Ideophones in Manyika Shona: A Descriptive Analysis of
Ideophones and their Function in Manyika (Bantu)

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Ideophones in Manyika Shona:
A descriptive analysis of ideophones and their function in Manyika (Bantu)

An honors thesis presented to the
Department of Linguistics,
University at Albany, State University Of New York
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for graduation with Honors in Linguistics
and
graduation from The Honors College.

Genevieve E. Franck
Research Advisor: Lee Bickmore, PhD.

May, 2014
Abstract

Ideophones are a class of words which occur in many languages throughout the world, but are relatively uncommon in English. Though often mimetic, ideophones are not to be confused with onomatopoeia since they extend well beyond the narrow scope of sound only symbolism. In the past, ideophones have been difficult for linguists to categorize and understand due to their limited usage in many of their native European languages. These words are marked due to their divergent phonology, morphology, syntax, or all of the above. Ideophones often vividly depict one or more sensory events, ranging from sight to emotion. This paper will discuss this class of words as they appear in Manyika Shona, a dialect of Shona spoken in Eastern Zimbabwe by about 1,025,000 people.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Lee Bickmore for supervising and directing me in this research, and for his assistance and willingness to help when problems arose. I would also like to thank Marshall Makate for being kind enough to share his language with me and the rest of the department, as well as for all his time and patience in elicitation sessions, and for putting up with my labored Shona pronunciation. Thanks should also be extended to my peers in the Fall 2013 Field Methods class where the majority of this data was collected, since their elicitations and contributions greatly assisted me in my own data gathering and analysis. Lastly, I want to thank the Anthropology department at the University at Albany as a whole for giving me this opportunity, and all its faculty and graduate students who contributed support, assistance, and feedback during the collection and writing of this thesis.
# Table of Contents

**Part I Introduction**

1.0 Introduction 5
1.1 Shona Overview 5
1.2 Phonetic Inventory and Orthography 6
1.3 Shona Morphology 8
1.4 Shona Syntax 12

**Part II Ideophones**

2.0 What is an Ideophone? 12
2.1 General Properties of Ideophones 15
2.2 Why study Ideophones? 15

**Part III Manyika**

3.0 Manyika Ideophones 16
3.1 Phonology 16
3.2 Morphology 18
3.3 Ideophonic Constructions 21
3.4 Syntax 27
3.5 Verb Derivation 32
3.6 Semantics 35
3.7 Problems and Conclusions 35

**Part IV Appendixes**

Appendix 1: List of Abbreviations 38
Appendix 2: List of Ideophones 39
Ideophones in Manyika Shona: A descriptive analysis of ideophones and their function in Manyika (Bantu)

1.0 Introduction

All the data used in this thesis was collected from September 2013 to May 2014 in Albany, New York by myself in weekly independent sessions with the consultant, Marshall Makate. Marshall is a 30 year old graduate student from Mutare, Zimbabwe and is fully bilingual in both Manyika and English. During the months from September to December, the data was collected for the 2013 Field Methods class taught by Lee Bickmore both during class and outside partner elicitation sessions. Data was elicited with reference to George Fortune’s Ideophones in Shona and Shona Grammatical Constructions.

1.1 Shona Overview

Manyika is generally considered to be a dialect of the Shona language, however according to Ethnologue, it is more divergent than other dialects like Korekore or Zezuru. Shona is spoken mostly in Zimbabwe and in parts of neighboring countries like Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia. Some sources report speakers in South Africa and Malawi. It is estimated that Shona has a speaker population of 10.7 million in Zimbabwe alone (Ethnologue, 2014). Its total population of speakers is estimated at 10,741,700 (Ethnologue, 2014). Shona is a Bantu language, part of the larger Niger-Congo family. It is classified by Guthrie as S.10. The map below shows Zimbabwe, where Shona is primarily spoken.

(1)
Manyika is spoken in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe, particularly in Manicaland province. It is also spoken in the nearby country of Mozambique. Manyika has a total population of speakers which reaches to about 1,025,000. In just Zimbabwe alone, the speaker population reaches 861,000 people. It has been classified separately from Shona, as S. 13 (Ethnologue, 2014). Ethnologue states that Manyika has partial intelligibility with Shona, and that speakers consider Manyika to be a Shona dialect. The map below highlights Manicaland province in red. As stated, this is the predominant region where Manyika is spoken.

There has been some work done on Manyika, but the majority of research focuses mainly on Shona with minor mentions of dialectical differences.

1.2 Phonetic Inventory and Orthography of Shona

(3) Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shona is a five vowel language. Vowel length is not distinctive, and all vowels can carry tone.
### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>(b)†</td>
<td></td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td></td>
<td>dh</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implosives</strong></td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plain Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>vh</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retroflex Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>sv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>zv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>pf</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>bv</td>
<td></td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retroflex Affricates</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>tsv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>dsv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>n’*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td></td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximants</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murmured</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† (b), (d), (g) are only found after a nasal and trigger assimilation rules.
* n’ is the orthographic symbol for [ŋ]. [ŋ] is sometimes represented as <ng> and otherwise as <n’>. When written <ng> the [ŋ] appears due to a nasal assimilation rule between the [n] and [g].

Diphthongs and Triphthongs:
<dy> [ǰg]
<ty> [čk]
<mbw> [mbɣ]

Shona has two surface tones, high and low. Rises or falls occur across two vowels and are the result of two tones, for example a high followed by a low, being pronounced in succession. In normal Shona orthography, tone is not distinguished, but in this paper tone will be marked in the examples given. Vowel length is not distinctive in the normal grammar; any long vowels are a result of other phonological processes. As vowel length is not distinctive however, it is not marked in the orthography.

1.3 Shona Morphology
Shona, like many Bantu languages, separates nouns into different classes. Every noun belongs to a particular class, and receives inflection based on that class. Nouns receive prefixal marking to indicate the noun class to which they belong. Classes 16 to 18 are locative classes and 21 carries an augmentative or respectful meaning. Nouns in one class may be considered singular, and change classes when pluralized. For example, mu-rimi is the class one prefix with the nominal root of ‘farmer’. The word for ‘farmers’ changes its class by combining the nominal root of farmer and the class two prefix, making va-rimi. The list of nominal prefixes is given below.

