SHONA GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

VOLUME 1

BY
GEORGE FORTUNE

MERCURY PRESS

SHONA

GRAMMATICAL

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INTRODUCTION

In 1955 the present writer presented an interpretation of Shona grammatical structure entitled An Analytical Grammar of Shona. This work, with the more modest and precise title of Shona Grammatical Constructions, is offered as a sequel. Since this writer regards the second work as an improvement on the first, perhaps a few words of introduction to describe the difference between them will be in order.

The first study was described in its Introduction as being 'an analysis of the word-forms of some of the Central Shona dialect groups, with some account of their grammatical function, together with two prefatory chapters dealing with Central Shona sounds and sound-changes."[1] Its scope was dictated by close adherence to the method of grammatical analysis worked out by Professor C M Doke and applied by him to the description of Zulu, Lamba and Southern Sotho[2]. Certain constructions, or parts of constructions, called words were analysed and classified in the work. Nothing further was attempted or even envisaged. Words were chosen as the material for analysis and description as the result of a two-fold process of selection applied successively from two different angles.

The first approach was prosodic. Entities called words were discovered to exist in Bantu languages, their defining characteristic being an accent[3] on their penultimate syllable,

e.g. in Zezuru: mwa:ná wá:ngu , (my child)
mwa:ná wámwa:ná wá:ngu (the child of my child)

The second approach was from the"functional" side, in reality no more than an application of traditional sentence analysis. As a result of this, it emerged that six basic parts of speech should be recognised in Bantu languages, identified and distinguished from one another "by the work which each does in the sentence"[4].

The six parts of speech were the conjunctive, the substantive, the qualificative, the predicative the descriptive and the interjective and these were regarded as necessary and sufficient for the filling of the slots in the following sentence frame, underlying the structure of Bantu, no less than of English, sentences[5]:

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

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

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1. An Analytical Grammar of Shona by G Fortune, Longmans, 1955, p. xiii. Quoted hereafter as AS.
2. Text Book of Zulu Grammar, 1927, pp. xii and 341.
Text Book of Lamba Grammar, 1938, pp. viii and 484.
Text Book of Southern Sotho Grammar, by C M Doke and S M Mofokeng, pp. xv and 491.
A clear description of the method is given in Chapter IV, 'The Morphology of the Southern Bantu Languages', in The Southern Bantu Languages by C M Doke, 1954.
3. Doke's position as regards Zulu was first formulated in The Phonetics of the Zulu Language which appeared as a special number of Bantu Studies, Vol.II, July 1926.
He applied the notion to Shona in A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics, 1931 and a full statement occurs in his Bantu Linguistic Terminology, 1935.
4. A good statement of Doke's approach here will be found in Section III of the Introduction to Bantu Linguistic Terminology, 'Bantu Grammatical and Syntactical Classification'. The section commences as follows : "Taking the word as the basis of Bantu grammatical classification, each complete word constitutes some "part of speech" according to its syntactical force, that is, according to the work which it does in the sentence."
5. Cp. Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p.25. "All Bantu sentences may be contained in the long-tested frame of "connective, subject, enlargement of subject, predicate, object, enlargement of object and extension of predicate."
Cp. also Zulu Syntax and Idiom, 1955, p.6.

ii/amended form...

amended form of Doke's scheme as applied to Shona in AS) the substantives were divided into nouns, e.g. mwana (child), and pronouns.

Prounouns were either absolute, e.g. íye (he, she),

or qualificative, viz. qualifying words without accompanying noun, e.g. mukúru (big one), wangu (my one).

Qualifying words or qualificatives were divided into:

adjectives	- e.g.	mwaná mukúrú	(a big child)
demonstratives	- e.g.	mwaná uyu	(this child)
enumeratives	- e.g.	mwaná múmwe	(another child)
possessives	- e.g.	mwaná wángu	(my child)
quantitatives	- e.g.	mwaná óga	(a child alone)
relatives	- e.g.	mwaná asíngazíve	(a child who does not know)
		mwaná wandísingázíve	(a child I do not know)

Predicatives were divided into verbs, e.g. Mwaná anozívá (The child knows) and copulatives, e.g. Mwaná ndíshe (The child is a chief). Descriptives were divided into adverbs, e.g. chéte (only), and adverbials, e.g. zvakánáka (well); conjunctives into conjunctions, e.g. así (but), and conjunctives, e.g. nokúti (because); and interjectives into exclamations, e.g. hóngu! (yes!), and ideophones, e.g. potyo (entering).

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

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

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

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

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

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

vasíngazíve izvi (those who do not know these things)

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

the inflection: viz. vasínga...e

and the verb phrase: -zív- izvi.

iii/Similarly...

Similarly the construction nenzíra iyi (by this path), which would be called an adverbial in AS, is properly analysed in terms of an inflecting morpheme, /ne-/ and a substantive phrase, /nzira iyi/.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g.	mu-kádzí	(woman)
	mu-rúmé	(man)
	va-kádzí	(women)
	va-rúmé	(men)

A constituent is any morpheme or construction which enters into some larger construction. Thus, in the examples given, the prefixes /mu-/ and /va-/ and the noun stems /-kádzí/ and /-rúmé/ are all constituents. They are not only constituents but immediate constituents since the constructions in question are directly formed from them and not from anything intermediate between themselves and these constituents. All four constructions have the same constructional pattern

iv/which...

which may be set out in terms of the constituent classes as noun prefix + noun stem. Constituent classes are classes of constituents which occur in the same constructional patterns[1]. For example /mu-/ and /va-/ both belong to the constituent class of noun prefix; and /-kádzí/ and /-rúmé/ to the same constituent class of noun stem. In this study, grammatical constructions are analysed in terms of constructional patterns and their items, the constituent classes.

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

In addition to the treatment of the phonological and morphological structure, there is an intermediary chapter on the morphophonemics. This is a statement of the sorts of change in phonemic form which constituents and classes of constituents undergo in certain constructions due to the modifying presence of co-constituents. In this connection morphemes are regarded as being realised in speech by both segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, namely consonants, vowels and tones. Changes in the phonemic make-up of morphemes, either segmental or suprasegmental, are treated as morphophonemic changes and linked to the presence of co-constituents in constructions which occasion them. Thus the changes in tone pattern of nuclear substantives in inflected substantive phrases - copulative, possessive or adverbial - are morphophonemic changes. They do not involve the substitution of tonal morphemes one for another. Similarly the change of tone patterns on verb radicals in the different inflected forms are described as morphophonemic changes linked to the presence of the co-constituent in inflected verbal phrases, viz. the inflections.

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

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1. These definitions are based on those given in H A Gleason's "An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, 1955 Chapter 10, "Immediate Constituents". The method outlined in this chapter has been followed throughout this book and my indebtedness to it will be obvious. "When properly done, the method of describing the structure of utterances in terms of successively larger constructions and their relationships proves to be quite generally feasible and useful." (op.cit. p.131-2)

1/PHONOLOGY...

1. THE SOUND SYSTEM OF SHONA

1.1. Morphemes

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

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

(a) Morphemes are meaningful. For example, in the construction[1] munhu (person) we find two morphemes or units of grammatical structure, namely mu- and -nhu. They are both meaningful. If we doubt this we have only to compare munhu with other similar constructions to see that mu- and -nhu are each meaningful and that both contribute to the meaning of the whole construction of which they are the constituent parts, e.g. mu-nhu with va-nhu (persons), and mu-nhu with mu-kádzí (woman).

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

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

1.2. Phonemes

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

Some morphemes consist of a single phoneme, for example the morpheme u- in the construction

Urí pano (You are here)

cp. Ndirí pano (I am here)

But, most often, morphemes consist of a combination of phonemes, for example, the morpheme mu-, va-, -nhu, and -kadzi.

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

2/the phonemes...

1. A construction is any significant or meaningful group of morphemes. The parts which make up a construction are called its constituents. For example, in the examples above, mu, va-, -nhu, and -kádzí are constituents of the three constructions, munhu, vanhu and mukádzí.

the phonemes and the morphemes of the language. When letters are used to represent phonemes they are cited between slashes, for example /m/, /u/. When letters or combinations of letters are used to represent morphemes they are cited as underlined, for example mu-, va-, with the addition of a accent /'/ in the case of high-toned syllables, low-toned syllables being unmarked, for example mukádzí, a three syllable noun carrying the tone pattern low high high (LHH).

1.3. The identification of phonemes

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

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

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

ívo, íwo, íyo, íro, íko, ípo, ímo

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

1.4. Segmental and suprasegmental phonemes

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

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

	dare	(village court, meeting place)
cp.	dare	(iron, bell)
	Zvákánáka	(It is well)
cp.	zvakánáka	(in a way which is well)
	Ndinóda.wó mwa:ná	(I also want the child)
cp.	Ndinóda wámwa:ná	(I want the child's one)[1]

1.5. Egressive and ingressive air-streams

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

3/the organs...

(1) High tone on a syllable is indicated by the accent /'/, low tone by the absence of an accent. Relatively longer syllabic length on the penultimate syllable of words and phrases is indicated by /./ (medium length) and /:/ (long length). The word division in Standard Shona is based on the criterion of penultimate length.

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

1.6. The description of consonant phonemes

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

(1) the action of the vocal cords during articulation;

(2) the place at which the organs of speech engage during articulation; and

(3) the manner in which they engage.

1.6.1. Voice, voicelessness and breathy voice.

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

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

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

c) There is a third position of the vocal cords which is as important in Shona phonology as those which result in voice and voicelessness. In this position only the anterior or ligamental parts of the vocal cords are allowed to vibrate, as in the production of voice. The posterior parts, which lie between the arytenoid cartilages which control them, are held apart so that there is, relative to the production of voiced sounds, a considerable flow of air out of the lungs. Ladefoged calls the effect of the vocal cords in this position murmur.[2] It has also been caled voiced depression and breathy voice. The latter term seems to be the most suitable.

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

Position of the vocal cords	Characteristic effect	Examples
(a) Cords held together along their whole length, vibrating.	Voice	/b, m, a/

4/(b) Cords...

1. Outline of linguistic Analysis. B Bloch and G L Trager (Linguistic Society of America, 1942, p. 12)

2. Linguistic phonetics. Peter Ladefoged (Working Papers in Phonetics 6, UCLA, June 1967, p.10)

Position of vocal cords	Characteristic effect	Examples
(b) Cords held apart along their whole length.	Voicelessness	/p, s/
(c) Ligamental parts held together vibrating, posterior parts held apart.	Breathy voice	/bh, mh, z/

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

1.6.2. Place of articulation

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

Articulators are mobile, whereas the points of articulation on, at, or towards which they act, are fixed or relatively fixed. The articulators, chiefly the lower lip and the tongue, lie below the points of articulation and articulation itself takes place when the articulators touch or approach the points of articulation in ways to be described in par.1.6.3. which deals with manner of articulation.

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

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

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

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

1.6.3. Manner of articulation

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

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

5/Stops...

Stops are usually released outwardly and this is indicated by another term used for stops of this kind, namely they are explosive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6.4. Double articulation

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

1.7. The description of vowel phonemes

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

(1) the part of the tongue which is raised. The parts distinguished are the front, the centre and the back;

(2) the degree of raising of the tongue. The degrees distinguished are high, mid and low;

(3) the position of the lips. The positions range from rounded to neutral to spread.

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

1.8. The consonant phonemes of Shona

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

(1) Phoneme. Under this heading the phonemes of Shona are listed according to type and symbolised by the letters of the current writing system.

(2) Phonation. Under this heading the type of action of the vocal cords which accompanies the articulation of each phoneme is given in abbreviated form, as vl (indicating voiceless), as vd (indicating voiced), or as br vd (indicating breathy voiced).

(3) Place. Under this heading the places of articulation are given, bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, prepalatal, velar, glottal.

(4) Manner. Under this heading the manner of articulation of the phoneme in question is specified as stop, fricative, affricate, approximant, trill.

(5) Example. Under this heading an example in which the phoneme occurs is given with English translation.

7/Phoneme...

Phoneme	Phonation	Place	Manner	Example
/p/	vl	bilabial	oral stop	pórá (cool down)
/t/	vl	alveolar	oral stop	tórá (take)
/k/	vl	velar	oral stop	kórá (get drunk)
/bh/	br vd	bilabial	oral stop	bhóra (ball)
/dh/	br vd	alveolar	oral stop	dhóra (gelignite)
/g/	br vd	velar	oral stop	góra (vulture)
/b/	vd	bilabial	implosive oral stop	kubá (to steal)
/d/	vd	alveolar	implosive oral stop	kudá (to want)
/f/	vl	labiodental	fricative	kufura (to graze)
/s/	vl	alveolar	fricative	kusika (to rotate)
/sv/	vl	alveolar	labialised fricative	kusvika (to arrive)
/sh/	vl	prepalatal	fricative	kushura (to violate taboo)
/vh/	br vd	labiodental	fricative	kuvhara (to shut)
/z/	br vd	alveolar	fricative	kuzárá (to be full)
/zv/	br vd	alveolar	labialised fricative	kuzvárá (to beget)
/zh/	br vd	prepalatal	fricative	zhárárá (sand cricket)
/h/	br vd	glottal	fricative	hámá (kinsman)
/v/	vd	labiodental	approximant	kuvira (to boil)
/y/	vd	prepalatal	approximant	kuyera (to measure)
/w/	vd	labio-velar	approximant	kuwira (to fall on)
/r/	vd	alveolar	trill	kurárá (to sleep)
/m/	vd	bilabial	nasal stop	imí (you)
/n/	vd	alveolar	nasal stop	iní (I)
/ny/	vd	prepalatal	nasal stop	nyangá (horn)
/n'/	vd	velar	nasal stop	n'anga (diviner)
/mh/	br vd	bilabial	nasal stop	mhango (hollow in tree)
/nh/	br vd	alveolar	nasal stop	nhango (small piece of meat)

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

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

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

/pf/	vl	laviodental	affricate	pfigá (shut)
/ts/	vl	alveolar	affricate	tsigá (be calm)
/tsv/	vl	alveolar	labialised affricate	tsvina (dirt)
/ch/	vl	prepalatal	affricate	china (four)
/bv/	br vd	labiodental	affricate	kubvika (to be possible)
/dz/	br vd	alveolar	affricate	kudzika (to be deep)
/dzv/	br vd	alveolar	labialised affricate	dzvití (invader)
/j/	br vd	prepalatal	affricate	jití (a dance)

8/Phoneme./mb/...

Phoneme	Phonation	Place	Manner	Example
/mb/	vd	bilabial	nasal-oral stop	támbá (dance)
/nd/	vd	alveolar	nasal-oral stop	tándá (drive away)
/ng/	vd	velar	nasal-oral stop	tángá (begin)
/mv/	br vd	labiodental	nasal-oral affricate	mvere (animal fur)
/nz/	br vd	alveolar	nasal oral affricate	nzéró (mental ability)
/nzv/	br vd	alveolar	labialised nasal-oral affricate	nzvéré (animal with young)
/nj/	br vd	prepalatal	nasal-oral affricate	njéré (mental ability)

There are other breathy-voiced multisegment consonants in Shona, e.g. in the words mbaura (heater) and ndarí (beer for sale), but they are not very common and the Shona alphabet makes no provision for them.

The alveolar consonants /t, dh, nd, n/ combine with the phoneme /y/ to produce the sound combinations which are symbolised in Shona by the letter combinations /ty/, /dy/, /ndy/ and /nyn'/. These combinations are prepalatal-velar in articulation.

For example kutyá (to fear) kudyá (to eat)
ndyíré (glutton) nyn'ambo (jokes)

Most consonant phonemes combine with the phoneme /w/ to produce sound combinations which are symbolised in Shona by the letter combinations /pw/, /rw/, /kw/ and so on.

Note that the symbols /hw/ as in hwahwá (beer) stand for the breathy-voiced labio-velar approximant.

1.9. The vowel phonemes of Shona

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

	Front	Centre	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

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

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

	Highest point of the tongue	Position of lips
/i/	high front	spread
/e/	mid front	medium spread
/a/	low central	neutral
/o/	mid back	medium rounded
/u/	high back	rounded

9/The following...

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

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

1.10. Phonemes of tone

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

e.g. /nèsádzà/ (with sadza) is LHL in tone pattern
/némvùrá/ (with water) is HLL in tone pattern

1.11. Syllabic length of vowels

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

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

e.g. Váénda nababá? (Have they gone with father?)
cp Váénda naba:bá (They have gone with father)

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

e.g. Ákáti bhátye kwíra (He put on his jacket)
cp. Ákáti,'Bhátye, kwí;rá!' (He said, 'Jacket, climb up!')

e.g. Jongwé ríchangóti tóra (Just after the cock crew)
cp. Jongwé ríchangóti, 'To:ra!' (Just after the cock said 'Take it!')

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

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

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

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There is no page 10

2.0. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1. CONSTITUENTS IN CONSTRUCTIONAL PATTERNS

The description of the grammatical constructions which follow is made according to the constructional pattern of each. For example, the noun, which is one of the most common grammatical constructions in Shona, is described as having a constructional pattern: noun prefix (np) + noun stems (ns). The constructional pattern, viz. np + ns, is set out in general terms according to its constituents. The terms cited in such a formula, however, stand in every case for a class of constituents, each member of which may enter into the construction at the position indicated in the constructional pattern by the term indicating the constituent class. The term np indicates the constituent class of noun prefixes of which there are 22. The term ns stands for the very large class of morphemes and constructions which can combine with individual noun prefixes to form nouns. For example, /mu-/, one of the members of the constituent class np, combines with /-nhu/, one of the members of the constituent class ns to give munhu (person), a noun, one of the constructions at the level of the substantive. The details of the relationship between the members of one constituent class and another in the constructional pattern have to be made plain and explicit when the construction is described. For example, there is a very complex relationship between various members of the np class and members of the ns class. Some of the ns class are primary stems of a noun prefix, others are secondary and the meaning of the np and of the construction as a whole varies according to this relationship. But it must be understood that what is indicated by the terms of constructional patterns are classes of constituents.

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

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

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

2.2. TYPES OF MORPHEME CONSTITUENTS

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

Vanhu vanorima minda namapadza madiki
(The people cultivate their fields with small hoes)

(a)(i) Examples of the class affix type of morpheme are the noun prefix /va-/ of cl.2 in the noun va-nhu (peoples)(2) and the subject prefix /va-/ of cl.2 in the inflected verb phrase, va-no-rim-a minda namapadza madiki (they cultivate the fields with small hoes).

(a)(ii) Examples of the inflecting affix type of morpheme are the adverbial inflecting affix /na-/ in the adverbial phrase na-mapadza madiki (with small hoes) and the verbal inflecting morphemes /-no- + terminal vowel -a/ in the inflected verb phrase quoted above.

(b) Examples of the stem and radical type of constituent are the noun stem /-nhu-/ in the noun va-nhu (people)(2) and the verb radical /-rim-/ in the inflected verb phrase quoted above.

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

2.3. CONSTITUENT CLASSES OF MORPHEMES

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

2.4. BASIC FORMS OF MORPHEMES AND ALLOMORPHS

Each constituent class of class-affix and inflecting-affix consists of a list of morphemes. For example the constituent class of adverbial inflecting affix is a short list of two members,

viz. /na-/ (with, by, by means of etc.)
and /sa-/ (like)

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

e.g. na-babá mukúrú (with father's elder brother)

But when it is used with the substantive phrase, bánga gúrú (a big knife), it is realised as /né-/.

viz. né-banga gúrú (with a large knife)

Morphemes occur therefore in different forms and shapes according to their environment which is typically the presence of the co-constituent with which they combine in order to form a construction. They are listed in a constituent class and referred to in grammatical description according to a basic form which is chosen arbitrarily but which may be that in which the morpheme in question usually occurs. For example the basic forms of the adverbial inflecting morphemes are cited here as /na-/ and /sa-/. But it is understood that these same morphemes, referred to in a list for the sake of convenience in one of their forms, arbitrarily chosen, have other forms as well depending upon their environment. The differing forms in which the morpheme appears are called its allomorphs and the changes in phonemic shape of the morphemes from its arbitrarily chosen basic form to the variant forms, e.g. from /na-/ to /ne-/, are called morphophonemic changes.[1]

2.5. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

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

né-banga gúrú
cp. bánga gúrú
na-babá mukúrú

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

e.g. the negative inflecting morpheme /ha-/, the cl. 2a noun prefix /vá-/.

These morphemes are not very numerous though doubtless they include conjunctives like /kana/ (if, when) and certain ideophones, e.g. /tóra/ (crowing of cock), /kwíra/ (putting on garment). Other ideophones appear in two or three different forms.

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

e.g.	símu	(rising)	(with HL tone pattern)
	-símú-k-	(rise)	(with HH tone pattern)
	chá-mu-símu-mu-símu	(general rising) (7)	(with HL tone pattern)
	ma-símú-dzanwá	(helping each other up) (6)	(with HH tone pattern)
	yambú	(crossing)	(LH)
cp.	-yambu-k-	(cross)	(LL)
	chá-mu-yambu-mu-yambu	(general climbing on to bank from river) (7)	(HL, LL)
	ma-yambú-dzánwa	(helping each other to cross) (6)	(LH)

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

13 / 2.6. TYPES OF

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

2.6. TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE

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

e.g. the morpheme /na-/ consists of a single CV syllable with a low toneme;
the morpheme /-virí/ (two) consists of two syllables with a low and a high toneme, CVCV́;
the morpheme /hó:ngu/ (yes!) consists of two syllables, CV, CCV with a high and low toneme.

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

e.g. consonantal	:	/m. birí/	(two) (10.9)	cp. /-virí/	(two)
vowel	:	/né.banga/	(with a knife)	/na-/	(with)
tonal	:	/ne.banga/	(with a knife)	/na-/	(with)

In these examples the morpheme /-virí/ has two allomorphs /-virí/ and /-birí/, differing in consonant onset; the morpheme /na-/ has two allomorphs /na-/ and /né-/ differing in vowel nucleus and toneme.

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

2.7. Morphemes of tone

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

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

e.g. future tense sign /-cha-/

ndi-chá-ziv-a (I shall know)
á-cha-zív-á (he will know)

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

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

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

e.g. ku-tíz-ír-á (to flee for)
ku-bik-ir-a (to cook for)

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

(i) with certain nuclei of substantive phrases, viz. nouns and adjectives not of classes 1a, 2a, 2b, 5, 9 and 10.9, and with all enumeratives, the copulative affix is /H/. This affix replaces the low tone on the first syllable of the nucleus. This inflection is the occasion for changes of tone pattern on the remaining syllables of the nucleus.

e.g. mú-rume wángu (he is my husband)
cp mu-rúmè wangu (my husband)

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

e.g. ndi-chá-ziv-a (I shall know, I still know)
ndí-cha-zív-a (I being about to know, I still knowing)

In these constructions, the segmental morphemes which carry these morphemes of tone are to be considered as without inherent tone themselves. The prefixes of the nuclei

which are copulatively inflected have toneless allomorphs when thus inflected. The subject prefixes of verbal inflections have no inherent tone, and carry either morphemes of tone when they are the first elements in a verb inflection, or a tone determined by polarity when they are not.

e.g. ndi-chá-ziv-a (I shall know)
ha-ndí-cha-zív-a (I no longer know)

2.8. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOMORPHS CONDITIONED PHONOLOGICALLY

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

In many cases the conditioning factor of the environment in which a morphophonemic change is observed and an allomorph occurs is phonological. Normally segmental phonemes condition segmental phonological changes and suprasegmental phonemes condition suprasegmental changes.

Thus, for example, the change of /-virí/ to /-birí/ is conditioned by the presence of the prefixes of cll. 10.9, /ØN-/ which consist of a nasal stop. The prefix itself is realised as /m-/, a bilabial nasal stop, by the presence of /-virí/, which commences with a labial approximant. We have here a case of reciprocal phonological conditioning in the form of assimilation, /ØN-/ being assimilated to /-virí/ as /m-/, bilabial, and /-virí/ being assimilated to /ØN-/ as /-birí/, stop commencing.

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

The change of /na-/ to /ná-/ in the adverbial phrase /ná-mapángá makúrú/ (with big knives) is conditioned by the presence in the nucleus of the substantive phrase, namely mapángá, of a high tone pattern. Cp. /na-mápadzá makúrú/(with big hoes) where the nucleus of the substantive phrase, namely mapadzá carries a low tone pattern.

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

2.9. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOMORPHS CONDITIONED MORPHOLOGICALLY

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

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

e.g. ndí-baba mukúrú (he is a senior father)
cp. baba (father) (1a)

With nouns of cl. 2a, 2b, the allomorph is /nda-/

e.g. nda-amái vángu (she is my mother)
cp. amái (mother) (2b)

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

e.g. íbanga gúrú (it is a big knife)
cp bángá (knife) (5)

With nouns of other classes the allomorph is /H-/

e.g. múrume wángu (he is my husband)
cp. murúmé (husband) (1)

(1) H A Gleason, An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, New York 2nd edition, p.80

2.10. DESCRIPTION OF MORPHOPHONEMICS ACCORDING TO STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES

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

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

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

2.10.1. The morphophonemics of substantival constructions

2.10.1.1. The substantives

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

1. Noun : noun prefix (np) + noun stem (ns)
   e.g. va-nhu (people) (2)
2. Adjective : adjectival prefix (ap) + adjectival stem (as)
   e.g. va-kúrú (big) (2)
3. Enumerative : enumerative prefix (ep) + enumerative stem (es)
   e.g. va-mwe (others) (2)
4. Quantitative : quantitative prefix (qp) + -ó- + quantitative stem (qs)
   e.g. v-ó-se (all) (2)
5. Selector : selector prefix (sp) + selector stem (sel.s)
   e.g. vá-pi (which?) (2)
6. (a) Near Demonstrative : stabiliser + demonstrative affix (a)
   e.g. a-va (these) (2)

   (b) Far Demonstrative : stabiliser + demonstrative affix (b) + -o
   e.g. a-v-o (those) (2)
7. Pronoun : stabiliser + pronominal affix +-o
   e.g. í-v-o (they) (2)

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

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

16 / Table...

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI(a)	VI(b)	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
	np	ap	ep	qp	sel.p	dem	dem	pron	poss.p			op
Person I s	-	-	-	nd-	-	-	-	-ní	-	-ngu	ndi	-ndi-
I p	-	-	-	t-	-	-	-	-sú	-	-idú	ti-	-ti-
II s	-	-	-	w-	-	-	-	-wé	-	-kó	u-	-ku-
II p	-	-	-	m-	-	-	-	-mí	-	-ínyú	mu-	-ku-..-i
Class III.1	mu-	mu-	mu-	ø-	ú-	-yu	-y-	-ye	w-	-ké	á-	-mu-
2	va-	va-	va-	v-	vá-	-va	-v-	-v-	v-		vá-	-va-
1a	ø-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
2a	vá-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
2b	a-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
3	mu-	mu-	mu-	w-	ú-	-yu	-y-	-w-	w-		ú-	-u-
4	mi-	mi-	mi-	y-	í-	-yi	-y-	-y-	y-		í-	-i-
5	(ri-)	(ri-)	ri-	r-	rí-	-ri	-r-	-r-	r-		rí-	-ri-
6	ma-	ma-	ma-	ø-	á-	-ya	-y-	-w-	ø-		á-	-a-
7	chi-	chi-	chi-	ch-	chí-	-chi	-ch-	-ch-	ch-		chí-	-chi-
8	zvi-	zvi-	zvi-	zv-	zví-	-zvi	-zv-	-zv-	zv-		zví-	-zvi-
9	N-	N-	i-	y-	í-	-yi	-y-	-y-	y-		í-	-i-
10	dzi- ~ ø-	ø-	dzi-	dz-	dzí-	-dz	-dz-	-dz-	dz-		dzí-	-dzi-
11	ru-	ru-	ru-	rw-	rú-	-rwu	-rw-	-rw-	rw-		rú-	-ru-
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	k-	ká-	-ka	-k-	-k-	k-		ká-	-ka-
13	tu-	tu-	tu-	tw-	tú-	-twu	-tw-	-tw-	tw-		tú-	-tu-
14	u-	u-	u-	hw-	hú-	-hwu	-hw-	-hw-	hw-		hú-	-hu-
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	kw-	kú-	-ku	-k-	-k-	kw-		kú-	-ku-
16	pa-	pa-	pa-	p-	pá-	-pa	-p-	-p-	p-		pá-	-pa-
17	ku- ~ ø-	ku-	ku-	kw-	kú-	-ku	-k-	-k-	kw-		kú-	-ku-
18	mu-	mu-	mu-	m-	mú-	-mu	-m-	-m-	m-		mú-	-mu-
21	zi-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
RP												-zvi-

17/The above...

The above are the forms of the person and class-affixes in each of the substantival and verbal constructions. If it is desired to select one of these series as the series of basic forms which would represent the morphemes of each person and class, series X would be suitable though it would not contain the class-affix morphemes of cll. la, 2a, 2b, and 21 which are limited to nominal constructions. The forms given in each series are the forms which are basic for that construction. The blanks in the table indicate that there are no allomorphs of the person or class-affix morpheme in the construction concerned.

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

2.10.1.2. The inflected substantive phrases

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

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

(a) Copulative phrases

The allomorphs of the copulative affix are /ndí-, nda-, í-, H-, nda-~ ndé~ndo-, ndá~ ndé~ndó-/. The distribution of these allomorphs is morphologically conditioned but the variant forms of the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

(i) /ndí-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl.la nouns or nominal constructions and pronouns. In the case of the cl. la nuclei, tone patterns of nouns and the first elements of nominal constructions are changed to corresponding patterns of TD.I,(2)

e.g. ndí-mámbo (it is the chief) cp. mambo
ndí-ye uyu (it is this same one)

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

e.g. nda-vádzímai vangu (it is my wife)
nda-ambúya vángu (it is my grandmother)

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

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

e.g. í-mómbe yángu (it is my ox) cp. mombe (9)
í-banga rángu (it is my knife) bángá (5)

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

e.g. Munhu uyu ndíbabá wángu (This person is my father)
cp. Munhu uyu bába wángu (This person is my father)

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

e.g. uyu múrume wangu (this is my husband) cp. murúmé

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

e.g. ndéyangú iye (it is this one of mine) cp. yángu
ndowangu uyu (it is this one of mine) wángu
ndávangú ava (it is these ones of mine) vángu

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

(vi) /nda~nde~ndo-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of demonstratives, enumeratives with L stem and selectors. The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically

18 /conditioned ...

(1) The only changes which might be considered as morphophonemic within the environment of the SP are those in the tone of demonstratives used enclitically. Cp. section 3.5.7.(e).
(2) For the table of changes of tone patterns resulting in tonal declension I (TD.I) and tonal declension II (TD.II), cp. 3.7.2.1. - 3.7.2.3.

conditioned as described in (v). The tone patterns of enumeratives and demonstratives are changed to the corresponding patterns of TD.III.

e.g. ndoúyu (it is this one) cp. uyu
ndeímwe (it is another one) imwe

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

(b) Presentative phrases.

The allomorphs /há-~hé-~hó-/ are affixed to demonstrative or selector SP nuclei in presentative phrases.

e.g héchi chigaro (here is a chair)
cp. ichi chigaro (this chair)
hévanó vaná (here are the children here)

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

(c) Possessive phrases

The possessive affix consists of a non-syllabic possessive prefix (series VIII) and the possessive morpheme. The allomorphs of the possessive morpheme are /-á-, -a-, -á~-é-~-ó- and -a-~-e-~-o-/. The distribution of these allomorphs is morphologically conditioned but the variant forms of the last two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned.

(i) /-á-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of pronominal stems, and cl. 1a nouns and nominal constructions. Tone patterns of nouns and the first element of nominal constructions are changed to corresponding patterns of TD.I.

e.g. mwaná wámámbo uyu (the child of this chief) cp. mambo
mwaná wédu tósé (the child of us all)

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

e.g. mushá wavádzimai vángu (the home of my wife)
mushá wavásingánwe hwahwá (the home of those who do not drink beer)

(iii) /-á-~ -é~-ó-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of nouns and nominal constructions, adjectives, enumeratives with H tone patterns; of possessives, quantitatives and relatives. The distribution of those allomorphs is phonologically conditioned as described in 2.10.1.2.(a)(v).

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

e.g. kutónhóra kwémvura iyi (the coldness of this water)

(iv) /-a-~-e-~-o-/ is affixed to nuclei consisting of nouns, nominal constructions, adjectives and enumeratives with L tone patterns; of selectors, pronouns and demonstratives.

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

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

e.g. kunaka kwesádza iri (the goodness of this porridge)

(d) Adverbial phrases

The allomorphs of the adverbial affixes are /na-, ná-~né-~nó-, na-~ne-~no-/ and /sa-, sá-~sé-~só-, sa-~se-~so-/. Since the distribution of the allomorphs of each of these affixes is the same, that of the former only will be described.

(i) /na-/ is affixed to SP nuclei consisting of cl. 1a, 2a, 2b nouns and nominal constructions and pronouns. No tonal change takes place in the inflections.

e.g. na-mambo uyu (with this chief)
na-vádzimái vángu (with my wife)
na-yó uyu (with this same one)

(ii) The distribution of /ná-~né-~nó-/ and of /na-~ne-~no-/ is the same as that described for /-á-~-é-~-ó-e/ and /-a-~-e-~-o-/in (c)(iii) and (c)(iv) above.

2.10.1.3. The substantival clause

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

e.g. Mvúra ímvura (Water is water) cp. mvúra

2.10.2. Morphophonemics of verbal constructions

2.10.2.1. Verbal constructions

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

e.g. -tém- (cut)
-bik- (cook)

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

+/- object prefix + R +/- complement (s) +/- adjunct(s)

e.g. -utém- mutí úye nédemo rángu (cut it, that tree, with my axe)
-ri-bik- nhanga sesádza (cook it, the pumpkin, like stiff porridge)

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

inflection + verb phrase

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

e.g. Vá-ka-ú-tém-á mutí úye nédemo rángu
(They cut it, that tree with my axe)

Vá-ka-rí-bík-a nhanga sesádza
(They cooked it, the pumpkin, like porridge)

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

+/- subject + predicate

e.g. Varúme vákaútémá mutí úye nédemo rángu
Vakádzi vákaríbíka nhanga sesádza

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

2.10.2.2. The phonology of the verb radical

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

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

e.g.	(a)	-p-	(give)	(b)	-rw-	(fight)
		-tém-	(cut)		-bik-	(cook)
		-zórór-	(rest)		-tever-	(follow)

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

i-p-á	i-rw-á
tém-á	bik-á
zórór-á	tever-á

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

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

The tone patterns of high radicals are usually different and complementary to the tone patterns of low radicals in inflected verb phrases, e.g. in the imperative inflection above.

20 /The tone...

The tone patterns of radicals vary from one inflection to another, some inflections conditioning one tone pattern and some another, those of high radicals being usually, as stated, complementary to those of low radicals. Thus in the infinitive inflection in which the inflection is ku...a, the radicals listed above appear as follows:

ku-p-á	ku-rw-a
ku-tém-á	ku-bik-a
ku-zóror-á	ku-tever-a

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

2.10.2.3. Morphophonemic changes in verb radicals

2.10.2.3.1. Underived radicals

(a) Certain radicals have allomorphs when they appear with a terminal vowel /-e/. The radicals -gar- (sit, stay), -zár- (be full), -rár- (sleep), -vát- (sleep), -nyárár- (be silent), have allomorphs -gér-, -zér-, -rér-, -vét-, -nyérér- with the inflection sp.....e which is peculiar to them,

e.g.	ndi-gér-é	(I am seated)	cp. ku-gar-a
	ndi-nyérér-é	(I am silent)	ku-nyárár-á

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

e.g.	ndi-mír-é	(I am standing)	cp. ku-mír-á

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

e.g.	mu-rwér-é	(invalid)	cp.	ku-rwár-á
	mu-zvér-é	(newly delivered mother)		ku-zvár-á

2.10.2.3.2. Derived radicals

(a) Radicals derived from ideophones.

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

e.g.	-símú-k-	(rise)	cp.	símu	(rising)
	-undu-k-	(lose feathers)		undú	(moulting)

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

e.g.	ku-chíngú-r-á	(to meet)	cp.	chíngu	(meeting)
	ku-tau-r-a	(to speak)		taú	(speaking)

(b) Radicals derived from substantival stems.

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

e.g.	ku-nyóró-v-á-	(to be soft)	cp.	-nyóró	(short)
	ku-pfúpi-s-á	(to shorten)		-pfúpi	(short)
	ku-kobvu-k-a	(to be thick)		-kobvú	(thick)
	ku-tete-p-a	(to be thin)		-tete	(thin)

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

e.g.	(a) -páyí-k-	(hang up)	cp.	páyi	(hanging)
	(b) -pfumbu-ruk-	(be greyish)		pfumbú	(grey)

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

e.g.	-bvut-a	(snatch)	cp.	bvutú	(snatching)

21, Normally...

Normally the derived radicals carry high or low tone patterns depending on whether the initial syllable of the ideophone or substantival stem carries high or low tone but there are some departures from this,

e.g. -zvámbárá-r- (lie prone) cp. zvambara (lying prone)

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

2.10.2.3.3. Extended radicals

The constructional pattern of extended radicals is R + extension(s).

e.g. -tém-ér- (cut for)
-bik-ir- (cook for)

Both underived and derived radicals are extended.

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

e.g.	passive	/-iw-/	e.g.	-táp-íw-	(be captured)
	neuter	/-ik-/		-zív-ík-	(be knowable)
	applied	/-ir-/		-síy-ír-	(leave for)
	perfective	/-irir-/		-búd-írír-	(come right out)
	causative (2)	/-is-/		-muk-is-	(cause to rise)
	intensive	/-is-/		-taur-is-	(speak up)
	repetitive	/-urur-/		-túk-úrúr-	(curse roundly)
	extensive	/-ik-/		-sím-ík-	(plant out)[1]

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

e.g. repetitive /-urur-/ -send-urur- (replane) cp. -send- (plane)

But with the final vowel /o/, the repetitive extension has the form /-oror-/.

e.g. repetitive /-oror-/ -rond-oror- (track thoroughly) cp. -rond- (track)

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

e.g.	reversive	/-anur-/	-chat-anur-	(divorce)	cp. -chat-	(marry)
		/-enur-/	-pfek-enur-	(undress)	-pfek-	(dress)
		/-inur-/	-píng-ínúr-	(unlatch)	-píng-	(latch)
		/-onor-/	-roy-onor-	(unwitch)	-roy-	(bewitch)
		/-unur-/	-súng-únúr-	(untie)	-súng-	(tie)

Other variant forms are :

passive /w/ in the free variation with /-iw-~-ew-/;

perfective /-iririr-/ after C radicals.

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

e.g.	(1)	-muts-	(rouse)	<	-muk-	(rise)	+ -y-
		-ridz-	(play)	<	-rir-	(sound)	+ -y-
		-nyórozv-	(soften)	<	-nyóróv-	(be soft)	+ -y-
	(2)	-shamb-idz-	(wash others)		-shamb-	(wash)	
		-bvum-idz-	(allow)		-bvum-	(agree)	

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

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

22/and extended...

1. But when the final vowel of the radical to be extended is /e/, or /o/, the extensions of form (-iC-) are found as /-eC-/,

e.g. passive /-ew-/ e.g. -tór-éw- (be taken)
neuter /-ek-/ -tór-ék- (be easy to take) etc.

and extended radicals carry tone patterns appropriate to radicals of the tone class to which the unextended radical belongs but with the same syllabic form as themselves. Thus, for example, tone patterns carried by the extended radicals

-tém-ér- and -bik-ir-

are the same as those of the unextended radicals

-zórór- and -vereng- (read)

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

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

2.10.2.4. Morphophonemic changes in inflected verb phrases

(a) Inflecting morphemes

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

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

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

e.g.	the negative prefix ha-,	e.g. ha-ndí-zív-é	(I don't know)
	the hortative prefix há-	há-ti-end-e-í	(let us go!)

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

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

a-sí-nga-zív-e	(he who does not know)
a-sí-ngá-bik-é	(he who does not cook)

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

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

e.g.	ndí-si-ngá-zív-e	(I not knowing)
	(kuti) ndí-zív-é	((that) I may know)
but cp.	ndi-chí-zív-á	(I knowing)

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

e.g.	a-sí-nga-zív-e	(he who does not know)
	há-va-pind-e	(let them come in)
	a-ka-zívá	(and he knows, knew etc.)
	a-chí-zívá	(he knowing)

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

e.g.	ndi-chá-ziv-a	(I shall know)
	á-cha-zív-á	(he will know)

(e) Allomorphs of verb radicals

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

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
H	L	H	H	H
HH	HH	HH	HL	HL
HHH	HHH	HHL	HHL	HLL
HHHL	HHHL	HHLL	HHLL	HLLL

(6) L/H(1)	(7) L/H(1)	(8) H	(9) H	(10) L
HL	LH	LH	LH	LL
HLH	LHL	LHH	LLH	LLL
HHLH	LHHL	LHHH	LLLH	LLLL

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

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

(1) H	(10) L
HH	LL
HHH	LLL
HHHL	LLLL

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

e.g. ku-p-á	ku-rw-a
-tém-á	-bik-a
-zórór-á	-tever-a
-kángánís-a	-tauris-a
(to do wrong)	(to speak up)

(ii) TC II

Tone patterns

(1) H	(8) H
HH	LH
HHH	LHH
HHHL	LHHH

For example, the imperative inflection:

e.g. i-p-á-	i-rw-á
tém-á	bik-á
zórór-a	tevér-á
kángánís-a	taúrís-á

(iii) TC III

Tone patterns

(1) H	(3) H
HH	HH
HHH	HHL
HHHL	HHLL

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

e.g. ndi-chí-p-á	ndi-chí-rw-á
-tém-á	-bík-á
-zórór-á	-tévér-a
-kángánís-a	-táúris-a

(iv) TC IV

Tone patterns:

(5) H	(5) H
HL	HL
HLL	HLL
HLLL	HLLL

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

e.g. nd-a-p-á	nd-a-rw-á
-tém-a	-bík-a
-zóror-a	-téver-a
-kánganís-a	-táuris-a

(v) TC V

Tone patterns:

(6) L	(7) L
HL	LH
HLH	LHL
HHLH	LHHL

For example, the affirmative participial recent past inflection.

e.g. nd-á-p-a-	nd-á-rw-a
-tém-a	-bik-á
-zóror-á	-tevér-a
-kángánis-á	-taúrís-a

24/A sub-variety...

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

e.g. kana ndádya	(L)
kana ndákadyá	(H)

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

e.g. nd-á-ka-p-á
-tém-a
-zóror-á
-kángánis-á

nd-á-ka-rw-á
-ká-bik-á
-tevér-a
-taúrís-a

(vi) TC VI

Tone patterns: (10) L
LL
LLL
LLLL

(5) H
HL
HLL
HLLL

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

e.g. v-á-p-a
-tem-a
-zoror-a
-kanganis-a

v-á-rw-á
-bík-a
-tévér-a
-táuris-a

(vii) TC VII

Tone patterns: (2) L
HH
HHH
HHHL

(7) H
LH
LHL
LHHL

For example, the negative principal present inflection.

e.g. ha-ndí-p-e
-tém-é
-zóróŕ-é
-kángánís-e

ha-ndí-rw-e
-bik-é
-tevér-e
-taúrís-e

(viii) TC VIII

Tone patterns: (1) H
HH
HHH
HHHL

(4) H
HL
HHL
HHLL

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

e.g. ndi-chí-zvi-p-á
-tém-á

ndi-chí-zvi-rw-á
-bík-a

(ix) TC IX

Tone patterns: (1) H
HH
HHH
HHHL

(5) H
HL
HLL
HLLL

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

e.g. v-á-ka-p-á
-tém-á
-zóróŕ-á
-kángánís-a

v-á-ká-rw-á
-bík-a
-téver-a
-táuris-a

(x) TC X

Tone patterns. (10) L
LL
LLL
LLLL

(10) L
LL
LLL
LLLL

For example, the imperative exclusive inflection.

e.g. chí-p-a
-tem-a
-zoror-a
-kanganis-a

chí-rw-a
-bik-a
-tever-a
-tauris-a

(xi) TC XI

Tone patterns: (9) H
LH
LLH
LLLH

(9) H
LH
LLH
LLLH

25/This group...

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

e.g.	nd-a-ká-zvi-p-á	nd-a-ká-zvi-rw-á
	-tem-á	-bik-á
	-zorodz-á	-tever-á
	-kanganis-á	-tauris-á

The tone conjugations include the following pairs of tone patterns:

TC	I	: Nos. 1 + 10
	II	: 1 + 8
	III	: 1 + 3
	IV	: 5 + 5
	V	: 6 + 7
	VI	: 10 + 5
	VII	: 2 + 7
	VIII	: 1 + 4
	IX	: 1 + 5
	X	: 10 + 10
	XI	: 9 + 9

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

(g) Tonal morphemes in verbal inflections

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

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

e.g.	v-á-ka-tém-á	:	affirmative principal remote past III person (they cut - before today)
	v-á-ka-tém-a	:	affirmative participial remote past III person (chey having cut - before today)
	v-á-bík-a	:	affirmative principal recent past III person (they cooked - today)
	v-á-bik-á	:	affirmative participial recent past III person (they having cooked - today)
	nd-a-tém-a	:	affirmative principal recent past I, II persons (I cut - today)
	nd-a-tém-á	:	affirmative relative recent past I, II persons (I who cut - today)

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

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

e.g.	1.	ndi-chá-ziv-a	(I still know)
	2.	á-cha-zív-á	(he still knows)
	3.	ndí-cha-zív-a	(I still knowing)
		á-cha-zív-a	(he still knowing)
	4.	ndi-chí-zív-á	(I knowing)
		a-chí-zív-á	(he knowing)

26 /5. ndi-chá-ziv-a.

5.	ndi-ch́á-ziv-a	(I who still know.)
	a-ch́á-ziv-a	(he who still knows)
6.	ndí-zív-é	((that) I know)
	á-zív-é	((that) he knows)
7.	ndi-ka-zív-á	(and I knew)
	a-ka-zív-á	(and he knew)

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

e.g.	nd-á-zív-a	(I know)
	nd-á-ziv-a	(I having known)
	nd-a-zív-á	(I who know)

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

e.g.	nd-ó-ziv-a	(now I know)
	nd-ó-zív-a	(I now knowing)
	nd-ó-ziv-a	(I who know)

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

(h) Morphophonemic changes in terminal vowels

There are a number of auxiliary radicals in Zezuru which are followed, as complement, by a contracted infinitive, i.e. an infinitive inflected verb phrase without prefix /ku-/.

In the inflection of these auxiliary radicals, the terminal vowel is uniformly /-o /. For example the auxiliary radical /-wanz-/ (do well as a rule).

e.g.	ndi-nó-wanz-o it-a basa	(I usually work)
	ha-ndi-wanz-ó it-a basa	(I don't usually do work)

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

e.g.	ndi-nó-wanz-a kuita basa	(I usually do work)
	ha-ndi-wanz-é kúita basa	(I don't usually do work)

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

i.e.	-wanz-a + ku-it-a	> -wanz-o ita
	-wanz-é + kú-it-a	> -wanz-ó ita

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

e.g. ndi-no-wa.nzo i.ta ba:sa

The next page is Page 29
There are no pages 27 & 28

3.0. THE SUBSTANTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1. THE SUBSTANTIVES IN GENERAL

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

3.1.1. Constructional patterns of substantives

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

prefix + stem

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

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

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

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

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

e.g. enumeratives :	mu-mwe	(a certain one)
	va-mwe	(certain ones)
quantitatives :	ó-ga	(one alone)
	v-ó-ga	(some alone)
selectors :	ú-no	(this one here)
	vá-no	(these ones here)

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

e.g. munhu mukúrú	(a big person)
vanhu vakúrú	(big people)
mumwe munhu	(another person)
vamwe vanhu	(other people)
munhu úno óga	(this person here on his own)
vanhu váno vóga	(these people here on their own)

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

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

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

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

30/ Noun prefixes...

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

e.g.	munhu	(person)	(1)
	muridzi	(owner)	(1)
	vanhu	(persons)	(2)
	varidzi	(owners)	(2)

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

mu-kurú	:	adjectival prefix, class 1
mu-mwe	:	enumerative prefix, class 1
Ø-ó-ga	:	quantitative prefix, class 1
u-no	:	selector prefix, class 1

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

va-kúrú	:	adjectival prefix, class 2
va-mwe	:	enumerative prefix, class 2
v-ó-ga	:	quantitative prefix, class 2
vá-no	:	selector prefix, class 2.

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

e.g.	/mu-/	(noun);	/mu-/	(adjective);
	/mu-/	(enumerative):	/Ø-/	(quantitative);
and	/u/	(selector) of class 1,		
and	/va-/	(noun)	/va-/	(adjective);
	/va-/	(enumerative);	/v-/	(quantitative)
and	/vá-/	(selector) of class 2,		

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

There are four more classes of noun than there are of other substantives. The noun prefixes of of classes 1a, 2a, 2b and 21 have no corresponding allomorphs in other constructions. In substantive phrases, nouns of class 1a, i.e. nouns with the class 1a prefix, appear with substantives of class 1.

e.g.	baba mukúrú	(senior father)	(1a)
cp.	munhu mukúrú	(a senior person)	(1)

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

e.g.	vádzishé vakúrú	(senior chiefs)	(2a)
	amái váno	(this mother here)	(2b)
cp.	vanhu vakúrú	(senior people)	(2)

Finally nouns with the prefix of class 21 appear with substantives of class 5.

e.g.	zirúmè gúrú	(a huge, big man)	(21)
cp.	bangà gúrú	(a big knife)	(5)

Thus there exist noun prefixes only in the case of:

classes 1a, viz. /Ø-/
2a, viz. /vá-/
2b, viz. /a-/
21, viz. /zi-/

These are not found in other substantival constructions.[1] In the case of other classes the class affix is a constituent in each type of construction. The same class affix, given different terms

31 /according...

1. Occasionally the prefix /zi-/ of cl.21 is found with adjectives in combination with the adjectival prefix of cl.5. e.g. zibhodho zigúrú (a huge pot) (21)

according to each construction of which it is a constituent, is found as noun prefix, adjectival prefix, enumerative prefix, quantitative prefix and selector prefix. In many cases its form differs from construction to construction and in fact the sets of allomorphs of the class affixes proper to each construction differ one from the another in phonemic form. It is not only on this count that different substantival constructions are recognised. As we have seen, each set of class affixes has a corresponding set of stems with which they combine.

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

initial stabilising vowel + class affix
or class affix + /-o/.

e.g.	demonstratives:	u-yu	(this one)	(1)
		a-va	(these ones)	(2)
	pronouns:	í-ye	(he himself, she herself)	(1)
		í-v-o	(they themselves)	

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

e.g.	munhu uyu	(this person)	(1)
	vanhu ava	(these people)	(2)
	íye munhu	(the person himself)	(1)
	ívo vanhu	(the persons themselves)	(2)

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

3.1.2. Substantives in agreement in phrases

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

nuclear substantive + substantive(s) in agreement

e.g.	munhu mukúrú	(a big person)	(1)
	vanhu ava	(these people)	(2)
	vamwe ava	(these others)	(2)

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

3.2. THE NOUN IN GENERAL

The typical constructional pattern of the noun is expressed as:

noun prefix (np) + noun stem (ns)

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

The constituent class of np contains the following members:

Number	Prefix		
1	mu-	mu-nhu	(a person)
2	va-	va-nhu	(persons)
1a	Ø-	mambo	(a chief)
2a	va-	vá-mámbo	(chiefs)
2b	a-	a-mbúya	(grandmother)
3	mu-	mu-tí	(a tree)
4	mi-	mi-tí	(trees)
5	(ri-)	goré	(a cloud)
6	ma-	ma-koré	(clouds)
7	chi-	chi-nhu	(a thing)
8	zvi-	zvi-nhu	(things)
9	N-	nzira	(path)

32 /10.9 dzi-N-...

10.9	dzi-N-	dzi-mbá	(house)
11	ru-	ru-kova	(river)
12	ka-	ka-sípití	(a spring)
13	tu-	tu-sípití	(springs)
14	u-	u-tá	(a bow)
15	ku-	ku-tór-á	(to take, taking)
16	pa-	pa-nze	(outside)
17	ku-	ku-re	(far off)
18	mu-	mu-katí	(in the middle)
21	zi-	zi-rúmé	(a huge man)

3.2.1. Noun Prefixes

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

3.2.2. Notes on the prefixes

Most of the nps are syllabic and, phonologically, of CV structure. The prefix of cl. 2b consists of a vowel, /a-/. The prefix of cl. 1a is listed as zero, /Ø-/. This means that the members of this class are marked by the significant absence of a prefix. The presence of prefixes, indeed of syllabic prefixes, is the overriding characteristic of the system of noun classes, and the absence of a prefix where, in the vast majority of cases, there normally is one, can fulfil the same classifying function as the presence of a syllabic prefix.

e.g. babá wángu (my father) (1a)

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

e.g. ri-mwe zúvá (a certain day) (5)
zúvá rí-no (at this hot time of the day) (5)

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

e.g. bángá (knife) (5)
cp. -pángá, which is the ns, the second constituent.

In other cases, its presence is not realised by any change to the initial phoneme of the ns, viz. it is realised as /Ø-/.

e.g. feso (devil thorn) (5)
cp. -feso, which is the ns.

The np of cl.9 is listed as /N-/ because it likewise has no syllabic realisation, and because it is often realised as a non-syllabic nasal consonant.

e.g. mbereko (cradle skin) (9)
cp. -berek- (carry, bear a child)

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

e.g. chembere (old woman) (9)
cp. -chember- (grow old)

The zero allomorph of cl. 10 always appears in combination with the prefix /N-/ of cl.9 as /ØN-/.[1]

e.g. mombe dzángu (my cattle) (10.9) prefixes /ØN-/
cp. mombe yángu (my ox) (9) prefix /N-/

3.2.3. Noun stems

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

33/e.g. mu-nhu-rume...

1. Cp. 3.3.13.

e.g. mu-nhu-rume (male person) (1) cp. mu-nhu (person) (1)
mu-rúmé (man) (1)

or of two ideophones.

e.g. mu-kúdúbu-kudubu (continual uncovering)
cp. kúdúbu (uncovering)

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

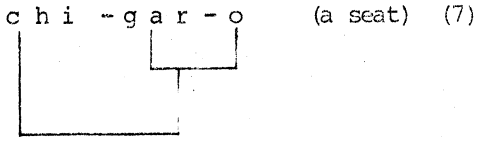
3.2.4. Deverbative nouns and nominal constructions

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

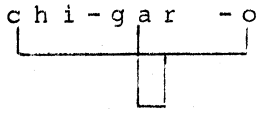
In a noun which incorporates a verb radical (R),

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

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



but this :



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

3.2.5. Membership of noun classes

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

e.g. chi-nhu (7)
(thing)
chi-muswé (7.3) mu-swé (3)
(short, thick tail) (tail)
chi-hwaná udiki (7.14) hw-aná u-díki (14)
(behaviour of small children) (small children)
chi-tángé-tánge (7) táng-e (ideophone)
(fits and starts) (starting)
-táng-á
(start)
chi-nzvéngá-mutsváiro (7) -nzvéng-á (dodge)
(lazybones) nzvé (ideophone)
mu tsváíro (broom) (3)
tsvái (sweeping) (ideophone)

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

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

34 /Stems can...

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

cp.	mu-ridzi	(owner)	(1)	va-ridzi	(owners)	(2)
	mu-kárángá	(junior wife)	(1)	va-kárángá	(junior wives)	(2)
	chi-rongó	(waterpot)	(7)	zvi-rongó	(waterpots)	(8)
	chi-svó	(razor)	(7)	zvi-svó	(razors)	(8)

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

Thus muridzi, mukárángá, munhu are all in class 1

chirongó, chisvó, chinhu are all in class 7

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

3.2.6. Primary and secondary prefixes

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

e.g.	muridzi	(owner)	(1)	varidzi	(owners)
	chirongó	(waterpot)	(7)	zvirongó	(waterpots)

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

e.g.	chiveve	(cramp)	(7)
	mapere	(leprosy)	(6)
	usvasví	(a net, nets)	(14)

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

e.g.	mu-ridzi	(owner)
	mu-kárángá	(junior wife)
	mu-nhu	(person)

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

e.g.	va-ridzi	(owners)
	va-kárángá	(junior wives)
	va-nhu	(persons)

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

e.g.	mu-zhanje	(wild loquat tree)
	mu-hacha	(cork tree)
	mu-chíndwi	(palm tree)

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

e.g.	mi-zhanje	(wild loquat trees)
	mi-hacha	(cork trees)
	mi-chíndwi	(palm trees)

The references of all the noun prefixes together, taken as a structured whole or spectrum, reflect the way in which the world, as experienced by the Zezuru, has been segmented into categories

Constructions consisting of primary prefixes and stems indicate normal specimens of members of these categories. From the point of view of the reference conveyed, constructions of secondary prefixes and stems differ in one of two ways from the reference conveyed by constructions of primary prefixes and stems.

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

e.g.	ka-kádzí	(small woman)	(12)	cp. mu-kádzí	(woman)	(1)
	zi-gádzí	(huge woman)	(21, 5)			

These secondary prefixes can be called commentary prefixes.

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

e.g.	chi-kádzí	(way of a woman)	(7)
	u-kádzí	(womanhood)	(14)

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

e.g.	gádzí	(large woman)	(5)
	kakádzí	(small woman)	(12)
	rukádzí	(thin, lean, undersized woman)	(11)
	chikádzí	(fat, stout, jolly woman)	(7)

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

> "With the use of prefixes in secondary function there are associated certain significances which are fully appreciated in each individual case of substitution when the noun stem in its new form is implicitly compared with the normal form, e.g. gómaná (Big boy) (5) with mukómaná (boy)." AS, 108.
>
> Cp. also Marconnes, Grammar of Central Karanga, par. 58-9, 67, 111, 138-143, 418, 431.

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

Position of primary and secondary prefixes

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

e.g. chi-kádzí (short, fat, jolly woman) (7) cp. mu-kádzí (woman) (1)

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

e.g.	chi-mu-nhu	(cheeky person)	(7.1)
	pa-zi-gádzí	(by the huge woman)	(16, 21, 5)

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

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

eg.	dzátsi	(big bundles of fish)	(5,5)	cp.	tsátsi	(bundle of fish)	(5
	chichidembo	(habits of a polecat)	(7,7)		chidembo	(polecat)	(7
	rurwizí	(long, thin trickle of a river)	(11,11)		rwizi	(river)	(11
	uuswá	(nature of grass)	(14,11)		uswá	(grass)	(14

3.2.7. Tonomorphs

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

e.g.	munhu	(a person) (1)	
	múnhú	(it is a person)	- copulative inflection
	kudá múnhu	(to love a person)	

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

e.g.	vádzimái	(woman (2a)	
	nda-vádzimái	(it is women)	- copulative inflection

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

36 (a) (i) CV ...

(a) (i) CV stems may be H or L.

In noun classes with syllabic nps, the tone patterns of nouns will be either LH or LL[1].

e.g. mu-ti (tree) (3)
mu-nhu (person) (1)

(ii) In classes without syllabic nps, viz. in classes 1a, 5, 9 and 10,9, such stems appear with a morpheme /i-/, this being demanded by Zezuru phonology which requires monosyllabic stems to appear in constructions of at least 2 syllables capable of bearing the marker of penultimate length.[2]

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

e.g.	zíno	(tooth)	(5)	stem:	/-íno/		
	zíso	(eye)	(5)		/-íso/		
	njédzaná	(new moon)	(9)		/-édzaná/	cp. édz-	(shine)
	nyúchi	(bee)	(9)				

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

e.g.	mw-aná	(child)	(1)	stem:	/-aná/		
	mw-enje	(torch)	(3)		/-enje/		
	menó	(teeth)	(6)		/-inó/		
	meso	(eyes)	(6)		/-isó/		
	mw-edzí	(moon)	(3)		/-edzi/	cp. -édz-	(shine)
	ch-edzá	(gleam)	(7)				
	z-énga	(potsherd)	(5)			cp. rw-engá	(piece of pot) (11)

(c) (i) CVCV stems may be HH, HL, LH, LL. In classes with syllabic nps, the tone patterns of the nouns may be LHH, LHL, LLH, LLL.

e.g.	mu-rúmé	(man)	(1)
	mu-Mbíre	(member of the Mbire tribe)	(1)
	ma-padzá	(hoes)	(6)
	mu-ridzi	(owner)	(1)

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

e.g.	hámá	(kinsman)	(9)	stem:	-kámá-	cp.	u-kámá	(kinship)	(14)
	gónhi	(door)	(5)		-kónhi		ma-kónhi	(doors)	(6)
	badzá	(hoe)	(5)		-padzá		ma-padzá	(hoes)	(6)
	hova	(rivers)	(10)		-kova		ru-kova	(river)	(11)

(i) CVCVCV stems may be HHH, HHL, HLL, HLH, LHH, LHL, LLH, LLL. In classes with syllabic nps the tone patterns of the nouns may be L + each of the above.

e.g.	mu-karánga	(junior wife)	(1)
	ru-kúvhúte	(umbilical cord)	(11)
	pa-hóridhe	(on holiday)	(16,9)
	mu-sikaná	(girl)	(1)
	mu-ridzíró	(way of playing)	(3)
	chi-Zezúru	(Zezuru language)	(7)
	zi-ndaramá	(big piece of gold)	(21,9)
	mu-tauro	(speech)	(3)

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

e.g.	gárángá	(a big junior wife)	
	húvhúte	(umbilical cords)	
	hóridhe	(holiday)	
	gómaná	(a big boy)	
	ngowání	(hat)	(9)

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

2. "Penultimate i-", as Doke called it, appears in a number of similar contexts with stems which would otherwise be monosyllabic.
e.g. with monosyllabic adjective stems in classes 5, 9 and 10,9 e.g. i-dzvá (new) (5); with Rs of C shape in the imperative inflection e.g. i-d-á! (love); in the pronouns of cll.1-21 e.g. í-ye (he) ; in ideophones formed from Rs of C shape e.g. i-dy-é (eating) .

