Adjectives, Be Verbs, and Determiners in Manyika Shona

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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

Grace Teubl
Research Advisor: Lee Bickmore, PhD

May 2014
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.
I would also like to thank Professor Bickmore for his instruction and guidance on this paper and my parents and siblings for their encouragement during my time studying in college.
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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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>alveopalatal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>stop</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>bh = [b̪]</td>
<td>dh = [d̪]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g = [ḡ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imploded</td>
<td>b = [b̠]</td>
<td>d = [d̠]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g = [ḡ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>affricate</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>pf = [p̱]</td>
<td>ts = [c]</td>
<td>tsv = [č]</td>
<td>ch = [č]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fricative</strong></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sv = [ʃ]</td>
<td>sh = [ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>vh = [ṽ]</td>
<td>z =</td>
<td>zv = [z̃]</td>
<td>zh =</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nasal</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny = [ŋ]</td>
<td>n’(ng) = [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>mh = [m̃]</td>
<td>nh = [ñ]</td>
<td>ny = [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rhotic</strong></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>r = [ɾ̃]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>r ? = [ɾ̃]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>glide</strong></td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- `<tw> = [t̠v]`
- `<rw> = [r̠v]`
- `<dy> = [d̠v]`
- `<ty> = [t̠v]`

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun class</th>
<th>noun class marker</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mú-rimí</td>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-chirèmbá</td>
<td>‘doctor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>vä-rimi</td>
<td>‘farmers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>vana-</td>
<td>vàná-chirèmbá</td>
<td>‘doctors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mü-tí</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-tí</td>
<td>‘trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-gòmò</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mà-kòmò</td>
<td>‘mountains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>chi-só</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>zvi-</td>
<td>zvi-só</td>
<td>‘faces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>(n)-/i-</td>
<td>nzóù</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i-mbá&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>(n)-/dzi-</td>
<td>nzóù</td>
<td>‘elephants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dzi-mbá</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>2</sup> 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 /nakù/.

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

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

(3) Ø-chirèmbà mù-nákú
   C1a-doctor C1a-good
   ‘beautiful doctor’

(4) vànà-chirèmbà và-nákú
   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-tì mù-nákú
   C3-tree C3-good
   ‘beautiful tree’

These adjectives come from the noun hù-nákú “goodness/beauty” which is not generally applied to non-human nouns.
(6) **mi-ti mi-nàkù**  
C4-tree C4-good  
‘beautiful trees’

(7) **Ø-gòmò ri-nàkù**  
OR **Ø-gòmò Ø-nàkù**  
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-nàkù**  
C6-mountain C6-good  
‘beautiful mountains’

(9) **chì-dzìrò chì-nàkù**  
C7-wall C7-good  
‘beautiful (shabby) wall’

(10) **zvi-dzìrò zvi-nàkù**  
C8-wall C8-big  
‘beautiful (shabby) walls’

(11) **Ø-nzóù Ø-nàkù**  
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-nàkù**  
C11-hand C11-good  
‘beautiful hand’

(14) **kà-mbüyú ká-nàkù**  
C12-insect C12-good  
‘beautiful (little) insect’

---

4 class 7/8 can be used to indicate something is ugly/broken. Normally **dzìrò** is a 5/6 class noun
(15) **tú-mbuyú tú-nákú**
   C13-insect C13-good
   ‘beautiful (little) insects’

(16) **hù-shámwâri hú-nákú**
   C14-friendship C14-good
   ‘beautiful friendship’

(17) **zi-gòmò zi-nákú**
   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-rimi Ø-àká-nák-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-nákâ* the stative verb ‘to be good/look good/taste good’ unlike its counterpart *hù-nákû* 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) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / \_V$ 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/
    vâ-rimi v-âkâ-nâk-â
    C2-farmer C2-RemP-good-FV
    ‘the farmers are good’

(21) /Ø-chiremba a-aka-nak-a/
    Ø-chirèmbá Ø-âkâ-nâk-â
    C1a-doctor C1a-RemP-good-FV
    ‘the doctor is good’