(5) Noun Class Chart
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(3s)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (3p)</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>vana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nasal/ dzi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(h)u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>zi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives, possessives, demonstratives, and verbs also inflect for agreement with the noun class, but do not always use the same prefixes as that mark nouns. For example, verbal subject and object affixes both appear in different morphological slots in the word, but also use different prefixes than noun classes. A chart of verbal affixes is given below.

(6) Verbal Subject/Object Affix Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Verbal Subject Prefix</th>
<th>Verbal Object Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (1st Person Singular)</td>
<td>ndi-</td>
<td>ndi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (2nd Person Singular)</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (3rd Person Singular)</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (1st Person Plural)</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (2nd Person Plural)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>ku-, -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (3rd Person Plural)</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>dzi/-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>chi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dzi-</td>
<td>dzi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ru-</td>
<td>ru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>tu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>hu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives, possessives and demonstratives take class markings which, while generally close to the nominal prefixes, still contain differences, particularly in possessives and demonstratives. The class marking prefixes for adjectives, possessives and demonstratives are given in the chart below.

(7) Adjectival, Possessive, and Demonstrative Noun Class Agreement Markers
The demonstrative list exceeds the list presented in (7), however the occurrence of selector demonstratives was minimal, so they are not necessary to understand the data.

Possessive endings also differ with respect to their person and number. The chart below gives the possessive endings based on person and number. To these endings, the possessive noun class prefixes are added.

(8) Possessive Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Demonstrative (This)</th>
<th>Demonstrative (That)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (1pS)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (2pS)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (3pS)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-yu</td>
<td>u-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Mu- null</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-yu</td>
<td>u-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (1pPl)</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (2pPl)</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (3pPl)</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>a-va</td>
<td>a-vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>a-va</td>
<td>a-vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-yu</td>
<td>u-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-yi</td>
<td>i-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>i-ri</td>
<td>i-ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a- Or null</td>
<td>a-ya</td>
<td>a-vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>i-chi</td>
<td>i-cho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zvi</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
<td>i-zvi</td>
<td>i-zvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Null/ h-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-yi</td>
<td>i-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Null</td>
<td>dzi-</td>
<td>i-dzi</td>
<td>i-dzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ru-</td>
<td>rw-</td>
<td>u-rwu</td>
<td>u-rwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>a-ka</td>
<td>a-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>u-twu</td>
<td>u-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>hu-</td>
<td>hu-</td>
<td>u-hu</td>
<td>u-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u-ku</td>
<td>u-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>zi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The order of the verbal morphological markers are as follows in (9).

(9)

SM-(TAM)-(OM)-Root-(Ext)-FV-(2pObj)

1.4 Shona Syntax

Shona is a SVO language where pro-drop is acceptable due to noun class marking on the verb. While the normal syntax is SVO, VOS word order is also acceptable. Generally, adverbs can occur freely within the sentence, and adjectives follow the noun they modify.

2.0 What is an Ideophone?

African linguists seem to have always been aware of these somewhat strange, divergent words, but have not always been consistent with their terminology, often defining them on the basis of their semantic functions for example, word pictures, onomatopoeic vocables, interj actional adverbs, etc. (Samarin, 1971). Ideophones are found in just about every language around the world, from Japanese to Alto Perené spoken in Eastern Peru. Languages, however, differ as to the size of their ideophonic lexicon, and their classification. Due to their limited appearance in European languages, there has been a tendency in the past to ignore ideophones. That does not mean however, that ideophones do not exist in European languages. Words such as twinkle and glimmer could be considered ideophones in English as they evoke certain sensory images. Other commonly used English ideophones are bling-bling and hippety-hop. These iconic words go beyond onomatopoeia since ideophones, unlike onomatopoeia, do not imitate what they represent nor are they limited to sound. While they are often onomatopoeic, meaning that they can vividly evoke an idea in a similar way that onomatopoeia evokes the sound it
imitates, ideophones can be used to describe a wide variety of perceptual phenomenon from taste, kinesthesia, emotion or texture. The English examples do not simply represent sound, but an idea. They evoke an image of the particular way in which something moves or sparkles.

The most often quoted definition for ideophones comes from Doke who defined ideophones in his 1935 book Bantu Linguistic Terminology as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, or state of intensity. (Samarin, 1971) Doke’s definition basically considers ideophones to be sound symbolic descriptors of ideas, which is an incredibly broad definition based largely on semantics. For years, our definition of ideophones has been based heavily on the semantics underlying ideophones, but defining ideophones through their semantics is problematic because it is subjective and extremely broad. Is a word an ideophone because it has a generally ideophonic meaning? Furthermore, if we accept Doke’s definition, any idea or anything relating to color, sound, smell etc. could be considered ideophonic. If we accept a purely semantic definition, the category becomes exceptionally wide. Therefore, it is clear that ideophones must be defined structurally, and not solely by meaning (Dingemanse, 2011).

