gwada</u>  |
|      | /mb/ | e.g. | -fe-mb'     | (sniff)           | cp. | <u>fe fe</u>  |
|      | /n/  | e.g. | -gonya-n'   | (curl up)         | cp. | <u>gonya</u>  |
|      | /nd/ | e.g. | -dhi-nd-    | (stamp)           | cp. | <u>dhi</u>    |
|      | /nh/ | e.g. | -do-nh-     | (drop)            | cp. | <u>do</u>     |
|      | /ng/ | e.g. | -nzve-ng'   | (dodge)           | cp. | <u>nzve</u>   |
|      | /ny/ | e.g. | -tswa-ny-   | (crush)           | cp. | <u>tswa</u>   |
|      | /r/  | e.g. | -paru-r'    | (tear)            | cp. | <u>paru</u>   |
|      | /t/  | e.g. | -pfumba-t-  | (grasp)           | cp. | <u>pfumba</u> |
|      | /v/  | e.g. | -kwe-v-     | (pull)            | cp. | <u>kwe-e</u>  |
|      | /z/  | e.g. | -zungu-z'   | (shake)           | cp. | <u>zungu</u>  |
|      | /ik/ | e.g. | -rukut-ik-  | (be weak)         | cp. | <u>rukutu</u> |
|      | /ir/ | e.g. | -ndur-ir-   | (sting)           | cp. | <u>ndure</u>  |

There is the same 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 pattern H, HL, HHL, HHH are constituents of radicals of the high group; those with tone L, LL, LH, LLL, LLH, LLLH are constituents of radicals in the low group. The number of derived radicals of this sort is very great.

5.1.

### IDEOPHONES

#### 5.1.1 Monosyllabic ideophones need no stabilisers

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.

e.g. pamushá vhu (arriving at home)  
 cp. i-vhú (soil) (5) - noun with stabiliser /i-/  
 i-dyá (eat) -verb with stabiliser /i-/

#### 5.1.2 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.

e.g. <u>fé</u> (blowing)	<u>pu</u> (falling gently)
<u>páyi</u> (hanging up)	<u>gurwí</u> (swallowing)
<u>tándávu</u> (rising up, e.g. of a lion)	<u>konono</u> (waiting fruitlessly)
<u>súrududu</u> (sitting with bowed head)	<u>tutururu</u> (arriving)

#### 5.1.3 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, HHL, HLH in the high group and L, LL, LH, LLL, LHL in the low group, the following patterns not being so common,

H Group	:	HH, HHH, HLL
L Group	:	LLH, LHH

#### 5.1.4 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. pá:ru (tearing)  
gu:rwí (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. <u>tém-e</u> (cutting)	cp. -tém' (cut)
<u>rim-é</u> (tilling)	-rim- (till)
<u>tsvuku-ru</u> (being reddish)	-tsvuku (red)

In these cases, and they are very numerous, it is clear that the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes 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.

### 5.1.5. However, dramatic speech is very prone to the addition of expressive features

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.

### 5.1.6. Frames for expressive features

The sentence,

e.g. Ndati bhátye rángu páyi, ndókugara 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,

e.g. Ndati bhátye rángu # páyi #, ndókugara 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.

e.g. Ndati, "Chímboirá!" [ - - - - ]  
(I said, "Just 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.

e.g. kó:ʋó:: [ - \ ] (being dark)

(The symbol /ʋ/ 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).

e.g. tóra [ - - ] (crowing of a cock)

kwíra [ - - ] (donning of garment)

(Both syllables of these ideophones are short),

e.g. ndo:: [ - \ ] (being dark)

nzi:: [ - \ ] (being black)

(Low pitch, length and hence falling tone are essential to these ideophones)

### 5.1.7. 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 the initial consonant is a continuant, it may be considerably lengthened in expressive stress.

e.g. Akati símu, ndíye wovo  
(He stood up deliberately and went off)

### 5.1.8. 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.

- e.g. rázvu (standing up and jumping away)  
 cp. rá::zvu: (the same, of a large and heavy person)
- e.g. sandu (turning over, e.g. small pieces of meat in a pan)  
 cp. sa::ndu: (the same, only larger and more slowly and by a larger person)
- e.g. raba:da (falling, e.g. of a long object which hits the ground tail first in a controlled manner)

The tempo employed indicates the size of the object.