(22) /vana-chiremba va-aka-nak-a/
    vâna-chirèmba v-âkâ-nâk-â
    C2a-doctor C2a-RemP-good-FV
    ‘the doctors are good’

(23) /mu-ti u-aka-nak-a/
    mù-ti w-âkâ-nâk-â
    C3-tree C3-RemP-good-FV
    ‘the tree is good’

(24) /mi-ti i-aka-nak-a/
    mi-ti y-âkâ-nâk-â
    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) $V \rightarrow [\neg-syll]/\_V$ u and i gliding before vowel

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

(26) /Ø-gomo  ri-aka-naka/
     Ø-gòmò    r-ákà-nákà
C5-mountain C5-RemP-good
‘the mountain is good’

(27) /ma-komo  a-aka-nak-a/
     mà-kómò Ø-ákà-nák-à
C6-mountain C6-RemP-good-FV
‘the mountains are good’

(28) /chi-dziro  chi-aka-nak-a/
     chìdzìrò ch-ákà-nák-à
C7-wall C7-RemP-good-FV
‘the (shabby) wall is good’

(29) /zvi-dziro  zvi-aka-nak-a/
     zvìdzìrò zv-ákà-nák-à
C8-wall C8-RemP-good-FV
‘the (shabby) walls are good’

(30) /nzou  i-aka-nak-a/
     nzőù  y-ákà-nák-à
C9-elephant C9-RemP-good-FV
‘the elephant is good’

(31) /nzou  dzi-aka-nak-a/
     nzóù  dz-ákà-nák-à
C10-elephant C10-T-A-good-FV
‘the elephants are good’

(32) /i-mba  i-aka-nak-a/
     ìmbá  y-ákà-nák-à
C9-house C9-RemP-big-FV
‘the house 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.
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’
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.

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.
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 mû-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    mú-rèfú
       1s-RecP-Phab-be C1-tall
       ‘I was tall’

(67)   w-à-í-và    mú-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    mú-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)   gómò     r-à-í-và    rèfú
       mountain C5-RecP-Phab-be tall
       ‘the mountain was tall’
In the future tense, either the verb *va* or the verb *ri* can be used. Both of them also require the auxiliary verb *nge*. Usually the meaning is the same, but with the locatives there is a slight difference.

(86) **mù-rí mí á-ngà á-rí më-rëfù**
    C1-farmer C1-AUX C1-be C1-tall
    ‘the farmer was black’

(87) **mù-rí mi à-í-mbô-và më-rëfù**
    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 auxiliary verb *nge*. Usually the meaning is the same, but with the locatives there is a slight difference.

(88) **ndi-nê-ngè ndi-ri më-rëfù/ndi-nê-ngè nd-à-và më-rëfù**
    1s-FUT-AUX 1s-be C1-tall    1s-FUT-AUX 1s-RecP-be C1-tall
    ‘I will be tall’
(89) ü-né-ngè  ù-ri mú-rèfú/ü-né-ngè w-à-và mú-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-ri và-rèfú/ tì-né-ngè t-à-và và-rèfú
1p-FUT-AUX 1p-be C2-tall  1p-FUT-AUX 1p-RecP-be C2-tall
‘we will be tall’

(91) mú-né-ngè m-à-và/ mú-ri và-rèfú
2p-FUT-AUX 2p-RecP-be 2p-be C2-tall
‘you (pl) will be tall’

(92) mú-rìmí à-né-ngè à-ri mú-rèfú/à-né-ngè á-và mú-rèfú
C1-farmer C1-FUT-AUX C1-be C1-tall  C1-RecP-aux C1-be C1-tall
‘the farmer will be tall’

(93) và-rìmí và-né-ngè v-à-và/ vá-ri và-rèfú
C2-farmer C2-FUT-AUX C2-RecP-be C2-be C2-tall
‘the farmers will be tall’

(94) mú-tí ü-né-ngè w-à-và/ ü-ri mú-rèfú
C3-tree C3-FUT-AUX C3-RecP-be C3-be C3-tall
‘the tree will be tall’