One part of the problem for defining and categorization is that ideophones do not uniformly fall into one neat word class. Depending on the language, they may function more as adverbs, adjectives, or verbs. For example, Cantonese ideophones, or complex adjectives as they are known, generally function like adjectives, but ideophones in Dagaare function more like adverbials (Bodomo, 2006). Even in more typologically and geographically related languages we see large functional differences. The chart below from Dwyer and Moshi, compares the different functions of ideophones in Bantu and other African languages.
This begs the question then, how can we put them into one word class? How can we find a definition that is descriptive and inclusory of all ideophones without relying on semantics? The second problem becomes how to create a definition that does not completely ignore semantics. I take my working definition from Mark Dingemanse’s thesis *The Meaning and Use of Ideophones in Siwu* because not only does it highlight the structural commonalities of ideophones, but retains important semantic associations. Dingemanse defines ideophones as “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse, 2011). As Dingemanse explains in his thesis, the four cornerstones of this definition are: markedness, conventionality, depiction, and sensory imagery. To summarize this definition, Dingemanse states that ideophones stand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>S. Bantu</td>
<td>Doke</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb?</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection/Descriptive</td>
<td>S. Bantu</td>
<td>Doke</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomatopoeic Adjective</td>
<td>Igbo?</td>
<td>Okonkwo</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb?</td>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative</td>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>Kunene</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Source</td>
<td>Kanuri</td>
<td>Hutchinson</td>
<td>19889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>ShiNzwani</td>
<td>Ottenheimer &amp; Primrose</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived Verb</td>
<td>Misc</td>
<td>Childs</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo Adjective</td>
<td>Chihewa</td>
<td>Kumeleka</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Class</td>
<td>KiChaga</td>
<td>Moshi</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
apart from the rest of the grammar and are conventionalized words that most if not all speakers
would understand. Due to their iconic nature, ideophones also invite people to view a particular
image instead of simply describing the event, and these images are made up from perceptual
knowledge of such things as taste, sight, smell, kinesthesia, mouth feel, texture, and internal
emotion.

2.1 General Properties of Ideophones

Ideophones are usually marked in one or more areas such as phonology, morphology,
prosody, or syntax. Frequently, there occur in ideophones phonemes which are not present in the
rest of the grammar. These sounds are not unusual linguistically, but unusual for the grammar of
the language concerned. Some aspects of tone or length may change either due to stylistic or
expressive use or simply because of the nature of ideophones themselves. They are also
frequently subject to reduplication and triplication. They usually have little to no internal
morphology, and syntactically do not fit well into any other part of the grammar. Many
languages introduce ideophones in a sentence with verbs or particles of direct quotation. Their
meaning may not be completely fixed and they are highly expressive and evocative.

2.2 Why Study Ideophones?

While ideophones present unique and complex problems for categorization and description,
one portion of the grammar of a language should not be ignored in the compilation of a full
descriptive grammar. It is important not to exclude any portion of the grammar of a language
especially if one of our goals is to explore universals of language. Ideophones do seem to be a
universal in language, but still little consensus has been brought on them. Ideophones also offer
unique insight into the culture and explorations in the meaning and use of ideophones may have possible implications for cognitive mapping.

3.0 Manyika Ideophones

In Zimbabwe, Shona ideophones are taught formally in a scholastic setting and are used frequently in poetry and storytelling due to their vividness. My consultant also stated that because of the vivid nature of ideophones one could use them when recounting a series of events in a court of law. This differs from the use of ideophones in European languages, where speakers might find their use inappropriate for formal settings. Though they are taught in school, they do not necessarily characterize the way many people speak, especially younger or urban populations. My consultant commented that ideophones are used more commonly amongst people in rural areas and by the older generations. This is in line with what Fortune wrote about urban Shona stating that “the ideophone is not much in evidence in urban Shona” (Fortune, 1962). Fortune also notes that “a comparison between Zezuru and Manyika reveals that Manyika speakers recognize fully only 56 per cent of Zezuru ideophones. In the remaining 44 per cent of cases, they recognize either only a modified form or do not recognize them at all” (Fortune, 1962). This was evidenced in the elicitation sessions when occasionally, the consultant would not recognize an ideophone found in Fortune’s work. Examples of these are words were sùngùną, tępù, dzamu, etc. Other words were modified like rèké instead of règé.

3.1 Phonology

Ideophones exhibit marked phonology in more than one way. For one, they are separated from the rest of the sentence by pauses. They also do not participate in the normal tonal changes which occur in the sentence. They are not subject to down drift, and cannot be the target of
phonological rules changing tone; their tone remains constant. My data so far has been inconclusive with regard to what rules ideophones can trigger.

Some of the most marked phonological differences are seen in the violation of syllable structure rules. For example, in (10) some ideophones were found to be composed of only consonants.

(10)

a. The bird went bhìrrì, landing in the tree

Shìrì y-áká-ngò-tì bhùrrrr í-chì-ndó-mhàr-à mù-mùtí

bird C9-RmtPast-cont-say ideophone C9-prog-Obj-land-FV 18-tree

Another striking difference lies in that ideophones disobey the monosyllabic vowel insertion rule given in (11). Examples of monosyllabic ideophones are given in (12).

(11) Ø→V{+hi, -rnd}#/__C0V#

(12) N’à, to bite

Nhò, to be tasteless
Dì, to fall or stomp (a person)
Vhù, to arrive
Pi, to throw down
Pà, to slap someone or something

Phonemes which are not a part of the normal phonological inventory often appear in ideophones, however in the data collected on Manyika this was limited to word initial velar nasal, /ŋ/. Word initial /ŋ/ does seem to occur most frequently with ideophones, since only one non-ideophonic word was found to begin with /ŋ/, that being n’àngà meaning traditional healer. Other exotic sounds found by Fortune were not found to exist in Manyika, such as the infraflapped labiodental as seen in [koV̜o].
There is some amount of free variation as well, particularly regarding /t/ and /dh/. For example, in the ideophones to be fat and really fat, táfù/ dháfù and táfù táfù/ dháfù dháfù, both forms are acceptable and correct and can be used interchangeably. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning or usage. In some cases, metathesis was found to occur in ideophones, but this was limited to one form, fútèì meaning to be a little fat, coming from táfù/ dháfù.

3.2 Morphology

Ideophones are marked morphologically in that they do not receive normal morphological marking, meaning that while almost all other word classes inflect for noun class or other grammatical features, it is rare that ideophones do so. Ideophones do not receive noun class marking, which means that they either belong to class 1a or simply do not take marking for noun class. Ideophones function similarly to verbs, yet receive no verbal morphology. An example is given in example (14) where you can see the sentence ‘the dog bit me’ using a regular verb, and then the same sentence using an ideophone, one with the verb ku-tì and one with ndiye.

