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Adjectives, be verbs, and determiners in Manyika Shona

An honors thesis presented to the
Department of Anthropology,
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

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Abstract

Manyika is a dialect of Shona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Like many Bantu languages, Manyika has a noun class system, which affects the morphology and phonology of many parts of speech including nouns, verbs, adjectives, and determiners. In this paper, noun class is studied in relation to adjectives, stative verbs, and determiners. In addition, there is a section on the use of the be-verb in Manyika Shona, and a section on combinations of determiners and the syntax of the determiner phrases.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Marshall Makate
for his patience and time.
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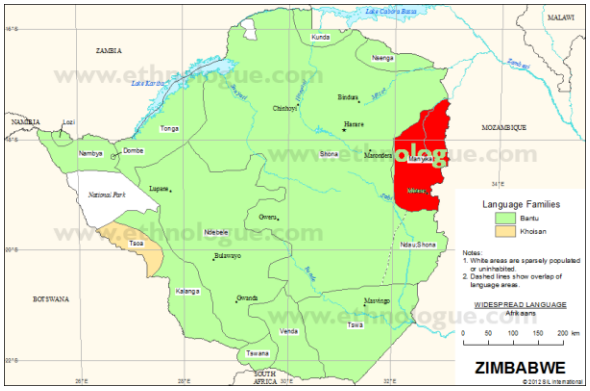
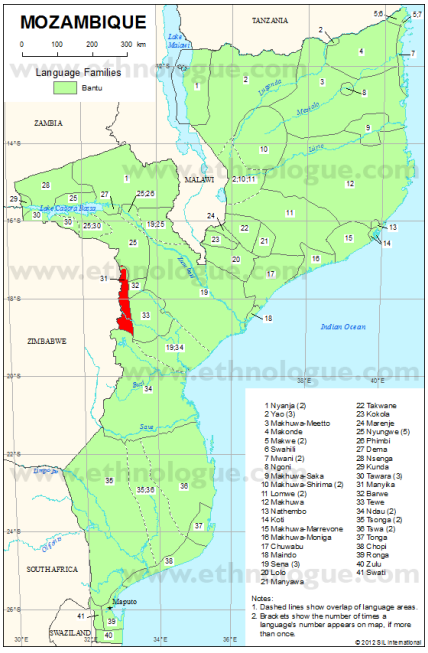
Introduction



In this paper I will be discussing class agreement and phonology on adjectives, stative verbs, and demonstratives in Manyika Shona. In addition, I will discuss some simple copular structures.

Shona is a language with over 10 million speakers and several dialects (Karanga, Korekore, and Zezuru). It is spoken in Mashonaland, central, and widespread in Zimbabwe and also in Botswana (Zezuru), Malawi, South Africa, Zambia. Manyika is "partially intelligible with Shona" (ethnologue.com) a dialect of Shona spoken in Manicaland Province and adjacent areas of Zimbabwe and in Mozambique (highlighted on the maps).



The language from this paper was gathered in Albany, New York from a native speaker of Manyika: Marshall Makate, male, age 30.

Orthography

The orthography used in this paper is the standard spelling used by Shona speakers.

A full phonemic inventory of consonants is given in the chart on the next page. When the symbols differ from the American Phonetic Alphabet, the APA is given in brackets on the right.

		Bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	retroflex	alveopalatal	palatal	velar	laryngeal
stop	**voiceless**	p		t				k	
	voiced	(b)		(d)				(g)	
	breathy	bh = [b̤]		dh =[d̤]				g = [g̈]	
	imploded	b = [ɓ]		d = [ɗ]				g = [ɠ]	
affricate	**voiceless**		pf = [p^{f}]	ts = [c]	tsv = [c̣]	ch = [č]			
	breathy		bv = [b^{v}]	dz = [ʒ]	dzv = [ǯ]	j = [ǯ]			h
fricative	**voiceless**		f	s	sv = [ṣ]	sh = [š]			
	voiced		v						
	breathy		vh	z =	zv = [ẓ]	zh =			
nasal	**voiced**	m		n			ny = [ɲ̂]	n'(ng)=[ŋ]	
	breathy	mh =[m̤]		nh = [n̤]			ny= [ŋ̂]		
rhotic (trill)	**voiced**			r = [r̃]					
	breathy			r ?=[r̤̃]					
glide	**plain**	w					y		
	breathy	hw							

special consonant clusters are given below. The <w> and <y> in consonant clusters is used to show velarization.

<tw> = [t^{ɣ}][1]

<rw>= [r^{ɣ}]

<dy> = [d^{ɣ}]

<ty> = [t^{ɣ}]

The vowel system in Shona is the standard five vowel system used in many Bantu languages.

	Front	Middle	Back
High	i		o
Mid	e		u
Low		a	

[1] <tw> and <rw> may either be velarization or actually a [tw] or [rw]. This is discussed some in the demonstratives section

Class System

Manyika Shona has what is called a noun class system. This is when nouns are divided up into categories often based loosely on semantic category (animate, inanimate, large object, small object etc). Some sort of clitic or morpheme will mark a particular class.

In Manyika there are 21 noun classes: classes 1-2 are for human nouns, 3-11 are non-human nouns, 12-13 are the diminutive, class 14 is for abstract nouns, class 15 is for verbal infinitives, 16-18 are for prepositions or locatives, 19-20 were never encountered in data elicitations, and class 21 is for the augmentative. All classes are marked by a prefix which also appears on adjectives, possessives, and demonstratives that modify the noun as well as on verbs as the subject or object marker. Below is a chart of all the noun class prefixes and an example for each. Sometimes phonology affects the noun class marker.

noun class	**noun class marker**	**example**	**gloss**
1.	mu-	mù-rìmì	‘farmer’
1a.	Ø-	Ø-chìrèmbá	‘doctor’
2.	va-	và-rìmì	‘farmers’
2a.	vana-	vàná-chírèmbá	‘doctors’
3.	mu-	mù-tí	‘tree’
4.	mi-	mì-tí	‘trees’
5.	Ø-	Ø-gòmò	‘mountain’
6.	ma-	mà-kòmò	‘mountains’
7.	chi-	chì-só	‘face’
8.	zvi-	zvì-só	‘faces’
9.	(n)-/i-	nzóù	‘elephant’
		ì-mbá[2]	‘house’
10.	(n)-/dzi-	nzóù	‘elephants’
		dzì-mbá	‘house’

[2] alternatively this could be analyzed as underlyingly /mba/ with a vowel insertion. This would follow the pattern of class 9/10 nouns starting with a nasal.

11.	ru-	rù-ókó	‘hand’
12.	ka-	kà-mbùyú	‘small insect’
13.	tu-	tù-mbùyú	‘large insect’
14.	(h)u-	hù-kúrú	‘bigness’
15.	ku-	kù-kúrà	‘to be big’
21.	zi-	zì-gòmò	‘big mountain’

1. Noun Class Adjective Agreement

In Manyika, the adjective shows agreement with the noun by using a prefix of the same class. Below are all the classes with the same adjective /*naku*/.[3]

(1) **mù**-rìmì **mù**-nàkú
C1-farmer C1-good
‘beautiful farmer’

(2) **và**-rìmì **và**-nàkú
C2-famer C2-good
‘beautiful farmers’

(3) **Ø**-chìrèmbà **mù**-nàkú
C1a-doctor C1a-good
‘beautiful doctor’

(4) **vàná**-chìrèmbà **và**-nàkú
C2a-doctor C2a-good
‘beautiful doctors’

As seen in examples (1) – (4), the class agreement for the adjectives differs slightly from the agreement for nouns. For adjectives, there is no difference between class 1 and 1a or between class 2 and 2a.

(5) **mù**-tí **mù**-nàkù
C3-tree C3-good
‘beautiful tree’

[3] These adjectives come from the noun hù-nàkú “goodness/beauty” which is not generally applied to non-human nouns

(6) **mì**-tí **mì**-nàkù
C4-tree C4-good
'beautiful trees'

(7) **Ø**-gòmò **rì**-nàkú OR **Ø**-gòmò **Ø**-nákú
C5-mountain C5-good
'beautiful mountain'

Class 5 again shows a difference between noun class agreement and adjective agreement. While the noun class agreement is null, the adjective agreement is either /ri-/ or /Ø/

(8) **mà**-kòmò **mà**-nàkú
C6-mountain C6-good
'beautiful mountains'

(9) **chì**-dzìrò **chì**-nàkú
C7-wall C7-good
'beautiful (shabby) wall'[4]

(10) **zvì**-dzìrò **zvì**-nàkú
C8-wall C8-big
'beautiful (shabby) walls'

(11) **Ø**-nzóù **Ø**-nàkú
C9-elephant C9-good
'beautiful elephant' OR 'beautiful elephants'

(12) ***Ø**-nzou **dzi**-naku

The class 10 adjectives marker in Manyika is identical to the class 9 marker, as seen in (11). The form in (12) is ungrammatical.

(13) **rú**-ókó **rù**-nákù
C11-hand C11-good
'beautiful hand'

(14) **kà**-mbùyú **ká**-nàkú
C12-insect C12-good
'beautiful (little) insect'[5]

[4] class 7/8 can be used to indicate something is ugly/broken. Normally *dzìrò* is a 5/6 class noun

(15) **tù**-mbùyú **tú**-nàkú
C13-insect C13-good
'beautiful (little) insects'

(16) **hù**-shámwárí **hú**-nàkú
C14-friendship C14-good
'beautiful friendship'

(17) **zì**-gòmò **zì**-nàkú
C21-mountain C21-good
'beautiful (big) mountain'

So the adjective agreement in Manyika almost identically matches the noun agreement except for classes 1a, 2a, 5. Class 10 does not exist for adjectives.