(95) mi-tí i-né-ngè y-à-và/ i-ri mi-rèfú
C4-tree C4-FUT-AUX C4-RecP-be C4-be C4-tall
‘the trees will be tall’

(96) gòmò ri-né-ngè r-à-và/ rì-ri rèfú
mountain C5-FUT-AUX C5-RecP-be C5-be tall
‘the mountain will be tall’

(97) mà-kòmò à-né-ngè à-và/ à-ri mà-rèfú
C6-mountain C6-FUT-AUX C6-be C6-tall
‘the mountains will be tall’

(98) chi-sò chi-né-ngè ch-à-và/ chi-ri chi-nàkú
C7-face C7-FUT-AUX C7-recP-be C7-be C7-good
‘the face will be beautiful’

(99) zv-sò zvi-né-ngè zv-à-và/ zvi-ri zvi-nàkú
C8-face C8-FUT-AUX C8-RecP-be C8-be C8-good
‘the faces will be beautiful’
(100) nzóú i-né-ngè y-á-và/ i-rí rěfú
elephant C9-FUT-AUX C9-RecP-be C9-be tall
‘the elephant will be tall’

(101) nzóú dzi-né-ngè dz-á-và/ dzi-rí rěfú
elephants C10-FUT-AUX C10-RecP-be C10-be tall
‘the elephants will be tall’

(102) rū-ókò rū-né-ngè rw-á-và/ rū-rí rū-rěfū
C11-hand C11-FUT-AUX C11-RecP-be C11-be C11-tall
‘the hand will be long’

(103) kà-mbûyú kà-né-ngè k-á-và/ kà-rí kà-diki
C12-insect C12-FUT-AUX C12-RecP-be/C12-be C12-small
‘the (small) insect will be small’

(104) tù-mbûyú tù-né-ngè tw-á-và/ tù-rí tù-diki
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-rěfū
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/ kwî-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-nàkidžà
C17-house C17-FUT-AUX C17-be C17-exciting
‘it will be exciting at the house’

(108) pà-mbá pà-né-ngè pá-rí/ p-á-và kù-nàkidžà
C16-house C16-FUT-AUX C16-be C16-RecP-be C16-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) mü-mbá mü-né-ngè m-á-và/ mü-rí kù-nàkidžà
C17-house C17-FUT-AUX C17-RecP-be C17-be C17-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) mû-rîmí á-rî kû-tâûr-à
    C1-farmer C1-be C15-talk-FV
    ‘the farmer is talking’

(111) ndî-rî kû-tâûr-à
    1s-be C15-talk-FV
    ‘I am talking’

(112) vâ-rîmí vá-rî kû-tâûr-à
    C2-farmer C2-be C2-talk-FV
    ‘the farmers are talking’

(113) mî-tî i-rî kû-tsv-à
    C4-tree C4-be C15-burn-FV
    ‘the tree is burning’

(114) mû-tî ú-rî kû-tsv-à
    C3-tree C3-be C15-burn-FV
    ‘the trees are burning’

(115) gômô rî-rî kû-tsv-à
    mountain C5-be C15-burn-FV
    ‘the mountain is burning’

(116) mà-kômô á-rî kû-tsv-à
    C6-mountain C6-be C15-burn-FV
    ‘the mountains are burning’

(117) chî-sô chî-rî kû-pêny-à
    C7-face C7-be C15-shine-FV
    ‘the face is shining’

(118) zvî-sô zví-rî kû-pêny-à
    C8-face C8-be C15-shine-FV
    ‘the faces are shining’

(119) nzôû i-rî kû-mâny-à
    elephant C9-be C15-run-FV
    ‘the elephant is running’

(120) nzôû dzî-rî kû-mâny-à
    elephant C10-be C15-run-FV
    ‘the elephants are running’

(121) rû-ókô rû-rî kû-vâv-à
    C11-hand C11-be C15-itchy-FV
    ‘the hand is itching’