(14)

a. The dog bit me
Ímbwà y-áká-ndí-rùm-à
Dog \ C9-RmtPast-1psObj-bite-FV

b. The dog bit me.
Ímbwà y-áká-ndí-tì n’á.
Dog \ C9-RmtPast-1psObj-say IDEO

c. And then the dog bit.
Imbwa ndiye n’a ku-rum-a
Dog then IDEO C15-bite-FV
As is shown the ideophone itself does not take any morphological marking. However, the ideophone itself does contain some internal morphology unique to ideophones. For example, a common morpheme unique to the ideophone is /–ëi/. It attaches to ideophones to give it the meaning roughly of ‘to do something a little bit’. This usually happens with ideophones ending in /-e/. However, (14 d,e) make this hypothesis problematic. It is possible that instead of deriving from the ideophone it derives from the verb instead.

(14)

a. mûkè: just waking up at the moment
   mûkèí: just waking up a few minutes ago

b. pétè: to fold something
   pétèí: to fold something a little bit

c. *no other form such as rimè
   rimèí: to plow a little

d. tétèpèí: being a little thin
   tétè: being thin
   kû-tétèp-à: to be thin

e. fûtèí: being a little fat
   táfû/dháfû: being fat

Interestingly, it may be possible for ideophones themselves to take the passive extension. Though the incidence of this was limited it may be possible to say that disyllabic ideophones can take the passive extension. Other extensions were not found, though they may possibly occur. In example (15), we see the appearance of the passive extension /-w-/ in a disyllabic ideophone but not in a monosyllabic one. Another possible hypothesis is that the passive extension may have something to do with /-ëi/, but since evidence of this was sparse in the data, it is hard to form a rule with certainty. (15c) may also show evidence of the passive extension, but no other instances of gùr- were found. It is possible however that gà meaning to sit or chop is somehow related to gùrwì.
(15)
a. I was bitten by the dog.
Nd-àká-nzi n`à kù-rùm-w-à nè-ímìbwà
1pS-RmtPast-to be done/said IDEO C15-bite-Pass-FV with-dog
b. The field was plowed a little.
Mù-ndà w-áká-ngó-nzi rim-w-éì
C3-field C3-RmtPast-cont-to be done ID-Pass-EO
c. The tree was struck once.
mù-tí w-áká-ngó-nzi gúrwì kàmwéchêtë
C3-tree 3-RmtPast-pot-be done IDEO once"

Ideophones are also subject to full stem reduplication and triplication. Triplication usually occurs with monosyllabic ideophones, though reduplication can occur with monosyllabic or longer ideophones. Reduplication or triplication usually implies the action lasted longer or was done more than once. Fortune states that “ideophones which are reduplicated usually indicated actions which are of their nature repetitive though this is not always the case” (Fortune, 1962). Some forms only occur in their reduplicated form like pángù pángù, while others have the ability to occur reduplicated and non-reduplicated such as dhù or dhù dhù.

(16) Reduplication

Ideophone for being sweet tápi
Ideophone for being very sweet tápi tápi
Ideophone for being thin tété
Ideophone for being very thin tété tété
Ideophone for being fat táfù/ dháfù
Ideophone for being really fat Táfù táfù/ dhafù dhafù
Ideophone to beat (hit) someone badly dhàbù
Ideophone for dividing/split in half twice dhàbù dhàbù
Ideophone for hitting the drum pángù pángù
Ideophone for the sound of a large drum dhù (dhù)
Ideophone for hopping or jogging  tómù tómù
Ideophone for glowing like a firefly  n’ai (n’ai)

(17) Triplication

Ideophone for persistence  Ngà ngà ngà
Ideophone for a large bird flapping its wings  Pà pà pà
Ideophone for knocking  Kò kò kò
Ideophone for repeated biting  n’à (n’à n’à)
Ideophone for going AWOL  dì dì dì

3.3 Ideophonic Constructions

There are three main ways in which ideophones appear in Shona Syntax. Ideophones can occur with an introductory verb *ku-tì* or *ku-nzi*, with an introducing absolute pronoun substitute *ndiye*, or by themselves. The first and most common construction occurs with the verb *ku-tì*.

Examples of this construction are shown in example (18).

(18)

a. ákà-rùm-à  bànánà  kù-tì  n’à
   RmtPast-bite- FV banana 15-say  IDEO
   ‘He/she bit the banana like “n’a”.’

b. kà-mbúyú  kà-nò-bákà  kà-chí-tì  n’ai n’ai
   C12-insect 12-PRES-glow C12-Prog-say  IDEO
   ‘The insect glows like “n’ai n’ai”.’

c. kà-mbèvà  kà-nò-tì  n’an’au  n’an’au  kà-chí-dy-à  chi-bàgé
   C12-mouse  C12-PRES-say  IDEO  C12-Prog-eat-FV 7-corn
   ‘The mouse goes “n’an’au n’an’au” when eating the corn.’

d. mù-kómánà  ákà-tì  kán’à  kù-ràmbà  bàbà  v-àkè
   C3- boy  RmtPast-say IDEO  C15-refused dad  C2-poss
   ‘The boy went “kan’a” when he refused his dad.’
e. mù-kómànà ákà-ti n’anya kù-kwír-à bhìzá r-àkè
   C3 - boy RmtPast-say IDEO C15-get on-FV horse C5-pos
   ‘The boy went like “n’anya” when getting on his horse.’

The verb ku-ti can also be used when introducing phrase of direct quotation. Examples of ku-ti
introducing phrases of direct quotation are shown in (19).

(19)

a. Claudia á-ti “w-áká-díí zv-ákó?”
   Claudia 3s-say 2s-RmtPast-how is C8-pos
   Claudia says “How are you?”

b. Claudia á-ti “ndí-nó-dá kù-yénd-à kù-vásíti.”
   Claudia 3s-say 1s-PRES-want C15-go-FV C15-university
   Claudia says “I want/have to go to university.”

c. Móbè y-áká-tú “mhúúù.”
   C9-cow C9-RmtPast-say “moo”
   ‘The cow says “moo.”