### 5.1.9. Expressive pitch

The parameter between high and low pitch is used to indicate distance and tenseness. Low 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.

### 5.1.10. 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 a 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,

Ndakáti pa, ndáva pámberí

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 of ideophones.

e.g. kuti pa, kuróvá (to beat)

With [—], a light sharp sound is implied, but with [∩], a light but dull sound.

Another aspect is conveyed by a similar example.

e.g. kuti pa, kupútíká kwébhodhoro (the popping of a cork)

If [—] the popping is presented as taking one by surprise; if [∩], the sound is not unexpected:

cp. kuti pa, kupaira mvúrá

(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. Ndakámuti ≠ dzadzú ≠ ndókumúti pasí ≠ p'a ≠ [—]

(I took him up and threw him head foremost to the ground)

Here we have an example of an ejective 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. ndókumúti pasí zvi

(and threw 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.

5.1.11. Parameters of expressive features exist in which the use of pitch length etc. is not contrastive

Thus 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 superceded.

5.1.12. 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, bhidhiri (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)

sve, dzve (sipping of a thin and thick liquid respectively)

tsamú, dzamú (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.	<u>tepu</u>
	-debu-k-	(sway of large tree)		<u>debu</u>
	-dhebhu-k-	(sway of huge tree)		<u>dhebhu</u>

5.1.13. 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.	<u>mbu</u>	(being white)
	<u>mbure:</u>	(being very white)
	<u>mburetete::</u>	(being extremely white)
	<u>tsvé</u>	(throwing away of an object of medium weight which lands with a slight sound)
	<u>tsvérekéte</u>	(throwing away of an object of light weight which lands with a slight sound)
	<u>tónho</u>	(being quiet)
	<u>tónhono</u>	(being very quiet)
	<u>tónhonono::</u>	(being as quiet as the grave)
	<u>bha</u>	(shining of the sun)
	<u>bha:</u>	(rising of the sun)
	<u>bhanan'anan'anan'a vha::</u>	(coming out of the first rays of the sun)

These syllables are added, again according to the dramatic requirement 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.

5.1.14. 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.

151/e.g. bvaru...



- e.g. bváru ~ bháru (tearing)  
tógo ~ ndógo (going up, as of smoke)  
nyápu ~ nyámbu (beating lightly)

These forms are equivalent to one another. Related to this freedom of realisation is the fact that ideophones may be made up by the individual speaker, freedom thus being exercised not only in the realisation 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.

- e.g. kwárú kwárú (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.

#### 5.1.15. Metathesis

A final indication of the freedom of ideophones in regard to phonemic form is the practice of metathesis.

- e.g. tíngini, níngiti (being thin-waisted)  
súngunu, sunúngu (untying)

This practice may also have had its origin in chibhende since this is a common form taken by children's secret language.

- e.g. namwá nguwa (my child in chibhende)  
 cp. mwaná wángu (my child)

#### 5.1.16. 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, 1963) and this would yield analogous results in the shape of (a) syllable repetition and (b) recurrent partials. Vowel harmony, (c), would be another feature.

- (a) babandu (chewing hard and brittle food)  
bhabhangú (splashing water during swimming)  
bhabhanu (unfolding)
- (b) surududu (sitting with bowed head)  
nyurududu (going down into the water)  
nanái (moving painfully)  
kambai (crawling)  
tsvai (sweeping)
- (c) nyangada (dissolving)  
nyenwere (smiling)  
minini (lifting a thin object pointing upwards)  
rwododo (falling gently to the knees)  
tutururu (arriving)

### 5.2.

#### COMPLEX IDEOPHONES

#### 5.2.1. 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. dí dí dí (running with short steps)  
ngá ngá ngá (tying of knots) púgu púgu (puffing out smoke)  
dhabhu dhabhu (flying slowly of a large bird)  
gagamhi gagamhi (limping)  
nyororo nyororo (moving slowly)

### 5.2.2. Ideophones derived from verb radicals

Derived ideophones are formed with verb radicals as constituents, a variety of 'ideophonisers' being used, viz.