(122) kà-mbûyû kà-rî kû-mâny-à
    C12-insect C12-be C12-run-FV
    ‘the (little) insect is running’

(123) tû-mbûyû tû-rî kû-mâny-à
    C13-insect C13-be C15-run-FV
    ‘the (small) insects are running’

(124) hû-shâmwaři hû-rî kû-êndêk-à
    C14-friendship C14-be C15-flow-FV
    ‘the friendship is flowing (i.e. going well)’

(125) kû-vêrêngâ kû-rî kû-êndêk-à
    C15-reading C15-be C15-flow-FV
    ‘the reading is flowing (i.e. going well)’

(126) pâ-rî kû-nâkidz-à
    C16-be C15-exciting-FV
    ‘this place is exciting’

(127) kû-rî kû-nâkidz-à
    C17-be C15-exciting-FV
    ‘here it’s exciting’
The past progressive does not require a be verb.

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) \( V \rightarrow \emptyset / _{-} V \)  \hspace{1cm} \text{vowel deletion}
(138) \( y \rightarrow \emptyset / _{-} C \) \hspace{1cm} \text{y deletion before consonant}
(139) \( V \rightarrow \left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{a hi} \\
\text{b lo} \\
\text{c bck} \\
\text{d rnd} \\
e \text{tense}
\end{array} \right) / _{-} C \left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{a hi} \\
\text{b lo} \\
\text{c bck} \\
\text{d rnd} \\
e \text{tense}
\end{array} \right) \) \hspace{1cm} \text{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.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(140)} & /\text{mu-rimi} & \text{Vy-u/} & \text{underlying} \\
& \text{mu-rimi} & \text{uy-u} & \text{vowel assimilation} \\
& \text{n/a} & \text{vowel deletion} \\
& \text{n/a} & \text{y-deletion} \\
& \text{[murimi uyu]} & \text{surface form} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(141)} & /\text{va-rimi} & \text{Vy-va-o/} & \text{underlying} \\
& \text{va-rimi} & \text{ay-va-o} \\
& \text{va-rimi} & \text{ay-vo} \\
& \text{va-rimi} & \text{a-vo} \\
& \text{[varimi avo]} & \text{surface form} \\
\end{array}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(142)} & /\emptyset-\text{chiremba Vy-u/} & \text{underlying} \\
& \emptyset-\text{chirembâ} & \text{úy-ù} \\
& \text{C1a-doctor} & \text{DEM(C1a) \\
& \text{‘this doctor’} & \text{\text{\text{’}}} \text{\text{\text{}}} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(143)} & /\emptyset-\text{chiremba Vy-u-o/} & \text{underlying} \\
& \emptyset-\text{chirembâ} & \text{úy-ô} \\
& \text{C1adocor} & \text{C1a- DEM} \\
& \text{‘that doctor’} & \text{\text{\text{}}}
\end{array}
\]

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

21
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.
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 \[ r^γ \]. 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.

(160) /dzi-mba Vy-dzi/ (dzi)-mbá í-dzi C10-house DEM(C10) ‘these houses’

(161) /dzi-imba Vy-dzi-o/ dzi-mbá í-dz-ò C10-house C10- DEM ‘those houses’

(162) /ru-oko Vy-ru/ rù-ókó ú-rwú C11-hand DEM(C11) ‘this hand’

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

(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 và-nù C16-house C16- DEM C16-be C2-people ‘there are people in that house’
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.

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.

(174) /mu-amba Vy-mu mu-ne va-nu/ mû-mbá ú-má mù-nè vã-nû
C18-house DEM(C18) C18-be C2-be people
‘in this house there are people’

(175) mu-gomo Vy-mu-o mu-ne mhuka/
mù-gómô ú-m-ô mû-né mhùká
C18-mountain C18-DEM C18-be animal
‘on that mountain there are animals’

(176) mû-ri-mí ú-nô
C1-farmer C1-SEL
‘this farmer’

(177) mû-ri-mí ú-yè
C1-farmer C1-SEL
‘that farmer’