37 /hanzvádzi...

hanzvádzi	(sibling of opposite sex)	(9)
ndaramá	(gold)	(9)
zambuko	(ford)	(5)

Some tone patterns are more frequent than others. The pattern HLL is not common on indigenous stems, except on allomorphs in questions. Cp. 1.7.4.4.

3.2.8. Classification of nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g. mbereko (cradle skin) (9)
cp. -herek- (carry, bear a child)

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

e.g. chembere (old woman) (9)
-chember- (grow old)

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

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

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

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

e.g. íye munhu (the person himself) (1)
íye muridzi (the owner himself) (1)

Nouns with prefix /mu-/ as in mu-tí, mu-sóró, mu-gwagwa are accompanied by pronoun íwo.

e.g. íwo mutí (the tree itself) (3)
íwo musóró (the head itself) (3)

Nouns with prefix /mu-/ as in mu-katí (in the middle), mu- mbá (in the house) are accompanied by pronoun ímo.

e.g. ímo mukatí (in the middle itself) (18)
ímo mumbá (in the house itself) (18)

Nouns with prefix /Ø-/ as in babá (father), mambo (chief) are accompanied by pronoun íye.

38 /e.g. íye babá...

e.g. íye baba (father himself) (1a)
íye mambo (the chief himself) (1a)

Nouns with prefix /Ø-/ as in mombe (cattle), nzira (paths) are accompanied by pronoun ídzo.

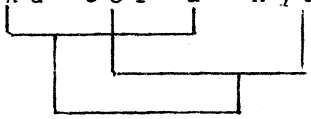
e.g. ídzo mombe (the cattle themselves) (10a)
ídzo nzira (the paths themselves) (10a)

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

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

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

e.g. k u - t ó r - á n y á m a (to take meat)

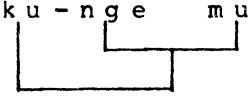


There are some radicals which are of irregular form being CV in phonological shape and therefore incorporating an invariable terminal vowel which does not appear to be part of their inflection.

e.g. -ti (do, say)
-nge (seem)

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

e.g. k u - n g e m u n h u (to seem a person)



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

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

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

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

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

but cp.	hámá (kinsman)		mhizhá (smith)	(9)	- 'human'
	shúmba (lion)		mhembwe (duiker)	(9)	- 'animal'

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

cp.	ku-tóra (to take, taking)		(15)
	ku-nze (outside)		(17)

3.3. THE NOUN CLASSES

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

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

3.3.1. Noun Class 1

(a) Prefix: /mu-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before vowel-commencing nominal stems, /mu-/ is realised as /mw-/.

e.g.	mw-aná	(child)			
	mw-éné	(owner)			
	mw-enga	(bride) - no plural			
	mw-eni	(stranger)			
but					
cp.	mu-it-i	(agent)	cp.	-it-	(do)

(2) Before stems commencing in a labial or alveolar and in a non-penultimate position, /mu-/ is realised as /m-/ (syllabic /m/) in quick speech.

e.g.	m-pérékédz-i	(companion)	cp.	-pérékédz-	(accompany)
	m-bhururuk-i	(one who flies along)		-bhururuk-	(fly)
	m-pfúr-í	(blacksmith)		-pfúr-	(work in iron)
	m-Ndaú	(a Ndau person)			
but					
cp.	mu-fí	(a dead person)	cp.	-f-	(die)

(3) Elsewhere the prefix is realised as /mu-/.

e.g.	mu-nhu	(person)
	mu-rwéré	(sick person)

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

	Singular		Plural
(1)	mu-Zezúru	(Zezuru)	va-
	mu-Karángá	(Karanga)	va-
	mu-Manyíka	(Manyika)	va-
	mu-Ndaú	(Ndau)	va-
	mu-Mbíre	(Mbire)	va-
	mu-Njanja	(Njanja)	va-
	mu-Vhendá	(Venda)	va-
	mu-Hlengwe	(Hlengwe)	va-
	mu-Sutu	(Sotho)	va-
	mu-Tswána	(Tswana)	va-
	mu-Hwatá	(Hwata)	va-
	mu-Madzivá	(Madziva)	va-
	mu-Svosvé	(Mbire)	va-
(2)	mu-Rozví	(Rozvi)	va-
	mu-Rungu	(European)	va-
	mu-Zungú	(European, especially Portuguese)	va-
(3)	mu-Ndevére	(Ndebele)	ma-
	mu-Séna	(Sena)	ma-
	mu-Tónga	(Tonga)	ma-
	mu-Korekore	(Korekore)	ma-
	mu-Toko	(Budya)	ma-
	mu-Rózi	(Lozi)	ma-
	mu-Nyásarandi	(Nyanja)	ma-
	mu-Putukezi	(Portuguese)	ma-
	mu-Kúra	(Indian)	ma-
	mu-Zúru	(Zulu)	ma-
	mu-Ngezi	(English)	ma-
	mu-Weshe	(Weshe)	ma-
	mu-Tumba	(Tumba)	ma-
	mu-Como	(Como)	ma-
	mu-Hota	(Hota)	ma-

Of these nouns, group (2) form plurals in class 2. These forms are looked on as mazwi okunatsa (polite forms) though the peoples indicated have been hostile to the Zezuru. They are each rudzi rukúrú. The polite form has always been used out of fear. It is not known exactly why plurals in class 6 should be considered appropriate for group (3). They are foreigners, the Africans mainly from the north, their customs sometimes inspire disgust, they are tough and brave. The use of class 6 prefix for groups (1) and (2) would be a secondary use with provocative significance.

40/Compare...

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

ma-bwidi	(those who use bwino - "well")
ma-dedéde	
ma-takura-mugóti	(those who carry their stirring sticks)
ma-gocha-nyúchi	(those who roast bees)

Compare the following names given to Europeans:

varáa-vámushóngéra-kurwa	(those who dress up for war)
vakómaná vemhúno ndefú	(the fellows with long noses)

(d) **Meaning:**

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

(i) e.g.

mu-nhu	(person)	va-
mu-rumé	(man)	va-
mu-kádzí	(woman)	va-

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

e.g. mu-sója	(soldier)	cp. soldier
mu-kiwa	(European)	umkhiwa (Zulu)(1)
mu-príste	(priest)	priest
mu-Krísto	(a Christian)	
mu-Jonhí	(white policeman)	
mu-púrisá	(African policeman)	police
mu-brákwacha	(African district policeman)	Black Watch
mu-hédeni	(a heathen)	heathen
mu-profíta	(a prophet)	prophet
mu-vhangéri	(a preacher)	evangelium (Latin)
mu-dhoméni	(an agricultural demonstrator)	

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

e.g. mu-p-í	(one who gives)	cp.	-p-á
mu-tór-i	(one who takes)		-tór-a
mu-téng-és-i	(one who sells)		-téng-és-á
mu-kúrúmídz-i	(one who hurries)		-kúrúmídz-a
mu-rw-i	(one who fights)	cp.	-rw-a
mu-bvunz-i	(one who asks)		-bvunz-a
mu-taris-i	(one who looks)		-taris-a
mu-pamhidzir-i	(one who increases)		-pamhi-dz-ir-a

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

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

e.g. mu-bát-w-í	(captive)	cp.	-bát-w-á
mu-chér-ér-w-i	(one for whom water is fetched)		-chér-ér-w-á
mu-rap-w-i	(one treated)		-rap-w-a
mu-cher-er-w-i	(one for whom a hole is dug)		-cher-er-w-a
e.g. mu-tór-w-a	(one who is taken a captive, stranger from another clan)		-tór-w-á ndá-tór-w-a
mu-támb-ir-w-í	(one for whom a dance is performed)		-támb-ír-w-á ndá-tamb-ir-w-á
mu-rap-w-á	(one treated)		-rap-w-a ndá-rap-w-á
mu-bik-ír-w-a	(one for whom cooking is done)		-bik-ir-w-a ndá-bik-ír-w-a

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

e.g. mu-róór-a	(bride)	-róór-	(marry)
mu-rwér-é	(invalid)	-rwár-	(be sick)

(vi) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions.

LH : mu-dy-í	(one who eats, consumes)	cp. -dy-	(eat)
LL : mu-nhu	(person)		
LHH : mu-rumé	(man)		
mu-kádzí	(woman)		
mu-kómá	(elder sibling of same sex)		
mu-rámú	(wife's sister)		

41 /LHL...

LHL	:	mu-góre	(person from Johannesburg)
		mu-tór-w-a	(foreigner)
LLH	:	mu-ngozvá	(nursing mother)
		mu-rombó	(poor person)
LLL	:	mu-banzi	(neighbour)
		mu-cheche	(baby)
		mu-chena	(poor person)
		mu-feve	(lecher)
		mu-nyai	(messenger, marriage intermediary)
		mu-randa	(servant)
		mu-ridzi	(owner)
		mu-dodo	(thin person)
		mu-rongo	(third wife)
LHHH	:	mukárángá	(second wife)
		mu-kwégúrú	(elderly person)
LHHL	:	mu-núng'úna	(younger sibling of the same sex)
		mu-kúwásha	(son-in-law)
LHLH	:	mu-kómaná	(boy)
		mu-síkaná	(girl)
LLHH	:	mu-zukúrú	(sister's son)
LLHL	:	mu-Zezúru	(Zezuru)

(2) Constructions in which /mu-/ is secondary indicate the following:

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

e.g.	mu -pwéré	(young child)	cp.	pwéré	(young child)	(9)
	mu-ténda	(invalid)		nhénda	(sickness)	(9)
	mu-chínda	(son of a chief)		jínda	(district chief)	(5)
	mu-chembere	(old lady)		chembere	(old woman)	(9)
	mu-ngwarú	(wise man)		ngwarú	(clever thing)	(9)
	mu-matsí	(deaf person)		matsí	(deaf person)	(9)
	mu-kare	(old acquaintance)		kare	(long ago)	(12)
	mu-rwendo	(casual traveller)		rwendo	(journey)	(11)
	mu-zvimwe	(inconsequential speaker)		zvimwe	(other things)	(8)
	mu-rudzi	(foreigner)		rudzi	(clan)	(11)
	mu-rombe	(dancer)		rombe	(dancer)	(5)
	mu-jangano	(number of working group)		jangano	(working group	(5)

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

e.g.	mu-Zezúru	(Zezuru)	cp.	Zezuru	(highlands round Chihota)	(9)
	mu-Mbíre	(Mbire)		Mbire	(area round Chihota)	(9)
	mu-Njanja	(Njanja)		Zvinjanja	(country round Charter)	(8)
	mu-Herá	(Hera)	cp.	uHera	(country round Chivhu)	(14)
	mu-Nhohwé	(Nhohwe)		Nhohwe	(country round Murewa)	(9)
	mu-Úngwé	(Hungwe)		Maungwe	(country round Rusape)	(6)
	mu-Nyómbwe	(Nyombwe)		Nyombwe	(country north of Darwin)	(9)
	mu-Hwátá	(Hwata)		Hwata	(chief's name in Mazowe)	(la)
	mu Madziva	(Madziva)		Madziva	(..... Shamva)	(la)
	mu-Svosvé	(Mbire)		Svosve	(..... Chihota)	(la)
	mu-Weshe	(Weshe)		Chiweshe	(..... Mazowe)	(la)
	mu-Tumbá	(Tumba)		Mutumba	(..... Shamva)	(la)
	mu-Gomo	(Gomo)		Negomo	(..... Mazowe)	(la)
	mu-Hotá	(Hota)		Chihota	(.....Marondera)	(la)
	mu-Toko	(Toko)		Mutoko	(..... Mutoko)	(la)
	mu-Kandéya	(Kandeya)		Kandeya	(..... Mt Darwin)	(la)

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

e.g.	mu-mbudzí	(one who looks after goats)	cp.	mbúdzi	(goats)
	mu-shumbá	(one who looks after lion)		shúmba	(lions)
	mu-janá	(one who has the turn at herding)		jana	(turn)
	mu-rudzí	(kinsman)		rudzi	(clan)
	mu-rwendó	(habitual traveller)		rwendo	(journey) (11
	mu-vanhú váké	(one noted for loving his people)		vanhu váké	(2
	mu-mombe zhínjí	(one noted for having many cattle)		mombe zhínjí	(1(

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

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

3.3.2. Noun class 2

(a) Prefix: /va-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before underived vowel-commencing stems, /va-/ is realised as /v- /.

e.g. v-aná (children)
v-éné (owners)
v-eni (strangers)

(2) The prefix is realised as /a-/ in a couple of cases of vocatives in familiary style:

e.g. a-síkana! (dear girl!)
a-kómana! (dear boy!)

(3) In other cases the prefix is realised as /va-/. It is a free alternant to v- with stem -eni.

(c) Number: Class 2 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in class 1.

(d) Meaning: As for the correlative singulars, apart from number.

3.3.3. Noun class 1a

(a) Prefix: /Ø-/

(b) Allomorphs:

All nouns of class 1a have prefix /Ø-/ either as a primary, or, in a greater number of instances, secondary, prefix.

(c) Number: Class 1a nouns are mainly singular but the class includes some examples of no number. A few class 1a nouns have three plurals, one in class 2a and the others with prefixes of 2a and 10, 6 and 10 respectively. Plurals in 2a are almost always honorific, the others almost always numerical.

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which class 1a prefix is primary includes:-

(i) terms denoting relatives and functionaries:

e.g. tézi	(owner, master)
tézvára	(wife's male blood relative)
sekúru	(mother's male blood relative)
sáhwíra	(privileged friend)
névanjé	(heir)
névaná	(medium of a lion spirit)
ishé	(chief)
babá	(father)
teté	(father's sister)
mambo	(chief)
chirembá	(doctor)
hombarume	(hunter)

Loan words

dhogodhera/dhokotera	(doctor)
dhiráivha	(driver)
kípasitoro	(storekeeper)
téra	(tailor)
tápita	(interpreter)
mabharáni	(clerk)
Gávhumende	(Governor)
stronghomani	(circus performer)
mudzviti	(district commissioner)

(ii) terms indicating times - these have no number.

The months and years in the European system of dating are referred to in Shona as nouns of class 1a, as are the following nouns indicating points or periods of time.

e.g. nhási (today)
náka (this year) cp. nhaka (inheritance)

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e.g. makéi (last year) or class 6
hwédza (tomorrow
nezúro (yesterday)
ríni (when?)
zvínó (now)

goré rál970 (the year 1970)
muná Jurai (in July)

The Shona names of the lunar months (mwedzí) are not class la nouns save nyamavhúvhu (August)

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

e.g. kóndó (hammerkop)
mubhémhé (donkey)
mukónikóni (dragonfly)
dzonyá (firebird)

(iv) the interrogative aní? (who?)

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

(v) certain names.

Note the following indefinite names:

nhingí (what's-his-name)
ngana (.....)
ningíríkíri (.....)
nya-kuti (.....)

All names of rivers are in class la.

e.g. Rúya (the Ruya)
Mazówe (the Mazowe)
Zambézi (the Zambezi)
Karói (the Karoi)
Savé (the Sabi)

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

e.g. Aaron, Maria, Anna, Jairos etc.

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

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

Others are inflected verb phrases or clauses.

e.g. Takáwíra (lit. We fell down)
Tamúka-nénhamo (lit. We got up with trouble)

cp. nomusi waChakátambarara (in the time of Chakatambarara, viz. long ago)

(i) Personal names.

An individual may bear various names. These are:-

Zítá remúdumba - a name given to a child soon after birth.

Zítá régombwa - the name "surrounded by spirits" or lineage name, restricted to certain houses.

Zítá réjemedzwá - the name given to a child at the suggestion of a diviner after incessant crying. This will be the name given by the dead grandfather to the child.

Zítá rémadúnhúrirwá - a nickname given on the basis of personal characteristics.

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

e.g. the name Zvirípi is an abbreviation of Zvíripí zvamúnoti ndinázvo (Where are the things you think I have?)

Lineage names (mazítá édzinga) are inherited. Such names are the titular names of chiefs or headmen.

44 /e.g. Chinamhóra...

e.g. Chinamhóra (title of chief of the Shawasha)
Mangwéndé (..... Nhohwe)
Svosvé (..... Mbire)
Makoni (..... Hungwe)
Mutasa (..... Manyika)

Nicknames:

e.g. Chirwa-néhari (a glutton, one who fights against the pot)
Mutsika-rota (a drunkard, one who feels the ashes to find out if beer has been brewed)
Mutándá-wáchingama (an obstinate person; lit. the log is across the path)

(ii) Personifications. In folk tales, characters are sometimes personified, prefix /Ø-/ being preprefixed to common nouns.

e.g. Tsuro cp. tsuro (hare) (9)
Rungano rwáBveni naTsuro (A story of Baboon and Hare)
(A story of a baboon and a hare)

cp. Rungano rwebvéni netsúro

(3) Ideophone segments and quotations are also among the complex stems which appear with class la prefix /Ø-/.

(i) Ideophone segments in one type of ideophonic construction appear in apposition to, and agreement with, íye, pronoun of class 1.

e.g. Ndíye svétu
(He jumped up)

Munhu wákánzi nébanga dyú kumusáná, ndíye pasí bvurugwada
(The man was stabbed in the back and slumped down on the ground)

In other constructions also, ideophones appear with class 1 agreements.

e.g. Goné úna goné wákewó
(Mr Be-able can be beaten by someone else)

Dzamú ána dzamú wákewó
(Mr Take-a-handful can have a handful taken from him too)

(ii) Quotations.

When segments of speech are quoted and need to control agreements in a sentence, they are always treated as class la constructions.

e.g. 'Ndinógona' wakó na-'Handígoné' wákó handíneyí navó
(I have nothing to do with your 'I can' and 'I can't', viz. I want my money back)

3.3.4. Noun Class 2a

(a) Prefix: /vá-/

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

(b) Allomorphs:

The prefix /á-/ occurs as a free variant of /vá-/ with some stems as an honorific plural prefix.

e.g. Típeíwo, ámbuya (Please give me some, mother-in-law)
átetè (father's sister)
Átezvara váuya (Father-in-law has come)

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

Examples of honorific and numerical plurals with prefix /vá-/.

Honorific Plural		Numeral Plural	
váshe vángu	(my chief)		
vátenzi váyo	(its owner)	vábabá vésé	(all the fathers)
vátezvara	(father-in-law)	vámámbo vésé	(all the chiefs)
vásekuru	(uncle)		
vámbuya	(mother-in-law)	vámbuya vésé(*)	(all the mothers-in-law)
vátetè	(father's sister)		
vámwené	(husband's mother)		

45 / vásahwira...

(*) Ndingápínde séyi pakávíringana vámbuya?
(How can I pass through where my mothers-in-law are gathered?)

vásahwira	(privileged friend)	vánevanje vóse	(all the heirs)
váhómbarume	(hunter)	váhómbarume	(hunters)
vátatéguru	(grandfather)	vátatéguru	(grandfathers)
váticha	(teacher)		

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

e.g. vádzitézvára, madzitézvára (fathers-in-law)

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

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) Honorific plurals:

e.g. vásekuru	(uncle)
vá-mubhémbé	(donkey)
vá-Nhingí	(Mr So and So)
vá-Sádza	(Mr Sadza)
vá-Svosvé	(the Hon. Svosvé)
vá-Chírwa-néhari	(Mr Glutton)
vá-Tsúro	(Mr Hare)

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

e.g. VáTsúro vángu (Poor Mr Hare)

(ii) Numerical plurals:

e.g. vá-dzisékúru	(uncles)
va-dzimbuya	(grandmothers)
vaná-kondo	(hammerkops, lit. those with hammerkop)
vaná-aní?	(who? - plural)
vaná-Nhingí	(the What's-his-names)
vaná-Mazówe	(the Mazowe and other rivers)
vaná-Ároni	(Aaron and his friends)

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

Regáí típínde isú vaná-mugúrá-kudyá
(Let us come in - the ones who can't help you with anything save eating)

Vaná-húdá-ndíhúdewó
(Brothers from the same mother)

Vaná-témá-ndíkutémewó
(A constellation - three stars that face each other)

Vaná- 'Handife-ndákáitá' vákó handíneyí navó
(I care nothing for your protestation, 'I will never do so again')

Regáí tíkubátsíreyí isú vaná-Sádza
(Allow us expert Sadzas to help you)

Regáí típíndé isú vaná-Sádza
(Let us, poor despised Sadzas, come in)

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

e.g. Twaná-Tsúro (The little Hares) (13)

(e) Tonal inflection in class 2a nouns

Class 2a prefix, besides invariably bearing a high tone, is tonally inflecting. Initial high tones of high stems, either single or in a series, are lowered in constructions with prefix /vá-/. Single initial low tones of low stems are raised but, in cases of stems containing a syllabic prefix and commencing with at least three low tones, the first two syllables are raised.

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

(i) Prefix /vá-/ with high stems:

e.g.	váshe	cp. ishé	(chief)	(la)	H > L
	VáMvura	Mvúrá	(Water)	(la,9)	HH > LL
	vátenzi	ténzi	(master)	(la)	HL > LL
	vábabá	babá	(father)	(la)	LH > LH
	vaGaranga	Gárángá	(Big Karanga)	(la,5)	HHH > LLL
	vátezvara	tézvára	(father-in-law)	(la)	HHL > LLL
	vánevanjé	névanjé	(heir)	(la)	HLH > LLH
	vaMukádzí	Mukadzí	(Woman)	(la,1)	LHH > LHH
	váKanhókwe	Kanhokwé	(Bullrush)	(la,12)	LHL > LHL

(ii) Prefix /vá-/ with low stems:

e.g.	váGó	iGo	(Hornet)	(la,5)	L > H
	vámambo	mambo	(chief)	(la)	LL > HL
	váRúgwaku	Rugwaku	(Spoon)	(la,11)	LLH > HLH
	váHárahwa	Harahwa	(Old Man)	(la,9)	LLL > HLH
but	váChígáro	Chigaro	(Chair)	(la,7)	LLL > HHL
	váKángowání	Kangowání	(Small Hat)	(la,14,9)	LLHH > HLHL
	váMúZezúru	MuZezúru	(Zezuru)	(la,1)	LLHL > HLHL
	váhómbarume	hombarume	(hunter)	(la)	LLLL > HLLL
but	váMútáuro	Mutauro	(Speech)	(la,3)	LLLL > HHLL
	váHárahwaná	Harahwaná	(Little Old Man)	(la,9)	LLLH > HLLH
but	váZíndáramá	Zindaramá	(Big Nugget)	(la,21,9)	LLLH > HHLH

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

e.g. with High stems:

vádzisékúru	cp.	-dzisékúru	(various uncles)	LHHL > LHHL

with Low stems :

vádzíbabá	cp.	-dzibabá	(various fathers)	LLH > HLH
vadzimambo		-dzimambo	(various chiefs)	LLL > HHL

3.3.5. Noun Class 2b

(a) Prefix: /a-/

(b) This prefix occurs with two stems: mái and mbúya

e.g.	amái	(mother)
	ambúya	(grandmother)

The prefix is uniformly low even after inflecting morphemes.

e.g.	na-amái	(with mother)
	mwaná wá-amái	(the child of a mother)

3.3.6. Noun Class 3

(a) Prefix: /mu-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before underived, vowel-commencing stems /mu-/ is realised as /mw-/,

e.g.	mw-aká	(length of time, season)			
	mw-anda	(bundle of grass)			
	mw-ando	(moisture, moist wind)	cp.	chando	(cold) (7)
	mw-anzá	(mice track)			
	mw-arí	(flint)			
	mw-edzí	(moon, month)			
	mw-ená	(hole, orifice)			
	mw-enje	(torch)			
	mw-eredzo	(ritual beer drink)			
	mw-eyá	(air, soul)			
	mw-okó	(heap of unthreshed mhunga)			
	mw-ondo	(shaft of spear)			
	mw-ongó	(marrow)			
	mw-otó	(fire)			
	mw-oyo	(heart)			

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

e.g.	mw-er-o	(measure, moderation)	cp. -er-	(measure)
cp.	mu-it-ir-ó	(way of doing)	cp. -it-ir-	(do for)

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(2) Before stems -oyo and -otó the allomorph /mw/ > /m-/.

e.g. moyo (heart, as a totem name)
motó (fire)

(3) Before stems commencing in a labial or alveolar and in a non-penultimate position, /mu-/ is realised as /m-/ (syllabic /m̩/) in quick speech.

e.g. pa-m-sáná (on the back on account)
pa-m-sóró (on top)

but
cp. mu-sí (day)

(4) Elsewhere the prefix is realised as /mu-/.

e.g. mu-tí (tree)
mu-sóró (head)

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

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) trees: The names of the fruits, usually incorporating the same stem as the name of the tree, are normally in cl. 5.

e.g.	mu-tí	(tree)	mi-
	mu-kúyu	(fig-tree)	mi- cp. gúyu (fig) (5)

(ii) long things:

e.g.	mu-píní	(hoe handle)	mi-
	mu-dhabha	(long thing e.g. trousers)	mi-

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

- foods

mu-to	**(soup)**	mi-
mu-nya	(food left over)	mi-
mu-kúmbí	(preparation from the juice of the hute)	

- parts of the body

mu-sána	(back)	mi-
mu-sóró	(head)	mi-
mu-jéjéjé	(clean-shaven forehead)	mi-

- atmospheric phenomena

mw-eyá	(air, soul)	mi-
mu-mvúri	(shadow)	mi-
mw-ando	(moist wind)	mw-
mw-edzí	(moon, month)	mw-
mu-sí	(day,occasion)	mi-

- miscellanea

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

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type mu- + R + o indicate a result or instrument of the operation of R.

e.g.	mu-gúmó	(end)	mi-	cp	-gúm-	(end)
	mu-fungo	(discretion, inkling)	mi-		-fung-	(think)
	mu-ridzo	(whistle)	mi-		-ridz-	(whistle)
	mu-rótsó	(medicine to make one dream)	mi-		-róts-	(cause to dream)
	mu-ruko	(warp and waft of woven fabric)	mi-		-ruk-	(weave)
	mu-sendo	(plane)	mi-		-send-	(plane)
	mu-kákáto	(something to pull with	mi-		-kákát-	(pull)
	mu-namato	(prayer)	mi-		-namat-	(pray)

(v) Complex nominal constructions of type mu- + R + -ir-o or mu- + R + -ir-w-o indicate the manner of action of the R.

e.g.	mu-vák-ír-o	(way of building)	mi-	cp.	-vák-	(build)
	mu-vák-ír-w-o-	(way of being built)	mi-			
	mu-ridz-ír-ó	(way of playing an instrument)	mi-		-ridz-	(make sound)
	mu-ridz-ír-w-ó-	(way of being played	mi-			

/ma-/ is a secondary prefix used with these stems. These secondary constructions indicate a way of acting which includes "different instances or parts of what is one prolonged action, or the way of doing the action taken as a whole." (cp. AS per. 137)

e.g. ma-vákíro (building operations)

(vi) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions:

LH :	mu-tí	(tree)
	mu-ndyá	(tape, strap)
	mu-vhá	(road)
	mu-swé	(tail)
LL :	mu-dzi	(root)
	mu-tswi	(pestle)
	mu-mwe	(finger)
	mu-to	(soup)
LHH :	mu-fénjé	(cabbage tree)
	mu-chéká	(piece of cloth)
	mu-dhándá	(log trap)
	mu-nambá	(second beestings)
LHL :	mu-chíndwi	(palm tree)
	mu-kúyu	(fig-tree)
	mu-dónzvo	(staff)
LLH :	mu-tambá	(klapper apple)
	mu-wuyú	(baobab)
	mu-dhirdwá	(adobe)
	mu-dhombó	(basis for snuff mixture)
	mu-foyí	(loin cloth)
LLL :	mu-rara	(palm tree)
	mu-kwakwa	(small tree)
	mu-donje	(cotton plant)
	mu-hacha	(cork tree)
LHHH :	mu-tóndéká	(index finger)
	mu-jéjéjé	(stone gong)
	mu-pímbirí	(shin)
	mu-púrúrú	(shrill cheering of women)
LHHL :	mu-nhéngéni	(scur plum)
	mu-nhóngédzo	(index finger)
LHLH :	mu-kónonó	(assegai wood tree)
LLHH :	mu-reréró	(way of rearing)
	mu-ridzíró	(way of playing)
LLHL :	mu-ndaríra	(brass)
LLLH :	mu-nhungurú	(kei apple tree)
	mu-kokotó	(loin skin)
	mu-korongá	(prime beast)
LLLL :	mu-chakata	(cork tree)
	mu-chetura	(poison)
	mu-dhudhudhu	(motor-cycle)

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

e.g.	mu-kova	(a big river, dangerous piece of water because, e.g. of crocodiles) (3)	cp.	rukova	(river) (11)	
	mu-kónyóra	(big, cruel, hard rascal) (3)	cp.	hónyóra	(rascal) (9)	
	mu-mbwá	(huge dog; useless save for barking; lean and pinched in parts) (3,9)	cp.	imbwá	(dog) (9)	

mu-dzóró	(big, hard, tough head) (3,5,5)	cp.	zíso	(eye)	(5)
mu-pango	(useless, unwieldy pole) (3)	cp.	bango	(pole)	(5)
mu-kádzí	(tall, angular woman, quarrelsome, unkind, harsh) (3)	cp.	mukádzí	(woman	(1)
mu-meso	(big, lazy idle eye) (3,6)	cp.	zíso	(eye)	(5)
mu-mambo	(big, useless, clumsy chief) (3,1a)	cp.	mambo	(chief)	(1a)
mu-démó	(useless, worn out axe) (3,5)	cp.	démó	(axe)	(5)
mu-rongó	(large pot not suitably shaped or suitable for cooking) (3)	cp.	chirongó	(waterpot)	(7)
mu-ngano	(long, boring story) (3,10a,9)	cp.	ngano	(tales)	(10a,9)
mu-tare	(a council whose members are useless, inept; full of fits and starts but getting nowhere in its deliberations) (3)	cp.	dare	(council)	(5)
mu-kumbo	(cp. -tiza mukumbo) (elope, marry without following the appropriate marriage customs) (3)	cp.	gumbo	(leg)	(5)

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

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

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

mu-zi-ku-ch:irá	(a miserable threadbare cloth)	cp.	jirá	(cloth)	(5)
mu-zi-ku-t:ezvára	(a poorly shaped, unreasonable father-in-law lacking manners and breeding)	cp.	tezvára	(father-in-law)	(1a)
mu-zi-ku-p:ere	(a tall hyena on long legs, thin and pinched in on all sides)	cp.	bere	(hyena)	(5)
mu-k:ómaná wenyu	(your poorly shaped young man without any promise of real growth and maturity)	cp.	mukómaná	(boy)	(1)
mu-karahwa wávó	(their old man, shapeless thin, pretending to know a lot but knowing nothing, pathetic old man)	cp.	harahwa	(old man)	(9)

3.3.7. Noun Class 4

(a) Prefix: /mi-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before underived, vowel-commencing stems, /mi-/ is realised as /mw-/.

e.g. mw-aká (seasons)
mw-enje (torches)

(2) Before stems -otó and -oyo, the allomorph /mw-/ > /m-/

e.g. motó (fires)

(3) In other cases, the prefix is realised as /mi-/

e.g. mi-tí (trees)
mi-soro (heads)
mi-it-ir-ó (ways of acting)

(c) Number: Cl. 4 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in cl. 3.

(d) Meaning: As for the correlative singulars, apart from number.

3.3.8. Noun Class 5

(a) Prefix: /(ri-)/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) In a few cases /(ri-)/ is found as syllabic /ri-/, both as a primary prefix in Karanga in the nouns rifá (inheritance), and as a secondary prefix, e.g. in the noun rimunhu (something monstrous, huge, munhu asíná kúunhu, asíná rúdzi (a man without humanity).

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

e.g. (ri-) + -pángá > bángá (knife) cp. ma-pángá (6)
(ri-) + -tangá > dangá (pen for animals) cp. ma-tangá (6)

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

e.g. (ri-) + -koré > goré (cloud) cp. ma-koré (6)
(ri-) + -pfeni > bveni (baboon) ma-pfeni (6)
(ri-) + -chírá > jírá (cloth) cp. ma-chírá (6)
(ri-) + -tsvatsvátsva > dzvatsvatsva (kind of spider) ma-tsvatsvátsva (6)

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

e.g. (ri-) + tsíru (heifer) (5) > dziru (big, fat heifer) (5,5)
(ri-) + -furo > bvuro (large amount of grass taken at once) (5,5)
cp. ma-furo (grazing (6)
(ri-) + -síkaná > dzíkaná (large girl) (5,5) cp. mu-síkaná (girl) (1)
síkaná (big girl) (5)
(ri-) + svíngá (bundle of wood) (5) > dzvíngá (large bundle) (5,5)
(ri-) + shiri (bird) (9) > jiri (large bird) (5,9)

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

e.g. (ri-) + -íno > zíno (tooth) cp. menó (6) ma-zíno (teeth) (6,5)
(ri-) + -íso > zíso (eye) meso (6) ma-zíso (eyes) (6,5)
(ri-) + -er-o > zero (age) mwero (3) ma-zero (ages) (6,5)
(ri-) + -ano > zano (counsel) Mano (6) ma-zano (plans) (6,5)
(ri-) + -énga > zénga (potsherd) rwengá (11) (piece of potsherd used for roasting, frying)

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

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

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

e.g.

i-dó	(spot)	ma-dó
i-dí	(truth)	ma-dí
i-bví	(knee)	ma-bví
i-vhú	(soil)	ma-vhú
i-zwí	(word)	ma-zwi
i-gá	(hole for planting maize, v-shaped cut of axe)	ma-gá
i-hú	(immature ground-nut)	ma-hú
i-nhó	(mesh of net)	ma-nhó
i-gwá	(boat)	ma-gwá
i-go	(wasp)	ma-go
i-bwe	(stone)	ma-bwe
i-n'a	(crack in skin)	ma-n'a
i-she	(piece of nest-lining from a mouse hole)	ma-she
i-mhe	(empty rice pod)	ma-mhe

(c) Number: Cl. 5 nouns are all singular. Correlative plurals are in cl.6.

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) things usually found in pairs or numbers:

e.g.	dambá	(klapper apple)	cp.	ma-tambá
	gumbo	(leg)		ma-kumbo

(ii) types of landscape:

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

(iii) a number of miscellanea among which the following sub-groupings may perhaps be discerned_

- things inspiring fear:

e.g.	Dzviti	(Nguni)	cp.	ma-Dzviti
	bere	(hyena)		ma-pere
	gárwe	(crocodile)		ma-kárwe
	gandanga	(robber)		ma-gandanga
	bandúpandu	(man-eating lion)		mabandúpandu

- times and seasons:

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

(iv) certain substances:

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

(v) Complex nominal constructions of type (ri-) + R + o indicate a result or instrument of the operation of R.

e.g.	jék-ó	(sickle)	ma-chék-ó	cp.	-chék-	(cut)
	dém-ó	(axe)	ma-tém-ó		-tém-	(chop)
	bópót-o	(noise)	ma-pópót-o		-pópót-	(scold)
	gósór-o	(coughing)	ma-kósór-o		-kósór-	(cough)
	dímúr-o	(chopper)	ma-dímúr-o		-dímú-r-	(chop)
	fúkídz-o	(blanket given to dead person)	ma-fúkídz-o		-fúk-ídz-	(cover)

(vi) Some complex nominal constructions of type (ri-) + R + -ir- + o indicate the place where the action of the R is done.

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

(vii) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions.

(L)H	:	i-bví	(knee)
(L)L	:	i-go	(wasp)
HH	:	bánga	(knife)
	:	dare	(iron)
		jírí	(clump of loquat trees)
		sángó	(wooded country)
HL	:	gúyu	(fig)
		báni	(open country)
		bhátye	(jacket)
		bátsa	(duck)
LH	:	badzá	(hoe)
		banzú	(splinter)
		dembé	(kind of dance)
LL	:	bofu	(blind man)
		basa	(work)
		dhadha	(duck)
		dare	(court)

HHH	:	búmbúrú	(large ball of something)
		gékényn'a	(egg shell)
HHL	:	bárika	(harem)
		déndéra	(ground hornbill)
HLL	:	hódheni	(heathen)
		gádheni	(garden)
HLH	:	bhódyerá	(bottle)
		déhenyn'á	(skull)
LHH	:	dengwáná	(small basket)
LHL	:	gorónga	(gully)
		daúnha	(kaross)
LLH	:	gokotó	(tin container)
LLL	:	gandanga	(robber)
		bapiro	(wing)

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

e.g. (ri-) + -puká > buká (large animal)
(ri-) + -chembere > jembere (large old woman)
(ri-) + -kuwásha > guwásha (large son-in-law)
(ri-) + -kádzí > gádzí (big woman)

cp. mhuká (animal)(9); chembere (old woman)(9); mukuwásha (son-in-law)(1) mukadzí (woman)(1).

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

Thus: gádzí (big, heartless, loud-mouthed woman)
guwásha (big, heartless son-in-law)
jembere (big, cruel, woman)

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

e.g. gádzí rakánáka (big and kindly woman)
guwásha ráke rakánáka (his big and kind son-in-law)

3.3.9. Noun Class 6

(a) Prefix: /ma-/

(b) Allomorphs: There are no allomorphs.

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

mano	(plans, counsel)	cp.	z-ano	(counsel)	(5)
menó	(teeth)	cp.	z-íno	(teeth)	(5)
mesó	(eyes)	cp.	z-íso	(eye)	(5)

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

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

mazano	(plans)	(6,5)
mazíno	(teeth)	(6,5)
mazíso	(eyes)	(6,5)

(c) Number: Cl. 6 nouns are either plural or neutral.
Cl. 6 nouns are correlative plurals of nouns in cll.5, 11, 21, 1a, 1 and 14.

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

e.g.	ma-pángá	(knives)	cp.	bángá	(knife)	(5)
	ma-kómaná	(big boys)	cp.	gómaná	(big boy)	(5)
				mu-kómaná	(boy)	(1)

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

e.g.	ma-óko	(hands, arms)	cp.	ru-óko	(hand, arm) (11)
	ma-gwaro	(letters, books)		ru-gwar	(letter, book) (11)
	ma-fure	(grazing grounds, pasture)		ru-furo	(grazing area) (11)

Nouns of cl. 21 form correlative plurals in cl. 6, usually by super-imposing prefix /ma-/.

e.g. ma-zi-gádzí	(huge women)	cp.	zi-gádzí	(huge woman)	(21)
ma-gádzí	(huge women)				
ma-zi-sóró	(huge heads)		zi-sóró	(huge head)	(21)

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

e.g. ma-Ndevére	(Ndebele)	cp.	mu-Ndevére	(Ndebele)
ma-Toko	(Budya)		mu-Toko	(Budya)

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

e.g. ma-táte	(bows)	cp.	u-táte	(bow)	(14)
ma-tanho	(ladders)		u-tanho	(ladder)	(14)
ma-kánó	(battle axes)		u-kánó	(ace)	(14)

(d) Meaning:

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

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

Examples:

ma-dzihwá	(a lot of mucus)	cp.	dzihwá	(mucus)	(5)
ma-fúrú	(a lot of froth)		fúrú	(froth)	(5)
ma-fútá	(a lot of fat; oil)		fútá	(lump of fat on meat)	(5)

(iii) Some constructions in which cl. 6 prefix /ma-/ is primary have no correlative singular. These indicate substances, activities, aggregations or phenomena and are neutral in number.

e.g. ma-re	(wonders)				
ma-té	(saliva)	cp.	ru-té	(steam, trickle of saliva)	(11)
ma-fe	(grudge)				
ma-sá	(tassels)				
ma-dé	(trick to throw off scent, e.g. of the hare)				
ma-pere	(leprosy)				

ma-humbwe	(game of playing at keeping house)
ma-nhénda	(uncertain outcome or event)
ma-ranzi	(ray of sunlight)
ma-rere	(wonderful event)
ma-chisi	(match, matches)
ma-zhou	(beer party for cutting branches)
ma-ngangé	(test, draw)
ma-dziro	(plastered wall, walls)
ma-kótó	(chaff)
ma-dúdúdú	(walking backwards)

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

ma-bik-w-á	(smarting pain)	cp.	-bik-	(cook)
ma-bvum-w-á	(susceptibility to pain)		-bvum-	(agree)
ma-dir-w-á	(mixture of brews resulting in beer)		-dir-	(pour)
ma-fem-w-á	(revealing of secrets)		-fem-	(breathe)
ma-sanganís-w-a	(mixture of brews)		-sanganis-	(mix)

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

e.g.	ma-chakata	(abundance)
but	Páíta jakata!	(There is just one large abundant amount!)
	ma-chúrúrú	(abundance of liquid)
but	Páíta júrúrú rémvura chéte!	(There is an abundance of water everywhere!)

54/ Other ....

Other examples:

ma-chanja	(scaffolding)	cp.	chanja
ma-chapfa	(fatty food)		chapfa
ma-fífi	(chaff)		fífi
ma-chikíchori	(gravy)		jikichori
ma-huro	(sweet beer)		huro
ma-fake	(cooked rice)		fáke
ma-fede	(ill will)		fede
ma-fenwa	(peelings)		fenwá
ma-finyn'a	(wrinkles)		finyn'a
ma-fúfu	(crumbs)		fúfu
ma-kúkútsi	(flotsam)		gúkútsi
ma-kombodzwá	(luck)		gómbodzwá

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

Examples:

ma-ririra-ngwe	(time when the leopards cry; before dawn)	cp.	-rir-	(sound)	
			ingwe	(leopards)	(10)
ma-shamba-nzou	(before dawn)	cp.	-shamb-	(wash)	
			nzou	(elephants)	(10)
ma-ramba-kuédzá	(dawn, after a long night)		-ramb-	(refuse)	
ma-ramba-kwedzá	(dawn)		kuédzá	(to dawn)	
ma-vamba-kuédzá	(dawn)	cp.	-vamb-	(begin)	
ma-mba-kuédzá	(dawn)		kuédzá	(to dawn)	
ma-fura-mushaná	(early morning)		-fúr-	(blow lightly)	
			mushaná	(early morning	(3)
				sunshine)	(3)
ma-zámba-mbíra	(early morning)		-zámb-ír-	zúvá(bask in sun)	
			mbíra	(dassies)	(10)
ma-rira-kuédzá	(last cock crow)		-rir-	(sound, cry)	
ma-ririra-kuédzá	(last cock crow)		kuédzá	(to dawn)	
ma-ngwaná-ngwaná	(early morning)				
ma-ngwánaní	(morning)	cp.			
ma-síkáti	(day time)				
ma-nheru	(evening)				
ma-uro	(late evening)				
ma-zarira-mombe	(early evening)	cp.	-zarir-	(shut in)	
			mombe	(cattle)	(10a)
ma-bvunza-vaeni	(evening)		-bvunz-	(ask)	
			vaeni	(strangers)	(2)
ma-fura-mhembwe	(late evening, after 6 p.m.)		-fur-	(graze)	
			mhembwe	(duikers)	(10a)
ma-ngwana	(tomorrow)				
ma-rimwe-zuro	(day before yesterday)				
ma-kéi	(last, next year)				
ma-dzía	(hot season)	cp.	-dzí-	(be hot)	
ma-gúta	(season of the green crops)		-gut-	(become full, replete	
ma-enzá	(spring)				
ma-kuní	(early spring)				
ma-tsútsó	(autumn)				

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

Examples:

ma-téru	(downward slope)				
ma-were	(precipice)				
ma-chiti	(rapids)				
ma-chíri	(waterfalls)				
ma-diró	(confluence)	cp.	-dir-	(pour)	
ma-furo	(pastures)	cp.	-fur-	(pasture)	
ma-wiro	(falls, confluence)	cp.	-w-	(fall)	
ma-bva-zúvá	(east)	cp.	-bv-	(come out)	
			zúvá	(sun)	(5)
ma-dókeró	(west)		-dók-	(set)	
ma-odza-nyemba	(south)		-odz-	(rot)	
			nyemba	(beans)	(10a)
ma-fúrá-mhépó	(open country)		-fúr-	(blow)	
			mhépó	(wind)	(9)

55/ (2) (i).....

(2) (i) Constructions in which the secondary prefixes /ma-/ and /dzi/ appear with stems if cl. la are collective and respectful.

Examples:

ma-dzi-babá	(fathers)	cp.	babá	(la)
ma-dzi-mái	(mothers)		a-mái	(2b)
ma-dzi-shé	(chiefs)		ishé	(la)

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

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

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

e.g. ma-misha (poor villages, villages all over) cp. misha (villages) (

cp. Mamisha ácho akángovákwá, kunge vanotámá nhási
(Poor type of villages as if the people are leaving them for elsewhere today)

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

cp. Mausíku ámazúvá áno árí kúnonoka kuédzá
(The long nights nowadays, one after the other, that take so long to end)

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

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

e.g.	ma-vák-ír-o	(way of building)	cp. -vák-	(build)
	ma-gar-ír-o	(way of life)	-gar-	(sit, stay)
	ma-zív-ír-w-o	(way of being known)	-zív-	(know)

3.3.10. Noun Class 7

(a) Prefix: /chi-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before underived vowel-commencing stems, /chi-/ is realised as /ch-/.

e.g.	ch-anza	(palm of hand)	zv-anza	cp. z-anza	(big palm)	(21)
	ch-ando	(cold)	zv-ando	mw-ando	(wet feathers)	(3)
	ch-aho	(monkey's paw)	zv-aho			
	ch-awówó	(temple of head)	zv-awówó			
	ch-ará	(thumb)	zv-ará	z-ará	(big thumb)	(21)
	ch-engú	(roan antelope)	zv-engú			
	ch-engó	(wall)	zv-engó			
	ch-otó	(hearth)	zv-otó	m-otó	(fire)	(3)
	ch-owa	(medicine for guessing where things are)	zv-owa			
	ch-ondó	(fetlock)	zv-ondó			
	ch-oyá	(pubic hair)	zv-oyá			
	ch-umá	(bead wealth)	zv-umá	(string of beads)		
	ch-uru	(ant heap)	zv-uru			
	ch-urá	(frog)	zv-urá	z-urá	(big frog)	(21)

/ch-/ appears before the R -édz- (dawn).

e.g.	ch-edzá	(sunflash, moon beam)	cp.	-édz-	(dawn)
but	chi-enzanis-o	(measure)	zvi-enzanis-o	cp. -enzanis-	(equalise)
	chi-it-o	(deed)	zvi-it-o	-it-	(do)

(2) /chi-/ is realised as /cha-/ before a few stems and as an alternative to /chi-/ in others.

(i)

e.g.	cha-vhúvhu	(gust of wind)	cp.	-vhúvhut-	(blow)	
	cha-púpurí	(whirlwind)		púpurí	(whirling wind)	ideo.
	cha-dénga	(space bounded by sky)		dénga	(sky, roof)	(5)
	cha-kwíndi	(overcast sky, moss)				
	cha-púpu	(witness)		-púpur-	(witness)	
	cha-mhémbé	(the south)				

(ii)

e.g.	chi-/cha-púngú	(bateleur eagle)	zvi-/zva-
	chi-/cha-pfúdu	(yolk of egg)	zvi-/zva-
	chi-/cha-ndúrú	(gall bladder)	zvi-/zva-
	chi-/cha-húvhe	(rust on maize)	zvi-/zva-
	chi-/cha-rára	(week's hunting trip with nets)	zvi-/zva-
	chi-/cha-únga	(medicine to draw people to one's court on business)	

(3) /chi-/ is also realised as /chá-/ in some constructions with stems derived from ideophones and in combination with prefix /mu-/, viz. /chá-mu-/.

e.g.	chá-mu-bhábhabha	(strong wind blowing every way)
	chá-mu-dídídí	(running with short steps)
	chá-mu-dúdúdú	(running backwards)
	chá-mu-púpúrí-pupuri	(general dispersal)
	chá-mu-dzúngururu	(dizziness)
	chá-mu-chachá-mu-chacha	(continual patter of rain)
	chá-mu-chachú-mu-chachu	(continual taking of food from the pot)
	chá-mu-shápú-mu-shapu	(continual baling out of water)
	chá-mu-svétu-mu-svétu	(continual jumping down)
	chá-mu-kúmbó-mu-kumbo	(hopping)

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

(4) In other cases /chi-/ is realised as /chi-/.

(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 7 are singular or neutral. Correlative plurals are in cl.8

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) material objects and utensils.

e.g.	chi-nhu	(thing)	zvi-
	chi-nú	(calabash for storing oil)	zvi-
	chi-bákó	(snuff box)	zvi-
	chi-kwepa	(pipe)	zvi-
	chi-ndorí	(ring)	zvi-
	chi-rongó	(waterpot)	zvi-
	chi-dándarí	(trap for mice)	zvi-

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

e.g.	chi-benenga	(madness)	cp. benenga	(being mad)
	chi-bhókisi	(chickenpox)		
	chi-potswá	(sickness due to witchcraft)		
	chi-kutu-menó	(pyorrhoea)		
	chi-kósóro	(whooping cough)	kóso	(coughing)
	chi-kangiri	(rabies)		
	chi-kúndu	(mange)	kúndu	(being covered with mange)
	chi-bhubhubhu	(poultry disease)	bhu bhu bhu	(flapping wings)
	chi-bviko	(poultry disease)	pfíko	(choking in chicken)
	chi-ndéye	(staggers in sheep, poultry etc.)		
	chi-ndóko	(advanced venereal disease)		
	chi-sasaidzi	(ringworm due to name being spoken by pregnant woman)		
	chi-gumbú	(grievance)		

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

e.g.	chi-bímvu	(piece)			
	chi-dímbu	(piece)	zvi-	cp. dímbu	(breaking)
	chi-dímu	(chip)	zvi-	dímu	(breaking)
	chi-gwímbu	(piece broken off)	zvi-	gwímbu	(pounding)
	chi-gúmbú	(rag)	zvi-		
	chi-mamata	(stutterer)	zvi-	mamata	(stuttering)
	chi-pínímínί	(stump, e.g. of a leg)	zvi-	pínímínί	(hanging of leg or tail)
	chi-kosha	(person handicapped after an accident)	zvi-	kosha	(being helpless)
	chi-bhibhi	(cripple)	zvi-		
	chi-dhakwá	(drunkard)	zvi-		
	chi-bibi	(one who stutters)	zvi-	bi bi bi	(stuttering)
	chi-feve	(lecher)			
	chi-kambí	(professional witch)	zvi-		
	chi-dzemwe	(unmannerly person)	zvi-		
	chi-fáshu	(one who is indiscreet and cannot keep a secret)	zvi-	fáshu	(running over)
	chi-fídu	(sulky person)	zvi-	fídu	(sulking)
	chi-puvira	(interfering person)	zvi	puvira	(interfering)
	chi-nyeku	(person who laughs inanely)	zvi-	nyeku	(laughing without reason)

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

e.g.	chi-gwíndírí	(short, strong, healthy person)	zvi-	cp. gwíndírí	(being strong)
	chi-diya	(short, vigorous, restless person)	zvi-	diya diya	(being fit
	chi-hwindikwindi	(short, stout person)	zvi-	hwindikwindi	(being fat)
	chi-nhinhíva	(short, stout girl)	zvi-	nhinhíva	(being fat)
	chi-mandíónérepí	(dwarf)			

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

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

58 /chi-nyárárirέ...

chi-nyáráriré	(quiet, silent manner)			
chi-uyani	(gentle manner, action)			
chi-ndóendawó	(imitation)			
chi-nonó	(slowness)			
chi-chímbi	(quickness)	cp.	chímbi	(moving fast)
chi-ndínyn'a	(selfishness)		ndínyn'a	(moving with self-confidence)

(vi) A number of miscellanea among which the following meanings may be discerned:

- crops and grains

e.g.	chi-bahwé	(maize)	zvi-
	chi-kití	(white maize)	zvi-
	chi-kómbe	(kind of sorghum)	

- birds

e.g.	chi-korera	(butcher bird)	zvi-
	chi-gwenhure	(black-eyed bulbul)	

-insects

e.g.	chi-pfukuto	(weevil)	zvi-
	chi-pembenene	(flying insect)	zvi-

(vii) A number of loan words assigned to this class on the basis of the initial phone /s/ in the source language being transformed into the morpheme /chi-/, /sp chip-/, /st chit-/, /sk chik-/, /sl chir-/.

e.g.	chi-púnu	(spoon)	zvi-
	chi-páni	(span)	zvi-
	chi-téshe	(station)	zvi-
	chi-tíma	(steamer, train)	zvi-
	chi-tóro	(store)	zvi-
	chi-tófu	(stove)	zvi-
	chi-tókisi	(stocks, short period of imprisonment)	zvi-
	chi-kochikari	(scotchcart)	zvi-
	chi-kóro	(school)	zvi-
	chi-redhi	(slate)	zvi
	chi-réi	(sleigh)	zvi-
	chi-poko	(ghost, Afr. spook)	zvi-
	chi-píkirí	(nail, Afr. spyker)	zvi-
	chi-dhína	(brick, Afr. steen)	zvi-
	chi-gero	(scissors, Afr. sker)	zvi-
	chi-karema	(rascal, Afr. skelm)	zvi-
	chi-kwépe	(boat, Afr. skip)	svi-
	chi-kwéreti	(debt, Afr. skuld)	zvi-

(viii) Complex nominal constructions of type chi- + R + -o indicate instruments or results.

e.g.	chi-pfúwó	(livestok)	zvi- cp.	-pfúw-	(keep stock)
	chi-bátó	(handle)	zvi-	-bát-	(hold)
	chi-pindo	(entrance)	zvi-	-pind-	(go in)
	chi-biko	(food for cooking)	zvi-	-bik-	(cook)
	chi-bhadharo	(cost)		-bhadhar-	(cost)
	chi-bayo	(pain, stabbing instrument, pneumonia)	zvi-	-bay-	(stab)

(ix) Complex nominal constructions of type chi- + R + -ir- + -o indicate sometimes place of action, sometimes an instrument.

e.g.	chi-pótéro	(refuge)	zvi- cp.	-pót-er-	(take refuge at)
	chi-rásíro	(rubbish pit)	zvi-	-ras-ír-	(throw away)
	chi-bátíro	(container, or place to catch something)	zvi-	-bát-ír-	(catch for)
	chi-bayiro	(victim of sacrifice or place of sacrifice)	zvi-	-bay-ir-	(stab at).
	chi-dziviro	(stopper)	zvi-	-dziv-ir-	(stop at, for)

(x) Complex constructions of type chi- + R + -w-a indicate something on which the action of R is performed.

e.g.	chi-nwíwa	(anything drinkable)	zvi- cp.	-nw-íw-	(be drunk)
	chi-bikwá	(cooked food)	zvi-	-bik-w-	(be cooked)
	chi-sikwá	(creature)	zvi-	-sik-w-	(be made)
	chi-kohwíwa	(crop)	zvi-	-kohw-iw	(be reaped)

59/(xi) The...

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

e.g. munhu	we-chí-poshí, -chí-motsí, -chí-posí	(first person)
	we-chí-pirí	(second ")
	we-chí-tatú	(third ")
	we-chí-na	(fourth ")
	we-chi-shánu	(fifth ")
	we-chi-tánhatú	(sixth ")
	we-chí-namwé	(seventh ")
	we-chi-séré (wé-ru-séré)	(eighth ")
	we-chí-pfumbamwe	(ninth ")
also:	ke-chí-poshí	(firstly)
	ke-chí-pirí	(secondly) etc.

Ruséré rwémwedzí (the eighth day of the moon) was used to indicate the non-working day that occurred then (páivé néchisí). The forms chiposhí to chitánhatú also stand for the days of the week, Monday to Saturday, inclusive.

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

(xii) Examples of tonomorphs in primary constructions

LH :	chitá	(group)
	chinú	(oil calabash)
	chisvó	(razor)
LL :	chinhu	(thing)
	chinya	(impatience)
	chinzvi	(bad luck)
LHH :	chipfúvá	(cough)
	chibáko	(snuff box)
LHL :	chi-bára	(crown of head)
	chi-fidu	(sulky person)
LLH :	chi-bahwé	(maize)
	chi-bviró	(length of time)
LLL :	chi-garo	(seat)
	chi-butu	(pocket in loin cloth)
LHHH :	chi-gwíndírí	(stout, healthy person)
LHHL	chi-bátíro	(container)
	chi-rásíro	(rubbish pit)
LHLH :	chi-dándarí	(trap for mice)
	chi-píkirí	(nail)
LHLL :	chi-bhókisi	(chicken-pox)
	chi-tokisi	(cell for short-sentence prisoners)
LLHL :	chi-gwegwedu	(dry empty husk of fruit)
	chi-gwenhúre	(black-eyed bulbul)
LLLH :	chi-gakatá	(beetle)
LLLL :	chi-gwadara	(falling sickness)
	chi-bhadharo	(price)

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

(i) Short and stout persons and things:

e.g. chi-aná	(short, fat child)	zvi- cp.	mw-aná	(child)	(1)
chi-kádzí	(short, fat woman)	zvi-	mu-kádzí	(woman)	(1)
chi-mbwá	(short, fat dog)	zvi-	imbwá	(dog)	(9)
chi-mhandara	(short, fat girl)	zvi-	mhandara	(maiden)	(9)
chi-sóró	(short, broad head)	zvi-	mu-sóró	(heads)	(3)
chi-muswé	(short, thick tail)	zvi-	muswé	(tail)	(3)
chi-dzi-mái	(short, fat wife)	zvi-	vá-dzi-mái	(wife)	(2a)
chi-mutsígorí	(short, stout girl)	cp.	íwo mutsígorí	(tall one)	(3)
chi-mutekwe	(corpulent person)		íwo mutekwe	(tall, large-boned, but not fully rounded	(3)
chi-komo	(hillock	zvi-	gomo	(hill)	(5)
chi-swá	(bundle of grass)	zvi-	uswá	(grass)	(14)
chi-kárí	(cooking pot for side dish)	zvi-	hárí	(pot)	(9)

(ii) Languages and styles:

e.g. chi-kádzí	(woman fashion)	cp.	mu-kádzí	(woman	(1)
chi-chembere	(old women's language)		chembere	(old woman)	(9)
chi-boshé	(left handedness)		ru-boshé	(left hand)	(11)
chi-Bhunhú	(Afrikaans)		Bhunhú	(Afrikaner)	(5)
chi-róoróo	(pidgin)				
chi-hwaná udíki	(childishness)		hwaná udíki	(childhood)	(14)
chi-vanhu chaicho	(unsophisticated speech)		vanhu	(people)	(2)
chi-dzi-mái	(women's fashions)		vá-dzi-mai	(mothers)	(2a)
chi-mombe	(acting like a beast)		mombe	(ox)	(9)

(iii) Imperfect and defective things:

e.g. chi-howa	(bad mushrooms)	cp.	howa	(mushroom)	(14)
chi-bhásikoro cháké chigéngezha (his broken-down old bicycle)			bhásikoro	(bicycle)	(5)
chi-chovhá-múbayíwa (rattletrap of a car)					
Chi-purázi ichi chisíná anógona kurima (This poor farm that has no one who can cultivate)			purázi	(farm)	(9)
Chi-nyúzipepa ichi chinóngotaura zvénhémá (This rag which only prints lies)					
chi-rímí	(speech defect)		ru-rímí	(tongue)	(11)
chi-dzímú	(sore lips)		mu-dzímu		
chi-munhu chemánga-manga	(cheeky person)		mu-nhu	(person)	(1)
chi-sí	(day on which work is forbidden)		mu-sí	(day)	(3)

3.3.11. Noun Class 8

(a) Prefix: /zvi-/

(b) Allomorphs: Where plural forms are found, allomorphs (zv-/, /zva-/ correspond to /ch-/ and /cha-/ in distribution.

(c) Number: Correlative plurals of singular cl. 7 nouns are in cl. 8 Nouns of cl. 7 which are neutral do not, of course, have correlative plurals in cl. 8. There are some nouns of cl.8 without number, e.g. zviyó (finger millet).

(d) Meanings: as in cl. 7 in general. In cases where correlative plurals do not appear to exist, cl. 8 agreements in, for example, relatives, may indicate meanings similar to cl. 7 nouns which are neutral.

e.g. sicknesses etc.

zvi-ná-baba (father's indisposition, e.g. fits)

e.g. manner, style etc.

zvakánáka (in a good way)
zvakáipa (in a bad way)

Prefix /zvi-/ with pejorative implication appears with nouns indicating substances.

e.g. zvi-sadza
(inferior porridge, e.g. having dirt in it)

Tinongopiwa zvi-sadza zvakaipa)
(We are just given filthy porridge)

zvi-zúvá
(a few, wasted days)

Ndakánga ndíríkó kwézvizúvá
(I was there for a few unhappy, unprofitable days)

Zvi-vaná zvakábvá kúhowa, hazvínzwe
(The naughty children who came from the mushroom do not listen - from a folk tale)

cp. zvi-ná-Sádza
(Sadza and his friends - a poor lot)

3.3.12. Noun Class 9

(a) Prefix: /N-/

 (b) Allomorphs:...

