

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Phonology and Morphology of Chinyanja

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requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Phonology and Morphology of Chinyanja

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The present study deals with the phonological and morphological structure of the Chingoni dialect of Chinyanja, a Bantu language of Malawi.

Two types of phonemes are distinguished: segmental phonemes and suprasegmental phonemes. Segmental phonemes consist of vowels and consonants. Suprasegmental phonemes consist of High Tone and Low Tone. Tone is described in terms of the syllable. Segmental phonemes are differentiated into two types--ambiguous versus unambiguous--in terms of whether or not they accommodate tone. Ambiguous phonemes are those which can occur with or without tone. These include the nasals, /m,n,ñ,ŋ/, and the high vowels, /i,u/. Unambiguous phonemes are those which always occur with tone, such as /e,a,o/ or those which never occur with tone, such as all other consonants in the language.

The basic morphological unit is the word. The following types of words are distinguished: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. Within the word a distinction is made between affixes, that is, prefixes and suffixes, stems and themes. The distribution of the affixes within the word is stated in terms of their position with regard to the stem; thus, these affixes yield position classes. The affixes are also defined in terms of belonging to one of ten concordial sets, seven of which are marked by a singular and a plural morpheme, and three of which are marked by a neutral morpheme. All affixes within a concordial set are interpreted as being the same morpheme, but in different positions within the word. Thus, the various word classes are defined by the position of the affixes.

a) Those which co-occur with stems or themes in the fourth prefixal position constitute adjectives.

b) Those which co-occur with stems or themes in the first or second prefixal position constitute nouns.

c) Those which co-occur with stems in suffixal position constitute pronouns.

d) Those which co-occur with stems in the first and fourth positions constitute verbs.

O. INTRODUCTION

The present study deals with the prominent phonological and morphological patterns of Chinyanja. Only those aspects of syntax which have bearing on the morphological patterns have been considered. This includes, for example, clause subordination which is necessary for the description of certain tonal patterns.

0.1. APPROACH

The approach adopted in this study is intended to apply only to Chinyanja, and not to the analysis of other Bantu languages. It is not implied that the traditional approach used by Bantuists would not be applicable in the case of Chinyanja. However, the approach used here seems better suited for a descriptive and noncomparative analysis of Chinyanja.

0.2. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The methodological procedures used in this analysis are based on the assumption that the structural properties of Chinyanja morphemes can be most effectively formulated in terms of position classes within the word. In view of the abundance of nonmutually exclusive affixes within the word (up to eleven), it was felt that some organizing

principle was needed for their description. The concept of position classes within the word provides this organizing principle.

0.3. CHINYANJA, THE STANDARD LANGUAGE

Chinyanja, the Standard Language of Malawi, is the first language of most of the people whose traditional homes are located in the Central Province of that country. There is one other reasonably large Chinyanja speaking enclave, comprising the Mang'anja dialects, in the southwesternmost section of the country which encircles the Shire river. Chinyanja is spoken, as a first language, by circa two million Bantu in Malawi. It is mutually intelligible with the Cewa dialects which are spoken mainly in the Eastern Province of Zambia.

0.4. CHINGONI, THE DIALECT

The dialect on which this description is based is that of the Gomani Angoni who inhabit the Ncheu and Dedza districts of the Central Province of Malawi, and the adjacent areas of Moçambique. The Angoni broke away from Chaka, the famous Zulu militarist, migrated north, and, having subjugated the Nyanja speaking people in what is now the Central Province of Malawi, they settled there. At the time of the break with Chaka, the Angoni spoke the Nguni dialect of Zulu. Except for a few Zulu words, no trace of Nguni is found in their present dialect, hereafter called Chingoni.

(At the time of the break their leader was Chief Mputa, whose chieftainship has been passed down to the present day Paramount Chief, Inkosi Willard P. Gomani. The people of this dialect area are subsequently called the Gomani Angoni and should not be confused with Chief Mbelwa's Angoni of Mzimba in the Northern Province.)

0.5. INFORMANTS

This description is based on field data collected under an NDEA-related Fulbright-Hays Fellowship in 1964-1965 in Malawi. The principal informant for this work was Mr. Peter Baxter Mandala from the Ncheu Boma. All the texts used here were recorded by Mr. Mandala. Other informants were John Kamanga and Dolika Phiri, also from the Ncheu Boma (Mphate area), Mbale, the elder, from Mlangeni, Ndekha Stainer Gumbo from Blantyre, and Macheke James Mbewe of Cipande village near Zomba.

0.6. TWO OTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF CHINYANJA

The most accomplished descriptions of Chinyanja are the following: (For a complete list see the bibliography.)

1. A Practical Manual of the Nyanja Language, The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, The African Lakes Corporation, Ltd., Nyasaland, 1914.
2. The Elements of Nyanja, Thomas Price, Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland, 1958.

The dialect on which this study is based is sufficiently different from the Mang'anja dialect on which Hetherwick's Manual was based to warrant an additional investigation. (Price does not give us any information as to which dialect he used.) The major distinction, however, between this work and their descriptions is that I have tried to define the linguistic units which I have described, while their works only list them. That is to say, they have an impressionistic conception, whereas I have tried to have a more rigorous and formal approach to the data. For example, one striking difference is in the definition of the word for which they have an intuitive rather than a formal definition. For example, in one case we find chikho chovela, and in another chikho cha chitsulo. The second example which is written disjunctively is presumably three words, while the example written conjunctively consists of two words. The second example by my definition is two words, viz. /cikho cacitsulo/. Furthermore, both chovela and cha chitsulo by my definition belong to the same morphologically defined word class, whereas, their treatment of them is not clear. Another difference in our treatments is the classification of morphs. I treat all of the concordial affixes within a set as allomorphs of one singular or plural morpheme; whereas it is not clear which forms belong together in their treatment. In addition, neither of them include any tonal data, and they regard penultimate vowel length as stress.

1. PHONOLOGY, THE SYLLABLE

The basic phonological unit in Chinyanja is the syllable. Every syllable contains one syllabic phoneme which accommodates one tone. A syllable may in addition contain nonsyllabic phonemes. A syllabic phoneme is a vowel or a nasal. (See Section 1.5.) Syllables in Chinyanja are open; they always end in a syllabic phoneme. Syllabic phonemes form the nuclei of syllables which have the following shapes:

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Vowel | (V) |
| *Consonant V | (CV) |
| Nasal CV | (NCV) |
| Syllabic N | (M) |

*(Unless otherwise specified, Consonant means any C or nonsyllabic vowel, or cluster of C plus nonsyllabic vowel.) (See Section 1.5.2.)

Examples:

| | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|
| V: | [kù.tá.nthà.ù.zà] | (to translate) |
| CV: | [kù.đú.là] | (to cut) |
| | [kù.yá.mbà] | (to begin) |
| | [kù.ďá.bwà] | (to be surprised) |
| NCV: | [ŋkhà.ndwè] | (jackal) |
| M: | [n.sò.má.lì] | (nail) |

1.1. TONE

Syllabicity is a predictable accompaniment of tone. Each syllable accommodates only one of two suprasegmental phonemes which consist of features of pitch and which will be called tone. / / is called High Tone or High. /\ is called Low Tone or Low. The following minimal contrasts illustrate these phonemes. Thereafter, High Tone will be marked; all unmarked syllables have Low Tone. Syllabic nasals (See Section 1.5.1) will always be marked for tone.

| | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| [n̩.té.ngò] | (tree) |
| [n̩.tè.ngò] | (price) |
| [tà.bwè.là] | (we have come) |
| [tà.bwé.là] | (please come! sg.) |
| [ně.ñjè] | (maize thread) |
| [né.ñjé] | (cicada) |

1.2. CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

Chinyanja has consonants and vowels, which are defined by the presence or absence of the sonority feature "consonantal"; that is "presence vs. absence of an obstruction in the vocal tract."¹

¹Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle, Fundamentals of Language, Mouton and Co.'s--Gravenhage, 1956, p. 29.

1.3. VOWELS

There are five vocalic phonemes in Chinyanja, /i, e, a, o, u/. No allophonic variation involving positions of articulation was recorded. In utterance final position /i/ and /u/ are often devoiced following spirants, nasals and unaspirated nasal clusters:

| | |
|----------|------------------------|
| [basi] | (that's all; finished) |
| [mfumu] | (chief) |
| [bwañji] | (how?) |

Vowels are lengthened in utterance penultimate position. All recorded monosyllabic ideophones and interjections have longer vowels than the regular penultimate length:

| | |
|--------------|--|
| [ádyá] | (they will eat soon) |
| [análídyá] | (they ate it) |
| [análídyātu] | (they ate it indeed) |
| [mwána] | (child) |
| [mwānāyu] | (this child nearby) |
| [phē] | (quiet) |
| [bī] | (dark; black) |
| [ē] | (yes; you're welcome; no after a negative question) |

1.3.1. Vowel Chart

| | |
|---|---|
| i | u |
| e | o |
| a | |

1.3.2. Vocalic Phonemes

- ²/i/ is a high front vowel: [imani] (stand! stop!)
- /e/ is a close mid-front vowel: [éni] (owners)
- /a/ is a low central vowel: [anápita] (he went)
- /o/ is a close mid-back vowel: [zóónadi] (quite true)
- /u/ is a high back vowel: [udzúdzú] (mosquitos)

1.3.3. Vowel Contrasts

Minimal contrasts between vowels are illustrated by the following examples:

- | | | |
|-------------|---------|--|
| /i/ vs. /e/ | [ina] | (some in reference to trees) |
| | [éna] | (some in reference to men) |
| /e/ vs. /a/ | [ána] | (children) |
| /a/ vs. /o/ | [ona] | (see!) |
| /o/ vs. /u/ | [ndodo] | (stick) |
| | [ndudu] | (cigarette; cigar) |
| /w/ vs. /y/ | [iwe] | (as for you (sg.); you (sg.)) |
| | [iye] | (as for him, her, it, she, it, him, her) |

1.4. CONSONANTS

There are twenty-four consonantal phonemes in Chinyanja.