2. Noun-Class Agreement Stative Verb[6]

A noun + stative verb has a similar meaning to the noun + adjective construction discussed above, although it always forms a sentence whereas the forms in section 1 can be either noun phrases or sentences depending on the tone (shown in section 3). Below is a list of stative verbs and their agreement with nouns. According to the consultant, the forms with the stative verbs are more commonly used than the forms with the adjectives. The first like is the underlying representation, with the exception that no tone is indicated.

(18) /mu-rimi a-aka-nak-a/
mù-rìmì Ø-àká-nàk-á
C1-farmer C1-RemP[7]-good-FV
'the farmer is good'

[5] class 12/13 is used for the diminutive. *mbuyu* is not usually in this class
[6] These verbs come from *kù-nàkà* the stative verb 'to be good/look good/taste good' unlike its counterpart *hù-nákù,* this word is fine to use with all classes
[7] The morpheme *aka* acts as a remote past in non stative verbs, though it does not carry a past tense meaning in stative verbs

In (18), the underlying class 1 subject agreement for the verb is /a/, but the first vowel deletes causing the verb to surface as just '*akanaka*.' The formalized rule is shown in (19).

(19) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / __ \mathrm{V}$ deletion of the first vowel

This rule occurs in other classes as indicated by the underlying representation on the first line

(20) /va-rimi **va**-aka-nak-a/
và-rìmì **v**-àká-nàk-á
C2-farmer C2-RemP-good-FV
'the farmers are good'

(21) /Ø-chiremba **a**-aka-nak-a/
Ø-chìrèmbá **Ø**-ákà-nák-à
C1a-doctor C1a-RemP-good-FV
'the doctor is good'

(22) /vana-chiremba **va**-aka-nak-a/
vàná-chírèmbà **v**-àkà-nák-à
C2a-doctor C2a-RemP-good-FV
'the doctors are good'

(23) /mu-ti **u**-aka-nak-a/
mù-tí **w**-áká-nák-à
C3-tree C3-RemP-good-FV
'the tree is good'

(24) /**mi**-ti **i**-aka-nak-a/
mì-tí **y**-áká-nák-à
C4-tree C4-RemP-good-FV
'the trees are good'

in (24) and (23) the class 3 and 4 markers are vowels that glide when followed by a vowel. This rule is shown in (25). Rule (25) must precede rule (19) or the forms in (23) and (24) would not come out right.

(25) $\binom{V}{+hi\ +tense} \rightarrow [-syll] / \#_V$ u and i gliding before vowel

This rule also applies to class 9 seen in (30) and (32).

(26) /**Ø**-gomo **ri**-aka-naka/
Ø-gòmò **r**-áká-nákà
C5-mountain C5-RemP-good
'the mountain is good'

The deleted vowel in (26) was chosen to match the vowel of the class marker for adjectives. This is why for class 5 *ri* rather than *ra*, *ru*, *re*, or *ro* was chosen. The same reasoning applies in the other classes where vowel deletion occurs.

(27) /**ma**-komo **a**-aka-nak-a/
mà-kòmò **Ø**-áká-nák-à
C6-mountain C6-RemP-good-FV
'the mountains are good'

(28) /chi-dziro **chi**-aka-nak-a/
chì-dzìrò **ch**-ákà-nák-à
C7-wall C7-RemP-good-FV
'the (shabby) wall is good'

(29) /zvi-dziro **zvi**-aka-nak-a/
zvì-dzìrò **zv**-ákà-nák-à
C8-wall C8-RemP-good-FV
'the (shabby) walls are good'

(30) /nzou **i**-aka-nak-a/
nzóù **y**-ákà-nák-à
C9elephant C9-RemP-good-FV
'the elephant is good'

(31) /nzou **dzi**-aka-nak-a/
nzóù **dz**-á-kà-nák-à
C10elephant C10-T-A-good-FV
'the elephants are good'

(32) /i-mba **i**-aka-nak-a/
ì-mbá **y**-ákà-nák-à
C9-house C9-RemP-big-FV
'the house is good'

(33) /dzi-mba **dzi**-aka-nak-a/
dzì-mbá **dz**-ákà-nák-à
C10-house C10-RemP-good-FV
the houses are good'

(34) /ru-oko **ru**-aka-kur-a/
rù-ókó **rw**-á-kà-nák-à
C11-hand C11-T-A-good-FV
'the hand is good'

(35) /ka-mbuyu **ka**-aka-nak-a/
kà-mbùyú **k**-ákà-nák-à
C12-insect C12-RemP-good-FV
'the (little) insect is good'

(36) /tu-mbuyu **tu**-aka-nak-a/
tù-mbùyù **tw**-ákà-nák-à
C13-insect C13-RemP-good-FV
'the (little) insects are good'

(37) /hu-shamwari **hu**-aka-nak-a/
hù-shámwárí **hw**-akà-nák-à
C14-friendship C14-T-A-good-FV
'friendship is good'

(38) /zi-gomo **ri**-aka-nak-a/
zì-gòmò **r**-áká-nák-à
C21-mountain C21-T-A-good-FV
'the (big) mountain is good

3. Adjective/Verb Agreement Classes 1 and 2: 1st 2nd and 3rd person

Classes 1 and 2 break down into 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. Comparing the stative verbs to the adjectives, it can be seen that the adjectives simply agree with the noun class while the stative verbs agree with the person. 3rd person singular and plural for the adjectives (43) and (49) do not need the be verb, but 1st and second person do. The tone distinction on (49) may or may not occur, since the tones were difficult to hear for these forms.

(39) **ndì**-rí **mú**-nákù
1s-be C1-good
'I am beautiful'

(40) [**ndi**-aka-naka]
nd-àká-nákà
1s-RemP-good
'I am good'

(41) **ù**-rí **mú**-nákù
2s-be C1-good
'you (sg) are beautiful'

(42) [**u**-aka-nak-a]
w-àká-nák-à
2s-RemP-good-FV
'you are good'

(43) **mù**-nákú
C1-good
'he/she is beautiful'

(44) [**a**-aka-nak-a]
Ø-ákà-nák-à
3s-RemP-good-FV
'he/she is good'

(45) **tì**-rí **vá**-nàkú
1p-be C2-good
'we are beautiful

(46) [**ti**-aka-nak-a]
t-àká-nák-à
1p-RemP-good-FV
'we are good'

(47) **mù**-rí **vá**-nàkú
2p-be C2-good
'you (pl) are beautiful

(48) [**mu**-aka-nak-a]
m-àká-nák-à
2p-RemP-good-FV
'you (pl) are good'

(49) **vá**-nàkú
C2-good
'they are beautiful'

(50) [**va**-aka-nak-a]
v-ákà-nák-à
3p-RemP-good-FV
'they are good'

4. Adjective Phrase Versus Copular Sentences (Tone difference)

If a Manyika speaker wants to contrast the sentence "the N is Adj" and the noun phrase "the N adj," the only difference is a high tone on the first syllable of the adjective.

(51) hù-kúrú
C14-big
'bigness'

(52) hù-rèfú
C14-tall
'tallness'

(53) mù-rìmì **mù**-kúrú
C1-farmer C1-big
'the big farmer'

(54) mù-rìmì **mú**-kùrù
C1-farmer C1-big
'the farmer is big'

(55) mù-rìmì **mù**-rèfú
C1-farmer C1-tall
'the tall farmer'

(56) mù-rìmì **mú**-réfù
C1-farmer C1-tall
the farmer is tall'

The two adjectives used here (noun forms shown in (51) and (52)) have different underlying tones, which is probably what causes the tonal contrast between the first syllable of *mukuru* in (57) the first syllable of *murefu* in (59), although it unclear why this same distinction does not occur between (61) and (63). It is possible that the tone was not correctly marked, but this same form was elicited multiple times and is written as it was heard.

(57) mù-tí **mù**-kùrù
C3-tree C3-big
'the big tree'

(58) mù-tí **mú**-kùrù
C3-tree C3-big
'the tree is big'

(59) mù-tí **mú-réfú**
C3-tree C3-tall
'the tall tree'

(60) mù-tí **mű**-réfù
C3-tree C3-tall
'the tree is tall'

When the first syllable of the adjective is already high as in (59), (61), and (63) the tone on the first syllable of the adjective becomes even higher in the copular structure. This is contrary to typical analyses of Manyika, which indicate that it has only two tones (high and low) because here it seems to have a three-way distinction. This is indicated by the double acute accent for the super high tones, which were encountered only in these constructions.

(61) kà-mbùyú **ká**-kùrù
C12-insect C12-big
'the big insect'

(62) kà-mbùyú **kű**-kùrù
C12-insect C12-big
'the insect is big'

(63) kà-mbùyú **ká**-rèfù
C12-insect C12-tall
'the tall insect'

(64) kà-mbùyú **ká**-rèfù
C12-insect C12-tall
'the insect is tall'

The rule for constructing a copular phrase is simply to add a high tone on the first syllable of the second word, as shown in. If there is already a high tone on the first vowel of the second word, the tone becomes super high.

5. Other expressions and tenses of the be verb

As seen in section 4, Manyika Shona does not require a be verb in present tense copular phrases with adjectives. The same is true of copular phrases with nouns as shown below

(65) Jòn mù-rìmì
Jon C1-farmer
'Jon is a farmer'

When switching to other tenses, though, a be verb is required. Manyika has two verbs used for these expressions. One has the root *va* and the other has the root *ri*. The differences between them are somewhat unclear. Below are examples of the past tense noun with an adjective in all the different noun classes. Some of these use the adjective and others have the stative verb. The be verb is necessary in both cases.