(b) Allomorphs: The prefix of cl. 9 is non-syllabic.[1] /N-/ may be prefixed to consonant-commencing or vowel-commencing stems.

Consonant-commencing stems:

(i) In combination with certain consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as a single nasal consonant, the first in a consonant-cluster resulting from the prefixing of /N-/ to the consonant-commencing noun-stem. In all cases where /N-/ is realised as a nasal consonant, it is homorganic to the initial phone of the stem (NC).

(ii) In combination with other consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is not realised as a nasal consonant but as a morphophonemic change of another kind.

(iii) In combination with still other consonant-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as /Ø-/.

Vowel-commencing stems: In combination with vowel-commencing stems, /N-/ is realised as as a Nasal N, or nasal and another homorganic consonant (NC).

(1) Constructions of /N/ and consonant-commencing stems.

(i) /N-/ is realised as a homorganic nasal before stems commencing with the following phonemes:

Labials:

N- + p > mh[2]	(viz. depressor bilabial nasal [m]
e.g. N - + -puká > m-huká	(animal)
N- + b > mb	(viz. non-depressor voiced bilabial nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N- + -berek- > m-berek-o	(cradle-skin)
N- + v > mb	(viz. non-depressor voiced bilabial nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N- + -vávárír- > m-bávárír-o	(intention)
N- + vh > mv	(viz. depressor voiced cluster of bilabial nasal stop and labiodental spirant)
e.g. N- + -vhut > m-vut-o	(bellows)

The depressor bilabial nasal is found in the cluster:

mbh [mb] e.g. mbongoro (donkey)

Before all labials (save f, m, mh) /N-/ is realised as a bilabial nasal.

Alveolars:

N- + t > nh	(viz. depressor alveolar nasal [n]
e.g. N- + -tém-' > n-hém-ó	(chisel)
N + d > nd	(viz. non-depressor voiced alveolar nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N- + -dík > n-díki	(small one)[3]
N- + r > nd	(viz. non-depressor voiced alveolar nasal-oral stop cluster)
e.g. N- + -rúmúr-' > ndúmuré	(weaned child)

N + z > nz (viz. depressor voiced alveolar nasal-spirant cluster)

e.g. N- + -zív- > n-ziv-e (knowledge)

62./N + zv nzv...

1. Nouns of cl. 10.9 with prefixes /Ø- + N-/ have the same overt forms as those of cl. 9 In the account of the morphophonemics of cl. 9 prefix given below, some examples of cl. 10.9 are given where examples from cl. 9 are not available to instance a particular change.

2. The morphophonemic changes are given in the current orthography, but the following combinations have been used to indicate the presence of murmur where the current orthography does not do this; mbh, ndh, ngh, gh. In /-gadur-/, /g/ is implosive and non-depressor. /h/, described in the Phonology as a syllabic onset consisting of murmur, has been termed here the voiced depressor glottal spirant.

3. /-diki/ is an adjective stem. But the shape of noun prefixes and adjective prefixes are commonly the same. Hence in the absence of a suitable noun stem, the adjective stem will serve. This applies to/-zhínjí/ as well.

N + zv > nzv (viz. depressor voiced alveolar labialised nasal-spirant cluster)

e.g. N- + -zvár- > n-zvá -é (newly calved cow)

The depressor alveolar nasal is found in the cluster:

ndh [nd], e.g. ndarí (beer cooked for sale)

Before all alveolars (save s, sv, n, nh) /N-/ is realised as an alveolar nasal.

Palatals:

N- + y > nj (viz. depressor voiced palatal nasal-affricate cluster [ndz]

e.g. N- + yáké > n- jáké-njake (his things) (10,9)

N- + zh > nj (viz. depressor voiced palatal nasal-affricate cluster [ndʒ]

e.g. N- + -zhámb- (make a noise) > n-jámbó (noise)

but

N- + zhinji > zhinji (many) (10,9)

Before palatals (save sh, sometimes zh, ny, nyh) /N-/ is realised as a palatal nasal.

Velars:

N- + g > ng (viz. non-depressor voiced velar nasal-oral stop cluster)

e.g. N- + gád ur- > n-gádúr-o (biting, hitting)

N- + gh > ng (viz. non-depressor voiced velar nasal-oral stop cluster)

e.g. N- -gar-> n-gar-o (settlement)

N- + w > ngw (viz. non-depressor voiced velar nasal-oral stop + /-w/ cluster)

e.g. N-+ -waré > n-gwaré (flat rocks) (10,9)
wadya > ngwádya-ngwádya (first taste of beer)

The depressor velar nasal is found in the cluster:

ngh [ng], e.g. nganúnu (cannon)

Before all velars (save k, n', n'h) /N-/ is realised as a velar nasal.

(ii) /N-/ is realised as the morphophonemic change from voiceless velar oral stop to voiced depressor glottal spirant before stems commencing with /k/.

viz. N + k > h

e.g. N + -kámá > hámá (kinsman)

/N-/ is realised as the morphophonemic change from spirant to affricate, or as /Ø/, before stems commencing with the following phonemes: /f, s, sv/.

viz. N- + f pf/f

e.g. N- + -fung- > pfung-w-á (thought) cp. -fung- (think)
+ -fámb- > pfámb-í (prostitute) -fámb- (walk)
+ -fúnd- > fúnd-o (education) -fúnd- (learn)
fódya (tobacco) folha (leaf: Portuguese)

N- + s > ts/s

e.g. N- + -sik- > tsiká/siká (firestick) cp. -sik- (whirl)
+ -send- > rsend-o/send-o (plane) -send- (plane)
+ -súrúdz- > súrúdz-o (strainer) -súrúdz- (strain)

N- + sv > tsv/sv

e.g. N- + -svingo > tsvingo (stone-wall ruin, fortification)
+ -svuur- > tsvuur-a-muromo (child needing constant chiding)
cp. svuú (stripping off skin)
+ -svits- > tsvits-a (wedding) cp. -svits- (help to arrive)
+ -svinuk > svinuk-i (clever person) cp. svinú (be alert)

(iii) /N-/ is realised as /Ø-/ before stems beginning with other consonant phonemes.

viz. N- + sh > sh

e.g. N- + -shayá > shaya (jaws) (10,9) cp. rushayá (jaw) (17)

N- + h > h

e.g. N + -hor- > hor-o (pay day, pay)

63/Similarly...

Similarly before stems commencing in /m, n, ny, n', pf, ts, tsv, ch, tv, dz, dzv, j/, /N-/ appears to be realised as /Ø/.

e.g.	nomwé	(seven)	(10,9)
	nyóró	(soft)	
	pfumbamwe	(nine)	(10,9)
	tsará	(rows)	(10,9)
	tsvukú	(red)	
	chena	(white)	
	bvumirano	(agreement)	
	dzíídzíso	(lesson)	

In some cases examples are not readily available. The nasal appears in the following -

ndziwo	(stopper)	cp.	-dziv-	(keep out, keep off)
ndyír-e-ndyír-e	(greed)		-dy-ír-	(eat for)

(2) Constructions of /N-/ and vowel-commencing stems

/N-/ is realised in a number of ways with stems which in contemporary Shona are vowel-commencing.

(i) /N-/ realised as /ny/:

e.g.	nyímbó	(song)	cp.	-ímb-	(sing)
	nyúchi	(bee)		-uchí	(honey)
	nyényedzí	(star)		mw-edzí	(moon) (3)
	nyangá	(horns)		rw-angá	(stem of pipe, tusk) (11)

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /ny/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

nyama	(meat)
nyáti	(buffalo)
nyika	(country)
nyótá	(thirst)
nyóká	(snake) but cp. zóka (intestinal worm in chicken) (5)

(ii) /N-/ realised as /nz/:

e.g.	nzará	(fingernails)	(10,9)	cp.	-rw-ará	(nail) (11)
	nzend-o	(journeys)	(10,9)		end-	(go)
	nziyó	(songs)	(10,9)		rw-iyó	(song) (11)
	nzizí	(rivers)	(10,9)		rw-izí	(river) (11)
	nzengá	(sherds)	(10,9)		rw-engá	(sherd) (11)
	imbwa nzenzí	(strange dog)			mu-enzi, mu-yenzí	(stranger) (11)

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /nz/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

e.g. nzara	(hunger)
nzira	(path)
nzámbé	(male animal)
nzou	(elephant)
nzungú	(groundnut)

(iii) /N-/ realised as /ng/ or /n'/:

e.g.	ngonda	(lung sickness in cattle)	cp.	-ónd- (get thin?)
	ngoma	(drum)		
	ngomwá	(barren person)		
	nguruve	(pig)		
	nguo	(skin dress)		
	ngonono/n'onono	(snores)		
	i-ngwe	(leopord)		
	ngwena	(crocodile)		
	ngwazi	(wise man)		

(iv) /N-/ realised as /nj/:

e.g.	njédzaná	(new moon)	cp.	mw-edzí	(moon) (3)
	njeni	(stranger)		mw-eni	(stranger) (1)

Ndingaitei somunhu njeni-yeni?
(What can I do being a stranger?)

In other examples of cl. 9 nouns commencing with /nj/, we have no evidence of the stems in other constructions.

64/e.g. njiri...

e.g. njiri (warthog)
njéré (cleverness)
njíva (dove)

The consonant clusters /nz, ng, nj/ are probably the result of past morphophonemic changes, at a time when the stems in question commenced with consonants, cp. the reconstructed Ur-Bantu stems /*ɣoɣu/ (elephant), /ɣ ano/ (fable), /ɣ ili/ (warthog). These are preserved in the morphophonemics of cl. 9 but have elsewhere disappeared.

There are a number of monosyllabic noun stems to which /N-/ is prefixed. These appear with penultimate /i-/ (though not in Karanga).

e.g. i-mbwá (dog)
i-mbá (house)
i-mbí (regiment) impi (Zulu)
i-mví (grey hair)
i-ndá (louse)
i-ndyó (food)
i-pwá (sugar-cane)
i-shwá (flying termites)
i-tsvó (kidney)
i-dó (wish)
i-dyó (food)
i-mbwe (game played with stones as counters)
i-ndye (bitter things)
i-ngwe (leopard)

(c) Number: The nouns of cl. 9 are singular or neutral in number. Correlative plurals are in cl. 10,9.

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) Animals, birds and reptiles:

e.g. shímba (lion)
nyóká (snake)
mhuká (animal)
mdada (leopard)
tsuro (hare)
mombe (head of cattle)
shiri (bird)
horombá (old male baboon)
hora (full grown dog)

(ii) Different kinds of people:

e.g. hámá (kinsman)
mhizhá (smith)
n'anga (diviner)
nyanzví (skilled person)
pwéré (baby)
mbavhá (thief)
chembere (old woman)
harahwa (old man)
hanzvádzi (sibling of opposite sex)
hurumbú (widower)
hurudza (successful farmer)
hóhonwé (very old pkrson)
tsvímbórúme (bachelor)
tsvukúchín'ai (bachelor)

(iii) Miscellanea, including many everyday objects:

e.g. mvúrá (water, rain)
nhumbí (goods, love-token)
hárí (pot)
nzira (path)
mbéú (seed)

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type N- + R + -o indicate instruments or results of the operations of R.

e.g. mbát-ó (pincers) cp. -bát- (hold)
nhém-ó (chisel for cutting iron) -tém- (cut)
mhéng-ó (madness) -péng- (mad)
hám-ír-o (milking pail) -kám-ír- (milk into)
mbez-o (adze) -vez- (carve)
tsend-o (plane) -send- (plane)
hodz-ek-o (calabash for curdling milk) -kodz-ek- (thicken)

65 /(v)Complex...

(v) Complex nominal constructions of type N- + R + -i indicate agents of the operation of R:

e.g.	mhond-i	(murderer)	cp.	-pond-	(murder, kill)
	mbírím-i	(industrious person)		-vírím-	(work steadily)
	hwégúr-i	(old man, woman, animal)		-kwégúr-	(be old)
	mharadz-i	(destroyer)		-paradz-	(scatter, destroy)

(vi) Complex nominal constructions of type N- + R + -w- + -i/a indicate the patient or product of the operation of R:

e.g.	nhāp-w-a/nhāp-w-í	(captive)	cp.	-tāp-w-	(be captured)
	mhond-w-i	(one murdered, executed)		-pond-w-	(be killed)
	pfung-w-á	(thought)		-fung-w-	(be thought)

(vii) Examples of tone patterns on primary constructions:

(L)H	:	i-mbwá	(dog)
(L)L	:	i-ndye	(bitter things)
HH	:	hámba	(tortoise)
		hárí	(pot)
		háshá	(anger)
		háná	(conscience)
HL	:	háka	(pangolin)
		hánwa	(distance, measure)
		hárwe	(ridge)
		hémbe	(shirt) cp. hemp - Afrikaans
LH	:	hanzú	(clothes)
		hapwá	(armpit)
		havi	(craving)
		hocfi	(pig)
LL	:	hacha	(wild fruit)
		homa	(top)
		hona	(bone)
		hosha	(sickness, fever)
HHH	:	húmhírú	(something round, rolled up)
HHL	:	hámbákwe	(pile of stones)
		hírúva	(dust)
		hángíro	(potsherd for roasting)
HLL	:	hófisi	(office)
HLH	:	hábwaná	(dirt, young jackal)
		hángwanwā	(forgetfulness)
LHH	:	hwirítí	(green pigeon)
LHL	:	hakáta	(divining bone)
		hanzvádzi	(sibling of opposite sex)
		harúra	(timidity, fear)
		hohódza	(woodpecker)
LLH	:	hombodó	(purse)
		hunyafá	(point of dying)
		hwayaná	(lamb)
LLL	:	handira	(bull, ram etc.)
		harahwa	(old man)
		hurudza	(successful farmer)

(2) Constructions in which the prefix /N-/ is secondary are somewhat rare:

e.g.	hádzí	(female)	cp.	mu-kádzí	(woman)	(1)
	hóno	(male)		mu-kóno	(bull)	(3)

These nouns are used in apposition to names of animals to indicate sex.

e.g. shúmba hóno (lion)
shúmba hádzí (lioness)

The proverb: Wazvára hádzí, wázvara ndúmé (He who has begotten a female has begotten a male) refers to the fact that a daughter will attract a son-in-law.

The term ndúmé in Ndúmé haítórérwe démó indicates a real man.

hómaná	(Huge boy)	cp.	mu-kómaná	(boy)	(1)

3.3.13. Noun Class 10

(a) Prefix: /dzi-/

(b) Allomorphs: The prefix of class 10 has two allomorphs, /dzi-~Ø-/, whose distribution is as follows:-

66. (1) Allomorph...

(1) Allomorph /dzi-/ occurs as a primary prefix in the following constructions :

dzi-mbá	(houses)	(10, 9)	cp	imbá	(house)	(9)
dzi-mb-ó	(songs	(10, 9)		-ímb-	(sing)	
				ru-mb-ó	(song)	(11)

(2) Constructions in which /dzi-/ is secondary indicate a plurality with the note of variety, or a plurality which has several different realisations.

e.g. dzi-nzvimbo (several places) (10, 9)
dzi-minda (several fields) (10,4)

Garáí pádzinzimbo dzényú
(Sit in your several places)

Munénge muchíiteí múgeré pámadzitare énYú?
(What do you do as you sit at your various council places?)

Endái mósé kúdziminda kwényú
(Go to your different fields, all of you)

Múchete nédzipwéré
(All is well with the various children)

Ko, zvirwére zvézvitsínga zvinórwádzá vánhu zvínobva kúpiko?
Ko, mudzinzira matínofámba namó umu?
(Where do the sicknesses which cripple people come from?
Well, why not from the different paths on which we walk?)

With nouns of class 1a, the prefix /dzi-/ seems to indicate mere plurality.
e.g. vá-dzi-shé (chiefs) (2a,10) cp. ishé (chief) (1a)

(3) The primary prefix /dzi-/ is, outside the constructions listed in (1) above, replaced by /Ø-/. Like the allomorph /dzi-/, /Ø-/ is prefixed to the prefix /N-/ of class 9 so that the majority of nouns of class 10 are characterised by a combination of prefixes, viz. those of class 10 (normally /Ø-/) and 9 (/N-/).

e.g. nzira idzi (these paths) (10, 9) (prefixes /Ø-, n-/)
cp. nzira iyi (this path) (9) (prefix /n-/)

(4) Secondary prefix /dzi-/ may replace /Ø-/.

e.g. dzi-nzira idzi (these several paths) (10, 9) (prefixes /dzi-, n-/)
dzi-mbira idzi (these several hand pianos) (10, 9) (prefixes dzi-, N-)

(5) The nouns of classes 9 and 10, 9 are normally identical in phonemic shape because the prefix of class 10 is commonly /Ø-/.

e.g. mombe idzi (those cattle) (10, 9)
mombe iyi (this ox) (9)

That the prefixes of the nouns in phrases like these must be conceived of as being different seems reasonable since they control different agreements. Class 9 nouns with prefix /N-/ control agreements of class 9. Class 10 nouns with prefixes /dzi- Ø-/ followed by /N-/ control agreements of class 10. In the majority of cases the prefix of class 10 is not present in its syllabic form /dzi-/, i.e. it has an allomorph /Ø-/. But whether the allomorph /dzi-/ or allomorph /Ø-/ is present, this makes no difference to the agreements controlled. (1)

(c) Number: Nouns of class 10,9 are plural. There are some nouns in this class which have correlative singulars in class 11, not in class 9.

(d) Meanings: Nouns of class 10,9 have the same general meanings, number excepted, as those of class 9.

Those which form correlative plurals of class 11 nouns have the meanings of this class as well.

viz. (i) things characterised by length,
e.g. hova (streams) cp. ru-kova (stream) (11)
(ii) things characterised by circularity,
e.g. húvá (seats) cp. ru-kúvá (circular seat running round inside of wall of hut) (11)

(1) The treatment followed here is that advanced by D T Cole in 'The Prefix of Bantu Noun Class 1o', African Studies, Volume 26, No.3, 1967, p.126

3.3.14

Noun Class 11

(a) Prefix: /ru-/

(b) Allomorphs:

(1) Before vowel-commencing stems, /ru-/ is realised as /rw-/.

e.g.	rw-aná	(thin, weak, frail child)	cp. mw-aná	(child)	(1)
	rw-angá	(long horn, tusk)	ny-angá	(horn, tusk)	(9)
	rw-ará	(thumb of baboon, etc.)	ch-ará	(thumb)	(7)
	rw-anza	(handful, e.g. of grain)	ch-anza	(palm of hand)	(7)
	rw-ando	(sharp wind)	ch-ando	(cold)	(7)
	rw-engá	(potsherd)	nzengá	(potsherds)	(10a)
	rw-enyá	(sting nettle)			
	rw-ió	(song)	nzió	(songs)	(10a)
	rw-izí	(river)	nzizí	(rivers)	(10a)
	rw-odzí	(bait)			
	rw-oyá	(long body hair)	ch-oyá	(pubic hair)	(7)

In rw-áivhi, rw-ávhi (chameleon), the tone on the syllable consisting of non-syllabic prefix + initial vowel of the stem is high which is unusual for Shona.

Cp. alternative plurals ru-vávhi nzwáivhi, nzwávhi, hwávhi (10)

In ru-óko (hand, arm) the prefix is realises as /ru-/.

Cp. ma-óko (hands, arms) (6)

The prefix is realised as /ru-/ in deverbative nominal constructions before vowel-commencing Rs.

e.g.	ru-edz-o	(long maintained attempt)	cp.	-edz-	(try)
	ru-ip-ó	(bad habit)		-ip-	(become bad)
	ru-ónd-ó	(leanness)		-ond-	

but

cp.	rw-end-o	(journey)	nzendo (10)	-end-	(go)

(2) /ru-/ appears to be realised as /rwa-/ before a few stems.

e.g.	rwa-tahwi	(hymen)	cp. ka-tahwí	(hymen)	(12)
	rwa-sóro	(head rope for leading oxen)	mu-soró	(head)	(3)
	rw-huro	(bridle through nose)	nza-huro	(bridles)	(10,9)
			huro	(throat)	(9)

The following are listed here with prefix allomorph /rwa-/ although there is no evidence of the stem in other constructions.

e.g.	rwa-táta	(pancreas)
	rwa-tsíra	(pot scrapings)
	rwa-sóra	(ring through calf's nose to prevent suckling)

(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 11 are singular and, in one secondary meaning, collective. There is no special linked class of correlative plurals.

Plurals of cl.11 nouns are found either in cl.10, with prefix /Ø-N-/ substituted for or superimposed on the prefix /ru-/, or, less often, in cl.6, with prefix /ma-/ substituted for, or superimposed on, prefix /ru-/.

e.g.	ru-kúkwe	(sleeping mat)	cp. húkwe	(sleeping mats)	(10)
	ru-dzi	(kind, tribe, lineage)	ndudzi	(kinds)	(10, 11)
	ru-óko	(hand, arm)	ma-óko	(hands, arms)	(6)
	ru-wa	(district)	ma-ru-wa	(districts	(6,11)

(d) Meaning:

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

(i) long thin things

e.g.	ru-óko	(hand, arm)	cp.	ma-óko	(6)
	ru-tsanga	(read)		tsanga	(10)
	ru-nyatso	(teat)		nyatso	(10)
	ru-sará	(row)		tsará	(10)
	ru-mbabvu	(rib)		mbabvu	(10)

A group of nouns indicate circularity as well as length and thinness.

e.g.	ru-kúvá	(circular seat running round the inside of hut)	cp. húvá	(10)
	ru-sero	(winnowing basket)	tsero	(10)
	ru-svingo	(stone wall)	tsvingo	(10)
	ru-sámbó	(bracelet of coiled wire)	tsámbó	(10)
	ru-tsanga	(fence round sacred enclosure)	tsanga	
	ru-vánze	(cleared space round a house)		
	ru-ndararə	(bead head-band)		
	ru-ndaríra	(thin wire bracelet) (mundarira (bronze, iron + copper: 3))	ndaríra	(9/10)
	ru-ndazá	(crown, fillet; long line)	ndazá	(9/10)

(ii) A number of complex nominal constructions with the prefix /ru-/ and of different structural types indicate times of the day and seasons.

e.g.	ru-nyn'-a-nhiriri	(early morning)	cp. -nyn'-	(excrete)	
			nhiriri	(wild cat)	(9)
	ru-dzíy-a-kamwe	(first heat of day)	-dzíy-	(be warm)	
			kamwe	(once again)	
	ru-zámb-a-mbíra	(early morning)	-zámb-ír-	(bask)	
			mbíra	(dassies)	(10)
	ru-kunzvi-kunzvi	(dusk)			
	ru-bvunz-a-vaeni	(dusk)	-bvunz-	(ask)	
			vaeni	(strangers)	(2)
	ru-fur-a-mhembwe	(dawn or dusk)	-fur-	(graze)	
			mhembwe	(duikers)	(10)
	ru-mer-a	(early summer)	-mer-	(sprout)	
	ru-rimwaná	(early spring)	-rim-	(cultivate)	

In some cases, corresponding forms in cl.6 exist with more general or approximate meanings than the above which are said to be used with a more precise sense.

cp.	ru-tónga	(break of day)			
	ru-tándá-ndambí	(break of day)	cp. -tánd-	(chase)	
			ndambí	(something that would not leave us)	
	ru-kunguvira	(dawn, dusk)	-kunguvira	(be light in colour)	
	ru-kundaidzi	(dusk)	-kundaidz-	(go side by side)	
	ru-swiswí	(thin grass, spring)			

(iii) Nouns indicate a considerable number or abundance of objects, e.g. children

e.g.	ru-dhendé	(a number, multitude)	
	ru-dhenhé	(a number, multitude)	
	ru-wayawaya	(a multitude, e.g. of dogs)	cp. waya waya
	ru-wakawaka	(a multitude, e.g. of cars, oxen)	waka waka
	ru-fararira	(a multitude, e.g. of birds)	fararira
	ru-fasha	(abundance, e.g. of chicks)	fasha
	ru-zangawaya	(abundance, e.g. of children)	
	ru-virú	(continuous calling or frequenting of a place)	
	ru-váva	(excessive action)	

(iv) Complex nominal constructions of type ru + R + -o indicate actions that endure in time as well as persistent habits, qualities or characteristics.

e.g.	ru-b-ó	(habit of stealing)	cp. -bé	(steal)
	ru-bátsír-o	(help)	-bátsír-	(help)
	ru-bing-o	(habit of complaining)	-bing-	(complain)
	ru-fámb-ó	(habit of walking about)	-fámb-	(walk)
	ru-révó	(habit of back-biting, correcting, finding fault)	-rév-	(talk)
	ru-dy-ó	(unhealthy greediness)	-dyé	(eat)
	ru-dávír-o	(belief)	-dávír-	(answer)
	ru-dad-o	(contempt)	-dad-	(be insolent)
	ru-bv-o	(issue, result)	-bv-	(come from)
	ru-bwiny-o	(shining, brilliance)	-bwiny-	(shine)
	ru-vhenek-o	(light, illumination)	-vhenek-	(shine)

Some deverbative nouns have terminal vowels other than -o:

69 /e.g. ru-chenger-a...

e.g.	ru-chenger-a	(suspicion, habitual jealousy)	cp. -chenger-	(be suspicious, jealous)
	ru-chív-a	(lust)	-chív-	(desire)
	ru-démber-á	(habit of asking for something)	-demb-	(keep on talking about)
	ru-tsv-á	(area of burnt grass)	-tsv-	(burn)
	ru-sárírir-a	(habit of being late)	-sár-írír-	(be the last)
	ru-somerer-a	(payment by instalments)	-som-erer-	(pay bit by bit)
	ru-báté-báté	(slowness in gathering up things; habit of thieving)	-bát-	(hold)
	ru-pfav-é	(gentleness)	-pfav-	(be gentle)
	ru-gar-é	(peace	-gar-	(stay, live)
	ru-dy-í	(right, eating hand)	-dy-	(eat)
	ru-ón-í	(good eyesight)	-ón-	(see)
	ru-oreri	(pilferer)	-or-	(go bad)
	ru-síy-í-siy-í	(vestige)	-síy-	(leave)
	ru-f-ú	(death)	-f-	(die)
	ru-nyány-u	(excessiveness)	-nyany-	(be excessive)
	ru-véts-a-nguvá	(habit of making others waste their time)	-véts-	(delay)
	ru-nhór-a-únyereré	(worn out object, there for the taking)	-tór-	(take)
	ru-rás-a-démo	(dispersal)	-rás-	(throw away)

e.g. MaZezúru rwáva rurásadémó
(The Zezuru were dispersed)

(v) The following may indicate another class meaning:

e.g.	ru-zekete	(sandy soil)
	ru-jekesa	(gravelly soil)
	ru-kángárábwe	(gravel)
	ru-kúkúndwa	(shallow soil)
	ru-njeré	(hillside soil)
	ru-sánya	(sandy soil)
	ru-shósha	(river sand)

(vi) Miscellanea.

e.g.	ru-gándo	(contribution made to a meal by herd boys)
	ru-díkwadíkwa	(pit of the stomach)
	ru-fuse	(hot ash)
	ru-gá	(bulb root of grass eaten in famine)
	ru-boshwó	(left hand)
	ru-fímbí	(medicine which assists a thief)
	ru-tywío	(baby baboon)
	ru-várá	(spot, colour)
	ru-kódzi	(small hawk)
	ru-shambwá	(calamity)
	ru-vende	(missing space due to loss of one front tooth)

(vii) Some loan words are assigned to this class on the basis of the initial syllable in the source language being transformed into the morpheme /ru-/.

e.g.	ru-zévha	(Tribal Trust land, reserve)
	ru-vhési	(reverse)
	ru-pía	(two shillings : cp. rupee)
	ru-póte	(report)
	ru-kísheni	(location)
	ru-bháni	(stuff from pine tree mixed with roots and burnt for charms)

(viii) Examples of stem tone patterns in primary constructions:

LH :	ru-nzví	(bradawl)
	ru-pí	(palm of hand)
	ru-nhí	(one small stick, hair etc.)
	ru-ndá	(sinew)
LL :	ru-nje	(tinder)
	ru-kwa	(protective medicine against thieves)
	ru-wa	(district)
LHH :	ru-tsíto	(fence)
	ru-tsínga	(vein, sinew)
LHL :	ru-tywío	(baby baboon)
	ru-kúkwe	(reed sleeping mat) cp. húkwe (10a)

 LLH : ...

LLH :	ru-waré	(flat rock surface)		
	ru-penyú	(life)		
LLL :	ru-tivi	(side)	cp. nhivi	(10a)
	ru-ngano	(story)	nganc	(10a)
LHHL :	ru-chéméra	(habit of crying)		
	ru-bátsîro	(help)		
LHLH :	ru-démberá	(habit of asking)		
LLLH :	ru-rimwaná	(early spring)		
LLLL :	ru-tsapata	(worn out sleeping)	tsapata	(9)

(2) Constructions in which /ru-/ is secondary cover the following meanings:-

(i) Things which are thin, weak or sickly of their kind

e.g.	ru-danho	(thin ladder)	cp. danho	(5)
	ru-cheche	(baby, too young for what it is described to have done)	mucheche	(1)
	ru-dongo	(troublesome old village site; haunted)	dongo	(5)
	ru-rongó	(thin, weak pot)	chi-rongó	(7)
	ru-jurú	(thin white ant: crowd of ants)	jurú	(5)
	ru-mhóu	(thin, bony cow)	mhóu	(9)
	ru-puno	(thin, pointed nose)	mhuno	(9)
	ru-zíno	(long front tooth)	zíno	(5)
	ru-kura	(wornout, poor deserted garden)	gura	(5)
	ru-banzú	(thin splinter)	banzú	(5)
	ru-té	(dribble of saliva)	ma-té	(6)
	ru-wére	(long, thin precipitous rock)	ma-wére	(6)
	ru-wúri	(long, thin hole)	búri	(5)
	ru-swá	(blade of grass)	u-swá	(14)
	ru-hwahwá	(thin weak beer)	hwahwá	(14)
	ru-koré	(lightning, long cloud)	gore	(5)
	ru-horé(*)	(long dark cloud precipitating rain)	goré	(5)
	ru-chembere	(tall, thin, annoying old woman)	chembere	(9)
	ru-puká	(tall, thin, bony animal)	mhuká	(9)
	ru-munhu	(tall, thin, sickly, grumbling, senseless, half-witted person)	munhu	(1)
	ru-sóró	(thin, long, bony head)	musóró	(3)
	ru-kádzí	(sickly, thin, tall, talkative woman)	múkadzí	(1)
	ru-kává	(thin jackal)	gává	(5)
	ru-bahwé	(thin, weak cob of maize)	chibahwé	(7)
	ru-kúkú	(thin chicken, tall with scales on legs)	húkú	(9)

(ii) Qualities

e.g.	ru-zíso	(covetousness)	cp. zíso	(5)
	ru-tsoka	(speed of foot)	tsoka	(10a)

(iii) The noun ru-nhu (rhu-nhu) indicates a group of people as well as a thin miserable thing. This meaning may have something to do with that indicated under (iii) of the primary constructions. In any case, inflected verb phrases with subject prefix of cl. 11 are often used to indicate the existence of groups and the activities of the individuals which make them up, within a crowd.

With this meaning, /ru-/ the noun prefix, and its agreements, in so far as they are used with this meaning, appear to be glottalised or murmured.

e.g. Rhunochéma murúmé, rhunochéma mukádzí, rhunofárira kúti tódyá nyáma yéguva, a! kureveíko? Ranga rírí jéma-nówadyá
(The group of individuals mourning the man each in their own way, and those mourning the wife as well each in their own way, and those looking forward to eating the funeral meat each in their own way, ah! how to describe the scene? It was a commotion).

71 /Rhumwe.....

(*) Cp. horé yémvura (cloud full of rain)

Rhumwe rhunotíźá, rhunófá, rhunóridza mhere, rhunówa, a! tingapedzeí? Chánga chíri chinékaněka. Kutámbírá tsambó kwévasizi kudzítambírá (Those who ran away (each in his own way - jumping, creeping, limping, colliding against trees), those who died (in different ways - collapsing, speared, clubbed), those who screamed (each in their own way and with their own voice, trying to save his life in the way he might), those who fell (again one different from the other), ah! how can I give a complete description? it was just chaos, like the receiving of the bridal money by those who know nothing about its proper reception, i.e. a mess)

The glottalisation or murmur (indicated by /h/) is present in the forms rhunwe (some), an enumerative, and rhu- (subject prefix). Also in the noun rhunhu (a group of people).

It is a feature responsible for contrastive forms otherwise the same and within the same noun class and made up of the same morphemes.

e.g.	rhunotíźá		(a group of people who run away)
	runotíza		(a lean tall person who runs away)
Note:	sárumái	(1a)	(the senior mother called amáigúrú by all)
	sárunhúya	(1a)	(senior grandmother; the head of the group of women dancing under the influence of kaboon shave spirits).

3.3.15 Noun Class 12

(a) Prefix: /ka-/

(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /ka-/ appears to be realised as /k-/. This has been observed, however, in only one instance.

e.g. k-aná (small child, small young one of any kind) cp. mw-aná (child)

(c) Number: Nouns in cl.12 are either singular or neutral. Correlative plurals, where these exist, are in cl. 13.

(d) Meaning:

In A.S., par. 183, it was stated that the prefixes of cll. 12 and 13 are used only in secondary function, viz. as substitute or superimposed prefixes. It was also stated that all the nouns with these prefixes are diminutives, viz. of the forms whose prefixes are replaced or modified by those of cll. 12 and 13. Further research, e.g. inspection of the list of cl.12 nouns in Hannan's Shona Dictionary, shows that neither statement is universally valid though it covers most of the instances of cl.12. There are nouns in which the prefixes of cll. 12 and 13 are primary, viz. in which the prefixes do not replace, or are superimposed on, those of other classes. There are also other meanings besides the diminutive.

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

(i) a number of miscellaneous objects, some of which are indicated as small.

e.g.	kadzitá	(string of the tongue)	tu-
	kanhangandí	(small piece of wood)	tu-
	kapúti	(measure of length, from the tips of the fingers to the tip of the opposite shoulder)	tu-
	kasipíti	(spring of water)	tu-
	kakókorodzí	(rivulet)	tu-
	kahohwá	(maize used for popcorn)	tu-
	kanjeke	(quick maturing variety of maize)	tu-
	katsokóka	(variety of groundnut)	tu-
	kandórgó	(cricket)	tu-
	kamboré	(big worm)	tu-
	kazóka	(insect which moves on water)	tu-
	kambuyú	(small flying insect)	tu-
	kakórórodzí	(black cricket)	tu-
	kanzvídya	(blue-headed yellow wagtail)	tu-
	kanhowá	(young haze)	tu-
	kagore	(nightape)	tu-
	kahwiti	(small migratory brown locust)	tu-
	katahwi	(hymen)	tu-
	katsarapata	(thin specimen of a person)	tu-

In some cases there exist forms of the stem in cl. 9 indicating a bigger specimen but the cl. 12 forms is the more common.

72/A number...

A number of examples are of reduplicated stem:

e.g.	kadhíidhíi	(grey waxbill)	tu-
	kasírisíri	(grey waxbill)	tu-
	katsíyitsíyi	(grey waxbill)	tu-
	kanénganénga	(sweet sorghum)	tu-
	kadíkwadíkwa	(palpitating base of throat)	tu-
	karíkwaríkwa	(solar plexus)	tu-
	kandírendíre	(Jameson's ruddy waxbill)	tu-
	kandówondówo	(stone chisel)	tu-

(ii) Constructions of /ka-/ with adjectival and enumerative stems are nouns indicating degrees of frequency. In Karanga nouns of this type are in cl. 11.

e.g.	kamwé	(once)	cp.	-mwé	(one, the same)
	kamwe	(another time)		-mwe	(another, some)
	kaviri	(twice)		-viri	(two)
	kazhínjí	(many times)		-zhínjí	(many)
	kashoma	(few times)		-shoma	(few)
	kare	(long ago)		-refú	(long) cp. ku-re (far) (17)

cp Kare haágaré ári káre (The old order changeth)
munhu wakare (the person of old, the one we know)
munhu wakáre (the same person)

(iii) Complex nominal constructions with primary prefix /ka-/ appear to have the same general meaning pointed out in (i):

e.g.	kabayo	(stitch in side)	tu-;	cp.	-bay	(stab)
	kadúngúriré	(mosquito)			-túng-	(pierce)
	kafudzamombe	(cattle egret)	tu-;		-fudz-	(herd)
					mombe	(cattle) (10)
	kafuramachíra	(small house mouse)	tu-;		-fur-	(graze, feed)
					machíra	(clothes) (6)
	kafuríra	(grass frog)	tu-;		-furir-	(blow, deceive)
	kasíyanwá	(little finger)	tu-;		-síy-	(leave)
	kamudyá-handíkóri	(thin person)	tu-;		-dy-	(eat)
					-kór-	(get fat)
	kamandídyaríreí	(small kind of groundnut)	tu-;		-dyár-	(sow)
	kamandígezéreí	(small finger)	tu-;		-gez-	(wash)
	kanyamurémwarémwa	(bat)	tu-;			
	kanyénganyénga	(swallow)	tu-;		-nyéng-	(woo, deceive)
	kanyímambwá	(cracks in skin at sides of fingernails)	tu-;		-nyím-	(stint)
					-mbwá	(dog) (9)
	karíngazúvá	(watch)	tu-;		-ríng-	(look at)
					zúva	(sun) (5)
	katémagúdza	(inedible black cricket)	tu-;		-tem-	(cut)
					gudza	(bark blanket) (5)
	kanyúríráhóvé	(kingfisher)	tu-;		-nyúrír-	(take out of water)
					hóvé	(fish) (9)
	kambúyamudererè	(mantis)	tu-;		mbúya	(grandmother) (9)
					mudererè	(in the glutinous wild vegetables) (18)
	kadéndémafúta	(locust)	tu-;		dénde	(calabash) (5)
					mafúta	(oil, fat) (6)
	kanjivámútondó	(laughing dove)	tu-;		njivá	(dove) (9)
					mutondó	(species of tree) (3)

(iv) Some constructions in which /ka-/ is a primary prefix indicate objects or conditions which are a nuisance and which are hard to get rid of.

e.g.	kareya	(unpleasant trait which makes a disliked)	tu-		
	katókórodzí	(debilitating infection hard to get rid of)	tu-		
	karásírepí	(something that sticks to one; hard to get rid of)	tu-;	-rás-	(throw away)
	kadambure	(sticky substance on grass like spit, with unpleasant smell)	tu-		
	kakwémbe	(offensive body smell)	tu-		
	kashambwá	(persistent bad luck)			
	kazazú	(quick temper)		chizazú	(7)

(2)Constructions in which /ka-/ is secondary indicate the following:

73 /(i)Diminutives...

(i) Diminutives : Sometimes these have specific meanings only remotely connected with that of the primary form.

e.g.	kabutu	(small parcel, e.g. of grain)	tu-;	cp.	hutu	(parcel)	(5)
	kamutabída	(small headband)	tu-;		mutabída	(headband)	(3)
	kakómbe	(boy or girl friend - metaphor)	tu-;		mukómbe	(ladle)	(3)
	kanyeme	(small, recently born baby)	tu-;		munyeme	(baby)	(1)
	kadani	(small hive in rock)	tu-;		dani	(rock hive)	(5)
	kadímbu	(small piece)	tu-;		dímbu	(piece)	(5)
	kadzonyn'á	(sunbird)	tu-;		dzonyn'á	(sunbird)	(1a)
	kahóvo	(meerkat)	tu-;		hóve	(meerkat)	(9)
	kakódzi	(sparrowhawk)	tu-;		rukódzi	(sparrow hawk)	(11)
	kakwatí	(fish scale)	tu-;		gwatí	(scale)	(5)
	kapembenene	(small flying insect)	tu-;		chipembenene	(flying insect)	(7)
	kanhíyo	(chick)	tu-;		nhíyo	(chick)	(9)
	kapúndú	(small pimple, dot)	tu-;		húndú	(knot, lump)	(5)
	kakorónga	(small gully)	tu-;		gorónga	(gully)	(5)
	kanyúchi	(small red-fleshed cattle melon)	tu-;		nyúchi	(bees)	(10a)
	kajongwé	(flame lily)	tu-;		jongwé	(cock)	(5)
	kambambaira	(squash)	tu-;		mbambaira	(sweet potato)	(9)
	kapunokíwa	(snub nose)	tu-;		mhuno	(nose)	(9)
	kakara	(small carnivorous animal)	tu-;		chikara	(wild carnivorous animal)	(7)

cp. Kakara kununa húdya kamwe
(For a beast fatness consists in eating another small one)

kakangémutí	(small twig snake)	tu-;		kangémutí	(twig snake)	(1a)
kadandadzi	(small ligament believed to connect penis and scrotum and which breaks on intercourse)	tu-;		dandadzi	(web)	(5)

(ii) With nouns indicating number, /ka-/ adds the note of frequency.

e.g.	kagúmí	(ten times)	cp.	gúmí	(ten)	(5)
	kazana	(hundred times)		zana	(hundred)	(5)

but gúmi nékamwé cheté (eleven times)
zana nekáviri (one hundred and two times)

(iii) Some constructions with /ka-/ as secondary prefix indicate things which are unpleasant or harmful.

e.g.	katénda	(flaw of character, bad trait, long-lasting illness, e.g. TB)	tu-;	cp. nhénda	(sickness)	(9)
	kadzímú	(troublesome spirit that that will not leave one alone)	tu-;	mudzímú	(ancestral spirit)	(3)
	karoi	(a grass weed in fields witchweed	tu-;	-roy-	(bewitch)	
	katsika	(a trait of character usually bad)	tu-;	tsika	(custom)	(9)
	kanjéré	(native cunning, mother wit)	tu-;	njéré	(wisdom)	(9)
	kazano	(cunning trick, proper to oneself)	tu-;	ano	(plan)	(5)
	karoweso	(something causing another to be bewitched)	tu-;	-rowes-	(causes to be bewitched)	
	kachembere-bandé	(long-toothed old hag)	tu-;	chembere	(old woman)	(9)
	kafíramberí	(a blow or illness seemingly slight, but with disastrous consequences)		mberí	(ahead)	(17)
	karwodzi-múchiúnó	(a nuisance; a habit hard to break or anything hard to drop)	tu-;	rwodzí muchiúnó	(piece of fibre (at the waist)	

The expression kakúrúva togo (up flew the dust), cp. gúrúva (dust : 5) indicates dust in the air as the result of a fight or disagreement.

74, e.g. Kakúrúva...

e.g. Kakúrúva kákamóná mumbámo
(The dust swirled in that room as the result of some disagreement)

Zvakángósvika munhu wavásingáde, kakúrúva kakati kámona
(When an unwelcome person arrived, they got up and dispersed)

3.3.16. Noun Class 13

(a) Prefix: /tu-/

(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /tu-/ is realised as /tw-/.

e.g. tw-aná (small children) cp. mw-aná (child : 1)

(c) Number: Nouns in cl. 13 are plural or neutral.

(d) Meaning: Cl. 13 nouns corresponding to those of cl.12 have the same general meanings. There are cl. 13 nouns indicating small quantity to which no cl. 12 nouns correspond.

(1) Thus constructions in which/tu-/ is primary indicate the following:

(i) Miscellanea

e.g. tusipíti (springs of water)
tunhowá (young hares)

(ii) tufudzamombe (cattle egrets)
tusíyanwá (little fingers)
tunyímambwá (sore finger-nails believed to be contracted through stinting dogs their food)

(iii) turóya (unpleasant traits)

(2) Constructions of /tu-/ with secondary stems:

(i) e.g. tunyíyo (chicks)
tukorónga (small gullies)

(ii) Small quantities

e.g.	tufódya	(a little tobacco)	cp.	fódya	(9)
	tumvúrá	(a little water)		mvúrá	(9)
	tuuswá	(a little grass)		uswá	(14)
	tumafútá	(a little fat)		mafútá	(6)
	tumavhú	(a little soil)		mavhú	(6)

(iii) tuténdá (persistent flaws in character)

3.3.17. Noun Class 14

(a) Prefix : /u-/

(b) Allomorphs: Before vowel-commencing stems, /u-/ is realised as /hw-/.

e.g.	hw-aná	(childhood, collection of small children)	cp. mw-aná	(1)
	hw-anga	(materia medica of diviner)	n'anga	(9)
	hw-asha	(width)		
	hw-asha	(bad breath)		
	hw-ajíra	(teeth on edge)	ch-adzíra	(7)
	hw-amanda	(trumpet)		
	hw-amba	(under-belly of cow)		
	hw-ambo	(bait in trap)		
	hw-anámái	(relationship of children of the same mother)		
	hw-anána	(young ones in the family)		
	hw-aro	(foundation of house)		
	hw-ató	(canoe)		
	hw-ema	(scent)		
	hw-endáenda	(habit of travelling)		
	hw-endedzo	(passage in mouse run)		
	hw-enderera	(progress)		
	hw-eni	(strangers)	mw-eni	(1)
	hw-enjé	(deep pool, deep sky)		
	hw-enzé	(shoulder-blade)		
	hw-erengedzo	(sum, total)		
	hw-owa/howa	(mushroom)		

Prefix /u-/ is realised as /u-/ in deverbative nouns before vowel-commencing Rs.

e.g.	u-ípi	(evil)	
but	hw-endáenda	(habit of travelling)	-end-
	hw-enderera	(progress)	-end-

75 /In all...

In all cases where the prefix occurs as /u-/ there is an allomorph /hu-/ in free variation.

(c) Number: Nouns of cl.14 are either singular with plurals of cl.6, or number unspecified indicating either singular or plural according to context.

(d) Meaning :

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

(i) Substances:

e.g.	ungá	(gunpowder)
	utsí	(smoke, steam)
	uchí	(honey)
	urwá	(pus)
	uswá	(grass)
	ura	(bowels)
	utúrú	(venom, poison)
	urété	(semen)
	usávi	(side dish, relish)
	urúbvu	(pulp, mash)
	urozví	(brains)
	uronyn'ó	(semen)
	uropí	(brains)
	urongo	(sap, gum)
	usvusvu	(gruel)
	urimbo	(gum, birdlime)
	hwahwá	(beer)

These nouns are unspecified in number. Mostly they appear neutral but cp. usávi úna (four different kinds of relish). Forms with cl.6 prefix indicate a large quantity.

e.g.	mauchí	(much honey)
	mauswá	(much grass)

(ii) Certain singular objects :

e.g.	ukáno	(axe)	pl.	makáno	(6)
	utanho	(ladder)		matanho	(6)
	utáte	(bow)		matáte	(6)
	utá	(bow)		mautá	(6)

These nouns are singular in number and form plurals in general by substituting the prefix of cl. 6 for that of cl. 14.

(iii) Structures:

e.g.	ukwakwa	(belt for holding bullets, skin complaint)
	ugambo	(snare)
	usvasví	(net)
	usanza	(bird's nest)
	utao	(Wooden structure for smoking and drying meat)
	urengwa	(noose trap)
	hwadzamba	(framework at the base of granary)
	hwaro	(base of granary)

Nouns of this type have number unspecified and may indicate one, or more than one, object.

(iv) Certain small things or collections of small things

e.g.	usángá	(small beads)
	unyúnyu	(tiny fly)
	ufúsu	(small fish, a number of the smallest variety of small fish)
	umhutu	(small flying insects)
	unhimbwí	(small ants, buff coloured)

(v) Abstractions :

The stems of the following nouns are either primary stems, adjective stems or deverbative.

e.g.(a)	utsanana	(cleanliness)
	uyánga	(dirtiness)
	useza	(ability to learn by observation)
	ugónzví	(capability)

76/utsinyn'e...

utsinyn'e (cruelty)
un'án'á (roughness of surface)
utárá (poor eyesight)
ufende (untidiness)
ushishí (courage)
urúngwa (foolishness)
utirí (bluntness in cutting instrument)

(b) uvirí (twoness) cp. -virí (two)
upamhí (width) -pamhí (wide)
ukúkútú (hardness) -kúkútú (hard)
utáno (health

(c) urarami (justice) -raram- (be straight)
utódzí (resemblance) -tódz- (resemble)
uípí (evil) -íp- (be bad)
uroyi (witchcraft) -roy- (bewitch)
ufudzi (recompense for herding) -fudz- (herd)
umharadzi (enmity) -paradz- (scatter)
udyíre (avarice) -dy-ír- (eat for)
uzvéré (state of having given birth) -zvár- (give birth)
ufáró (width) -fár- (be wide)
upéngó (madness) -péng- (be mad)
uyanano (harmonious social relationships) -yan-an- (be at peace)
uneto (tiredness) -net- (be tired)
ungwaru (cleverness) -ngwar- (be clever)
utadyátadya (habit of cadging meals off others)

(vi) Other deverbative nouns indicate place:
e.g. uvátó (place for sleeping) cp. -vát- (sleep)
ufuro (grazing area) -fur- (graze)
ugaro (proper place for something) -gar- (sit, stay)
urimwá (agricultural land) -rim- (cultivate)
urindo (sleeping place) uriri (sleeping place)
ubva-zúva (the east) -bv- (come from)
Urongonora (name of small hill) -rongonor- (unpile)
Usaka (small hill in Umvukwes)

(vii) Miscellanea:

e.g. umá (haze)
usíku (night)
utónga (colour in the sky at dawn)
urírí (plant causing itch)
usvisva (deep, dark pool)
uveve (cramp)
uzúru (upwards) e.g. kuuzuru (upwards)
uzima (selfhood) iní pauzima (I myself)
udyí (animals that prey on crops)
utsoka utsoka (many footprints on path)
udundí (sting of bee, seed of animal)
udzíngó (sinew)
usó (face)
usópo (moustache)
uráka (gills in fish)
ukára (long low tunnel used by dassies)
ukónje (strings used in trap for birds)
uteteré (soft breast bone at solar plexus)

(2) Constructions in which prefix /u-/ is secondary indicate the following:
(i) Abstractions:

Examples:

uyenzí (state of being a stranger) cp. muyenzí (stranger) (1)
ukádzí (period of life apt for bearing children) mukádzí (woman) (1)
unyai (recompense given to marriage intermediary) munyai (marriage intermediary)
usíkaná (maidenhood) musíkaná (girl) (1)
unhu (humanity, noble character) munhu (person) (1)
uishé (chieftainship) ishé (chief) (1a)
upénzí (madness) bénzí (madman) (5)
utera (weakness in child weaned too early) dera (child of this sort) (5)

77 /ukúmí...

ukúmí	(decade)	gúmí	(ten)	(5)
udangwé	(birthrate)	dángwé	(first born)	(5)
uchibibi	(dumbness)	chibibi	(dumb person)	(7)
ufeve	(lechery)	chifeve	(lecher)	(7)
ukosha	(sickness)	hosha	(sickness)	(9)
unherera) uterera)	(orphanhood)	nherera	(orphan)	(9)
unzénzá	(light-headed behaviour)	nzénzá	(light woman)	(9)
undonda	(sickliness)	ndonda	(weakling)	(9)
ukámá	(kinship)	hámá	(relation)	(9)
ukáshá	(bite, sharp taste)	háshá	(anger)	(9)
ukarahwa	(old age in men)	harahwa	(old man)	(9)
uchembere	(old age in woman)	chembere	(old woman)	(9)
usimbe	(laziness)	tsimbe	(sluggard)	(9)
uhombarume	(hunting qualities)	hombarume	(hunter)	(1a)
uchínda	(office of councillor)	jínda	(councillor)	(5)

(ii) Small objects:

Examples:

ukarahwa	(little old man) cp.	harahwa	(old man)	(9)
uchembere	(little old woman)	chembere	(old woman)	(9)
upako	(small cave)	bako	(cave)	(5)
upuká	(small animal)	mhuká	(animal)	(9)
uzínó úvirí	(two small teeth)	zínó	(tooth)	(5)
upángá-mundyá	(small knife worn in belt)	báng á	(knife)	(5)

(iii) Collections:

Examples:

utándá	(collection of sticks) cp.	dándá	(log)	(5)
uyenzí	(number of visitors)	muyenzí	(stranger)	(1)
hwaná	(collection of young children)	mwaná	(child)	(1)
hweni	(strangers)	mweni	(stranger)	(1)
uzumbá	(collection of small huts)			

3.3.18

Noun Class 15

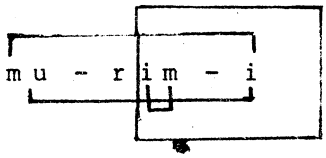
The noun class which has been given the number 15 in Meinhof's classification is different from other classes in a number of respects. These differences need to be listed and examined in order to decide whether the setting up of a noun class 15 was justified.

(1) The structural pattern np + ns does not apply to any members of this class. In other classes this structural pattern is typical.

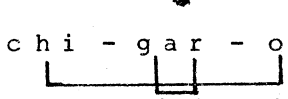
e.g. mu-nhu (person) (1)
chi-rongó (waterpot) (7)

In other classes nouns derived from verb radicals have special patterns in which the constituents appear to be

(i) the prefix + a terminal vowel; and
(ii) the verb radical



(one who hoes) (1)



(a seat) (1)

Other classes also contain nominal constructions in which the constituents appear to be:

(i) the noun prefix + terminal vowel -a; and
(ii) a verb phrase (viz. R +/- complements +/- adjuncts)

e.g. chi-túr-á-mátuzví (dung beetle)
chi-nzvéng-á-mutsváíro (lazybones)
chi-rw-a-méhari (glutton)

This latter is the only type of constructional pattern found in cl. 15. Cl. 15 consists only of nominal constructions whose constituents are:

(i) noun...

(i) noun prefix ku- and terminal vowel -a (*); and
(ii) verb radical segments consisting of R +/- complement(s) +/- adjunct(s)

(2) The verb phrases which combine with prefix ku- and terminal vowel -a are capable of much greater complexity than those found in the nominal constructions of other classes. This complexity is in the direction of that found in verbal constructions. Thus the following types of morpheme may be found in nominal constructions with prefix ku-.

(a) object and reflexive prefixes

e.g. kuzvitóra (to take them)
kuzvízivá (to know oneself);

(b) the negative prefix /-sa-/

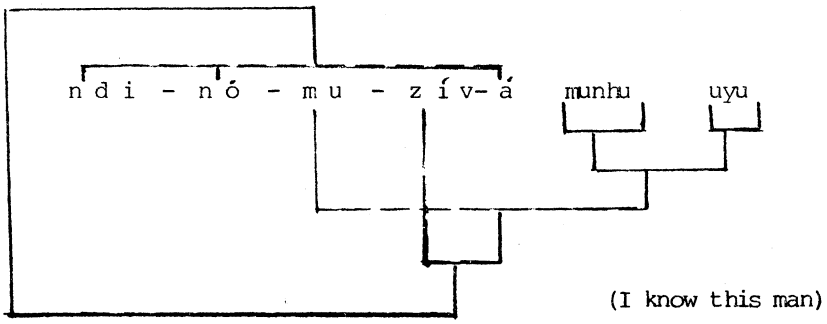
e.g. kusazíva (not to know);

(c) the progressive and exclusive formatives /-cha-/ and /-chi-/

e.g. ku-cha-zív-á (to know still)
ku-chí-end-a (to go now)

Of these morphemes those referred to under (a) are taken to belong to the verb phrases in verbal constructions.

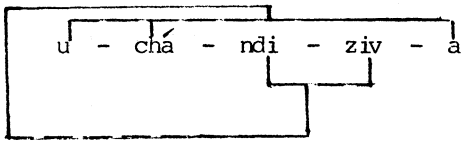
e.g.



(I know this man)

Whereas those referred to under (b) and (c) are taken to belong to the group of inflecting morphemes in verbal constructions.

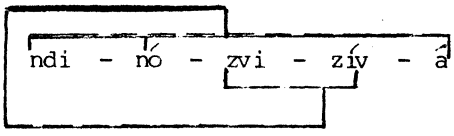
e.g.



(do you still know me?)

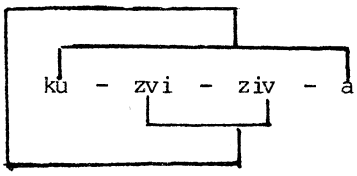
(3) These examples dispose one to regard constructions with prefix /ku-/ as purely verbal (infinitives), with prefix /ku-/ as one of the inflecting morphemes of a verbal construction.

e.g.



(I know this)

e.g.



(to know this)

At the same time the existence of nominal constructions of (i) prefix + terminal vowel -a and (ii) V. phrases, in other classes, disposes one to treat infinitives as nominal constructions.

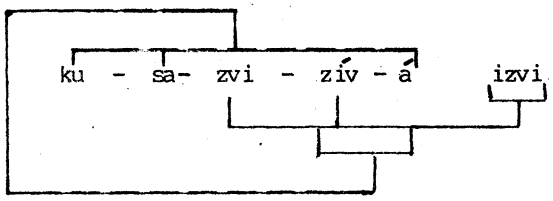
Constructions with prefix /ku-/ control agreements in certain substantive phrases, just like nouns and nominal constructions.

e.g. kudá-nyáma kwenyú uku (this love of meat of yours) (15)
cp. chinzvéngá-mutsváíro chényú ichi (this lazybones of yours) (7)

79/It seems.....

(*) Terminal vowel -a does not occur with the stems -ti, -nzi and their derived and extended forms
e.g. -dáyi, -dáre, -díyi, -dárisó, -dáyíranó etc.

It seems clear that infinitives form a class of nominal constructions (cl. 15). Infinitives with complex verbal morphology pose problems of analysis:



(not to know this)

Clearly prefix /ku-/ can be associated with other verbal morphemes besides terminal vowel -a as a constituent at the level of the infinitive clause (q.v.) in a way either not found or extremely rare in the case of the other prefixes.

(a) Prefix: /ku-/

This prefix is always associated as constituent with terminal -a save in the case of a few divergent stems like -ti, -nzi etc.

(b) Allomorphs: An allomorph /kw- / is found with the R/-end-/ in the derived noun gwenda-kwenda (coming and going) (5,15)

(c) Number: Nominal constructions of cl. 15 are neutral and do not specify number. When they appear with qualifiers in SPs they may indicate either one instance or more than one but this is rather rare and contrived.

e.g. kufá uku (this death)
Ndanwá kunwá kúviri (I drank two kinds of drink)

(d) Meaning:

Prefix /ku-/ of cl. 15 is only found in constructions with radical segments. There is nothing in this class corresponding to the use of prefixes of other classes with primary and secondary stems, with a range of different meanings.

All the members of this class indicate verbal actions. This is a further difference between this class and other classes.

A further difference lies in the range of tonomorphs found on radicals. The stems of other noun classes carry a greater variety of tonomorphs than those found on the radicals and terminal vowels of infinitives. Radicals belong either to the high group or the low group and, according to the number of syllables involved, the tonomorphs of R + terminal -a are:

H : H, HH, HHH, HHHL, HHHLL, HHHLLL etc.

L : L, LL, LLL, LLLL, LLLLL, LLLLLL etc.

e.g. ku-p-á	(to give)	ku-rw-a	(to fight)
ku-tór-á	(to take)	ku-bvunz-a	(to ask)
ku-támbír-á	(to receive)	ku-taris-a	(to examine, look at)
ku-kúrúmídz-a	(to hurry)	ku-tarisan-a	(to look at one another)

There are a number of stems with HL and HHl tonomorph.

e.g. kufúnda
kubvákácha

These are based on Rs borrowed from other languages. Those borrowed from English and Afrikaans which end in a consonant are borrowed as radicals to which terminal -a is added in inflected forms.

e.g. ku-dhúr-a	(to be expensive:	cp. Afrikaans duur)
ku-pómb-á	(to pump;	cp. British pump)
ku-chinj-a	(to change;	cp. British change)

Note that the tonomorph is carried by the verb radicals and the terminal vowel.

3.3.19. Noun Class 16

(a) Prefix: /pa-/

(b) Allomorphs: Nil.

(c) Number: Neutral.

Cl. 16 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity or plurality.

e.g. panhu pamwé (one and the same place)
panhu pazhínjí (at many places)
panhu pavirí (two different places)

80 /(d) Meaning...

(d) Meaning:

(1) Constructions in which prefix /pa-/ is primary indicate a place or region at or on which attention is directed.

e.g. pa-dyo (nearby)
pa-katí (at the middle)
pa-nhu (a point in space; a spot)
pa-nzé (outside)
pa-sí (down, the earth, ground)

(2) Constructions of /pa-/ with secondary stems have the same reference. Secondary stems are of a number of different kinds but do not include primary stems of other classes.

(i) Nouns or nominal constructions other than those of cll. 1a, 2a:

e.g.	pa-mbá	(at home)	cp. imbá	(house)	(9)
	pa-mushá	(at home)	mushá	(village)	(3)
	pa-dza	(just under)			
	padza pédombó	(just projecting from under the rock)			
cp.	idza - surface beneath a rock near the edge.				
	pa-zasí	(underneath)	cp. zasí		(17)
	pa-mberí	(in front)	mberí		(17)
	pa-shúre	(behind)	shúre		(17)
	pa-séri	(on the further side)	séri		(17)
	pa-nyhasí	(along side)	nyhasí		(17)
	pa-musóró	(on top)	musóró (head)		(3)
	pa-musáná	(on the back)	musáná (back)		(3)
	pa-uzima	(on one's own)	uzima (self)		(14)
	pa-muviri	(pregnancy)	muviri (body)		

Such nouns when they occupy the nuclear position in substantive phrases control agreements of cl. 16.

e.g. pa-mbá apa (at this house)
pa-mberí apo (ahead there)
pa-musóro páko (on your account)
pa-musána páke (on his account)
pa-nzvimbo pokúendako (instead of going there)
{ pa-uvirí pávó / pa-chivirí pávó } (while the two of them were alone together)

(ii) /pa/ may be prefixed to a substantive phrase, thus forming a nominal construction.

e.g. pa-mushá mukúrú (at a big village)
pa-uvirí hwávó (in their twoness)

(iii) /pa/ is also prefixed to the possessives chángu, chákó etc.

e.g. pa-chángu (by myself)
pa-chédu (by ourselves)

cp. pa-uzima (by oneself, freely)

3.3.20 Noun Class 17

(a) Prefix: /ku-/

(b) Allomorphs: Nil.