²For the inclusion of [w] and [y] under the vowels [u] and [i], see Section 1.5.2. below.

1.4.1. Consonant Chart

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----|----|-----------------|
| Stops: | p | t | c | k |
| | ph | th | ch | kh ³ |
| | b | d | j | g |
| Fricatives: | f | s | | |
| | v | z | | |
| Affricates: | | ts | | |
| | | dz | | |
| Nasals: | m | n | ɲ | ŋ |
| Lateral: | | l | | |
| Approximant: | (w) | | | |

Although /c, ch, j/ are phonetically affricates, they pattern with the stops. /ts, dz/ are also phonetically affricates, but are listed separately as "affricates," because they do not pattern with the stops.

1.4.2. Consonantal Phonemes

/p,t,k/ are voiceless unaspirated stops which are respectively bilabial, alveolar and velar:

| | |
|----------|----------------|
| [pitani] | (go!) |
| [tífuna] | (we will want) |
| [kalúlú] | (rabbit) |

³(For purely typographical reasons /ph, th, ch, kh/ shall be written for the aspirated consonants. These are not to be mistaken for clusters.)

/c/ is a voiceless unaspirated affricate which is palatal:

[cinsíní] (secretness)

/ph,th,kh/ are voiceless aspirated stops which are respectively bilabial, alveolar and velar:

[phéwa] (shoulder)

[tháko] (buttock)

[khámú] (herd)

/ch/ is a voiceless aspirated affricate which is palatal:

[chíndu] (roof)

/b,d,g/ are voiced unaspirated stops which are respectively bilabial, alveolar, and velar. They occur initially or medially in clusters. They have implosive allophones which occur initially, intervocalically and following syllabic nasals:

[bwénzi] (friend)

[kubyála] (to plant)

[bambo] (father)

[kúdyá] (to eat)

[dóko] (riverbank; lakeshore)

[ndání] (enemy)

[kugwíla] (to seize)

[kumánga] (to build)

[gogo] (grandparent)

/j/ is a voiced palatal affricate:

[uja] (that one previously referred to)

[njóka] (snake)

/f,v/ are labio-dental fricatives which are respectively voiceless and voiced. In some dialects there are /pf/ and /bv/ clusters:

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| [mafí ^h na] | (pus) |
| [vinani] | (dance!) |

/s,z/ are alveolar fricatives which are respectively voiceless and voiced. In some dialects there are /ps/ and /bz/ clusters:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| [d ^h iso] | (eye) |
| [zází ^h kulu] | (big) |

/ts, dz/ are alveolar affricates which are respectively voiceless and voiced:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------|
| [tsí ^h ku] | (day) |
| [dzóm ^h be] | (locusts) |

/m,n,ñ,n/ are voiced nasals which are respectively bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. /m/ has the allophone [ɱ] before /f,v/ and [m] elsewhere:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| [makú ^h tu] | (ears) |
| [ɱfí ^h ti] | (witch) |
| [í ^h ɱví] | (gray hair) |
| [naŋkalí ^h zí] | (scorpion) |
| [ñá ^h ní] | (baboon) |
| [ŋona] | (crocodile) |

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral which is in free variation with a voiced lateral flap, [ɾ]. (In this orthography only /l/ will be written.)

| | |
|----------|----------|
| [lilime] | (tongue) |
| [lili] | (it is) |

/w̃/ is a voiced bilabial approximant (accompanied by a large degree of lip protrusion and unlike the [β] sound which is so common elsewhere in Bantu and which is accompanied by flatness of the lips)⁴ which occurs very infrequently and seems to be exclusively in the Chingoni and Cicewa dialects; for example, contrast [w] and [w̃] in:

| | |
|---------|--|
| [wawa] | (ache; pain) |
| [w̃awa] | (honorific term used chiefly by men which is addressed only to very respected men, such as the Paramount Chief, Members of Parliament and Party leaders) |

1.4.3. Consonant Contrasts

Minimal contrasts between various groups of consonants are shown below:

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| /p/ vs. /ph/ | [kupoña] | (to throw) |
| | [kuphōña] | (to miss) |
| /ph/ vs. /b/ | [kúphá] | (to kill) |
| | [kúbá] | (to steal) |
| /t/ vs. /th/ | [kutéla] | (to alight) |
| | [kuthéla] | (to be finished or used up) |
| /th/ vs. /d/ | [kúthá] | (to finish) |
| | [kúdá] | (to be black or dark) |

⁴I am indebted to Peter Ladefoged for this information.

| | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------------------|
| /c/ vs. /ch/ | [kucédwa] | (to be late) |
| | [kuchédwa] | (to be named) |
| /ch/ vs. /j/ | [kúchá] | (to dawn) |
| | [kuja] | (over there yonder) |
| /k/ vs. /kh/ | [kóma] | (but; yet) |
| | [khoma] | (beat! hit! (with a hammer)) |
| /kh/ vs. /g/ | [kukwéla] | (to climb) |
| | [kugwéla] | (to fall) |
| /f/ vs. /v/ | [ímfa] | (death) |
| | [imva] | (listen!) |
| /s/ vs. /z/ | [saka] | (hunt!) |
| | [záká] | (years) |
| /ts/ vs. /dz/ | [tsila] | (pour! spit!) |
| | [dzila] | (egg) |
| /m/ vs. /n/ | [amá] | (mothers; mother) |
| | [aná] | (four) |
| /ŋ/ vs. /ŋg/ | [ŋóma] | (drum) |
| | [ŋgóma] | (Angoni dance) |
| /n/ vs. /ñ/ | [náŋga] | (what about?) |
| | [ñáŋga] | (horn; tusks) |
| /n/ vs. /l/ | [náŋga] | (what about?) |
| | [láŋga] | (my) |

1.5. UNAMBIGUOUS AND AMBIGUOUS PHONEMES

From the standpoint of syllabicity consonants and vowels fall into three categories:

1. Those phonemes which are only syllabic, namely the mid and low vowels.
2. Those phonemes which are only nonsyllabic, namely all consonants except nasals.
3. Those phonemes which are either syllabic or nonsyllabic, namely nasals and high vowels.

Phonemes in categories one and two are called unambiguous phonemes; those in category three are called ambiguous phonemes.

1.5.1. Ambiguous Phonemes: the Nasals

All nasals can be syllabic in initial or medial position. Syllabic nasals can occur before all of the other consonants, as well as before all other syllabic nasals. Nonsyllabic nasals occur in clusters with all stops, the affricates /c, ch,/ and all fricatives. All nasals, whether syllabic or nonsyllabic, are homorganic with the following consonant. There is a contrast between nonsyllabic nasal plus following consonant, and syllabic nasal plus consonant. This contrast is interpreted phonemically as the presence or absence of tone. E.g.

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| [m̥bálé] | (kinsman) |
| [mbale] | (plate) |

1.5.2. Ambiguous Phonemes: the High Vowels

These vowels can be nonsyllabic in initial and medial position. Nonsyllabic vowels can occur before all syllabic

vowels. There is a contrast between /i/ with tone and /i/ without tone, as well as between /u/ with tone and /u/ without tone. In the following examples all tones are marked, so that /i/ and /u/ without tone can be identified.

[iì\mà] (it will stand) vs. [iì\ná] (some)

[uì\mà] (you will stand) vs. [uì\ná] (some)

The allophones [i] and [u] with tone are transcribed as such. However, for the sake of convenience and in keeping with the majority of Bantu literature, the allophones without tone are transcribed [y] and [w]. Thus, the two examples above which are translated as "some" are orthographically /yì\ná/ and /wì\ná/.

1.6. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1.6.1. Types of Clusters

A cluster can contain only one unambiguous consonant plus one or two ambiguous phonemes. In the case of /mw/, there is no unambiguous consonant, but /mw/ is included here, as if /m/ were unambiguously consonantal. There are three types of consonant clusters described below.

a.) Consonant plus nonsyllabic vowel:

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|--|----|----|
| pw | | kw | | py | ty |
| phw | thw | khw | | | |
| bw | dw | gw | | by | dy |
| fw | sw | | | | |

mw

(The absence of /*tw/ is in all likelihood accidental.)

