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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.

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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.

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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

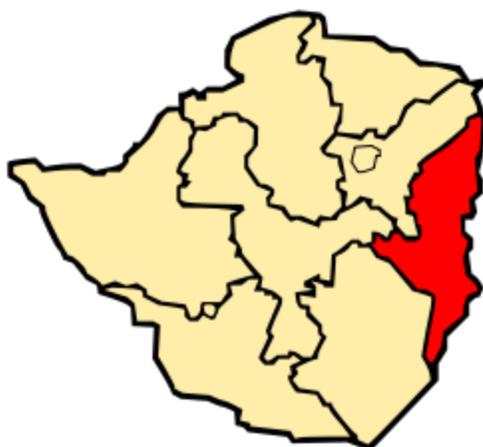
Manyika is generally considered to be a dialect of the Shona language, however according to Ethnologue, it is more divergent than other dialects like Korekore or Zezuru. Shona is spoken mostly in Zimbabwe and in parts of neighboring countries like Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia. Some sources report 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.

(2)



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

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		A	

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

(4) Consonants

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

† (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].
n'

Diphthongs and Triphthongs:

<dy> [jg]

<ty> [čk]

<mbw> [mby]

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

Class	Prefix
1(3s)	mu-
1a	∅
2 (3p)	va-
2a	vana-
3	mu-
4	mi-
5	∅
6	ma-
7	chi-
8	zvi-
9	Nasal
10	Nasal/ dzi-
11	ru-
12	ka-
13	tu-
14	(h)u-
15	ku-
16	pa-
17	ku-
18	mu-
21	zi-

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

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

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

Class	Adjective	Possessive	Demonstrative (This)	Demonstrative (That)
1 (1pS)	mu-			
1 (2pS)	mu-			
1 (3pS)	mu-	u-	u-yu	u-yo
1a	Mu- null	u-	u-yu	u-yo
2 (1pPl)	va-			
2 (2pPl)	va-			
2 (3pPl)	va-	va-	a-va	a-vo
2a	va-	va-	a-va	a-vo
3	mu	u-	u-yu	u-yo
4	mi	i-	i-yi	i-yo
5	ri-	ri-	i-ri	i-ro
6	ma-	a- Or null	a-ya	a-vo
7	chi-	chi-	i-chi	i-cho
8	zvi	zvi-	i-zvi	i-zvo
9	Null/ h-	i-	i-yi	i-yo
10	Null	dzi-	i-dzi	i-dzo
11	ru-	rw-	u-rwu	u-rwo
12	ka-	ka-	a-ka	a-ko
13	tu-	tu-	u-twu	u-two
14	hu-	hu-	u-hu	u-ho
15			u-ku	u-ko
16		pa-		
17		ku-		
18		mu-		
21	zi-	r-		

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

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	-ángù	-édú
2 nd Person	-ákò	-ényú
3 rd Person (Human)	-áké	-ávó
3 rd Person (Inhuman)	-áyò	-ávó

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, interjectional 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.

(9)

Category	Language	Source	Date
Adverb	S. Bantu	Doke	1935
Verb?	Shona	Fortune	1962
Interjectional/Descriptive	S. Bantu	Doke	1967
Onomatopoeic Adjective	Igbo?	Okonkwo	1974
Verb?	Yoruba	Courtenay	1976
Predicative	Sotho	Kunene	1978
Verb Source	Kanuri	Hutchinson	19889
Adverb	ShiNzwani	Ottenheimer & Primrose	1990
Derived Verb	Misc	Childs	1989
Pseudo Adjective	Chihewa	Kumeleka	1992
Special Class	KiChaga	Moshi	1993

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

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 *sùngúnù*, *tépù*, *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 bhùrr, landing in the tree

Shírì 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) $\emptyset \rightarrow V\{+hi, -rnd\} / \# _ C_0 V \#$

(12) N'à, to bite

Nhò, to be tasteless

Dhì, to fall or stomp (a person)

Vhù, to arrive

Pì, 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 [koV̥o].