- |     |                    |   |
|-----|--------------------|---|
| (1) | R + -e~ -é         | (depending on whether the R belongs to the high or low group) |
|     | e.g. <u>ték-e</u>  | (drawing water) cp. -ték' (draw water)                        |
|     | <u>muk-é</u>       | (rising from lying down) cp. -muk- (rise)                     |
| (2) | R + -eí~ -éi       | (of gentle action)  |
|     | e.g. <u>ték-eí</u> | (drawing water in leisurely fashion)                          |
|     | <u>muk-éi</u>      | (rising slowly, gingerly)                                     |
| (3) | R + -u~ -ú         | (reversive action)  |
|     | e.g. <u>dzím-u</u> | (extinguishing) cp. -dzím-ír- (burn a fireguard)              |
|     | <u>dziv-ú</u>      | (uncorking) cp. -dzív- (hinder)                               |

The governing suffix /-u~ú/ is used with only a restricted group of radicals. Of much wider currency are the allomorphs /-Vnu~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. | <u>kát-ánu</u>  | (uncoiling)   | cp. -kát'  | (coil)          |
|      | <u>pfek-enú</u> | (undressing)  | -pfek-     | (dress)         |
|      | <u>ping-ínu</u> | (unlatching)  | cp. -ping' | (block, hinder) |
|      | <u>roy-onó</u>  | (unwitching)  | -roy-      | (bewitch)       |
|      | <u>sung-únu</u> | (untying)   | -sung'     | (tie)           |
| (4)  | R + -áu~ -aú    | (extensive action)  |            |                 |
| e.g. | <u>tánh-áu</u>  | (plucking from all over)  | -tánh'     | (pluck)         |
|      | <u>rim-aú</u>   | (hoeing all over)   | -rim-      | (hoe)           |
| (5)  | R + -úru~ -uru  | (repetitious action)  |            |                 |
| e.g. | <u>dyár-úru</u> | (sowing over again, too little and too late)  | -dyár'     | (sow)           |
|      | <u>bay-uru</u>  | (stabbing again and again, for the sake of so doing even though the victim is dead) | -bay-      | (stab)          |
|      | <u>ré-úru</u>   | (confessing, possibly imprudently)  | -rév'      | (say)           |
|      | <u>zív-úru</u>  | (knowing a lot about something rather pointless)                                    | -zív'      | (know)          |
|      | <u>dzok-oro</u> | (ploughing, weeding or hoeing for a second time)                                    | -dzok-     | (come back)     |
|      | <u>send-uru</u> | (planing again)   | -send-     | (plane)         |

Ideophones with suffixes 3 and 5 are constituents in derived verb radicals formed by suffixing verbalisers /k/ and /r/.

- |      |              |                    |              |                         |
|------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| e.g. | -súng-únu-r- | (untie);           | -súng-únu-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/.

- |      |             |                       |
|------|-------------|-----------------------|
| e.g. | -tánh-áu-r- | (pluck from all over) |
|------|-------------|-----------------------|

### 5.2.3. 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.

- |      |                  |                 |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| e.g. | <u>chene-ru</u>  | (being whitish) |
|      | <u>pfumbu-ru</u> | (being greyish) |
|      | <u>tsvuku-ru</u> | (being reddish) |

These ideophones too are constituents in derived radicals formed by suffixing verbaliser /k/.

- |      |              |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| e.g. | -chene-ru-k- | (be whitish) |
|------|--------------|--------------|

Possibly other substantival stems are constituents in this way.

5.2.4. Reversive ideophones

The suffixes /-u/ and /-Vnu ~ -ono/ when substituted for the final vowels of simple ideophones yield reversive ideophones. This substitution is accompanied by retrogressive assimilation as well.

e.g.	<u>zar-ú</u>	(opening)	cp.	<u>zari</u>	(closing)
	<u>kúdúb-u</u>	(uncovering)		<u>kwídíba</u>	(covering)
	<u>pfúdúg -u</u>	(uncovering)		<u>pfídíga</u>	(covering)
	<u>fásh-ánu</u>	(water running out)		<u>fasha</u>	(water flooding in)
	<u>páy-ánu</u>	(taking down)		<u>páyi</u>	(hanging up)
	<u>pit-inu</u>	(going out)		<u>piti</u>	(going in)
	<u>koch-ono</u>	(unhooking)		<u>koche</u>	(hooking, coupling)
	<u>túr-únu</u>	(taking down)		<u>túri</u>	(hanging up)
	<u>pfúmb-únu</u>	(removing fruit from ripening hole)		<u>pfímbi</u>	(putting fruit into ripening hole)

The reduplicated form /bidinu bidinu/ could be used of a large snake edging its way out of a hole in the ground backwards.