Examples:

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| [kupwéteka] | (to be hurt) |
| [kúphwá] | (to become dry; dry up) |
| [kubwéla] | (to come) |
| [cifwámba] | (kidnapping) |
| [kúmwá] | (to drink) |
| [kúthwá] | (to be sharp) |
| [kuphédwa] | (to be killed) |
| [kúswá] | (to break; crack) |
| [kukwéla] | (to climb) |
| [khwangwála] | (crow) |
| [kúgwá] | (to fall) |
| [kúpyá] | (to be hot; burn) |
| [kubyála] | (to plant) |
| [kutyoála] | (to break; shatter) |
| [kúdyá] | (to eat) |

b.) Nonsyllabic nasal plus any stop, palatal affricate or fricative:

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| mp | nt | ñc | ŋk |
| mph | nth | ñch | ŋkh |
| mb | nd | ñj | ŋg |
| mf | ns | | |
| mv | nz | | |

Examples:

| | |
|----------|---------|
| [mpáka] | (until) |
| [mpháka] | (cat) |

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| [mbídzi] | (zebra) |
| [mfúko] | (mole) |
| [mvúla] | (rain) |
| [ntánga] | (they are mine) |
| [nthóci] | (banana) |
| [ndodo] | (stick) |
| [nsíma] | (mealy meal) |
| [nzélu] | (wisdom) |
| [ñcánga] | (it is mine) |
| [ñchéñche] | (fly) |
| [ñjóvu] | (elephant) |
| [ŋkóípa] | (it is bad) |
| [ŋkhúku] | (chicken) |
| [ŋgóma] | (Angoni dance) |

c.) Nonsyllabic nasal plus consonant plus nonsyllabic

/u/:

| | | |
|-----|------|------|
| mpw | | ŋkw |
| | nthw | ŋkhw |
| mbw | ndw | ŋgw |
| | nsw | |

(Again there are certain gaps which are probably accidental.)

Examples:

| | |
|------------|------------------------------------|
| [mpwéá] | (breath) |
| [mbwíni] | (cassava--Chingoni) |
| [thánthwe] | (flat rock used for drying things) |

| | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| [ŋkwábwino] | (it is good) |
| [ŋkhandwe] | (jackal) |
| [ínswá] | (flying white ants) |
| [tónkhwetónkhwe] | (chameleon) |
| [búŋgwe] | (league) |

1.7. VOWEL CLUSTERS

1.7.1. Types of Vowel Clusters

Vowel clusters occur when a vowel final syllable is next to a vowel initial syllable. There is no restriction on the tonal combinations which can occur with these clusters. Since most combinations of vowels can occur, only those which do not occur will be listed. The following limitations occur:

a.) /e/ is restricted to the following clusters:
/ea/, /eu/ in final position and /ae/ in medial position.

E.g.:

| | |
|---------|-------------------------|
| [madéa] | (maize husks) |
| [mbéu] | (seed; seeds) |
| [maéle] | (breast; mother's milk) |

b.) In initial and medial positions neither /u/ nor /o/ can be the first member of a cluster followed by /a/.

c.) In initial and final position */aa/ does not occur.

d.) In final position */ia/ does not occur.

1.8. MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES

All morphophonemic rules, except MPH #1 below, are restricted to particular morphemes or morpheme classes. Consequently, the types of morphophonemic processes in Chinyanja will be described in this section but the specific statements or details about individual morphemes or morpheme classes will be made in the various related sections in the morphology. The following morphophonemic processes occur:

- MPH #1. Nasal Assimilation. All nasals are homorganic with following consonants. See prefixes 111.1, 121.1, 123.10, 141.1, 143.10, 111.5, and 112.5. See also Section 8.17.
- MPH #2. Regressive Assimilation. Over a span of two syllables, a vowel takes the shape of a preceding vowel. (See Section 2.6.7.)
- MPH #3. Methathesis. A CV sequence is reversed before the same V. See Section 2.6.7.
- MPH #4. Addition of a nonsyllabic vowel. A sequence of $V_1 + V_1$ is separated by a nonsyllabic vowel. See Section 2.6.7.
- MPH #5. Elision. When two vowels come together, the first is dropped, together with its tone. See prefixes 141.3, 143.9, 141.4, 142.4, 142.5, 141.6, 142.6, 241, 243, 245.3, 245.4, 246.4, 245.6, 246.6, 247.9,

142.1, 142.3, 246.1, 246.3, 251.

- MPH #6. Coalescence. When two vowels come together, they form another vowel, but retain the tone of the second vowel. See prefixes 142.1, 142.3, 142.6, 143.9, 112.1.
- MPH #7. Tone Loss. A High front or back syllabic vowel followed by another vowel results in the loss of the tone of the syllabic vowel. See prefixes 141.1, 141.7, 141.2, 143.8, 143.10, 242, 244, 245.2, 245.7, 247.8, 247.10, 245.1.
- MPH #8. Loss of aspiration and affrication. When initial aspirated stops and affricates are in medial position, they are reduced to unaspirated stops and fricatives, respectively. See prefix 112.3.
- MPH #9. Addition of aspiration. When unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates are preceded by a nonsyllabic nasal, they become aspirated stops and affricates. See prefixes 111.5 and 112.5.
- MPH #10. Replacement. When nonsyllabic /w-/ is preceded by a nonsyllabic nasal, /w-/ is replaced by /b-/. See prefixes 111.5 and 112.5. When nonsyllabic /y-/ or /l-/ is preceded by a nonsyllabic nasal, /y-/ is replaced by /j-/ and /l-/ is replaced by /d-/. See Section 8.17.
- MPH #11. Contraction. When a syllable consisting of a nasal cluster plus vowel contracts to a nasal,

the nasal is nonsyllabic before all consonants, except before a nasal. See Section 8.17 and 2.6.7.

MPH #12. Addition of velar consonant. If contraction has taken place, a nasal plus a high back nonsyllabic vowel, a midback or a low vowel is separated by a voiced velar stop. (See Section 8.17.)

2. MORPHOLOGY, DEFINITION OF THE WORD

The basic morphological unit in Chinyanja is the word and is defined in terms of the following three criteria:¹

- a.) it occurs independently, as an informant word;
- b.) it consists of a sequence of morphemes in fixed order;
- c.) the sequence can not be interrupted by any previously defined word.

2.1. AFFIXES AND STEMS

Within the word there are morphologically defined affixes and stems. The affixes which are prefixes and suffixes constitute closed classes; the stems constitute open classes. Affixes belong to position classes which are indexed numerically, using the method originally developed by Voegelin in the mid-forties and described by Garvin in a paper which appeared in Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas Sao Paulo, Volume 11, 1954, entitled "Problems in American Indian Lexicography and Text Edition."

¹I am indebted to Paul L. Garvin for this definition.

2.2. WORD CLASSES

As is typical of Bantu languages, there are concordial sets in Chinyanja such that words in agreement throughout a sentence have related prefixes. In terms of types of prefixes and suffixes Chinyanja has the following word classes which are all morphologically defined:

Noun

Adjective

Verb

Pronoun

Their definitions will be given as they are discussed in various sections of the morphology.

2.3. NOMINAL AND ADJECTIVAL CONCORDS

There are seven concordial sets which are each marked by a singular and a plural concordial prefix; and three concordial sets which are marked by a neutral concordial prefix; that is, a prefix which does not show number. These concordial prefixes may have two sets of morphologically conditioned allomorphs, namely nominal allomorphs, hereafter called NAs, and adjectival allomorphs, called AAs. Within each set there may be sub-sets of allomorphs which are phonologically conditioned by the initial consonant or vowel of a stem, or by the number of stem syllables. Within one set of AAs, namely Concordial Set 1, there is a sub-set of morphologically conditioned allomorphs. NAs and AAs,

which are identical in some concordial sets, are defined in terms of belonging to one of three position classes called Classes 110, 120, and 140. There is an intervening Class 130 consisting of the /-á-/ of Association and the /-á-/ of Description which are described in Sections 3.1. and 3.2. These four classes represent four potential prefix slots reading from right to left and preceding either noun or adjective stems; e.g.:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|------|---|------|---|---------------------------------|
| 140 | + | 130 | + | 120 | + | 110 | + | Stem |
| 1- | | -á- | | -ku- | | -mu- | | -dzi |
| AA | | of | | NA | | NA | | Noun Stem meaning "village." |

As in the utterance: /lamúlo 1-á-ku-mu-dzi/ which means "village regulation." In summary then, Slot 110 is filled with Primary NAs; that is, NAs which immediately precede noun stems. Slot 120 is filled with Secondary NAs; that is, NAs which are superimposed upon Primary NAs and never exist in other than superimposed position. (There are a few cases where defunct nouns would have to be analyzed as containing a Class 120 prefix in other than superimposed position; for details see the discussion in Section 3.12.) Slot 130 is filled with the /-á-/s of Association and of Description (see Section 3.1. and 3.2.) and Slot 140 is filled with AAs.

2.4. NOUN STEMS

Noun stems which co-occur with NAs belong to one or

more classes depending on the concordial sets with which they are associated. Most noun stems are associated with one, but some noun stems are associated with several concordial sets, although never more than three such co-occurrences have been recorded. For example, the noun stem /-léndó/ is associated with the following three concordial sets:

| | | | |
|-------|-----|----------|----------------|
| Set 1 | sg. | m-léndó | (stranger) |
| | pl. | a-léndó | (strangers) |
| Set 4 | sg. | ci-léndó | (foreign ways) |
| Set 7 | sg. | u-léndó | (journey) |

2.5. ADJECTIVE STEMS

Adjective stems, on the other hand, occur with AAS from all of the concordial sets. Adjective stems constitute a closed set, consisting of six closed classes all of which are exhaustively listed below, except the last class (See Section 2.6.8.)