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, *fùtèi* 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-ti* 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-ti n'à.
 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 /-êi/. 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. mùkè: just waking up at the moment
mùkèi: just waking up a few minutes ago
- b. pétè: to fold something
pétéi: to fold something a little bit
- c. *no other form such as rìmé
rìméi: to plow a little
- d. tétépéi: being a little thin
tété: being thin
kù-tétép-à: to be thin
- e. fùtéi: being a little fat
táfù/dháfù: 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 /-êi/, 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 *gúr-* were found. It is possible however that *gà* meaning to sit or chop is somehow related to *gúrwi*.

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	đi đi đi

3.3 Ideophonic Constructions

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

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'ài nài
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 chì-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.'

The third type of ideophonic construction occurs with what Fortune calls the absolute pronoun substitute. This word he gives as *íyè*, however it seems closer to say that *ndi-* is the root since it remains stable throughout the forms. The word, *ndíyè*, 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 *ndíyè* in ideophonic constructions are given in (23).

(21) Inflected Forms of Ndiye

Class 1	Ndíyè
Class 1a	Ndíyè
Class 2	Ndíwò
Class 2a	No data
Class 3	Ndíwò
Class 4	Ndíyò
Class 5	Ndíró
Class 6	Ndíwò
Class 7	Ndíchò
Class 8	Ndízvò
Class 9	Ndíyò
Class 10	Ndízó
Class 11	Ndírwò
Class 12	Ndíyò
Class 13	Ndízó
Class 14	Ndíhò/ndínò

(22)

a. Is that the farmer?

Mú-rímì héré?

C1-farmer QM

b. It is.

Hóngù ndí-yè

Yes APS-C1

c. Are those the farmers?

Và-rímì héré á-vò

C2-farmer QM Dem-C2

d. They are.

Hóngù, ndí-wò

Yes, APS-C2

e. Is that the doctor?

Ndì-chí-rèmbà hérè?

Dem-C1a-doctor QM

f. It is.

Hóngù ndí-yè

Yes APS-C1a

g. Is that the tree?

Mú-tì héré ú-yò

C3-tree QM Dem-C3

h. It is.

Hóngù ndí-wò

Yes, APS-C3

i. Are those trees?

Mí-tí héré í-yò

C4-tree QM Dem-C4

j. They are.

Hóngù ndí-yò

Yes APS-C4

k. Is it your jacket?

Ìbháchí r-ákò héré?

Coat C5-your QM

l. Yes, it is

Hóngù, ndí-rò.

Yes, APS-C5

m. Are those mountains?

Má-kómò héré á-wò

C6-mountain QM Dem-C6

n. They are.

Hóngù, ndí-wò

Yes, APS-C6

o. Is that the face?

Chí-sò héré í-chò?

C7-face QM Dem-C7

p. It is.

Ndí-chò

APS-C7

q. Are those the faces?

Zví-sò héré í-zvò?

C8-face QM Dem-C8

r. They are.

Ndí-zvò

APS-C8

- 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-mhùtú hw-áká- ràm-b-á hù-chí-bhúrúruk-à ndíyè ndúré
 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-à ndíyè gà kù-gár-á
 RmtPast-enter-FV then IDEO C15-sit-FV
 ‘He entered and then sat.’
- e. áká-pínd-à mù-mbá ndíyè tàsà
 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 C1-child C1a-assoc-king
 ‘Keep working hard for you are the king’s son.’
- b. Chí-nó bàtè rèké 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 pìkù, chèké zì-nhìndì, 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 pìkù

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. zì-rúmè rí-yè zì-bángá pìkù, chèké zì-nhìndì, mù-kánwà
C21-man C21-dem C21-knife ideophone ideophone C21-meat C18-mouth

póri
IDEO

‘That big man snatched up a knife, cut off a big piece of meat and tossed it in his mouth.’

- b. zì-rúmè rí-yè zì-bángá pìkù, ndíyè rège 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. zì-rúmè rí-yè zì-bángá pìkù, rège, vhù.
C21-man C21-dem C21-knife IDEO IDEO IDEO
‘That big man snatched up the knife, left it and arrived.’