(66) **nd-à-í-và** mù-rèfú
1s-RecP-Phab-be C1-tall
'I was tall'

(67) **w-à-í-và** mù-rèfú
2s-RecP-Phab-be C1-tall
'you (sg) were tall'

(68) **t-à-í-và** và-rèfú
1p-RecP-Phab-be C1-tall
'we were tall'

(69) **m-à-í-và** và-rèfú
2p-RecP-Phab-be C1-tall
'you (pl) were tall'

(70) **w-à-í-và** mù-rèfú
C3-RecP-Phab-be C3-tall
'the (tree) was tall'

(71) **y-à-í-và** mì-rèfú
C4-RecP-Phab-be C4-tall
'the (trees) were tall'

(72) mì-tí **dz-à-í-và** rèfú
C4-tree C10-RecP-Phab-be tall
'the trees were tall'

(73) gòmò **r-à-í-và** rèfú
mountain C5-RecP-Phab-be tall
'the mountain was tall'

(74) **à-í-và** mà-rèfú
C6/RecP-Phab-be C6-tall
'the (mountains) were tall'

(75) nzóù **y-à-í-và** rèfú
elephant C9-RecP-Phab-be tall
'the elephant was tall'

(76) nzóù **dz-à-í-và** rèfú
elephant C10-RecP-Phab-be tall
'the elephants were tall'

(77) chì-só **ch-à-í-và** ch-àká-nàk-á
C7-face C7-RecP-Phab-be C7-RemP-good-FV
'the face was beautiful'

(78) zvì-só **zv-à-í-và** zv-àká-nàk-á
C8-face C8-RecP-Phab-be C8-RemP-good-FV
'the faces were beautiful'

(79) rù-ókó **rw-à-í-và** rw-àká-nàk-á
C11-hand C11-RecP-Phab-be C11-RemP-good-FV
'the hand was beautiful'

(80) kà-mbùyú **k-à-í-và** kà-témà
C12-insect C12-RecP-Phab-be C12-black
'the insect was black'

(81) tù-mbùyú **tw-à-í-và** tù-témà
C13-insect C13-RecP-Phab-be C13-black
'the insects were black'

(82) kù-vèrèngá **kw-à-í-và** kw-àká-rèb-á
C15-read C15-RecP-Phab-be C15-RemP-tall-FV
'the reading was long'

(83) pà-mbá **p-à-í-và** nè-vá-nà
C16-house C16-RecP-Phab-be with-C2-child
'there were children at the house'

(84) mù-mbá **m-à-í-và** nè-và-nà
C17-house C17-RecP-Phab-be with-C2-child
'there were children in the house'

(85) kù-mbá **kw-à-í-và** nè-và-nà
C18-house C18-RecP-Phab-be with-C2-child
'there were children at the house'

Two other past tenses are possible in which the verbs *va* and *ri* are used.

(86) mù-rìmí á-ngà **à-rí** mù-rèfú
C1-farmer C1-AUX C1-be C1-tall
'the farmer was tall'

(87) mù-rìmí **à-í-mbò-và** mù-rèfú
C1-farmer C1-Phab-Phab-be C1-tall
'the farmer used to be tall'

In the future tense, either the verb *va* or the verb *ri* can be used. Both of them also require the auxilary verb *–nge*. Usually the meaning is the same, but with the locatives there is a slight difference.

(88) ndì-né-ngè **ndì-rí** mù-rèfú/ndì-né-ngè **nd-à-vá** mù-rèfú
1s-FUT-AUX 1s-be C1-tall 1s-FUT-AUX 1s-RecP-be C1-tall
'I will be tall'

(89) ù-né-ngè **ù-rí** mù-rèfú/ù-né-ngè **w-á-và** mù-rèfú
2s-FUT-AUX 2s-be C1-tall 2s-FUT-AUX 2s-RecP-be C1-tall
'you (sg) will be tall'

(90) tì-né-ngè **tì-rí** và-rèfú/ tì-né-ngè **t-á-và** và-rèfú
1p-FUT-AUX 1p-be C2-tall 1p-FUT-AUX 1p-RecP-be C2-tall
'we will be tall'

(91) mù-né-ngè **m-á-và**/ **mù-rí** và-rèfú
2p-FUT-AUX 2p-RecP-be 2p-be C2-tall
'you (pl) will be tall'

(92) mù-rìmí à-né-ngè **à-rí** mù-rèfú/à-né-ngè **á-và** mù-rèfú
C1-farmer C1-FUT-AUX C1-be C1-tall C1-RecP-aux C1-be C1-tall
'the farmer will be tall'

(93) và-rìmì và-né-ngè **v-á-và**/ **vá-rì** và-rèfú
C2-farmer C2-FUT-AUX C2-RecP-be C2-be C2-tall
'the farmers will be tall'

(94) mù-tí ù-né-ngè **w-á-và**/ **ù-rí** mù-rèfú
C3-tree C3-FUT-AUX C3-RecP-be C3-be C3-tall
'the tree will be tall'

(95) mì-tí ì-né-ngè **y-á-và**/ **ì-rí** mì-rèfú
C4-tree C4-FUT-AUX C4-RecP-be C4-be C4-tall
'the trees will be tall'

(96) gòmò rì-né-ngè **r-á-và**/ **rì-rì** rèfú
mountain C5-FUT-AUX C5-RecP-be C5-be tall
'the mountain will be tall'

(97) mà-kòmò à-né-ngè **á-và**/ **á-rì** mà-rèfú
C6-mountain C6-FUT-AUX C6-be C6-be C6-tall
'the mountains will be tall'

(98) chì-só chì-né-ngè **ch-á-và**/ **chì-rí** chì-nàkú
C7-face C7-FUT-AUX C7-recP-be C7-be C7-good
'the face will be beautiful'

(99) zvì-só zvì-né-ngè **zv-á-và**/ **zvì-rí** zvì-nàkú
C8-face C8-FUT-AUX C8-RecP-be C8-be C8-good
'the faces will be beautiful'

(100) nzóù ì-né-ngè **y-á-và**/ **ì-rí** rèfú
elephant C9-FUT-AUX C9-RecP-be C9-be tall
'the elephant will be tall'

(101) nzóù dzì-né-ngè **dz-á-và**/ **dzì-rí** rèfú
elephants C10-FUT-AUX C10-RecP-be C10-be tall
'the elephants will be tall'

(102) rù-ókò rù-né-ngè **rw-á-và**/ **rù-rí** rù-réfù
C11-hand C11-FUT-AUX C11-RecP-be C11-be C11-tall
'the hand will be long'

(103) kà-mbùyú kà-né-ngè **k-á-và**/ **kà-rí** ká-dìkì
C12-insect C12-FUT-AUX C12-RecP-be/C12-be C12-small
'the (small) insect will be small'

(104) tù-mbùyú tù-né-ngè **tw-á-và**/ **tù-rí** tù-díkì
C13-insect C13-FUT-AUX C13-RecP-be/C13-be C13-small
'the (small) insects will be small'

(105) kù-vèrèngá kù-né-ngè **kw-á-và**/ **kù-rí** kù-rèfú
C15-read C15-FUT-UAX C15-RecP-be C15-be C15-tall
'the reading will be long'

(106) kù-mbá kù-né-ngè **kw-á-và**/ **kwí**-nè-và-nà
C17-house C17-FUT-AUX C17-RecP-be C17-with-C2-child
'there will be children at the house'

(107) kù-mbá kù-né-ngè **kù-rí** kù-nákìdzà
C17-house C17-FUT-AUX C17-be C15-exciting
'it will be exciting at the house'

(108) pà-mbá pà-né-ngè **pá-rì**/ **p-á-và** kù-nàkídzà
C16-house C16-FUT-AUX C16-be C16-RecP-be C15-exciting
'it will be exciting at the house'

In sentence (108) if the word *pari* is used it indicates that it is already exciting at the house and will continue to be exciting when I arrive. If the word *pava* is used, it indicates that it will be exciting once I arrive (i.e. I am making it exciting).

(109) mù-mbá mù-né-ngè **m-á-và**/ **mù-rí** kú-nákìdzá
C17-house C17-FUT-AUX C17-RecP-be C17-be C15-exciting
'in the house it will be exciting'

Finally, the be verb is used in Manyika Shona in what is equivalent to the present progressive forms in English. Below are all the classes with the present progressive. The Manyika uses the infinitive instead of a separate possessive form of the verb.

(110) mù-rìmì **á-rì** kù-táúr-à
C1-farmer C1-be C15-talk-FV
'the farmer is talking'

(111) **ndì-rí** kú-táúr-à
1s-be C15-talk-FV
'I am talking'

(112) và-rìmì **vá-rì** kú-táúr-à
C2-farmer C2-be C2-talk-FV
'the farmers are talking'

(113) mì-tí **í-rì** kú-tsv-à
C4-tree C4-be C15-burn-FV
'the tree is burning'

(114) mù-tí **ú-rì** kù-tsv-á
C3-tree C3-be C15-burn-FV
'the trees are burning'

(115) gòmò **rí-rí** kù-tsv-à
mountain C5-be C15-burn-FV
'the mountain is burning'

(116) mà-kòmò **á-rí** kù-tsv-à
C6-mountain C6-be C15-burn-FV
'the mountains are burning'

(117) chì-sò **chí-rí** kù-pèny-à
C7-face C7-be C15-shine-FV
'the face is shining'

(118) zvì-sò **zví-rí** kù-pèny-à
C8-face C8-be C15-shine-FV
'the faces are shining'

(119) nzóù **í-rí** kù-màny-à
elephant C9-be C15-run-FV
'the elephant is running'

(120) nzóù **dzí-rí** kù-màny-à
elephant C10-be C15-run-FV
'the elephants are running'

(121) rù-ókó **rú-rí** kú-vàv-à
C11-hand C11-be C15-itchy-FV
'the hand is itching'

(122) kà-mbùyú **ká-rí** kù-màny-à
C12-insect C12-be C12-run-FV
'the (little) insect is running'

(123) tù-mbùyú **tú-rí** kú-màny-à
C13-insect C13-be C15-run-FV
'the (small) insects are running'

(124) hù-shámwárí **hù-rí** kù-éndék-à
C14-friendship C14-be C15-flow-FV
'the friendship is flowing (i.e. going well)'

(125) kù-vèrèngà **kú-rí** kú-èndèk-à
C15-reading C15-be C15-flow-FV
'the reading is flowing (i.e. going well)'

(126) **pá-rì** kù-nàkídz-à
C16-be C15-exciting-FV
'this place is exciting'

(127) **kù-rí** kù-nákìdz-à
C17-be C15-exciting-FV
'here it's exciting'

(128) **mù-rí** kú-nàkídz-à
C18-be C15-exciting-FV
'inside it's exciting'

(129) zì-gòmò **rí-rí** kú-tsv-à
C21-mountain C21-be C15-burn-FV
'the (big) mountain is burining'

The past progressive does not require a be verb.