2.6. CLASS A ADJECTIVES

Class A adjective stems are immediately preceded by Class 140 prefixes, i.e., AAS. The tone of the stem is invariable; that is to say, regardless of the prefix or enclitic with which a stem can co-occur, the stem tone does not change. Monosyllabic stems are Low; disyllabic stems are High Low (the reduplicative form /-éni-éni/ is treated as two disyllabic stems in sequence). (See Section 2.8.)

A morphotonemic variation, still irrespective of prefix or enclitic applies to stem /-ína/ which is High High when following a noun whose last two tones are High, and High Low elsewhere. E.G.:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| ñ-ñumbá mw-ína' | (in a certain house) |
| khásu l-ína | (a certain hoe) |

2.6.1. Class A Stems

| | |
|----------|---|
| -módzi | (one) |
| -wíli | (two) |
| -tátu | (three) |
| -nái | (four) |
| -sánu | (five) |
| -ngáti | (how many?) |
| -ti | (which?) |
| -ja | (yonder and not visible; that previously referred to) |
| -no | (this; these right next to the speaker) |
| -méne | (the same; the one who) |
| -ína | (some; any; certain; other) |
| -éni-éni | (real; genuine) |

2.6.2. Enumeration

The Chinyanja counting system is quinary. Numerals six through nine are expressed by conjoining /-sánu/ meaning "five" with the other appropriate numerals. (Each numeral of course is in concordial agreement with the

singular or plural form of the noun; thus, in the first example below /umódzi/ agrees with the singular form of the noun /mi-tén̄go/ which is implied but not expressed.)

mi-tén̄go i-sánu ndí u-módzi

trees five and one = (six trees)

mi-tén̄go i-sánu ndí i-tátu

trees five and three = (eight trees)

The words for "ten" and "hundred" are nouns associated with concordial set #3 prefixes. They are /khúmi/ and /dzána/ respectively. Numerals eleven through nineteen are expressed by conjoining /khúmi/ with the other appropriate numerals; i.e., one through five, or five plus one, two, three, or four. (Again the numbers one through nine are in concordial agreement with the noun they modify and not with /khúmi/. Interestingly, /khúmi/ and /dzána/ together with two other nouns, /mwíní/ meaning "owner" and /théka/ meaning "a measure which is neither filled nor unfilled," [often translated as "half"], are the only nouns in the language which follow other nouns without showing any concordial relationship.) E.g.:

mi-tén̄go khúmi ndí i-nái

trees ten and four = (fourteen trees)

mi-tén̄go khúmi ndí i-sánu ndí u-módzi

trees ten and five and one = (sixteen trees)

Multiples of ten are expressed by the plural of /khúmi/ plus the appropriate combinations of numerals two through

nine; thus,

mi-téngo ma-kúmi a-wíli

trees tens two = (twenty trees)

mi-téngo ma-kúmi a-sánu ndí a-nái

trees tens five and four = (ninety trees)

(Here the adjectives are in concordial agreement with /ma-kúmi/.) Twenty-one through twenty-nine (through ninety-one up to ninety-nine) are expressed by the appropriate multiple of ten, conjoined with the appropriate combination of one through nine. The latter combination of numerals one through nine is in concordial agreement with the noun they modify. E.g.:

mi-téngo ma-kúmi a-wíli ndí i-sánu ndí i-tátu

trees tens two and five and three =
(twenty-eight trees)

mi-téngo ma-kúmi a-sánu ndí a-nái ndí i-sánu ndí

trees tens five and four and five and
i-nái

four = (ninety-nine trees)

Combinations of hundreds are identical to combinations of tens, although /dzána/ meaning "hundred" is usually modified by /limódzi/ meaning "one." E.g.

mi-téngo dzána li-módzi ndí ma-kúmi a-wíli ndí

trees hundred one and tens two and
i-sánu ndí i-tátu

five and three = (one-hundred and twenty-eight trees)

mi-téngó ma-zána a-wíli ndí ma-kúmi a-tátu ndí i-sánu
 trees hundreds two and tens three and five
 ndí i-nái
 and four = (two hundred and thirty-nine)

2.6.3. Class B Adjectives

Class B adjective stems also occur as nominal stems correlated with two or three concordial sets. As nominal stems they have a High Low tonal pattern; e.g.

| | | | |
|-------|-----|---------|-----------------|
| Set 1 | sg. | ń-kázi | (woman) |
| Set 4 | sg. | ci-kázi | (womanish ways) |
| Set 7 | | u-kázi | (femininity) |

Each of these stems, however, can occur with AA prefixes from all of the concordial sets, thus fitting the criterion of adjective stems (see Section 2.5.); in this usage they all have a Low Low tonal pattern. If such occurrences (with Low Low) were to be treated as nouns, we would have to increase the NA allomorphy in most concordial sets by one to accommodate the "AA" prefixes and then admit that such a noun did not exist in the language, unless preceded by an AA plus a prefix of Class 130, and then, only with a tonal change in both the NA and the stem. If, on the other hand, we treat them as Low Low derivative adjective stems from nouns, which are preceded by a double occurrence of any given AA which in turn is separated by a Class 130 prefix, we neither have to set up nonexistent nouns, nor adjective stems without invariable tone. It seems more

economical to treat them thus, as adjective stems having a Low Low invariable tonal pattern, which co-occur only with AAs and an intervening prefix 131 called the $\{-\acute{a}-\}$ of description. (See Section 3.1.) Thus, in the two following contrastive examples, both are adjectives by our definition of the same, as defined in Section 3.3., but the first example is a descriptive adjective (containing a derivative adjective stem) while the second is an associative adjective (containing a noun stem). E.g.:

1. mwána w-á-ṅ-kàzì (female child) Descriptive
2. mwána w-á-ṅ-kázì (child of the woman) Associative

In summary, Class B adjective stems are preceded by Class 140 prefixes, the double occurrence of which is separated by prefix 131, the $/-\acute{a}-/$ of description.

Class B Stems:

| | |
|-------|-------------------------|
| -kazi | (female) |
| -fupi | (short; near) |
| -tali | (tall; far; high; long) |
| -ṅono | (small; young) |
| -kulu | (big; old; great) |
| -wisi | (green; fresh; unripe) |

2.6.4. Class C Adjectives

Class C stems co-occur with Class 140 prefixes plus prefix 132o (see Section 3.2.). The morphophonemic alterations which take place are discussed in Sections 3.4.-3.13. The stem tone is Low.

Class C stems:

| | |
|------|---------------------------|
| -kha | (only; alone) |
| -nse | (all; whole; every) |
| -mwe | (same; self; the one who) |

2.6.5. Class D Adjectives

Class D stems co-occur with Class 140 Prefixes plus prefix 132a (see Section 3.2.). The morphophonemic alternations which take place are discussed in Sections 3.4.-3.13. The stem tone is Low (Low) for the last two examples. The stem tone of the six "possessive" stems is High when following a noun whose last two tones are High, and Low elsewhere. If these six stems are reduplicated, the stem tone is always Low. (For details on reduplication see Section 2.8.)

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| mwa [́] na [́] w-a [́] -nga [́] | (my child) |
| ŋo [́] mbe y-a [́] -nga | (my cow) |
| ~ [~] namá [́] tá w-a [́] -ce-w-a [́] -ce | (his own young boy) |
| ~ [~] jóvu z-a [́] -o-z-a [́] -o | (their own elephants) |

2.6.6. Class D Stems

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| -nga | (my) |
| -ko | (your sg.) |
| -ke _u -ce* | (his; hers; its; her; it) |
| -thu | (our) |
| -nu | (your pl.; your sg. honorific) |
| -o | (their) |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| -mbili | (much; many) |
| - [~] nji | (what sort of?; which out of a selection) |

(*In cases of free variation marked by ~, the Chingoni form will always precede the Standard Chinyanja form.)