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

- e. zì-rúmè rí-yè pìkù zì-bángá, bhìzá rège mù-kómánà vhù.
C21-man C21-dem IDEO C21-knife, horse IDEO C1-boy IDEO.
‘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)

- a. Nd-à-ngó-tì túrì jàzì r-ángù
1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO jacket C5-my
- b. Nd-a-ngo-ti jazi r-angu turi
1ps-RecPast-cont-say jacket C5-my IDEO
- c. Nd-a-ngo-ti turike¹ jazi r-angu ku-turik-a
1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO jacket C5-my C15-hang up-FV
- d. Nd-a-ngo-ti turi ku-turik-a jazi r-angu
1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO C15-hang up-FV jacket C5-my
- e. Nd-a-ngo-ti jazi r-angu turi ku-turik-a
1ps-RecPast-cont-say jacket C5-my IDEO C15-hang up-FV
- f. jázì r-ángù nd-á-ngó-tì túrì ku-turik-a
jacket C5-my 1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO C15-hang up-FV
- g. kù-túrík-à jázì r-ángù nd-à-ngó-tì túrì
C15-hang up-FV jacket C5-my 1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO
- h. túríkè nd-á-ngó-tì jázì r-ángù
IDEO 1ps-RecPast-cont-say jacket C5-my
- i. túrì jázì r-ángù nd-à-ngó-tì mù-mbà
IDEO jacket C5-my 1ps-RecPast-cont-say C18-house

This is not limited to *túrì* or *túríkè*. *Túríkè* can occur with more variation than *túrì*, but this freedom occurs with *n'á* as well, (27).

(27)

- a. Nd-á-ngó-tì nà bànánà kù-rí-rúm-à
1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO banana C15-C5-bite-FV
I bit the banana.
- b. Nd-á-ngó-tì n'á kù-rúm-à bànánà
1ps-RecPast-cont-say IDEO C15-bite-FV banana
I bit the banana.
- c. Nd-á-ngó-tì bànánà n'á

¹ All cases where *túrì* is used *túríkè* can also be used.

1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana IDEO

I bit the banana

- d. Nd-á-ngó-tì bǎnǎnà n'ǎ kù-rùm-à
1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana IDEO C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana
- e. N'ǎ nd-à-ngò-tì bǎnǎnà kù-rùm-à
IDEO 1ps-RecPast-cont-say banana C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana
- f. N'ǎ bǎnǎnà nd-á-ngó-tì
IDEO Banana 1ps-RecPast-cont-say
I bit the banana
- g. N'ǎ bǎnǎnà kù-rúm-à
IDEO Banana C15-bite-FV
I bit the banana
- h. Kù-rúm-á ìmbwá y-á-ngó-tì n'ǎ bǎnǎnà
C15-bite-FV dog C9-RecPast-cont-say IDEO banana
The dog bit the banana
- i. Bǎnǎnà ìmbwá y-á-ngó-tì n'ǎ
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'ǎ héré?
Dog C9-RmtPast-say IDEO QM
- b. Didn't the dog bite you?
Ìmbwá hà-í-nà kù-kù-tì n'ǎ hère?
Dog Neg-C9-NegPast C15-2psObj-say IDEO QM
- c. The dog doesn't bite the banana.
Ìmbwà hà-í-tì n'ǎ bǎnǎnà
Dog Neg-C9-say IDEO banana.

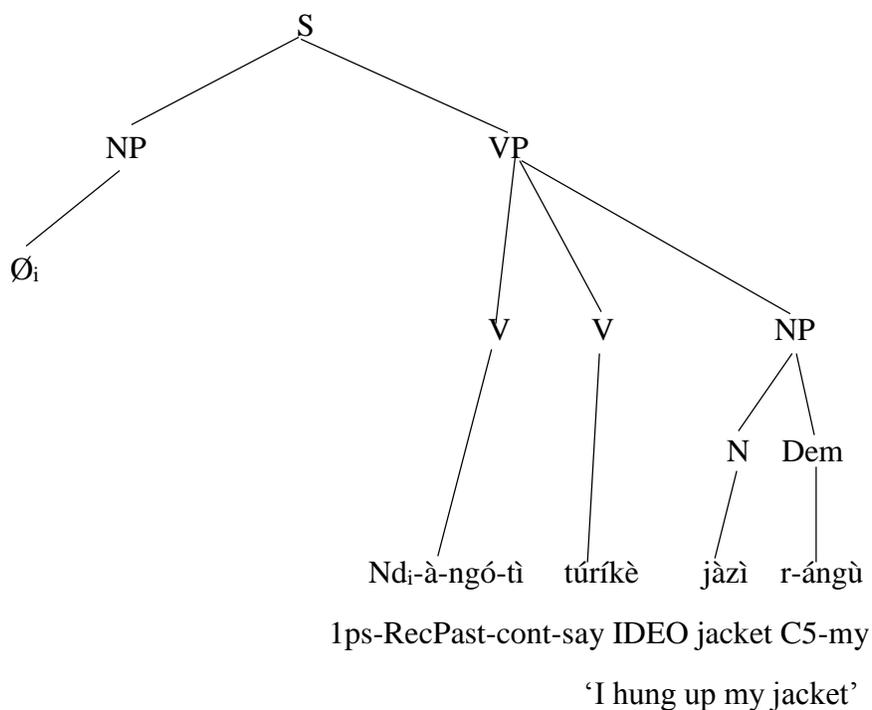
d. Don't bite!
 Úsá-tì n'à
 NegImp-say IDEO