(130) mù-rìmì á-ì-táùr-à
C1-farmer C1-PHAB-talk-FV
'the farmer was talking'

(131) kà-mbùyú k-á-ì-màny-à
C12-insect C12-RecP-Phab-run-FV
'the insect was running'

(132) m-á-ì-nàkídz-á
C18-RecP-Phab-exciting-FV
'it was exciting inside'

6. Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Manyika have class markers like adjectives and verbs. The demonstrative class markers are on the right.

(133) /mu-rimi Vy-**u**/
mù-rìmì **úy-ù**
C1-farmer DEM(C1)
'this farmer'

(134) /mu-rimi Vy-**u**-o/
mù-rìmì **ú-y-ò**
C1-farmer C1-DEM
'that farmer'

(135) /va-rimi Vy-**va**/
và-rìmì **á-và**
C2-farmer DEM(C2)
'these farmers'

(136) /va-rimi Vy-**va**-o/
và-rìmì **á-v-ò**
C2-farmer C2-DEM
'those farmers'

The demonstrative *this/these* is formed by reduplicating the vowel of the class marker in the first syllable. There is not really a single morpheme that marks the demonstrative in these words. The demonstrative *that/those* is marked by the vowel o at the end of the word and also has the vowel of the

class marker reduplicated in the beginning of the word. The reduplicated vowel is marked as a separate morpheme, but not given a label since it has no unique grammatical or semantic meaning.

As seen in (133)-(136) there is a lot of phonology that affects the demonstratives. There are three simple rules that could account for all this phonology. The first is simply deletion of the first vowel, which was already seen in rule (19). The second is y deletion before a consonant. The final rule is vowel assimilation of the first vowel in the word. These rules are shown in (137)-(139)

(137) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / __ \mathrm{V}$ vowel deletion

(138) $y \rightarrow \emptyset / __ \mathrm{C}$ [8] y deletion before consonant

(139) $V \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} V \\ a\ hi \\ b\ lo \\ c\ bck \\ d\ rnd \\ e\ tense \end{pmatrix} / __ \mathrm{C} \begin{pmatrix} V \\ a\ hi \\ b\ lo \\ c\ bck \\ d\ rnd \\ e\ tense \end{pmatrix}$ vowel assimilation

As an example, contrast the derivation of (140) and (141). Assume the underlying representation of the *that* demonstrative is [Vy-CM] and the underlying representation of the *this* demonstrative is [Vy-CM-o]. Vowel assimilation must precede vowel deletion or the form in (141) does not come out right.

(140)	/mu-rimi Vy-**u**/	underlying
	mu-rimi uy-u	vowel assimilation
	n/a	vowel deletion
	n/a	y-deletion
	[murimi uyu]	surface form

(141)	/va-rimi Vy-**va**-o/	
	va-rimi ay-va-o	
	va-rimi ay-vo	
	va-rimi a-vo	
	[varimi avo]	

These rules accurately predict all of the following forms (with certain exceptions discussed below) given the underlying representation shown on the first line and the surface form shown on the second line.

Under this analysis, the class marker is actually in infix for the *that* demonstrative, as seen in (143).

(142) / Ø-chiremba Vy-**u**/
Ø-chìrèmbá **úy-ù**
C1a-doctor DEM(C1a)
'this doctor'

(143) /Ø-chiremba Vy-**u-**o/
Ø -chìrèmbá **úy-ò**
C1adoctor C1a- DEM
'that doctor'

[8] At times it seems like there are two consonants, but most of these are either some form of affricate/velarization (like *dz* or*rw*) or else two symbols used to represent one sound (like *ch*), which means it is fine to write this rule with just one consonant.

(144) /vana-chiremba Vy-va/
vàná-chìrèmbà **á-và**
C2a-doctor DEM(C2)
'these doctors'

(145) /vana-chiremba Vy-va-o/
vàná-chìrèmbá **á-v-ò**
C2a-doctor C2a- DEM
'those doctors'

(146) /mu-ti Vy-**u**/
mù-tí **úy-ù**
C3-tree DEM(C3)
'this tree'

(147) /mu-ti Vy-u-o/
mù-tí **úy-ò**
C3-tree C3- DEM
'that tree'

(148) /mi-ti Vy-i/
mì-tí **íy-ì**
C4-tree DEM(C4)
'these trees'

(149) /mi-ti Vy-i-o/
mì-tí **íy-ò**
C4-tree C4-DEM
'those trees'

(150) /Ø-gomo Vy-ri/
Ø -gòmò **í-rì**
mountain DEM(C5)
'this mountain'

(151) /Ø-gomo Vy-ri-o/
gòmò **í-r-ò**
C5mountain C5-DEM
'that mountain'

(152) /ma-komo Vy-a/
mà-kòmò **áy-à**
C6-moutain DEM(C6)
'these mountains'

(153) /ma-komo Vy-a-o/
mà-kòmò **á-v-ò**
C6-mountain C6-DEM
those mountains'

The form in (153) does not comply with the rules for some reason, since the expected form would be *ayo*. It turns out that *ayo* is also grammatical, though it is ungrammatical to say *ma-komo a-va.** So it seems that *avo* is just some interesting exception in Manyika.

(154) /chi-so Vy-**chi**/
chì-só **í-chì**
C7-face DEM(C7)
'this face'

(155) /chi-so Vy-**chi**-o/
chí-sò **í-chò**
C7-face C7- DEM
'that face'

(156) /zvi-so Vy-zvi/
zvì-só **í-zvì**
C8-face DEM(C8)
'these faces'

(157) /zvi-so Vy-zvi-o/
zví-sò **í-zv-ò**
C8-face C8- DEM
'those faces'

(158) /i-mba Vy-i/
ì-mbá **ìy-ì**
C9-house DEM(C9)
'this house'

(159) /i-mba Vy-**i**-o/
ì-mbá **íy-ò**
C9-house C9- DEM
'that house'

(160) /dzi-mba Vy-**dzi**/
(dz)ì-mbá **í-dzì**
C10-house DEM(C10)
'these houses'

(161) /dzi-imba Vy-**dzi**-o/
dzì-mbá **í-dz-ò**
C10-house C10- DEM
'those houses'

(162) /ru-oko Vy-ru/
rù-ókó **ú-rwù**
C11-hand DEM(C11)
'this hand'

(163) /ru-oko Vy-ru-o/
rù-ókó **ú-rw-ò**
C11-hand C11- DEM
'that hand'

The form in (162) also does not comply with the rules. It should surface as *uru*, but appears instead as *urwu*. Even more interestingly, this is not the actual *w* sound, but instead a velarization of the r, better expressed as $[r^{\gamma}]$. This means the glide rule is not straightforwardly applying as would be expected. This is the same as in (171), and no analysis could be found that simultaneously explained this form and the forms in (166)-(169). So the forms in (162), (163), (166), and (167) are simply exceptions to these rules.

(164) /ka-mbuyu Vy-**ka**/
kà-mbùyú **á-kà**
C12-insect DEM(C12)
'this (little) insect'

(165) /ka-mbuyu Vy-**ka**-o/
kà-mbùyú **á-k-ò**
C12-insect C12- DEM
'that (little) insect'

(166) /tu-mbuyu Vy-**tu**/
tù-mbùyú **ú-twù**
C13-insect DEM(C13)
'these (little) insects'

(167) /tu-mbuyu Vy-tu-o/
tù-mbùyú **ú-tw-ò**
C13-insect C13- DEM
'those (little) insects'

(168) /hu-penyu Vy-**hu**/
hù-pènyú **ú-hù**
C14-life DEM(D14)
'this life'

(169) /hu-penyu Vy-**hu**-o/
hù-pènyú **ú-h-ò**
C14-life C14- DEM
'that life'

(170) /ku-verenga Vy-**ku**/
kù-vèrèngà **ú-kù**
C15-reading DEM(C15)
'this reading'

(171) /ku-verenga Vy-**ku**-o/
kù-vèrèngà **ú-k-ò**
C15-reading C15- DEM
'that reading'

(172) h-uya **Vy-pa**/
h-ùyá **á-pà**
IMP-come DEM(C16)
'come here'

(173) /pa-mba **Vy-pa-o** pa-ne va-nu/
pà-mbá **á-p-ò** pà-nè vá-nù
C16-house C16- DEM C16-be C2-people
'there are people in that house'

(174) /mu-mba **Vy-mu** mu-ne va-nu/
mù-mbá **ú-mù** mù-nè vá-nù
C18-house DEM(C18) C18-be C2-people
'in this house there are people'

(175) mu-gomo **Vy-mu-o** mu-ne mhuka/
mù-gómò **ú-m-ò** mù-né mhùká
C18-mountain C18- DEM C18-be animal
'on that mountain there are animals'

7. Selectors

The term 'selector' comes from a Shona Grammar book (Fortune, 1991), which describes these forms in other dialects of Shona. Semantically, it was very difficult to tell the difference between a selector and a demonstrative. Syntactically, both can appear either before or after the noun. Morphologically the selectors have a distinct marker (*no* or *ye*). It is possible that the semantic difference has to do with proximity to the speaker to the object, and that the selector indicates something closer or in immediate view of the speaker, while the demonstrative may refer to an object not in sight. This was never satisfactorily confirmed, though.