2.6.7. Class E Adjectives

Class E stems are the following:

| | |
|----|-----------------------------|
| -ó | (that; those at a distance) |
| -V | (this; these nearby) |

The -V stem morpheme has three stem allomorphs, /a, -u, -i/, which are the result of the process of regressive assimilation. Thus, their distribution is dependent upon the vowel of the Class 140 prefix with which they combine; a Class 140 prefix having a vowel /a-, u-, i-/ combines with /-a, -u, -i/ respectively. Morphophonemically, two types of prefixes can be distinguished: the first type has the shape CV; the second type has the shape V. The first type undergoes metathesis before Class E stems:

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|------|-------------------------|
| ci- | + | -i | → | ic-i | (this nearby) |
| ku- | + | -u | → | uk-u | (there; on this nearby) |
| pa- | + | -a | → | ap-a | (here; on this nearby) |

In the second type, to the syllabic V prefix is added a non-syllabic vowel, either high front or high back, as follows. To both /i-/ prefixes (142.2 and 141.5) before allomorph /-i/ of the stem /-V/ and stem /-ó/, and to prefix /u-/ (141.1) before allomorph /-u/ of the stem /-V/ and stem

/-ó/, is added a high front nonsyllabic vowel. Thus,

i- + -i → iy-i (these nearby)

u- + -u → uy-u (this nearby)

To both /u-/ prefixes (141.2 and 141.7) before allomorph /-u/ of the stem /-V/ and stem /-ó/, as well as to both /a-/ prefixes (142.1 and 142.3) before allomorph /-a/ of the stem /-V/ and stem /-ó/ is added a high back nonsyllabic vowel. Thus,

u- + -u → uw-u (this nearby)

a- + -a → aw-a (these nearby)

The initial vowel of the prefix can be dropped in non-emphatic speech and the truncated demonstrative form becomes enclitic. When the enclitic follows Class A stem /-méne/, the resultant word sequence, /-méne'yú/ for example, has the same meaning as the nontruncated demonstrative, that is to say emphatic. For example:

munthu uyú (this very person nearby)

munthu'yú (this person nearby)

munthu améne (the same person)

munthu améne'yú (this very person nearby)

cikho icó (that very gourd over there)

cikho'co (that gourd over there)

cikho ciméne'có (that very gourd over there)

The stem tone of the allomorphs of /-V/ is Low. The stem tone of /-ó/ is High. However, when it is enclitic to stem /-méne/, the tone is also High. When it is enclitic else-

where, the stem tone is Low. (See previous examples.)

When the demonstrative enclitics formed by prefix 141.4 plus stems, i.e., /'co/ and /'ci/ are preceded by the Class C adjective stem /-mwe/, that stem contracts to a homorganic nonsyllabic nasal. E.g.:

*c^hó-mwe-ci → c^hónci (the same as this; like this)

*c^hó-mwe-co → c^hóncó (the same as that; like that)

Similarly, when prefixes 143.8, 143.9, 143.10, in combination with Class A adjective stems /-no/ and /-ja/, are preceded by the Class C stem /-mwe/, the stem contracts in fast speech to a homorganic nonsyllabic nasal before /p/ and /k/ and to a syllabic nasal before /m/.

p^hó-mwe pano vs. p^hómpano (at the same place;
right here)

p^hó-mwe paja vs. p^hómpaja (at the same place pre-
viously referred to)

k^hó-mwe kuno vs. k^hónkuno (at this same; just here)

k^hó-mwe kuja vs. k^hóнкуja (at that same place pre-
viously referred to)

m^hó-mwe muno vs. m^hómununo (just in here)

m^hó-mwe muja vs. m^hómumuja (in that same place pre-
viously referred to)

2.6.8. Class F Adjectives

Class F stems co-occur with Class 140 prefixes plus prefix 132a. The morphophonemic process which takes place is discussed in Sections 3.4.-3.13. All of these stems can occur alone, i.e., without prefixes, under certain

syntactical conditions. The following is not an exhaustive list of Class F stems. The last seven stems, called ideophones in Bantu literature, are very difficult to elicit; subsequently, one should expect to find other members in this class. The stem tone is Low with monosyllabic stems and /-bwino/; High Low with all other disyllabic stems, Low High Low with the trisyllabic stem and High Low High Low with the quadrisyllabic stem.

Class F stems:

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| -bwino | (good; well) |
| -tsopáno | (new; now) |
| -kále | (old; former) |
| -cábe | (bad; no good; useless) |
| -pyu | (red; orange; glaring) |
| -mbe | (white; clean; bright) |
| -mbu | (light) |
| -du | (calm) |
| -phe | (quiet) |
| -bíliwíli | (blue; green) |
| -bi | (dark) |

2.7. THE TONE OF NOUN STEMS

The tones of noun stems are invariable. The occurring sequences, grouped according to the number of stem syllables, are as follows. Certain systematic limitations on these sequences exist. E.g., no single final High occurs; the

only occurrence of final High is when preceded by another High. Final Low can be preceded by either Low or High. Initially in stems longer than two syllables, no High High sequence occurs.

Examples:

Monosyllabic Stems

-L -nthu (person)
-H -tú (head)

Disyllabic Stems

-LL -zungu (white man)
-HH -íní (owner)
-HL -kázi (woman)

Trisyllabic Stems

| | | |
|------|------------|-------------------|
| -LLL | -phunzitsi | (teacher) |
| -LHH | -ñamátá | (young boy) |
| -LHL | -sikáli | (soldier) |
| -HLL | -síwani | (skilled laborer) |

Quadrisyllabic Stems

| | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| -LLLL | -pulumutsi | (savior) |
| -LLHH | -acimwéné | (Br; FaBrso; MoSiso; MoFaSidaso) |
| -LLHL | -tsogoléli | (leader) |
| -HLLL | -nákafumbe | (maize weevil) |
| -HLHL | -nádzikámbe | (chameleon) |
| -LHLL | -apóngozi | (SoWi; DaHu; WiMo; WiFa) |

Quinquesyllabic Stems

| | | |
|--------|--------------|---------------|
| -LLLLL | -dandaulidwe | (complaints) |
| -LLLHL | -philikanílo | (ear) |
| -HLLLL | -tánthauzilo | (translation) |

| | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------------|
| -LHLHL | -lídédédéle | (fear) |
| -LHLLL | -malékezelo | (cross examination) |

2.8. NOMINAL AND ADJECTIVAL REDUPLICATION

Many noun stems appear to be the result of reduplication. Although such forms are similar in phonemic shape to reduplicated verb stems, they do not constitute a true reduplication, since the corresponding unreduplicated forms never occur as nouns. Generally, they are disyllabic stems which appear to be reduplicated, and the reduplicated portion of the stem reflects the identical tonal pattern of the initial portion of the stem; thus:

| | | |
|--------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| -HL-HL | -ngá'la-ngá'la | (splitting headache) |
| -LL-LL | -polo-polo | (bullet; that which passes through) |

There is a morpheme of reduplication with adjective stems. The reduplication of the adjective stem reinforces the meaning of the stem; thus, the reinforced "possessive adjectives" (Class D) are translated as "my own; his own; etc." E.g., mwáná w-á'nga-w-á'nga (my own child). Unlike noun stems which "reduplicate" only the stem, adjective stems reduplicate the prefix as well; hence:

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| n-lé'nga-lé'nga | (atmosphere) |
| w-é'ni-w-é'ni | (genuine) |

(For details of verbal reduplication see Section 9.2.)

Many ideophones appear as reduplicated or triplicated forms; these do not constitute true reduplicates or triplicates:

kwékwelakwékwelakwékwela (the sound the chicken makes)

kúlukúlukúlu (the sound made when calling chickens)

gogogo (the sound of knocking; or cutting wood
with an axe)

3. NUMERICAL INDICES OF PREFIXES

The prefixal position classes are indexed so that the members of each class are identifiable in three or four ways. E.g., given the index 142.1 the meaning is as follows:

- a.) the 1 to the right of the decimal point indicates to which concordial set the morpheme belongs.
- b.) the 1 of 142 indicates that the prefix is a nominal or adjectival prefix, as opposed to a digit 2 in that slot which indicates a verbal prefix. (See Section 5.)
- c.) the 4 indicates that the morpheme is in the fourth position; it may be separated from the stem by three intervening positions.
- d.) the 2 indicates that the morpheme is plural; 1 would indicate singular, and 3 would indicate neutral.

The absence of the decimal point indicates that the morpheme does not belong to a concordial set. In such instances where number is not relevant, the last digit in the index will signify a particular morpheme or allomorph. (See below.)

3.1. PREFIX 131, THE /-a-/ OF DESCRIPTION

Class 130 has two members. Prefix 131, $\{-\acute{a}-\}$, called the $\{-\acute{a}-\}$ of description (see Section 2.6.3.) co-occurs with Class B stems and both precedes and follows Class 140 prefixes. In this combination the Class 140 prefix can not be further separated from the stem. E.g.:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| gálú w- \acute{a} - η -kazi | (female dog; bitch) | Set 1 sg. |
| khólo l- \acute{a} -lí-kazi | (female ancestor) | Set 3 sg. |
| ñjáti y- \acute{a} -í-kulu | (big buffalo) | Set 5 sg. |

The tone of this morpheme is always High.

3.2. PREFIX 132, THE /-a-/ OF ASSOCIATION

Prefix 132, $\{-\acute{a}-\}$, called the $\{-\acute{a}-\}$ of association¹ has three allomorphs. 132a is the index for the allomorph /- \acute{a} -/ which occurs before Class D and F adjective stems, and before Class 120 or 110 prefixes; i.e., any noun. (For definition of a noun see Section 3.3.) 132o is the index for the /- \acute{o} -/ allomorph which occurs before Class C adjective stems, before polysyllabic verb stems associated with Concordial Set 8 and before the monosyllabic verb stems /-nga/, "to resemble; be like," and /-ti/ meaning "to say" also associated with Concordial Set 8. This allomorph also occurs before noun or adjective themes (see Section

¹Wm. E. Welmers, Language, vol. 39, no. 3, 1963, pp. 432-447.