(178) vâ-ri-mí vâ-nô
C2-farmer C2-SEL
‘these farmers’

(179) vâ-ri-mí vâ-yè
C2-farmer C2-SEL
‘those farmers’

(180) chirębâ mû-nô
C1a-doctor C1a-SEL
‘this doctor’

(181) chirębâ mû-yè
C1a-doctor C1a-SEL
‘that doctor’

(182) vânâ-chirębâ mû-nô
C2a-doctor C2a-SEL
‘these doctors’

(183) vânâ-chirębâ mû-yè
C2a-doctor C2a-SEL
‘those doctors’
mù-tì ú-nò  
C3-tree C3-SEL  
‘this tree’

(185) mù-tì ú-yè  
C3-tree C3-SEL  
‘that tree’

mì-tì í-nò  
C4-tree C4-SEL  
‘these trees’

(187) mì-tì í-yè  
C4-tree C4-SEL  
‘those trees’

gòmò rí-nò  
C5-mountain C5-SEL  
‘this mountain’

(189) gòmò rí-yè  
mountain C5-SEL  
‘that mountain’

mà-kòmò á-nò  
C6-mountain C6-SEL  
‘these mountains’

(191) mà-kòmò á-yè  
C6-mountain C6-SEL  
‘those mountains’

chì-só chí-nò  
C7-face C7-SEL  
‘this face’

(193) chì-só chí-yè  
C7-face C7-SEL  
‘that face’

zvì-só zví-nò  
C8-face C8-SEL  
‘these faces’

(195) zvì-só zví-yè  
C8-face C8-SEL  
‘those faces’

nzóù í-nò  
C9-elephant C9-SEL  
‘this elephant’

(197) nzóù í-yè  
elephant C9-SEL  
‘that elephant’

nzóù dzí-nò  
C10-elephant C10-SEL  
‘these elephants’

(199) nzóù dzi-yè  
elephant C10-SEL  
‘those elephants’

rù-ókó rú-nò  
C11-hand C11-SEL  
‘this hand’

(201) rù-ókó rú-yè  
C11-hand C11-SEL  
‘that hand’

kà-mbúyú ká-nò  
C12-insect C12-SEL  
‘this insect’

(203) kà-mbúyú ká-yè  
C12-insect C12-SEL  
‘that insect’
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.
(220) ì-wé ù-nó-nzi á-ni?  
PRN(2s) 2s-PRES-name C1-WH  
‘what is your (s) name’ (polite)

(221) ì-mí mú-ri 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-tàmb-à  
PRN(C1) C1-PRES-play-FV  
‘he/she plays’

(223) ì-vó vá-nò-tàmb-à  
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-ø u-no-kur-a/  
i-wó ù-nò-kúr-à  
C3- PRN C3-PRES-grow-FV  
‘it [the tree] grows’

(226) /i-i-o i-no-kur-a/  
i-ýó i-nò-kúr-à  
C4- PRN C4-PRES-grow-FV  
‘they [the trees] grow’

(227) /i-ri-o gömò ri-nò-tỳis-à/  
i-rò gömò ri-nò-tỳis-à  
C5- PRN C5-mountain C5-PRES-scary-FV  
‘the mountain is scary’

(228) /i-a?-o mà-kòmò à-nò-tỳis-à/  
i-wò mà-kòmò à-nò-tỳis-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 o 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-chì-o chi-só chi-àkà-nàk-à/  
i-chì-o chi-só ch-àkà-nak-à  
C7- PRN C7-face C7-RemP-good-FV  
‘the face is beautiful/it is a beautiful face’

(230) /i-zi-ø zvi-so zvi-aka-nak-a/  
i-zì-ø zvi-só zv-ákà-nàk-à  
C8- PRN C8-face C8-RemP-good-FV  
‘the faces are beautiful’
(231) /i-i-o n-zou i-no-tyis-a /
i-y-ò n-zóú i-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 /
ì-dz-ò n-zóú dzi-nò-tyís-à
C10-PRN C10-elephant C10-PRES-scary-FV
‘the elephants are scary’