(176) mù-rìmì **ú-nò**
C1-farmer C1-SEL
'this farmer'

(177) mù-rìmì **ú-yè**
C1-farmer C1-SEL
'that farmer'

(178) và-rìmì **vá-nò**
C2-farmer C2-SEL
'these farmers'

(179) và-rìmì **vá-yè**
C2-farmer C2-SEL
'those farmers'

Phonologically, the selectors are much easier to analyze than the demonstratives. Underlying, the selector is either *no* for 'this' or *ye* for 'that' and the class marker appears to the right. It is the same class marker as the ones used on stative verbs. The underlying representation is identical to the surface form.

(180) chìrèmbá **ú-nò**
C1adoctor C1a-SEL
'this doctor'

(181) chìrèmbá **ú-yè**
doctor C1a-SEL
'that doctors'

(182) vàná-chìrèmbá **vá-nò**
C2a-doctor C2a-SEL
'these doctors'

(183) vàná-chìrèmbá **vá-yè**
C2a-doctor C2a-SEL
'those doctors'

(184) mù-tí **ú-nò**
C3-tree C3-SEL
'this tree'

(185) mù-tí **ú-yè**
C3-tree C3-SEL
'that tree'

(186) mì-tí **í-nò**
C4-tree C4-SEL
'these trees'

(187) mì-tí **í-yè**
C4-tree C4-SEL
'those trees'

(188) gòmò **rí-nò**
C5mountain C5-SEL
'this mountain'

(189) gòmò **rí-yè**
mountain C5-SEL
'that mountain'

(190) mà-kòmò **á-nò**
C6-mountain C6-SEL
'these mountains'

(191) mà-kòmò **á-yè**
C6-mountain C6-SEL
'those mountains'

(192) chì-só **chí-nò**
C7-face C7-SEL
'this face'

(193) chì-só **chí-yè**
C7-face C7-SEL
'that face'

(194) zvì-só **zví-nò**
C8-face C8-SEL
'these faces'

(195) zvì-só **zví-yè**
C8-face C8-SEL
'those faces'

(196) nzóù **í-nò**
C9elephant C9-SEL
'this elephant'

(197) nzóù **í-yè**
elephant C9-SEL
'that elephant'

(198) nzóù **dzí-nò**
C10elephant C10-SEL
'these elephants'

(199) nzóù **dzì-yè**
elephant C10-SEL
'those elephants'

(200) rù-ókó **rú-nò**
C11-hand C11-SEL
'this hand'

(201) rù-ókó **rú-yè**
C11-hand C11-SEL
'that hand'

(202) kà-mbùyú **ká-nò**
C12-insect C12-SEL
'this insect'

(203) kà-mbùyú **ká-yè**
C12-insect C12-SEL
'that insect'

(204) tù-mbùyú **tú-nò**
C13-insect C13-SEL
'these insects'

(205) tù-mbùyú **tú-yè**
C13-insect C13-SEL
'those insects'

(206) hù-pènyú **hú-nò**
C14-life C14-SEL
'that life'

(207) hù-pènyú **hú-yè**/ù-pènyú **ú-yè**
C14-life C14-SEL
'that life'

(208) kù-vèrèngà **kú-nò**
C15-reading C15-SEL
'this reading'

(209) kù-vèrèngà **kú-yè**
C15-read C15-SEL
'that reading'

(210) h-ùyá **pá-nò**
IMP?-come C16-SEL
'come here'

(211) pà-mbá **pá-yè** pà-nè vá-nù
C16-house C16-SEL C16-be C2-people
'there are people in that house'

(212) kù-nzvìmbò **kú-nò** kú-nò-tònhòr-á
C17-place C17-SEL C17-PRES-cold-FV
'this place is cold'

(213) kù-nzvìmbò **kú-yè** kù-rè
C17-place C17-SEL C17-far
'that place is far'

(214) mù-mbá **mú-nò** m-ákà-nák-à
C18-house C18-SEL C18-RemP-good-FV
'in this house it is nice'

(215) mù-mbá **mú-yè** m-áìv-á nè-rúzhà
C18-house C18-SEL C18-be-FV with-noise
'in that house there was a lot (too much) noise in here'

(216) zì-gòmò **rí-nò**
C21-mountain C21-SEL
'this (big) mountain

(217) zì-gòmò **rí-yè**
C21-mountain C21-SEL
'that (big) mountain

8. Pronouns

The pronouns in Manyika Shona are similar in morphology, syntax, and semantics to the demonstratives. The personal pronouns do not follow any rules for their morphology, but have unique endings.

(218) **ì-ní** ná Jòn
PRN(1s) and NAME
'John and I'

(219) **ì-sú** tí-nò-támb-à
PRN(1P) 1P-PRES-play-FV
'we play'

(220) **ì-wé** ú-nó-nzì á-nì?
PRN(2s) 2s-PRES-name C1-WH
'what is your (s) name' (polite)

(221) **ì-mí** mú-rí kù-énd-à kù-pí
PRN(2p) 2p-be C15-go-FV C15-WH
'you (pl), where are you going?'

(222) **ì-yé** à-nò-támb-à
PRN(C1) C1-PRES-play-FV
'he/she plays'

(223) **ì-vó** vá-nò-tàmb-á
PRN(C2) C2-PRES-play-FV
'they play'

All other classes are formed with the class marker in between the initial vowel *i* and the final vowel *o*. These means that in certain classes, the pronoun and the demonstrative are identical (classes 4-5, 7-8, 10, and 21). The initial vowel is phonologically added to keep the word from being a single syllable, so the actual pronoun is just the CM and the o. They initial vowel is separated, but not marked as a morpheme.

(224) CM_o

Vowel deletion and gliding also occur in the pronouns.

(225) /**i-u-o** u-no-kur-a/
ì-w-ó ù-nò-kúr-à
C3- PRN C3-PRES-grow-FV
'it [the tree] grows'

(226) /**i-i-o** i-no-kur-a/
ì-yó ì-nò-kúr-à
C4- PRN C4-PRES-grow-FV
'they [the trees] grow'

(227) /**i-ri-o** gòmò rì-nò-tyís-à/
í-rò gòmò rì-nò-tyís-à
C5- PRN C5mountain C5-PRES-scary-FV
'the mountain is scary'

(228) /**i-a?-o** mà-kòmò à-nò-tyís-à/
í-wò mà-kòmò à-nò-tyís-à
C6- PRN C6-mountain C6-PRES-scary-FV
'the mountains are scary'

The form in (150) does not follow the phonological rules. It is possible the *a* class marker deletes and a *w* is inserted to keep the word from just being to vowels together. It is also possible that this word is just an exception.

(229) /**i-chi-o** chì-só chi-ákà-nák-à/
í-ch-ò chì-só ch-ákà-nák-à
C7- PRN C7-face C7-RemP-good-FV
'the face is beautiful/it is a beautiful face'

(230) /**i-zvi-o** zvi-so zvi-aka-nak-a/
í-zv-ò zvì-só zv-ákà-nák-à
C8- PRN C8-face C8-RemP-good-FV
'the faces are beautiful'

(231) **/i-i-o** n-zou i-no-tyis-a/
í-y-ò n-zóù ì-nò-tyís-à
C9- PRN C9-elephant C9-PRES-scary-FV
'the elephant is scary'

(232) **/i-dzi-o** n-zou dzi-no-tyis-a /
í-dz-ò n-zóù dzì-nò-tyís-à
C10-PRN C10-elephant C10-PRES-scary-FV
'the elephants are scary'

(233) **/i-ru-o** ru-oko ru-aka-reb-a/
í-rw-ò rù-ókó rw-àká-réb-à
C11- PRN C11-hand C11-RemP-tall-FV
'the hand is beautiful'

(234) **/i-ka-o** ka-mbuyu ka-tema/
í-k-ò ká-mbùyú kà-témà
C12- PRN C12-insect C12-black
'the little insect is black'

(235) **/i-tu-o** tu-mbuyu tu-tema/
í-tw-ò tù-mbùyú tù-témà
C13- PRN C13-insect C13-black

(236) **/i-hu-o** hu-penyu hu-aka-nak-a/
í-hw-ò hù-pènyú hw-ákà-nák-à
C14- PRN C14-life C14-RemP-good-FV
'life is good'

(237) **/i-ku-o** ku-vereng-a ku-no-nakidz-a/
í-k-ò kù-vèrèng-à kù-nó-nákídz-à
C15- PRN C15-life-FV C15-PRES-interesting-FV
the reading is interesting

(238) **/i-pa-o** pa-musha pa-aka-nak-a/
ì-p-ó pà-mùshá p-àká-nàk-á
C16- PRN C16-home C16-RemP-good-FV
'at the house it is nice'

(239) **/i-ku-o** ku-saratoga ku-re/
ì-k-ó kù-sàràtógà kú-rè
C17- PRN C17-NAME C17-far
'Saratoga is far'

(240) **/i-mu-o** mu-mba mu-aka-chen-a/
í-m-ò mù-m-bá m-ákà-chén-à
C18- PRN C19-C9-house C18-RemP-clean-FV
'inside the house it is clean

(241) **/i-ri-o** zi-gomo ri-no-tyis-a/
í-r-ò zí-gòmò rì-nò-tyís-à
C21- PRN C21-mountain C21-PRES-scary-FV
'the mountain is scary'

In all the sentences where the pronoun appears with the noun, the pronoun is optional and emphatic.