3.14 and 3.15.)). 132e is the index for the /-é-/ allomorph which occurs after prefix 141.1 and after the pronominal prefixes (see Section 4.1.). The tone of this morpheme is always High. E.g.:

132a Class D stem

gá'ú w-a'-ngá (my dog)

Class F stem

gá'ú w-a'-bwino (good dog)

Class 120 prefix

gá'ú w-a'-ku-bóma (boma dog; dog of the neighborhood of the district office)

Class 110 prefix

gá'ú w-a'-kú-fá (dying dog)

132o Class C stem

m̃pando w-ó-mwe (the same chair)

Polysyllabic nomino-verb stem

m̃pando w-ó-síyana-síyana (different chair)

Monosyllabic nomino-verb stem

m̃pando w-ó-nga uwó (chair like that one)

nsá'lu y-ó-ti pyu (cloth saying red; red cloth)

132e Prefix 141.1

y-é-kha (only; alone)

This morpheme indicates an association between the preceding noun and the following stem, including various degrees of possession and certain other relationships without any indication of ownership.

3.3. DEFINITION OF THE NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

A noun in Chinyanja is defined as any word which contains a prefix in Class 110. A noun must have a prefix in Class 110. It may also have a 120 prefix preceding the 110 prefix; thus

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|------|------------------|
| 120 | + | 110 | + | Stem | |
| ku- | | -mu- | | -dzi | (at the village) |
| | | mu- | | -dzi | (village) |

An adjective in Chinyanja is any word which contains a prefix in Class 140; thus,

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|------|---|------|---|---------|-----------------------|
| 140 | + | 130 | + | 120 | + | 110 | + | Stem | |
| 1- | | -á- | | -ku- | | -mu- | | -dzi | = (of at the village) |
| AA | | 132a | | NA | | NA | | village | |
| 1- | | -á- | | | | | | -nga | = (my) |
| 1- | | | | | | | | -ina | = (some) |

3.4. CONCORDIAL SET 1

Meaning of Class 110 prefix: Of all the sets this has the greatest correlation with meaning. Most noun stems which are correlated with concordial set 1 prefixes are personal or animate impersonal. In the plural, nouns are often honorific with singular reference.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 110 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 141.1 y-∅M-∅a-∅uy-∅ (u-~w-) | 111.1 (mu-~mw-~M-)∅∅- |
| 142.1 aw-∅a- | 112.1 a-∅∅- |

3.4.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.1

/y-/ occurs before prefix 132e together with Class C stems:

y-é-kha (only; alone)

/M/ stands for the allomorphs affected by the morphophonemic process of nasal assimilation in which the nasal is syllabic before consonants; namely:

m̥- before bilabials and the high back nonsyllabic vowel.

m̥- before labio-dentals

n̥- before alveolars

ŋ- before velars

The M- allomorphs occur before one Class A stem /-módzi/, and immediately before Class B stems:

m̥-módzi (one)

/a-/ occurs before one Class A stem /-méne/:

a-méne (same; the one who)

/uy-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of the addition of a non-syllabic vowel (see Section 2.6.7.).

It occurs before Class E stems:

uy-u (this nearby)

uy-ó (that at a distance)

/u-/ occurs before all consonant initial (adjective) stems:

u-ti (which?)

/w-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process called tone loss. It occurs before vowel initial (adjective) stems, and before all Class 130 prefixes; thus

| | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|------|
| ù- | + | -á- | → | w-á- |
| | | -ó- | | w-ó- |
| | | -í- | | w-í- |
| | | -é- | | w-é- |

E.g.:

| | | |
|--------|-------|-----------|
| w-á- | ko | (your) |
| w-ó- | dúla | (cutting) |
| w-í- | ina | (any) |
| w-éni- | w-éni | (genuine) |
| w-á-n- | tali | (tall) |

3.4.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 142.2

/aw-/ occurs before Class E stems. (For MPH see /uy-/ above, and Section 2.6.7.).

| | |
|------|-----------------------|
| aw-a | (these nearby) |
| aw-ó | (those at a distance) |

/a-/ is affected by the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /a-/ is dropped before prefix 132a, 132o, and adjective stem /-éni-éni/; thus,

| | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|----|
| à- | + | -á- | → | á- |
| | | -ó- | | ó- |
| | | -é- | | é- |

It is affected by the morphophonemic process of coalescence, such that /a-/ and /-ina/ coalesce into /éna/. It occurs before all (adjective) stems and Class 130 prefixes:

| | |
|--------|----------------------|
| ó-nse | (all) |
| a-méne | (same; the ones who) |
| á-nga | (my) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

Class 140 prefixes in this set are High when immediately preceding Class B stems, and Low elsewhere.

3.4.3. Allomorphy of Prefix 111.1

/mu-/ occurs before one stem which is monosyllabic:

| | |
|---------|----------|
| mu-nthu | (person) |
|---------|----------|

/mw-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of tone loss. (For details see allomorph /w-/ above.) It occurs before stems with initial /-a, -i/:

| | |
|--------|---------|
| mw-áná | (child) |
| mw-íní | (owner) |

/M-/ stands for the allomorphs affected by the morphophonemic process of nasal assimilation in which the nasal is syllabic before consonants; namely:

| | |
|-----|----------------------|
| m̥- | before bilabials |
| m̥- | before labio-dentals |
| n̥- | before alveolars |
| ɲ̥- | before palatals |
| ŋ̥- | before velars |

It occurs before all polysyllabic stems which begin in consonants:

| | |
|---------|-----------------|
| ɲ̥-cáwá | (Yao tribesman) |
|---------|-----------------|

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| h-hamátá | (young boy) |
| h-tsíkana | (young girl) |

/ø-/ occurs before loan words (most of which are not English), kinship terms, and the names of some animals:

| | |
|----------|---|
| ø-fódya | (tobacco < Port. folha, "tobacco leaf") |
| ø-gálú | (dog < Port. cão) |
| ø-mái | (Mo; MoSi; FaFaSida; MoMoSida; FaMoBrda; any older or respected woman) |
| ø-bambo | (Fa; FaBr; FaFaBrso; FaMoSiso; any older or respected man) |
| ø-fisi | (hyena) |
| ø-kalúlú | (rabbit) |

3.4.4. Allomorphy of Prefix 112.1

/a-/ is affected by the processes of elision and coalescence such that /a-/ followed by /-a/ elides to /a/ and /a-/ followed by /i-/ coalesces to /e/.

/a-/ occurs before consonant initial stems:

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| a-nthu | (people) | a-gálú | (dogs) |
| a-bále | (kinsmen; brothers) | a-fisi | (hyena; Mr. Hyena) |
| a- + áná | → | áná | (children) |
| a- + íní | → | éní | (owners) |

/ø-/ occurs before certain kinship terms:

| | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| ø-apóngozi | (SoWi; DaHu; WiMo; WiFa) |
|------------|--------------------------|

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

Class 110 prefixes are always Low.

3.4.5. Prefixes 121.1 and 122.1

There are two Class 120 prefixes in Set 1. These prefixes act the same tonally and morphophonemically as their Class 110 counterparts. The meaning of these prefixes is personalization of the following noun in the singular and plural, but often honorific with singular reference in the plural. They are superimposed upon Class 110 prefixes.

Class 120

121.1 M-

122.1 a-

Examples:

| | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|---|--|
| 121.1 | + | 111.5 | + | Stem |
| ñ- | | ñ- | | -áñja (person of the lake; Nyanja person) |
| | | ñ- | | -áñja (lake) |
| 122.1 | + | 112.2 | + | Stem |
| a- | | mi- | | -kángo (lions; Mr. Lion) |
| | | mi- | | -kángo (lions) |

3.5. CONCORDIAL SET 2

Meaning of the Class 110 prefix:

Most noun stems which are correlated with concordial set 2 prefixes are impersonal or inanimate.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | | Class 110 | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| 141.2 | uw-∞ (u-~w-) | 111.2 | mu-~mw-~M-~m- |
| 142.2 | iy-∞ (i-~y-) | 112.2 | mi- |

3.5.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.2

/uw-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of addition of a nonsyllabic vowel. (See Section 2.6.7.) It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| uw-u | (this nearby) |
| uw-ó | (that at a distance) |

/u-/ occurs before all consonant initial (adjective) stems:

| | |
|------|-------------------|
| u-no | (this right here) |
|------|-------------------|

/w-/ is the result of the process of tone loss. It occurs before vowel initial (adjective) stems, and before all Class 130 prefixes. (For details of the process see Section 3.4.1.)

| | |
|---------|-----------------|
| w-ó-mwe | (the same) |
| w-á-ke | (his; its; her) |

3.5.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 142.2

/iy-/ is the result of the process of addition of a nonsyllabic vowel. It occurs before Class E stems (see Section 2.6.7.).

| | |
|------|-----------------------|
| iy-i | (these nearby) |
| iy-ó | (those at a distance) |

/i-/ occurs before all consonant initial (adjective) stems:

i-no (these right here)

/y-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process called tone loss. It occurs before vowel initial (adjective) stems, and before all Class 130 prefixes; thus,

| | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|------|
| i- | + | -á- | → | y-á- |
| | | -ó- | | y-ó- |
| | | -í- | | y-í- |
| | | -é- | | y-é- |

E.g.: y-á-nu (your pl.)

y-ó-nse (all)

y-í-na (some)

y-éni-y-éni (genuine)

Morphotoneemics of the Class 140 prefix

These prefixes are High when immediately preceding Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.5.3. Allomorphy of Prefix 111.2

/mu-/ occurs before monosyllabic stems and /-lúngu/

mu-dzi (village)

mú-tú (head)

mu-lúngu (God)

/mw-/ occurs before disyllabic stems which have initial /-a, -e/. (For morphophonemic details see Section 3.4.3.)

mw-álá (stone)

mw-ezi (moon; month)

/m-/ occurs before disyllabic stems which have initial /-o/.

m-oa (beer)

/M-/ stands for the allomorphs which occur before polysyllabic stems and begin with consonants. (For morphophonemic details see Section 3.4.3.)