## 5.3.

IDEOPHONIC PHRASES5.3.1. 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.

e.g.	nyama <u>pikú</u> somúridzi	(taking the meat as its owner)
	<u>n'á</u> (biting)	
	<u>n'á</u> gumbo romúridzi	(biting the leg of its owner)

## 5.4.

IDEOPHONIC CLAUSES5.4.1. 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.	Imbwá yángu nyama <u>pikú</u> somúridzi
	(My dog <u>took</u> the meat as if it were its owner)

## 5.5.

IDEOPHONIC SENTENCES5.5.1. The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences

The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences is as follows

ideophonic clause +/- ideophonic clauses

e.g.	Imbwá yángu nyama <u>pikú</u> somúridzi, <u>washu</u> , <u>toro</u>
	(My dog <u>took</u> the meat as if it were its owner, <u>ran off</u> and <u>disappeared</u> )
	Zirumé riye zibángá <u>pikú</u> , <u>chéke</u> zinhindi, <u>mukanwa</u> <u>póri</u>
	(The giant <u>took up</u> a <u>knife</u> , <u>cut off</u> a huge piece and <u>tossed</u> it into his mouth)
	Rumbada <u>ware</u> , <u>nésango</u> <u>tetere</u>
	(The lean leopard <u>ran off</u> and <u>disappeared</u> through the bush)

### 5.5.2. 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 wéchtánhatú vanátsúro pfacha, vanhu vápédza kuswúsvúra  
(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 Kumene says, be used in the context of present tense (Kumene, 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

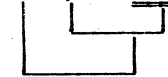
### 5.6. Ideophonic phrases in other constructions

Ideophonic phrases are used in a variety of other constructions each clearly susceptible of an interpretation in terms of constituent structure.

#### 5.6.1. 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.

e.g. ndí-ye n'á (lit. it is a biting)



ndí-ye gumbo romuridzi n'á (lit. it is a biting of its owner's leg)

ndí-ye muguru nómuswé 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 substantive phrase,

e.g. Imbwá yangu ndíye n'á  
(lit. As for my dog, it is a biting; viz. My dog made a bite)

Imbwá ndíye gumbo romuridzi n'á  
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting of the leg of its owner; viz. The dog bit its owner in the leg)

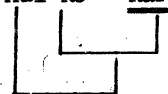
Imbwá ndíye nyama pikú mumbá somuridzi  
(lit. As for the dog, it is a taking of the meat from the house as its owner; viz. The dog took the meat from inside the house as if it were its owner)

Nyóká ndíye muguru nómuswé 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)

#### 5.6.1.1. 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. ndí-ko kurúma' (lit. it is a biting)



Imbwá ndíko kurúma'  
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting; viz. The dog made a bite)

cp. ndíye n'á (lit. it is a biting)

Imbwá ndíye n'á  
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting; viz. The dog made 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

or in  
 -ye n'á (a biting itself)  
 -ye muguru nómuswé 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. í-ye nhási (today itself) (1a)  
 í-ye babá (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. Goné úna goné wákewó  
 (Mr Able has one who is able for him too)  
 Túre úna túre wákewó  
 (Mr Put-down has one able to put him down too)  
 Dzamú úna dzamú wákewó  
 (Mr. Take-a-handful can have a handful taken from him too)

It may be that the class 1a-1 agreement in these sayings is due to the ideophones having been personified in both cases and, becoming names, serving as constituents in class 1a nominal constructions.

viz. Ø-dzamú (Mr Take-a-handful) (1a) cp. dzamú (taking a handful)  
 cp. chi-mbinyu (short, excitable person) (7) cp. mbinyu (changing suddenly) e.g.  
 an opinion or a position

#### 5.6.1.2. The nominal status of ideophonic phrases analogous to quotations

What is perhaps more relevant a parallel is the class 1a status of quotations when they are constituents in phrases.

e.g. "Hóngu" wákó na-" Kwéte" wákó handíneí navó  
 (I have nothing to do with your "Yes" and your "No")  
 "Ndinogóna" wákó na- "Handígoné" wákó handíneí navó  
 (Your "I can" and "I can't" mean nothing to me)

The agreement between the pronoun /-vo/ 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. ndiye, Sáraí (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. Imbwá ndiye n'á, kurúma  
 (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".