e. Bite the banana!
 Í-tì n'à bànánà
 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 look like (29). A tree diagramming the analysis follows in (30).

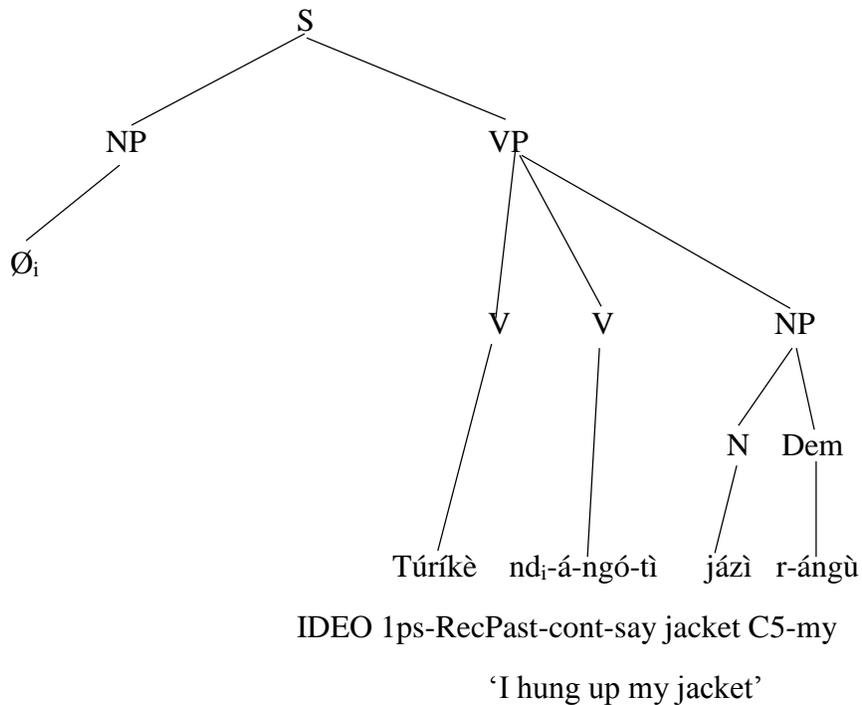
(29) $VP \rightarrow V V NP$

(30)