\m-peni (knife)

\n-téngo (tree)

3.5.4. Allomorphy of Prefix 112.2

/mi-/ occurs before all noun stems:

mi-dzi (village)

mi-á'á' (stones)

mi-oa (beers)

mi-peni (knives)

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

These prefixes are High before a single High, and Low elsewhere.

3.6. CONCORDIAL SET 3

Meaning of the Class 110 prefix:

In the plural many nouns correlated with this set refer to different types of things, rather than more than one thing. Certain mass nouns in this set have no prefix.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| | Class 140 | Class 110 |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 141.3 | il-∞ (li-~l-) | 111.3 (li-~∅-)∞dz-∞dzi-∞di- |
| 142.3 | aw-∞ a- | 112.3 (ma-~m-)∞∅- |

3.6.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.3

/il-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis which is discussed in Section 2.6.7. It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| il-i | (this nearby) |
| il-ó | (that at a distance) |

/li-/ occurs before consonant initial (adjective) stems:

| | |
|-------|----------|
| li-ja | (yonder) |
|-------|----------|

/l-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /i/ is dropped before Class 130 prefixes, and before vowel initial (adjective) stems:

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| l-á-bwino | (good) |
| l-ó-mwe | (same) |
| l-ína | (some) |
| l-éni-l-éni | (genuine) |

3.6.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 142.3

/aw-/ occurs before Class E stems. (For MPH details see 2.6.7.)

| | |
|------|-----------------------|
| aw-a | (these nearby) |
| aw-ó | (those at a distance) |

/a-/ occurs before all (adjective) stems and Class 130 prefixes. (For MPH details see Section 3.4.2.)

| | | |
|-------|---------------|-------------|
| ó-kha | (only; alone) | Elision |
| éna | (some) | Coalescence |

| | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------|
| á-o | (their) | Elision |
| a-no | (these next to the speaker) | |

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

Class 140 prefixes are High when immediately preceding Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.6.3. Allomorphy of Prefix 111.3

/li-/ occurs before one stem which is monosyllabic:

| | |
|------|--------|
| lí-ú | (word) |
|------|--------|

/ø-/ occurs before all other (noun) stems, and most

English loan words:

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| ø-phili | (hill) |
| ø-tsáce | (broom) |
| ø-thekeña | (jigger) |
| ø-thímati | (tomato) |
| ø-tébulo | (table) |
| ø-sitíma | (steamer; riverboat; train) |

/dz-/ occurs before four disyllabic stems commencing in vowels:

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| dz-ína | (name) |
| dz-íko | (country) |
| dz-ánja | (hand) |
| dz-úngu | (pumpkin) |

/dzi-/ occurs before the stem /-no/:

| | |
|--------|---------|
| dzi-no | (tooth) |
|--------|---------|

/di-/ occurs before the stem /-so/:

| | |
|-------|-------|
| di-so | (eye) |
|-------|-------|

3.6.4. Allomorphy of Prefix 112.3

/m-/ is the result of the process of elision, such that /ma-/ followed by /-a/ results in the first /a/ dropping:

m-^hanja (hands)

/ma-/ occurs before all other stems. Stems preceded by /ma-/ are affected by the morphophonemic process of reduction of aspirated stops to unaspirated stops, and affricates to fricatives; thus,

phánga (cave) is reduced to ma-pánga (caves)
 thumba (bag) is reduced to ma-tumba (bags; pockets)
 chende (penis) is reduced to ma-cende (male genitals)
 khóswe (housemouse) is reduced to ma-kóswe (housemice)
 tsamba (leaf) is reduced to ma-samba (leaves)
 dzila (egg) is reduced to ma-zila (eggs)

In three examples of initial /b-/ stems correlated with this prefix, the /b-/ is lost. There are many examples in which this does not happen.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| béle (breast; mother's milk) | ma-éle (breasts) |
| bóndo (knee) | ma-óndo (knees) |
| bánja (household) | ma-bánja ² (households; family) |

²(This form is in free variation with /m-^hanja/ in standard Chinyanja.)

In one example, Mr. Mandala had no singular form; however, the following three singular forms were heard idiolectally in Chingoni.

bá-ngo, lí-ngo, dí-ngo (mango)
 má-ngo (mangos)

In one example /ma-/ plus /d-/ became /ma-/ plus /l-/
 duwa (flower) ma-luwa (flowers)

/ø-/ occurs before certain mass nouns:

| | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| ø-mádzi | (water) |
| ø-mafúta | (oil; fat; grease) |
| ø-man'khwála | (medicine; drugs) |
| ø-mávu | (hornets) |
| ø-mame | (dew) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

These 110 prefixes are High before a single High, and Low elsewhere. Before the stem /-nò/ meaning "tooth" the prefix is High.

3.6.5. Prefix 122.3

There is one Class 120 prefix in Concordial Set 3. Its numerical index is 122.3 and its shape is /ma-/. It is tonally identical to its counterpart in Class 110. It occurs as a superimposed prefix on prefix 111.7, /u-/:

(See Section 3.10.)

ma-ú-tá a-no (these bows right here)
 (ú-tá u-no "this bow right here")

ma-u-léndo a-ngáti (how many journeys?)
 (u-léndo "journey")

3.7. CONCORDIAL SET 4

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 110 |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 141.4 ic-∞ (ci-~c-) | 111.4 ci-~c- |
| 142.4 iz-∞ (zi-~z-) | 112.4 zi-~z- |

3.7.1. Allomorphy of Prefixes 141.4 and 111.4

/ic-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis, as described in Section 2.6.7. It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| ic-i | (this nearby) |
| ic-ó | (that at a distance) |

/ci-/ occurs before (noun or adjective) stems which have initial consonants:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| ci-péya ci-módzi | (one hut) |
| ci-pátso ci-no | (this fruit right here) |

/c-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /i/ is dropped before Class 132 prefixes, and before vowel initial (adjective and noun) stems:

c-áká ci-módzi c-ó-kha (only one year)

3.7.2. Allomorphy of Prefixes 142.4 and 112.4

These prefixes have the same distribution as their singular counterparts mentioned directly above; thus,

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| iz-i | (these nearby) |
| iz-ó | (those at a distance) |
| zi-péya zi-wíli | (two huts) |
| zi-pátso zi-no | (these fruits right here) |
| z-áká zi-tátu z-ó-kha | (only three years) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

These prefixes are High immediately before Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

These prefixes are High before a single High and Low elsewhere. Before the stem /-manga/ meaning "maize," the prefix is High. E.g.

| | |
|----------|----------|
| ci-nthu | (thing) |
| cí-ngwé | (string) |
| cí-manga | (maize) |

3.7.3. Prefixes 121.4 and 122.4

These prefixes occur before prefixes of Class 110 and have the meaning of augmentation, often with a pejorative sense. They can be superimposed on most nouns, although rarely are they superimposed on nouns associated with Concordial Set 4; thus,

Class 120

121.4 ci-

122.4 zi-

Tonally, they behave in the same way, as the Class 110 prefixes mentioned above. Class 120 prefixes are not

affected by the morphophonemic process of elision. E.g.:

| | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| ci-Ø-fisi | (big, fat hyena) |
| zi-n-dodo | (huge, big sticks) |
| zi-a-mpháka | (big cats) |

3.7.4. Special Usage of Prefix 122.4

This prefix indexed 122.4 has been recorded in several instances indicating collectivity; e.g.

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| zi-ñ-úmbá | (collection of houses; hamlet) |
|-----------|--------------------------------|

In three other instances, prefix 122.1, /a-/, always precedes /zi-/. These are the only instances recorded in which a prefix is dropped in the environment following a superimposed prefix; thus, one would expect to find the word /*a-zi-a-bale/, etc. instead of:

| | |
|------------|--|
| a-zi-bále | (fellow villagers; clansmen; kinfolk) |
| a-zi-mái | (older respected woman, other than one's own mother; ladies [in public speaking]) |
| a-zi-bambo | (older respected man, other than one's own father; gentlemen [in public speaking]) |

(I have not set up an extra position class to handle this phenomenon.)

3.8. CONCORDIAL SET 5

Meaning of the Class 110 prefixes:

These prefixes are mostly correlated with stems which mean the names of animals.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 110 |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 141.5 iy-∞ (i-~y-) | 111.5 iN-~N- |
| 142.5 iz-∞ (zi-~z-) | 112.5 iN-~N- |

3.8.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.5

Prefix 141.5 is identical tonally, morphophonemically, and in its distribution to prefix 142.2. (See Section 3.5.2.)

Allomorphy of prefix 142.5:

Prefix 142.5 is identical to prefix 142.4. (See Section 3.7.2.)