9. Combinations of two demonstratives, selectors, and pronouns

There are many possible combinations of demonstratives, selectors, and pronouns. First of all, any of these may be doubled. In the case of the demonstrative, they can be said up to three or four times for emphasis.

(242) úy-ù úy-ù (up to 3 or 4 times)
DEM(C1) DEM(C1)
'this one'

(243) úy-ò úy-ò (up to 3 or 4 times)
C1- DEM C1- DEM
'that one/there he is!'

(244) ú-nò ú-nò (only 2 times)
C1-SEL C1-SEL
'this guy (referring to myself)'

The selector *uya* or *uye* can be pronounced either way. *uya* is more Manyika and *uye* is more Zezuru, but the two can be combined as shown below.

(245) ú-yà ú-yà OR ú-yè ú-yà OR ú-yà ú-yè OR ú-yè ú-yè (only 2 times)
C1-SEL C1-SEL
'some person'

(246) í-yè í-yè (only 2 times)
C1-PRN C1-PRN
'he/she (emphatic)'

The same combinations are shown for class 13. It is assumed that all the other classes would be able to form the same combinations as class 2 and class 13

(247) ú-twù ú-twù (up to 3 or 4 times)
DEM(C13) DEM(C13)
'these ones (insects)'

(248) ú-tw-ò ú-tw-ò (up to 3 or 4 times)
C13-DEM C13- DEM
'those ones (insects)'

(249) ú-tw-òò
C13- DEM emph
'those ones (insects)' (pointing to the insects)

The form in (249) is another emphatic form.

(250) tù-nó tù-nó
C13-SEL C13-SEL
'these very insects'

(251) tù-yé tù-yá (or tù-yá tù-yá)
C13-SEL C13-SEL
'those insects'

(252) í-tw-ò í-tw-ò
C13- PRN C13- PRN
'they (insects)'

Second, the pronoun can be combined with any of the other demonstratives/selectors to make an emphatic form. Examples are shown for classes 1 and 13.

(253) í-yè ùy-ù
C1-PRN DEM(C1)
'this guy (emphatic)'

(254) í-yè ùy-ò
C1-PRN C1- DEM
'that guy' (pointing)

(255) í-yè ù-yè
C1-PRN C1-SEL
‘that person (emphatic)’

(256) í-yè ù-nò
C1-PRN C1-SEL
‘this person (meaning myself) (emphatic)’

(257) í-tw-ò ú-tw-ò
C13- PRN C13- DEM
‘those’ (emph)

(258) í-tw-ò ú-twù
C13- PRN DEM(C13)
‘these’ (emph)

(259) í-tw-ò tù-yá
C13-PRN C13-SEL
‘those’ (emph)

(260) í-tw-ò tù-nó
C13- PRN C13-SEL
‘these’ (emph)

Below are full sentences with examples of each of these combinations for class 13.

(261) **í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò** tù-kómáná tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-boys C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘those little/young boys are clever’

(262) **í-tw-ò ù-twù** tù-kómáná tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13- DEM C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘these little boys are clever’

(263) **í-tw-ò tù-yá** tù-kòmànà tù-nó-táùrìs-à
C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-boy C13-PRES-talk-FV
‘those little boys talk too much’

(264) **í-tw-ò tù-nò** tù-kómáná tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13- PRN C13-SEL C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘these little boys/we little boys are clever’

If the order of the demonstrative and pronoun are switched, then they no longer act as one unit.

(265) **ú-twù, í-tw-ò** tù-kòmànà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
DEM(C13) C13-PRN C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these, those little boys are clever'

(266) **tú-nó, í-tw-ò** tù-kòmànà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-PRN C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these, those little boys are clever'

(267) **tú-yá, í-tw-ò** tù-kòmànà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-PRN C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those, those little boys are clever'

The selector and demonstrative can be combined if they have the same meaning (i.e. those, those and these, these).

(268) tú-yè (or tú-yà) ú-tw-ò OR ú-tw-ò tú-yà
C13-SEL C13- DEM
'those' or 'those are them now'

(269) tú-nò ú-twù OR ú-twù tú-nò
C13-SEL DEM(C1)3
'these' (emph)

Combinations of these can either be on unit or be separate, depending on the tone. Notice the tone difference on *tuno* in (271) and (272).

(270) tù-mbùyú **tú-nò ù-twù** tw-ákà-nák-à
C13-insect C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-RemP-good-FV
'these insects (that I am holding), they are beautiful'

(271) tù-mbùyú **ú-twù tú-nò** tù-nò-rír-à
C13-insect DEM(C13) C13-DEM C13-PRES-noise-FV
'these insects, these make sound'

(272) tù-mbùyú **ú-twù tù-nó** tù-nò-rír-à
C13-insect DEM(C13) C13-DEM C13-PRES-sound-FV
'these insects make sound'

The two selectors may be combined, but they do not form a single semantic unit. The two demonstratives cannot be combined.

(273) tú-nò tú-yè OR tú-yè tù-nò
C13-SEL C13-SEL
'these those' or 'those these'

(274) tù-mbùyú **tú-nò,** **tú-yé** tw-áí-ít-à rú-zhà
C13-insect C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-be-make-FV C11-noise
'these insects who were making noise'

(275) tù-mbùyú **tú-yè,** **tù-nò** tw-àká-wànd-à
C13-insect C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-many-FV
'those insects, these same (insects) are many'

(276) *utwu utwo
ungrammatical

In combining the selector and demonstrative of different meanings, it is possible to put *tuya* and *utwu* together (though they do not form a single semantic unit) but not *tuno* and *utwo*.

(277) **tú-yà** **ù-twù** (OR **ù-twù tù-yá**) tù-kómànà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those boys who I can see here are clever'

(278) *tuno utwo OR *utwo tuno
ungrammatical

So of the possible 10 combinations, 8 of them are grammatical

Below is additional data showing various combinations in each of the classes. Another possible translation for when the demonstratives are put together is 'some object/person' roughly equivalent to the English expressions "so and so" or "such and such."

(279) í-w-ò úy-ù
C1- DEM DEM(C1)
he/she this
"some person" ("so and so")

(280) í-v-ò á-và
C2- DEM DEM(C2)
they this
"some people"

(281) vá-yè vá-yà
C2-SEL C2-SEL
that that
"some people"

(282) í-wò ú-yù
C3- DEM DEM(C3)
it that
“some object (class 3)” (“such and such”)

(283) í-y-ò í-yè
they that
C4- DEM C4-SEL
“some object (class 4)”

(284) í-w-ò á-yà
they this
C6-DEM DEM(C6)
“some object (class 6)”

(285) í-v-ò á-yà
they this
C6- DEM DEM(C6)
“some object (class 6)”

Again, the forms in (284) and (285) do not match with a typical analysis of *a* being the class 6 marker.

These forms are slightly unusual.

(286) í-ch-ò chí-yè
C7-DEM C7-SEL
it that
“some object (class 7)”

(287) í-zv-ò zví-yè
C8-DEM C8-SEL
“some object (class 8)”

(288) í-y-ò í-yè OR í-yà (more Manyika)
C9-DEM C9-SEL
“some object (class 9)”

(289) í-dz-ò í-dzì
C10-DEM DEM(C10)
that this
“some object (class 10)”

(290) í-dz-ò dzí-yè
C10-DEM C10-SEL
that that
“some object (class 10)”

(291) í-rw-ò ú-rw-ò
C11-PRN C11-DEM
“some object (class 11)”

(292) í-rw-ò rú-yà
C11-PRN C11-SEL
“some object (class 11)”

(293) í-k-ò á-kà
C12-DEM DEM(C12)
“some little thing (class 12)”

(294) í-tw-ò ú-tw-ò
C13-PRN C13-DEM
they that
“some little things (class 13)”

(295) í-tw-ò tú-yà
C13-DEM C13-SEL
they that
“some little things (class 13)”

(296) í-h-ò ú-hù
C14-DEM DEM(C14)
that this
“something (class 14)”

(297) í-h-ò hú-yà
C14- DEM C14-SEL
“something (class 14)”

(298) í-p-ò á-pà
C16- DEM DEM(C16)
“some place (class 16)”

(299) í-r-ò í-rì
C21-DEM DEM(C21)
“some big thing (class 21)”

(300) í-r-ò rí-yè
C21-DEM C21-SEL
“some big thing (class 21)”

10. Combinations of three demonstratives, selectors, and pronouns

It is possible to combine more than two determiners to make either a single grammatical unit or multiple grammatical units. Choosing combinations of three out of the five determiners and considering all the different word orders, there should be 60 possible combinations. Not all of these combinations were explored, but the ones shown below give enough data to discern a pattern.

(301) **í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò, tù-yá** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘those boys who are clever’

(302) **í-tw-ò tù-yá, ù-tw-ò**
C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-DEM
‘those ones, those over there’

(303) **í-tw-ò ù-twù tù-nó** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-á
C13-PRN DEM(C13) C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
'these (emph)/we (little boys) are clever'

(304) **í-tw-ò tù-nó ú-twù** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these (emph)/we (little boys) are clever'

(305) **ì-tw-ó tù-nò, tù-yà** tw-àkà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these here, those are clever'

The other forms explored starting with *itwo* are

(306) itwo, tuno utwu
itwo tuno, utwu
itwo tuno utwu
itwo utwu, tuno
itwo utwu tuno
*itwo, utwu tuno
itwo, utwu, tuno
itwo tuno, tuya
itwo, tuno, tuya

(307) **ú-twù, ù-twò tù-yá** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
DEM(C13) C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these boys, those who are clever'

(308) **ù-twù, í-twò tù-nó** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
DEM(C13), C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these boys here, they are clever

(309) **ù-twù tú-nó, í-tw-ò** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
DEM(C13) C13-SEL C13-PRN C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these boys here, they are clever'

The four possible combinations for these three determiners is shown below.