(233) /i-ru-o ru-okö ru-aka-reb-à /
i-rw-ò ru-òkó rw-àká-réb-à
C11-PRN C11-hand C11-RemP-tall-FV
‘the hand is beautiful’

(234) /i-ka-o ka-mbuyu ka-tema/
i-k-ò ká-mbúyú kà-témà
C12-PRN C12-insect C12-black
‘the little insect is black’

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

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

(238) /i-pa-o pa-musha pa-aka-nak-a /
i-p-ò pà-mùshá p-àká-nàk-à
C16-PRN C16-home C16-RemP-good-FV
‘at the house it is nice’

(239) /i-ku-o ku-saratoga ku-re/
i-k-ò kù-sàràtógà kù-rè
C17-PRN C17-NAME C17-far
‘Saratoga is far’

(240) /i-mu-o mu-mba mu-aka-chen-a /
i-m-ò mù-m-bá m-àkà-chén-à
C18-PRN C19-C9-house C18-RemP-clean-FV
‘inside the house it is clean’
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-ỳà ú-ỳà OR ú-ỳè ú-ỳà OR ú-ỳà ú-ỳè OR ú-ỳè ú-ỳè (only 2 times)  
C1-SEL C1-SEL  
‘some person’

(246) i-ỳè i-ỳè (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 ù-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) ī-tw-ò ī-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) ī-yè ùy-ù
C1-PRN DEM(C1)
‘this guy (emphatic)’

(254) ī-yè ùy-ò
C1-PRN C1-DEM
‘that guy’ (pointing)
Below are full sentences with examples of each of these combinations for class 13.

(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 ù-tw-ò
C13-PRN C13-DEM
‘those’ (emph)

(258) í-tw-ò ù-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)

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

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

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

(262) í-tw-ò ù-twù tù-kómánà 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-kómànà tù-nó-tàùris-à
C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-boy C13-PRES-talk-FV
‘those little boys talk too much’

(264) í-tw-ò tù-nó tù-kómànà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘these little boys/we little boys are clever’
The selector and demonstrative can be combined if they have the same meaning (i.e. those, those and these, these).

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).

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  tú-nò
C13-SEL C13-SEL
‘these those’ or ‘those these’

(274) tú-mbùyú  tú-nò,  tú-yè  tw-áí-it-à  rú-zhà
C13-insect C13-SEL C13-SEL C13-be-make-FV C11-noise
‘these insects who were making noise’

(275) tú-mbùyú  tú-yè,  tú-nò  tw-áká-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 tua 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  tú-yá)  tú-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-ó  úy-ù
C1- DEM  DEM(C1)
he/she  this
“some person” (“so and so”)

(280) í-v-ó  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-dzi
    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)”
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  ú-tw-ò,  tú-yà tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
‘those boys who are clever’

(302) í-tw-ò  tú-yà,  ú-tw-ò
C13-PRN C13-SEL  C13-DEM
‘those ones, those over there’
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, tua
    itwo, tuno, tua

(307) ú-twù, ú-twò tú-yá tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    DEM(C13) C13-DEM C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
    ‘these boys, those who are clever’

(308) ú-twù, í-twò tú-nó tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    DEM(C13), C13-PRN C13-SEL C13-RemP-clever-FV
    ‘these boys here, they are clever

(309) ú-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) ü-tw-ò  tù-yá  í-tw-ò  
C13-DEM  C13-SEL  C13-PRN  
‘those, those, they are clever’

(312) ü-tw-ò,  í-tw-ò  tù-yá...  
C13-DEM  C13-PRN  C13-SEL  
‘those over there, those same (boys)....’

starting with *tuya*

(313) tù-yá,  í-tw-ò  ü-tw-ò  tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à  
C13-SEL  C13-PRN  C13-DEM  C13-RemP-talk-FV  
‘those, those boys are clever’

(314) tù-yá  ü-tw-ò  í-twò...  
C13-SEL  C13-DEM  C13-PRN  
‘those, those same boys...’