(c) Number: Cl.17 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity or plurality.

e.g. kunhu kumwé chete (one and the same place)
kunhu kuvirí (two different places)

cp. { súkú-kúvirí / chirúmá-kúvirí } (a blind worm, supposed to bite at both ends) (9)

(d) Meanings:

(1) Constructions of /ku-/ with primary stems indicate a general area, neighbourhood or vicinity in place, rarely in time, to which attention is directed. They differ from those of cl. 16 in being less precise and further from the speaker.

e.g. ku-re (a place far off)
ku-nzé (an area outside) cp. pa-nzé (16)
ku-tsí (underneath) pa-sí (16)
ku-uzúru (upwards, the uplands)
ku-nhu (place)

(2) Constructions of /ku-/ with secondary stems

(i) With certain primary stems of other classes, months are indicated:

e.g. ku-mvumbí (March/April) cp. mumvumbí (drizzling rain) (3)
ku-kádzí (January/February) mukádzí (woman (1)
ku-rúmé (February/ March) murúmé (man) (1)

With other secondary stems the same reference is conveyed as primary stems:

(ii) With nouns or nominal constructions other than those of cl.la, 2a:

e.g. ku-mushá (at home)
ku-mbá (at home)
ku-mhépó (at a windy place)

There are a number of stems which combine with prefix /ku-/ (and prefix /pa-/

viz. ku-zasí (downwards)
ku-mberí (ahead)
ku-shúre (behind one)
ku-séri (at the other side)
ku-nyasí (along side)

These stems can appear in the nuclear position in SPs and control agreements of cl.17. They should perhaps be described as allomorphs of Cl. 17 with prefix /Ø-/.

e.g.mberí kwángu (in front of me)
shúre kwángu (behind me)
séri kworúkova (beyond the river)
nyasi kwómutí (beside the tree)
zasí uko (down there)

Nouns of cl.17 in nuclear position similarly control agreements of cl.17.

e.g. kuzasi uko (down there)
kumbá uko (at that house)

(iii) /ku-/ may be prefixed to a substantive phrase thus forming a nominal construction.

e.g. ku-mbá húrú (at the big house)

3.3.21 Nouns Class 18

(a) Prefix: /mu-/

(b) Allomorphs: Nil

(c) Number: Neutral. Cl.18 nouns may be used in SPs with qualifiers indicating singularity or plurality.

e.g. mu-mbá mumwé chetê (in only one house)
mu-kanwa muviri (in two mouths)

(d) Meaning

(1) Constructions of /mu-/ with primary stems indicate an area or positions within a space or time to which attention is directed.

e.g. mu-katí (in the middle)
mu-kanwa (in the mouth)
mu-hámbá (belly area)
mu-tomé (in the wrong direction)

(2) Constructions of /mu-/ with secondary stems have the same reference. Secondary stems are of a number of different kinds but do not include primary stems of other classes.

(i) Nouns of nominal constructions other than those of cll. la or 2a.

e.g.	mu-mbá	(in the house)	cp.	imbá		(9)
	mu-munda	(in the field)		munda		(3)
	mu-mvura	(in the water)		mvúrá		(9)
	mu-shure	(after, behind)		shúre		(17a)
	mu-nyhasi	(in alongside)		nyhaśi		(17a)
	mu-dza	(just under and projecting from a rock near edge)		idza	(5)	(under surface of rock near edge)
	mu-hwambadza mehozi	(under part of a granary)		hwambadza		(9)
	mu-kuita basa	(while doing the work)				

Such constructions when they occupy the nuclear position in substantive phrases, control agreements of cl.18

e.g. mu-mbá mángu (in my house)
mu-shure mukuita basa (after doing the work)
mu-katímo (in the middle there)

(ii) /mu-/ may be prefixed to a substantive phrase thus forming a nominal construction.

e.g. mu-mbá húrú (in the big house)

NOTE: Nouns and nominal constructions of the locative cll.16, 17 and 18 indicate positions of various sorts. They do not indicate movement, e.g /ku-/is wrongly translated "to, towards". Movement to or from a position, as well as every other type of activity, is indicated by the verb radical.

e.g. -bv-is- pazámhú (wean, take from the breast)
-dzok- kumunda (come back from the field)
-dzok-er- kumbá (come back (to) home)
-dy-ir- muhárí (eat from (in) the pot)

Locatives based on nouns of cll. 1a, 2a are relative constructions.

e.g. pa-ná-Sádza (by Sadza, lit. where Sadza is)
ku-ná-babá (by father, lit. where father is)
mu-ná-bá (in where father is)

3.3.22. Noun Classes 19 and 20

The prefixes of cll. 19 and 20 are represented in Shona by /svi-/ and /ku-/ respectively. Cl.19 is found only in the Karanga cluster and forms plurals in cl.14.

e.g.	svi-mbúdzí	(small, thin goat)	(19)
	vu-mbúdzí	(small, thin goats)	(14)

Ndakávubátá mubáni íbwo vushuro
(I caught them in the plain, the little hares)

Cl. 20 is found only in the Kalanga cluster.

e.g.	kulisana	(small boy)
	kwanana	(small girl)

3.3.23. Noun Class 21

(a) Prefix: /zi-/

(b) Allomorphs: Nil

In the treatment of cl. 5 one of the allomorphs of the prefix, viz. /(ri-)/ was given as /z-/ and its distribution is made with vowel-commencing stems.

e.g.	zíno	(tooth)	cp.	meno	(teeth)	(6)	stem: -íno
	zíso	(eye)		meso	(eyes)	(6)	.. : -íso
	zúvá	(day)		ngúvá	(time)	(9)	.. : -úvá
	zano	(plan)		mano	(plans)	(6)	.. : -ano

This allomorph appears as a secondary prefix with augmentative meaning before other secondary steps.

e.g. z-aná...

e.g.	z-aná	(big child)	cp.	mw-aná	(child)	(1)
	z-enje/zh-enje	(big torch)		mw-enje	(torch)	(3)
	z-otó	(big fireplace)		ch-oto	(hearth)	(7)
	z-urá	(big frog)		ch-urá	(frog)	(7)
	z-énga	(big sherd for roasting)		rw-engá	(potsherd)	(11)

Both primary and secondary forms are inflected by copulative affix /i-/.

e.g. í-zino (it is a tooth)
i-zenga (it is a big potsherd)

or, if with LL or LH tone patterns, by change of these., LL > HH and LH > HL.

e.g. Zánó iri (This is a trick)
(This is a big child)

The secondary constructions could be regarded as belonging to cl. 21 with allomorph /z-/ of prefix /zi-/ as prefix. But they are satisfactorily accounted for as cl. 5 nouns with secondary prefix and augmentative meaning.

Constructions with prefix /zi-/ belong to cl.21. It is a secondary prefix, always, like the prefix of cl. 1a, prefixed to nouns and nominal constructions. Agreements are those of cl.5.

e.g. zi-bere gúrú (huge hyena) (21,5)

(c) Number: Singular

(d) Meaning: Augmentative.

Thus when /zi-/ is prefixed to nouns of cl. 5 with secondary prefix and augmentative meaning, the augmentative note is doubled.

e.g.	zi-buká	(huge beast)	(21,5)	cp.	buká	(large beast)	(5)	mnuká	(beast) (9)
	zi-gádzí	(huge woman)	(21,5)		gádzí	(large woman)	(5)	mukádzí	(woman)) 1)

In some cases the cl. 21 prefix /zi-/ is prefixed to a combination of secondary prefixes /(ri-) + (ri-)/.

e.g.	zi-dzíkaná (huge monster of a girl)	(21,5,5)	cp.	dzíkaná	(huge girl)	(5,5)
				síkaná	(large girl)	(5)
				mu-síkaná	(girl)	(1)

Depending on context the augmentative note is accompanied by additional implications - fearsomeness, insult, affection.

e.g.	zi-nhu	(huge fearsome thing)	(21 + 9)	cp. nhu	(thing)	(9) (5?)
	zi-rúmé	(greedy, clumsy lout)	(21 + 5)	rúmé	(big male)	(5)
	zi-jayá	(big fellow, used to encourage a little boy)		jayá	(young man)	(5)
cp.	zi-mái	(leader of a side in a children's game)	(21 + 1a)			
	zi-dénzi	(old master)	(21 + 5 + 1a)	cp. ténzi	(master)	(1a)
	zi-Ndóga	(headstrong, wilful person)				

Cl. 21 nouns may appear with the prefix of cl. 6 to indicate augmentative plurals.

e.g. ma-kádzí (6)
ma-gádzí (6,5)
ma-zi-kádzí (6,21)
ma-zi-gádzí (6,21,5)

These form a rising series as regards size or ugliness or unpleasantness, depending on context.

e.g.	ma-zi-nzevé	(your huge ears)	(6,21,9)
	ma-zi-mvúrá áko	(your brackish, bitter water)	(6,21,9)

3.4. COMPLEX NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.4.1. Introduction

The treatment of the noun in 3.3. was concerned mainly with the division of nouns into classes and with the noun prefixes as the classificatory elements. The prefix of each noun class has been described together with its allomorphs, its number and the various class meanings associated with it, both as a primary and as a secondary prefix.

The system of numbering applied to the noun classes has been applied also to the other six substantival constructions on the basis of the agreement which obtain between nouns and these other substantives in SPs. The structure of these substantival constructions is described in 3.5, Other Substantival Constructions.

The structure of the noun has been described as np + ns. Here np stands for the constituent class of noun prefixes and ns stands primarily for the constituent class of simplex noun stems consisting of a single morpheme.

e.g. mu-rúmé (man) (1)
u-síkú (night) (14)

A noun class consists of all the substantival constructions which have the same noun prefix in common. These, as has already been seen, are not restricted to the constructions of np + simplex stem, but include others which are very much more complex. Constructions which are more complex than that of np + simplex ns are termed here complex nominal constructions and the various structural types are examined in this chapter.

Most complex nominal constructions can be analysed, in terms of the constructional pattern: np + ns, into a prefix + complex stem. Other constructions cannot be so analysed, e.g. constructions which have no single prefix or which, being based on a verb radical nucleus, have a prefix and a terminal vowel as constituent. All complex nominal constructions, however, have a noun prefix as constituent, or part constituent; are members of the class of which it is the classifier; and control its agreements in phrases and clauses.

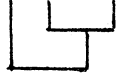
In the description below the various structural types are listed first and then described and exemplified in order (1). Some of these structural types incorporate, as constituents, constructions such as the SP, the substantival clause and sentences, the verb phrase, the inflected verb phrase, the verbal clause and the verbal sentence, the constructional patterns of which have yet to be described. The use of these constructions as constituents in complex nominal constructions is an example of rank-shifting. References to the relevant sections for details of the constructional patterns of these constituents are given in each case.

3.4.2. Types of complex nominal constructions

1. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a noun, made up of a prefix or prefixes and stem:

Constructional pattern: np + np(s) + ns

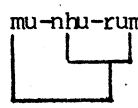
e.g. ma-mi-shá (6) (collections of villages)



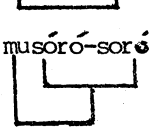
2. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a complex stem made up of a combination of substantive stems:

Constructional pattern: np + ns + ns

e.g. mu-nhu-rume (1) (male person)



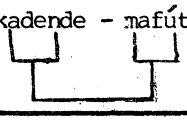
musóró-soró (3) (a head only - not carrying gifts)



3. Constructions consisting of a combination of nouns:

Constructional pattern: np + ns - np + ns

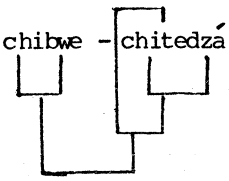
e.g. (a) kadende - mafútá (12/6) (kind of locust)



85/(b) chibwe-...

(1) In this chapter the class number of examples is placed before the accompanying gloss to make for easier identification of the prefix.

(b) chibwe - chitedzá (7) (a risky situation)

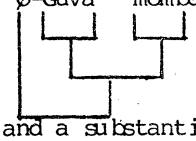


4. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a substantival construction:

(a) Prefix and combination of nouns:

Constructional pattern: np [np + ns - np + ns]

e.g. Ø-Gúvá - mómbe (1a) (poor man)

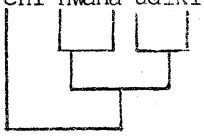


(b) Prefix and a substantive phrase:

(1) Prefix + substantive phrase consisting of noun + adjective.

Constructional pattern: np [np + ns - adj.p + adj.s]

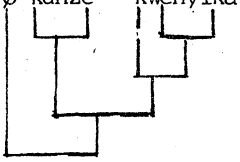
e.g. chi-hwaná udíki (7) (way of small children)



(2) Prefix + substantive phrase consisting of noun + possessive.

Constructional pattern: np [np + ns - poss.p (np + ns)]

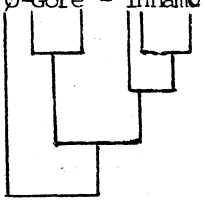
e.g. Ø-kunzé - kwenyíka (1a) (a name - Outside the country)



(c) Prefix and substantive sentence consisting of a subject and a copulative phrase:

Constructional pattern: np [np + ns - cop.p(np + ns)]

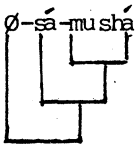
e.g. Ø-Goré - ínhamo (1a) (a name - A year is a calamity)



5. Constructions involving a prefix + "ownersbip" prefix + noun:

Constructional pattern: np + ownership prefix + np + ns

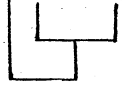
e.g. Ø-sá-mushá (1a) (village head)



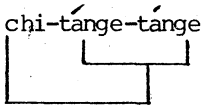
6. Constructions involving a prefix and reduplicated ideophones.

(a) Constructional pattern: np [ideophone + ideophone]

e.g. dápi-tápi (5) (delicacy)



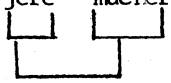
chi-tánge-tánge (7) (starting in all directions)



86 /(b)Constructional...

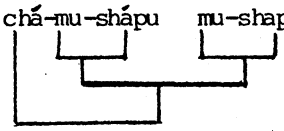
(b) Constructional pattern: np + ideophone + np /mu-/ + ideophone

e.g. jére - muchére (5) (digging)



(c) Constructional pattern: np [/mu-/ + ideophone + /mu-/ + ideophone]

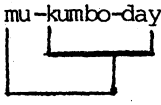
e.g. chá-mu-shápu mu-shapu (7) (continual baling out of water)



7. Constructions involving a prefix + stem + ideophone.

Constructional pattern:

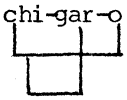
e.g. mu-kumbo-dayí (3) (walking with legs turning inwards)



8. Constructions based on verb radicals.

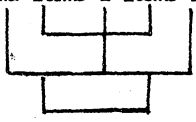
(a) Constructional pattern : np + R + terminal vowel

e.g. chi-gar-o (7) (chair)



(b) Constructional pattern: np + R + t.v. + R + t.v.

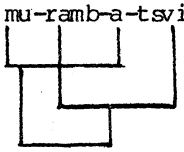
e.g. mu-fámb-í-fámb-í (1) (a tramp)



9. Constructions based on verb phrases.

Constructional pattern: np + R + t.v. + complements and/or adjuncts

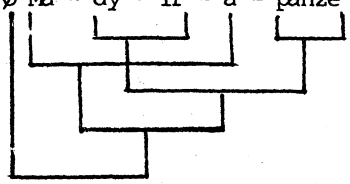
e.g. mu-ramb-a-tsvina (1) (smartly dressed person)



10. Constructions based on inflected verb phrases and clauses.

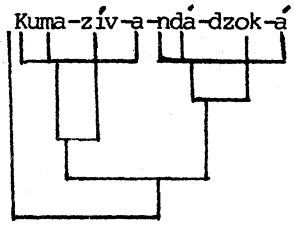
(a) (1) Constructional pattern: np + principal clause

e.g. Ø-Ma - dy̌ - ír - á - panzé (1a) (Praise name of chief Gutu)



(a) (2) Constructional pattern: np + prin-cipal clause + particpal clause

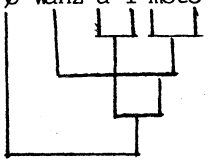
e.g. Kuma-zív-a-ndá-dzok-á (17) (A dangerous place)



87 /(b) (1)...

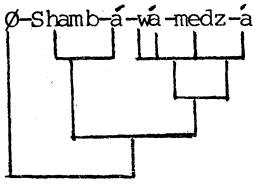
(b) (1) Constructional pattern: np + imperative clause

e.g. Ø-wanz-á-í-motó (1a) (name given to a dangerous man)



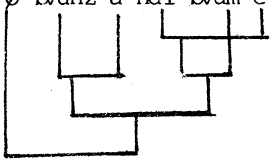
(2) Constructional pattern: np + imperative clause + participial clause

e.g. Ø-Shamb-á-wá-medz-á (1a) (name given to a greedy spirit)



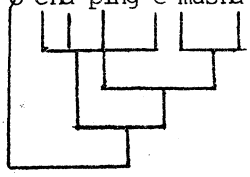
(3) Constructional pattern: np + imperative clause + subj.clause

e.g. Ø-bvunz-á-ndí-bvúm-é (1a) (a yes-man)



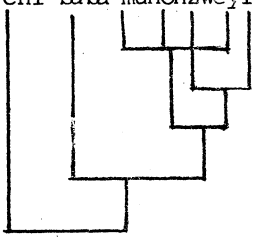
(c) Constructional pattern: np + relative clause

e.g. Ø-cha-píng-é-mushá (1a) (a spinster)



(d) Constructional pattern: np+ clauses consisting of subject + predicate or vocative + predicate

e.g. chi-babá munónzweyí (7) (a wind-breaker)



3.4.2.1. Constructions consisting of prefix and a noun made up of prefix or prefixes + stem.

Complexity can arise from the use of extra prefixes, prefixed to a noun which already consists of a prefix and stem.

e.g.	ma-mi-shá	(6, 4)	(collection of villages)
	jembere	(5, 9)	(big old woman)
	chi-mu-ti	(7, 3)	(stick)
	ru-mhóu	(11, 9)	(thin cow)
	ka-mw-aná	(12, 1)	(small child)

In all cases the noun prefix is the first one which controls agreement in phrases and clauses. The rest of the construction must be considered as the stem even though, as in these cases, the stem includes a prefix which no longer controls agreement. Note that still more complex examples are found with the stem consisting of secondary prefix and stem, or a combination of more than one prefix, either primary or secondary, and stem.

e.g.	zi-jembere	(21, 5, 9)	(huge old woman)
	mu-zi-jembere	(3, 21, 5, 9)	(monstrous old woman)

Prefixes prefixed to complex stems consisting of prefix or prefixes and stems are, of course, secondary prefixes and carry secondary meanings. It is not possible to give a complete description of these combinations of prefixes. Examples have already been given in each class of the use of the prefix with secondary stems, some of which have consisted of prefix and stem.

88/Some prefixes...

Some prefixes are more active than others, some combinations are more common than others. Thus the prefix of cl. 1a is frequently prefixed to nouns of various classes to form proper names and personifications. The use of the prefix cl. 3 to indicate a peculiar kind of augmentative is not common in contemporary Shona.

e.g.	mu-janá	(1, 5)	(one whose turn it is)	cp.	jana	(5) (turn)
	Zimuto	(1a, 2l, 3)	(Mr Big Soup)		muto	(3) (soup)
	VáZímuto	(2a, 2l, 3)	(Mr Big Soup)			
	mu-zijembere	(3, 2l, 5, 9)	(monstrous old woman)		chembere	(9) (old woman)
	jiri	(5, 9)	(big bird)		shiri	(9) (bird)
	dzvikiro	(5, 5)	(big useless medium)		svikiro	(5) (medium)
	ma-hwahwá	(6, 14)	(much inferior beer)			
	chi-muswé	(7, 3)	(short thick tail)			
	zvi-vaná	(8, 2)	(naughty children)			
	hunyafá	(9, 15)	(the point of death)		kufá	(15) (death)
	dzi-minda	(10, 4)	(various, several fields)			
	ru-chembere	(11, 9)	(thin, old woman)			
	ku-murúmé	(12, 1)	(small man)			
	tu-fodya	(13, 9)	(small amount of tobacco)			
	u-shámwarí	(14, 9)	(friendship)			
	pa-musha	(16, 3)	(at home)			
	ku-minda	(17,4)	(round the fields)			
	mu-dhoróbha	(18, 5)	(in town)			
	svi-nguruve	(19, 9)	(small pig) (ka.)			
	zi-nzou	(21, 9)	(huge elephant)			

In cases of secondary extra prefixes (or preprefixes) the prefix of the noun is that which controls the agreement in a substantive phrase. The rest of the construction is considered the (complex) stem.

Complexity arising from the use of extra prefixes can occur with other types of complex stem as well to be listed below.

For example the noun Chirwa-néhari (Glutton) has a combination of noun prefixes (1a, 7) as well as being an inflected V. phrase as the stem on to which the prefix cl.1a is affixed.

3.4.2.2. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a complex stem made up of a combination of substantive stems

(a) Complexity can consist in the suffixing to a simplex stem of one of the following which are also simplex stems:-

-aná	(young, small)
-rúmé	(male)
-kádzi	(female)
-kómaná	(boy)
-sikana	(girl)
-nyina	(common relationship)

Examples are not many, these formations being not such a characteristic of Shona as of the South-East Bantu languages. In Shona they appear to be commoner in Karanga than in Zezuru.

(1) -aná

(i) Stems ending in -a appear to suffix -ananá:

e.g.	imbwánaná	(9)	(puppy)	cp.	imbwá	(9) (dog)
	humbánaná	(9)	(piglet)		humbá	(9) (pig) Ko.
cp.	-shomanáná		(very few)		-shoma	(few) adj. stem.
	mhukánana	(10)	(small animals)		mhuká	(10) (animals)
but	hábwaná	(9)	(young jackal)		hává	(9) (jackal)
	Karúyaná	(1a, 12)	(river nr. Mt.Darwin)		Ruya	(1a) (river near Mount Darwin)
	munavaná	(3)	(newborn donkey)			

(ii) Stems ending in -e:

e.g.	ngúrwaná	(9)	(piglet)	cp.	nguruve	(9) (pig)
	murúnyaná	(1)	(husband's younger brother)	Ka	murúmé	(husband)

(iii) Stems ending in -i:

e.g.	mbúdzaná	(9)	(kid)	cp.	mbúdzí	(9) (goat)
	dhongwáná	(5)	(donkey foal)		dhongwí	(5) (donkey)
	chihoehánà	(7)	(piglet)		hochí	(9) (pig)
	hwayaná	(9)	(lamb)		hwai	(9) (sheep
	hádyaná	(9)	(small pot)		hárí	(9) (pot)

/(iv) Stems...

(iv) Stems ending in -o:

e.g.	katíyaná	(12)	(chick)	cp.	katíyo	(12)	(chick)
	ndírwaná	(9)	(small pot for relish)		ndíro	(9)	(plate)
	shokoráná	(9)	(young monkey)		tsokó	(9)	(monkey)

(v) Stems ending in -u:

e.g.	húkwaná	(9)	(chick)	cp.	húkú	(9)	(fowl)
	dengwáná	(5)	(basket for crops)		dengú	(5)	(big basket)

Examples are too few to provide a basis for morphophonemic rules but the following seem to take place more frequently than not:

Final syllables consisting of:

Ca + -anana/-ana > Canana/Cana	e.g.	habwana
Ci + -ana > Cana	e.g.	mbídzaná
Cu + -ana > Cwana	e.g.	húkwaná

In a sequence of final high tones, the final H is lowered ...HH > ..HL

cp. mbídzí : HH > mbídzaná : HLH

(2) -rume, -kadzi, -komana, -sikana

These stems bear a sequence of low tones when suffixed.

e.g.	munhurume	(1)	(male person)	murúmé	(1)	(man)
	munhukadzi	(1)	(female person)	mukádzí	(1)	(woman)
	mwanárume	(1)	(male child)			
	mwanákadzi	(1)	(female child)			
	tsvímbórúme	(9)	(bachelor)			
	gúkúrúme	(5)	(cock)			
	gombarume	(5)	(philanderer)			
	mwanákomana	(1)	(son)			
	mwanásikana	(1)	(daughter)			
	hanzvádzikomana	(9)	(brother)			
	hanzvádzisikana	(9)	(sister)			

In many cases special terms indicate the male and female :

e.g.	hwamí	(female warthog)
	mboí	(female baboon)
	horomba	(solitary (?) male baboon)
	chimuví	(barren cow elephant)
	nyinamombe	(bull buffalo)

(3) -nyina

This is a noun of cl. 9, and indicates a mother.

e.g. Iyi ndiyo nyina yákó! (This is your mother, (not I))

As a suffix it indicates relationship through a common mother.

e.g.	vanányína	(children related through having a common mother, although different fathers)
	hanzvádzinyina	(siblings with a common mother)
	vakuwáshanyina	(two men married to two sisters)

The suffix -n'ina appears to indicate 'junior' in a couple of cases.

e.g.	mukádzin'ina	(second wife - first talking)
	munín'ína	(younger brother or sister, elder talking; or junior wife, senior talking)
	ukádzin'ina	(relationship of a junior wife to a senior)

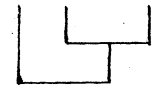
(b) Complex stems formed by reduplication .

Noun stems may be reduplicated in order to convey special nuances not conveyed by the single stem. Sometimes the nuance conveyed is "very ordinary quality, not outstanding"; at other times the nuance of heightened quality or intensity is conveyed.

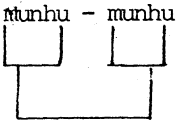
Reduplication is applied only to stems consisting of more than one syllable. Nouns with monosyllabic stems are reduplicated as one piece, prefix or stabiliser and stem. Nouns with zero or non-syllabic prefixes are also reduplicated as one piece. The structures of these different reduplicated forms are somewhat different but they do not appear to differ in the meaning conveyed.

90 / cp. musóró - soró...

cp. musóró - soró (3) (just a head, bearing no gifts)



munhu - munhu (1) (an ordinary person)



The tones of reduplicated forms are determined by basic forms - the rules are set out below. The reduplicated nouns are often found in inflected phrases, particularly in copulative phrases. The uninflected forms are listed below with a few inflected forms as illustrations-

e.g. munhu-munhu zváké (1) (an ordinary, undistinguished person)
mukádzí-kadzí (1) (an ordinary woman)
murúmé-rumé (1) (a man in outward appearance only but inwardly lacking)
mukómaná-komana akádayí (1) (such a young fellow, e.g. to drink like his elders!)
mukárángá-karanga akádayí sewé (1) (a wife of such a rank - to act in such a way!)
mambo-mambo zváké (1a) (ordinary, undistinguished chief)
mutí-múti zváwo (3) (any kind of medicine you have)
munda-munda zváwo (3) (an ordinary field)
musóró-soró (3) (only a head, bearing no gifts)
mushongá-shónga (3) (very ordinary medicine - having no real power)
mikónó-konó yéga yéga (4) (only male ones)

dénga-dénga (5) (high up in the sky)
guro-kuro (5) (larynx) cp. huro (9) (throat)
sángó-sangó (5) (ordinary bush)
romo-romo (5) (first locusts in a swarm)
rímbí-rimbí (5) (first locusts in a swarm)
zeve-zeve (5) (rumour) cp. nzeve (9) (ear)
rombe-rombe (5) (someone just like a fool)
jembere-jembere (5) (huge, withered old woman but still strong)
bénzí-penzí (5) (someone half mad)

meso-méso (6) (covetousness)
mano-mano (6) (lies)
maókó-okó (6) (empty hands)
mangwáná-ngwaná (6) (early morning)
mauró-uro (6) (early evening)

chimbwá-ímbwa (7) (ordinary, undistinguished fat dog)
chikómba-kómba (7) (very ordinary suitor, "spare wheel")
chitsoka-tsoka (7) (way of pursuing, e.g. a herd, on foot without a dog)
chipadzá-pádza (7) (hoe of middling quality)
chimotokari-motokari (7) (car of poor quality but better than nothing)
chibwata-bwata chédenga (7) (very low roof)
chi-vanhu-vanhu (7) (the way Africans act - as being no longer advantageous or functional)
chi-rungu-rungu (7) (the way Europeans act - not advantageous to Africans, e.g. in matters of belief)
zvindebvu-ndebvu (8) (sparse beard)
zvitíi-tíi (8) (tea of poor quality)
zvisadza-sadza (8) (porridge of poor quality and badly cooked)
zvihwahwá-hwáhwa (8) (not properly fermented beer)

ngoma-ngoma (9) (ordinary dancing, viz. not sacred)
hámá-hamá (9) (someone so good he could almost be a relative)
shámwarí-shamwari (9) (a friend with whom one is not particularly friendly intimate)
mhuno-mhuno (9) (the extremity of something, e.g. a pole)
n'anga-n'anga (9) (a diviner who enjoys little confidence)
harahwa-harahwa (9) (someone getting on in age)

nzvimbo-nzvimbo (10) (a number of places showing, e.g. that people or animals have been there)

rufú-rúfu (11) (an ordinary death - not caused by sorcery)
ruhotéra-hotéra (11) (a poor type of hotel)

kare-kare (12) (long ago)
kazeve-zeve (12) (whispering)
usiku-siku (14) (dead of night)

91/padyo-padyo...

padyo-padyo	(16)	(very near)
pakatí-káti	(16)	(dead centre)
kure-kure	(17)	(very far)
kushúre-shúre	(17)	(right at the back)
kumberímbéri	(17)	(right in front)

A number of different structural types are included in the above examples :

Viz. np + ns + ns	e.g.	mu-sóró-soró
np + ns + np + ns		mu-nhu-mu-nhu
np + np + ns + np + ns		zvi-hwahwá-hwáhwa
np + np + ns + np + np + ns		jembere-jembere

(c) Tone patterns of reduplications

HH > HH-LH	mukádzí-kadzí
HL > HL-HL	dénga-dénga
LH > LH-LH	meso-méso
LL > LL-LL	mano-mano
HHH > HHH-LLL	mukárángá-karanga
HLH > HLH-LLL	mukómaná-komana
LHL > LHL-LHL	ruhotéra-hotéra
LLL > LLL-LLL	harahwa-harahwa

Chibwata-bwata ímhúno, tówaná chókufúrisá dzihwá
(Though so flat it is still a nose, enough to blow the mucus out)

Imvura-mvurá zváyo; hazvísi zvavánhu, ndezvaMwarí
(It's ordinary lightning, God's lightning, not caused by man)

Ínyoka-nyoká
(It is just an ordinary snake)

Haísi nyóká-nyoká
(No, it is a portent)

3.4.2.3. Constructions consisting of a combination of nouns

(a) Compound nouns and nouns in apposition

Some nominal constructions consist of two nouns which often appear together in a fixed order. The second of the two appears to qualify the first. That they are nominal constructions appears from the fact that they may not be separated, e.g. by a qualifier agreeing with the first member. They thus differ from combinations of nouns in apposition which can be so separated although normally the order in which they appear cannot be disturbed either.

e.g. tsuro-magen'a (9/6) (hare of the plains)

This is a nominal construction which can be called a compound noun.

cp.	musíkaná nhérera	(1/9)	(an orphan girl)
cp.	musíkaná uyu nherera		(this orphan girl)
cp.	musíkaná nhérera uyu		(this orphan girl)

These are loose combinations of nouns in apposition. In compound nouns, the prefix of the first noun controls agreements.

e.g.	tsuro-magen'a íye	(9)	(that hare of the plains)	
	tsuro-magen'a	(9/6)	(hare of the plains)	magen'a (6) magan'a (plains)
	tsuro-shápá	(9/5)	(hare of the sandy soil)	shápá (9) (heavy soil)
	dzuro-makova	(5/, 9/6)	(hare of dark, loamy soil)	cp. gova (5) (heavy soil)
	gomo-dárá	(5/5)	(flat mountain)	
	dánda-zúvá	(5/5)	(sun beam)	
	mutándá-mhúno	(3/9)	(bridge of the nose)	
	danda-uswá	(5/14)	(tall grass - "log" grass)	
	kadende-mafútá	(12/6)	(a type of locust)	
	Ngoma-mhowa	(9/9)	(a hill near Mrewa)	mhowa (5) (wild vegetable)
	kambúya-mudererе́	(12/18)	(a mantis)	dererе́ (5) (wild spinach)
	chinyóká-mutúmbu	(7,9/3)	(stitch in the side)	
	mashura-múmbiya	(6/18)	(omens in the dish, something unheard of)	
	bungu-murudzi	(5/3)	(a long snake, brown and fast moving, supposed to whistle)	

tuhwahwá-nhámó	(13/9)	(beer brewed by those who do not have enough of the necessary ingredients)
tuhwahwá-mhépó	(13/9)	(beer which has failed to ferment in time because of the cold weather; metaphorically, a something which will have an uncertain outcome)
upángá-mudyá	(14/3)	(a small knife worn at the waist)
munhu-síri	(1)	(special person)
musíkaná-síri	(1)	(a girl able to instruct others about women's affairs)
mabiko-síri	(6)	(special dinner)
munhu-í?	(1)	(a person of what sex)
gonye-dangá	(5/5)	(a worm that lives in the cattle pen)
tsanga-nyóká	(9/9)	(striped snake)
mutiti-báni	(3/5)	(a lucky bean tree found in the plain)
mutiti-makomo	(3/6)	(a lucky bean tree found in the hills)
amái-munhu	(2b/1)	(the mother of the person in question)
babá-múnhu	(1a/1)	(The father of the person invited)

Nouns in apposition

Nouns in apposition are altogether looser combinations in which either may be the headword of an SP giving rise to a combination of SPs.

e.g.	mukómaná múShawásha	(a Shawasha boy)
	musíkana nhérera	(an orphan girl)
	harahwa bofu	(a blind old man)
	nzou hádzí	(a bull elephant)
	mhembwe hónó	(a buck duiker)
	mhembwe nhunzvi	(a doe duiker)

Sex in animals is denoted by combinations of this kind. The nouns mukónó (3) hónó (9) or gónó (5) are used to indicate male animals. The nouns hádzí (9) or gádzí (5) are used to indicate the female in such combinations as :-

shúmba hádzí	(9)	(a lioness)
ingwe hádzí	(9)	(a leopardess)
nhéma hádzí	(9)	(a cow rhinoceros)
mombe hádzí	(9)	(a cow)
imbwá hádzí	(9)	(a bitch)
bhizá gádzí	(5)	(a mare)
hesera gádzí	(5)	(a mule mare)

The noun nhunzvi (9) or dunzvi (5) is used in such combinations as :-

nguruve nhunzvi	(9)	(a sow)
hukú nhúnzvi	(9)	(a fowl)
hwai nhunzvi	(9)	(a ewe)
mbúdzí nhúnzvi	(9)	(a she goat)
mhembwe nhunzvi	(9)	(a doe duiker)

Alternatively these nouns appear as headwords followed by the names of animals possessively inflected.

e.g.	hónó yéshumba	(lion)
	hádzí yeshumba	(lioness)
	hónó yengúruve	(boar)
	nhunzvi yengúruve	(sow)
cp.	muroyi wómurúmé	(a male sorcerer)
	hámá yómukádzí	(a female relative)
	shámwarí yómukómaná	(a friend who is a boy)
	nherera yómusíkaná	(a girl orphan)

Note that there are no tonal changes in either type of combination. Both the nominal constructions of this type and those consisting of nouns in apposition control agreements in SPs.

e.g.	kadende-mafúta aka	(12/6)	(this locust)
	musíkaná nhérera uyu	(1/9)	(this orphan girl)

Other combinations of substantives are found which are nominal constructions similar to compound nouns.

e.g.	taté-guru	(1a/5)	(father's father)
	zimbúya-guru	(21,9/5)	(chief grandmother)
	gúmí-guru	(5/5)	(October)
	amái-gúrú	(26/5)	(father's senior wife)
	amái-níni(1)	(26/9)	(father's junior wife or mother's younger sister)

93 Note the...

(1) cp. -nini-p- (be small)
zví-nini-p-is-é (humble yourself)

Note the tonal change in gúrú (5) (big) in the first three examples.

gúmí-ndóga (1a,5) (a self-confident person)

(b) Another type of construction consists of SP + copulatively inflected SP, viz. a substantival clause. These constructions control agreements of the same class as the first SP.

e.g. mukádzi-chírímo	(1)	(the name of a wild vegetable; a woman who is active only in the slack season when there is no work in the fields, lit. a woman it is the dry season)
goré-músandú	(5)	(a changeable situation, lit. a year is a change)
goré-ínhamo	(5)	(a year or period of trial, lit. a year is trouble)
mhánza-mámbure	(9)	(a fortunate outcome, lit. luck is a hunting net)
kugara-húnzwana	(15)	(a harmonious situation, lit. to live is to understand one another)
usíku-ígoré	(14)	(behaviour which can change overnight, lit. a night is a year)
jiri-mánhengá	(5)	(something resembling a bird only through having feathers, lit. a bird is feathers; something pretentious)
chibwe-chítedzá	(7)	(a risky situation, lit. a stone is something you slip on)

3.4.2.4. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a substantival construction

In these constructions a noun prefix is one constituent and a substantival construction the other. The substantival construction may be of various kinds and increasing clause. This construction is often used to form names, the prefix of cl. la being prefixed to the substantival construction.

(a) Prefix and compound nouns

Here the prefix, often of cl. la, is prefixed to the compound noun.

e.g. Gúvá-mombe	(1a)	(a poor person who will have a beast only at his funeral)	cp.	gúvá	(5) (grave)
				mombe	(9) (ox)
Pímbírí-máno	(1a)	(a famous character in folklore)	cp.	bímbírí	(5) (trick)
				mano	(6) (plans)

(b) Prefix and substantive phrase

(1) Prefix and SP consisting of noun and adjective

In this construction a variety of prefixes are found prefixed to SPs, not merely that of cl. la. The locative noun class prefixes are frequently found as constituents in this type of complex nominal construction.

e.g. Pfúmó-jéna	(1a)	(a name, viz. White spear)			
Vhudzi-jena	(1a)	(praise name of Soko clan, viz. White hair)			
Goré-demá	(1a)	(a name, viz Black cloud)			
chi-hwaná-udíki	(7)	(the ways of small children I	cp.	hwaná udíki	(14)
				cp. (small children)	
ku-mbá-húrú	(17)	(at the big house)	cp.	imbá húrú	(9)
				(big house)	
mu-mbá-húrú	(18)	(in the big house)			
pa-mushá-mukúrú	(16)	(at a big village)	cp.	Mushá mukúrú	(3)
				(a big village)	

(2) Prefix and SP consisting of noun and possessive

e.g. Pfúmó-rerópa	(1a)	(a name, viz. Spear of blood)	cp.	pfumo	(5)
				(spear)	
Kunzé-kwenyíka	(1a)	(a name, viz. Outside the country)	cp.	kunzé (outside)	(17)
Goré-renzára	(1a)	(a name, viz. Year of famine)	cp.	goré (year)	(5)

(c) Prefix and substantive clause

Nominal constructions of this type are names and consist of the prefix of cl. la prefixed to constructions of the type listed in 3.4.2.3.(b) above.

e.g. Gore-músandú	(1a)	(a name, One who changes his mind often)	cp.	musandú	(3)
Goré-ínhamo	(1a)	(a name, One in trouble often)	cp.	nhámó (trouble)	(9)

94 /Mhánza-mámbure...

Mhánza-mámbure	(1a)	(a name, One who succeeds through another's help)	cp.mambúre (6) (hunting net)
Kugara-húnzwana	(1a)	(a name, Living means mutual understanding)	cp.kunzwáná (15) (to understand one another) (5)
Usíku-ígoré	(1a)	(a name, One who is changeable)	cp.goré (year)
Jiri-mánhengá	(1a)	(a name, A person must have property to be someone)	cp.manhengá (6)
Chibwe-chítedzá	(1a)	(a name, A stone is something one slips on)	cp.chitedzá (7)

3.4.2.5. Nominal constructions involving combinations of prefixal morphemes + a noun

These morphemes are:
noun prefix Ø (1a) + sá-
noun prefix Ø (1a) + nya-
noun prefix Ø (1a) + ne-
noun prefix mu-(1) + zvina

These constructions all indicate persons who are the owners, guardians, keepers or initiators of the noun to which they are prefixed. They are also prefixed to SPs but examples of this latter construction are few in comparison with those of the former. All such constructions are members either of cl. 1a or cl. 1 depending on prefix and control agreements of cl.1.

(a) Prefixal morphemes Ø + sá-. This combination is tone-inflecting, the tonal changes being exactly the same as those described for the prefixing of the cl.2a prefix vá-.

e.g.	sá-dunhu	(district head)	cp. dúnhú	(6)	(district)
	sá-mvura	(rain maker)	mvúrá	(9)	(water)
	sá-zita	(namesake)	zítá	(5)	(name)
	sá-bhuka	(village head)	bhúku	(5)	(book)
	sá-wachi	(chief, one who wears chief's emblem)	wáchi	(9)	(emblem of chief, "watch")
	sá-imbá	(head of a household)	imbá	(9)	(house)
	sá-mushá	(village head)	mushá	(3)	(household)
	sá-hwahwá	(one who supplies the beer at a party)	hwahwá	(14)	(beer)
	sá-nyíka	(chief, keeper of tribal land)	nyika	(9)	(country)
	sá-dáre	(village head)	dare	(5)	(meeting place)
	sá-rumbúya	(wife of one possessed by a baboon spirit)	rumbúya	(11)	
	sá-mukádzí	(father's sister)	mukádzí	(1)	(wife)
	sá-rúngano	(one who made up a story)	rungano	(11)	(story)
	sá-chígaro	(chairman)	chigaro	(7)	(chair)
	sá-kúnátsa	(do-gooder)	kunatsa	(15)	(to do good)
	Sá-Mányiká	(chief of the Manyika people)	vaManyika	(2)	(Manyika people)
	Sá-Unyáma	(chief of the Unyama people)	vaUnyáma	(2)	(Unyama people)
	sá-nyémbé	(chief, one who wears the chief's badge of office) (Ma.)	nyembe cp.huze (Ze)		

cp. sá-dunhu uyu (this district head)
sá-dunhu iri (the head of this district)
Uyu ndísázita wángu (This is my namesake)
not ndísázita rangu

(b) Prefixed morphemes Ø + nya-. Like the above, combinations of nouns with these prefixes are nominal constructions of cl. 1a. Nya- is not tone-inflecting. It is prefixed frequently to infinitives.

e.g.	nya-mapípí	(conjuror)	cp. mapípí	(6)	(trick)
	nya-vanga	(one with a wound)	vanga	(5)	(wound)
	nya-mbaré	(one with callosities on his body)	mbaré	(9)	(callosity)
	nya-kuwana	(bridegroom)	kuwana	(15)	(to wed)
	nya-kuróóra	(bridegroom)	kuróórá	(15)	(to wed)
	nya-kunatsa	(do-gooder)	kunatsa	(15)	(to do good)
	nya-kubayiwa	(one who is wounded)	kubayiwa	(15)	(to be stabbed)
	nya-kubá	(thief)	kubá	(15)	(to steal)
	nya-muza-nénhamo	(illegitimate child)			

(c) Prefixal morphemes Ø + ne- as prefixed to nouns frequently form names. In most cases ne- is tone-influencing like na- (the adverbial inflecting morpheme) and is itself influenced by polarity. But in some dialects it appears always as H.

e.g.	Nérwandé	(lineage name of Chaminuka's group)			
	Néhanda	(name of a lion spirit)	cp. hándá	(9)	(piece of skin tied round snuff box)

95 /Negómo...

Negómo	(name of a chief in the Chiwashe area)	cp.	gomo	(5)	(hill)
Néhwedzá	(name of a sub-chief in the Darwin area)		hwedzá	(9)	(sun)
Némbire	(name of a chief in the Darwin area, belonging to the Mbire clan)		Mbíre	(9)	(Mbire country)
Némákónde	(name of a chief in Chinhoyi district)		makonde	(6)	(hunting net)
névaná	(a spirit medium) Ko.		vaná	(2)	(children)
Nezúro	(yesterday)		zuro	(5)	(yesterday) (Ma.)
Nengúwo	(name of a chief near Chihota)		nguwe	(9)	(clothes and cradle skin)
Néhoshó	(name of a chief[1] in olden times)		hosho	(9)	(rattle)
Nehúmba	(name of a headman south of Harare)		humba	(9)	(tampan)
Néusú	(name of a headman south of Harare)		usú	(14)	(face)
Néhoreka	(name of Budya lion spirit)		hóréka	(9)	(something hanging on something else)
Nemhára	(name of person in Chiweshe area)		mhara	(9)	(antelope)
Néharáva	(name of the first chief of the Seke people		vaHaráva	(2)	(people in Seke)
Nékatí	(name of a person)				
nechombo	(lion spirit medium's assistant)		chombo	(7)	(implement, tool)
Nechibvute	(name of a person)		chibvute	(7)	(shade)

(d) Prefixal morphemes mu-zvina- are prefixed to nouns and this results in nominal constructions of cl. 1.

e.g.muzvína-baba	(the one who still has a father)	cp.	babá	(1a)	(father)
muzvíná-payí	(a pregnant woman)		payí	(16)	(what place? - an enumerative)
muzvína-pfúma	(the rich man)		pfuma	(9)	(riches)
muzvíná-dóro	(the one with the beer)		dore	(5)	(beer)
muzvíná-hwahwá	(the one with the beer)		hwahwá	(14)	(beer)
muzvíná-bótso	(the one who caused the trouble)		botso	(5)	(aggrieved spirit)
vazvíná-dáre	(those involved in judging a court case)		dare	(5)	(court, meeting place)
vazvína-mbúdzí	(great herds)		mbúdzí	(9)	(goat)
muzvíná-gúhwa	(a tale bearer)		guhwa	(5)	(tale, slander)
muzvíná-kúenda	(the one who has to go)		kuenda	(15)	(to go)
muzvíná-kúponda	(executioner)		kuponda	(15)	(to kill)

Wechítatú múzvina-guhwa (A third person is a calumniator)

For another "ownership" construction, cp. 3.3.1.(d)(2)(iii)

3.4.2.6. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem containing ideophones

(a)(1) In the first of these constructions, the constructional pattern is:

np + ideophone + ideophone

e.g.

dápi-tápi	(5)	(tastiness)	cp.	tápi	(being sweet
gambú-kambu	(5)	(stew with different ingredients)		kambú	(scooping with fingers)
hota-kota	(9)	(bending down of several people)		kota	(bending)
mhikú-piku	(9)	(snatching up all round)		pikú	(snatching up)

In many examples the ideophones are themselves derived from verb radicals by suffixing -e.

e.g.

chi-wé-í-we	(7)	(falling of people all over or without cause)	cp. i-w-é-	(falling)

96 /chi-nwé-í-nwe...

(1) His name appears in a beer song: Ndámut évéra Néhoshó
(I'll follow Nehosho. I have nothing, but he is rich)

chi-nwé-í-we	(7)	(drinking from different pots)	cp.	i-nw-é	(drinking
chi-tángé-tangé	(7)	(starting without order)		táng-e	(starting)
chi-tóng-é-tong-é	(7)	(judging without order - as in court where everyone regards himself as an authority)		tóng-e	(judging)
chi-svíp-é-svip-é	(7)	(spitting everywhere without reason)		svíp-e	(spitting)
chi-rim-é-rím-e	(7)	(ploughing at will without any law to stop one, or for no reward)		rim-é	(cultivating)
chi-bik-é-bík-e	(7)	(cooking without method readiness to cook at any time)		bik-é	(cooking)
ru-báté-baté	(11)	(habitual taking, stealing)		bát-e	(taking)
nhúng-e-túng-e	(9)	(goring of bulls; or rough sewing as of bags)		túng-e	(piercing)

(2) 3-syllable ideophones:

np: mu- + ideophone + ideophone

e.g.

* mu-kúdúbu-kúdúbu	(3)	(continual uncovering)	cp.	kúdúbu	(uncovering)
mu-suduru-suduru	(3)	(continual withdrawing, changing of position)		suduru	(withdrawing)

(3) 1-syllable ideophones

np: chi- + triplicate ideophone

e.g.

** chi-dó-dó-dó	(continual hammering)	cp.	do	(falling, knocking, hammering
** chi-nhí-nhí-nhí	(continual gripping)		nhí	(gripping)

(b) Alternative patterns:

(1) 2-syllable ideophones:

np: chi- + ideophone + np: mu- + ideophone

e.g.

chi-mhédu-mu-mhédu	(irresponsible, breaking all over)	cp.	mhédu	(breaking)
chi-tsemú-mu-tsému	(irresponsible breaking up)		tsemú	(breaking, hitting with palm)
chi-svuú-mu-svúu	(irresponsible stripping)		svuú	(stripping off)

(2) 2-syllable ideophones:

np: + ideophone + np: + ideophone

e.g.

*** nhúri-mutúri	(9)	(continual hanging up)	cp.	túri	(hanging up)
*** nhánge-mutánge	(9)	(races)		táng-e	(starting)
mhóte-mupóte	(9)	(continual turning round)		póte	(turning)
mhiku-mupiku	(9)	(picking a large portion of meat, e.g. leg of ox or a large bundle)		piku	(picking up)
bondé-mu-ponde	(5)	(general killing e.g. at a signal)		pond-é	(killing)
bindé-mu-pinde	(5)	(passing through a crowd - one after the other)		pind-é	(passing in or through)
jére-mu-chére	(5)	(drawing of water)		chér-e	(drawing of water
jeré-mú-chere	(5)	(digging)		cher-é	(digging)
**** yambú-mu-yambu	(5)	(crossing)		yambú	(crossing, fordin
dzvotsvó-mu-tsvotsvo	(5)	(falling of rain)		tsvo tsvo	(falling of rain)
dánde-mu-tánde	(5)	(chasing)		tánd-e	(chasing)
dandé-mu-tande	(5)	(stretching		tandé	(stretching)
dzvétu-mu-svétu	(5)	(general jumping up, e.g. to avoid a snake)		svétu	(jumping)

97 /(3) 2-syllable...

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* Alternative tones : L-HHH-LLL

** " " : L-LLL

*** " " : LH-LLL LH-Hll

**** " " : LH-LHL

(3) 2-syllable ideophones:

np: mu + ideophone + np: mu- + ideophone

e.g.

mu-chétu-mu-chétu	(3)	(continual cutting)	cp.	chétu	(cutting)
* mu-svuú-mu-svúu	(3)	(continual stripping)		svuú	(stripping)

(4) 2-syllable ideophones:

np + ideophone + np + ideophone

e.g.

dáu-nháu	(5)	(grasshopper)	cp.	táu	(jumping)

(c) Constructional patterns:

(1) 2-syllable ideophones

np: chá- + np: mu + ideophone + np + ideophone

e.g.

chá-mu-chétu-mu-chétu	(cutting snipping all over)	cp.	chétu	(cutting, snipping)
chá-mu-mhédu-mu-mhédu	(breaking all over)		mhédu	(breaking)
chá-mú-undú-mu-úndu	(taking feathers from all over)		undú	(losing feathers)
chá-mú-svuú-mu-svúu	(stripping all over)		svuú	(stripping)

(2) 3-syllable ideophones:

np: chá- + np: mu + ideophone + ideophone

e.g.

chá-mu-pfúdúgu-pfudugu	(continual uncovering, e.g. of a pot)	cp.	pfúdúgu	(uncovering)
chá-mu-rádánu-radanu	(continual stretching out)		radanu	(stretching)

(3) 1-syllable ideophones:

np: chá- + np: mu- + reduplicated ideophone
+ np: mu- + reduplicated ideophone

e.g.

chá-mu-púpú-mu-púpú	(continual falling of leaves papers, etc.)	cp.	pu	(falling lightly as of a leaf)
chá-mu-nzvénzvé-mu-nzvénzé	(continual dodging all over)		nzvé	(dodging)

(4) 1-syllable ideophones:

np: chá- + np: mu + triplicated ideophones

e.g.

chá-mu-dódódó	(repeated hammering	cp.	do	(falling, knocking, hammering)
chá-mu-nhínhínhí	(contiual gripping time after time		nhi	(gripping)

(d) Miscellaneous examples:

zvidzamé	(8)	(thing which disappear)	cp.	dzamé (disappearing
mupfumvumvu	(3)	(spillings from a basket)		pfu-mvu-mvu
chishwe	(7)	(slip knot)		shwe
chivhindikiti	(7)	(sturdy little fellow)		vhindikiti
urubvurubvu	(14)	(mince meat)		rúbvu-rúbvu
chamuvhérére	(7)	(chasing)		vhérére
mapínginúre	(1a)	(one who takes the sting out of medicine)		

Ákaóna Sáráóga cháve chámuvhéréré néhwiza mubáni
(He saw that Saraoga was chasing the locusts in all directions in the plain; lit. had become a chasing.....)

3.4.2.7. Constructions consisting of a prefix and a stem followed by an ideophone

e.g. mukumbo-dayí	(3)	(walking with leg turning inwards)	
mukumbo-gudyú	(3)	(walking with leg turning out)	
mukumbo-péya	(3)	(walking with leg bending in)	
mukumbo-nzvanda	(3)	(walking with knee bending out in front)	

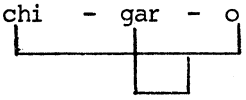
* Alternative tonomorph: L-LH-L-LL

3.4.2.8. Nominal constructions based on verb radicals

e.g. chi-gar-o (7) (a chair)

The ICs of this construction appear to be, not np + ns but np....-o and R.

viz. chi - gar - o



There are two main types of construction:

(i) constructions based on the radical alone and involving combinations of prefixes and the terminal vowels -i, -o, -a, -e, or -u. The radicals and terminal vowel may be reduplicated.

(ii) constructions based on the verb phrase and involving combinations of prefixes and the terminal vowel -a. These constructions are treated in 3.4.2.9.

In all constructions, radicals may be simple or extended, viz. accompanied by extensions or combinations of extensions.

(a) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel/-i/ with radicals.

These constructions are usually with prefixes of cll. 1, 9 and 14. Nouns of cll. 1 and 9 indicate agents of the operation of R; those of cl. 14 often indicate subjective qualities and sometimes agents.

(1) Cl. 1 nouns: mu-R-i

e.g.	H Radicals			
mu-f-í	(dead person)	cp.	-f-	(die)
mu-vhím-í	(hunter)		-vhím-	(hunt)
mu-téng-és-i	(seller)		-téng-és-	(sell)
mu-kúrúmídz-i	(one who hurries)		-kúrúmídz-	(hurry)
mu-pídígú-r-is-i	(one who causes something e.g. a car, to overturn)		-pídígú-r-is-	(turn away)

e.g.	L Radicals			
mu-rw-i	(fighter)	cp.	-rw-	(fight)
mu-rpa-i	(one who cures		-rap-	(treat, cure)
mu-rim-is-i	(agricultural demonstrator)		-rim-is-	(cause to cultivate)
mu-pamhidz-ir-i	(one who increases)		-pamhidz-ir-	(increase)
va-pamhidz-ir-an-i	(those who aid each other)		-pamhidz-ir-an-	(give aid to one another)

(2) Cl. 9 nouns: N-R-i

e.g.	H Radicals			
nháp-í	(captor)	cp.	-táp-	(capture)
hónz-ér-i	(one who incites)		-kónz-ér-	(cause for)
húrúmídz-i	(impulsive person)		-kúrúmídz-	(hurry)

e.g.	L Radicals			
mhond-i	(murderer)	cp.	-pond-	(kill)
mharadz-i	(destroyer)		-paradz-	(scatter)
mhamhidz-ir-i	(one who increases)		-pamhidz-ir-	(increase)

(3) Cl. 14 nouns: u-R-i

e.g.	H Radicals			
u-dy-í	(pests that prey on	cp.	-dy-	(eat)
u-íp-í	(evil) crops)		-íp-	(be bad)
u-pfúm-í	(riches)		-pfúm-	(be rich)
u-tsúng-í	(determination)		-tsúng-	(be determined)
u-chénjér-i	(wisdom)		-chénjér-	(be wise)
u-púpúr-i	(witness)		-púpúr-	(give witness)

e.g.	L Radicals			
u-nak-	(goodness)	cp.	-nak-	(be good)
u-raram-i	(long life)		-raram-	(live long)
u-ruram-i	(honesty)		-ruram-	(be straight)
u-gar-ir-i	(service marriage)		-gar-ir-	(work for father-in-law)
u-simb-arar-i	(perseverance)		-simb-arar-	(be strong, longlasting)

(4) Passive...

(4) Passive extended radicals appear in nominal constructions of a number of classes with terminal -a or -i. Tones with terminal -i are the normal ones found, e.g. in the above constructions, but those with terminal -a are TC V (see below). Nouns with the passive extension indicate patient or products (acted on, as opposed to acting).

e.g.	H Radicals			
mu-bát-w-í/mu-bát-w-a	(captive)	cp.	-bát-w-	(be held)
mu-f-ír-w-í/mu-f-ír-w-a	(someone bereaved)		-f-ír-w-	(be bereaved)
mu-támbír-w-i/mu-támbir-w-á	(one who is welcomed)		-támbír-w-	(be received)
mu-téng-és-w-i/mu-téng-es-w-á	(someone sold)		-téng-és-w-	(be sold)
--- - /mu-kúrúmidz-w-á	(one who makes himself hurry)		-kúrúmídz-w-	(be hurried)
chi-nóng-w-í/chi-nóng-w-a	(something picked up)		-nóng-w-	(be picked up)
--- /nhúm-w-a	(messenger)		-túm-w-	(be sent)
nhap-w-í/ ---	(captive)		-táp-w-	(be captured)
--- /ka-síy-an-w-á	(little finger)		-síy-án-w-	(be left to others)

e.g.	L Radicals			
mu-rap-w-i/mu-rap-w-á	(one healed)	cp.	-rap-w	(be treated)
--- /mu-rw-iw-á	(one fought for)		-rw-ir-	(be fought)
--- /mu-cher-w-á	(one reported)		-cher-w-	(be reported)
--- /mu-taúr-w-a	(one spoken about		-taur-wa	(be spoken)
--- /mu-bik-ír-w-a	(one cooked for)		-bik-ir-w-	(be cooked for)
--- /mu-zarír-w-a	(one shut up)		-zarir-w-	(be shut up)
--- /mu-pamhídz-ír-w-a	(one who has a payrise)		-pamhidz-ir-w-	(have an increase made for one)
chi-sik-w-i/chi-sik-w-á	(creature)		-sik-w-	(be made, created)
--- /chi-sik-íw-a	(creature)			

(b) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-o/ with radicals

These constructions are found in cll. 3, 5, 7, 9 11 and 14. In meaning these nouns indicate the instruments or results of the operation of the R. In cl.11 habits or habitual dispositions are indicated; in cl.14, some nouns indicate places, others dispositions or characteristics. Nouns of cl.3 with extended radicals -R-ir- are a special formation with distinctive tones and indicate manner of action.