The verb ku-nzì is used in a similar way to ku-ti. This verb functions syntactically the same as
ku-ti, however it is used only in passive sentences. Examples of passive sentences containing
ideophones are given in (20).

(20)

a. mù-ti w-áká-ngó-nzì gúrwì kàmwechète
   C3-tree C3-RmtPast-Pot-be done IDEO once
   ‘The tree went like ‘gurwi’ once.’

b. Áká-nzì bhágù ndíyè rókóshò kw-áká-dàrò
   RmtPast-be done IDEO then IDEO C15- RmtPast-place
   ‘He was hit and fell down on the other place.’

c. I was bitten by the dog.
   Nd-áká-nzì n’à kù-rùm-w-à nè-ímbwà
   1pS-RmtPast-to be done/said IDEO C15-bite-Pass-FV with-dog

d. The field was plowed a little.
   Mù-ndà w-áká-ngó-nzì rim-w-éì
   C3-field C3-RmtPast-cont-to be done ID-Pass-EO
The third type of ideophonic construction occurs with what Fortune calls the absolute pronoun substitute. This word he gives as iyè, however it seems closer to say that ndi- is the root since it remains stable throughout the forms. The word, ndiyè, generally translates to ‘it is he’ or ‘it is she’. The class one form of this word is the only form which appears in ideophonic constructions. This suggests that ideophones may fall into Class 1. A chart showing the inflected forms of ndi- is in (21). Examples of these forms are given in (22) and examples of ndiyè in ideophonic constructions are given in (23).

(21) Inflected Forms of Ndiye

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Ndiyè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1a</td>
<td>Ndiyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>Ndiwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2a</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>Ndiwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>Ndiyò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>Ndirò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>Ndiwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>Nthicò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 8</td>
<td>Ndzvò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 9</td>
<td>Ndyò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 10</td>
<td>Ndzò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 11</td>
<td>Ndirwò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 12</td>
<td>Ndyò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 13</td>
<td>Ndzò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 14</td>
<td>Ndhò/ndínò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(22)

a. Is that the farmer?  
Mú-rímì hérè?  
C1-farmer QM

b. It is.  
Hóngù ndi-yè  
Yes APS-C1

c. Are those the farmers?  
Và-rímì hérè á-vò  
C2-farmer QM Dem-C2

d. They are.  
Hóngù, ndi-wò  
Yes, APS-C2
e. Is that the doctor?
   Ndì-chí-rèmbà hérè?
   Dem-C1a-doctor QM
   Hóngù ndí-yè
   Yes  APS-C1a

f. It is.

Ndì-chí-rèmbà hérè?
Dem-C1a-doctor QM
Hóngù ndí-yè
Yes  APS-C1a

h. It is.

Mú-tù héré ú-yò
C3-tree QM Dem-C3
Hóngù ndí-wò
Yes,  APS-C3

i. Are those trees?
   Mf-tí héré í-yò
   C4-tree QM Dem-C4
   Hóngù ndí-yò
   Yes  APS-C4

j. They are.

Mf-tí héré í-yò
C4-tree QM Dem-C4
Hóngù ndí-yò
Yes  APS-C4

k. Is it your jacket?
   Èbháchí r-ákò héré?
   Coat C5-your QM
   Hóngù, ndí-rò.
   Yes,  APS-C5

l. Yes, it is

Èbháchí r-ákò héré?
Coat C5-your QM
Hóngù, ndí-rò.
Yes,  APS-C5

m. Are those mountains?
   Má-kómò héré á-wò
   C6-mountain QM Dem-C6
   Hóngù, ndí-wò
   Yes,  APS-C6

n. They are.

Má-kómò héré á-wò
C6-mountain QM Dem-C6
Hóngù, ndí-wò
Yes,  APS-C6

o. Is that the face?
   Chí-sò héré í-chò?
   C7-face QM Dem-C7
   Ndí-chò
   APS-C7

p. It is.

Chí-sò héré í-chò?
C7-face QM Dem-C7
Ndí-chò
APS-C7

q. Are those the faces?
   Zví-sò héré í-zvò?
   C8-face QM Dem-C8
   Ndí-zvò
   APS-C8

r. They are.

Zví-sò héré í-zvò?
C8-face QM Dem-C8
Ndí-zvò
APS-C8
s. Is that your dog?  
Ímbwà y-ákó  héré  
Dog  C9-your QM

 t. Yes, it is.  
Hóngù, ndí-yò.  
Yes  APS-C9

u. Are those elephants?  
Í-nzóù  héré í-dzò?  
Dem-elephant QM Dem-C10

 v. They are.  
Ndí-zò  
APS-C10

w. Is that the hand?  
Rú-ókó héré ú-rwò  
C11-hand QM Dem-C11

 x. It is.  
Ndí-rwò  
APS-C11

y. Is that the insect?  
Í-mbúyù héré í-yò  
Dem-insect QM Dem-C12

 z. It is.  
Ndí-yò  
APS-C12

aa. Are those the insects?  
I-mbuyu here í-dzò  
Dem-insect QM Dem-C13

 bb. They are.  
Ndí-zò  
APS-C13

cc. Is it your friendship?  
Hú-shámwári  hw-ényù  héré?  
C14-friendship C14-your QM

 dd. Yes, it is.  
Hóngù, ndí-hò  
Yes  APS-C14

(23)

a. Ímbwà ndíyè n’à kù- ndí- rúm-à  
dog then IDEO  C15-1s-bite-FV

 ‘Then the dog just bit me.’
b. á-ngó-tì nyéngù kù-sìmùk-á, ndíyè pòtyó
   3s-Cont-say IDEO C15-stand up-FV then IDEO
   ‘He/she goes “nyengu” when standing up, and then snuck away.’

c. ú-mhútú hw-áká- ràmb-á hù-chí-bhú-rúrk-á ndíyè ndúrè
   C14-mosquito C14-RmtPast-keep on-FV C14-Prog-fly-FV then IDEO
   pà-chí-zísó ch-è-tsókà
   C16-C7-eye C7-assoc-foot
   ‘The mosquito kept on flying around, and then went “ndure” on the ankle.’

d. áká-pínd-á ndíyè gà kù-gár-á
   RmtPast-enter-FV then IDEO C15-sit-FV
   ‘He entered and then sat.’

e. áká-pínd-á mü-mbá ndíyè tásà
   RmtPast-enter-FV C18-house then IDEO
   ‘He/she entered the house and as soon as he/she did he/she was unconscious.’