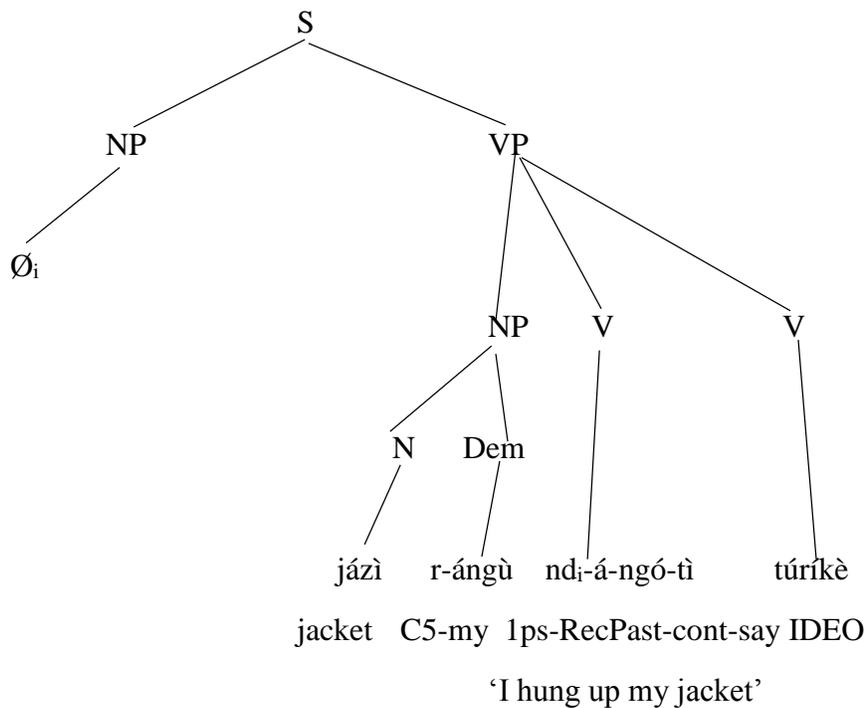


This allows for fronting of the ideophone and of the object noun phrase which would look like (31) and (32) respectively.

(31)



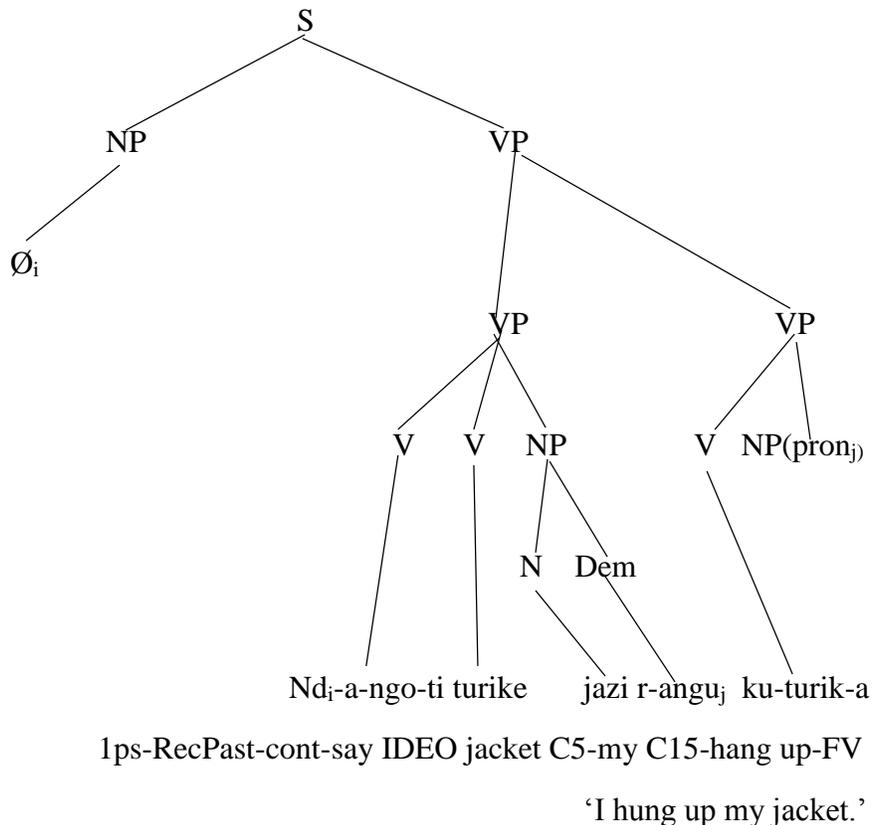
(32)



The addition of the helping verb in the class 15 infinitive form, requires another similar tree,

(33). This verb phrase can be fronte allowing for even more syntactic variation.

(33)



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. chénérù | the faded to white color of something (Ideophone) |

Examples of ideophones and their verbal relationships are shown in (35).