#### 5.6.2. 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 páru  
 (lit. The jacket, there it is, splitting; vix. 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. Hóunó mwaná wényú (Here is your child)  
Hóunó musikana wandínodá (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 hórwo 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. Bhatye héro páru (There is a jacket splitting)  
Nyóka héyo piti piti (There is a snake going in)  
Chinobáte-regé hóyo vhu (There is Mr Shilly-shally arriving)  
Varúme váye hávo mbá kumunda úye  
(There are those men going off to that field)  
Imbwa héyo pikú nyáma mumbá, washú, toro  
(There is a 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.

### 5.6.3. 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 n'á (lit. going snap; viz. biting)  
-nzi n'á (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. Imbwa y-áka-tí n'á  
(The dog bit)  
Muridzi wáka-nzí némbwa yáke n'á  
(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. Imbwa n'á (The dog biting, the dog bit)

The ideophonic phrase retains all its own internal relationships when it is the complement of the auxiliary verbs.

- e.g. Ndatí bhatye rángu páyi  
(I hung up my jacket)  
Nguruve yákanzí pazísó ndure nényuchi  
(The pig was stung on the eye by a bee)

In the above examples, the SP /bhatye rángu/ is the object complement of /páyi/. The SP /pazísó/ and the adverbial phrase /nényuchi/ are respectively the adverbial locative complement and the agentive 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 /-nge/ (be).

- e.g. (bere)...nge rádyá nyama yáro nénhafú  
(its (viz. the hyena's) having eaten its meat greedily)(auxiliary verb phrase)  
bere kunge rádyá nyama yáro nénhafú  
(for a hyena to have its meat greedily)(infinitive inflected auxiliary verb clause)

Bere rákángá rádyá nyama yáro nénhafú  
(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 /nénhafú/ (with greed) are, of course, retained though the verb phrase /-dy- nyama yáro nénhafú/ is involved as constituent in constructions of higher and higher rank.

#### 5.6.3.1. The object prefix as constituent

If the ideophonic phrase is regarded as a complement of the auxiliary verbs /-ti/ and /-nzi/, 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. Imbwá yáka-i-ti nyama mumbá piku yakángá yánzi ígóchéwe  
(The dog took the meat from the house which had been meant for roasting)  
Shumba yáka-dzi-nzi mbiradzákondo 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. Bere rákángá rá-i-dya nyama mumushá yáinzi ísásikwé pámotó  
(The hyena had eaten the meat in the village which was meant to be dried at the fire)  
viz -i-dy- nyama mumushá  
cp. -i-ti nyama mumbá 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.

#### 5.6.3.2. A series of ideophonic phrases as complements

A whole series of ideophonic phrases may be introduced by /-ti/ or /-nzi/ as their complements.

- e.g. Máí Tapfumanéi vákángóti gwatí ravákángá vakabáta pasí gwachata  
mutsváiro pasí kandéi, chisero chávó bwa padyo néchotó

(Mother Tapfumaneí 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 /-nzi/ are used to introduce direct speech, the citations being complements of still another kind.

- e.g. Ndatí, "Chimbomirá!" (I said, "Just wait a moment!")  
Vákánzi, "Mírái!" (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 consisting of /-ti/ or /-nzi/ followed by a principal inflected verb phrase.

- e.g. Kungoti jongwé romurirakanwe tóra, munhu akati ávasiyá  
(The first cock crew and the person left them, viz. died; lit. the person did he has left them)

The principal inflected verb introduced by /-ti/ or /-nzi/ 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.