The fourth type of construction is the use of an ideophone on its own. This usually occurs when ideophones appear in a series, but this is not always the case.

(24)

a. shíngír- ír- à ngà ngà ngà ù-rí mw-ànà w-á-mámbò
   work hard-app-FV IDEO 2s-to be Cl-child C1a-assoc-king
   ‘Keep working hard for you are the king’s son.’

b. Chí-nó bàtè rèkè ndíyè vù
   C7- Sel IDEO IDEO then IDEO
   ‘(Someone) touches this thing, leaves it, and then drops it.’

c. zì-rúmè rí-yè zì-bángá pikù, chèké zì-nhindí, mù-kánwà
   C21-man C21-dem C21-knife IDEO IDEO C21-meat C18-mouth
   pòrì
   IDEO
   ‘That big man snatched up a knife, cut off a big piece of meat and tossed it in his mouth.’

d. zì-rúmè rí-yè zì-bángá pikù
C21-man C21-dem C21-knife IDEO
‘That big man snatched up a knife.’

3.4 Syntax

There is a large amount of syntactic freedom concerning word order between the ideophone and their subjects or objects. The object can come before or after the ideophone.

(25)

a. zi-rúmè rí-yè zi-bángá pikù, chèké zì-nhìndì, mù-kánwà pórì IDEO
‘That big man snatched up a knife, cut off a big piece of meat and tossed it in his mouth.

b. zi-rúmè rí-yè zi-bángá pikù, ndiyè règé bhìzá, vhù. C21-man C21-dem C21-knife IDEO then IDEO horse IDEO
‘That big man snatched up the knife then left the horse and arrived.

c. zi-rúmè rí-yè zi-bángá pikù, règé, vhù. C21-man C21-dem C21-knife IDEO IDEO IDEO
‘That big man snatched up the knife, left it and arrived.’

d. zi-rúmè rí-yè pikù zi-bángá règé vhù. C21-man C21-dem IDEO C21-knife IDEO IDEO
‘That big man snatched up the knife, left it, and arrived.’

‘That big man snatched up the knife, left the horse, and the boy arrived.

In fact, it seems like the ideophone can come almost anywhere in the sentence. All of the sentences below in (26) translate to ‘I hung up my jacket’ except for (26i) which is incomplete without mumba and translates to ‘I hung up my jacket in the house’.

(26)
This is not limited to τúrì or τúrikè. Túrikè can occur with more variation than τúrì, but this freedom occurs with n’à as well, (27).
1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana IDEO
I bit the banana

d. Nd-á-ngó-tì bànánà n’á kù-rúm-à
1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana IDEO C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana

e. N’á nd-á-ngè-tì bànánà kù-rúm-à
IDEO 1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana

f. N’á bànánà nd-á-ngó-tì
IDEO Banana 1ps-RecPast-cont-say
I bit the banana

g. N’á bànánà kú-rúm-à
IDEO Banana C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana

h. Kú-rúm-á ìmbwá y-á-ngó-tì n’á bànánà
C15-bite-FV dog C9-RecPast-cont-say IDEO banana
The dog bit the banana

i. Bànánà ìmbwá y-á-ngó-tì n’á
Banana dog C9-RecPast-cont-say IDEO
The dog bit the banana

Ideophones can also be used in sentences other than pure declarative ones, they are found in
imperatives, negatives, and questions, (28). This favors an analysis of them as verbs.

(28)

a. Did the dog bite?
Ìmbwá y-áká-tì n’á héré?
Dog C9-RmtPast-say IDEO QM

b. Didn’t the dog bite you?
Ìmbwá hà-í-nà kù-kù-tì n’á héré?
Dog Neg-C9-NegPast C15-2psObj-say IDEO QM

c. The dog doesn’t bite the banana.
Ìmbwá hà-í-tì n’á bànánà
Dog Neg-C9-say IDEO banana.
d. Don’t bite!
   Úsá-tì n’à
   NegImp-say IDEO

e. Bite the banana!
   Í-tì n’à bànnà
   Imp-say IDEO banana

I have chosen to class ideophones as types of verbs in the syntax due to the fact that in all almost all the sentences collected, ideophones act like verbs. In order to account for the amount of variation within the ideophonic sentences, a VP containing two Verbs is postulated. This phrase structure rule would then looks like (29). A tree diagraming the analysis follows in (30).

(29) VP → V V NP

(30)

This allows for fronting of the ideophone and of the object noun phrase which would look like (31) and (32) respectively.
The addition of the helping verb in the class 15 infinitive form, requires another similar tree,

This verb phrase can be fronte allowing for even more syntactic variation.
3.5 Verb Derivation

While not all ideophones are related to verbs, many are related to or derived from them. Most adjectives in Manyika have a verbal counterpart so it is difficult to determine whether or not ideophones derive from the verb or the adjective, however since there is an overwhelming amount of evidence between the ideophone-verb relationship it is likely that they derive from their verb forms. As (34) shows, some ideophones can be derived from verbs while others cannot.