(315) tù-yá,  tù-nò  ü-twù  tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à  
‘those, these ones here, they are clever’

starting with *tuno*

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

(317) tù-nó  ü-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  tù-yà  ü-twù  tw-ákà-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) ì-tw-ò  ú-tw-ò tús-yá tús-yá tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    ‘those boys who are clever’

(321) ì-tw-ò  ú-tw-ò, ú-tw-ò tús-yá tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    C13-PRN C13-DEM C13-DEM, C13-SEL C13-RemP-talk-FV
    those over there, those are clever

(322) ì-twò, ì-tw-ò ú-tw-ò, tús-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) ì-tw-ò í-tw-ò ú-tw-ò ú-tw-ò tús-yá tús-yá tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    those boys, those very same boys, those are clever

(324) ú-twù  ú-twù, tús-yá tús-yá, tús-nó tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    ‘these here, those here, who are clever’

(325) ì-tw-ò í-tw-ò ú-twù  ú-twù tús-nó tús-nó tw-ákà-ngwàrìr-à
    ‘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-tiz-à tw-àká-ngwàrir-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 ú-tw-ò ú-tw-ò tw-àká-ngwàrir-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] (329) [Vy-ri REDP gomo]

gömò i-ró-ri
mountain DEM(C5-C5)
“this mountain (emph)”

(330) [Vy-u REDP mu-ti] (331) [mu-ti i-u-o] (332) [muti i-u-o REDP] (333) [i-u-o Vy-u mu-ti]

ú-yú ú-yú mú-tí
DEM(C3)-REDP C3-tree
“this tree...”

(334) [i-tw-ò i-tw-ò ù-twù ù-twù tù-nó tù-nó tù-yá tù-yá ú-tw-ò ú-tw-ò tw-àká-ngwàrir-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] (329) [Vy-ri REDP gomo]

gömò i-ró-ri
mountain DEM(C5-C5)
“this mountain (emph)”

(330) [Vy-u REDP mu-ti] (331) [mu-ti i-u-o] (332) [muti i-u-o REDP] (333) [i-u-o Vy-u mu-ti]

ú-yú ú-yú mú-tí
DEM(C3)-REDP C3-tree
“this tree...”
The form in 179 does not fit a previous analysis, and is an unexplained form.

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

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.

\[ \text{DetP} \rightarrow (\text{DetP})^*, \text{Det}^+, (\text{NP}) \]

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

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

It is possible for the determiner to come after the noun or even two determiners on either side of the noun.
This can occur with two different determiners as well. The following sentence has the exact same syntax tree as (284)

\[(350) \text{í-twò tù-kórmàńà ú-twò tw-àkà-ngwàrì-r-à} \]
\[\text{PRN-C13 C13-boy DEM-C13 C13-RemP-clever-FV} \]
\[‘those little boys are clever’\]

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

\[(351) \text{tù-kórmàńà tw-àkà-ngwàrì-r-à ú-twò ú-twò} \]
\[\text{C13-boy C13-RemP-clever-FV DEM-C13 DEM-C13} \]
\[‘the little boys are clever, those ones’\]

These syntax parameters explain the differences between the two sentences shown below (note that the tone on tuno is different).
This same syntax comes into play with the sentences that have three or more demonstratives.
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 of 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun Prefix</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Possess</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1 (1s)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ndi-</td>
<td>ndi-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 (2s)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>u-</td>
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<td>mu-</td>
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<td>u-</td>
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<td>mu-</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

Appendix B: Determiners

below is a chart of all the selectors, demonstratives, and pronouns for every class.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>selector “this/these”</th>
<th>selector “that/those”</th>
<th>demonstrative “this/these”</th>
<th>demonstrative “that/those”</th>
<th>pronoun</th>
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<td>ú-yù</td>
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<td>ú-yù</td>
<td>ú-y-ò</td>
<td>i-yé</td>
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<td>class 2a</td>
<td>vá-nò</td>
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<td>ñ-va</td>
<td>i-v-ò</td>
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**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

References:
ethnologue.com