(1) Cl. 3 nouns; mu-R-o

e.g.	H Radicals			
mu-dy-ó	(something edible)	cp.	-dy-	(eat)
mu-b-ó	(stealing)		-b-	(steal)
mu-téng-ó	(price)		-téng-	(buy)
mu-kákát-o	(rope or chain for towing)		-kákát-	(pull, tow)
mu-tsvǎír-o	(broom)		-tsvǎí-r-	(sweep)
mu-rúmík-o	(cupping horn)		-rúmík-	(bleed)

e.g.	L Radicals			
mu-bvunz-o	(question)	cp.	-bvunz-	(ask)
mu-namat-o	(prayer)		-namat-	(pray)
muenzan-is-o	(measure)		-enzan-is-	(equalise, settle)

(2) Cl. 5 nouns: (ri-)-R-o

e.g.	H Radicals			
jék-ó	(sickle)	cp.	-chék-	(cut)
zórór-o	(holiday)		-zórór-	(rest)
gáng-ír-o	(frying pan)		-káng-ír-	(fry in)
dónhódz-o	(something that cools)		-tónhódz-	(cool)
rár-ír-o	(sleepingplace)		-rár-ír-	(sleep in)
búr-ír-o	(threshing floor)		-púr-ír-	(thresh at)

(3) Cl. 7 nouns: chi-R-o

e.g.	H Radicals			
chi-d-ó	(love)		-d-	(love)
chi-súng-ó	(constitution, resolution)		-súng-	(tie)
chi-rót-ó	(dream)		-rót-	(dream)
chi-dzíídz-o	(lesson		-dzíídz-	(learn)

chi-rás-ír-o	(rubbish bin)	-rás-ír-	(throw at)
chi-pót-ér-o	(refuge)	-pót-ér-	(look for protection)
chi-dyár-ír-o	(tin for holding seeds for planting)	-dyár-ír-	(plant out)

e.g. L Radicals

chi-bv-o	(origin)	cp.	-bv-	(come from)
chi-rodz-o-	(hone, grindstone		-rodz-	(sharpen)
chi-er-o	(object tabooed)		-er-	(abstain from)
chi-zarur-o	(opener)		-zarur-	(open)
chi-dzivir-o	(stopper)		-dzivir-	(stop up)
chi-bik-is-o	(stirring stick)		-bik-is-	(cook with)
chi-sek-es-o	(joke)		-sek-es-	(make laugh)
chi-rim-is-o	(something to cultivate with)		-rim-is-	(cultivate with)
chi-sak-is-o	(cause)		-sak-is-	(cause)
chi-enzan-is-o	(measure)		-enzan-is-	(equalise)

(4) Cl. 9 nouns: N-R-o

e.g. H Radicals

mbát-ó	(pincers)	cp.	-bát-	(hold)
nhém-ó	(chisel)		-tém-	(out)
háng-ír-o	(potsherd for frying)		-káng-ír-	(fry in)
hám-ír-o	(milking pail)		-kám-ír-	(milk into)

e.g. L Radicals

tson-o	(needle)	cp.	-son-	(sew)
mhik-o	(oath)		-pik-	(swear)
hoche-k-o	(rope used to inspan)		-koche-k-	(get joined)
hodz-ek-o	(calabash for thickening milk)		-kodz-ek-	(keep milk to thicken)
nduram-o	(justice)		-ruram-	(be straight)

(5) Cl. 11 nouns: ru-R-o

e.g. H Radicals

ru-b-ó	(habit of stealing)	cp.	-b-	(steal)
ru-chív-ó	(covetousness)		-chív-	(covet)
ru-zív-ó	(knowledge)		-zív-	(know)
ru-sém-ó	(hatred)		-sém-	(hate)
ru-rév-ó	(habit of back-biting)		-rév-	(say, accuse)
ru-nzw-án-ó	(mutual understanding)		-nzw-án-	(understand one another)
ru-véng-án-o	(mutual hatred)		-véng-án-	(hate one another)

e.g. L Radicals

ru-fur-o	(pasture)	cp.	-fur-	(graze)
ru-sek-o	(habit of deriding others)		-sek-	(laugh)
ru-shush-o	(habit of worrying others)		-shush-	(persecute)
ru-sarur-o	(partiality, discrimination)		-sarur-	(choose)

(6) Cl. 14 nouns: U-R-o

e.g. H Radicals

u-d-ó	(inclination)	cp.	-d-	(want)
u-fár-ó	(width)		-fár-	(be wide)
u-íbv-ó	(ripeness)		-íbv-	(ripen)
u-vak-o	(building, building site)		-vák-	(build)
u-vánd-ó	(place to hide)		-vánd-	(hide)
u-vát-ó	(place to sleep)		-vát-	(sleep)
u-tétémb-o	(litany)		-tétémb-	(greet with praise names)

e.g. L Radicals

u-bv-o	(character, behaviour)	cp	-bv-	(come from)
u-gar-o	(settlement)		-gar-	(live)
u-dzik-o	(depth)		-dzik-	(go down)
u-pind-o	(access)		-pind-	(go in)
u-rind-o	(sleeping place)		-rind-	(sleep)
u-vamb-o	(beginning)		-vamb-	(begin)
u-yamh-o	(protection against sickness)		-yamh-	(ward off)
u-mhomb-o	(lechery)		-pomb-	(be lewd, lecherous)
u-ruram-o	(straightness)		-ruram-	(be straight)

101 (7)Cl. 3...

(7) Cl. 3 nouns with applied extended R: mu-R-ir-o

e.g. H Radicals

mu-dy-ír-ó	(way of eating	cp. -dy-ír-	(eat for)
mu-túm-ir-ó	(way of sending)	-túm-ír-	(send for)
mu-púr-ir-ó	(way of threshing)	-púr-ír-	(thresh for)
mu-túm-ík-ir-ó	(way of being available for sending)	-túm-ík-ír-	(be sending for)
mu-kúrúmídz-ir-ó	(way of hurrying)	-kúrúmídz-ir	(hurry for)

But

mu-zvár-ír-w-o	(way of being born)	-zvár-ír-w-	(be born for)

cp.

ma-púr-ír-o	(threshing floors)		

e.g. L Radicals

mu-w-ir-ó	(way of falling)	cp. -w-ir-	(fall to)
mu-bvunz-ír-ó	(way of asking)	-bvunz-ir-	(ask for)
mu-svik-ír-ó	(way of arriving)	-svik-ir-	(arrive for)
mu-taúr-ír-ó	(way of speaking)	-taur-ir-	(speak for)
mu-ridz-ír-w-ó	(way of being played)	-ridz-ir-w-	(be played for)
mu-rap-ír-w-ó	(way of being treated)	-rap-ir-w-	(be treated for)

cp.

ma-svik-ir-o	(medium; places for arriving at, termini)	-svik-ir-	(arrive at)

These Radicals may include: object concords + R + -ir-:

e.g.

mu-tí-túm-ir-ó	(way of sending us)	cp. -túm-ír-	(send for)
mu-dzívák-ir-ó	(way of building them - houses)	-vák-ír-	(build for)
mu-zví-bát-ir-ó	(way of holding them - things)	-bát-ír-	(hold for)

Even the reflexive infix /-zvi-/ may appear - with its characteristic tones.
e.g. mu-zvi-bát-ir-ó (Way of controlling oneself) -bat-ir- (hold for)

(c) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with radical

These constructions are found in a number of classes though examples are not numerous. In some cases they have different tones from those found on infinitive inflected verb Radicals in a segment, viz. when followed by a complement.

e.g. H Radicals

mu-róór-a	(1)	(bride)	cp. -róór-	(conduct marriage transaction)
mu-pát-a	(3)	(mountain pass)	-pat-	(be narrow)
bír-a	(5)	(ritual feast	-pír-	(sacrifice)
bárík-a	(5)	(polygamous union)	-párík-	(contract a polygamous union)
nw-íw-a	(5)	(water melon)	-nw-íw-	(be drunk)
ma-nzw-ír-a	(5)	(rumour, report)	-nzw-ír-	(hear for)
ma-ty-ír-a	(6)	(reverence)	-ty-ír-	(fear for)
nyór-a	(9)	(tattoo marks)	-nyór-	(mark)
ru-tsv-á	(11)	(patch of burnt veld)	-tsv-	(burn)
u-nyány-a	(14)	(excess)	-nyány-	(be excessive)

e.g. L Radicals

mu-tever-	(1)	(third born child)	cp. -tever-er-	(follow on)
mu-sik-a	(3)	(whisk)	-sik-	(whirl)
ma-shur-á	(6)	(omens)	-shur-	(be ominous)
nhut-a	(9)	(mole)	-tut-	(burrow)
ndim-á	(9)	(plot of ground)	-rim-	(cultivate)
ru-bwiny-a	(11)	(splendour)	-bwiny-	(shine)

(d) Constructions of prefixes and terminal vowel /-e/ with radicals

These constructions are found in a number of classes though examples are not numerous. In some cases the tones differ from those in constructions with terminals /-i/ and /-o/.

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e.g. H Radicals

mu-rwér-é	(1)	(invalid)	cp.	-rwár-	(be sick)
mu-zvár-é	(1)	(married son of chief)		-zvár-	(beget)
dúng-w-e-	(5)	(queue, lineage)		-túng-	(sprout)?
ma-rémb-é	(6)	(dewlaps)		-rémbér-	(hang down)
ma-íbv-e-íbv-e	(6)	(ripe fruit)		-íbv-	(ripen)
ma-úmb-w-e-	(6)	(play houses)		-úmb-	(mould)
ndúmur-é	(9)	(weaned child)		-rúmúr-	(wean)
nhúm-é	(9)	(messenger)		-túm-	(send)
u-rwér-é	(14)	(sickness)		-rwár-	(be sick)

e.g. L Radicals

mu-gov-é	(3)	(part)	cp	-gov-	(apportion)
mu-swer-é	(3)	(duration of a day)		-swer-	(spend day)
mu-nhuhw-é	(3)	(smell)		-nhuhw-	(emit smell)
donhw-é	(5)	(drop)		-donh-	(fall)
zvi-tanhur-e	(8)	(supports)		-tanhur-	(lift up, support)
chember-e	(9)	(old woman)		-chember-	(be old)
ru-gar-é	(11)	(peace)		-gar-	(sit)
ru-pfav-é	(11)	(gentleness)		-pfav-	(be gentle)
u-pomb-w-e	(14)	(adultery)		-pomb-	(be lecherous)

(e) Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal /-u/ with radicals

These hardly exist - but cp. the following examples:

mu-kwégúrú	(old lady)	cp.	-kwégúr-	(age)
ru-fú	(death)		-f-	(die)

(f) Summary of tones on radicals and terminal vowels:

H Radicals

R + i	R + w + i	R + w + a	R + o	R + ir + o R+ir+W+o	R + a	R + e	R + a in	V. phrase
H			H				H	
HH	HH	HL	HH	HH	HL	HH	HH	
HHL	HHL	HLH	HHL	HLH	HHL	HLH	HHH	
HHHL		HHLH		HHLH			HHHL	
HHHLL				HHHLH			HHHLL	

L Radicals

L			L				L	
LL	LL	LH	LL	LH	LL/LH	LH/LL	LL	
LLL	LLL	LHL	LLL	LHH		LLL	LLL	
LLLL	LLLL	LHHL	LLLL	LHHH			LLLL	
LLLLL	LLLLL		LLLLL				LLLLL	

(g) Radicals and terminals are commonly reduplicated:

e.g.

mu-dí-í-d-i	(1)	(one who wants everything)	cp. -d-	(want)
cp. anérudárúda (one who goes about courting different girls)				
mu-rw-i-irw-i	(1)	(one who fights everyone)	-rw-	(fight)
mu-fámb-í-famb-í	(1)	(tramp)	-fámb-	(travel)
mu-bvunz-i-bvunz-i	(1)	(one who asks anything without any tact)	-bvunz-	(ask)
mu-rwér-é-rwer-é	(1)	(a sickly person)	-rwár-	(be sick)
mu-d-íw-á-d-iw-á	(3)	(love philtre)	-d-íw-	(be loved)
mu-namat-o-namat-o	(3)	(pretence of praying)	-namat-	(pray)
mu-bátsír-o-batsir-o	(3)	(constantly renewed way of helping which is suspect)	-batsir-	(help)
mu-rir-ír-o-rir- ir-o-	(3)	(constant way of howling)	-rir-ir-	(cry for)
gwend-á-kwend-a	(5)	(tramp, coming and going)	-end-	(go)
bvun-a-pfun-a	(5)	(light rain)	-pfun-	(rain lightly)
cp. bvuna-mbuya (light rain)				
chi-bay-a-bay-a	(7)	(thorn tree)	-bay-	(stab)
chi-bay-a-báy-á	(7)	(indiscriminate killing)	-bay-	(stab)
ka-nyéng-á-nyeng-á	(12)	(swallow)	-nyéng-	(woo)
hwend-á-end-a	(14)	(vagrancy)	-end-	(go)
ruchívá-chivá	(11)	(covetousness)	-chív-	(covet)
runyéngá-nyengá	(11)	(constant courting)	-nyéng-	(court)

3.4.2.9. Constructions based on verb phrases

Constructions consisting of prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with verb phrases.

Radicals accompanied by complements or adjuncts in a V. phrase and combine with prefixes and terminal vowel /-a/ with TC I tonomorphs. Examples of these constructions are common.

(a) In the first group of examples, the R is followed by an object complement.

e.g.

Mu-sik-a-vanhu	(1a,1)	(title of Ndau chief)	cp.	-sik-vanhu	(create people)
mu-p-á-nhaú	(1)	(reporter)		-p-nhaú	(give news)
Mu-ramb-a-tsvina	(1a,3)	(something which must be kept clean or which rejects dirt, e.g. white collar, health demonstrator)		-ramb-tsvina	(reject dirt)
mu-paradz-a-mvúrá	(3)	(rainbow)		-paradz-mvúrá	(scatter the rain)
Gand-a-nhámó	(1a,5)	(someone, thing or occasion causing distress)		-kand-nhámó	(cast distress)
dever-a-ngwena	(5)	(small rafter)		-tever-ngwena	(follow crocodile)
chi-túť-á-mátuzví	(7)	(dung beetle)		-túť-mátuzví	(lift dung)
chi-nzvéng-á-mutsváíro	(1a,7/7)	(lazy bones)		-nzvéng-mutsváíro	(dodge broom)
goch-a-nyúchi	(5)	(a Malawian)		-goch-nyúchi	(roast bees)
gar-a-mukókó	(5)	(tricky person)		-gar-mukókó	(stay in hive)
bwany-a-makáka	(5)	(strong man)		-pwany-makáka	(crush cucumbers with thorny skins)
mhing-a-mushá	(9)	(something to prevent village being robbed or violated)		-ping-mushá	(ward off trouble from village
nhúng-á-mákoré	(9)	(tall person)		-túng-mákoré	(pierce clouds)
tsvuur-a-muromo	(9)	(naughty child)		-svuur-muromo	(chafe the mouth)
ndamb-a-kupetwa	(9)	(incorrigible person)		-ramb-kupetwa	(refuse to be folded)
mhúnz-á-mushá	(9)	(file snake - ndara)		-púnz-mushá	(break up home)
ndamb-a-kuwa	(9)	(strong man)		-ramb-kuwa	(refuse to fall)
ka-nyúrír-a-hóvé	(12)	(king-fisher)		-nyúrír-hóvé	(take fish out of water)
ka-ríng-a-zúvá	(12)	(wrist-watch)		-ríng zúvá	

(b) In the second group of examples, the R is followed by an adverbial complement.

e.g.

mu-bv-a-kure	(1)	(foreigner)	cp.	-bv-kure	(come from far)
mu-n-a-kamwe	(3)	(early rains)		-n-kamwe	(rain once)
ma-bv-a-muchando	(6)	(winter growth)		-bv-muchando	(come out in the cold)
Chi-rí-múhanzú	(1a,7)	(a name)		-rí-múhanzú	(be in a garment)
Chi-gút-á-pádare	(1a,7)	(a name)		-gut-padare	(get full at the meeting place)
chi-rí-múutá	(7)	(underground movement)		-rí-múutá	(be in the bow)

(c) In the third group of examples, the R is followed by an adjunct.

e.g.

Mu-z-a-nénhamo	(1a,1)	(a Jonah)	cp	-z-nénhamo	(come with misfortune)
jém-nówadyá	(5)	(general calamity)		-chém-nówadyá	(cry, even the one who has eaten)
Chirw-a-nérongó	(1a,7)	(a glutton)		-rw-nérongó	(fight with the pot)
Mutámb-á-nengwé	(1a,3)	(playing with danger)		-tamb-nengwé	(play with a leopard)
Mufá-nébadzá	(1a,1)	(hardworking person)		-f-nébadzá	(die with a hoe)
gwírá-nenzára	(5)	(great trouble; lit. climbing with ones nails)		-kwír-nenzára	(climb by means of finger nails)

(d) In the fourth group of examples, the R is followed by a noun standing in relation of agent or subject.

e.g.

mu-bv-a-maropa	(3)	(a bloodwood tree)	cp.	-bv-maropa	(come out - blood)
ma-fúr-a-mhépó	(6)	(open country)		-fúr-mhépó	(blow - wind)

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ma-bvir-a-zúvá	(6)	(the East)	cp.	-bvir-zúvá	(come up - the sun)
ru-bvunz-a-vaení	(11)	(late evening)		-bvunz-vaení	(ask - the strangers)
ru-fur-a-mhembwe	(11)	(late evening)		-fur-mhembwe	(graze - the duikers)

(e) Another type of R segment which appears in nominal constructions is the R accompanied by a participial inflected V. phrase or clause. There are numerous examples of this construction.

Kutyá-úripó	(la,15)	(a name, someone timid but who will not run away)
Mupá-ndágúta	(la1)	(a name, someone who gives after he has had enough)
rufá-ndichímúká	(11)	(resurrection plant)
mubva-ndírimó	(1)	(illegitimate child); or (3)(a disease)
Muswa-ndíreré	(la,1/1)	(a name or a person who spends the day sleeping)
Chipá-úmire	(la,7)	(a name of someone who gives away readily) thing)
Mutámbá-wagúta	(la,1)	(a name of someone who will not co-operate unless given some-
mukora-kwáfa-mombe	(1)	(a very thin or poor person)
mushamba-ríchakwáta		(one who washes his hands while the pot is boiling)
Mufá-ndáedzá	(la,1)	(one who fights even though knowing he will be beaten)
mudyá-ndígeré	(1)	(a pensioner)
muswa-ndákaríngа	(3)	(something you are thinking of all the time)
murwa-ndírere	(la)	(secret agent)

In (a) and (b) the R is accompanied by a complement, either object or adverb in meaning; in (c) by an adjunct; in (d) by a complement which appears to be semantically the subject of the R. Perhaps these constructions are similar to the relative inflected R segment with inverted subject.

e.g. Tarísá zvinóita babá
(Look at what father is doing)

Dzimbá dzinóvátá vasíkaná
(Houses where the girls sleep)

In (e) the R is accompanied by a participially inflected V. phrase.

The constructions in 3.4.2.9. - viz. np + V.phrase ++-a/ - are really no different structurally from the infinitive inflected V. phrases + /-a/.

cp.	chi-rw-a-né-hari	(7)	(a glutton)
	ku-rw-a-né-hari	(15)	(to fight with a pot)
	ndamb-a-kuwa	(9)	(a strong man)
	ku-ramb-a-kuwa	(15)	(to refuse to fall)
	mu-bv-a-maropa	(3)	(bloodwood tree)
	ku-bv-a-maropa	(15)	(to exude blood)

These parallel constructions throw light on the infinitive. Traditionally "infinitives" have been treated as nouns of cl.15.

e.g. kuita : prefix ku- + stem -ita

This treatment overlooked the fact that the "stem" is complex, consisting of a radical and terminal vowel -a and tones that the R is always potentially a V. phrase.

e.g. ku-it-a sémwaná (to act like a child);

and the constituents of the infinitive are the prefix /ku-/ and terminal vowel -a with tones on the one hand and the V. phrase on the other. In other classes two types of construction are possible, viz. those in which the second constituent is the R alone and those in which it is the V. phrases. In Cl.15 there do not seem to be any constructions based on the R alone. There is nothing in cl.15 to correspond to constructions like mu-p-í (a giver) or chi-d-ó (love). The constructions in other classes which correspond to the infinitive are those whose constituents are verb phrases.

viz.	mu-ramb-a-tsvina	(3)	(something to be kept clean)
cp.	ku-ramb-a-tsvina	(15)	(to reject dirt)

Should "infinitives" be considered as forming a class of nouns? Consider some further differences between infinitives and nouns of the other classes.

(a) Among the infinitives there are only a very few examples which can be analysed in terms of a noun prefix and stem consisting of a V. phrase. They are the cases of Rs with invariable terminal vowel.

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viz. ku-ti (to say, do etc.)
ku-nge (to seem)
ku-nzi (to be said, done etc.)

ku-díyi, ku-dáyi, ku-dáro
ku-nzíyi, ku-nzáyi, ku-nzárwo

In all other cases, the prefix ku- combines with terminal vowel -a and tones as a constituent.

(b) There are no secondary meanings or secondary stems in the class of infinitives.

(c) The V. phrases in cl. 15 are more complex than those found in other classes. V. phrases with negative or exclusive morphemes or the object prefixes are not found normally or at all in combination with prefixes of other classes but they are common in cl. 15.

viz. ku-sa-f-á nenzára (not to die of hunger)
ku-chí-f-a nenzára (now to die of hunger)
ku-á-dy-á mambíshi (to eat the raw ones)

Nevertheless "infinitives" do form a noun class since infinitives are constructions with a prefix in common as well as a set of agreements. Infinitives can all function as headwords in substantive phrases.

e.g. ku-nwá hwahwá uku (this drinking of beer)
cp. chi-nwá-hwahwá ichi (this habitual drinker)

Nominal constructions with R nuclei belong as constructions to the verbal hierarchy. But the constructions themselves enter as constituents in substantival constructions:

in substantive phrases

e.g. ku-d-á vánhu kwáké (his love of people)

in adverbial phrases

e.g. nóku-d-á vánhu kwáké (by his love of people)

in copulative phrases

e.g. Kugara hú-nzw-an-a (To live peacefully is to understand one another)

3.4.2.10 Nominal constructions based on inflected verb phrases, clauses and sentences

The np in these constructions is often that of cl. 1a, prefixed to inflected V.phrases.

(a)(1) Constructional pattern: np + principal inflected V. phrase

e.g. Mahúrasa (1a) (a name, viz. you have cast it, viz. uroyi (witchcraft)
Mandívenga (1a) (a name, viz. you have hated me)
Maténda-rúpi (1a) (name of a child. A veiled enquiry - How do I stand with you?)
matakádya-kare (6) (previous experience)
maríngá-pasí (1a) (name for sheep, or submissive person)
Handírubvé (1a) (name - I can't get away from trouble)
mapárúrá-homwé (1a) (pickpocket)
mafírá-kupá (1a) (very generous person)
Madyírá-panzé (1a) (Chidawo of Chief Gutu)
chimandíónerepí (7) (dwarf pygmy)
tagútá-pádare (1a) (soft-bodied cricket)

(2) Constructional pattern: np + principal inflected V.phrase
+ participial inflected V. phrase

e.g. Mazívá-ndágará (1a) (a name of someone who stays temporarily in order to please someone's whim, e.g. a parent)
kumazívá-ndádzoká (17) (a dangerous place - you know I have been there only if I return)

(b)(1) Constructional patterns: np + imperative inflected V. phrases

e.g. Wanzáí-motó (1a) (name given to a dangerous man, viz. build up the fire, he will knock you cold)
paírá vaná (1a) (one who gives bad example to his children)

(2) Constructional pattern: np + imperative inflected V. phrases
+ participial inflected V. phrases

e.g. bvunzá-wábayá (1a,5/5) (an impetuous person or a calamity)
jéká-wáchéka (5) (name for whale or animal providing abundance of meat)

e.g. shambá-wámedzá (1a) (greedy eater)
vana-idyá-ndígeré (rich people with income)

(3) Constructional pattern: np + imperative inflected V. phrase
+ subjunctive inflected V. phrase

e.g. símúká-ndíkuréve (1a) (an unpopular person whom one wants to get up and go so as to be able to talk about him)
bvunzá-ndíbvumé (1a) (a yes-man who agrees to whatever he is asked)
Témá-ndíkutémewó (1a) (name of each of three stars very close to each other)
Tángá-ndíkutángewó (1a) (name of each of three people, very close to each other)
Vambá-ndíkúvambéwo (1a) (name of each of three people, very close to each other).

(c) Constructional pattern: np + relative inflected V. phrase

e.g. Chapínge-mushá (1a) (name given to a spinster; one who wards off trouble from the village)

(d) Constructional pattern: np + clause, viz. subject and predicate

e.g. Mutándá-wáchingama (1a,3) (An obstinate person - viz. a log has fallen across the path)
Búngú-rídonhá (1a,5/5) (name of person or calamity that cannot be avoided, viz. a mamba falling)
Chikónó-bayá (1a,7/7) (a fearless person or occasion, vix. bull, gore!)
kámbá-wáwazá-motó (1a) (sudden disappearance of a group of people; lit. Tortoise, you have scattered the fire)
mudzímu-wárembera (3) (overcoa; lit. the ancestral spirit hung down)
chibabá-munónzweyí? (7) (a windbreaker; lit. father, what do you fool?)
Munhu-ndíripó (1a,1) (a name; lit. I am a person, treated as such, only when present.)

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3.5. OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Other types of substantive are the adjective, the enumerative, the quantitative, the selector, the demonstrative and the pronoun. Each of these terms indicates a distinct type of construction with its own constructional pattern. Common to all these constructional patterns, however, is the provision of a class prefix or affix as one constituent.

3.5.1. Determination of class affixes

For example, the adjective chi-kúrú (big one)(7) has the adjective prefix chi-/ as one constituent. The prefix is not determined, as to its class, as in the case of the nouns, by the classificatory requirements of the second constituent, the stem. It is determined, not from within the construction but from without, by the class of a noun with which it is made to agree. This determination may be effected in various ways. If a noun and a non-nominal substantive, for example an adjective, occur in a substantive phrase, the prefix of the latter is required to be in agreement with the noun class prefix.

e.g. vasíkaná vátsvukú (fair girls) (2)

If the non-nominal substantive occurs in the absence of a noun as constituent in a substantive phrase, its prefix is determined so as to agree with that of the noun whereby the item to which it refers is known. For example, if the situation includes girls, normally referred to as vasíkaná, they can be referred to by the adjective as vatsvukú (fair ones). Most non-nominal substantives used in the absence of noun headwords in substantive phrases reflect a particular context of this kind which determines the shape of their class prefixes or affixes.

It is possible for non-nominal substantives to be of a class other than that to which the item they refer to is normally assigned. For example, if the situation includes girls who are fair, and the context contains the SP vasíkaná vátsvukú (2), the adjective zvitsvukú (8) may be used to refer to them, not only as fair, but also as short and fat. This extra connotation is carried by the prefix which is of a class intentionally other than that to which the item referred to is normally assigned and intentionally that in which the prefix chosen carries this meaning in its secondary use. Compare zvisíkaná (short, fat girls)(8). Hence secondary meanings can be carried by the prefixes or affixes of non-nominal substantives if there is calculated disagreement between the class of the chosen prefix or affix and the class to which the item being referred to normally belongs. These secondary meanings are conveyed by the substitution, for a prefix expected from the context, of another, chosen in order to bring out other aspects of the situation. These aspects are, of course, exactly those of the secondary noun prefixes which correspond to the chosen non-nominal prefixes or affixes. This process of substitution of a secondary prefix for an anticipated primary one, having regard to the context of the situation, is analogous to the substitution of secondary noun prefixes for primary ones and has the same semantic effect. In virtue of this we may call class affixes used in calculated disagreement secondary prefixes as well, e.g. secondary adjectives prefixes, secondary enumerative prefixes and so on, and refer to the meanings they carry as secondary references.

In many cases, non-nominal substantives of various classes are used without there being any particular determining item in the situation or context with which there is agreement or calculated disagreement.

e.g.	vakúrú	(elders, lit. big ones)	(2)
	vadíki	(juniors, lit. small ones)	(2)
	zvishoma	(in a small way)	(8)
	zvikúrú	(in a big way)	(8)
	zvimwe	(perhaps, otherwise)	(8)
	kumwe	(elsewhere)	(17)

These forms are used seemingly without any implied reference to a determining noun or item. They have been termed semi-dependent nominals (1) to bring out the fact that they derive the shape of their prefix, not from the presence of any noun present or "understood" but from the inherent ability of certain classes to express general notions. These notions are those associated with the prefixes of the noun classes both as primary, for example the use of class 2 forms when the reference is to human being, and as secondary, for example the use of cl. 8 forms when the reference is to manner.

These remarks about the determination of the class prefix or affix in non-nominal substantives apply to all types as well as to the possessive and relative constructions.

The prefixes or affixes of each construction form a constituent class which will be listed in the descriptions which follow. These affixes, as already stated, cp. par.3.1.1., are fewer in number than the noun prefixes and in some cases several noun class prefixes control the same agreement in non-nominal substantives.

The affixes of non-nominal substantives are numbered according to the number of the noun prefix with which they show agreement. If there are prefixes of more than one noun class which all control the same dependent affix, then this is numbered after the first in the series. Thus the

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dependent affixes showing agreement with nouns of cll. 1 and 1a are numbered cl.1; those showing agreement with nouns of cll. 2, 2a and 2b are numbered cl. 2; those showing agreement with nouns of cll. 5 and 21 are numbered cl. 5.

3.5.2. The Adjective

The second type of construction at the level of the substantive is the adjective.

(a) Its constructional pattern is :

adjectival prefix (AP) + adjectival stem (AS)

(b) The constituent class of AP contains the following members. As a set, they form Series II of the class affixes.

Adjectival Prefixes (Series II)

Number	Prefix	Example
1	mu-	mu-refú
2	va-	va-refú
3	mu-	mu-refú
4	mi-	mi-refú
5	(ri-)	refú
6	ma-	ma-refú
7	chi-	chi-refú
8	zvi-	zvi-refú
9	N-	ndefú
10, 9	ØN-	ndefú
11	ru-	ru-refú
12	ka-	ka-refú
13	tu-	tu-refú
14	u-	u-refú
15	ku-	ku-refú
16	pa-	pa-refú
17	ku-	ku-refú
18	mu-	mu-refú

(c) Notes on the adjectival prefixes

The APs are the same in form as the corresponding base forms of the NPs after which they are numbered. APs have no allomorphs, other than those in cll. 5 and 9, doubtless because there are no vowel-commencing adjectival stems. The APs of cll. 5 and 9 are realised in exactly the same way as the NPs of these classes.

There is no cl. 10 AP with allomorph /dzi-/.

e.g.	dzimbá húrú	(big houses)	(10, 9)
	mombe húrú	(big cattle)	(10, 9)

An AP of cl. 21 exists, of shape /zi-/ which is used as a preprefix to that of cl. 5 in rare cases.

e.g.	zibhódhoro zigúrú	(a huge bottle)	(21, 5)
	zibánga gúrú	(a huge knife)	(21, 5 + 5)

(d) The adjectival stems

Members of the constituent class of AS are the following. They are paired for mnemonic purposes and form a fairly comprehensive list.

-kúrú	(big)	-díki	(small)
-zhínjí	(many)	-shoma	(few, little)
-kúkútú	(hard)	-nyóró	(soft)
-refú	(long)	-pfúpi	(short)
-kobvú	(thick)	-tete	(thin)
-tsáru	(worn)	-tsvá	(new)
-uya	(good)	-ví	(bad)
-chena	(white)	-temá	(black)
-tsvuku	(red)	-pfumbú	(blue, grey)
-shává	(red, tawny)	-shora	(yellow)
-pamhí	(broad)	-penyú	(alive)
-tsvené	(pure)	-mbíshí	(unripe)
-hombé	(big)	-svinú	(good, nice, pleasing)

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1. G. Atkins, 'The Parts of Speech in Nyanja', The Nyasaland Journal, Vol. III No.1, January 1950, pp.7.58

-virí	(two)	-tatú	(three)
-na	(four)	-shánu	(five)
-tánhatú	(six)	-nomwé	(seven)
-séré	(eight)	-pfumbamwe	(nine)
-nganí?	(how many?)		

va-kúrú (2) (elders, senior people?)
mi-refú (4) (tall ones, e.g. trees)

Adjectival stems, like the stems of other non-nominal substantival constructions, have been termed 'long-series' stems to indicate that they have no preference for an AP of a particular class or a pair of APs. Restrictions on possible combinations between APs and ASs arise on account of semantic factors, for example adjectives indicating number are not used with singular nouns, and from usage, for example the stems -uya (good) and -ví (bad) occur only in a few idiomatic expressions.

Examples

Masángó-maví (1a) (a name, lit. "bad forests", of a lion spirit in the Mount Darwin area)
Usíkú-uví (1a) (a name, lit. "bad night", of one of the past leaders of the Mbire)
makúní maví (6) (lit. "bad firewood", a metaphor to indicate a troublesome affair)
musí muví (3) (a non-working day in honour of a tribal spirit)
chiví (7) (sin; also the name of a Karanga chief)
chímuví (7,3) (a female elephant that is barren and solitary)
Chirárá-paví (1a) (a fee demanded by a n'anga because of uncomfortable lodgings; or a praise name (zítá rémadúnhúrirwá))
chinhu chiuya-uya (7) (a thing showing signs of beauty)
chisíkaná chíuya-uya (7) (a pretty girl)
mazwí máuya (6) (pleasing words)
Haáná máuya (6) (He has no good news)
Zviuya zváuya (8) (Fine things, e.e. pretty girls, have come)

(e) Adjectives which accompany noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them,

e.g. vasíkaná vátsvukú (fair girls) (2)

In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

e.g. vatsukú (fair ones) (2) - in the context of vasíkaná (2)
mavirí (two ones) -in the context of mazúvá (days) (6)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the AP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

e.g. Akáuya nezúro ndíaní?
(Who came yesterday?)
- the context is dominated by ani? a noun of class 1a

Chikúrúchíye chandísiná kúmboóná
(That short, fat, old man whom I have never seen before)
- the use of cl. 7 AC in this context expresses the secondary meanings of that class.

Mamboóná shámwarí yángu heré?
(Have you seen my friend before?)
- the context is dominated by shámwarí, a noun of class 9

Urí kuréva rútete rwúye rwawánga ʻuinárwo?
(Are you referring to that miserable thin thing you were with?)
- the use of cl. 11 AC in this context expresses the secondary meanings of that class.

Examples of the semi-dependent use of adjectives have been given in par. 3.5.1. Other examples are vachena (whites), vatemá (blacks), chitsvá (something new). Semi-dependent substantives of all kinds are frequently found in formulae such as proverbs.

e.g. Chitsvá chítsva, munámbá wejénachena
(A new thing is a new thing like the milk of a newly calved cow; viz. Anything new is welcome because it is new)

Chitsvá chíri múrutsoka
(A new thing depends on the foot, viz. Travel teaches new things)

(f) Normally adjectives do not have more than one AP.

e.g. vasíkaná vátsvukú (fair girls) (2)
zvivaná zvidúku (small, naughty children) (8)

As the last example shows, adjectives show agreement with nouns of more than one prefix by a prefix in agreement with the first in order of the noun prefixes. But, of course, substantive phrases of noun and adjective can form the stems of complex nominal constructions.

e.g.	chi-hwaná udíki	(the behaviour of small children)	(7, 14)
	mu-mbá húrú	(in the big house)	(18, 9)

Both of these constructions appear in the following examples:

e.g.	pasí pakúrú	(the big earth)	(16)
	pa-vanhu vadíki	(by the little people)	(16, 2)
	kunzé kúpamhí	(the wide exterior)	(17)
	ku-mutí múrefú	(at the tall tree)	(17, 3)
	mumbá mudíki	(in the small house)	(18)
	mu-mbá húrú	(in the big house)	(18, 9)

(g) Adjectives with APs of cll. 16, 17 and 18 are good examples of ASs as 'long series' stems for, normally, noun stems, save the primary stems of cll. 16, 17 and 18, viz. -sí, -nzé, -katí and a few others, do not appear with noun prefixes of these classes.

e.g.	pa-mhuká	(by the animals)	(16)	not	pa-puká
	ku-musáná	(on the back)	(17)	not	ku-sáná
	mu-rukova	(in the river)	(18)	not	mu-kova

(h) Adjective stems are commonly reduplicated and the meaning conveyed is intensive or heightened quality.

e.g.	vakúrú-kurú	(very senior people)
	vapfúpi-pfúpi	(very short people)
	varefú-réfu	(very tall people)
	vachena-chéná	(very poor, or very white people)
	vakúkútú-kukutu	(very hard, or innocent people)

Note the morphophonemic changes associated with reduplications:

HH > HH-LH: HL > HL-HL: LH > LH-HL: LL > LL-HH

(i) In cll. 5, 9 and 10, the 1-syllable adjective stems -na (four) and -tsvá (new) have stabiliser /i-/.

e.g.	i-tsvá	(10)	(new ones, e.g. houses)
	i-dzvá	(5)	(new one, e.g. cloth)
	i-na	(10)	(four ones, e.g. cattle)

The stabiliser is used whenever these 1-syllable stems are reduplicated.

e.g.	va-tsvá-í-tsva	(very new ones)

(j) Some adjective stems appear with noun prefixes of cll. 14, 11, 12 and 7 in nominal constructions. e.g. the numeral stems:

	u-viri	(14)	(twoness)
cp.	utá úvirí	(14)	(two bows) - where uvirí is an adjective
	ru-zhínjí	(11)	(the majority)
	chivirí-víri	(7)	(twosome, as a pair)
	katatú	(12)	(thrice)
	kazhínjí	(12)	(many times)

(k) In Karanga the suffix /-sa/ and, in Ndau, the suffix /-tu/, must be included within the constructional pattern of the adjective as an optional element. They indicate a heightened or more intense degree of the quality expressed by the adjective.

e.g.	Handídí tsvímbo iyi, í-huru-sá	(I don't want this stick, it is too big)
	Akánga áitá soúyú heré?	(Was he like this one?)
	Kwete, uyu mú-kuru-sá	(No, this one is bigger - than he)

3.5.3. The Enumerative

The third type of construction at the level of the substantive is the enumerative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

enumerative prefix EP + enumerative stem ES

(b) The constituent class of EP contains the following members. As a set, they form Series III of the class affixes.

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Enumerative Prefixes (Series III)

Number	Prefix	Example
1	mu-	mu-mwe
2	va-	va-mwe
3	mu-	mu-mwe
4	mi-	mi-mwe
5	ri-	ri-mwe
6	ma-	ma-mwe
7	chi-	chi-mwe
8	zvi-	zvi-mwe
9	i-	i-mwe
10	dzi-	dzi-mwe
11	ru-	ru-mwe
12	ka-	ka-mwe
13	tu-	tu-mwe
14	u-	u-mwe
15	ku-	ku-mwe
16	pa-	pa-mwe
17	ku-	ku-mwe
18	mu-	mu-mwe

The set of EPs differs from both that of the NPs and APs.

(c) Enumerative stems

The following is a complete list of enumerative stems in Zezuru:

(i) -mwe (a certain, some, others, more)
(ii) -mwé (one, the same)
(iii) -í (of what sort?)

The meaning of the stems

(i) /-mwe/

e.g. rimwe zúvá (one day, a certain day)
mamwe mazúvá (some days)
dzimwe nguvá (some times)

Rimwe zúvá makudo mavirí ákáénda kuné ímwe nyika íri kúre
(One day two baboons went to a certain country far away)

Ndakáchéngeta imwe hámá yángu
(I kept a certain kinsman of mine)

Váká dzímwe dzimbá
(Build other houses)

Handídi izvi, ndirí kudá zvímwe
(I don't want these, I want others)

/-mwe/ means both "one" and "another", "some" and "others" and both these aspects, differentiated in English, emerge when /-mwe/ is repeated.

e.g. Vamwe vasíkaná várefú, vamwe vápfupi
(Some girls are tall, others short)

Mamwe mazúvá ánorwárá, mamwe ánobúdá zváké
(Some days he is sick, on others he goes out)

Nyama yácho imwe yákágócherwa musángó makáre, imwe ikatakurwa kuendwa nayó kúmushá
(Some of that meat was roasted there in the forest and the rest was carried to be taken home)

/-mwe/ usually precedes the headword in SPs.

(ii) /-mwé/ usually combines with cheté to form a phrase.

e.g. Hatídí zvizhínjí, tirí kudá chimwé cheté
(We don't want many, we want only one)

Mwaná mumwé cheté (only one child) Ze.
cp. Mwaná mumwé wóga (only one child) Ka.
Mwaná umwé bédzi (only one child) Ma.

Regá kúbika nhanga rósé, bikáchimédu chimwé cheté
(Don't cook the whole pumpkin, cook only one part)

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Haúsi mumwe heré iwé?
(Aren't you someone else?)

Kwéte, handísi mumwe. Ndíní mumwé chetéyo wakáre.
(No, I am not someone else. I am the same one as before)

Urí mumwé here? (Are you alone?)
Hee, ndirí mumwé (Yes, I am alone)

Mití iyi haísi mímwe, ndíyo mimwé chetéyo
(These trees are not others, they are the same ones)

Mutí uyu haúsi múmwe, ndíwo mumwé chetéwo
(This tree is not another one, it is the same one)

Ndinódá mábhizá mamwé akárewó
(I want the very same horses)

Takárwara mazúvá mamwé
(We were sick on the same days)

Isú tósé tirí vamwé cheté
(We are all one and the same)

Hence /-mwé/ can indicate "the same" in two senses:

(a) similar things among themselves in a group; and
(b) things the same as on another occasion.

(iii) /-í?/

e.g. Urí kurévá munhu muí?
(What sort of a person are you discussing? - murúmé, mukádzí etc.)

Urí kurévá mutí muí?
(What sort of a tree are you discussing - mutambá, muhacha, etc.)

(d) Enumeratives with accompanying noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them.

e.g. munhu mumwé cheté (only one person) (1)

In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

e.g. Mombe haíná ímwe
(The ox has no mate)

Ndakánga ndáendá kúndoóná mukóma wángu
(I had gone to see my elder brother)

Wáendá kúndoóná muí?
(Gone to see what kind of person?)

Ndakánga ndárása mombe yángu húrú
(I had lost my big ox)

Wárása ií húrú?
(Lost what big animal)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the EP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed

e.g. Wakápiwa mombe nababá here?
(Were you given a beast by father?)

Rumwé cheté rwandákapíwa rúnogondíbátsírei?
(How will the one thin, miserable one which I was given help me?)

Wakátenga bángá here?
(Did you buy a knife)

Ndakátenga kamwe kakánga kására muchitóro
(I bought the one little one which remained in the store)

Wawánga úínáye ndíani?
(Who is the one you were with)

Rimwe rinóbva kwáChiwéshe
(A big fellow who comes from Chiweshe)

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of enumeratives:

e.g. Chíiko chaúnoda? (What is it that you want?)

Zvíi kunéní? (What is it to me?)

Waisa paí? (Where have you put it)

Mambo haási anóita zvií zvaánodá?
(Is the chief not he who does what he likes?)

Mumwe wángu (My companion)

Pamwe haáúye (Perhaps he will not come)

Mupérékedzé, zvimwe ángarásiké
(Accompany him, otherwise he will get lost)

Vaigara pamwé cheté
(They used to live together)

(e) /-i?/ is often used in a context where the class has been heard and an enquirer wishes to know the member of the class under discussion.*

e.g. Múiko waúri kútaura?
(Of what sort is the thing which you are talking about - murúmé (a man) (1), munda (a field (3), kana mubhókisi (the inside of a box) (18)?)

Urí kuréva muí?
(What kind of /mu-/ object are you talking about)

Ndirí kuréva murúmé
(I am talking about a man)

Uri kuréva rií?
(What kind of a /ri-/ object are you talking about - one in class 21 or class 5?)

Ndirí kuréva zirúmé
(I am talking about a huge man) - or bángá (a knife)

(f) Reduplicated forms

Both as qualifiers and as headwords, the enumeratives may be reduplicated with or without linkage by /na-/

Reduplication

e.g. Vákápínda mumwe-mumwe
(One, and then another, came in but only a few in all)

Vákápínda mumwé-múmwe
(They came in one by one)

Takúrá mápanga rimwé-rímwe
(Carry the poles one by one)

Reduplication with /na-/

e.g. Mumwe nomúmwe átórè pfúmò ráké
(Let each one take his spear)

Mbada yákaúráyá imbwá imwé néimwé
(The leopard killed the dogs, one after the other)

Mbada yákaúráyá imbwá ímwe neímwe
(The leopard killed each dog)

Zúvá rímwe nerímwe
(Each day)

In this construction /-í?/ ceases to be interrogative.

e.g. Chinhu chií néchií chirímó ndinóchibhísa
(I take whatever is inside)

Chiri chií néchií chirímó, úyá nachó
(Bring whatever is inside)

Kaí nékaí
(Any small thing whatsoever)

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*"Munyí (or muyí); ...mayí; bguyí; rwuyí; etc. are used... if the enquirer has, in the conversation, heard the class of the noun used, but not the name itself."
C S Louw, A Manual of the Chikaranga Language, Bulawayo, 1915, p.56

3.5.4. The Quantitative

The fourth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the quantitative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

quantitative prefix (QP) + /-ó-/ + quantitative stem (QS)

(b) The constituent class of QP contains the following members. As a set they form Series IV of the class affixes. The set also includes affixes for the first and second persons, singular and plural.

Quantitative Prefixes (Series IV)

Number	Prefix	Examples	
I s	nd-	nd-ó-ga	(I alone)
II s	w-	w-ó-ga	(you alone)
I s	t-	t-ó-ga	(we alone)
II p	m-	m-ó-ga	(you alone)
III 1	ø-	ó-ga	(he alone)
2	v-	v-ó-ga	(they alone)
3	w-	w-ó-ga	
4	y-	y-ó-ga	
5	r-	r-ó-ga	
6	ø-	ó-ga	
7	ch-	ch-ó-ga	
8	zv-	zv-ó-ga	
9	y-	y-ó-ga	
10	dz-	dz-ó-ga	
11	rw-	rw-ó-ga	
12	k-	k-ó-ga	
13	tw-	tw-ó-ga	
14	hw-	hw-ó-ga	
15	kw-	kw-ó-ga	
16	p-	p-ó-ga	
17	kw-	kw-ó-ga	
18	m-	m-ó-ga	

The set of QPs differs from those of the NPs, APs, EPs and Sel.Ps.

The prefix /w-/ is used in free variation with /ø-/ in class 1.

(c) Quantitative stems

In quantitatives, the stems are composite, being used with either of the two morphemes /-ó-/ or /-é-/ in free variation.

The following is a complete list of quantitative stems in Zezuru:

(i) /-sé/-se/ (all)
(ii) /-ga/ (alone, only)
(iii) /-mené/ (self)

The latter stem is found rather rarely in Zezuru. It is found more commonly in Karanga and appears either with /-o-/ or as a single constituent with the affixes of the verbal subject prefix, participial series.

e.g. munhu ómené (the person him-self) (1)
munhu ámené (the person him-self) (1)

The meaning of the stems:

(i) /-se/

e.g. vanhu vóse
(all the people) (2)

Iní ndóse munhu wakádaí, ndingáíte zvóupwéré heré?
(All of me, the person that I am, would I act childishly?) (Is)

Handíná kúmbomúóna nápadúku pósé
(I haven't seen him at all, even in the slightest degree) (16)

Wósé múnhu anónzi mukádzí ákaúya kúdare musí íwoyó
(Every woman came to the meeting place on that day) (1)

Wóbva wátóshaya nékadúkudúku kése
(And so you lack even the smallest thing) (12)

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Handíná kúmukwázísá nakáshoma kósé
(I didn't greet him at all) (12)

imbwá mbirí dzósé (both dogs) (10,9)
zvigaro zvitatú zvósé (all three chairs) (8)
ruvirí rwósé (all of twice) Ka. (11)

(ii) /-ga/
e.g. iní ndóga (alone) (Is)
Húkú idzo dzóga dzásara (Only those fowls remain) (10,9)

(iii) /-mené/
e.g. mambo ómené (the chief himself) (1)

(d) Quantitatives with accompanying noun and pronoun headwords in SPs agree in person, number and class with them.

e.g. iní ndóga (I alone) (Is)
isú tósé (all of us) (Ip)
Nzizi dzóse dzákapwá (All the rivers have dried up) (10,9 + 10)

In other cases, in the absence of noun or pronoun headwords, the prefix is determined by the person, number and class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

e.g. Imbwá yákátí kúbere, "Úya tíéndé kúmushá kwángu, tínógara tósé !"
(The dog said to the hyena, "Come, let us go to my home and live together)
Úyáyì mósé kwandíri! (come to me, all of you!) (IIp)
Ôse ákánga achíón'á (All of them were growling) (6)
Ndakáénda ndóga mugomo (I went on to the hillside alone) (Is)
Tsuro yákáséka yéga (The hare laughed on his own) (9)
Ákáíta óga pauzima (He did it alone by him-self) (1)
Tósé tinózívá kúti haáná kuípá (All of us know that he is not bad) (Ip)
Tinógara tóga (We live alone) (Ip)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the QP. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

e.g. Murámu wákò ákaúyá náaní? (With whom did your sister's husband come?)
A! Rwákaúya rwéga (Oh! The lean fellow came by himself)
Vaná vádya heré? (Have the children eaten?)
Ee, twádya twésé (Yes, all the little ones have eaten)

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of quantitatives:

e.g. kwósé (all over the place) (17)
ásiná kútirimuka chósé (without being afraid in the least) (7)

(e) Quantitatives are reduplicated for emphasis.

e.g. Vaná ndókupédzà zvósé-zvose
(Then the children finished absolutely everything)

Vóse-vóse váuya
(Everyone, without exception, has come)

Mangwánaní, vádzimái mése-mése!
(Good morning to you, all you ladies!)

Dzákaúráyíwa néshumba dzósé-dzose
(They were all killed by the lion, down to the last)

Ndókusára áve óga-óga ásisína hámá pányika
(And he was left absolutely alone, without a relative any longer in the country)

Wákakóka háma dzáke dzósé-dzose
(He invited absolutely all his relatives)

Mukádzi wóga-wóga ánorima munda wáké
(Each wife tills her own field)

Vanhu vóga-vóga vánosungirwa kuúyá
(Each and every person is obliged to come)

iní ndómené-mené
(my very self)

3.5.5. The Selector

The fifth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the selector.

(a) Its constructional pattern is :

selector prefix (SelP) + selector stem (SelS)

(b) The constituent class of SelP contains the following members. As a set they form Series V of the class affixes.

Selector Prefixes (Series V)

Number	Prefix	Example	
1	ú-	ú-no	(this one near me)
2	vá-	vá-no	(these ones near me)
3	ú-	ú-no	
4	í-	í-no	
5	rí-	rí-no	
6	á-	á-no	
7	chí-	chí-no	
8	zví-	zví-no	
9	í-	í-no	
10	dzí-	dzí-no	
11	rú-	rú-no	
12	ká-	ká-no	
13	tú-	tú-no	
14	hú-	hú-no	
15	kú-	kú-no	
16	pá-	pá-no	
17	kú-	kú-no	
18	mú-	mú-no	

The set of SelPs differs from those of the NPs, APs, and EPs. Note that the SelPs carry a high tonomorph.

SelPs of cll. 11, 13 and 14 have alternative forms, /rwú-, twú- and hwú-/, which vary with those given above.

(c) Selector stems

The following is a list of selector stems found in Zezuru:

(i) /-no/ : (indicates close proximity to the speaker)
(/-nó/ as a qualifying stem indicates good quality)

(ii) /-ye/ : (indicates reference to objects formerly seen or referred to but now distant from the speaker, out of sight or out of the immediate context. Alternatively it refers to objects assumed to be known to the audience).

(iii) /-pi?/: (which?)

The meaning of the stems:

(i) /-no/ :

mwaná úno	(1)	(this child - e.g. which I am holding)
mutí úno	(3)	(this tree - e.g. which we are under)
zúva ríno	(5)	(a hot day like this)
mwedzí úno	(3)	(this month)
nhasí úno	(1a)	(today)
chando chíno	(7)	(a cold day like this)
zhizhá ríno	(5)	(a wet time like this)

Mazúva áno tinózóróra (We are resting during these days)
nyika dzédu dzíno (these lands of ours)
Uya kúnó! (Come here!)
Gará páno pandíri (Sit here by me)
Ndirí mwaná wamákaré múnó (I am a child from within this same part)
zvipeneti zvíno (these safety pins which I have in my hand)

/-nó/ : mukádzi úno akázvarwa akasvika (an excellent wife) (1)

cp. mukádzi úno (this wife here)

In nuclear position, /-nó/bears high tone.

e.g. Tóra dzíno (Take this one)

(ii) /-ye/ : mushá úye
(that village, e.g. which I passed through;
or which we were talking about)

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Ákafámbá musángo múye ndó kuwana hwohwa ushomanáná,
ndó kutángá kúdzura hwohwa hwúye
(He walked through that forest (previously referred to) and found a few mushrooms and began to pick those mushrooms)

In nuclear position, /-yé/ bears high tone.

(iii) /-pi?/ : Matóra mombe dzípi?
(Which cattle did you take?)

Tinóenda nenzíra ípi?
(Which path do we go by?)

Munhu arí úpi ánodyá sádza
(Everyone, lit. a person who is which one, eats stiff porridge)

(d) Selectors with accompanying noun headwords in SPs agree in class with them.

e.g. mazúva áno	(these days)	(6)
kamwaná káye	(that little child)	(12)
mombe dzípi	(which cattle?)	(10,9 + 10)
pasí páno	(here below)	(16)
kunzékúno	(outsiders)	(17)
mumbá múno	(inside the house)	(18)

In other cases, in the absence of noun headwords, the class prefix is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned.

e.g. Ndótora dzípi?
(Which one am I to take?)
- in the context of ndíro (plates) (10,9)

Úyé akápfuura nepánó nezúro, haaná kúdzorera bhásikoro
(That one who passed by here yesterday has not returned the bicycle)
- in the context of murúmé (man) (1)

There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and the class of the selector. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

e.g. Ndoúpi anónzi Shonhíwa, káyé kakauya tíri pádare?
(Which one is called Shoniwa, that little chap who came while we were at the council place?) (12)

Kwete, ríyé rakánga ríiné mapfúmó mávirí
(No, that big fellow who had the two spears) (5)

The following are examples of the semi-dependent use of selectors:

e.g. pánó	(hereabouts)	(16)
kúnó	(hereabouts - a wider area is implied)	(17)
múnó	(in here)	
zvínó	(now, this time)	

(e) Reduplicated forms

Selectors with stem /-no/ and /-ye/ are reduplicated for emphasis.

e.g. váyé-vaye	(those same ones)
zvínó-zvino	(these very ones)

Selectors with stem /-pi?/ are reduplicated with the link element /na-/ and the combination indicates whichever, thus ceasing to be interrogative.

e.g. Kunyangwe ndikaita chinhu chípi nechipi, handíkwánisé kukúténdaí mósé
(Whatever I do, lit. Although I do whichever thing, I shall not be able to thank you all)

Chípi nechípi chinósára, úíté zvaúnodá nachó
(Do what you like with whatever remains)

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(f) Note on the dialectal incidence of the selector stems

The stem /-ye/ occurs as /-ya/ in Karanga and Manyika. In Manyika the stems /-mwé/ and /-mwe/ are selector stems.

In Korekore, e.g. Bunji, there is a selector stem /-ina/ which indicates "other" and which appears with allomorphs of the Sel.Cs as a result of morphophonemic changes.

viz.
1.	wína	2.	véna
3.	wína	4.	yína
5.	rína	6.	éna
7.	chína	8.	zvína
9.	ína	10.	dzína
11.	rwína		
12.	kéna	13.	twína
		14.	hwína

e.g. Opá ína (Take another!) (Ko.)

3.5.6. Stemless Substantives

The substantival constructions described thus far are all of a similar structural type: prefix + stem. The last two constructions at the level of the substantive are stemless and consist essentially of a morpheme expressive of class or person.

e.g. -yu : demonstrative, cl. 1
-ye : pronoun, cl.1

Unless these morphemes are suffixed as enclitics to preceding constructions, they appear with stabilisers, viz. vowels which supply the demonstrative or pronoun with a penultimate syllable capable of bearing penultimate length and which, with the demonstrative or pronoun, form an acceptable phonological unit which functions as a free form.

e.g. munhu uyu, uyu munhu (this person) (1)
cp. munhu:yú (this person) (1)

3.5.7. The Demonstratives

The sixth type of construction at the level of the substantive is the demonstrative.

(a) Its constructional pattern is:

either (i) stabiliser + demonstrative affix:

or (ii) stabiliser + demonstrative affix + /-o/

The first pattern is that of the "near" demonstratives, the second that of the"far" demonstratives.

(b) The stabiliser is a variable vowel, /i-/, /u-/ or /a-/, depending on the characteristic vowel of the affix and its class (*).

The stabiliser is not an essential part of the demonstrative but is required in order that this construction may be a phonological word with penultimate lengths.It disappears in cases where the demonstrative affix is suffixed to another construction, the accent of penultimate length now falling on the last syllable of that construction.

e.g. mukáːdzí (woman)
cp. mukádzí-yu

The style or register of utterances which include an SP consisting of noun and demonstrative differs somewhat from those including merely a noun and a demonstrative affix. The latter is more emphatic and emotionally charged, and directs relatively more attention of this kind to the SP than the former. Thus the presence and absence of the stabiliser appears to have semantic effect. Its presence also allows the demonstrative to function as a free form and allows a word order in SPs in which, for example, the demonstrative precedes the noun.

e.g. uyu mukádzí

(c) The constituent class of demonstrative affix contains the following members. As a set they form Series VI of the class affixes. Examples are given of both "near" and "far" demonstratives in all classes.

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* By the characteristic vowel of a class is meant the vowel found in the noun prefix and the other prefixes of that class.

Demonstrative affixes (Series VI)

Number	Affix			Examples	
1	-yu	u-yu	(this one)	u-y-o	(that one)
2	-va	a-va	(these ones)	a-v-o	(those ones)
3	-yu	u-yu		u-y-o	
4	-yi	i-yi		i-y-o	
5	-ri	i-ri		i-r-o	
6	-ya	a-ya		a-y-o	
7	-chi	i-chi		i-ch-o	
8	-zvi	i-zvi		i-zv-o	
9	-yi	i-yi		i-y-o	
10	-dzi	i-dzi		i-dz-o	
11	-rwu	u-rwu		u-rw-o	
12	-ka	a-ka		a-k-o	
13	-twu	u-twu		u-tw-o	
14	-hwu	u-hwu		u-hw-o	
15	-ku	u-ku		u-k-o	
16	-pa	a-pa		a-p-o	
17	-ku	u-ku		u-k-o	
18	-mu	u-mu		u-m-o	

The class affixes of Series VI are clearly different from those of Series I-V in both form and the sort of construction in which they function as constituents. They most resemble those of Series V but the forms for classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9 consist, not of /V/ but of /yV/.

Demonstratives carry LL tone pattern.

(d) Reduplicated forms

Reduplicated and triplicated forms of the demonstrative affixes dispense with the stabiliser. These are more emphatic than the simple forms, stabiliser + affix. Thus the following convey three rising degrees of emphasis :-

iri	(this one - of cl. 5)	iro	(that one - of cl. 5)
riri	(this one)	roro	(that one)
ririri	(this one)	rororo	(that one)

These forms can carry expressive tone patterns, respectively high-low and high-mid-low.

e.g. chigaro chichichi [—‗‗]

Jackson states that when demonstratives act as objects they are usually duplicated.

e.g. Ndinódó yúyu (I want this one)
Munófánírá kudzídzá zvízvi (You must learn this)

(e) The enclitic demonstratives

The demonstratives are used with substantives in substantive phrases, either in the disyllabic forms with stabiliser, or as enclitic suffixes without stabiliser. The tone in the enclitic is high or low in polarity with the final tone of the substantive to which it is suffixed and the word accent moves forward to penultimate position.

e.g. mwaná uyu	/	mwanáyu	(this child)
munhu uyu	/	munhuyú	(this person)
murúmé uyu	/	murúméyu	(this man)
mbíra iyi	/	mbírayí	(this dassie)
vakúrú ava	/	vakúrúva	(these elders)
vamwe ava	/	vamwéva	(these others)
vamwé ava	/	vamwéva	(these same others)
váye ava	(no enclitic form)		(these ones encountered before)
vósé ava	/	vóséva	(all these)
íye uyu	/	Íyeyú	(this very one

In classes with prefixal vowel /a/, viz. cll. 2, 6, 12, 16, the vowel /o/ of the pronoun may be assimilated to /a/.

viz.	ívo ava :	ívová/ívavá	(these very ones)	(2)
	íwo aya :	íwoyá/íwayá	(these very ones)	(6)
	íko aka	íkoká/íkaká	(this very one)	(12)
	ípo apa	ípopá/ípapá	(this very one)	(16)
cp.	íwo uyu	íwoyú	(this very one)	(3)
	íro iri	íroí	(this very one)	(5)

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The enclitic demonstratives can be suffixed to the disyllabic forms of the demonstratives as an alternative to the reduplicated demonstrative but in this case there is no polarity of tone.

e.g. uyu uyu or uyuyu (this precise one) (1,3)
uyo uyo ... uyoyo (that precise one) (1,3)

These forms are similar in meaning to the reduplicated affixes, yuyu, yoyo.

(f) The affixes are also suffixed to inflected verb radicals. In this case there is no polarity between the final tone of the verb and the demonstrative affix but similarity of tone.

e.g. ndinóda uyu or ndinódáyú (I want this one)
ndinóbvunza uyu .. ndinóbvunzayu (I ask this one)

Note that when the disyllabic forms follow constructions ending with high tones, either substantives as qualifiers or verbs as complements, their tone patterns are not altered by assimilation.

e.g. murúmé uyu (this man)
kutóra ichi (to take this)

However, reduplicated or triplicated affixes are subject to tonal assimilation.

e.g. murúmé yúyu (this man)

(g) The meaning of the demonstratives

The demonstratives refer to objects respectively as relatively near to or far from the speaker in place, time or conception. Increased distance in space is indicated by higher pitch and lengthened final vowel.

(1) "near" demonstratives:

e.g. Shúmba yákáti, "Hátidyei vaná ava".
(The lion said, "Let us eat these children".

Kusazívá uku kúnopinza munhámó
(This ignorance leads into trouble)

Hwahwá uhwu hwákánga hwánzi, "Húnozorimiswa munda".
(This beer was intended for getting the field ploughed)

(2) "far" demonstratives:

e.g. Shámwarí, chíiko icho chaúnókwevéra mushúre ménvú?
(Friend, what is it that you are pulling behind you?)