(310) utwu, itwo tuno
utwu, itwo, tuno
utwu tuno, itwo
utwu, tuno, itwo

starting with *utwo*

(311) **ù-tw-ò tù-yá í-tw-ò**
C13-DEM C13-SEL C13- PRN
'those, those, they are clever'

(312) **ù-tw-ò, í-tw-ò tù-yá**...
C13-DEM C13-PRN C13-SEL
'those over there, those same (boys)….'

starting with *tuya*

(313) **tú-yá, í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-RemP-talk-FV
'those, those boys are clever'

(314) **tù-yá ù-tw-ò í-twò...**
C13-SEL C13-DEM C13-PRN
'those, those same boys...'

(315) **tù-yá, tú-nò ù-twù** tw-àkà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those, these ones here, they are clever'

starting with *tuno*

(316) **tù-nó, í-tw-ò ù-twù** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-PRN DEM(C13) C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these here, these are clever'

(317) **tù-nó ù-twù, í-tw-ò** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-PRN C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these same ones, they are clever'

(318) **tù-nó tú-yà ù-twù** tw-àkà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-SEL C13-SEL DEM(C13) C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these, those (from before) are clever'

For the three determiners *tuno, itwo,* and, *utwu* starting with *tuno* the four possible combinations are

shown below

(319) tuno, itwo utwu
tuno, itwo, utwu
tuno utwu, itwo
tuno, utwu, itwo

Basically, the general pattern is that if the double combination was allowed (as shown in section 8), then the two can come together within the triple combination. So, for example *itwo utwu* is allowed, so in the triple combination *tuno*, *itwo utwu*, the *itwo* and *utwu* can come together. Second, any of the determiners can be next to each other if separated by the comma (or "pause" in normal speech). Finally, triple combinations with no commas are permitted if the first determiner is the pronoun and the second two are the selector and determiner of the same meaning.

11. Combinations of more than three demonstratives, selectors, and pronouns

Combinations of more than three determiners are allowed. Most simply this can happen when there is a combination of three determiners and one of them is doubled. Some examples are shown below.

(320) **í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò tù-yá tù-yá** tw-àkà-ngwàrír-à
C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those boys who are clever'

(321) **í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò, ù-tw-ò tù-yá** tw-àkàngwàrìr-á
C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-DEM, C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
those over there, those are clever

(322) **í-twò, í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò, tù-yá** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
they, those boys, those who are clever

(323) **í-tw-ò í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò ù-tw-ò tù-yá tù-yá** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
those boys, those very same boys, those are clever

(324) **ú-twù ú-twù, tù-yá tù-yá, tù-nò** tw-àkà-ngwàrír-à
DEM(C13) DEM(C13) C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these here, those here, who are clever'

(325) **í-tw-ò í-tw-ò ù-twù ù-twù tù-nó tù-nó** tw-àkà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-PRN DEM(C13) DEM(C13) C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those, these, these here are clever'

However, there other ways of making long combinations. For instances, all five determiners can appear in a single sentence.

(326) **í-tw-ò ù-twù tù-nò, tù-yá ú-tw-ò** tw-àká-tìz-á tw-àkà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN DEM(C13) C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-DEM C13-RemP-run-FV C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these boys you see here, those who ran away, are clever'

The longest combination ever elicited was made by taking sentence 236 and doubling every determiner.

(327) **í-tw-ò í-tw-ò ù-twù ù-twù tù-nó tù-nó tù-yá tù-yá ù-tw-ò ù-tw-ò** tw-àka-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN REDP DEM(C13) REDP C13-SEL REDP C13-SEL REDP C13-DEM REDP C13-RemP-FV
'those, these, these right here, those here, those over there are clever'

In a sentence like this, the determiners indicate that the object being discussed is moving. Something like this might be said when chasing animals ('there it is over there, there it is closer'… etc).

12. Other Forms Dem and Sel: emphatic forms and shortened forms

Other interesting forms of demonstratives were found. Reduplication of the same demonstrative without any phonological change indicated an emphatic form (as seen in previous sections). There were also some shortened forms of determiners that had equivalent meaning to the longer forms. These demonstrative expressions are shown below with their underlying representation and translation. All these forms are combinations of one or more of the forms discussed in other sections of the paper unless specifically noted otherwise. There is essentially just more extensive vowel deletion (vowel deletion between words).

(328) [gomo Vy-ri-o Vy-ri]
gòmò ì-ró-rì
mountain DEM(C5-C5)
"this mountain (emph)"

(329) [Vy-ri REDP gomo]
í-rì í-rì gòmò
DEM(C5)-REDP mountain
"this mountain…" (about to say something amazing about the mountain)

(330) [Vy-u REDP mu-ti]
ú-yù ú-yù mù-tí
DEM(C3)-REDP C3-tree
" this tree…"

(331) [mu-ti i-u-o]
mù-tí-wò
C3-tree-DEMC3
"that tree"

(332) [muti i-u-o REDP]
mù-tí í-wò-wò
C3-tree DEM-C3-C3
"that tree"

(333) [i-u-o Vy-u mu-ti]
í-wò-wù mù-tí
DEM-C3-C3 C3-tree
"this tree (emph)"

(334) [Vy-I REDP mi-ti]
í-yì í-yì mì-tí
DEM(C4) REDP C4-tree
“these trees (emph)”

(335) [Vy-i-o Vy-i mi-ti]
ì-yó-yì mì-tí
DEM-C4-C4 C4-tree
“these trees”

(336) í-yò-yù mì-tí
DEM--C4 C4-tree
“those trees”

(337) [mi-ti Vy-i-o-REDP]
mì-tí í-yò-yò
C4-tree DEM-C4-C4
“those trees”

The form in 179 does not fit a an previous analysis, and is an unexplained form

(338) [mu-komana C1-SEL-SEL]
mù-kómáná í-yè-yè
C1-boy C1-SEL-SEL
“that boy”

(339)
mù-kómáná-wò
C1-boy-DEMC1
“that boy”

(340) [mu-rimi i-ye-ye
mù-rìmì í-yè-yè
C1-farmer C1-SEL-SEL
“that farmer”

(341) mù-rìmì-wò
C1-farmer-DEMC1
“that farmer”

Previous forms do not explain (271) and (273). There is some interesting shortening going on, but there are no rules that directly explain this.

(342) [i-tu-o-REDP tu-mbuyu]
í-tw-ò-tw-ò tù-mbùyú
C13-PRN-REDP C13-insect
“those insects (emph)”

(343) i-tu-o Vy-tu tu-mbuyu]
í-tw-ò-twù tù-mbùyú
C13-PRN-C13 C13-insect
“these insects (emph)”

13. Syntax of determiners

In Manyka Shona, the determine phrase consists of any number of determiners and optionally a noun phrase. The determiner phrase may also have other determiner phrases within it. These rules are formalized below. The presence of a noun is optional.

(344) DetP → (DetP)*, Det^{+}, (NP)

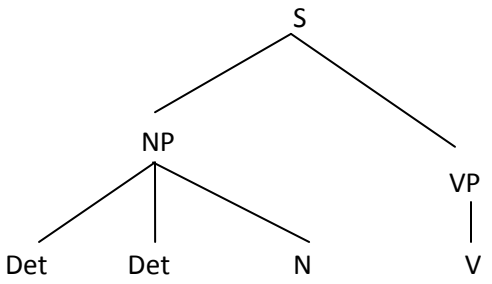
The pronoun, selectors, and demonstratives all act as determiners. A full sentence with a determiner can contains a determiner phrase with or without a noun phrase and a verb phrase. Verb phrases in these examples only have a verb.

(345) S →(DetP), (NP), VP

Noun Phrases consist of a determiner and a noun, in any order, (and even on both sides) although selectors preferentially follow the noun and pronouns and demonstratives preferentially precede it. Selectors can occur up to twice, demonstratives up to 3 or 4 times, and the pronoun alone just twice.

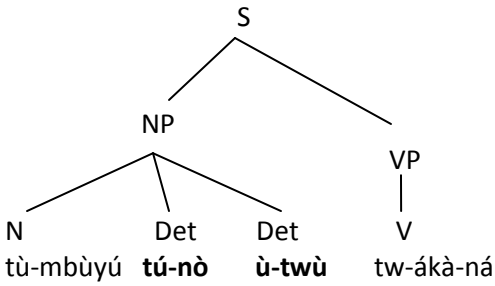
(346) NP → (det)* N (det)*

The sentence below shows a noun phrase with two determiners and then a verb phrase. No determiner phrase is necessary.

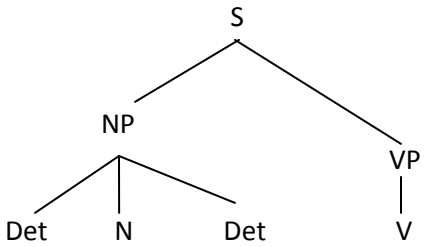


(347) í-twò tù-nò tù-kómáná tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
PRN-C13 C13-DEM C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
'these little boys/we little boys are clever'

It is possible for the determiner to come after the noun or even two determiners on either side of the noun.