(34)

a. kù-chèn-à to be white (Verb)

b. wékéè to be clean, bright, or white (Ideophone)

c. kù-chènèrúk-à to fade/turn to white (Verb)

d. chénérū the faded to white color of something (Ideophone)

Examples of ideophones and their verbal relationships are shown in (35).
a. tsvūké to redden/ripen/have the color come up (Ideophone)
   tsvūkùrù red fading/being a little red (Ideophone)
   kū-tsvūk-à to redden/ripen (Verb)

b. pfúmbùrù to make/throw up dust (Ideophone)
   kū-pfúmbùr-à to make/throw up dust (Verb)

c. pwáti to burst out into laughter (Ideophone)
   kū-pwátìk-à to burst out into laughter (Verb)

d. rókóshò to fall down awkwardly making a rustling sound (Ideophone)
   kū-ròkòték-à to move through bushes making a rustling sound (Verb)

e. réúrúrù to confess (Ideophone)
   kū-réúrúr-à to confess (Verb)

f. róyónò to disassemble (Ideophone)
   kū-róyónòr-à to disassemble (Verb)

g. n'án'áù to nibble (Ideophone)
   kū-n’án’áúr-à to nibble (Verb)

h. nyángwà to stalk (Ideophone)
   y-áká-nyángw-ìr-à ‘it stalks’ (Verb)

i. chèké to cut (Ideophone)
   kū-chèk-à to cut (Verb)

j. bàtè to touch/ to hold (Ideophone)
   kū-bát-à to touch/ to hold (Verb)

k. rèké to lose hold (Ideophone)
   kū-régér-à to lose hold (Verb)

l. kū-píng-à to get something back (Verb)
   píngínù to get something back (Ideophone)
   ku-pínginuk-à²

² From VaShona.com online dictionary. Definition unknown. No tones. Presumably means ‘to get back’.
Fortune states that there are three types of derivation of ideophones, derivation by extension, derivation from verbs and derivation from ideophones. He describes derivation by extension as adding repetitive syllables to an ideophone to increase its intensity, voicing unvoiced consonants to indicate heavier or more forceful actions, or by a change in vowels between /i/ and /u/. The instances of these in Manyika were all rare. One example of his was found in Manyika that being the difference between mbúù and mbúrètètè. In Manyika, there were no other forms, unlike what Fortune found with mbúrè and mbúrètètètè in addition to the other two forms. Evidence of the other two derivation types were not found in Manyika.

Fortune suggests that the types of verbs such as those with the verb deriving suffixes of /–ka-/ intransitive, /–ra-/ transitive, /–dza-/ or /–tsa-/ causative, or /–ma-/ stative, derive from ideophones, instead of the other way around. See examples (35 b, c, g, k). Historically, this may be true, however in Manyika if this were true we would expect kù-régér-à to be kù-rékér-à. This might suggest that all ideophones instead derive from verbs, or, if we accept Fortune’s theory, that the ideophone underwent phonological change some time in the past. Those forms like in (35 i and j), according to Fortune, derive from verbs in a productive process where the final vowel is replaced by an /-e/ or /-eyi/, in the case of Manyika this is /-ei/. This is in line with what the data for Manyika shows. Other verbs with /u/ in the extension like kù-n’ân’âür-à drop the last syllable to form an ideophone. This might also occur with /o/, see (35f). Fortune notes that in ideophones which derive verbs, ideophones with a tonal pattern HL form infinitives of HHH. Ideophones with tonal patterns of LH derive LLL verbs. Support for this may be found in HL ideophones in Manyika, (35).

The only ideophone found that related to another word and was not a verb, was related to a noun. (36b) shows the form when used as a noun and (36c) shows it used as an ideophone.
3.6 Semantics

Ideophones in Manyika carry a slightly more heightened or intensive meaning than normal verbs. Usually, this means that the action expressed in the sentence has been done quickly, for a short period of time, recently, or all of the above. It is for this reason that some ideophones are semantically difficult to put into the present tense. This is something which has not been previously mentioned in the works I have read on Shona or ideophones more generally. For example in (37), *dhàbù* cannot readily be made into the present tense since this ideophone on its own usually carries with it a past tense.

3.7 Problems and Conclusions

There are some questions which are still unanswered like what exactly the relationship is between verbs and ideophones, and what other morphology ideophones themselves may contain. Not all ideophones accept the passive extension, and there is some ambiguity as to what the purpose of the morpheme */-ei/* is. Examples below in (38) provide problems for the meaning of */-ei/*.
a. I plowed the field a little/a lot (ambiguous)
Nd-àká-ti riméi mù-ndà
1ps-RmtPast-say/do IDEO C3-field
b. I plowed the field a little (non-ambiguous)
Nd-àká-ngó-tì riméi mù-ndà
1ps-RmtPast-cont-say/do IDEO C3-field

Another problem I found is in regards to some ideophones which were found in an adjectival position. However, upon second glance, it is unclear as to whether or not these forms are truly ideophones or just adjectives receiving a null morpheme due to the noun class of the modified noun. Examples follow in (39).

(39)
a. He/she has a fat dog.
Á-né ìmbwá dháfù
C1-has dog fat

b. He/she has a white cloth.
Á-né jírá jéná
C1-has cloth white

If these are ideophones we would have to make sure they were not acting as verbs and that they were in fact acting like adjectives. Secondly, one would have to account for the difference in function of ideophones. It may be necessary then to postulate two groups of ideophones depending on how they function grammatically.

Ideophones in Manyika are a very interesting portion of the language’s grammar. They carry a large amount of sensory information within them, and are marked in comparison to other parts of the grammar especially in their lack of much morphology. More data is needed to fully
understand whether all ideophones do indeed function verbally, as well as some more
information on the internal morphology and derivation of ideophones to understand /–ei/.
Appendixes
Appendix 1: List of Abbreviations
App- Applicative
APS- Absolute Pronoun Substitute
Assoc- Associative
C#- Class Number
Cont- Continuous
Dem- Demonstrative
FV- final vowel
IDEO- Ideophone
Imp- Imperative
Neg- Negative
NegImp
NegPast
Poss- Possessive
Pres- Present
Prog- Progressive
RecPast- Recent past
RmtPast- Remote past
Sel- Selector
QM- Question Marker
Appendix 2: List of Elicited Ideophones

Ideophone for a biting action  

n’à

Ideophone for persistence  

ngà ngà ngà

Ideophone for a glowing action like that of the light made by a firefly  

n'ai

Ideophone for nibbling  

n'an'au

Ideophone for refusing profusely  

kan'a

Ideophone for climbing on top of an animal quickly  

n'anya

Ideophone for climbing on top of an animal slowly  

n'any

Ideophone for bad attitude/ a look in one's eyes of a bad attitude  

kón’á

Ideophone for getting something back  

píngínù

(This can be yelled at a cow to get it back as well as used in a sentence)

Ideophone for squeezing oneself through/undressing quickly  

pfëkënú

(the undressing quickly is usually in regards to items of clothing that are easily taken off such as a hat.)