Chítevera kurí kúenda vádzimái avo; ndíko kuné dóro
(Follow now where those women are going; it is there that there is beer)

Tarísá mutí uyo nómutí UYO:
(Look at that tree and that tree yonder)

(3) In regard to time a combination of selector and near demonstrative refers to recently elapsed time or the proximate future.

e.g. kumazúva áno aya achángopfúúrá/achángoúyá
(during the last few days/next few days)

Nomusi wa25 mwedzi wakápera uyu/urí kuúyá uyu
(On the 25th of last/next month)

mumasvondo áno achángopfúúrá aya
(in these last few weeks)

(4) "Near demonstratives also refer to recent past and proximate future time.

e.g. mumwedzí urí kuúyá uyu
(in this month which is coming)

(5) "Far" demonstratives are used to refer to time in the future and past which are remote.

e.g. Masvondo ayo acháuya tichátongana
(In the weeks that are to come, we shall sue one another)

Masvondoyó aákangá árí páno hapáidyíwá rínótsvá
(In those weeks when he was here there was no leisure at all, lit. there was no eating anything hot)

Relative distance to the past and future event is indicated by expressive pitch and length.

e.g. goré rakápera iro (that past year)
goré rakápera IRO: (that past year - e.g. two years before that)

(6) "Near" and "far" demonstratives can be used to refer to objects encountered in the past and which were respectively near or far then. With this reference, they may be used with the selector stem /-ye/ (previously encountered).

e.g. Váye ava vakánga vátaúrwa haváná kúzoúyá
(Those ones who were near and were told did not come)

Vakómaná vákakámúrwá múzvikwata zviriri ndókunzi, "Chíendaí múnzvimbo mbirí dzakásiyana-siyana múgózoúyá musí wechípirí". Zvínó vámwe vákáénda asi vámwe váye ava vákasára vámiré.
(The boys were divided into two groups and were told to go to two different places and return on Tuesday. The one party went but those others who were near us remained standing.

Váye avo vákánga váúdzwa kunzi musáéndé nepápa; ívo vósara vóitá zvávó zvaványodá ndókubva váwirá múgorónga.
(Those people who were far from us had been instructed not to come through here; now they did just what they pleased and as a result fell into a ditch).

(7) Similarly the selector stem /-no/ can refer to objects one was in contact with in the past.

e.g. Vanhu vaívé nomúmwe wángu vákatízá así váno vandáivé navó vákasára vámiré
(The people who were with my companion ran away but those near me at the time remained standing)

3.5.8. The Pronoun

The seventh type of construction at the level of the substantive is the pronoun.

(a) Its constructional pattern is of two kinds:

(i) for the I and II persons and III person, cl. 1; and
(ii) for the III person, cll. 2-18.
(i) constructional pattern: stabiliser + affix of person, number and class:
(ii) constructional pattern: stabiliser + affix of class + /-o/

The Stabiliser for all persons and classes is /i-/

(b) The constituent class of affix for all persons and classes contains the following members. As a set they form Series VII of the class affixes.

Pronominal affixes (Series VII)

Number	Affix	Example
I s	-ní	i-ní
II s	-wé	i-wé
I p	-sú	i-sú
II p	-mí	i-mí
III 1	-ye	í-ye
2	-v-	í-v-o
3	-w-	í-w-o
4	-y-	í-y-o
5	-r-	í-r-o
6	-w-	í-w-o
7	-ch-	í-ch-o
8	-zv-	í-zv-o
9	-y-	í-y-o
10	-dz-	í-dz-o
11	-rw-	í-rw-o
12	-k-	í-k-o
13	-tw-	í-tw-o
14	-hw-	í-hw-o
15	-k-	í-k-o
16	-p-	í-p-o
17	-k-	í-k-o
18	-m-	í-m-o

The set of pronominal affixes differs from those of Series I-VI, including those of Series IV which are also differentiated according to person, as well as number and class.

122/(c) The...

(c) The pronouns of the I and II persons have usually been considered as different in structure from those of the III person, and to consist each of a single morpheme. This is because the adverbial inflected forms of the I and II persons are different from those of the III person.

e.g. není (with me) < /na- + iní/
cp. nayé (with him) < /na- + -ye/
naíye (he also) < /na- + íye/

However, there are other cases where the affix of the I and II person pronouns appears without the initial /i-/ and it appears best to treat it as a stabiliser as in the case of the III person pronouns.

In the following cases the affix is used without /i-/:

(1) in reduplicated forms:

iníni	(I myself)	isúsu	(we ourselves)
iwéwe	(you yourself)		

(2) in emphatic forms:

íyení	(my very self)	íyesú	(our very selves)
íyewé	(your very self)	íyemí	(your very selves)

e.g. Vádzimái imí, murí tsvúuramuromo kwázvo, imí; ndicházodyá íyemí kana músingánzwe zvandínorévá
(Woman you, you make me chafe my lips with correcting you; I shall eat you (instead of your child) if you don't listen)

Wabá nzungú dzángu iwe![1]
(You, you have stolen my groundnuts!)

Iníni?
(Do you mean me?)

(3) in enclitic vocative position (IIp. only)

e.g. Usádaró mwanáwe!
(Don't do that, child!)

Musádaró vanámi!
(Don't do that, children!)
Musádaró vanhumí!
(Don't do that, you people!)
Iwé imbwawe!
(I say, you, you senseless person! Lit. You dog!)
VaShemi! (Oh, Lord)

In all cases the enclitic form of the pronoun carries a tonomorph opposite in tone to that of the preceding syllable.

e.g. murúméwe! (you man!)
vakádzími! (you woman!)

IIIp pronouns do not appear to be used in reduplicated, emphatic or enclitic forms.

(d) The stabiliser /i-/ is retained with the affixes of the I and II persons and coalesces with the vowel /-a/ of the preceding morpheme, in two other cases.

(1) in possessive inflection:

e.g. Mwaná wení, hárahwa
(The child of mine, old man as I am)

Tsika dzesú, vátemá
(Our customs, we the blacks)

cp. Mwaná waíyo, harahwa
(The child of the old man himself)

In this possessive inflection, the possessive inflection is low, being followed by the pronoun with tone pattern unchanged.

(2) as complements in a verb phrase immediately following upon the R

e.g. Usátúkéní!
(Don't swear at me!)

123 /Ánoróvéwé, iwé...

1. The final low tone is associated with vocative function.

Ánorówéwé, iwé!
(He will beat you, even you)

Uchándosangana nézvakápíndesu
(You will meet on your way with bigger ones than we)

Isú tichákundemi véDomboshava kana chijana chédú chásviká
(We will beat you people of Domboshava when our turn comes)

cp. Ndicháróva íye nokúti ákutí, "Tízá!"
(I shall beat him because he told you to run away)

As complements, the enclitic forms of I and II person pronouns carry the same tone as that of the preceding syllable.

e.g. kurówówé (to beat you) cp. kurówá + iwé
kuendesesu (to send us) cp. kuendesa + isú

cp. kuendesa íye (to send him)

(e) In the copulative inflection, the stabiliser /i-/ is dropped in all cases.

e.g. ndíní (it is I) ndísú (it is we)
ndíwé (it is you) ndímí (it is you)
ndíye (it is he) ndívo (it is they)

(f) Note that the tone pattern of the I, IIp forms is LH, that of the III p. being HL

	Base forms	/na-/ infl.	/sa-/ infl.	poss. infl.	cop. infl.
I, II	(L)H	(L)H	(L)H	L(H)	(H)H
III	(H)L	(L)H/(H)L	-	-	(H(L
		(L)HL	(L)HL	(L)HL	

(g) Cl. 2a prefix can be added to the pronouns of the II p. in an ironic sense.

e.g. váiwé! (wonderful you)
váimí! (you wonderful people!)

(h) The meaning and function of the pronouns

(1) Pronouns do not appear to function as qualifiers in SPs. Like nouns, their function appears to be limited to that of headwords. This applies to I and II person forms, as well as III persons, and to both uninflected and inflected forms.

e.g. iní wényú (your me)
isú vámwe (we others)
imí mósé (all of you)

Vákaróvá iní wókubá
(They beat me as the thief)

Babá ákatóra ícho chokúnaka
(Father took the sweet one)

Ndapédza ndíni wényú
(I have finished, being yours (sincerely))

nemí mósé (with all of you)

Ndívo vanózívá (It is they who know)

Íye uyu (This very one) (1)

Íro iri (This very one) (5)

These forms are usually abbreviated by the elision of the demonstrative stabiliser viz. íyeyú, íroí

(2) When used in collocations with noun headwords, the relationship between these two substantives, as in the similar case of nouns in collocation, is termed apposition. Nouns are used in apposition to add a comment, one to the other.

e.g. musíkaná, nherera (an orphan girl)

Pronouns are used in apposition to convey pointed and definite reference, or emphasis or prominence to the noun with which they are in apposition. In the case of pronouns of I or II p. they identify the noun with the speaker or hearer.

One again this applies to both inflected and uninflected forms of the pronouns.

124 /e.g. Nyóka...

e.g. Nyóka, íyo yáurayiwa nababá
(The snake itself was killed by father)

cp. Nyóka yáurayiwa nababá
(The snake was killed by father)

e.g. Ónáíka, váshamwarí vángu, iní, ngúruve, handígoné kukwírá
(Now see, my friends, I, the pig, cannot climb)

Isú, váZezúru, hatína mámbo worúdzi rwósé
(We, Zezuru, have no one chief over the whole people)

Ndadzókera nayé, hárahwa
(I came back with the old man himsefl)

cp. Ndadzókera neharahwa
(I came back with the old man)

e.g. Mwaná wení, hárahwa
(A child of my own, old man that I am)

Idzi nyika dzesú, vátemá
(These lands of ours, we Africans)

cp. Mwaná wohárahwa
(A child of an old man)

Mwaná wáyó, harahwa
(A child of the old man himself)

(3) In cases of apposition, the pronoun agrees in class with the noun with which it is in this relationship.

e.g. Vakómaná, ndinávo (I have the boys)
cp. Ndiná vakómana (I have some boys)

e.g. Ndináyo, marí (I have the money)
cp. Ndiné marí (I have some money)

e.g. vána vádzo, mombe (the calves of the cattle)
cp. vaná vemómbe (calves of cattle)

e.g. Uyu ndíye mwaná wángu (This is my child himself)
cp. Uyu mwána wángu (This is my child)

e.g. Ícho, chisíkaná cháké, cháuya (She, his short fat girl, has come)
Íro, zisíkana ráké, ráuya (She, his big fat girl, has come)

Note the idiomatic use of imi in apposition to convey pity.

e.g. ...babá imí naamái imí hópé dzikati dzábáta. Babá imí, takávata démo népfumo zvíri kúmusóró. Amái imí, takakotsira kuti...
(At last the poor father and mother fell asleep. Poor father slept with his axe and spear at his head. As for the poor mother, she slept....(Cp . Pfumo reropa by Patrick Chakaipa, Longmans, Harare).

(4) In the case of the III p pronouns, the use of the stabiliser appears compulsory in cases of adverbial inflection with /sa-/.

e.g. Itá saíyo, babá (Do it like father and no other)

It does not appear in copulative inflection.

e.g. Mwaná úye ndíye (That child is he)

In cases of adverbial inflection with /na-/ the use of the stabiliser results in forms differing slightly in meaning from those without the stabiliser.

e.g. naíye (and he too, he as well)
kana naíye (even he as well)
Naíyewó anodá kuíyá (And he too wants to come as well)

Iní naíye tinówirirana (He and I get on together)
Vakátiróvá, iní naíye (They beat us, he and I together)

In cases of possessive inflection, the use of the stabiliser appears to give a more pointed and definite emphasis than the non-use thereof.

e.g. mwaná waíye, harahwa (the child of the old man himself)
cp mwaná wáyo harahwa (the child of the old man)

e.g. mwaná waíye mukádzí (the child of the woman herself)
cp mwaná wayé mukádzí (the child of the woman)
mwaná wáké mukádzí

125 /e.g. Ñuya...

e.g. Áuya kwaíye (He has come to his own place)
Áuya kwáké (He has come to his place)

(5) The use of the pronoun in the absence of an SP in apposition conveys emphasis. Here the class of the pronoun is determined by the class to which the item referred to in the context of the discourse is normally assigned. The pronouns of the I and II persons are of course used to refer to the speaker or speakers, the hearer or hearers, quite independently of the class to which, in reference, they might be assigned.

e.g. Rákárídzirwa pfuti, íro rikati, "Ndashátirwa."
(Having had a gun fired at it, it got angry)

In the context íro refers to bveni (baboon) (5)

(6) The use of a pronoun, in addition to, or preference to, a concord, either subject or object, conveys emphasis.

e.g. Iní handíendé
(I am not going)

Vamwe vákángwára kupinda isú. Isú chinótirámbídza kuchengeta madzimbahwe éhama dzédu chíi?
(Others are wiser than we. What prevents us from caring for the graves of our ancestors?)

e.g. Ndíyo yatízá (It is the one which ran away)
cp Yátiza (It ran away)

e.g. Ndíyo yatínodá (It is the one we want)
Tinóidá (We want it)

e.g. Áva ndíye babá wómukádzi wáké
(He has become a father himself to his wife)

cp. Áva babá wómukádzi wáké
(He has become a father to his wife)

e.g. Mumbá ímomó munóva ndímo chéte maáchapíwa bondwe
(That very house which is the one in which he will be given a second wife)

cp Mumbá munóvá maáchapíwa bondwe
(The house in which he will be given a second wife)

e.g. Iní naíye tirówirirana
(He and I agree well together)

Feso ákabáta tsvímbó, iní ndókutízá
(Feso took hold of a stick and I ran away)

In the last example the subject is not indicated by the inflection of the verb radical so some substantival indication is necessary if /-tíz-/ has a subject other than Feso. The use of the pronoun here, however, conveys emphasis which also depends on the contrast. The sentence is more emphatic than the following:

cp. Feso ákabáta tsvímbó, ndikatízá
(Feso got hold of a stick and I ran away)

(7) There may be calculated disagreement between the class of the noun referred to and that of the pronoun. In such cases the secondary meaning of the class selected is conveyed.

e.g. Nzou netsúro zvákakákátána así íko tsure kákakúndá
(The elephant and the hare had a tug of war but the little one, the hare, was the victor)

Vakómaná vátatú vakátumwa kúdhoróbha haváná kúdzoka nokúti íro Taónei rákásvíka rómutsá dzíwo
(The three boys sent to town did not return because Taonei, the big quarrelsome fellow, started a fight there)

(8) Pronouns may be used where a contrast has to be brought out, either explicitly or merely implied.

e.g. Iní ndirí múchokwadí, iwé warásikirwa
(I am in the right, you are in the wrong)

Chísarai zvényú, tavá kúenda isú
(Farewell to you, we are off)

Vakádzi vánobátá bása, ívo varúme vágeré zvávo
(The women do the work while the men are just seated, for their part)

(9) Where the pronoun is inflected without stabiliser, mere reference may be conveyed without emphasis. The pronoun here is merely a substitute.

e.g. nzira yatákafámba nayó
(the path by which we travelled)

mhou némhurú yáyo
(the cow and its calf)

Vána varí kutámbá here?
(Is it the children who are dancing?)

Hóngu, ndívo
(Yes it is)

Ndasángana néshamwarí yángu ndókudzokera nayó
(I met my friend and came back with him)

Muné múto heré? (Have you any soup)
Hóngu, tináwo (Yes, we have some)

Munódá mwaná heré? (Do you want the child?)
E-e, úyá nayé (Yes, come with him)

(10) To sum up

The pronoun may be used to refer, as a mere substitute, to some SP in the context.

e.g. Endá úndotórá badzá úúyé naró
(Go and get a hoe and come here with it)

Hóyu mwaná wángu. Úfámbé nayé
(Here is my child. Go along with him)

The use of the stabiliser and affix is in some cases more emphatic.

e.g. Úfámbé naiye (Go with him)

Where a pronoun is used in addition to a concord, it is emphatic and confers prominence.

e.g. Íye ánozívá (He knows)
Íye árі kuchémá (He is crying)
ívo vachíséka zvávó (while they laugh)
Iní ndirí kúseka (I am laughing)

Still more emphatic and prominent is a copulatively inflected pronoun followed by a relative.

e.g. Ndíye anózívá (It is he who knows)
Murúmé uyu ndíní ndaúyá nayé (It is I who came with this man)

Emphasis, precision, definiteness, prominence are conveyed by the use of pronoun in apposition to SPs.

e.g. Íro, rimwe zimbandara ráké
(The other big girl of his)

Murúmé, íye ndíye anózívá
(The man himself is the one who knows)

Ndaambúya vápi, ívavó vangátorerwe mwaná wávo nézvakádaró
(Which is the mother-in-law who exists who would allow her daughter to be taken by such trash as this)

3.6. THE SUBSTANTIVE PHRASE

3.6.1. The Substantives

The constructions at the level of the substantives have been described. In general they are based on two types of constructions:

(i) those consisting of prefix and stem, viz. the noun[1], adjective, enumerative, quantitative and selector; and
(ii) those consisting of stabiliser and affix, plus in some cases, a morpheme /-o/, viz. the pronoun and demonstrative. These have been called stemless nominals.

There are thus seven types of substantive. Each type is divided according to the class affix into groups belonging to, or corresponding to, one of the noun classes.

3.6.2. Types of substantive phrase

Substantives combine among themselves, at a level of construction one above their own, into phrases. There are various types of substantive phrase according to the combinations of substantives found, and we should look at these before attempting to set out the constructional pattern of the SP.

(a) Noun headword and qualifiers

In one, the most common, type of SP, we find a noun or nominal construction accompanied by other types of substantive, viz. the adjective enumerative, quantitative, selector and demonstrative in a semantic relationship of headword and qualifier.

e.g. (noun underlined)

vakádzí váviri	(two women)	(noun + adjective)
mumwe musí	(a certain day)	(enumerative + noun)
vaná vósé	(all the children)	(noun + quantitative)
mazúva áno	(these days)	(noun + selector)
murúmé uyu	(this man)	(noun + demonstrative)

(b) Pronoun headword and qualifiers

The pronoun is also accompanied by these five types of substantive as qualifiers.

e.g. (pronoun underlined)

isú vátatú	(we three)	(pronoun + adjective)
vamwe imí	(you others)	(enumerative + pronoun)
iní ndóga	(I alone)	(pronoun + quantitative)
íye úyé	(that very same one)	(pronoun + selector)
íye uyu	(this very one)	(pronoun + demonstrative)

(c) Possessive and relatives as qualifiers

Nouns and pronouns are also accompanied in such phrases by constructions other than the substantives and are qualified by them.

viz. by possessives (q.v.)

e.g. babá wémwaná	(the father of the child)	(noun + possessive)
iní wényú	(I who am yours)	(pronoun + possessive)

and relatives (q.v.)

e.g. vaná vasíngazíve	(children who do not know)	(noun + relative)
vaná varí kumbá	(the children at home)	(noun + relative)
vaná vané mabhúku ávó	(children who have their books)	(noun + relative)
isu tisíngazíve	(we who do not know)	(pronoun + relative)

(d) Agreement in substantive phrase

With regard to these phrases note that all the constituents agree in person and class with the following limitations:

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1. Nominal constructions incorporating verb radicals consist of:
   (1) noun prefix and terminal vowel; and
   (2) either verb radicals or verb phrases.

   e.g. chi-gar-o (chair)
   chi-tut-á-mátuzví (dung beetle)

(i) Pronouns of I, II persons are accompanied by I, II forms in agreement only in the case of quantitatives and relatives; in other cases they are accompanied by cl. 1 forms, agreeing with pronouns of I singular and II singular, and by cl.2 forms, agreeing with pronouns of I plural and II plural.

e.g. imí mésé (all of you)
isú tófa (we who are about to die)

but isú vátatú (we three)
imí vámwe (you others)
imí váyé (you previously encountered)

(ii) Nouns of cl. la are accompanied or qualified by cl. 1 forms, those of cll. 2a and 2b by cl. 2a forms, those of cl. 10,9 by cl. 10 forms (but by 10,9 forms in the case of adjectives), and those of cl. 21 by cl. 5 forms (save in the case of adjectives where cl. 21 forms are possible).

e.g.			cp.		
babá uyu	(this father)	(1a)	murúmé uyu	(this man)	
vádzimái ava	(these women)	(2a)	vakádzi ava	(these women)	
amái ava	(this mother)	(2b)			
mombe idzi	(these cattle)	(10,9)	dzimbá idzi	(these houses)	(10,9)
zisíkaná iri	(this big girl)	(21)	bángá iri	(this knife)	(5)

(iii) Occasionally cl. la nouns are accompanied by cl. 2 forms.

e.g. babá ava (this father)
mambo ava (this chief)

(iv) Infinitive clauses which control, or are accompanied by, cl. 8 subject and object concords in verbal constructions do not appear to control cl. 8 concords in SPs.

e.g. Kuti áuya zvínozívíkánwa
(The fact that he has come is known)

Zvákáítika kuti mumwe mukómaná ákafírwá nevábereki váké
(It happened that a certain boy was bereaved of his parents)

cp. Kudá kúmushá kwényú
(Your love of home)

3.6.3. Control of agreements in substantive phrases

(a) In the above types of substantive phrase, the person or class of the qualifiers is determined by that of the noun or pronoun headwords. Every noun belongs to one or other of the 22 noun classes in virtue of its prefix, whether the relationship between its prefix and stem be primary or secondary.

The constituents which accompany noun headwords in SPs, and qualify them, agree with them in class, the shape of their class prefix or affix being controlled by the noun prefix of the headword. In the case of pronoun headwords, it seems reasonable to postulate the same control over the class and hence the form of qualifiers. This is evidently the case with III p. forms as well.

e.g. iní ndósé (all of me)
imí musíngazíve (you who do not know)
íye uyu (this same one)
ívo váyé (those same others encountered before)

(b) The form of the pronoun headword, however, is determined by the person addressed or referred to and, in the case of the III p., the class of the substantive to which reference is made.

I p. forms are used to refer to the speaker and those associated with him;

II p. forms are used to address those to whom he speaks;

III p. forms are used to refer to items mentioned in the discourse, or present in the situation, and to which the content system of the language assigns a noun of a particular class, by a pronominal form of that class. In some cases, however, reference may be made to items by a pronoun of a class other than that to which the nouns denoting them are normally assigned. Purposeful or calculated disagreement is used in order to refer to items under the aspect of the meanings carried by the noun prefix of the class chosen as a secondary prefix.

e.g. isú tinógara pánó (we who live here)
imí mósé (all of you)
ívo avo (those same ones)
íye uyu (this very one)

but íro rédú, Matígímu (that big one of ours, Matigimu)

3.6.4. SPs in apposition

A substantive phrase may not have more than one headword, either noun or pronoun. Adjacent nouns, or a combination of noun and pronoun, are considered to form two SPs in apposition. The class of a pronoun is determined by the noun to which it is in apposition unless there is calculated disagreement.

e.g.

íye, mwaná wédú	(1-1)	(she, our daughter)
Iro rédú, Matígímu	(5-1a)	(our big one, Matigimu)
ícho chédú, kámbá chinámákwatí	(7-1a)	(our little chap, the scaly tortoise)
íko kédú, Chórosi	(12-1a)	(our little one, Charlie)
íko kédú, tsúro magen'a	(12-9/6)	(our little one, the hare of the plains)
iwé, múnhu kwáye, Sekésáí	(11-1?1a)	(you, a true person, Sekesai)
ícho chédú chikómana chémhinhú, gakandye	(7-7-5)	(Our fat little chap, always turning, the crab)
Ndingárégare kuróvérá chihúri íyeni, munhu ndinóngová ndóga?	(1-1)	(Should I not bolt the door, I, a person on my own?)
Munóti isú, vanhu vávakádzí tingáiwánepí?	(1-2)	(Where do you think we women could find it?)
Íwo matangá aya ané mómbe dzirí kutírímíra idzi ákaúyá rinhi?	(6-6)	(When did these kraals of oxen which plough for us come?)
Írwo rukísheni ruzéré urwu rú-zeré névakádziidza chéte heré?	(11-11)	(Is this crowded township full of educated people only?)
Íye mwanásikana wédú uyu ánozo-bvirawó dangá remómbe?	(1-1)	(Will this daughter of ours bring us a pen full of cattle?)
Ákatí óipínda íye, mwaná mukúru wávo íye óga, imí wée ndíye aká-zoita kuti ídzórérwe pasí	(1-1-1)	(When he, he alone, their elder child, entered into the discussion, he caused the price to be reduced)

3.6.5. Types of substantive phrase (continued)

(a) Substantives, as well as possessives and relatives, may combine into SPs without any noun or pronoun headword.

e.g.	vavirí ava	(these two)	(2)	(adjective + demonstrative)
	vamwe vósé	(all the others)	(2)	(enumerative + quantitative)
	vósé vávirí	(both of them)	(2)	(quantitative + adjective)
	váye ava	(these ones we saw before	(2)	(selector + demonstrative)
	ava vángu	(these ones of mine)	(2)	(demonstrative + possessive)
	dzángu idzi	(these ones of mine)	(10)	(possessive + demonstrative)
	vasingazive ava	(these ones who do not know)	(2)	(relative + demonstrative)
	tose tisingazive	(all we who do not know)	(2)	(quantitative + relative)
	vamwe tisingazive	(we others who do not know)	(2)	(enumerative + relative)
	vamwe tose	(all we others)	(2)	(enumerative + quantitative)
	tósé tisíngazíve	(all we who do not know)	(2)	(quantitative + relative)
	vamwe tisíngazíve	(we others who do not know)	(2)	(enumerative + relative)
	vamwe tósé	(all we others)	(2)	(enumerative + quantitative)

Note that there is agreement in person and class between the constituents of these substantive phrases. Only quantitatives and relatives have I and II person forms, and these are accompanied by cl. 1 and 2 forms of other substantives.

(b) In these phrases there does not appear to be any headword which determines the class. The class of the phrase as a whole is determined as in the case of the pronoun and, as in the case of the pronoun, there is agreement between the substantive referred to and the SP, or else calculated disagreement. The substantives carry a note of reference to the determining item in the discourse or situation in addition to their own meanings, viz. those proper to the morphemes of each type of substantive.

e.g.	wángu uyu	(1)	(this one, e.g. mwaná (1), of mine)
	vasíngazíve ava	(2)	(these ones, e.g. vakádzí (2), who do not know)
	vavirí avo	(2)	(those two, e.g. vaná (2)
	váp i	(2)	(which ones?, e.g. vaná (2))
	vósé ava	(2)	(all these ones, e.g. vaná (2))
	váye ava	(2)	(these ones previously encountered, e.g. vaná (2))
	ava	(2)	(these ones, e.g. vaná (2))

To bring out this fact, all the types of substantive referred to in 3.6.5. were termed qualificative pronouns in the Analytical Grammar of Shona which followed Doke's usage on this point (cp. AG. pars. 260-293).

(c) The reference of a pronoun is often not to any one single noun but to a group of nouns with a common significance. Thus for example, in the enumerative kumwe (elsewhere), the reference may be to the notion inherent in class 17 as such rather than to any single noun not clearly contained in the context.

3.6.6. Word order in substantive phrases

(a) In SPs with noun or pronoun headwords, the noun or pronoun headwords usually precede the the qualifiers. This word order is disturbed if prominence or emphasis is laid on the qualifiers.

e.g. nzira yáké (his way)
cp. Mumwe nemúmwe áne yáké nzíra yokúita izvi
(Everyone has his own way of doing this)

In these cases the headword ceases to be the first word.

Some examples of SPs with normal word order and with noun or pronoun headwords:

Vaná vakúrú vátora démó (The big children have taken the axe)	(n, a)
Mombe húrú ndíCharúvéki (Charuveki is the big ox)	(n, a)
Bángá iri ndérangú (This knife is mine)	(n. d)
Vaná avo várí kutámbá (Those children are playing)	(n, d)
Mombe imwe írí kuúyá (Another ox is coming)	(n, e)
Urí kútaura mutí muí? (Of what kind of tree are you speaking?)	(n, e)
Tiri vánhu vamwé chetè (We are all one and the same people)	(n, e)
Vaná vósé váénda kumushá (All the children have gone home)	(n, q)
Vaná vángu havásatí váúya (My children have not yet come)	(n. poss)
Vanhu vasíngazíve izvi havábvumírwe kufámbísa mótokari (People who do not know this are not allowed to drive cars)	(n, r)
Ndakásara iní ndóga (I stayed alone)	(p, q)
Isú tósé tinódyá sádza (All of us eat stiff porridge)	(p. q)
Isú vátemá taívhímá mhuká (We black people used to hunt game)	
Vakúru vósé vákabúdá, ítwo tumwe tuchísárá mumbá (All the elders went out, the little ones themselves remaining at home)	(p, e)
Ítwo aya ndéangú (These very ones are mine)	(p, d)
Ndasára, ini wényú (I remain yours)	(p, poss)

(b) This normal word order is departed from when it is desired to give prominence to the qualifier.

e.g. Húrú mómbe ndinóitènga (I'll buy the big ox)	(a, n)
Húrú mómbe ndíCharúvéki (The big ox is Charuveki)	(a, n)

Iri bángá ndinóriténgá (I'll buy this knife)	(d, n)
Pané rino mana népané róro mana (At this hamlet and at that hamlet)	(sel., n; d, n)
Avo vaíve pachigaro cheíri bíra rekúonekana naváDendera (The one who was in the chair at this feast to say goodbye to Mr Dendera)	(d, n, poss.)
Ndíye munhu mutemá wékutángá waíyi svondo akáénda mhiri (He is the first black man belonging to this denomination who went overseas)	(d, n)
Ríye gómaná handíríde (I don't like that big fellow)	(sel., n)
Imwe mombe írí kuúyá (Some ox is coming)	(e, n)
Tirí vamwé vánhu (We are one and the same people, without prejudice against one another)	(e, n)
Ko, wákó musíkaná árí kúnyatsotóréka heré? (Is your girl ready yet?)	(poss, n)
Kana hwángu hwahwá hahúbátwé (Neither is my beer to be touched)	(poss, n)
Wóse munhu anónzi mukádzí ákaúyá kúdare zúva ríye (Every person called a woman came to the meeting on that day)	(q, n, r)
Yóse marí yakánga yábíwa yáivé mázanamashánu (All the money which was stolen was $500)	

Note that the sequence, enumerative-noun, is placed among the cases of abnormal word order although these sequences are rather more frequent than their opposites in the case of /-mwe/ (some, other).

(c) More complicated SPs with noun headwords:

e.g. munhu mukúrú uyu	(n, a, d)	(this big person)
mwaná uyu mukúrú	(n,d,a)	(this big child)
mombe húrú imwe cheté	(n.a.e)	(only one big ox)
mombe imwe nhemá	(n,e,a)	(a certain black ox)
vanhu vatatú vósé	(n,a,q)	(all three people)
vanhu vósé vátatú	(n,q,a)	(all three people)
marí yósé iyi	(n,q,d)	(all this money)
vaná ava vósé	(n,d,q)	(all these children)
vakádzi váké vazhínjí	(n,poss,a)	(his many wives)
basa rávó iro	(n,poss,d)	(that work of theirs)
mwaná wáké mumwé cheté	(n,poss,e)	(his one child)
mwaná mumwéyo	(n,e,d)	(that same (one) child)
vakádzi vángu vósé	(n,poss,q)	(all my wives)
vásahwira vángu vamwe váye	(n,poss ,e,sel)	(those other privileged friends of mine)
vaná vángu vósé vakúrú	(n,poss,q.a)	(all my elder children)
vaná vángu vakúru vósé	(n,poss,a,q)	(all my elder children)
vaná vángu vakúru vésé ava	(n,poss,a,q,d)	(all these elder children of mine)
vaná vángu vésé vámwe vakúrú ava	(n,poss,q,e,a,d)	(all these other elder children of mine)
vaná vángu vakúrú vamwe vésé ava	(n,poss,a,e,q,d)	(all these other elder children of mine)
vaná vángu vamwe vósé vakúrú ava	(n,poss,e,q,a,d)	(all these other elder children of mine.

Within the SP there is the question of the order of the qualifiers. This is also a problem in structure. Can there be variation within the order of qualifiers after a noun headword for the sake of emphasis? Quite obviously there is this variation, but there has not been enough material collected to make a firm judgement. We can note some of the above common sequences and that the tendency of possessives is to come first and demonstratives last.

132 /(d) Of course...

(d) Of course qualifiers can precede noun headwords of these more complex SPs.

e.g. Uyu mwaná mukúrú ndówangú (d,n,a)
(This big child is mine)

Vósé vasíkaná ava vákánga várí vamúrugwaro rwechítatú nórwechína) (q,n,d)
(All these girls were in standards III and IV)

Uku kupérá kwamúviri kwákásáka kuti mujiza uyu úbva wángovágára (d,n,poss)
(This losing weight made the dress fit her)

Vamwe vanhu vazhínji vákánga várimó (e,n,a)
(Many other people were in there)

(e) Some examples of SPs with normal word order without noun or pronoun headwords:

Vatemá ava vánogara Haráre	(a,d)	(These black people live at Harare)
Vakúru vángu vágeré zvávó	(a,poss)	(My elders have not changed yet)
Varefú vóse vákakúndwá	(a,q)	(All the tall ones were beaten)
Vamwe ava vánodá kúpinda	(e,d)	(These others want to enter)
Vamwe vóse vákáénda	(e,q)	(All the others have gone)
Vamwe vángu ava	(e,poss,d)	(These companions of mine)

3.6.7. Modifiers in substantive phrases

Of the qualifiers some of the adjective stems, the enumerative stems and the selector stem /-pi?/ (which?) can be accompanied by modifiers:

e.g. munhu mu-mwé cheté	(only one person)
munhu ú-pi zváké	(any person at all)
munhu mu-kúru kwázvo	(a very big person)
munhu mu-mwewó	(another child also)
imwezvé mámbe	(another ox again)
munhu mu-refú zvíshona	(a slightly tall person)
munhu mu-refú zvakányánya	(an exceedingly tall person)
munhu mu-refú zvinónwírwa mvura	(a very tall person)
munhu mu-refú zvinónzi, "Uyái múóné!"	(a remarkably tall person)

The modifiers within the qualifier phrase consisting of qualifier stem +/- modifier consist of one or two particles like cheté (only), /-wo/ (also) and substantival constructions of cl. 8 indicating manner, mainly adjectives, possessives and relatives. The qualifier phrase as a whole, stem +/- modifier, is brought into agreement with the headword, or made to refer to a noun or group of nouns, by the appropriate prefix and thus becomes a substantival construction.

e.g. vanhu vazhínji kwázvo	(very many people)
vazhínji kwázvo	(very many)

3.6.8. The constructional pattern of the SP

(a) The SP is a very flexible structure. Three varieties have been noted. The SP may consist of (i) a noun headword and qualifiers, and (ii) a pronoun headword and qualifiers. The class and person affixes of the qualifiers are determined by those of the headwords with which they occur in varying sequences of word order according to the placement of emphasis. SPs may also consist of combinations of substantives which do not include headwords and which appear in sequences determined by placement of emphasis. The class of these substantives is determined by their reference.

The constructional pattern of all these varieties is

substantive + substantive(s) in agreement

e.g. mwana uyu	(this child)
isú tósé	(all of us)
vamwe vósé	(all the others)

(b) When the SP is considered, not as a construction at level II, but as a constituent in constructions at other levels, it is convenient to define it more widely as

nuclear substantive +/- substantive(s) in agreement

For example, at level III, the level of the inflected SP, where the constructional pattern is inflection + SP, it is convenient to be able to include within the constituent class of SP, not only complete, but also incomplete, phrases.

133 / e.g. ne-mwana...

e.g. né-mwaná uyu (with this child)
né-mwaná (with a child)

Regarded as a constituent, the SP consists essentially of a nuclear substantive, together with optional substantives in agreement.

(c) Within the SP the constituent class of substantive includes both the seven types of substantive which are so by construction, and two others, namely possessives and relatives. As constructions these are not substantives, but they become constituents in SPs by rank-shifting.

e.g. mwaná wémukádzí uyu (a child of this woman)
mwaná akáuya nezúro (a child who came yesterday)

3.6.9. The distribution of substantive phrases in other constructions

(a) SPs are constituents in inflected substantive phrases

viz. possessive : mwaná wé-mukádzí uyo (the child of that woman)
adverbial : ákaúyá ne-nzíra iyo (he came by that path)
copulative : iri í-banga rángu (this is my knife)
presentative : hó-uno mwaná (here is the child)

(b) They also feature as stems in nominal constructions: [1]

e.g. chi-vanhu vadíki (7) (the way of little children)
pa-mushá mukúrú (16) (at a big village)
ku-mbá húrú (17) (at the big house)
mu-dhorobha gúrú (18) (in a big town)
Kunzé kwenyíka (1a) (a name - Outside the country)
sá-dunhu iri (1a) (the head of this district)

(c) They are complements in verb phrases, both as objects and adverbs:

e.g. -túm- mwaná mudíki kumushá kwáké (send a small child to his home)

(d) They are subjects in clauses, substantival, verbal and ideophonic:

e.g. Bángá iri ndérangú (This knife is mine)
Bángá iri rákáwíra pasí (This knife fell down)
Imbwá íye nyama pikú mumbá (That dog snatched the meat from inside the house)

(e) They are circumstantial phrases in sentences:

e.g. Minda yédú hatíwané zvio (As far as our fields are concerned, we get no grain)

3.6.10. Compound phrases

Substantive phrases occur in combination either (a) in apposition, or (b) as joined by conjunctives.

(a) Substantive phrases occur in juxtaposition, one being a comment on, or description of the other, in different times, but of the same structural pattern, viz. nuclear substantive +/- substantive(s) in agreement.

e.g. babá wángu, ishé waváManyíka (my father, chief of the Manyika)

(1) Sps in apposition may be either full phrases or nuclear substantives juxtaposed. Thus two nouns, or a noun and pronoun, rank as SPs in apposition even though the phrases are represented by their compulsory constituents only.

e.g. musíkaná nhérera (an orphan girl)
harahwa bofu (a blind old man)
mukómaná muShawásha (a Shawasha boy)
varumé nyanzví (men who are craftsmen)
vakádzí nyanzví dzokúbika (expert women cooks)
babá wángu, Mutasa (my father, Mutasa)

134 /íye, ...

1. These are rank-shifted constituents.

íye, mwana wákó uyu	(she, this child of yours)
iní, babá wákó	(I, your father)
imí, varúmé	(you men)

(2) SPs in apposition consisting of nuclear substantives only must be distinguished from compound nouns described under nominal constructions (cp. 3.4.2.3.). These latter are "tight" constructions under one noun prefix whose order cannot be interrupted by other words, e.g. by qualifiers agreeing with the first member.

e.g.	tsuro-magen'a	(hare of the plains)
	tsuro-shápá	(hare of the sandy soil)
	kadende-mafúta	(a type of locust)
	kambúya-mudererè	(a mantis)

Substantives in apposition are not so tightly constructed and allow of the development of the SPs.

e.g.	musíkaná uyu, nherera	(this girl orphan)
	nzou iyi, hádzí	(this cow elephant)

The nouns mukóno (3), hónó (9), or gónó (5), all indicating male, and hádzí (9) gádzí (5), and nhunzvi (9) indicating female, are used in apposition to indicate sex in animals:

e.g.	nzou hónó	(a bull elephant)
	nzou hádzí	(a cow elephant)
	mhembwe hónó	(a buck duiker)
	mhembwe nhunzvi	(a doe duiker)
	shúmba hádzí	(a lioness)
	ingwe hádzí	(a leopardess)
	nhéma hádzí	(a cow rhinoceros)
	mombe hádzí	(a cow)
	imbwá hádzí	(a bitch)
	bhizá gádzí	(a mare)
	hesera gádzí	(a mule mare)
	nguru ye nhunzvi	(a sow)
	hwai nhunzvi	(a ewe)
	mbúdzí nhúnzvi	(a she goat)
	húkú nhúnzvi	(a fowl)

(3) The distribution of the SPs in apposition in larger constructions is similar to that of SPs.

viz. (1) in inflected phrases

mwaná wá-Mútása, ishé waváManyíka
(The child of Mutasa, chief of the Manyika)

Ndaúya né-musíkaná, nhérera
(I have come with an orphan girl)

(2) as complements in verb phrases

-bay- nzou hónó
(kill a bull elephant

(3) as subjects in clauses

Zinzou gádzi ráfa
(The huge cow elephant has died)

(b) Substantive phrases are joined by the conjunctives /na-/ (and) and /kana/ (or)

e.g.	babá ráamái	(father and mother)
	mukúwásha nesámutúme wáké	(the son-in-law and his messenger)
	babá kana amái	(father or mother)
	vakómaná kuna vasíkaná vakadziidziswa	(the boys or girls who have been educated)

(1) The compound SP /na-/ SP is reinforced by the addition of a quantitative after the first SP. Different possibilities are found, reflected in the agreement of the quantitative. The quantitative may agree with the first SP which may be singular or plural.

135 /e.g. nyama...

e.g. nyama yése némuríwó (meat together with vegetables)
chingwa chésé nemábhanzi (bread along with buns)
kakómaná koso nékasíkaná (a little boy together with a little girl)

kumwe kwésé neúko (everywhere)
Mapere ése néshumba zvínoúyá (lions together with hyenas come along)
masíkatí ésé nemánherú

Or the quantitative may agree with the class controlled by the compound SP as an aggregate. This will be of cl. 2 if either or both of the SPs is of cll. 1, 2, la, 2a or 2b; or of cl. 8 if the SPs are of other classes save that, if the SPs refer to similar species or kinds of objects of the same class, the plural of that class may be used.

e.g. babá vésé náamái (father along with mother)
mwaná vésé nábabá (the child together with his father)
mapere zvése néshumba (the hyenas together with the lions)
hanzvádzi vésé náamái (the sisters along with the mother)
harahwa dzésé nechémbere (the old man with the old women)

Bere rakarinda neshungu (The hynea spent a night full of anger and hunger)
murume vese nomukadzi (the man and the woman)

(2) It is possible to have an SP or SPs in apposition to a compound SP.

e.g. vósé vemána, véchidúku nevéchikúrú
(all those of the hamlet, young and old)

vakádzí vésé, chémbere nemhándara
(all the women, old and young)

Chembere, tsvímbórúme, harahwa, mvaná, chíríkádzi,
vané varúmé varí kúbasa névané varúmé vasíri kubasa,
vése vákánga váripó
(Old women, young men, old men, mothers of children,
widows, those with husbands at work and those with
husbands not at work, all were there)

Such compound phrases have a distribution similar to SPs and SPs in apposition.

(3) Substantive phrases preceded by /na-/, /kana na-/ and /sa-/ are found with a limited distribution, e.g. as subjects of clauses or complements in verb phrases. The SPs inflected by /na-/ are usually accompanied by the enclitics /-wo/ (also) or /-zve/ (again), or by a quantitative accompanied by an adverbial to reinforce the implication of "even" which is present with /na-/ and /kana na-/.

e.g. nababá wánguwó (and my father too)
kana naamái (even mother)
Kana nenzára yákábva yápéra (Even hunger came to an end)
Kana nebére rése zváro ndíro (Could even a hyena eat this rotten
ringádye zvisadza izvi heré? porridge?)
Kana némbwa yósewó ínózvizívá (Even a dog knows it)
Saváeni vókutángá haváná kudá (As visitors for the first time, they
kusvika mangwánani did not want to get there early in the
morning)

3.7. INFLECTED SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

The constructions described as substantive phrases are inflected by the following affixes, and are thus constituents with them in inflected substantive phrases.

(a) The copulative affix
(b) The possessive affixes
(c) The adverbial affixes
(d) The "ownership" affixes

3.7.1. Constructional pattern and distribution

The inflected substantive phrases (inflected SPs) are all similar in constructional pattern, consisting of an inflecting affix and an SP. Some have a number of morphophonemic and tonal changes in common. The morphophonemic changes affect the form of the inflecting morpheme while the tonal changes affect the tone patterns of the nucleus of the SP. Nevertheless the details of their construction, including these changes, are sufficiently varied to call for a separate treatment of each inflected SP. They also differ considerably in their distribution and in their potentiality to enter larger constructions as constituents. It is on the basis of these considerations that the different types of inflected SP have been distinguished.

Copulative inflected SPs (called copulative phrases for short) are predicates in substantival clauses; possessive phrases are either nuclear, or attendant, constituents in SPs; adverbial phrases are adjuncts in verb phrases; and ownership phrases are constituents in nominal constructions belonging to one or other of the noun classes.

e.g. (a) Murúmé uyu ndí-babá wángu (This man is my father)
(b) mombe dzá-babá wángu (cattle of my father)
(c) -úy- ná-babá wángu (come with my father)
(d) sá-dunhu iri (owner of this district)

The SPs which are constituents in inflected SPs are the single SPs, the SPs in apposition, and the compound SPs joined by conjunctives. Constituents in the possessive phrase are not only SPs but also participial clauses. For this reason a wider term than SP should be used to indicate the second constituents in these constructions viz. the term stem phrase. By stem phrase in these constructions is meant the second constituent, the construction which is inflected by the inflecting affix. The general constructional pattern is therefore:

inflecting affix + stem phrases

3.7.2 Copulative phrases

Copulative phrases consist of the copulative affix and a stem phrase.

There are two copulative morphemes of base form /ndí-/ and /há-/ respectively. Of these, the latter is used to inflect SPs with demonstrative and selector nuclei only. Phrases inflected by /há-/, for which Fivaz has coined the useful term presentative phrases, are treated in 3.6.2.8., after the copulative phrases.

The copulative morpheme has several allomorphs whose distribution is determined morphologically by the type of nucleus of the stem phrase, viz. the type of nuclear substantive in the SP. These are /ndí-, nda-, í-, H-, ndá-, nda/. The allomorphs /ndí-/ and /í-/ are in free variation with /H-/ in certain tonological environments. The last two allomorphs, /ndá-/ and /nda-/, are realised as /ndé-/ and nde-/ in free variation with /ndó-/ or /ndá-/, and /ndo-/ or /nda-/ respectively, in certain phonological environments.

The stem of the copulative phrase consists of an SP, viz. a nuclear substantive +/- a substantive or substantives in agreement.

The effect of the copulative inflection is to transfer an SP into a substantival predicate.

e.g. ndí-babá mukúrú (it is, or he is, my senior father)
cp babá mukúrú (senior father)

3.7.2.1. Nuclear substantive: noun or nominal construction of class 1a

e.g. babá mukúrú (senior father, father's elder brother)

The copulative morpheme is /ndí-/. The construction, /ndí-/ and SP is accompanied by tonal changes which affect the tone pattern of the nuclear substantive only. Initial high tonemes of high tone patterns, either single or in a successive series, are lowered. There is a raising of one single initial low toneme of low tone patterns, or of two when the prefix of cl. 1a is pre-fixed to a secondary stem with at least three low initial tonemes, and consisting of a syllabic noun prefix and a stem of at least two low tones. The tone carried by /ndí-/ is H.[1]

(a) The tonal changes are summarised and exemplified as follows:
ndí- + H > ndí- + L e.g. ishé wángu (my chief) > ndíshe wángu[2]

137/HH...

1. Recall that L tone patterns consist either of a single low toneme or commence with two low tonemes. All other tone patterns are high.

2. In cases of inflection of SPs with nuclei consisting of noun or adjectives of monosyllabic stem of cll. 1a, 5, 9 and 10,9, the stabiliser usually does not enter into the construction but is replaced by the inflecting morpheme. But it may be freely retained and is inflected as a disyllabic noun or adjective,

e.g. néimbwá or némbwa (with a dog), cp imbwá (dog) (9)

HH	LL	Mvúrá (Mr Water) > ndíMvura	
HL	LL	ténzi wángu (my lord) > ndítenzi wángu	
LH	LH	babá wangu (my father) > ndíbaba wángu	
HHH	LLL	Gáránga (Mr Big Karanga) > ndíGaranga	
HHl	LLL	tézvára wangu (my father-in-law) > ndítezvara wángu	
HLH	LLH	névanjé wángu (my first born) > ndínevanjé wángu	
HLL	LLL		
LHH	LHH	Dengwáná (Mr Basket) > ndíDengwáná	
LHL	LHL	Karói (the Katoi river) > ndíKaróí	

ndí +	L > ndí- +	H	e.g.	Igo (Mr Hornet) > ndiGó	
	LL	HL		mambo wángu (my chief) > ndímámbo wángu	
	LLL	HLL		Harahwa (Mr Old man) > ndíHárahwa [3]	
	LLL	HHL		Chigaro (Mr Chair) > ndíChígáro [3]	
	LLH	HLH		chirembá wángu (my doctor) > ndíchírembá wángu	

The details of these changes may be grouped together as tonal declension I (TD.I). It is the same series of changes as was described in the formation of cl. 2a nouns and nominal constructions in 3.3.4 They apply to all nouns and nominal constructions of cl., la, both to those in which the prefix is primary, and to those in which the prefix is secondary, and notwithstanding the complexity of the cl. la nominal construction. There is one exception. Nominal constructions with ownership affix /sá-/ affix /ndí-/ of high tone without change.

e.g. /ndi-/ with nuclear substantives with H tone patterns.

ndí-nhasi	(it is today)	cp. nhási
ndí-kondo	(it is a hammerkop)	kóndó
ndi-aní?	(who is it?)	aní?
ndí-nhingí	(it is So-and-so)	nhingí
ndí-Takáwíra	(it is Mr Takawira)	Takáwíra
ndí-Tamúka-nénhamo	(it is Mr Unfortunate)	Tamúka-nénhamo
ndí-taté-guru	(it is grandfather)	taté-guru
ndí-Gumi-ndóga	(it is Mr Self-confident)	Gúmi-ndóga
ndí-Pfumo-jena	(it is Mr White Spear)	Pfúmó-jéna
ndí-Pfumo-rerópa	(it is Mr Spear-of-Blood)	Pfumo-rerópa
ndí-Mhanza-mámbure	(it is Mr Lucky)	Mhánza-mámbure
ndí-Goré-músandú	(it is Mr Changeable)	Goré-músandú
ndí-sahwira	(it is the privileged friend)	sáhwíra

e.g. /ndí-/ with nuclear substantives with L tone patterns.

ndí-Zímúto	(it is Big Brother) (Zímúto)	Zimuto
ndí-Vhúdzi-jena	(it is White Hair)	Vhudzi-jena
ndí-Kúgára-húnzwana	(it is Mr To-live-peacefully-is-to-understand-one-another)	Kugara-húnzwana

The tonal changes affect only the prefix and R and terminal /-a/ in nominals based on verb phrases.

e.g. ndí-Simuka-ndíkuréve (it is Mr Unpopular) Símúka-ndíkuréve

(b) In the case of nuclear substantives with certain tone patterns, the affix can be dispensed with and the inflection effected by replacing the low tone of the first syllable by H with consequent TD.II changes described in 3.7.2.4. These tonomorphs are LH and LL. In these cases /ndí-/ is in free variation with /H/.

e.g. Munhu uyu bába wángu cp. babá
(This man is my father - though he doesn't seem to be acting like it)

Uyu mámbó cp. mambo
(This is the chief)

(c) Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership" affix /sá-/ have affix /ndí-/ of high tone.

e.g.	ndí-sázita	(it is my namesake)	cp sázita, zítá
	ndí-sámushá	(it is the village head)	sámushá, mushá
	ndí-sáchígáro	(it is the chairman)	sachigaro, chigaro

3. These are both nouns of cl. la with secondary prefix /Ø-/. The secondary stems are harahwa (old man) (9) and chigaro (chair) (7). The tonal change LLL> HHL only takes place when the secondary stem, of LLL... tone pattern, has a syllabic noun prefix.

Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership" affix /nya-/ have affix /ndí-/ of high tone and they are raised if they bear a low tone pattern.

e.g.	ndí-nyávanga	(it is the one with a scar)	cp. nyavanga, vanga
	ndí-nyákuwana	(it is the bridegroom)	nyakuwana
	ndí-Nyadénga	(it is the Heavenly One)	Nyadénga, dénga

Nominal constructions incorporating the "ownership"affix /ne-/ with high or low tone have affix /ndí-/ of high tone, and are lowered if they commence with single high tone followed by a low.

e.g. ndí-nevaná (it is a spirit medium) cp. névaná

3.7.2.2. Nuclear substantive: a noun or nominal construction of cl. 2a or 2b

e.g. vádzimái vəzhínjí (many wives)
amái vángu (my mother)

The copulative affix is /nda-/. There are no tonal changes in this construction.

e.g. ndavádzimái vángu (it is my wife)
ndaamái vángu (it is my mother)
ndavámbuya vaúyá (it is mother-in-law who has come)
Ava ndaváTsúro (This is Mr Tsuro)
Ava ndavásekuru (This is uncle)
Ava ndaváChírwa-néhari (This is Mr Glutton)

3.7.2.3. Nuclear substantives: nouns and adjectives of cll. 5, 9 and 10,9

(a)

e.g. bánga gúrú	(a big knife)	(5)
mombe nhemá	(a black ox or black oxen)	(9 or 10,9)
jena gúrú	(a big white one, e.g. moon)	(5) (adj., cp. -chena)
nhemá iyi	(this black one)	(9) (adj., cp. -temá)
nhemá idzi	(those black ones)	(10,9) (adj., cp.-temá)
ivhú iri	(this soil)	(5)
imbwá nyóró	(quiet dog or quiet dogs)	(9 or 10,9)
idzvá iri	(this new one)	(5) (adj., cp.-tsvá)
itsvá iyi	(this new one)	(9) (adj., cp.-tsvá)

The copulative affix is /i-/. It replaces the stabiliser in cases of monosyllabic nouns and adjectives. The construction, /i- + SP/, is accompanied by tonal changes which affect the tone of the nuclear substantive only. The changes are the same as those grouped under TD.I save that /í/ + /LL/ always /íHLL/.

This group of changes can be referred to as TD.II

e.g.

í- + H >	í- + L	e.g.	imbwá iyi	(this dog)	> ímbwa iyi
HH	LL		bángá iri	(this knife)	> íbanga iri
HL	LL		gónhi iri	(this door)	> ígonhi iri
LH	LH		dombó iri	(this rock)	> ídombó iri
HHH	LLL		gárángá iri	(this big junior wife)	> ígaranga iri
HHL	LLL		húvhúte iyi	(this navel cord)	> íhuvhute iyi
HLH	LLH		nyényedzí iyi	(this star)	> inyenyedzí iyi
HLL	LLL				
LHH	LHH		dengwáná iri	(this basket)	> ídengwáná iri
LHL	LHL		gorónga iri	(this gulley)	> ígorónga iri
í- + L >	í- + H		igo iri	(this hornet)	> ígó iri
LL	HL		mbira idzi	(this mbira)	> ímbíra idzi
LLL	HLL		harahwa iri	(this old man)	> íhárahwa iyi
LLH	HLH		hwayaná iyi	(this lamb)	> íhwáyaná iyi

(b) In the case of nuclear substantives with certain tone patterns the affix can be dispensed with and the inflection effected by replacing the low tone of the first syllable by H with consequent TC.II changes described in 3.7.2.4. These tonomorphs are LH or LL only. In these cases /í-/ is in free variation with /H-/.

139, e.g. iri...

e.g.	iri sádzá iri	(this is stiff porridge - not soft)	cp.	sadza	(5)
	zízí iri	(this is an owl - make no mistake)		zizi	(5)
	mbánje iyi	(this is dagga)		mbanjé	(9)

(c) Nouns of cl. 17 with /Ø-/ prefix are inflected by tonal change only.

e.g.	mbéri uko	(it is in front there)	cp.	mberí
	nyhási kworúkova	(it is beside the river)		nyhasí
	zási uko	(it is down there)		zasí
	mhírí uko	(it is there on the other side)		mhiri

The forms shúre and séri with HL tone pattern are not inflected in this way. Copulative forms of these nouns would seem to appear only in cll. 16 or 17 with syllabic prefixes.

e.g.	páshure apo	(it is there behind)	cp	pashúre
	kúseri uko	(it is beyond there)		kuséri

In these cases the allomorph of the copulative morpheme is /H-/ accompanied by tonal change.

3.7.2.4. Nuclear substantives: nouns of classes other than 1a, 2a and 2b, 5, 9 and 10,9, adjectives other than of cll. 5, 9 and 10,9 and enumeratives of all classes

(a) e.g.	murúme úye	(that man aforementioned)	(1)
	mwaná úye	(that child aforementioned)	(1)
	vazhínjí ava	(these many (people))	(2)
	mukúrú uyu	(this senior(person))	(1)
	mumwe mwaná	(another child)	(1)
	vamwé cheté	(the same ones, ones all the same)	(2)
	chií?	(what one?)	(7)

The copulative affix is /H/ or a high toneme. The construction is /H + SP/ and this involves the replacement by /H/ of /L/ on the first syllable of the nuclear substantive. This syllable is either a syllabic prefix (noun, adjective or enumerative) or, in the case of non-syllabic allormorphs of noun prefixes with vowel-commencing stems, the prefix and the first syllable of the stem. This inflection is accompanied by tonal change which affects the tone pattern of the stem or, in the case of vowel-commencing stems, the tone pattern of the stem less the toneme on the first syllable. This series of changes is summarised by the term TD.II

(b) Initial syllables of the nuclear substantives discussed in this section are almost always low in tone. In cases where the prefixal syllable is high, e.g. in nominal constructions of cl. 7 with prefix /chá-/, or in rare cases of other classes, e.g. rwávhi, rwáivhi or ruvávhi (chameleon) (11), the copulative form of these substantives with high-toned prefixal syllables is the same as the base form.

This is also the case with nominal construction of cl. 1a with ownership prefix /sá-/. In all these cases the copulative morpheme is /H-/, without attendant tone changes.

e.g.	chámupúpúri	(it is a whirlwind)	cp.	chámupúpúri	(7)
	rwáivhi	(it is a chameleon)		rwáivhi	(11)
	sádunhu	(it is a district head)		sádunhu	(1a)
cp	chápungu	(it is a bateleur eagle)	cp	chapúngú	(7)
	rúvavhi	(it is a chameleon)		ruvávhi	(11)
	ndísádunhu	(it is a district head)		sádunhu	(1a)

There are of course no monosyllabic forms in this group of nuclear substantives. The prefixal syllable which carries the copulative affix /H/ may be a secondary prefix substituted for or prefixed to a primary prefix,

e.g. pamushá ava

(c)

e.g.	H + L-H > H-L	e.g.	mazwí aya	(these words)	>	mázwi aya
	H + L-HH > H-LL		murúmé uyu	(this man)	>	múrume uyu
	H + L-HL > H-LL		muMbire uyu	(this Mbire)	>	múMbire uyu
	H + L-LH > H-LH		rugwakú urwu	(this spoon)	>	rúgwakú urwu
	H + L-HHH > H-LLL		muKárángá uyu	(this Karanga)	>	múKaranga uyu
	H + L-HHL > H-LLL		muténgési uyu	(this salesman)	>	mútengesi uyu
	H + L-HLH > H-LLH		musíkana uyu	(this girl)	>	músikaná uyu
	H + L-HLL > H-LLL		zihédheni iri	(this big heathen)	>	zíhedheni iri
	H + L-LHH > H-LHH		kangoání aka	(this small hat)	>	kángoání aka
	H + L-LHL > H-LHL		muZezúru uyu	(this Zezuru)	>	múZezúru uyu

H + L-L	> H-H	munhu uyu	(this person	> múnhú uyu
H + L-LL	> H-HL	chigaro ichi	(this chair)	> chígáro ichi
H + L-LLL	> H-HLL	mutauro uyu	(this speech)	> mútáuro uyu
H + L-LLH	> H-HlH	zindaramá iri	(this big piece of gold)	> zíndáramá iri

Nuclei: Nouns with vowel-commencing stems.

H + L-H	> H-L	e.g. rwizí urwu	(this river)	> rwízi urwu
H + L-L	> H-H	mweni uyu	(this stranger)	> mwéní uyu

Examples of inflected adjective and enumerative nuclear substantives:

vazhínjí ava	(these many)	> vázhinji ava
mumwe mwaná	(another child)	> múmwé mwaná
vamwé cheté	(the same ones)	> vámwe cheté
chií?	(what?)	> chíi?

(d) Nominal constructions of cl. 15 replace prefix /ku-/ with /hú-/ in the copulative in some sentences, e.g. in proverbs.

e.g. Kutaurirwa húnyima
(To be told is to be stinted, viz. the event beggars description)

cp ku-nyím-w-á
(to be stinted)

The copulative affix seems to consist of /N-/ + /H/:

e.g. Mbúdzí kudyá mufénjé, húfane-nyina
(For a goat to eat the mufenje bush is to resemble its mother)

cp ku-fán-á
(to resemble)

3.7.2.5. Nuclear substantives : pronouns

(a) e.g. isú tósé (all of us)
íye uyu (this very one, this one himself)

The copulative affix is /ndí-/. The construction is /ndí + SP/ and the stabiliser of the pronoun is replaced by the affix. There are no tonal changes.

e.g. ndísú taúyawó (it is we who have come as well)
ndíye uyu (it is this one himself)
ndíni wáko (it is your me, viz. I am yours)

The form for the I person plural is also found as tísú.

(b) The copulative inflected pronouns of the III person may all be abbreviated to ndó.

e.g. Ndó mumwe (He is someone else)
Ndíye mumwe (He is someone else)

Ndó frequently occurs as the abbreviated form of ndíko with íko in apposition to an infinitive or nominal construction of cl. 15.

e.g. iní ndó kuenda kumbá (and I went home)
iní ndíko kuenda kumbá (and I went home)

(c) There is a negative copulative inflection of pronoun nuclei recognised in Zezuru. The copulative affix is /hándi-/ and is followed by the pronoun (less stabiliser) with H tone.

e.g. Uyu hándiyé watírí kútsvaga? (Isn't this the one we are looking for?)
Ava hándivó ava? (Aren't these they?)

In other dialects there is a complete negative copulative inflection which is affixed to all types of nuclear substantive.

e.g. Hungwe : Hándi-chikúrú-ba (It isn't a big one)
Hándi-úyu-bá (It isn't this one)
Hándi-zvésé-ba (It isn't all)
Hándi-múmwéyo-bá (It isn't the same one)
Hándi-wángu-bá (it isn't my one)
Hándi-yé asíngazívi-bá (It isn't he who doesn't know)
Hándi-ní-ba (It isn't I)

Bunji	:	Tshení-ba	(It isn't I)
		Tshi-bambo wáshe-bá	(It isn't his father)
		Tshí-ye-bá yuyu	(It isn't this one)
		Tshí-wasu-bá	(It isn't ours)
Korekore	:	Ngwángu-bá	(It isn't mine) cp. Ngwángu (It is mine)
		Nbánhu-bá	(It isn't people) etc.