(348) tù-mbùyú **tú-nò** **ù-twù** tw-ákà-nák-à
C13-insect C13-SEL DEM-C13 C13-RemP-good-FV
'these insects (that I am holding), they are beautiful'

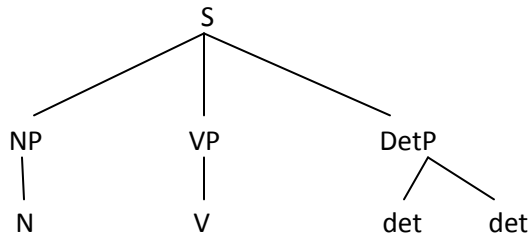


(349) **ú-twò** tù-kómànà **ú-twò** tw-àká-ngwàrìr-à
DEM-C13 C13-boy DEM-C13 C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those little boys are clever'

This can occur with two different determiners as well. The following sentence has the exact same syntax tree as (284)

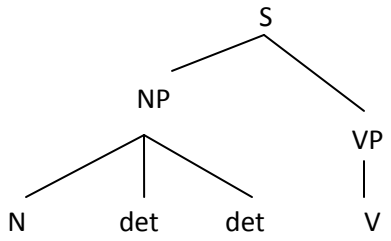
(350) **í-twò** tù-kómànà **ú-twò** tw-àká-ngwàrìr-à
PRN-C13 C13-boy DEM-C13 C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those little boys are clever'

Finally, the determiners can come after the verb phrase. Analysis of this sentences requires a determiner phrase.

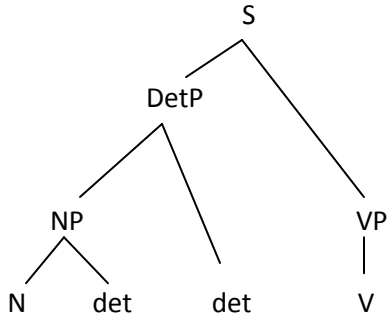


(351) tù-kómànà tw-àká-ngwàrìr-à **ú-twò** **ú-twò**
C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV DEM-C13 DEM-C13
'the little boys are clever, those ones'

These syntax parameters explain the differences between the two sentences shown below (note that the tone on *tuno* is different).

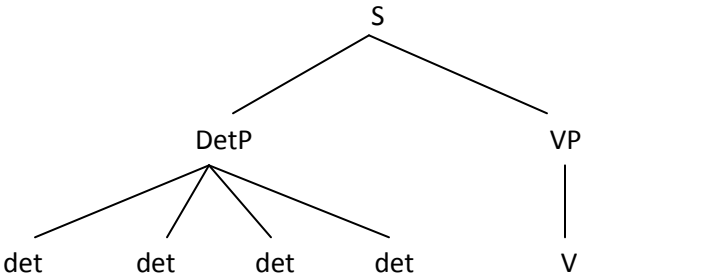


(352) tù-mbùyú **ú-twù** **tù-nó** tù-nò-rír-à
C13-insect DEM-C13 C13-DEM C13-PRES-sound-FV
'these insects make sound'

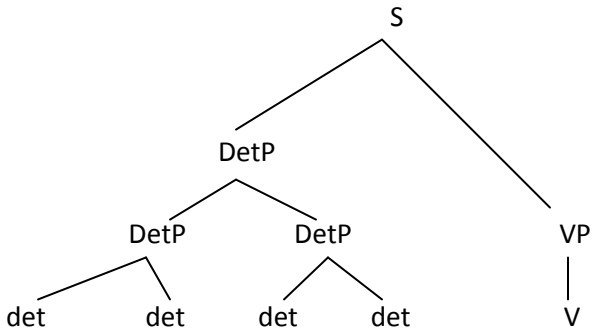


(353) tù-mbùyú **ú-twù,** **tú-nò** tù-nò-rír-à
C13-insect DEM-C13 C13-DEM C13-PRES-noise-FV
'these insects, these make sound'

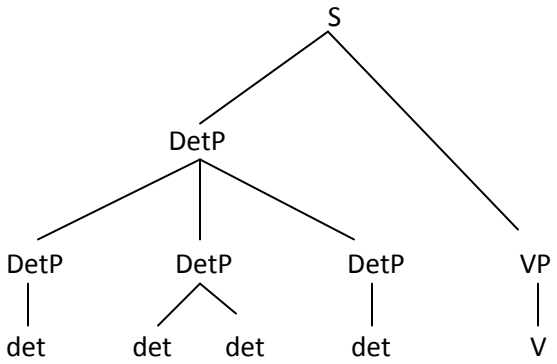
This same syntax comes into play with the sentences that have three or more demonstratives.



(354) **í-twò** **ù-twò** **tù-yá** **tù-yá** tw-àkà-ngwàrír-à
PRN-C13 DEM-C13 C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
'those boys are are clever'



(355) **í-twò ù-tw-ò, ù-tw-ò tù-yá** tw-àkàngwàrìr-á
PRN-C13 DEM-C13 DEM-C13, C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
those over there, those are clever



(356) **í-twò, í-tw-ò ù-tw-ò, tù-yá** tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
PRN-C13 PRN-C13 DEM-C13 C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
they, those (boys), those are clever

Conclusion

Manyika shows noun class agreement on adjectives, stative verbs, demonstratives, and selectors. Some interesting phonology occurs to change the forms from their underlying representation, but the class markers appear essentially the same on the adjectives, verbs, demonstratives, and selectors but vary slightly from the forms on the nouns themselves.

The equivalent of the be-verb in Manyika Shona is either *va* or *ri* depending on the tense. A lot expressions that use be-verbs in English do not require one in Manyika.

Pronouns, demonstratives, and selectors all function as determiners in Manyika Shona, and there are many different possible combinations.

Appendix A: Class markers

below is a chart of class markers in the various parts of speech that they occur.

Class	Noun Prefix	Adjective	Possess	Determiner	Subject	Object
1 (1s)		mu-			ndi-	ndi-
1 (2s)		mu-			u-	ku-
1 (3s)	mu-	mu-	u-	u-	a-	mu-
1a	ø-	mu-	u-	u-	a-	mu-
2 (1p)		va-			ti-	ti-
2 (2p)		va-			mu-	ku-, -i
2 (3p)	va-	va-	va-	va-	va-	va-
2a	vana-	va-	va-	va-	va-	va-
3	mu-	mu-	u-	u-	u-	u-
4	mi-	mi-	i-	i-	i-	i-
5	ø	ø/ri-	ri-	ri-	ri-	ri-
6	ma-	ma-	a- (or ø)	a-	a-	ma-
7	chi-	chi-	chi-	chi-	chi-	chi-
8	zvi-	zvi-	zvi-	zvi-	zvi-	zvi-
9	(n)-	ø/h- ?	i-	i-	i-	i-
10	(n)-	ø	dzi-	dzi-	dzi-	dzi-
11	ru-	ru-	ru-	ru-	ru-	ru-
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-
13	tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-
14	(h)u-	hu-	hu-	hu-	hu-	
15	ku-			ku-	ku-	
16	pa-		pa-	pa-		
17	ku-		ku-	ku-		
18	mu-		mu-	mu-		
21	zi-	zi-		ri-	ri-	

Appendix B: Determiners

below is a chart of all the selectors, demonstratives, and pronouns for every class.

Class	selector "this/these"	selector "that/those"	demonstrative "this/these"	demonstrative "that/those"	pronoun
1s					ì-ní
2s					ì-wé
1p					ì-sú
2p					ì-mí
class 1	ú-nò	ú-yè	ú-yù	ú-y-ò	ì-yé
class 2	vá-nò	vá- yè	á-và	á-v-ò	ì-v-ó
class 1a	ú-nò	ú- yè	ú-yù	ú-y-ò	ì-yé
class 2a	vá-nò	vá- yè	á-và	á-v-ò	ì-v-ó
class 3	ú-nò	ú- yè	ú-yù	ú-y-ò	ì-w-ó
class 4	í-nò	í- yè	í-yì	í-y-ò	ì-y-ó
class 5	rí-nò	rí- yè	í-rì	í-r-ò	í-r-ò
class 6	á-nò	á- yè	á-yà	á-v-ò	í-w-ò
class 7	chí-nò	chí- yè	í-chì	í-ch-ò	í-ch-ò
class 8	zví-nò	zví- yè	í-zvì	í-zv-ò	í-zv-ò
class 9	í-nò	í- yè	ì-yì	ú-y-ò	í-y-ò
class 10	dzí-nò	dzí- yè	í-dzì	í-dz-ò	í-dz-ò
class 11	rú-nò	rú- yè	ú-rwù	ú-rw-ò	í-rwò
class 12	ká-nò	ká- yè	á-kà	á-k-ò	í-k-ò
class 13	tú-nò	tú- yè	ú-twù	ú-tw-ò	í-tw-ò
class 14	hú-nò	hú- yè	ú-hù	ú-h-ò	í-hw-ò
class 15	kú-nò	kú- yè	ú-kù	ú-k-ò	í-k-ò
class 16	pá-nò	pá-yè	á-pà	á-p-ò	ì-p-ó
class 17	mú-nò	mú-yè	ú-mù	ú-m-ò	ì-k-ó
class 18	kú-nò	kú-yè	ú-kù	ú-k-ò	í-m-ò
class 21	rí-nò	rí- yè	í-rì	í-r-ò	í-r-ò

Abbreviations

C = Class
RemP = remote past
FV = final vowel
1s = first person singular
2s = second person singular
3s = third person singular
1p = first person plural
2p = second person plural
3p = third person plural
DEM = demonstrative

SEL = selector
è = low tone on e (same for other vowels)
é = high tone on e (same for other vowels)
V = vowel
Ø = null
C = consonant

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ethnologue.com
Fortune, G. (1991). *Shona grammatical constructions*. (Vol. 1). Harrare, Zimbabwe: Mercury Press.