Ideophone for things being in abundance  

tèkèshè

Ideophone for just waking up at the moment  

müké

Just waking up a few minutes ago  

mükéí

Untangling things from other things  

kátänù

(Clothing from bushes and necklaces from each other, but not knots.)

Ideophone for unpacking haphazardly, disassembling, falling apart  

róyónò

(putting in more chaos or disorder?)

Ideophone to pick something from a tree, pluck  

tànánhù

Ideophone to confess/give testimony  

réúrúrù

Ideophone to know  

zívè

Ideophone describing the faded to white color of something  

chénérù

Ideophone for red fading/being a little red  

tsvükùrù

Ideophone for throwing up/making dust  

pfúmbùrù
Ideophone to be very clean/white/bright

wékéè

Ideophone for stalking prey/creeping up on something

nyángwà

Ideophone for getting up quickly

bárábádà

Ideophone for sneaking away carefully

pòtyó

Ideophone for getting up quietly or carefully

nyéngù

Ideophone for 'going AWOL'

didìdì

(Someone going to get something and taking more time than necessary has gone 'dididi'. They may not come back; they're goofing off.)

Ideophone for mosquito biting

ndúrè

Ideophone for slapping/hitting

pà

Ideophone for a hard slapping action/sound

bhò

Ideophone for something exploding

phà

(not often used)

Ideophone for something to explode

púti

Ideophone or sleeping/taking a nap

bhí

Ideophone for throwing something down

pì

Ideophone for hitting or bumping into something/someone suddenly

dhùmá

(Used also if you run into someone in the sense of meeting them unexpectedly)

Ideophone for the action of chopping a tree

gúrwì

Ideophone for being unconscious

tàsà

Ideophone for chopping or sitting

gà

Ideophone for the sound of dropping an object

vù

Ideophone for a person falling/dropping/stomping

dhì

Ideophone to redden/ripen/have the color come up

tsvüké

Ideophone to be hit

bhágù

Ideophone for falling down awkwardly/noisily into something

rókòshò

Ideophone for being very clean and bright

mbúù

Ideophone for very bright/extremely bright

mbúrètètè

Ideophone for being tasteless or quiet

nhò
Ideophone to break pwá
Ideophone to burst into laughter pwáká
Ideophone to fold quickly pétè
Ideophone to fold a little péteì
Ideophone to plow a little riméì
Ideophone for the flashing of headlights wàí
Ideophone for the flapping of wings of a large bird pà pà pà
Ideophone for knocking Kòkòkò
Ideophone for announcing yourself before entering a property/house Gògògò
Ideophone for flying away quickly/a large bird flying Bhùrrrr
Ideophone for being thin tété
Ideophone for being very thin tété tété
Ideophone for being a little thin tétépéì
Ideophone for being a little fat fùtìè
Ideophone for being fat táfù/ dháfù
Ideophone for being really fat Táfù táfù/ dháfù dháfù
Moo mhúù
Ideophone to hold tightly mbá
Ideophone to hold very tightly/capture dzvì
Ideophone for dividing/split in half twice dhàbù dhàbù
Ideophone to beat badly/or split something in half dhàbù
Ideophone to open (paper)/unfold bhèdhènù
Ideophone to fall down bhidhirì
Ideophone to fade párù
Ideophone for blowing as in one’s nose fé
Ideophone for the sound of a small drum, like hitting a tin can tíndíngù
Ideophone for hitting a drum pángù pángù
(Must be reduplicated otherwise it may be confused for a possessive)
Ideophone for the sound of a large drum dhù (dhù)

Ideophone for sprinting in a straight path across something tándè

Ideophone for hopping or jogging tómù tómù

*Emotional/physical state of a person.* This person may be quiet or shivering. Is associated with bad weather possibly worried. Not very sad or happy, lukewarm. One would ask the person what was wrong.

Chùchürúrú

Ideophone for being moody or mad. Kwíndì

Ideophone for being relaxed, welcome, friendly, in a good mood. One can tell from their expression they are friendly.

Fáränù

Ideophone to move away/give space súdùrù

Ideophone to abandon an action which concerns something tangible tsvéè

Ideophone to play a little bit rîdzéí

Ideophone for being salty kàvàvà

Ideophone for being sweet tápi

Ideophone for being very sweet tápi tápi

Ideophone for being slightly good nâkéí

Ideophone for being bad shâtéí

Ideophone for being/standing straight twásà

Ideophone for falling/taking something down. E.g. Taking down drop something from head like firewood. Put down at same time.

rwìì

Ideophone for something light falling e.g. water or fruit zhìì

Ideophone for the fall of person or fruit dò

Ideophone to take down something tórè

Ideophone to hang up something túrì

Ideophone to hang something up turike

Ideophone to turn around téndéù

Ideophone to jump over something svétù
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone to snatch</th>
<th>dzàmù</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to throw something</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to hit an object with a sharp object in one shot</td>
<td>gá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone for smoke rising up</td>
<td>tógò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to loosen or untie</td>
<td>súnúngù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to open a door</td>
<td>bhéú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to close something (like a door) (Sound related too)</td>
<td>dhwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to snatch up</td>
<td>Piku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to let go of, leave something</td>
<td>Rèkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to arrive</td>
<td>vhù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone to arrive</td>
<td>pfàchà</td>
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Bibliography