3.7.2.6. Nuclear substantives: possessives, quantitatives, enumeratives with stems /-mwé/ and /-í/, and relatives

(a)	Possessives. e.g.	wángu uyu	(this one of mine)	(7)
		véchidíki ava	(these young ones)	(2)
		chenzíra ichi	(this one on the road)	(7)
		chavásingázíve ichi	(this which they do not know)	(7)
(b)	Quantitatives e.g	dzósé	(all of them)	(10)
(c)	Enumeratives e.g.	mamwé	(the same ones)	(6)
		chií?	(what one?)	(7)
(d)	Relatives e.g	vasíngágoné izvi	(they who cannot manage this)	
		vasína hwahwá	(those who have no beer)	

The copulative affix in all these cases is /ndá-/. The construction is /ndá- + SP/, and this is accompanied by tonal changes in the case of possessives and quantitatives.

The affix /ndá-/ has the following allomorphs:

/ndé-/	before	nuclei	of	classes	with	/i/	in	the	class	affix.
/ndé-~ndá-/	"	"	"	"	"	/a/	"	"	"	"
/ndé-~ndó-/	"	"	"	"	"	/u/	"	"	"	"

(a) Possessives (q.v.): We have here an inflection of an inflection.

(i) Possessives with H on the possessive affix undergo a change of tone pattern. These are possessives with the following nuclei -

(1) primitive pronominal stems;
(2) cl. la nouns;
(3) common nouns with H tone patterns;
(4) adjectives with H tone patterns;
(5) enumeratives with high stems;
(6) quantitatives;
(7) relative and
(8) possessive constructions.

e.g.

(1)	zvángu izvi	(these ones of mine)	-ngu	(mine)
(2)	zvátezvara izvi	(these ones of father-in-law)	tézvára	(1a)
(3)	zvámámbo izvi	(these ones of the chief)	mambo	(1a)
(4)	zvéhama izvi	(these ones of relatives)	háma	(9)
(5)	zvéhuru izvi	(these ones of the big ones)	húrú	(9)
(6)	zvéchimwé cheté	(the ones belonging to the single one)	chimwé	(7)
(7)	zvédzosé izvi	(these ones of them all)	dzósé	(10)
(7)	zvévasíngazívé izvi	(these ones of those who do not know)	cp vasíngazíve	(2)
(7)	zvévasíná hwahwá izvi	(these ones of those who have no beer)	cp vasíná hwahwá	(2)
(8)	zvéwevánhu izvi	(these ones of the people's one e.g. mwaná)	cp wévánhu	(1)
(8)	zvéwemhuká izvi	(these ones of the animals' one e.g. mwaná)	cp wémhuká	(1)

The tone on the possessive affix is lowered in copulative inflected constructions, and the basic tone pattern of the nucleus of the possessive is restored. Note, however, that cl. la nouns with basic L tone patterns retain TD.I tone patterns, and that the primitive pronominal possessive stems become high (TD.III).

142 /e.g. (1)...

e.g. (1) ndé-zvangú izvi (it is these ones of mine)
(2) ndé-zvatézvára izvi (... of father-in-law)
(2) ndé-zvamámbo izvi (... of the chief)
(3) ndé-zvehámá izvi (... of the relatives)
(4) ndé-zvehúrú izvi (... of the big ones)
(5) ndé-zvechimwé cheté izvi (... of the single ones)
(6) ndé-zvedzósé izvi (... of them all)
(7) ndé-zvevasíngazíve izvi (... of those who do not know)
(7) ndé-zvevasíná hwahwa izvi (... of those who have no beer)
(8) ndé-zvewévánhu izvi (... of the people's one, e.g. mwaná)
(8) ndé-zvewémhuká izvi (... of the animals' one, e.g. mwaná)

This change of tone patterns is a neat example of tonal polarity. The polarity which resulted from the possessive inflection is here reversed by that resulting from the copulative inflection.

(ii) Possessives with L on the possessive affix undergo no change. These are possessives with the following nuclei:

(1) nouns of cll. 2a and 2b;
(2) common nouns with L tone patterns;
(3) adjectives with L tone patterns;
(4) demonstratives;
(5) enumeratives with L stems;
(6) selectors;
(7) participial clauses.

e.g.

(1)	ndé-zvavámbuya izvi	(it is these ones of mother-in-law)	cp. vámbuya	(2a)
(1)	ndé-zvaamái izvi	(... mother)	amái	(2b)
(2)	ndé-zvenzíra izvi	(... the path)	nzira	(9)
(3)	ndé-zveshóma izvi	(... the few)	shoma	(10,9)
(4)	ndé-zveúyu izvi	(... this one)	uyu	(1)
(5)	ndé-zvevámwe izvi	(... the others)	vamwe	(2)
(6)	ndé-zvekúnó izvi	(... this region)	kúnó	(17)
(7)	ndé-zvavásingázíve izvi	(... which they do not know)	vásingázíve	(2)

In these inflections, the polarity established by the possessive inflection coincides with, and is not reversed by, that established by the copulative inflection.

(b) Quantitatives: The tone pattern on the quantitative is changed from HH/HL > LH. This is one of a short series of changes which effect tone patterns of possessives with pronominal stems, quantitatives and demonstratives. The first two constructions have H tonomorphs HH or HL, and the third LL. The changes undergone by these tone patterns in these constructions give tone patterns which can be labelled TD.III.

viz. HH/HL > LH e.g. dzáké : ndé-dzaké
LL > HL idzi : nde-ídzi

Quantitatives are not frequently the nucleus for copulative inflection, the inflection of pronoun and quantitative being much more natural and common.

e.g.	ndédzosé idzi	(it is all these)	cp. dzósé	(10)
	ndídzo dzósé idzi	(it is all these)	ídzo dzósé	(10)

(c) Enumeratives and (d) Relatives: There is no change of tone pattern in these constructions.

e.g. Makudo ndámamwé (Baboons are one and the same)
Ichi ndéchii (What is this?)
Ava ndévasíngágoné izvi (These are those who cannot do this)
Ava ndévasíná hwahwá (These are those who have no beer)

3.7.2.7. Nuclear substantives: demonstratives, enumeratives with stem /-mwe/, and selectors

(a) Demonstratives: e.g. ava vósé (all these)
avo vamwe (those others)

(b) Enumeratives: e.g. mumwe wángu (my other, viz companion)

(c) Selectors: e.g. váyé váréfú (those tall ones)
páno apa (hereabouts)

The copulative affix in all these cases is /nda-/. The construction is /nda- + SP/ and is accompanied by tonal changes in the case of the demonstratives and the enumeratives, the first syllable of the nucleus being raised. The affix /nda-/ has similar allomorphs to those described in 3.7.2.6.

(a) Demonstratives: e.g. ndeáya vósé (it is all these)
ndeávo vamwe (it is those others)

(b) Enumeratives: e.g. ndemúmwe wángu (it is my companion)

(c) Selectors: e.g. ndevávé várefú (it is those tall ones)
ndepánó apa (it is hereabouts)
Ndokúnó mwanángu (It is hereabouts my child: viz. we are well)

3.7.2.8. Presentative phrases

There is another copulative morpheme which is used exclusively with demonstratives and selectors (not, however, with selector stem /-pi?/ (which?) and only rarely with /-ye/. The affix is /há-/. Constructions of /há-/ + SPs with demonstrative (without stabiliser) or selector nuclei are transformed into predicates. The tone carried by /há-/ is H, and the construction is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.III patterns in the case of selectors. Demonstratives remain low. The affix /há-/ has the following allomorphs:

/hé-/ before nuclei of classes with /i/ in the class affix
/hé-~há-/ " " " " " /a/ " " " " "
/hé-~hó-/ " " " " " /u " " " " "

e.g. héchi chigaro (here is a chair) cp ichi chigaro
hécho chirongo (there is a waterpot) icho chirongó
hávanó vaná (here are the children here) váno vana
hávayé váuya (there they are, the ones we have been talking about , they have come) váye

Mate hérwe rukova, nzara ikati ndabáya váshemí
(As for saliva, there is a river for you, and hunger then gnawed, O Lord!)

Héndinó ndaúya ndósé
(here I am, entirely present). This may be said by a son-in-law asking for money back after divorce.

Hétinó tavá pano
(here we are waiting for you). This could be said early in the morning, to someone still in bed by someone wanting to continue an argument, e.g. begun the previous evening.

Summary of copulative inflections

Nuclear Substantives		Examples	Cop. Affix	Examples	Tonal Change
Nouns	- cl. 1a	babá	ndí-	ndí-babá	Yes ..... TD.I
	- cl. 1a + sá-	sázita	ndí-	ndí-sázita	No
	- cl. 2a	vámbuya	nda-	nda-vámbuya	No
	- cl. 2b	amái	nda-	nda-amái	No
Nouns	- cll. 5/9/10,9	mombe	í-	í-mómbe	Yes.....TD.II
Adjectives	- cll. 5/9/10,9	nhemá	í-	í-nhemá	Yes.....TD.II
Nouns	- cl. 17	mberí	H-	mbéri	Yes.....TD.II
Nouns	- other cll.	murúmé	H-	mú-rume	Yes.....TD.II to stem
Adjectives	- other cll.	murefú	H-	mú-refú	Yes.....TD.II tone-
Enumeratives	- all cll.	mumwe	H-	mú-mwé	Yes.....TD.II patterns
Pronouns	- all cll.	iní	ndí-	ndí-ní	No
Possessives	- all cll.	wángu	ndá-	ndé-wangú	Yes.....TD.III + polarity
Quantitative	- all cll.	dzósé	ndá-	ndé-dzosé	Yes.....TD.III
Relatives	- all cll.	vasíngágoné	ndá-	ndé-vasíngágoné	No
Demonstratives	- cl cll.	uyu	nda-	nde-úyu	Yes..... TD.III
Selectors	- all cll.	kúnó	nda-	ndc-kúnó	No
Demonstrative/Sel	- all cll.	váno	há-	há-vanó	Yes..... TD.III

NOTES:

1. /ndí-/ and /í-/ may be replaced by /H-/, with accompanying tonal change, before nuclei with LH and LL tone pattern. /H-/ with accompanying tonal change is the only inflecting affix found with SP nuclei of cl. 17 with prefix /ø-/. Only nuclei with LH and LL tone patterns appear to be inflected.
2. In the cases of all nouns, adjectives and enumeratives, the tonal changes affect the tone patterns of stems. These may include prefixes of secondary stems, e.g. in the case of cl. 1a constructions with LLL... tone patterns.
3. In some cases the tone of the copulative affix is given, viz. /ndí, í-, H, nda-/(with cl. 2a and 2b nouns) and /nda-/ (with possessives). The tonal changes that follow show polarity with the tone of the copulative affix in the case of H tone patterns but not in the case of L tone patterns. L tone patterns change in a way showing polarity with the changes affecting H tone patterns.
4. In other cases the tone of the copulative affix is determined by, and shows polarity with, the tone patterns of the nucleus. These may be fixed or changeable. It is high before the H tone pattern of the quantitative and the possessive with pronominal stem which is changed. It is low before the L tone pattern of the demonstrative which is changed.

3.7.3. Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases consist of a possessive inflecting affix and a stem phrase which is either a substantive phrase or a participial clause.

e.g. mombe yá-tezvara uyu (the ox of this father-in-law)
cp tézvára uyu (la) (this father-in-law)

e.g. mombe ya-ndákaténga (this ox I bought)
ndákaténga (I having bought)

3.7.3.1. The possessive affix

The possessive affix is complex and consists of a class affix, one of a series of 18, and the possessive morpheme /-A-/. The class affixes are those of series VIII.

These are set out below together with the possessive morpheme /-A-/.

Singular	No Number	Plural
1. w-a-		2. v-a-
3. w-a-		4. y-a-
5. r-a-		6. Ø-a-
7. ch-a-		8. zv-a-
9. y-a-		10. dz-a-
11. rw-a-		
12. k-a-		13. tw-a-
	14. hw-a-	
	15. kw-a-	
	16. p-a-	
	17. kw-a-	
	18. m-a-	

The choice of the class affix is determined in the same way as that of the non-nominal substantives, viz. by agreement with a controlling headword or by reference to a noun. The possessive affix (class affix + /-A-/) indicates a relation between the headword or noun referred to and the nucleus of the possessive phrase. This relation includes that of possession indicated by the nucleus. But other relationships are also conveyed. See below.

e.g. mwaná wá-babá (the child of his father)
mvúrà yó-kunwá (water for drinking)
hárì yé-vhu (a pot made of clay)
vaná va-ndínodá (children whom I love)

3.7.3.2. Possessive inflected substantive phrases

The first type of stem phrase is the SP. As in the case of the copulative phrases, the form of the possessive affix and the tone pattern of the construction varies according to the nucleus of the SP. The various types of phrase, distinguished according to nucleus, are set out below.

3.7.3.2.1. Nucleus: Pronominal stem

Among the stems which are possessively inflected are pronominal stems which, being bound morphemes, suggest that the constructions of which they are constituents, belong, not to the level of the inflected phrase, but to that of the substantive.

e.g. mwaná wá-ngu (the child of me, my child)
mwaná wá-ké (the child of him, his child)

In these cases the possessor is indicated by a pronominal stem. The following table sets out the pronominal stems which combine as though they were single immediate constituents with the possessive affix.

	Singular	No Number	Plural
I	-ngu		-idú
II	-kó		-ínyú
III	1. -ké		2. -v-ó
	3. -w-o		4. -y-o
	5. -r-o		6. -w-o
	7. -ch-o		8. -zv-o
	9. -y-o		10. -dz-o
	11. -rw-o		
	12. -k-o		13. -tw-o
		14. -hw-o	
		15. -k-o	
		16. -p-o	
		17. -k-o	
		18. -m-o	

Should not constructions consisting of possessive affix (varying according to headword or noun referred to) and possessive stem (referring to possessor) be treated as constructions at the level of the substantive like the enumerative or quantitative?

e.g. vaná vá-ngu (my children)
cp vaná vá-mwe (other children)

e.g. vaná vá-ké (his children)
vaná vó-sé (all the children)

However, the pronominal possessive stems are not stems in the same sense as the enumerative, quantitative and other substantival stems. The forms for cll. 2-18 are clearly the pronouns, less stabiliser, and can thus be headwords or nuclear substantives in a substantive phrase.

e.g. mwaná wá-vò vósé (the children of them all)
cp í-vo vósé (all of them)

Even the forms /-ngu/, -kó, -ké, ídú, ínyú/ for the I and II persons, singular and plural and the III persons, cl. 1 can be accompanied by qualifiers in agreement and which therefore act as nuclei in phrases of a special sort.

These qualifiers are mainly quantitatives and relatives but other substantives can be used in agreement with these stems.

e.g. mwana w-édù tósé (the child of us all)[1]
where tósé (quantitative I plural) is in agreement with /-ídú/;

zvombo zv-énýú munógona (the implements of you who are able)
where munógona (relative, II person) is in agreement with /-ínyú/.

The pronominal possessive stems are comparable to the pronouns with stabiliser as headwords of SPs.

e.g. imbwá-yá-ngu ndóga (the dog of myself alone)
imbwa yení ndóga (" " " " ")

imbwá yá-kéyu (the dog of this self of his)
imbwa ya-íye uyu (" " " " " " ")

Hence these constructions are listed here with the possessive inflected phrases, although the "phrase" of which they are the nuclei are bound and not free like all the other phrases which are constituents in the possessive construction.

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1. Note that there is coalescence of vowels when the possessive affix inflects the pronominal possessive stems /-ídú/ and /-ínyú/.

The form of the possessive morpheme with pronominal stems is /-á-/.

e.g. babá wá-ngu (my father)
amái vá-vó (their mother)

3.7.3.2.2. Nucleus: Nouns and nominal constructions of cl. 1a

e.g. babá mukúrú (senior father)
sámushá (village head)

(a) The construction, possessive affix + cl. 1a nucleus, is accompanied by the same tonal changes as in the copulative inflection, resulting in tone patterns of TD.I.

e.g. mwaná wá-babá mukúrú	(the child of the senior father)	cp. babá mukúrú	
mwaná wá-tenzi uyu	(the child of this owner)	ténzi uyu	(1a)
mwaná wá-mámbo	(the child of the chief)	mambo	(1a)

Other examples of possessive phrases with nuclear substantives of cl. 1a:

- with H tone patterns:

zvinhu zvánhasi úno	(things of today	(8)	cp nhási úno
nyika yábabá wángu	(the country of my father)	(9)	babá wángu
mombe yánhingí uyu	(the ox of so-and-so here)	(9)	nhingí uyu
mwaná wáTakáwíra	(the child of Takawira)	(1)	Takáwíra
mwaná wáPfumo-jena	(the child of White-Spear)	(1)	Pfúmó-jéna
mwaná wáSimuka-ndíkuréve	(the child of Mr Unpopular)	(1)	Símúka-ndíkuréve

- with L tone patterns:

nyika yámámbo uyu	(the country of this chief)	(9)	cp mambo uyu
nyika yáZímúto	(Big Broth's country)	(9)	Zimuto
imbá yáKúgára-húnzwana	(the house of Mr To-live-peacefully-is-to-understand-one-another)	(9)	Kugara-húnzwana
mishongá yáchírembá	(the medicines of the doctor)	(4)	chirembá

(b) With nominal constructions of cl. 1a which include ownership inflections with affixes /sá-/, /nya-/ and /né-/ or /ne-/, the possessive morpheme is also /-á-/. Tone patterns of constructions including /sá-/ are not changed, but those including /nya-/ and /né- ~ ne-/ are changed, and TD.I tone patterns result.

e.g. mwaná wásámushá	(the child of the village head)	cp.	sámushá
ropa rányávanga	(the blood of the one with the scar)		nyavanga
mushá wánevaná	(the village of the spirit medium)		névaná
mushá wánechómbo	(the village of the medium's attendant)		nechombo

3.7.3.2.3. Nucleus: Nouns and nominal constructions of cll. 2a and 2b

e.g. vádzimái ava (these mothers)
amái ava (this mother)

The possessive affix is class affix + /-a-/.

The construction, possessive affix + cl. 2a and 2b nucleus, is not accompanied by any tonal changes.

e.g. vaná va-vádzimái ava (the children of these mothers)
mwaná wa-amái ava (the child of this mother)
mwaná wa-vásámushá (the child of the village head)
mwaná wa-váSádza (Mr Sadza's child)
muzukúrú wa-ambúya (the nephew of an aunt)

3.7.3.2.4. Nucleus: Selector

e.g. pánó apa (right here) (16)
kúno kwédú (here at our place) (17)

The possessive affix is class affix + /-a-/. The possessive morpheme has allomorphs with the usual distribution, viz.

/-e-/	before	selectors	of	classes	with	prefix	vowel	/i/
/-e- ~ -a-/	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	/a/
/-e- ~ -o-/	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	/u/

The construction, possessive affix + selector nucleus, is not accompanied by any tonal changes.

e.g. mwaná wo-kúno kwédú (a child of our place here)
vanhu vo-kúpi (people from where?)
tsika dze-dzíyé nyíka (customs of those countries referred to before)

3.7.3.2.5. Nucleus: Relative inflected verb phrases

e.g. vasíngazíve basa rávó (those who do not know their work) (2)
vakásvíka nezúro (those who arrived yesterday) (2)

The possessive affix is class affix + /-á-/. The possessive morpheme has allomorphs with the usual distribution. The construction, possessive affix + relative inflected verb phrase, is not accompanied by any changes.

e.g. marí yévasíngazíve basa rávó
(the money of those who do not know their work)

kuúya kwávakásvíka nezúro
(the coming of those who came yesterday)

kudhakwa kwéasíná hwahwá
(the drunkenness of the one without beer)

3.7.3.2.6. Nucleus: Quantitatives

e.g. dzósé idzi (all these) (10)
kwósé kwatínofámba (all the area over which we travel) (17)

Possessive affix : class affix + /-á-/
Allomorphs of /-á-/ : usual distribution

The construction, possessive affix + quantitative, is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.III tone patterns.

e.g. kuóndá kwédzose idzi (the leanness of all these)
tsika dzévosé vanógara múnó (the outcome of all who live here)

3.7.3.2.7. Nucleus: Possessive

Possessive affix : class affix + /-á-/
Allomorphs of /á/ : usual distribution

(a) The construction, possessive affix + possessive, is accompanied by tonal change only in the case of possessives with possessive affix of high tone.

These are:

(1) possessive affix + pronominal stem e.g. wángu (mine)

(2) possessive + cl. 1a noun e.g. wátenzi (the owner's)
wámámbo (the chief's)

(3) possessive affix + relative verb phrase e.g. wédzisíngazíve
(of those who do not know)

(4) possessive affix + quantitative e.g. wédzosé (of them all)

(5) possessive affix + possessive e.g. wédzaké (of his ones)
wédzehámá (of the kin's)
wédzevánhu (of the people's)

(6) possessive affix + nouns (other than of cll. 1a, 2a and 2b), adjectives and enumeratives of H tone pattern

e.g. wéhama (of the kin)
wéhuru (of the big one)

In the possessive inflection of these types of nuclei, the possessive affix of the nucleus is lowered and the nucleus reverts to basic tone pattern, save in the case of the possessive pronominal stem, which becomes H (TD.III), and cl. la nouns with basic L tonomorphs, which continue to bear TD.I tone patterns.

e.g.

(1)	zvinhu zvé-wangú	(the things of my one e.g. mwaná (1))
(2)	zvinhu zvé-wa-ténzi	(the things of the owner's one, e.g. mwaná (1))
(2)	zvinhu zvé-wa-mámbo	(the things of the chief's one, e.g. mwaná (1))
(3)	zvinhu zvé-we-dzisíngazíve	(the things of the one of these who do not know e.g. mushá (3))
(4)	zvinhu zvé-we-dzósé	(the things of the one of them all, e.g. mushá (3))
(5)	zvinhu zvé-we-dzáké	(the things of the one of his ones, e.g. mushá (3))
(5)	zvinhu zvé-we-dzé-hama	(the things of the one of the kinsmen's ones e.g. mushá (3))
(5)	zvinhu zvé-we-dze-vánhu	(the things of the one of the people's ones e.g. mushá (3))
(6)	zvinhu zvé-we-hámá	(the things of the kinsmen's one e.g. mwaná (1))
(6)	zvinhu zve-we-mhuka	(the things of the animal's one, e.g. mwaná (1))
(6)	zvinhu zve-we-huru	(the things of the big one's one, e.g. mwaná (1))

(b) Possessive constructions with possessive affix of low tone undergo no tonal change when they are possessively inflected.

These are -

(1) possessive affix + nouns of cll. 2a and 2b,
e.g. wavámbuya (of the mother-in-law)

(2) possessive affix + selector,
e.g. wokúnó (of these parts)

(3) possessive affix + nouns (other than those of cll. la, 2a and 2b), adjectives and enumeratives of L tone pattern, as well as demonstratives,
e.g. waváhu (of the people)
wemútemá (of the black man)
wevámwe (of the others)
weáva (of these)

(4) possessive affix + participial clause
e.g. wandínodá (the one I love)

e.g.

(1)	zvinhu zvé-wavámbuya	(the things of the mother-in-law's one	e.g. mwaná (1))
(1)	zvinhu zvé-waamái	(the things of the mother's one	e.g. mwaná (1))
(2)	zvinhu zvé-wokúnó	(the things of the one of these parts	e.g. mushá (3))
(3)	zvinhu zvé-wevánhu	(the things of the people's one	e.g. mushá (3))
(3)	zvinhu zvé-wemútemá	(the things of the black person's one	e.g. mwaná (1))
(3)	zvinhu zvé-wevámwe	(the things of the others' one	e.g. mwaná (1))
(3)	zvinhu zvé-weáva	(the things of these ones one	e.g. mwaná (1))
(4)	zvinhu zvé-wandínodá	(the things of the one I love	e.g. mwaná (1))

3.7.3.2.8. Nucleus: Nouns and nominal constructions of classes other than la, 2a and 2b; adjectives, enumeratives and demonstratives

e.g.	mombe iyi	(this ox) (4)
	rukova rurefú	(a long river) (11)
	kubátsíra vánhu	(to help people) (15)
	kusazíva	(not to know) (15)
	vatatú ava	(these three) (2)
	dzima zhínjí	(the many others) (10)
	ava vavirí	(these two) (2)

Possessive affix : class affix + /-á- ~ -a-/

Allomorphs of /-á- ~ -a-/ : usual distribution

The possessive affix bears H when affixed to nuclei of H tone patterns and L when affixed to nuclei of L tone patterns. The construction, possessive affix and nuclei of the types listed, is accompanied by tonal changes resulting in the tone patterns of TD.II.

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e.g. Possessive affixes with nuclei of H tone pattern

mombe dzé-hama dzangu	(the cattle of my relatives)	cp	hámá
tsika dzó-kubátsírá vánhu	(habits helpful to people)		kubátsírá
mombe dzé-vazhínjí	(the cattle of the many)		vazhínjí
zvombo zvé-vashánu ava	(the tools of these five)		vashánu

e.g. Possessive affixes with nuclei of L tone pattern

muridzi we-mómbe idzi	(the owner of these cattle)	cp	mombe
mvúrá yo-rúkova rurefú	(the water of a long river)		rukova
mwaná wo-kúsazíva	(an ignorant child)		kusazíva
zvinhu zve-kúita	(things to do)		kuita
kutámbudzika kwedzímwe zhínji	(the suffering of the many others)		dzimwe
marí yeáva vavirí	(the money of these two)		ava

3.7.3.2.9. Nucleus: Pronoun

The pronominal possessive stems which were mentioned in 3.7.3.2.1. as being inflected by possessive affixes as nuclei of phrases of a sort were identified, as far as the cl. 2-18 forms are concerned, with the pronouns less stabiliser. It is possible that we should distinguish two separate series of nuclei here (as was done in the Analytical Grammar of Shona).

(i) the pronominal possessive stems /-ngu, -kó/ etc..../-mo/ from Ip. to cl. 18

(ii) the pronouns i-ní, i-wé etc.... í-mo from Ip. to cl. 18

In the construction, possessive affix + pronoun nucleus, the possessive affix carries L, and its vowel coalesces with the stabiliser of the I and II person pronouns. The stabiliser of the III person forms may be elided or retained with slightly different emphasis.

e.g.	mombe dzení	(the cattle of me, my cattle)
	mombe dzayé	(his cattle)
	mombe dzaíye	(his cattle)

The pronoun is often possessively inflected when in apposition to an SP.

e.g. Chirembá chátora zínó rení, hárahwa
(The doctor took the tooth of me, an old man)

Ndinódá tsika dzemí, vátemá
(I like the customs of you, black people)

Mukatí memí, vámwe makádaró
(In the midst of you, others who are like that)

Vákapíwá mómbe dzaíye murombe
(He was given the cattle of the poor man himself)

Mwaná wewé wátorwa nénzuzú
(Your child was taken by the water sprite)

harahwa yení (the old man I look after)

munhu wení (someone like me)

The inflection of III person less stabiliser gives a tone pattern of LH (or LHL with stabiliser).

This tone pattern is different from the normal possessive with primitive prominal stem:

e.g.	mombe dzávó	(their cattle)
cp	mombe dzavó/dzaívo	(their cattle)
e.g.	muko wáwo	(its observance - i.e. mushá)
cp	muko wawó/maíwo	(its observance)

Further, the meaning conveyed appears more emphatic.

e.g.	chinhu chaíye	(his thing - emphatic)
cp	chinhu chaíye mambo	(the thing of the chief himself)

151 /e.g. chinhu chayé...

e.g. chinhu chayé (his thing - this carries a special emphasis e.g. in the case of some trouble)

cp chinhu cháké (his thing)

Possessive inflected pronouns with possessive affixes of cl. 17 or cl. 7 are used in apposition to SPs.

e.g. munhu kwáye (a real person)
munhu chaíye (a real person)

The pronoun must agree, in these compound phrases, with the SP in apposition. The possessive affix of cl. 17 inflects the pronoun less stabiliser, that of cl. 7 the pronoun plus stabiliser. The respective tone patterns are HL and LHL.

e.g. zviro kwázvo (true, real things)
varúmé chaívo (true men)

3.7.3.3. Possessive inflected participial clauses

(a) The possessive affix is also used to inflect participial clauses. These are a type of verbal construction and do not, of course, consist of nuclear substantive +/- substantives in agreement. Their constructional pattern consists of +/- subject + predicate which, in this case, is a participially inflected verb phrase.

e.g. babá ásingázíve zvakanaka (father not knowing well)
ndádya nhási (I have eaten today)

The possessive affix, when inflecting participial clauses, is prefixed directly to the inflected verb radical, irrespective of the presence or absence of a subject. Subjects of possessive inflected clauses follow the predicate.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ásingázíve zvakánáka babá
(things which father does not know well)

zvinhu zva-ndádya nhási
(things which I ate today)

(b) The possessive affix is class affix + /-a-/.

The construction, possessive affix + participial inflected verb radical, is not marked by any tonal changes.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ndísingázíve (things I do not know)
cp ndísingázíve (I not knowing)

Where the participial inflection is that of the affirmative near future with tense sign /-ó-/, the vowel of the possessive affix is /-o-/ as well.

e.g. mumbá mo-tórindá (in the house where we must now sleep)
Inzwá zve-tóda kuita (Listen to what we now mean to do)

This is the only allomorph of the possessive morpheme which appears in this construction in Zezuru. In other dialects, e.g. Ndau, the full range of allomorphs /-a-~ -e- ~ -o-/ appears.

e.g. zvinhu zve-tinoziva (things which we know) - Ndau
zvinhu zva-tínozíva (things which we know) - Zezuru

In Manyika and some dialects of Karanga we find a construction consisting of demonstrative (second position) and participially inflected verb phrases. This corresponds to the above construction which is found in Zezuru and other dialects of Karanga.

e.g. zvinhu izvo tísingázíwi (things which we do not know) - Ma
zvinhu izvo ndádya nhási (things I ate today) - Ma

(c) Possessive inflected clauses are involved in the same kinds of relationship to other constituents of substantival phrases as the other non-nominal substantives.

Their agreement, as expressed by the possessive affix, is controlled either by the class of a headword in the SP.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ndísingázíve (things I do not know);

or more remotely by the class of a noun or pronoun to which it refers,

e.g. mumwe wandísingázíve (one, e.g. mwaná, whom I do not know)
zva-ásingázíve izvi (these, e.g. zvinhu, which he does not know)

Further such possessive inflected clauses may be either substantives in agreement with a nuclear substantive or in the nuclear position themselves.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ndísingázíve (things I do not know)
zva-ndísingázíve izvi (these things I do not know)

(d) Some remarks on the internal structure of participial clauses themselves are necessary as the normal internal relationships of clauses are disturbed by the inflection of the clause as a whole by the possessive affix.

As already stated the normal order of subject-predicate is disturbed by possessive inflection since the nucleus to which the possessive affix is prefixed is the inflected verb radical. The subject position in such inflected clauses is after the predicate.

e.g. zvinhu zva-ásingázíve zvakánáka babá
(things which father does not know well)

hwahwá hwa-ákanwí nezúro babá
(the beer which father drank yesterday)

When possessively inflected, participial clauses are brought into agreement with substantives which are semantically in the relation of complement, or of nucleus to an adjunct, to the verb radical of the clause.

e.g. -bik- nyama (cook meat)

The SP nyama, which is complement to the R /-bik-/, retains its relationship of /object/ to this radical when qualified by a possessive inflected participial clause containing /-bik-/ and in agreement with it.

e.g. nyama ya-ndábiká (the meat I cooked)
nyama ya-vákábiká amái (the meat which mother cooked)

-dy- sádza padare (eat sadza at the council place)
cp. sadza ra-tádya padare (the sadza we ate at the council place)
padare- pa-tádya sadza (at the council place where we ate sadza)

-uy- nenzíra (come by the path)
cp. nzira ya-ndáúya nayó (the path I came by (it))

-chek- nyáma néhanga (cut meat with a knife)
cp. nyama ya-ndácheká néhanga (the meat I cut with a knife)
hangá ra-ndacheka nyama naró (the knife I cut the meat with (it))

All the relationships of the SPs to verb radicals which are found in the verb phrase can be expressed, mutatis mutandis, in this construction of headword + possessive inflected participial clause. This is described in (e) and (f) below.

(e) Radical-complement

In other languages where the headword is in the relation of complement (e.g. object) to the R of the participial clause, this relationship is signalled by the use of an object prefix in the participial inflected R.

e.g. in Ndebele : Indoda e-ngiyibonayo
(The man whom I see (him)) - object prefix underlined.

cp Zezuru : Murúmé wa-ndíri kuóná
(The man whom I see)

As this example shows, the object prefix is not used in this construction in Zezuru to signal this relationship. But it does seem to be used in Karanga in conjunction with the alternative construction mentioned above where a demonstrative (second position) is used instead of a possessive inflection.

e.g. Muti uyo vanhu vakaucema wakanga wakereba kwazvo
(The tree which the people cut down was very tall) (Ka.)

In this alternative construction there also seems no need to disturb the order of subject-predicate within the clause.

e.g. Mombe idzo baba wangu akadzitenga
(The cattle my father bought) (Ma.)

f) Radical-adjunct

Where the headword is in the relation of instrument or associate to the R of the participial clause, this is signalled by the use of an adjunct, consisting of the morpheme /na-/ + a pronoun in agreement with the headword, in the participial clause.

e.g. bángá ra-ndáchéka nyama na-ró
(the knife with which I cut the meat)

mwaná wa-ndáúya na-yé
(the child with whom I came)

SUMMARY OF POSSESSIVE INFLECTIONS

Nuclear Substantives	Examples	Poss.Affix Cl.8	Examples	Tonal change
Pronominal stem	-ngu	zvá-	zvá-ngu	No
Noun - cl. 1a	babá	zvá-	zvá-babá	Yes... TD.I
Noun - cl. 1a + /sá-/	sámushá	zvá-	zvá-sámushá	No
Noun - cl. 1a + /nya-/, and /né- ~ no-/	nyakubá	zvá-	zvá-nyákubá	Yes... TD.I
	névaná	zvá-	zvá-nevaná	Yes... TD.I
Noun - cl. 2a	vámbuya	zva-	zva-vámbuya	No
Noun - cl. 2b	amái	zva-	zva-amái	No
Nouns non-cl. 1a, 2a, 2b				
- with H tone patterns	mvúrá	zvá-	zvé-mvura	Yes... TD.II
- with L tone patterns	sadza	zva-	zve-sádza	Yes... TD.II
Adjectives with H tone pattern	húrú	zvá-	zvé-huru	Yes... TD.II
Adjectives with L tone pattern	shoma	zva-	zve-shóma	Yes... TD.II
Enumeratives with H tone patterns	chií	zvá-	zvé-chií	Yes... TD.II
Enumeratives with L tone patterns	chimwe	zva-	zve-chímwe	Yes... TD.II
Possessives with H possessive affix	wéhama	zvá-	zvé-wehámá	Yes, to basid
Possessives with L possessive affix	wevánhu	zva-	zvé-wevánhu	No
Quantitatives	dzósé	zvá-	zvé-dzosé	Yes... TD.III
Selectors	kúnó	zva-	zvo-kúnó	No
Demonstratives	ava	ava-	zve-áva	Yes...TD.III
Pronouns	iní	zva-	zve-ní	No
Relatives	varí pano	zvá-	zvá-varí pano	No
Participial clauses	vásingázíve	zva-	zva-vásingázíve	No

3.7.4. Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases consist of an adverbial inflecting affix + a substantive phrase.

e.g. na-babá wángu (with my father)
sa-ténzi uyu (like this owner)

3.7.4.1. The adverbial affixes

(a) The two inflecting affixes are : /na-/ (with) and /sa-/ (like).

/na-/ in Zezuru, in adverbial ohrases, indicates a number of relationships rendered in English, according to the different situations, by "by", "by means of", "about" and "with".

e.g. Mwaná ákaróhwa nábabá wáké
(The child was beaten by his father) (agentive relationship)

Vanhu vákaúya nábabá wáké
(The people came with his father) (associative relationship)

Mukómaná ákatémá mutí nédemo ráké
(The boy cut the tree with his axe) (instrumental relationship)

In Manyika, agentive and instrumental relationship is indicated by a number of different inflections, the affixes varying according to the nucleus of the SP.

With cl. la and pronoun nuclei the affix is /ndí-/

e.g. Mwaná ákánérwa ndíbabá wáké (The child was beaten by his father)
Mwaná ákaúdzwa ndíní (The child was told by me)
Tawána chekúsvika ndícho kuná mámbo (We found a way whereby to reach the king)

With nuclei of other types, the affix is /nge-/.

e.g. Iyi tsamba yákanyórwa ngéháma yángu
(This letter was written by my relative)

Vákafámbá ngenzíra iyi
(They travelled by this path)

In Manyika /na-/ indicates only association, "with".

(b) Each of the adverbial affixes has several allomorphs whose distribution depends on the type of nucleus of the SP. With nuclei consisting of nouns and nominal constructions of cll. la, 2a and 2b and pronouns the form of the affixes is /na-/ and /sa-/ respectively. With all other nuclei allomorphs of the affixes are found with varying vowels whose distribution is determined as usual.

viz. /na-~ne-~no-/; /sa-~ se-~ so-/.

e.g. na-babá (with father)
sa-íye (like him)
né-mvura (with water)
né-mwaná (with a child)
so-úyu (like this one)

3.7.4.2. Nucleus nouns and nominal constructions of cll. la, 2a, 2b; the pronouns

e.g. mambo uyu (this chief) (la)
tézvára wángu (my father-in-law) (la)
vádzimái ava (these wives) (2a)
ambúya vángu (my grandmother) (2b)

Adverbial affixes /na-/ and /sa-/:

The construction, adverbial affix + SP, is not accompanied by tonal changes.

e.g. na-mambo uyu (with this chief)
na-tézvára wángu (with my father-in-law)
na-vádzimái ava (with these wives)
na-ambúya vángu (with my grandmother)

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e.g.	na-sámushá	(with the village head)	cp	sámushá
	sa-sázita	(like a namesake)		sázita
	sa-nyakubá	(like a thief)		nyakubá
	sa-nechómbo	(like an acolyte)		nechómbo

Constructions of adverbial affix + I and II persons pronouns always involve coalescence of the vowel of the adverbial affix and the stabiliser (a + i > e).

e.g.	není	(with me)
	semí	(like you)

With III persons pronoun nuclei the stabiliser is either elided or present in the inflected form with slightly different emphases.

e.g.	nayé/náye	(with him)
	naíye	(he too; by him himself)

3.7.4.3. Allomorphs of adverbial affixes

With all other nuclei, allomorphs of the adverbial affixes are used with varying vowels whose distribution is determined as usual.

viz. /na- ~ ne- ~ ne;
sa- ~ se- ~ so/

e.g.	némvura zhínjí	(with a lot of water)	
cp	mvúra zhínjí	(much water)	(9)

and the tonal changes found with adverbial inflections are the same as those of the possessive with identical nuclei.

3.7.4.3.1. Nuclear substantive: quantitative, relative or possessive

With the following as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries H:

(a)	Quantitatives	e.g. dzósé idzi	(all these)	(10)
(b)	Relatives	dzisíngarware idzi	(these which are not sick)	(10)
(c)	Possessives	dzángu	(mine)	(10)

(a) Tone patterns on inflected quantitatives are those listed in TD.III.

e.g. nedzosé idzi (with all these)

(b) Tone patterns on relatives are not disturbed.

e.g. né-dzisíngarwáre idzi (with these who are not sick)

(c) (i) In the case of possessives, those with low-toned possessive affix are not changed in tone pattern.

e.g.	né-wa-vámbuya	(with the mother-in-law's one)	cp	wa-vámbuya
	né-wa-ndínodá	(with the one I love)		wa-ndínodá
	né-wo-kúnó	(with the one from here)		we-kúnó
	né-che-nzíra	(with the one from the wayside)		che-nzíra
	né-we-shóma	(with the one belonging to the few)		we-shóma
	né-we-vámwe	(with the one belonging to the others)		we-vámwe
	né-we-áva	(with the one belonging to these)		we-áva

(ii) Possessives with high-toned possessive affix are lowered and the nucleus reverts to basic tone pattern save in the case of the pronominal stem which becomes H (TD.III) and cl. 1a nouns with basic L tonomorphs which bear TD.I tone patterns.

e.g.	né-zva-ngú	(with mine)	cp	zvá-ngu
	né-zva-tenzi	(with the owner's ones)		zvá-tenzi
	né-wa-mámbo	(with the chief's one)		wá-mámbo
	né-we-dzisíngazive	(with the one belonging to the ones who do not know)		wé-dzisíngazíve
	né-we-dzósé	(with the one belonging to them all)		wé-dzosé
	né-we-dzáké	(with the one belonging to his ones)		wé-dzaké
	né-we-dzé-hama	(with the on belonging to the relative's ones)		wé-dze-hámá

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né-we-háma	(with the relative's one)	wé-hama
né-we-mhuká	(with the animal's one)	wé-mhuká

3.7.4.3.2. With selectors as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries L:

e.g.	no-kúnó	(through this part)
	chínó nechíyé	(this one here and that one we saw before)
	so-kúnó	(as hereabouts)

3.7.4.3.3. Nucleus: Noun, adjective enumerative, demonstrative

With the following as nuclei, the adverbial affix carries H with nuclei bearing H tone patterns and L with nuclei bearing L tone patterns. The construction is accompanied by tonal changes, the resulting patterns being those of TD.II

(i) nouns of classes other than 1a, 2a, 2b;
(ii) adjectives;
(iii) enumeratives;
(iv) demonstratives.

Nuclei with H tone patterns:

e.g.	némvura zhínjí	(with much water)	cp	mvúrà zhínjí
	némbira irí kúgomo	(with a dassie on the hill)		mbíra irí kúgomo
	névaná vadíki	(with small children)		vaná vadíki
	néguru	(with a big one)		gúrú
	chií néchií	(whatever)		chií (what?)

Nuclei with L tone patterns:

e.g.	nevánhu vazhínjí	(with many people)	cp	vanhu vazhínjí (many people)
	nejéna gúrú	(with a big white one)		jena gúrú
	nevámwe ava	(with these ones)		vamwe ava
	ndzídzidzi	(with these)		dzidzidzi

3.7.5. Ownership Phrases

There are a number of affixes which may be prefixed to SPs, the resulting constructions forming a complex stem which together with a noun prefix forms a complex nominal construction.

e.g.	sá-dunhu iri	(the head of this district)	(1a)	dúnhú iri
	nya-mukádzi-wáké	(the one who has his wife)	(1a)	mukádzì wáké
	ne-chómbo	(acolyte)	(1a)	chombo
	mu-zvíná-múnda-mukúrú	(The owner of a big field)	(1)	munda mukúrú

Nuclei to which the ownership affixes are prefixed are limited to nouns.

The ownership affixes are:

3.7.5.1. /-sá-/

Constructions consisting of /-sá-/ and nominal nuclei are accompanied by tonal changes resulting in TD.I.

e.g.	sá-zita	(namesake)	cp.	zítá	(name)	(5)
	sá-mushá	(village head)		mushá	(village)	(3)
	sá-chígáro	(chairman)		chigaro	(chair)	(7)

3.7.5.2. /-nya-/

Constructions consisting of /-nya-/ and nominal nuclei are not accompanied by tonal changes.

e.g.	nya-kubá zvavámwe	(one who steals others' things)
cp	kubá zvavámwe (15)	(to steal others' things)

Prefix /Ø-/ of cl. 1a is a constituent with phrases inflected by /-sá-/ and /-nya-/ to form complex nominal constructions of cl. 1a.

e.g. sá-dunhu-iri uyu (this owner of this district)
ndí-nyá-kubá vavámwe (it is the one who steals others' things)

3.7.5.3. /-zving-/

Constructions consisting of /-zvíná-/ and SPs are not accompanied by tonal changes other than that of the raising of the first syllable of nuclei with L tone patterns.

Noun prefixes /mu-/ (cl. 1) and /va-/ (cl. 2) are constituents with phrases inflected by /-zvina-/ to form complex nominal constructions of cll. 1 and 2.

e.g. Wátatú múzvinaguhwa (The third one is a tale bearer)

In these nominal constructions of cll. la, 1 and 2, it is not common to find the nucleus accompanied by a substantive in agreement.

3.7.6. The distribution of Inflected phrases

3.7.6.1. Copulative phrases:

(a) Copulative phrases belong to the constituent class of predicate in substantival clauses whose constructional patterns is

+/- subject + predicate

e.g. Murúmé uyu ndísahwira wángu (This man is my familiar friend)

(b) Copulative phrases with pronoun nuclei in apposition to another SP function as complements of auxiliary verbs /-vá/ and /-nge/ (seem) (q.v.) They are thus members of the constituent class of auxiliary verb complements.

e.g. Munhu ákáénda kundovhímá ikavé ndíyo fíró yáké
(The man went hunting and that was the end of him)

Vári kuónéká sokúnge ndívo vasíngazíve zvokúita
(They seem to be the ones who do not know what to do)

(c) Copulative phrases with pronoun nuclei of cl. 15 (abbreviated or unabbreviated), in apposition to a nominal construction of cl. 15, function as consecutive clauses in complex sentences. They are thus members of the constituent class of consecutive clauses.

e.g. Ndakápínda mumbá ndó kugara pasí
(I went into the house and sat down)

Ndakápínda mumbá ndikagara pasí
(I went into the house and sat down)

These copulatives may be introduced by, and be complements of, the auxiliary /-vá/.

3.7.6.2. Possessive phrases:

Possessive phrases belong to the constituent classes of substantive in agreement and nuclear substantive in substantive phrases.

e.g. mwaná wemúnhu uyu (the child of this person)
vényika dzínó ava (these ones of these lands)

3.7.6.3. Adverbial phrases:

(a) Adverbial phrases belong to the constituent class of adjuncts in verb and ideophone phrases.

e.g. -úy- némwaná uyu (come with this child)
Váuya némwaná uyu (They came with this child)
pazíso nényuchi ndúre, kurumwa (being stung by bees on the eye)
Nguruve yánzi pazíso ndúre nényuchi kurumwa (The pig was stung on the eye by the bees)

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(b) Pronouns inflected by /na-/ function as ideophones

e.g. Imbwá yákaóná tsúro ikati nayó nayó múbani
(The dog saw the hare and chased after it in the plain)

3.7.6.4.

It would be possible to treat constructions such as the following as adverbial phrases inflected predicatively, viz. as cases of multiple inflection of the SP.

e.g. ndi-né-marí zhínjí (I have a lot of money)
né-marí zhínjí (with a lot of money)

In this interpretation the SP would be inflected (a) by the adverbial affix /na-/ and then (b) by the subject prefix, e.g./ndi-/ (I).

Another interpretation has been chosen in this book, viz. the interpretation of /-na/ followed by the SP as a verbal segment similar to the verbal segments whose radical is /-ri/, cp.

e.g. ndiné mvura zhínjí (I have a lot of water)
ndirí hama yényú (I am your kinsman)

3.8. SUBSTANTIVAL CLAUSES AND SENTENCES

3.8.1. Substantival Clauses

The substantival construction at the level above that of the inflected substantive phrase is that of the substantive clause. Its constructional pattern is as follows:

+/- subject + predicate

3.8.1.1. Subject

The first constituent, as in all types of clause, is an optional one. The term subject stands for a constituent class of constructions which include the following, all discussed in the section on the substantive phrase.

(a) the substantive phrase, SP;

(b) SPs in apposition, SP, SP;

(c) SPs joined by conjunctions, SP + SP;

(d) Conjunctions followed by SP, + SP;

(e) combinations of the above, e.g. SP, SP + SP.

e.g. (subjects underlined)

(a) Imbwá nyoro ndídzo nyéúri dzamátehwe (SP)
(Quiet dogs are the ones that gnaw the karosses)

(b) Zinzou gádzí ndíro ratyórá mití
(The big cow elephant is the one which broke the trees)

(c) Mapere ése néshumba zvíkára zvinótyíwá navánhu
(Hyenas and lions are wild beasts which are feared by the people)

(d) Kana nababá wánguwó ndíye wandáiti, "Zvimwe 'angásárudzwewó"
(And even my father was one of whom I thought, "Perhaps he may be chosen)

(e) Vósé vemána, véchidúku nevéchikúrú vádyi venháka
(All the people of the hamlet, young and old, are to inherit)

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3.8.1.2. Predicates

The term predicate as a constituent class is limited to copulative and presentative phrases. Subjects do not appear to be used with presentative phrases which consist of an inflected SP.

e.g. Mwaná uyu ídangwe rámámbo
(This child is the chief's first born)

Hóyo mwaná wényú
(There is your child)

The predicate of the substantival clause may include complements and adjuncts.

e.g. Murúmé uyu ndímámbo nokúti vakóma vósé váshávika
(This man is the chief because all his elder brothers are dead)

Murúmé uyu múZezúru sesú
(This man is a Zezuru like us)

Ndizvozvowe nókuchísa
(It is the same with ironing)

Uyu múnhú pamwé není
(This is a person along with me)

Musikaná pakáre
(It is a girl furthermore)

Mugovéra chísi masvondo ésé kwáMutúmba
(Saturday is a holiday every week in Mutumba's country)

Mwaná wáshe múránda kumwe
(The son of a chief is a servant elsewhere)

Uyu mwána wánguwó
(This is my child also)

Iyi ímvurazvé
(This is water again)

Iyi ímvura zvakáre
(This is water once again)

The predicate of the substantival clause has nothing of the variety of forms which are found in the predicates of verbal clauses. With one small exception, only affirmative forms are found; predicates are always principal and the tense present. Perhaps the latter two categories should not be included since there are no contrasts with any others. Thus we should say there are only affirmative, and a very few negative forms, and no contrasts in the fields of mood, tense and aspect.

3.8.1.3. Proverbs as examples of substantive clauses

Substantival clauses seem ideally adapted for statements of general truths in which we find the affirmation of identities and, true enough, a number of proverbs are substantival clauses in form:

e.g. Mwaná wáshe múránda kumwe
(The son of a chief is a servant elsewhere, viz. he must show humility outside his father's realm)

Kusémá chivi húona chiwuya
(To hate the bad is to see the good, viz. you discard what is old on obtaining something new, even though the old one served very well)

Mugoni wépwere ndíyo asínayó
(The one who can manage a child is the one who is without one, viz. no one can prevent small children from being naughty but the man without a child can take pleasure at reporting other people's children knowing that he will not receive similar complaints himself)

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Mutánda makúrú mázungunutswá
(Big logs are to be shaken, viz. don't be intimidated by their outward appearance, try them, perhaps you can carry them)

Kwadzínoróhwá mátumburira, ndó kwadzínotízírá
(Where they are hit on the belly, that is where they run to, viz harshness attracts more than kindness. Said of women who marry men who treat them harshly)

Timbá kúshaya bésu huñzi kányng'aná
(For a little wren to lack a tail means that it is called a fledgling, viz. do not be led by appearances)

Muzívísi wenzíra yapáruware, ndíye mufámbi wáyo
(The one who can tell the way over a rock surface is the one who travels by it, viz. the man with a knowledge of secret things must have had a part in them)

Kure kwégava ndókusíná mutsúbvu
(Where there is no blackberry tree is far for a jackal, viz. effort requires a motive)

Mbavhá ímbatwa
(A thief must be caught, viz. suspicions are not enough)

Chidziva chidúku ndícho chinógara ngwena
(In the little pool is where the crocodile lives, viz. don't judge by appearances)

Muto wétsenza ndíwo mumwé
(Soup from yams is always the same, viz. women are the same the world over)

Chakávanza mbayo mátenga
(What has hidden the rafters is the roof, viz. every family has its secret troubles)

Chakákódza bere mápfupa
(What fattened the hyena was bones, viz. look after the pennies and the pounds will look after themselves)

Dzvinyú kuzámba kúona bako
(For a lizard to bask in the sun means that it sees a cave to run into, viz. if you take up a position in a case, you must have something with which to support it, or another to retire to)

Imbwá nyóro ndídzo nyéúri dzámatówó
(Gentle dogs are the ones which gnaw the karosses)

Many proverbs consist of two clauses, one substantival and the other verbal, placed side by side.

e.g., Dúndúndù ínozi. Rínopfígíra chíro
(The chest is a barn which encloses what it holds viz. you can't force someone to reveal secrets)

Usázvídze mbodza. Ndíyo inozvímbírá
(Don't despise ill-cooked food, it is that which swells you up, viz. don't treat anyone with contempt, it will rebound on you)

Chisí-chako masimbá máshóma. Usíkungire hata séchakó
(What is not yours you have no authority over; do not roll a headpad for it as if it were your own, viz. don't treat borrowed property as if it were your own)

Mukúrù múkuru. Hángá haígaré pfúnde
(An elder is an elder, a guinea fowl doesn't sit on a Kaffir-corn stalk, viz. you should behave as befits your age)

Chákó ndéchakó. Kuseva unosíyá múto
(Your own is your own, in dipping into relish you leave the gravy, viz. you look after your own things thinking of the morrow)

Mhembwe rúdzí. Inozvárwa ína kázhumú
(The duiker is a species, each one born has a tuft of hair on its head, viz. like father, like son, bad character will come out)

Inótánda ndéyomúnyepi. Yóunyérérá haítándé
(The boaster's dog is the one that gives chase, the silent man's dog does not, viz. the boaster achieves little)

Chakángánwa ídemo. Chigutsá hachíkán[illegible]wé
(The thing that forgets is the axe, the stump - which was once a tree - does not forget, viz. the person who has been injured does not forget although the one who injured him may)

Moyo múti. Únomera paúnodá
(The heart is a tree, it grows where it wants to, viz. there is no accounting for where one's heart is drawn to)

Chirema ndéchavá nezáno. Chínotámba chákazéndámirá kúmadziro
(The cripple is one who has learned sense; he dances leaning against the wall, viz. it is part of wisdom to know one's limitations)

Zíno ìrema. Rínosekera warísingádi
(The tooth is a fool which laughs at him whom it does not like, viz. a chief may forget the mistakes he has made but those will not be forgotten by the man who has suffered them though he will not show it)

Makudo ndómamwé. Kubáté-mháni ánorwirana
(Baboons are the same kind; in catching a centipede, they help each other, viz. birds of a feather flock together)

Nhumbu múkadzi mukúrú. Haírévé chayádya
(The stomach is a grown woman, it never says what it has eaten, viz. each one has his secrets(?))

Gengezha múkombe. Hazvíenzáne nókunwá nédemhé
(A worn-out ladle is still a ladle, it is not the same as drinking with a potsherd)

Chembere múkadzi. Hazvíenzáne nókuvátá gotá
(An old woman is still a woman, it is not the same as sleeping in the boys' hut)

Others consist of two clauses, both substantival:

Cháko ndéchawádya. Chasára mútoro wámámbo
(Your own is what you have eaten, what remains are the chief's takings)

Vavirí vávirí. Watátu múzvina-guwa
(Two are two. The third one is a tale bearer)

Still others consist of two principal verbal clauses

Chibwe chínoremera varí kúre. Varí pádyo vánotámbá nachó
(The little round stone is heavy for those who are far from it, but for those who are near it, it is a plaything, viz. familiarity breeds contempt)

Akámbénge árí mádziva, nhási úno ávé mázambuko
(What were once pools have today become fords, viz. fortunes change)

Alternative form:

Aívé mádziva, ávé mázambuko. Aívé mázambuko, ávé mádziva
(What were pools, have become fords. What were fords, have become pools)

3.8.1.4. Variety of constructions in the substantive clause

The constructional pattern

+/- subject + predicate

163/is a formula...

is a formula which covers a great variety of constructions and combinations of constructions. As pointed out the term subject indicates a very large constituent class of constructions which include not only the single SP but various combinations of SPs. The SP whose constructional pattern is

nuclear substantive +/- substantive in agreement

is itself a formula which covers a great variety of combinations since the term substantive indicates a constituent class of construction which include both primary members, viz. the seven types of substantive, and secondary members, viz. the possessive phrases and relative verb phrases. Thus the term subject includes not only the variety of constructions possible under the SP constructional pattern but also the further variety which results from the various combination of SPs.

All this variety is possible also within the predicate since the predicate in a substantive clause is nothing else than a copulative or presentative inflected substantive phrase. Something of this variety is shown in the examples given below but first a further point should be discussed, viz. the extent and manner in which verbal phrases occur in substantival clauses.

It might seem, from the fact that the inflection of copulative and presentative phrases is a very simple one, and that the predicate in substantival clauses as such is limited to an affirmative principal statement, that this type of clause is very limited in the information or relationships which it can express. This is not true, however. The complex relationships of verbal phrases, inflected verb phrases, verbal clauses and even sentences are brought into substantival clauses through being constituents in substantival constructions.

(a). Verbal phrases with constructional pattern

+/- op + R/- complement(s) +/- adjunct(s)

are constituents in complex nominal constructions, both those of cl. 15 and other classes.

e.g.	ku-d-á vánhu	(loving people)	(15)
	mu-d-á vánhu	(one who loves people)	(1)

(b) Inflected verbal phrases enter into substantival constructions.

(i) Complex nominal constructions may occupy the nuclear position in SPs and be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.

e.g. Kugara húnzwana
(To live properly is to understand others)

imbwá yó-kuvhíma mhuká
(a dog for hunting game)

(Ndízvozvówe nó-kuchísa hémbe
(It is the same with ironing clothes)

They are also constituents in "ownership" phrases.

e.g.	nya-kubá zvavámwe	(one who steals other things)	(1a)
	sá-kúnátsa	(do-gooder)	(1a)
	nya-muza nénhamo	(an illegitimate child)	(1a)
	muzvíná-kuenda	(one who has to go)	(1)

(ii) Inflected verbal phrases of various types are constituents in nominal constructions.

e.g. chimandíónérepí
(a little "where did you see me?", a pigmy) (7)

ma-takádya kare
(the fact of having eaten before, previous experience) (6)

(iii) Relative inflected verb phrases belong to the constituent classes of nuclear substantive and substantive in agreement in SPs.

e.g. vasínganwé hwahwá (those ones who do not drink beer)
vanhu vanónwá hwahwá

In nuclear position within the SP they may be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.

164/(c) Verbal...

(c) Verbal clauses enter into substantival constructions.

(i) The relative clause is a SP consisting of nuclear substantive, which is at the same time the subject of the clause, and substantive in agreement, viz. the relative inflected verb phrase.

e.g. vanhu vanónwá hwahwá (people who drink beer)

These clauses may be copulatively, possessively or adverbially inflected.

e.g. Mufáró wókunzé másháve-shávé / anóbhururuka
(The joys found outside are butterflies which fly away)

Kuverenga makoré chínhú / chakánga chísiná múnhu mukúrú anodzíídzísa vaná vadúku
(To count the years is a thing which had no senior person who taught it to small children; viz. no elder thought of teaching the children to count the years)

Chinhu chaáizíva kuti chínoténgérwá chínhú / chakáítwa kana kudyárwá nomúnhu
(The thing which he knew that it is sold is a thing which was made or planted by man; viz. things to be sold were things made or planted by man)

As the translation intimates, the relation between subject and predicate is not limited to affirmative identity but, thanks to the relative which is able to convey relationships of affirmative / negation, tense and aspect, these as well. In the above examples, the copulative affix, in these cases /H/, is affixed to the subject of the relative clauses as nucleus of the SP which is copulatively inflected.

Múnó ndómaígara / sékúru wákó mukúrú, mukoma wáNhindíri, anóva ndíye akándisíyírá chídzimba chókupfúrá
(In here is where lived your senior grandfather, Nhindiri's elder brother, who is the one who left to me his skill in black-smithing)

In this example a relative predicate with inverted subject is the nucleus of the copulative inflection.

(ii) Participial clauses are possessively inflected.

e.g. zva-vánótsvagá amái (what mother is looking for)
wa-ndísingátsvagé iní (one whom I am not looking for)

(iii) Verbal clauses are constituents in complex nominal constructions.

e.g. mudzímu-wárembera
(an overcoat; lit. an ancestral spirit hung down) (3)

(iv Infinitive clauses no less than infinitive inflected verb phrases are nominal constructions and so are members of the constituent class of substantive. The constructional pattern of infinitive clauses is the same as that of verbal clauses in general, viz.

+/- subject + predicate

e.g. imbwá kurúmá múridzi wáyo (for a dog to bite its owner)
vanhu kurwa daka (fighting a grudge on the part of people)

There are thus a number of substantival constructions in which the relationships of the verb phrase (between the verb radical and its complements and adjuncts), of the inflected verb phrase (between inflection and verb phrase); of the clause (between subject and predicate) and of the sentence (between clauses) appear. A further dimension of complex verbal relationships enters when auxiliary verb phrases, i.e. auxiliary verb radicals with their complements, are the constituents. Substantival clauses therefore, because of the possibilities of shift from verbal to the substantive hierarchy, are capable of conveying not only the affirmation of identity,

e.g. Ishé ndíshe (A chief is a chief)

but a great number of the relationships caused by verbal constructions, both those conveyed by the verbal inflections, viz. affirmation or negation, tense and aspect, as well as those of the verbal phrase, clause and sentence.