(35)

- a. tsvùké to redden/ripen/have the color come up (Ideophone)
 tsvùkùrù red fading/being a little red (Ideophone)
 kù-tsvùk-à to redden/ripen (Verb)
- b. pfùmbùrù to make/throw up dust (Ideophone)
 kù-pfùmbùr-à to make/throw up dust (Verb)
- c. pwátì to burst out into laughter (Ideophone)
 kù-pwátìk-à to burst out into laughter (verb)
- d. rókóshò to fall down awkwardly making a rustling sound (Ideophone)
 kù-ròkòtèk-à to move through bushes making a rustling sound (Verb)
- e. réúrùrù to confess (Ideophone)
 kù-réúrùr-à to confess (Verb)
- f. róyónò to disassemble (Ideophone)
 kù-róyónòr-à to disassemble (Verb)
- g. n'án'áù to nibble (Ideophone)
 kù-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)
 kù-chék-à to cut (verb)
- j. bàtè to touch/ to hold (Ideophone)
 kù-bát-à to touch/ to hold (Verb)
- k. rèké to lose hold (Ideophone)
 kù-régér-à to lose hold (Verb)
- l. kù-píng-à to get something back (Verb)
 píngínù to get something back (Ideophone)
 ku-pinginuk-a²

²From 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'án'áúr-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.

(36)

- a. kón'á: to have a bad attitude
- b. Á-n-è chí-kón'á
3s-have-FV C7-bad attitude
'He/She has a bad attitude'
- c. Hài kónà kù-ngò-tì kon'a kon'a kàná ndà- kù- tùm-à
Don't fail C15-Cont-say ideophone when 1s-2s- assign something-FV
'Don't be 'kon'a kon'a' when I send you to go do something.'

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

(37)

- a. He split the two fields
áká-tì dhàbù dhàbù mì-ndà mìvìrì (kù-rím-à)
RmtPast-say REDUPIDEO C4-field 2 C15-plow-FV

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/.

(38)

- a. I plowed the field a little/a lot (ambiguous)

Nd-àkà-tì rìméi mù-ndà

1ps-RmtPast-say/do IDEO C3-field

- b. I plowed the field a little (non-ambiguous)

Nd-àkà-ngó-tì rìméi 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 jírà 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'á
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	pfèkènú
(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	mùké
Just waking up a few minutes ago	mùkèí
Untangling things from other things	kátánù
(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	tànháù
Ideophone to confess/give testimony	réúrúù
Ideophone to know	zívè
Ideophone describing the faded to white color of something	chénérù
Ideophone for red fading/being a little red	tsvùkùrù
Ideophone for throwing up/making dust	pfúmbùrù

Ideophone to be very clean/white/bright	wékéeè
Ideophone for stalking prey/ creeping up on something	nyángwà
Ideophone for getting up quickly	báràbádà
Ideophone for sneaking away carefully	pòtyó
Ideophone for getting up quietly or carefully	nyéngù
Ideophone for 'going AWOL'	dìdidi
(Someone going to get something and taking more time than necessary has gone 'didi'. They may not come back; they're goofing off.)	
Ideophone for mosquito biting	ndùrè
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	gúrwi
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	tsvùké
Ideophone to be hit	bhágù
Ideophone for falling down awkwardly/noisily into something	rókóshò
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	pétéi
Ideophone to plow a little	ríméi
Ideophone for the flashing of headlights	wáì
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	tétépéi
Ideophone for being a little fat	fùtéi
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	bhìdhìrì
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
<i>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.</i>	
	Chùchùrú
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.	
	Fáranù
Ideophone to move away/give space	súdùrù
Ideophone to abandon an action which concerns something tangible	tsvèè
Ideophone to play a little bit	rìdzèi
Ideophone for being salty	kàvavà
Ideophone for being sweet	tápì
Ideophone for being very sweet	tápì tápì
Ideophone for being slightly good	nàkèi
Ideophone for being bad	shàtèi
Ideophone for being/standing straight	twàsà
Ideophone for falling/taking something down. E.g. Taking down drop something from head like firewood. Put down at same time.	
	rwì
Ideophone for something light falling e.g. water or fruit	zhì
Ideophone for the fall of person or fruit	dò
Ideophone to take down something	tórè
Ideophone to hang up something	túri
Ideophone to hang something up	turike
Ideophone to turn around	téndèu
Ideophone to jump over something	svétù

Ideophone to snatch	dzàmù
Ideophone to throw something	kà
Ideophone to hit an object with a sharp object in one shot	gá
Ideophone for smoke rising up	tógò
Ideophone to loosen or untie	súnúngù
Ideophone to open a door	bhéú
Ideophone to close something (like a door) (Sound related too)	dhwà
Ideophone to snatch up	Piku
Ideophone to let go of, leave something	Rèké
Ideophone to arrive	vhù
Ideophone to arrive	pfàchà

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