- e.g. ...munhu akati, Ndakúsiyáí  
(lit. ...and the person said, I have left you; viz. and the person died)  
...nzara nényota zvikati, Ko watikanganwa? Tinéwé. Tirí tese. Hándéi!  
(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)  
...nyóká ikati, Zvínzwe izvo  
(lit. and the snake said, Feel that; viz. and the snake made a vicious bite)  
...munhu akati, Mukabika idyáí  
(lit. and the person said, If you cook, eat it up; biz. and the person died)

158/...munhu akati,...

...munhu akati, Zváva zvényú izvo  
(lit. and the person said, It's all yours now; viz. the person died, leaving mortal care behind)

...ngozi ikati, Ndirí mushúre  
(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.

- e.g. ...akanzi ícho pamhuno  
(he was dealt a blow on the nose; lit. it (cp. chibhakera (a fist)) on the nose)  
Nyóká ndíye nayó nayó nayó, nomúguru potyo  
(The snake moved along it (viz, nzira (path)) and entered the hole)  
Iní nédhumúkwa ndísú ndísú ndísú; nomúdziva rororo tiri tese  
(I chased the waterbuck and we both fell into the pool)

#### EXEMPLIFICATION

##### 6.0.0.

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 Karikoga Gumiremiseve and is reproduced here by kind permission. It describes a fight into which Karikoga, the orphan hero of the story, is drawn, first with the leader of the group of herd-boys of which he is a somewhat ostracised member, and then with the others.

##### 6.1.0. The passage

1. Kuzoti zvino nzombé mbiri dzanetésana, dzakatarisana sehandira mbiri dzemombe. 2. Karikoga waiti, akaritarira iro Benyumundiro, meso áké áibva ázara ropa. 3. Benyumundiro akati akateme, Karikoga kakabva kati virikiti. 4. Kakabva kamuti nepano pabvi ga, akabva áti pasi bi. 5. Kakagomuti iyo iri mumusoro, ropa rikabva raerera semvura. 6. Kakagomupanhidza, kakagomupanhidza, akabva áti tasa. 7. Vamwe vakafunga kuti wafa.
8. Kuzoti vamwe vakwiona, vakadziti tsvimbo kacha, vakagoti vose naye memete.
9. Kakomana kakati, 'Hendei narwo.' 10. Kakomana kakagoti mhanje mhanje, apo mbi sekambada. 11. Vanhu vakati voita semanhanga kupunzika. 12. Vongoti, auya ári pasi, auya ári pasi. 13. Vakati vose vakwana nadzo mbonje, kukati kwasara mumwe chete. 14. Paye podi Karikoga amuteme, gomana rikabva rati virikiti, rikagomuti gumu rakadya vaviri. 15. Ridoti rimuroveré pasi, Karikoga akati, 'Kunyepa', ndokubva zvaita mawiramombe. 16. Zvikagokweshana zviripo pasi, gomana rikati radura, 'Chindiregera, mukuru wangu. Handichazoviita. Handichazofa ndakarwa newe narinhi wose. Wandikurira.' 17. Karikoga ndokubva amuregera. 18. Hero kwanyanu, roenda.

##### 6.2.0. 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 him 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 on to him at once. 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 ninepins  
159/(lit.pumpkins)...



(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.

6.3.0.

Comment on the 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 /-bva/, /-go-/ and /-ti/ are much in evidence in their varying linking & 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 /virikiti/ (dodging), /-mu- nepano pabvi ga/ (hitting him squarely on the knee) and /pasi bi/ (falling on to the ground). In sentence 5 the substantive phrase consisting of the pronoun /iyo/ (9) (it, viz. the stick (tsvímbo) (9)) qualified by the predicate /iri mumsóro/ (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 reduplicated action, /Kakagomupamhidza, kakagomupamhidza/ (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 Mbimbindoga 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 attempt 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 early. In sentence 8 the phrases /tsvímbo kacha/ (snatching up their sticks) and /naye memete/ (engaging him, falling upon him) are both introduced by auxiliary /-ti/. In sentence 9 the sentence 'Hendei narwo' (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 /mhanye mhanye/ (running here and there) is introduced by /-ti/ but is followed by the ideophone clause /apo mbi sekambada/ (standing there like a little leopard) which is consecutive. Sentence 11 and 13 contain instances of the 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 /Gumi rakadya vaviri/ (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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