3.8.1.5. Examples of substantive clauses

This variety should now be illustrated by examples. Examples are arranged under the various members of the constituent class of subject and then, as a sub-division of each of those types under the various members of the constituent class of predicate [1]. Not all possible combinations of course are, or can be, illustrated.

(a) Subject: Zero[2]

(i) Nucleus of copulative phrase: noun

e.g. /Múti úpi waváishaya
(Which medicine is it which he ever lacked?) (/n,s,poss-partic)

Dái achiúyawó nómufáró, / ndíaní angátádzewó kumúgámúchira
(If he returned cheerfully, who is it who could fail to welcome him cheerfully) (/n,r)

(ii) Nucleus of copulative phrase: pronoun

e.g. Iní ndiné úrombó némwaná wényú uyu nokúti / ndíye wamúnénge másíyira nhámo yósé
(I am sorry for this child of yours, since he is the one to whom you will leave all the trouble) (-/p,poss-partic)

Ángoóná mushá uyu, ákábva átánga kufunga nézvaMunjái nokúti / ndípo paívá pámushá páké
(On seeing this village he began at once to think about Munjai because it was there that her home was) (-/p,r)

/Ndíko kusaka wándióná ndákazéndamá pámutí népfumo mumaókó
(That is why you saw me leaning against the tree with a spear in my hands) (-/p, inf. of aux.R + complement)

Naízvoawó / ndíye wandákánga ndáti ndinózopfúrira pfúmó rakánga ráréhwa nasekúru wákó mukúrú
(So he is the one for whom I intended to forge the spear which was planned by your senior grandfather) (-/p,poss-partic with auxiliary R controlling complement with auxiliary R -ti whose complement is a principal clause)

Sáráóga ánga áóna hwíza dzinódyá máruva. / Ndídzo dzaánga achitándánísa sómwaná mudúku. / Ndídzo dzaánga achídá kúti ándzúráye dzósé
(Saraoga had seen some locusts which prey on flowers. It was them which he was chasing like a small child, them that he wanted to kill completely) (/p, poss-partic)

(iii) Nucleus of copulative phrase: selector

e.g. Ndorúpi rudzi runóramba zvakányánya, varungu kana kuti vánhu vatemá?
(Which race has a higher rate of divorce, whites or blacks?) (-/s,n,r: n kana kuti n, a in apposition).

(b) Subject: nouns or nominal constructions +/- substantives in agreement

(i) e.g. Mapfuhwira / kúítirana zvinofádza chete
(Love charms consist in only doing pleasing things for one another) (n/infinitive)

166/ Mashereni...

1. The examples are taken from a chapter of each of three books, viz. Kumazivanda-dzoka by J W Marangwanda, 1965, chapter 5; Pfungwa dzasekuru Mafusire by P Chidyausiku; Pfumo reropa by P Chakaipa, chapter 9. The fact that three chapters could produce such an abundance and variety of examples shows how commonly this construction is used.

2. The constituents of the clauses are divided by a slash into those of the subject, normally to the left of the slash, and those of the predicate, normally to the right. After each example, abbreviations indicate the various constituents in brackets.

Mashéreni manomwé ané súsupenzi / chínhú chinoshámísá kúmunhu asíngazíve marí
(Seven shillings and sixpence is a wonderful thing to a person unused to money) (n, a, r/n, r)

Huruméndé / chítsáma chevánhu vanóg[illegible] numuzinda mukúrú wéHaráre
(The Government is a group of people who live in the big city of Harare) (n/n, poss-relative clause)

Namátambudziko néhamo dziné váNhu páno pányika / úsiku kumwaná mudúku
(Even the sufferings and troubles which people have here on earth mean nothing (lit. is night) to a small child) (na-n, na-n, r/n followed by locative adverb)

Kusazívá / chínhú chakánáka nedzímwe nguvá
(Ignorance is a good thing sometimes) (neg.inf./n, r)

Kufunga kwáké kukúrú / méso
(His thinking is seeing, (lit. is eyes)) (inf. poss, a/n)

Kakara kununa / húdya kamwe
(For an animal fatness consists in eating another) (inf. clause/inf.)

Ícholwadí / kúti áichíenda musángó asi áichíenda noúpfu
(It is true that he used to go into the veld but he used to take flour) (inf. of aux. -ti with sentence as complement/poss)

(ii) Nucleus of copulative phrase: pronoun

e.g. Munhu akádaró / ndíye anónzi ánoroya masíkatí máchena
(Such a person is one who is said to be a sorcerer in broad daylight) (n, r/p, r of aux. -nzi with sentence as complement)

Pavaná váNhindíri, babá wákó / ndíye wandáiti múrume
(Among the sons of Nhindiri, your father is the one whom I considered to be a man) (n, poss/p, poss-partic)

Dái aúya, babá / ndíye angápedze izvi
(If he were to come, father is the one who would finish this) (n/p, r)

Kuita izvi, mwanángu, / ndíwo mupfuhwira chaíwo unoshándá kwandíri wandíri kukúdzá uyu, muzúkurú
(Doing this, my child, is the genuine love medicine which works with me, which I am telling you about now, my niece) (n/p; n, (poss), r, poss-partic)

In a very common form of this construction, a copulative inflected pronoun of cl. 15, usually abbreviated to the form ndó, is followed by an infinitive clause in apposition. These copulative phrases function as consecutive clauses in sentences.

e.g. Así sézvinéiwó ákázoóná chidúmu chómuswé chinóva ndícho chakámunyúmwísa, ndó kubva ásedéra padye néchotó, ndó kubátídzá mwénje, ndó kutarisa zvakánáka, ndó kuóna chókwadí, inga chímuswé chédzvinyú
(However, he saw a piece of tail which is what upset him and then he went close to the hearth and lit a light and looked closely and saw, true enough , it was a lizard's tail)

Vákatúrá midzíyo yávó, váHarípotsé ndó kuzembera pámutí pfúmo ríri múmaókó
(They put down their things and Haripotse leaned against a tree, his spear in his hands)

Ndíko kusaka wándióna ndákazéndamá pámutí népfumo mumaókó
(That is the reason you saw me leaning by a tree with a spear in my hands)
Así yázóti yáva pádyo, ikati yáshama muromo nókushátírwá ndó kubva ndáíti pfúmó nomúkanwa bvoo, ndó kuti pasí zvi
(But when it came near and opened its mouth with rage, then I hurled my spear through its mouth, and it fell down flat on the ground)

167/(iii) Nucleus...

(iii) Nucleus of copulative phrase: adjective

e.g. Kutsvaga shámwarí yakánáka inóyambira mumwo kana váva kúita zvinhu zviné ngózi / zvikukutu kwazvo
(To seek for a good friend who warns his companions when they are doing something dangerous is very difficult) (inf./a followed by adverb of manner)

(iv) Nucleus of copulative phrase: possessive

e.g. Ko, gomo ríye reRúvinga riné tsindi, nembira zhínjí, matundúru, húte némhatsi dzepámapako áve / ndéraaníko zváro
(That hill of Ruvinga with squirrels and many dassies, wild fruit and the wild mice of those caves, whose is it?) (n.s. poss-SP,r/poss-SP)

Sadza iri / ndéravánga vachídyá, vásatí váendá kúbasa
(This porridge is what they were eating before they went to work) (n, d/poss-partic)

Murima umo / ndámachakánga chónyatsóóná
(In that darkness it was in there that it could now see well) (n, d/poss-partic)

Zvínó zvinhu zvakánáka / ndézvokútoronga basa rómusí
(now the right thing to do is to arrange the work of the day for a time which suits it) (n, r/poss-inf.)

(v) Nucleus of copulative phrase: relative

e.g. Varúmé, vanángu, / ndá-vaná-mufárá-ndágúta, uchióná vákadái
(Men, my children, are people who are happy as long as their stomachs are full) (n/r)

Vaná vángu / ndévanoshándá mubháwa, vachipíwá múbayiro pasvondo rósa róya
(My children are the ones who work in the bar and are paid weekly) (n, poss/r)

(c) Subject: pronoun +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus of copulative phrase: pronoun

e.g. Íyewé / ndíwé usíngágoné kúgarisana navámwe zvakánáka
(You, it is who is unable to live peaceably with others) (p/p, r)

Iwé mwaná mudíki uné meso akápínza / ndíwe unofánírá /kuóná móiga
(You, a young boy with sharp eyes, are the ones who ought to see the honey flies) (p; n, a, r/p, r)

(d) Subject: enumerative +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus of copulative phrase: possessive

e.g. Chimwe chinówanzoita kuti isí vánhukadzi típésáne navánhurume / ndéchengúvá
(One thing which causes us woman to differ with the men is what concerns time) (e, r/poss-SP)

(e) Subject: quantitative +/- substantives in agreement

e.g. Zvíro kwázvo / zvósé zvawáréva
(All you have said is true) (q, poss-partic/n followed by adverb of manner)

Zvósé izvi / pámusáná pókukúrírá mumbá
(All this is on account of growing up in a house) (q, d/n, poss-inf.)

(f) Subject: selector +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus: relative

e.g. Múnó / ndómaígara sékúru wákó mukúrú anóvá ndíye akándisíyírá chídzimba chókupfúrá
(In here is where your senior grandfather used to live who is the one who left me the skill in smithing) (s/r with inverted subject qualified by a further relative which includes a substantival predicate as complement)

(g) Subject: demonstrative +/- substantives in agreement

Nucleus: noun

e.g. Uyu / mwána wángù
(This is my child) (d/n, poss.)

Izvi / ndézvokúbikisa sadza
(This is to cook the porridge with) (d/poss-inf.)

Úhwa / hwáhwa hwaásingázofá áhúnwa babá
(This is beer which father will never drink) (d/n, poss-partic)

(h) Subject: possessive +/- substantives in agreement

(i) Nucleus: noun

e.g. Wángu mutí / kúgára ndichíkánda pfúmó
(My medicine is to practise throwing spears) (poss, n/inf.of aux. verb with participial complement)
Wandíri kureva / múnhú aídzoka óróva vaná váké (The one I am talking about is a person who would unexpectedly beat his children) (poss-partic/n,r)

(ii) Nucleus: possessive:

Chaáizíva / ndéchokúti mití nésango zvákásíkwa néanónzi návakúrú Mwarí
(What he knew is that the trees and veld were made by one called Mwari by the elders) (poss-partic/poss-aux-inf.)

(i) Subject: relative +/- substantives in agreement

(i) Nucleus: noun

e.g. Panórwárá múmwe nenzíra vamátambudziko / ínzíra yokúzvizívá
(Where someone is ill on account of suffering it is through being aware of them) (r with inverted subject/n, poss-inf.)

Ko, akátenga jíri gúrú remázhanje rokúmushá kwédu ríye ndíaníko, / pamwé cheté nébani ráNyamatowo riné nhapí zhínjí ríye
(Who is it who bought that big grove of wild fruit trees at home together with that vlei of Nyamatowo with so many cane rats?) (r/n)

Vané ngózi / ndé vanófámbísa mótokare vásingázíve zvokúita
(The dangerous ones are those who drive motorcars not knowing what to do) (r/n)

Zvakáítika / ndézvokúti mwaná haáná kúdzokera kumushá
(What happened is that the child did not return home)
(r, poss-aux.inf.)

Anótunhidzwa návazhínjí achínzí múnhú / ndíye mbavhá
(The one who is praised by many people and called a good man is in fact a thief) (r/p; n)

(ii) Nucleus: pronoun

e.g. Ndízvo / zvinóita vanhu vanórambana
(That is what people who divorce do) (r with inverted subject/p)

(iii) Nucleus: enumerative

e.g. Zvínó, kana múri ívo, chasándútsa upenyú hwényú kudái / chíi chaízvo?
(now, if you are the same ones, what is it indeed which has changed your life like this?) (r/e followed by adverb of manner)

169 /(iv) Nucleus...

(iv) Nucleus: demonstrative

e.g. Zvínó, zvakázóitika / ndezvízvi
(Now what happened is this) (r/d)

(v) Nucleus: possessive

e.g. Zvakázóitika / ndézvokúti mwaná haáná kúdzokera kumushá
(What happened is that the child did not return home)
(r/poss-infinitive of auxiliary R -ti with sentence as complement)

(j) In substantival clauses, the predicates consist of copulative phrases +/- complements +/- adjuncts. The following are some examples of full predicates (complements and adjuncts underlined)

Locative:

Namátambudziko nénhamo dziné vánhu páno pányika úsiku kumwaná muduku
(And the trials and tribulations which people suffer here below are darkness to a small child)

Time:

Makúnguwo zvaákatyá akáfa mánganí
(How many were the crows that died when they showed fear)

Manner:

Ko, gomo ríye riné tsindi ndéraaníko zváro?
(What about that hill with squirrels, whose is it?)

Zvínó, kana múri ívo, chasándútsa upenyú hwényú kudai chíi chaízvo
(Now, if you are these same people, what is it that has changed your lives like this?)

/sa-/ adjunct:

Íbenzi séi?
(How is he a fool?)

/na-/ adjunct:

Kutsvaga shámwarí yakánáka inóyambira mumwe kana vává kúita zvinhu zviné ngózi zvíkukutu kwázvo nokúti vanhu vazhínjí vánopesana nemírau vevánhu
(To seek a good friend who will warn his companion when they are doing something dangerous is very difficult by reason of the fact that many people differ from each other because of human laws)

Uyu mwána wángu nokúti áne mhópo qúmí
(This is my child because he has ten warts)

(k) Other varieties of substantival clause are:

(i) those with circumstantial phrases:

e.g. Sékúru Mafusíre, ndízvo zvaváingúnótsvaga ízvozvó
(As for uncle Mafusire, this is what he was looking for all the time)

Zítá rákó ndíwé aní?
(What is your name?)

(ii) those with inverted word order:

e.g. Zvíro kwázvo zvósé zvawáréva
(All you have said is true)

(iii) those with split subject, half before and half after the predicate:

e.g. Ko, akátenga jírí gúrú remázhanje rokúmushá kwédú ríye / ndíaníko / pamwé chete nébeni riné nhapí zhínjí ríye
(Well, who bought that big grove of fruit trees at our village along with that vlei full of so many cane rats?)

170/(iv) those...

(iv) those with interjectives and connectives:

e.g. Ínga, ínyoka! (I say, it is a snake!)
Ínga chókwadí ndíbabá! (It is indeed father!)

(l) (i) The copulative phrases in which the inflected nuclear substantive is a pronoun followed by a relative or possessive inflected participial clause, deserve notice because they instance transformations whereby SPs belonging to the various constituent classes in the verbal clause receive emphasis and prominence .

e.g. - the SP subject of a verbal clause

Mwaná ákaróvá imbwá nétsvimbo
(The child beat the dog with a stick)

cp. Mwaná ndíye akárova imbwá nétsvimbo
(The child it was who beat the dog with a stick)

e.g. - the SP object-complement of a verbal clause.

Imbwá ndíyo yaákaróva nétsvimbo mwaná
(The dog it was which the child beat with a stick)

e.g. - the SP in an adjunct of a verbal clause

Tsvímbó ndíyo yaákaróva imbwá nayó mwaná
(The stick it was with which the child beat the dog)

Other examples

Zvínó chíonaí, vanángu, kuti ndízvo zvinóita vanhu vanórambana
(Now see, my children, that is what people who divorce one another do)

Iní ndiné úrombo némwaná wényú uyu nekúti ndíye wámúnénge másíyirá nhámo yósé
(I am sorry for this child of yours because it is he to whom you are transferring this whole trouble)

This is more emphatic than:

..... nokúti munénge mámusíyirá nhámo yósé

Havásirí vakádzí kana varúmé vanópéngá así kúti íyewé ndíwé usíngágoné kúgarisana navámwe zvakánáka
(It is not the wives or husbands who are mad but that you cannot live peaceably with others)

(ii) This construction features as a complement to the auxiliaries /-vá/, /-nge/ (seem) and, apparently in older forms of Shona, /-ri/ (in negative inflections). These compound constructions consisting of an inflected auxiliary R with copulative phrase as complement are seemingly needed when aspects other than simple emphatic affirmation are needed. Thus the auxiliary /-nge/ conveys the added notion of "seemingly", the auxiliary /-vá/ is often used when the affirmation itself is conveyed relatively (e.g. "... who is the one who...", "... who are the ones who...") or in a consecutive sense (e.g. "... and that was what happened."). Most other inflections of /-vá/ with copulative phrase are seemingly possible where a combination of a particular mood or tense together with emphasis are required.

e.g. Váinge ndíyo vaívá múfudzi wezvísikwá zvésango
(He seemed to be the one who was the herder of wild creatures

Pandákamúóna ákánga achíngé ndíye mukúrú wávó
(When I saw him he was, seemingly, the chief among them)

Ákáfúnga kuti ánénge ndíye muchengeti wámakúvá
(She thought he was probably the one in charge of the graves)

Ishé ánofunga énge ndiye mutóngi wémhosva así haásatí áriyéba
(The chief thinks he is the judge of the case but it is not he)

171 /Vákázónda...

Vákázónda Zindóga anénge ndíye akátora Sáráóga
(She hated Zindoga who appeared to be the one who had taken Saraoga

/-vá/

e.g. Múnó ndómaígara sékúru wákó mukúrú anóva ndíye akándisíyírá chídzimba chókupfúrá
(Here is where your senior grandfather lives who is the one who left me my skill in smithing) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Ákánga árí munhu aíti, kana áóna munhu, áichéma-chéma kushaya chókubátá, anóva ndíye akánga árí múnhu, anóva ndíyezvé aívá akábata mushá wése kúnge aínzi ndíye changamire íye ásirí ndíye
(He was a man who, when he saw another, used to complain at having nothing to give him, who was indeed a full person, who was the one who was responsible for the whole village as if he were the chief, though in fact he was not) (affirmative relative present inflection) (negative participial present inflection of /-ri/)

Nyika ánoténgéswá náHuruméndé anóve ndíye anozívá pasíná kuténgéswá nápakátengeswa
(Land is sold by the Government which is the body which knows what has not been sold and what has been sold) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Takárámbidzwa kufámbá nemúgwagwa, tinóva ndísú takáuíta
(We have been forbidden to walk in the road, we who are the ones who made it) (affirmative relative present inflection)

Nokúti, múrúmé ánenge ásanduka, ava ndíye babá wómukádzí
(Because the husband will have changed and have become the father of his wife) (affirmative participial perfect inflection)

Zvíngavé ndízvo
(It may be just that) (affirmative potential inflection)

Mahometani ákavé ndó akámusákísa kuvira zvikúrú néhasha
(The Mohammedans were the ones who made him boil with wrath) (affirmative principal remote past inflection)
Váchavá ndívo vanóenda (They will be the ones who will go) (affirmative principal future inflection)
Munhu ákáénda kundovhímá kukavé ndíko kafá kwáké
(The man went hunting and that was his death)

The auxiliary R /-vá/ can be followed by a copulative inflected pronoun, in full or contracted as is exemplified above. This pronoun may be of cl. 15 and be followed by an infinitive clause in apposition. The auxiliary R /-vá/ may be inflected either by an sp of cl. 15 or one agreeing with the subject of the clause of which it is the predicate. The infinitive clause may be qualified by a possessive with prononimal stem agreeing with the subject of the clause.

e.g. Mapfeni ákavé ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwáwo)
Mapfeni kwákavé ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwáwo)
(And that was the end of the baboons)

The inflection of auxiliary (-vá/ may be consecutive and be attended by the same freedom.

e.g. .....mapfeni akavé ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwáwo)
.....mapfeni kukavé ndó/ndíko kupérá (kwáwo)
(....and that was the end of the baboons)
As stated in AS, p. it is probably from this long construction by the elision of new optional elements, that we get the common contemporary construction:

ndó/ndíko + infinitive clause

which is used a great deal as a main or consecutive clause (these distinctions cannot be conveyed merely by the copulative inflection).

e.g. Mumwe wávó ákáti, "Ngátiendeí nayé kúrukova". Vakavé ndó kutakura chitunhá cháké, vachíéndá nachó kúrwizí
(One of them said, "Let us take him to the river." Then they took up his corpse, taking it to the river)

172 /Pavákanzwá kúti...

Pavákanzwá kúti ákotsira, vakachíve ndó kuúyá (kwávó) nokúpinda mumbá chínyararire
(When they heard he was asleep, they came and entered the house secretly)

Kupérá kwézvi zvihunhá izvo zvipenyú zvikavé ndó kuitwa (kwázvo) mudúngwe
(After this, those living corpses were formed into a line)
Vákásvíka pamushá vakavé ndó kuzofárá (kwávó)
(They arrived home and were glad)
Vákachéra ndiya vakavé ndó kupona kwávó
(They dug out the root and survived)

(iii) Where assertion or denial of identity, without emphasis, is required in moods and tenses other than in the affirmative present, the copulative radicals /-vá/, /-nge/ and /-ri/ appear to be used without copulative complements.

e.g. Dái zvákagúmírá ípapo chéte, zvíngadái zvákavá náni
(If things ended there, they would be tolerable)

Muchipáná chidó chakáperera, chókwadí kana zvigumbú zvíngavé zvíshoma pamana pényú
(f you give on another this complete love, truly even grumbles would be few in your home)

Así handíti vaná dzínenge dzavá nhérera dzisíná babá naamái?
(But do the children not appear to have become orphans without father or mother?)

Zvinhu zvósé zváivá zvitsvá kwaári
(Everything was new to him)

Saka úri bénzí nokúti haúnzwe
(So you are a fool because you do not listen)

cp Saka íbenzi kana achídaró
(So he is a fool if he does that)

Seí ríri bénzí?
(Why is he a fool?)

cp Íbenzi séi
(How is he a fool?)

3.8.2. Types of substantival sentence

3.8.2.1. Substantival clause +/- subordinte clauses

One type of substantival sentence may be defined as substantival clause +/- subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses are to be understood as participial clauses which are verbal constructions. These may or may not be introduced by conjunctions.

e.g. Zvínó, kana múri ívo, chasándútsa upenyú hwényú kudái chíi chaízvo?
(Now, if you are the same ones, what indeed has changed your lives like this?)

Kana achichémá, mwána mudíki
(If he cries, he is a small child)

Varúmé ava, uchívaóná vakádaí, túmbwananá
(These men, as you see them acting like this, are just puppies)

Mwána wángu chero áiné mhopo gúmí
(He is my child as long as he has ten warts)

Dái achiúyawó nómufáró, ndíaní angátádzewó kumúgámúchira nókufárá
(If only he were to come smiling, who could fail to welcome him happily)

3.8.2.2. Copulative clauses + infinitive clauses

Infinitive clauses also function as subordinate clauses in sentences.

e.g. Kunyangwe áiné mhopo gúmí ndówangú mwaná chéte
(Even though he has ten warts, he is my child and none other)

Kubvira goré rakápera, ndíye angá achíndiyámúra
(Since last year, it is he who has been helping me)

3.8.2.3. Compound substantival clauses

Copulative clauses may be joined to verbal or other copulative clauses by conjunctives.

e.g. Uyu mwána wángu así uyo haási wángu
(This one is my child but that one is not)

Iyi ímbudzi así/úye iyo íhwái
(This is a goat but/ and that is a sheep)

Íchokwadí kúti áichíenda musángó así áichíenda noúpfu
(It is true he used to go into the forest but he used to take flour with him)

3.8.2.4. Substantival clauses in sentences

Copulative clauses form part of larger verbal sentences in several ways.

(a) The commonest way is by the use of a copulative clause as consecutive.

e.g. Tánga ákatémá músasa ndó kusika motó
(Tanga cut a shelter and made a fire)

(b) in parenthesis

e.g. Murúmé akapíhwá múpfuhwira chaíhwo, ndíko kuti mupfuwira wéchidó chaícho, ánoti kana akasvipirwa kumwe, ánogumbudzika achirároúyá kumusha; kana akadzivirirwa némvura kumwe, ánoípóyéra achiúyá kúmushá
(If a man is given a true love philtre, that is to say the love potion of real love, he will not rest if he is overtaken by night somewhere but come home; or if he is held back by rain, he will break through and come home)

(c) as a complement to the auxiliary /-ti/

e.g. Zvíno, vanángu, ndinódá kukútáúriraí kúti munhu akádaró ndíye anónzi ánoroya masíkáti machena
(Now, my children, I want to tell you that a person like that is one who can be said to be a witch in broad daylight)

(d) as a connective

e.g. Ndízvo Sáráóga zvákámuóméra kúti zúva ranhasi rákápésana néramangwána
(So it irked Saraoga that today was different from the morrow)

Hézvi, tavá kúparadzana tísatí tákúrúkurá
(So here we are, parting before we have exchanged a word)
cp ndípo, hézvo etc.

3.8.2.5.

The following are some examples of substantival sentences with copulative inflected demonstratives and selectors as nuclei (presentative phrases);

e.g. Hézvi zvákó
(Here are your things)
Hérinó dénga pasí páno
(Here is heaven on earth)
Vákasímúká, hávo toro vákanánga nokúmadzimbahwe
(They got up and went off heading straight through the graves)
Varúme vákasímúka páno, hávo nókwamámbo, bindémupinde shaapu kumakáráti
(The men arose from here and went on to the chief; from there they passed on and went to the magistrate)
Madzimái vákásvíka paruwaré, pazvió zvávó mba, hávo kumushá
(The women arrived at the threshing floor, picked up their millet, and went straight home)

/SOME NOTES...

SOME NOTES ON IDEOPHONES AND IDEOPHONIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN SHONA

by

G FORTUNE

INTRODUCTION

0.0. Ideophones and verb radicals are the basis of two predicative styles

In 1962 the writer of this paper put forward an interpretation of the ideophone in Shona which made it comparable to the verb. Highly distinctive in every way, in phonology, as a constituent in constructions and in stylistic use, the ideophone was found, nevertheless, to be analogous to the verb and this analogy was found to be useful in distinguishing speech styles characterised respectively by the presence of verbs and ideophones. "When we compare speech in which a high proportion of ideophones is found with the more normal speech, we find that we are led to distinguish two quite different styles. In ideophonic speech verbs are replaced more or less entirely by ideophones." (Fortune, 1962, p.4). This interpretation and distinction of styles was supported by Kunene in an article entitled 'The Ideophone in Southern Sotho' which he summarised as follows. "The main thesis put forward here is that the ideophone is a dramatisation of actions and states, and the conclusion is that two predicative types must be recognised for the Bantu languages, viz. the 'narrative' and the dramatic." (Kunene, 1965 p.20)

This article aims at defining a little more exactly and in detail what was adumbrated in the earlier paper by applying an analysis, along constituent structure lines, to the constructions in which ideophones occur.

0.1. Three lexical groups exist, the members of each being distinguished by the constructions of which they are constituents.

In the lexicon ideophones form a large group of items side by side with those consisting of the substantival stems and the verb radicals. It is relatively easy to distinguish these three different types of item by reference to the constructions of which they are constituents. Substantival stems are normally constituents along with class or person affixes in the formation of substantives. Thus the noun stem /-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 segororo (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)

0.2. Ideophones are constituents of ideophonic phrases and the ideophonic phrase is the marker of a vivid, dramatic style

Analogous to verb radicals, ideophones combine with complements and adjuncts to form ideophonic phrases,

e.g. nyama pikú samuridzi (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 samuridzi pikú (taking up meat as its owner)
nyama pikú samuridzi (taking up meat as its owner)

Many ideophones are constituents in the formation of nouns, normally according to specific constructional patterns.

e.g. cha-mu-púpurí (whirlwind, dust-devil) (7)

c.p púpurí púpurí (whirling)

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C G Fortune, Department of African Languages, University of Zimbabwe, May 1971. However, some ideophones combine with single class affixes just like noun stems and form a secondary sub-class of the constituent class of noun stem,

e.g. chí-mbinyu (short, excitable person) (7)

cp. mbínyu (changing suddenly, e.g. a position or opinion)

The characteristic note of ideophones is that they are constituents in ideophonic phrases and the linguistic marker of a vivid, dramatic style is the presence of ideophonic phrases instead of verb phrases in predicates.

0.3. The substantival verbal and ideophonic constructions each form a hierarchy

The substantival stems and the verb radicals are each the nuclei upon which a hierarchy of constructions is built. In the case of the substantival stem we have the following successive levels:

1.	Complex stem	e.g.	-nhu-kadzi	(female)
2.	Substantive	e.g.	mu-nhukadzi	(woman, female person) (1)
3.	Substantive phrase	e.g.	munhukadzi mukúrú	(grown woman) (1)
4.	Inflected SP	e.g.	múnhûkadzi mùkúrú	(she is a grown woman)
5.	Substantival clause	e.g.	Hanzvádzi yangu munhûkadzi mukúrú	(My sister is a grown woman)
6.	Substantival sentence	e.g.	Hanzvádzi yángu múnhûkadzi mukúrú así íyo índiki kunéni	(My sister is a grown woman but she is younger than I)

In the case of the verb radical we have the following successive levels:

1.	Complex radical	e.g.	-téng-és-	(sell)
2.	Verb phrase	e.g.	-téngés- mombe negumi ramadhóra	(sell an ox for ten dollars)
3.	Inflected VP	e.g.	áka-téngés-á mómbe négumi ramadhora	(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 akaténgésa mómbe négumi rámadhora vanhu vakaítórá kúmafúro	(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.	taú-r-ei	(speaking)
2.	Ideophone phrase	e.g.	mazwí manyóró taúreí	(speaking soft words)
3.	Ideophone clause	e.g.	Mambo mazwí manyóró taúreí	(The chief spoke soft words)
4.	Ideophone sentence	e.g.	Mambo mazwí manyóró taurei, vanhu vóse mwóyo pfavéi	(The chief spoke soft words and everyone was mollified)

0.4 Rank shifting occurs within hierarchies

The feature about hierarchies is that constructions at any level have constituents from lower levels and are constituents themselves at higher levels. This does not prevent "rank-shifting" from taking place, i.e. a construction of a higher level acting as a constituent at a lower level, e.g. a substantival phrase acting as a complex stem and becoming a secondary member of the constituent class known by that name,

e.g. chi-hwaná udíki (the behaviour of small children) (7,14)

cp. hwaná udíki (small children) (14)

0.5. Shifting occurs between hierarchies

There is also much "hierarchy-shifting", i.e. the functioning of morphemes or constructions from one hierarchy as constituents in either of the others. Thus, substantive phrases and inflected substantive phrases are the normal members of the constituent classes of complement and adjunct in verb and ideophone phrases.

e.g. -bvut- nyama ségoróro (snatch meat like a robber)

nyama somúridzi pikú (taking up meat as its owner)

0.5.1. 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	kúdúbu	(uncovering)	
e.g.	mu-suduru-suduru	(continual withdrawing, changing of position)	(3)
cp	suduru	(withdrawing)	
e.g.	chi-tang-e-tang-e	(starting without method, anyhow)	(7)
cp.	táng-e	(starting), -tang- (start)	
e.g.	chi-bik-e-bik-e	(cooking without method)	(7)
cp	bik-é	(cooking) -bik- (cook)	
e.g.	chí-nhí-nhí	(continual gripping)	(7)
cp	nhí	(gripping)	
e.g.	chi-dó-dó-dó-	(falling, knocking, hammering)	(7)
cp	do	(falling, knocking, hammering)	

(2) Class affix + ideophone + class affix /mu/ + ideophone

e.g.	nhúri-mu-túri	(continual hanging up)
cp	túri	(hanging)
e.g.	mhikú-mu-piku	(continual picking up from all over)
cp	pikú	(picking up)

(3) Class affix /cha-/ + class affix /mu-/ + ideophone + class affix /mu-/ + ideophone

e.g.	chá-mu-chétu-mu-chétu	(snipping all over)
cp	chétu	(cutting, snipping)
e.g.	chá-mu-undú-mu-úndu	(plucking feathers from all over)
	undú	(losing feathers)

Monosyllabic ideophones are reduplicated to fit into this pattern to yield a construction of seven syllables.

e.g.	chá-mu-nzvé-nzvé-mu-nzvé-nzvé	(continual dodging all over)
cp	nzvé	(dodging)
e.g.	chá-mu-pú-pú-mu-pú-pú	(continual falling of light objects everywhere)
cp	pu	(falling lightly, e.g. as of a leaf)

178/Trisyllabic...

Trisyllabic ideophones are merely reduplicated,

e.g.	cha-mu pfúdúgu-pfúdúgu	(continual uncovering)
cp	pfúdúgu	(uncovering)
e.g.	chá-mu-rádanu-radanu	(continual uprooting)
cp	radanu	(uprooting)

Monosyllabic ideophones may be triplicated,

e.g.	chá-mu-nhí-nhí-nhí	(continual gripping)
cp.	nhí	(gripping)

0.5.2. 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.	-svétú-k-	(jump)	cp.	svétu	: (jumping)
	-pépére-k-	(wave in the wind)	cp.	pépére	(waving)
	-dimi-k-	(speak in metaphors)	cp.	dimi	(hinting)
	-bhururu-k-	(fly)	cp.	bhururu	(flying)

The list of 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	svi-i
	/d/	e.g. -gágá-d-	(chop)	cp	gá gá
	/dz/	e.g. -púrúrú-dz-	(applaud shrilly)	cp	púrurú
	/k/	e.g. -párú-k-	(split)	cp	páru
	/m/	e.g. -gwada-m-	(kneel)	cp	gwada
	/mb/	e.g. -fé-mb-	(sniff)	cp	fé fé
	/n/	e.g. -gónyá-n-	(curl up)	cp	gónya
	/nd/	e.g. -dhi-nd-	(stamp)	cp	dhi
	/nh/	e.g. -do-nh-	(drop)	cp	do
	/ng/	e.g. -nzvé-ng-	(dodge)	cp	nzvé
	/ny/	e.g. -tswa-ny-	(crush)	cp	tswa
	/r/	e.g. -párú-r-	(tear)	cp	páru
	/t/	e.g. -pfúmbá-t-	(grasp)	cp	pfúmba
	/v/	e.g. -kwe-v-	(pull)	cp	kwe-e
	/z/	e.g. -zúngú-z-	(shake)	cp	zúngu
	/ik/	e.g. -rukut-ik-	(be weak)	cp	rukutu
	/ir/	e.g. -ndur-ir-	(sting)	cp	ndure

There is some correlation between the tone patterns of ideophones and those of derived verb radicals as between the tone patterns of ideophones and those of nominal constructions. Ideophones with the tone patterns H, HL, HHL, HHH are constituents of radicals of the high group; those with tone patterns L, LL, LH, LLL, LLH, LLLL are constituents of radicals in the low group. The number of derived radicals of this sort is very great.

IDEOPHONES

1. Monosyllabic ideophones need no stabiliser

Underived ideophones are apparently all unit morphemes. They function as constituents in ideophonic clauses without any inflection, no matter what their syllabic shape. Thus the need for a stabiliser, such as we observe in monosyllabic substantival and verbal constructions, does not obtain in the case of ideophones.

e.g.	pamushá vhu		(arriving at home)
cp	i-vhú	(soil)(5)	- noun with stabiliser /i-/
	i-dyá	(eat)	- verb with stabiliser /i-/

1.1. Ideophones, which are unit morphemes, may consist of one, two, three or more syllables

Ideophones are realised in forms which consist of one, two, three or more syllables, those of two and three syllables being the most numerous.

179 /e.g. fé...

e.g.	fé	(blowing)	nu	(falling gently)
	páyi	(hanging up)	gurwí	(swallowing)
	tándábvu	(rising up, e.g. of a lion)	konono	(waiting fruitlessly)
	súrududu	(sitting with bowed head)	tutururu	(arriving)

1.1.1. 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

1.1.2. 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-rwi	(swallowing)

The very many ideophones which are constituents in nominal constructions and verb radicals are obviously not exotic in their phonology. Similarly the derived ideophones, in which verb radicals and adjective stems are constituents, are different from most of the underived ideophones only in their morphology, viz. in being constructions.

e.g.	tém -e	(cutting)	cp.	-tém-	(cut)
	rim -e	(tilling)		-rim-	(till)
	tsvuku-ru	(being reddish)		-tsvuku-	(red)

In these cases, and they are very numerous, it is clear that the segmental and suprasegmental 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.

1.2. However, dramatic speech is very prone to the addition of expressive features

However, ideophonic phrases, and ideophones in particular, are very prone to the addition of expressive features. A narrator using this dramatic style and wishing to convey an exact impression of the individual event or situation he is describing, will want to use the features of stress, pitch, length, tempo, constriction, voicing and even extra syllables in their correct proportion, neither too little nor too much of each. The human voice as trained by the requirements of Shona dramatic recitals is a marvellously adequate instrument for conveying all sorts of different aspects and degrees of existence, e.g. the progress of a broken-down bicycle swerving and creaking, the gait of a young and shapely woman or the extent and vastness of an empty hall. When these expressive features are laid on to the ideophones, their phonology is considerably modified. The effects possible in an oral recital are very difficult, if not impossible, to convey in writing.

1.2.1. Frames for expressive features

The sentence,

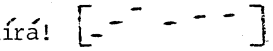
e.g. Ndatí bhátye rángu páyi, ndôkugara pasí
(I hung up my jacket and sat down)

180 /may be...

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,

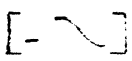
e.g. Ndatí bhátye rángu ≠ páyi ≠, ndókugara pasí

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.

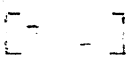
e.g. Ndatí, "Chímbomírá! 

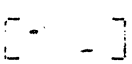
(I said, "Just wait a moment")

The more expressive the speech, the more likely it is that ideophones will be given prominence in this way. Some ideophones are more prone to receive this prominence than others., viz. preliminary and subsequent pause and freedom from intonational fall. The examples which come to mind are from the second great class of ideophones, viz. Those not used as constituents in derived verb radicals and which may have special phonological features of their own such as exotic phonemes, lack of penultimate accent and extra length.

e.g. kó:vó::  (being dark)

(The symbol /ⱱ/ 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 a 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)

Often the preliminary pause serves not only as a frame but as a source of breath which is rather necessary for special dramatic effects.

1.2.2. Expressive stress

Stress, constriction and a faster tempo indicate actions done in angry haste or angry deliberation. The ideophones are raised in pitch above the level of the sentence intonation at which they occur. The stress falls on the initial syllable of the ideophone and if this is also the penultimate, the word accent is obliterated. Further, if the initial consonant is a continuant, it may be considerably lengthened in expressive stress.

e.g. Ákatí símu, ndíye woⱱo

(He stood up deliberately and went off)

1.2.3. Expressive tempo

The parameter between fast and slow tempo is used to convey the degree of speed and size involved A quick tempo favours high pitch and slow tempo, low.

e.g. razvu (standing up and jumping away)

cp rá::zvu: (the same, of a large and heavy person)

e.g. sandu (turning over, e.g. small piece 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.

1.2.4. Expressive pitch

The parameter between high and low pitch is used to indicate distance and tenseness. Low tone refers to a nearby situation viewed in a relaxed manner, high tone to one far off accompanied by a feeling of tenseness.

e.g. twiriri (standing still and gazing into the distance)

All possible degrees of pitch may be used with this ideophone to indicate different degrees of tenseness in the subject gazing and the distance of the object gazed at.

1.2.5. Phonemic and expressive tone

In Ideophones in Shona some of the special phonological features of ideophones were mentioned, viz. the relation of their tone and tone patterns to expressive pitch, vowel length and stress. Most of what was stated there still appears to be valid but the question as to whether phonemic tone is necessarily part of the syllables of all ideophones is still uncertain. In many ideophones this appears to be the case, e.g. in those which function as constituents in verb radicals, if these may be referred to again. But, in many others, the case seems to be that they only have expressive tone and length and that this is judged according to the context. For example, the sentence,

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 in ideophones.

e.g. kúti pa, kuróvá (to beat)

With [¯], a light but sharp sound is implied, but with [◝], a light but dull sound.

Another aspect is conveyed by a similar example.

e.g. kuti pa, 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 Ndakámutí ≠ dzadzú = ndôkumúti pasí ≠ p'a ≠ [¯]

(I took him up and threw him head foremost to the ground)

Here we have an example of an adjective consonant together with a vowel with very short length and high pitch, all combined dramatically in the right proportion. If the sentence had ended thus:

e.g. ndôkumúti pasí zvi

(and threw him sideways on to the ground)

the ideophone could have had either an emphatic attack with pauses, stressed consonantal onset and shortened vowel or a more relaxed pronunciation with no preliminary pause or stress and medium vowel length. The former would indicate rough, the latter gentle, action. But in neither case would it be appropriate for /zvi/ to be high in pitch. Such an ideophone does not appear to exist.

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1.2.6. Parameters of expressive features exist in which the use of pitch, length, etc. is not contrastive

Thus the different degrees of pitch, length, stress, constriction and speed are used expressively, different points along the various parameters indicating different degrees of size, proximity, intensity and so on. The contrastive phonemic use of tone and length does not obtain here or is superseded.

1.2.7. A parameter which overrides the distinctiveness of the otherwise distinctive features of voicelessness, voicing and murmur

Degrees of size and of the weightiness of an action may be indicated by the choice of one of the following features of the initial, and sometimes the medial, consonant of an ideophone:

(1) in the case of oral stops, voicelessness, voicing and murmur;

(2) in the case of spirants, voicelessness and murmur with sometimes affrication;

(3) in the case of affricates, voicelessness and murmur,

e.g. páru, báru, bháru (tearing)

indicate actions which are respectively on a small, medium and large scale.

e.g. pitiri, bidiri, 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)
	tsamu, dzamu	(taking a small or a large handful)

Here we have continuity established between voiceless, voiced and murmured consonants, the different realisations indicating, not contrastive units, but underlying unity and different degrees. In the morphology of the substantive and verb, these differences are phonemic but not in these ideophones. Three otherwise distinctive features are here merely expressive and they remain so when ideophones liable to this sort of expressive feature are constituents of verb radicals.

e.g.	-tepu-k-	(sway of slim tree)	cp.	tepu
	-debu-k-	(sway of large tree)		debu
	-dhebhu-k-	(sway of huge tree)		dhebhu

1.2.8. Expressive addition of syllables

There is finally the indication of degrees of intensity by the addition of extra syllables to the ideophone. This phenomenon was listed in the morphological section in Ideophones in Shona but it now appears as another expressive feature, not a morphological process resulting in a derived ideophone.

e.g.	mbu	(being white)
	mbure:	(being very white)
	mburetete::	(being extremely white)
	tsvé	(throwing away of an object of medium weight which lands with a slight sound)
	tsvérékété	(throwing away of an object of light weight which lands with a slight sound)
	tónho	(being quiet)
	tónhono	(being very quiet)
	tónhonono::	(being as quiet as the grave)
	bha	(shining of the sun)
	bha:	(rising of the sun)
	bhanan'anan'anan'a vha.::	(coming out of the first rays of the sun)

These syllables are added, again according to the dramatic requirements of the situation, and are accompanied by the other expressive features in the requisite combination. It is noteworthy that these additional syllables appear to be normally alveolar commencing. But they are not morphemes.

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1.3. Variations in the form of ideophones

The use of features which are distinctive in the normal phonology and morphology as expressive is linked to a great freedom in the forms in which many ideophones are pronounced.

e.g.	bvǎru ~ bhǎru	(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. kwarú kwarú (writing under dictation in a somewhat confused manner)

Ideophones may be used first in the secret language or chibhende of friends and then find their way out into more general currency later.

1.4. Metathesis

A final indication of the freedom of ideophones in regard to phonemic form is the practice of metathesis.

e.g.	tíngíni, níngíti	(being thin-waisted)
	súngúnu, súnúngu	(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.	namwa ngúwa	(my child - in chibhende)
cp	mwana wángu	(my child)

1.5. Syllable repetition, recurrent partials and vowel harmony

The phonotactics of Shona ideophones would be susceptible of the sort of detailed treatment given to those of Zulu (Fivaz, 1953) and this would yield analogous results in the shape of (a) syllable repetition and (b) recurrent partials. Vowel harmony, (c), would be another feature.

(a)	babandu	(chewing hard and brittle food)
	bhabhangu	(splashing water during swimming)
	bhabhañu	(unfolding)
(b)	súrududu	(sitting with bowed head)
	nyúrúdúdú	(going down into the water)
	nánái	(moving painfully)
	kámbái	(crawling)
	tsvái	(sweeping)
(c)	nyangada	(dissolving)
	nyemwere	(smiling)
	míníní	(lifting a thin object pointing upwards)
	rwódódó	(falling gently to the knees)
	tutururu	(arriving)

COMPLEX IDEOPHONES

2. 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)
	gagamhí gagamhí	(limping)
	nyororo nyororo	(moving slowly)

2.1. Ideophones derived from verb radicals

Derived ideophones are formed with verb radicals as constituents, a variety of 'ideophonisers' being used, viz.

(1) R + -e ~ -e (depending on whether the R belongs to the high or low group)

e.g.	tek-e	(drawing water)	cp	-ték-	(draw water)
	muk-é	(rising from lying down)		-muk-	(rise)

(2) R + -eí ~ -éi (of gentle action)

e.g.	tek-eí	(drawing of water in leisurely fashion)
	muk-éi	(rising slowly, gingerly)

(3) R + -u ~ -u (reversing action)

e.g.	dzím-u	(extinguishing)	cp	-dzím-ír-	(burn a fireguard)
	dziv-ú	(uncorking)	cp	-dzív-	(hinder)

The governing suffix /-u ~ -u/ 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.	kát-ánu	(uncoiling)	cp	-kát-	(coil)
	pfek-enú	(undressing)		-pfek-	(dress)
	píng-ínu	(unlatching)		-píng-	(block, hinder)
	roy-onó	(unwitching)		-roy-	(bewitch)
	súng-únu	(untying)		-súng-	(tie)

(4) R + -áu ~ -aú (extensive action)

e.g.	tánh-áu	(plucking from all over)	-tánh-	(pluck)
	rim-aú	(hoeing all over)	-rim-	(hoe)

(5) R + -úru- ~ -uru (repetitious action)

e.g.	dyár-úru	(sowing over again, too little and too late)	-dyár-	(sow)
	bay-uru	(stabbing again and again for the sake of so doing, even though the victim is dead)	-bay-	(stab)
	ré-úru	(confessing, possibly imprudently)	-rév-	(say)
	zív-úru	(knowing a lot about something rather pointless)	-zív-	(know)
	dzok-oro	(ploughing, weeding or hoeing for a second time)	-dzok-	(come back)
	send-uru	(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-únú-r-	(untie)	-súng -únú-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-au-r	(pluck all over)

2.2. Ideophones derived from adjective stems

The three adjective stems /-chena/ (white), /-pfumbú/ (grey) and /-tsvukú/ (red) are constituents with governing suffix /-ru/ in the formation of ideophones.

e.g.	chene-ru	(being whitish)
	pfumbu-ru	(being greyish)
	tsvuku-ru	(being reddish)

These ideophones too are constituents in derived radicals formed by suffixing verbaliser /k/.

e.g.	-chene-ru-k-	(be whitish)

Possibly other substantival stems are constituents in this way.

2.3. Reversive ideophones

The suffixes /-u/ and /-Vnu ~ -ono/ when substituted for the final vowels of simple ideophones yield reversive ideophones. The substitution is accompanied by retrogressive assimilation as well.

e.g.	zar-ú	(opening)	cp	zarí	(closing)
	kúdúb-u	(uncovering)		kwídíba	(covering)
	pfúdúg-u	(uncovering)		pfídíga	(covering)
	fásh-ánu	(water running out)		fasha	(water flooding in)
	páy-ánu	(taking down)		páyi	(hanging up)
	pit-inu	(going out)		piti	(going in)
	koch-ono	(unhooking)		koche	(hooking, coupling)
	túr-únu	(taking down)		túri	(hanging up)
	pfúmb-únu	(removing fruit from ripening hole)		pfímbi	(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.

IDEOPHONIC PHRASES

3. The constructional pattern of ideophonic phrases

The constructional pattern of the IP is as follows:

ideophone + /- complements +/- adjuncts.

The constituent class of complement consists of substantive phrases while that of adjunct consists of adverbial phrases and adverbial particles.

e.g.	nyama piku samúridzi	(taking the meat as its owner)
	n'á (biting)	
	n'á gumbo ramuridzi	(biting the leg of its owner)

IDEOPHONIC CLAUSES

4. The constructional pattern of ideophonic clauses

The constructional pattern of ideophonic clauses is as follows:

+/- subject + predicate.

The constituent class of subject consists of substantive phrases while that of the predicate consists of ideophonic phrases.

e.g. Ímbwá yángu nyama pikú somúridzi
(My dog took the meat as if it were its owner)

IDEOPHONIC SENTENCES

5. The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences

The constructional pattern of ideophonic sentences is as follows:

ideophonic clause +/- ideophonic clauses

e.g. Imbwá yangu nyama pikú somuridzi, washu, toro
(My dog took the meat as if it were its owner, ran off and disappeared)

Zirúmé ríye zibángá pikú, chéke zinhindi, mukanwa póri
(The giant took up a knife, cut off a huge piece and tossed it into his mouth)

Rumbada ware, nésango tetere
(The lean leopard ran off and disappeared through the bush)

5.1. Sentences of mixed type

Of course, sentences of mixed type exist. These are combinations of various types of clauses, substantival, verbal and ideophonic.

e.g. Musí wéchitánhatú vanátsúro pfacha, vanhu vápédza kusvúsvúrá
(On the sixth day the hares (or Mr Hare) arrived after the people had breakfasted) (Ideophonic 'main' clause and participial verbal clause)

Sentences consisting of one or more ideophonic clauses normally occur in discourse in which reference to past time has taken place. These can also, no doubt, as Kunene says, be used in the context of present tense (Kunene, 1965, p.23). The tense signs will occur in accompanying verbal constructions. This applies to all the constructions in which ideophonic phrases occur and which do not have tense signs themselves.

FURTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

6. Ideophonic phrases in other constructions

Ideophonic phrases are used in a variety of other constructions each clearly susceptible of an interpretation in terms of constituent structure.

6.1. Ideophonic phrases in apposition to the pronoun /-ye/, copulatively inflected

In the first construction, the ideophonic phrase appears in apposition to the pronoun /-ye/ of class 1, the combination, pronoun and ideophonic phrase, forming a compound substantive phrase. This compound phrase is always copulatively inflected.

187/e.g. ndí-ye...

e.g. ndi-ye n'á (lit: it is a biting)

ndí-ye gumbo romúridzi n'a (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 yángu ndíye n'á
(lit. As for my dog, it is a biting; viz. My dog made a bite)

Imbwá ndíye gumbo romúridzi 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 piku mumbá somúridzi
(lit. As for the dog, it is a taking of the meat from the house as its owner; viz. The dog took the meat from inside the house as if it were the owner)

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)

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 kurúmá (lit. it is a biting)

Imbwá ndíko kurúma
(lit. As for the dog, it is a biting; viz. The dog makes 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 make a bite)

Both these sentences are substantival because their predicates are copulative phrases.

Ideophonic phrases are clearly treated in these compound phrases as nominal constructions of class 1a since otherwise there would be no reason for choosing the pronoun of class 1 as the other member of the compound phrase. The relation between the two members in

-ye n'á (a biting itself)

or in

-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 una túre wákewó

(Mr Put-down has one able to put him down too)

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Dzamú úna dzamú wákewó

(Mr Take-a-handful can have a handful taken from him too)

It may be that the class la-l agreement in these sayings is due to the ideophones having been personified in both cases and, becoming names, serving as constituents in class la nominal constructions.

viz.	Ø-dzamú	(Mr Take-a-handful)	(la)	cp	dzamú	(taking a handful)
cp.	chi-mbínyu	(short, excitable person)	(7)		mbínyu	(changing suddenly e.g. an opinion or a position.

6.1.2. The nominal status of ideophonic phrases analogous to quotations

What is perhaps more relevant a parallel is the class la status of quotations when they are constituents in phrases.

e.g. "Hóngu" wákó na-"kwéte" wáko handíneí navó
(I have nothing to do with your "Yes" and your "No")

"Ndinógona" wákó na-Ḧandígoné" 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. ndíye, Sárái (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 ndíye n'á, kurúmá

(The dog bit; lit. As for the dog, it is a snapping, to bite)

The English translation, of course, suffers from the lack of something more immediate than "snap", or "gnash".

6.2. Ideophonic phrases introduced by "presentatively" inflected demonstratives or selectors

In a second construction, a "copulative" inflected demonstrative or selector appears to introduce ideophonic clauses.

e.g. Bhátye héro páru

(lit. The jacket, there it is, splitting; viz. The jacket split)

The inflection has been called "presentative" by Fivaz to distinguish it from the more widely used copulative inflection. (Fivaz 1966, p.82). Both inflections result in predicative constructions. The morpheme has a number of allomorphs /há-~ hé-~ hó-/ depending on the class affix of the demonstrative or selector which is inflected.

e.g. Hóunó mwana wényú (Here is your child)

Hóunó musíkaná 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. Bhátye héro páru (There is a jacket splitting)

Nyóká héyo piti piti (There is a snake going in)

Chínobáte-regé hóyo vhu (There is Mr Shilly-shally arriving)

Varúmé váye hávo mbá kumunda úye (There are those men going off to that field)

Imbwá héyo piku nyáma mumbá, washú, toro (There is the dog taking the meat from the house, running off and disappearing)

This is a way of introducing ideophonic clauses which presents events vividly as if happening before the eyes of the audience. Once again, the tense of the event being described will depend upon that of the discourse and is usually past.

6.3. Ideophonic phrases complements of introductory verb radicals /-ti/ and /-nzi/

In the third and commonest construction, ideophonic phrases are complements of the auxiliary verbs /-ti/ and /-nzi/.

e.g. -ti 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. Imbwá y-áka-tí n'á

(The dog bit)

Muridzi wáka-nzí némbwa yáké 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. Imbwá n'á (The dog biting, the dog bit)

The ideophonic phrase retains all its own internal relationship when it is the complement of the auxiliary verbs.

e.g. Ndatí bhátye rángu páyi

-(I hung up my jacket

Nguruve yákanzí pazíso ndure nényuchi

(The pig was stung on the eye by a bee)

In the above examples the SP /bhátye rángu/ is the object complement of /páyi/. The SP /pazíso/ 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 rádya nyama yáro nénhafú

(its (viz. the hyena's) having eaten its meat greedily)

(auxiliary verb phrase)

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e.g. bere kunge rádya nyama yáro nénhafú
(for a hyena to have eaten its meat greedily)
(infinitive inflected auxiliary verb clause)

Bere rákángá rádya 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 /-dý-/ and its complement /nyama yáro/ (its meat) and adjunct /nénhafú/ (with greed) are, of course, retained though the verb phrase /-dý- nyáma yáro nénhafú/ is involved as constituent in constructions of higher and higher rank.

6.3.1. The object prefix as constituent

If the ideophonic phrase is regarded as a complement of the auxiliary verbs /-ti/ and /-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.

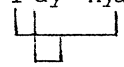
e.g. Imbwá yáka-í-ti nyama mumbá pikú yakánga yánzi ígóchéwe
(The dog took the meat from the house which had been meant for roasting)

Shúmba yáka-dzí-nzi mbiradzakonda ngá ngá ngá
(The lion was securely trussed up, a stick being passed under the knees and over the elbows)

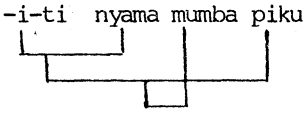
It seems that we should regard the object prefix as part of the ideophonic phrase, whether an expressed complement is included or not. This is analogous to the interpretation of object prefixes in verb phrases.

e.g. Bhere rákánga rá-í-dya nyama mumushá yaínzi ísásíkwé pámotó
(The hyena had eaten the meat in the village which was meant to be dried at the fire)

viz. -í-dý- nyama mumushá



cp -i-ti nyama mumba piku



However, in auxiliary verb phrases with verbal complements, object prefixes are never prefixed to auxiliary verb radicals. In auxiliary verb phrases with ideophonic phrase complements, the object prefix may only precede the auxiliary radical.

6.3.2. A series of ideophonic phrases as complements

A whole series of ideophonic phrases may be introduced by /-ti/ or /-nzi/ as their complements.

e.g. Mái Tapfúmanéi vákángóti gwatí ravákánga vákabáta pasi gwachata,
mutsváíro pasí kandéi, chisero chávó bwá padyo néchotó
(Mother Tapfumani 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, "Chímbomíra!" (I said, "Just wait a moment!)
Vákánzi, "Míráí!" (They were told, "Wait!")

There are many similarities berween 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.

191 /e.g. Kungoti...

e.g. Kungoti jongwé romúrirakamwe tóra, munhu akati ávasíyá
(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 /-nzí/ 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, Ndakúsiyái
(lit... and the person said, I have left you; viz. and the person died)
...nzara nényota zvikati, Ko watíkanganwa? Tinéwé. Tirí tese. Hándeí
(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 idyâí
(lit. and the person said, If you cook, eat it up; viz. and the person dies)

...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 navó nayó nayó, nomúguru potyo
(The snake moved along it (viz. nzira (path)) and entered the hole)

Iní nédhumúkwa ndísú ndísú ndísú; nomúdziva rororo tirí tese
(I chased the waterbuck and we both fell into the pool)

EXEMPLIFICATION

7.

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.

7.1. The passage

1. Kuzoti zvínó nzómbé mbirí dzánetésána, dzákátárisana sehándira mbirí dzemómbe. 2. Karíkoga wáiti, akarítáríra íro Benyúmundíro, meso áké áibva ázára ropa. 3. Benyúmundíro ákáti ákaténe, Karíkoga kakabva káti virikiti. 4. Kákábvá kámúti nepánó pabví ga, akabva áti pasí bi. 5. Kákágomúti íyo írí múmusóró, ropa rikabva ráeréra sémvura. 6. Kakagomúpámhídza, kákagomúpámhídza, akabva áti tasa. 7. Vamwe vákáfúnga kuti wáfa.
8. Kuzoti vamwe vázvióna, vákadzíti tavímbó kacha, vakagóti vósé nayé memete. 9. Kakómaná kakati, 'Hénde narwó.' 10. Kakómaná kákagóti mhányé mhányé, apo mbí sekámbada. 11. Vanhu vakati vóíta semánhanga kupúnzíká. 12. Vóngóti, aúya árí pasí aúya árí pasí. 13. Vakati vósé vákwana nadzó mbónje, kukati kwásara mumwé chete. 14 Páye poóti Karíkoga ámutéme, gómaná rikabva ráti virikiti, rikagomúti gúmí rákadyá vávirí. 15. Rídóti rímuróveré pasí, Karíkoga

akati, 'Kúnyépa', ndókubva zváitá máwiramombe. 16 Zvikagokwéshánà zvírípó pasí, gómanà rikati rádúra, "Chíndirégéra, mukúrú wángu. Handíchazózvííta. Handíchazofá ndákarwá newé narínhi wóse. Wandíkurira." 17. Karíkoga ndókubva ámuregera. 18. Héro kwanyanu, róénda.

7.2. The translation of the passage

1. When at length the two boys had tired each other out, they faced each other like two bulls. 2. Karikoga had only to look at the gross Benyumundiro for his eyes to become inflamed with anger. 3. Benyumundiro made a pass at him, but Karikoga dodged it. 4. In turn he struck his enemy squarely on the knee and he collapsed in a heap on the ground. 5. The sturdy little fighter gave another on the head and the blood began to flow like water. 6. He gave him another and another and he lay stretched out on the ground. 7. The others thought he was done for.

8. When they saw what had happened, they snatched up their fighting sticks and all piled onto him at once. 9. The little chap was prepared to take them on. 10. He ran this way and that and at last stood his ground like a little leopard. 11. And now the others went down like ninepines (lit. pumpkins). 12 They had only to come near for them to be knocked down. 13. At last, when all of them had had their fill of bruises, one remained on his feet, prepared to fight. 14. Just when Karikoga was aiming a blow at him, the big fellow dodged and then closed with him. 15. He tried to throw him down, but Karikoga resisted and both of them fell together. They struggled together on the ground, pulling one another this way and that, until at last the big boy gave in, crying, "Let me go, my chief. I'll never do it again. I'll never, never fight with you again. You have beaten me." 17. So Karikoga let him go. 18. The other struggled clumsily to his feet and went away.

7.3. Comment on passage

The first paragraph describes the fight provoked by the leader of the band, Benyumundiro (lit. The one who comes to life before a plate of food). The auxiliary verb radicals /-bva/, /-go-/ and /-ti/ are much in evidence in their varying linking and introductory functions, and the contrast between the little hero and the large bully is marked by the use of class 12 concords and the class 5 pronoun, both classes used with the secondary references of small and large size respectively. These are all features which accompany the use of ideophonic phrases to produce a vivid and clearly defined impression. The first appearance of ideophonic phrases is in sentences 3 and 4. The action in them is prepared for by the circumstantial character of the first two sentences. The ideophonic phrases, all introduced by /-ti/ and preceded by a pause (not marked in the text), are /virikiti/ (dodging), /-mu- nepánó pabví 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 (tsvímbó)(9)) qualified by the predicate /írí múmusóro/(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 clearly. In sentence 8 the phrases /tsvímbó kacha/(snatching up their sticks) and /nayé memete/ (engaging him, falling upon him) are both introduced by auxiliary /-ti/. In sentence 9 the sentence 'Héndeí narwó' (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 /mhánye mhánye/ (running here and there is introduced by /-ti/ but is followed by the ideophone clause /apo mbí sekámbada/(standing there like a little leopard)which is consecutive. Sentences 11 and 13 contain instances of vivid use of the principal perfect inflection introduced by /-ti/ itself consecutively inflected. Sentence 14 contains the ideophone /virikiti/(dodging), a repetition which balances its use in the first paragraph. We have also a sentence /Gúmí rákadyá váviri/ (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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