3.8.2. Allomorphy of prefix 111.5 and 112.5

/N-/ stands for the allomorphs affected by the morphophonemic process of nasal assimilation in which the nasal is nonsyllabic before consonants; namely,

- m- before bilabials
- ɱ- before labio-dentals
- n- before alveolars
- ~n- before palatals
- ŋ- before velars

The /N-/ allomorphs occur before unaspirated voiceless stops to form aspirated voiceless stops; thus,

| | | | | |
|--------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| -pépa | (blow) | → | mphépo | (wind) |
| -támba | (spread) | → | nthámbi | (branch) |

| | | | | |
|--------|------------|---|---------|-----------|
| -cíta | (work; do) | → | ñchító | (work) |
| -kámba | (be old) | → | ŋkhámba | (old age) |

The palatal allomorph of /N-/ occurs before all syllabic vowels, except /o/:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------|----|-------|----------------|
| -ímba | (sing) | ñ/ | nímbo | (song) |
| | | ñ/ | ñemba | (beans) |
| | | ñ | nama | (meat; animal) |
| | | ñ | nundo | (hammer) |

The velar allomorph occurs before /o/:

| | | | |
|-------|---------------|------|--------|
| -ómba | (beat a drum) | ŋóma | (drum) |
|-------|---------------|------|--------|

The bilabial allomorph occurs before the nonsyllabic high back vowel and replaces it with a voiced bilabial stop:

| | | | |
|--------|--------------------|--------|-------------|
| -wédza | (fish with a hook) | mbedza | (fish-hook) |
|--------|--------------------|--------|-------------|

The /N-/ allomorphs occur before polysyllabic stems; thus,

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| ŋ-khúku | (chicken) |
| m-balame | (bird) |

/iN-/ occurs before monosyllabic stems:

| | |
|--------|---------------------|
| ím-fá | (death) |
| ín-swá | (flying white ants) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

The allomorph with initial /i-/ is High. (The nasal of course does not accommodate tone.)

3.9. CONCORDIAL SET 6

Meaning of the Class 120 prefix:

Nouns which co-occur with this superimposed prefix have the meaning of diminution, occasionally with a pejor-

ative sense. These Class 120 prefixes occur in superimposed position only; i.e., they never immediately precede noun stems.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 120 |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| 141.6 ak- ∞ (ka- \sim k-) | 121.6 ka- |
| 142.6 it- ∞ (ti- \sim t-) | 122.6 ti- |

3.9.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.6

/ak-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis. (For details see Section 2.6.7.) It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| ak-a | (this nearby) |
| ak- \acute{o} | (those at a distance) |

/k-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /a-/ is dropped before prefix 132a, 132o, and the adjective stem /- $\acute{e}ni$ - $\acute{e}ni$ /; thus,

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| k- \acute{a} -ce | (his; her; its) |
| k- \acute{o} -kha | (only; alone) |
| k- $\acute{e}ni$ -k- $\acute{e}ni$ | (genuine) |

It is the result of the process of coalescence, such that /ka-/ and /- $\acute{i}na$ / coalesce into /k $\acute{e}na$ /.

/ka-/ occurs before (adjective stems with initial) consonants:

| | |
|-------|----------|
| ka-ti | (which?) |
|-------|----------|

3.9.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 142.6

/it-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis. (For details see Section 2.6.7.) It occurs before Class E stems:

it-i (these nearby)

it-o' (those at a distance)

/ti-/ occurs before consonant initial (adjective) stems:

ti-ti (which?)

/t-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /i/ is dropped before Class 130 prefixes and before vowel initial (adjective) stems:

t-a'-ti'-kazi (female)

t-ina (some)

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

Class 140 prefixes are High immediately before Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.9.3. Allomorphy of Prefix 121.6

/ka-/ is superimposed on any singular Class 110 prefix in Sets 1 through 7. It is not affected by any morphophonemic alternation; thus,

ka-mw-ána' (Set 1) (little child)

ka-ú-ta' (Set 7) (little bow)

3.9.4. Allomorphy of Prefix 122.6

/ti-/ is superimposed on any plural Class 110 prefix

in Sets 1 through 7. It is not affected by any morpho-
phonemic alternation; thus,

ti-^ána^á (Set 1) (little children)

ti-zi-kho (Set 4) (little gourds)

Morphotonemics of the Class 120 prefix:

These prefixes are always Low.

3.10. CONCORDIAL SET 7

Meaning of the Class 110 prefix:

Many noun stems correlated with this class are
abstract; they do not have plural forms. Plural forms of
nouns which are not abstract, are formed by prefixing
112.3, /ma-/, to the singular prefix 111.7, /u-/. (See
Section 3.6.5.)

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 110 |
|---|-----------|
| 141.7 uw- [∞] (u- [~] w-) | 111.7 u- |

3.10.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 141.7

The distribution and morphophonemics of this prefix
are identical to prefix 141.2 (see Section 3.5.1.). The
tone is High before Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.10.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 111.7

^ /u-/ occurs before all noun stems:

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| u- [~] nólo u-no | (this bow right here) |
| u-phunzitsi w- ^ó nse | (all teaching) |
| u- ^á ta ^á w- ^á ce | (his bow) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix:

This prefix is High before a single High, and Low elsewhere.

3.11. CONCORDIAL SET 8

Meaning of the Class 110 prefix:

All stems correlated with this prefix are verbal stems which act like noun stems, although they have other properties which are discussed in Sections 3.14 and 3.15.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 110 |
|--|-----------|
| 143.8 uk-oo (ku- ^{oo} /kw- ^{oo} /k-) | 113.8 ku- |

3.11.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 143.8

/uk-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis discussed in Section 2.6.7. It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|-------------------|---------|
| uk-u | (here) |
| uk- ^{oo} | (there) |

/ku-/ occurs before all consonant initial (adjective) stems:

| | |
|-------|----------|
| ku-ja | (yonder) |
| ku-ti | (where?) |

/kw-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process called tone loss. It occurs before vowel initial (adjective) stems, and before all Class 130 prefixes, except 132o; thus,

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| kw-a ^ˈ -bwino | (good) |
| kw-í ^ˈ na | (someplace) |

/k-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of elision, such that /ku-/ plus /ó/ result in /kó-/.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| k-o ^ˈ -ípa | (bad) |
|-----------------------|-------|

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

These Class 140 prefixes are High immediately before Class B adjective stems and Low elsewhere.

3.11.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 113.8

/ku-/ occurs before all verbal stems. It is never affected by morphophonemic alternation; thus,

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| ku-óna | (to see) |
| ku-úma | (to be dry) |
| ku-íma | (to stand; stop) |
| ku-fúula | (to shoot) |
| ku-da ^ˈ | (to be black; dark) |

Morphotonemics of the Class 110 prefix tone:

This prefix is High before a single High and Low elsewhere. Before Low tone stem /-ŋga/, "be like," the prefix is High.

3.11.3. Prefix 123.8

There is a Class 120 prefix in this set; namely, prefix 123.8 /ku-/. This prefix indicates motion to or from a person or place as well as indicating location at, in, on, a relatively distant or unspecified place. This

prefix can be superimposed on any Class 110 prefix in Sets 1 through 7:

a.) /anápita ku-dz-ánja l-a-m-ánja/

he went to hand of hands

he went to the right.

b.) /anábwela ku-dz-íko l-a-ku-mw-éla/

he came to country of at south

he came to the southern country

This prefix always has Low tone; it is not affected by any morphophonemic alternation.

3.12. CONCORDIAL SET 9

Meaning of the Class 120 prefix:

This prefix indicates motion to or from a place, as well as indicating location at, or on a relatively nearby or specific place. There are two defunct noun stems which are correlated with this class; namely, /*kati/ meaning "middle," and historically associated with Set 6 prefixes; and, /*nsi/ meaning "ground," which historically is associated with Set 5 prefixes. In all other instances, this prefix occurs only in superimposed position before any Class 110 prefix in Sets 1 through 7:

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 120 |
|---------------------|-----------|
| 143.9 ap-∞ (pa-~p-) | 123.9 pa- |

3.12.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 143.9

/ap-/ is the result of the process of methathesis which is described in Section 2.6.7. It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|------|---------|
| ap-a | (here) |
| ap-ó | (there) |

/p-/ is the result of the process of elision, such that /a-/ is dropped before prefix 132a, 132o, and the (adjective) stem /-éni-éni/; thus,

| | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| p-ó-yámba | (at the beginning) |
| p-á-pá-kulu | (big) |
| p-éni-p-éni | (real; exact) |

It is affected by the process of coalescence, such that /pa-/ and /-ína/ coalesce into /péna/.

/pa-/ occurs before consonant initial (adjective) stems:

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| pa-no | (right here) |
|-------|--------------|

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

Class 140 prefixes are High when immediately preceding Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.12.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 123.9

/pa-/ can be superimposed on any Class 110 prefix:

a.) /anápita pa-mw-ámba apó/

He went on height there at a distance

He went up there.

b.) /anákhalá pa-ñ-téngo pano/

He sat on a tree right here.

c.) /pakáti pa-ñ-ánja/

in the middle of the lake

d.) /pánsi pa-ñ-jóvu/

down on elephant

Morphotonemics of the Class 120 prefix:

Class 120 prefix is High before /*nsi/ and Low elsewhere.

3.13. CONCORDIAL SET 10

Meaning of the Class 120 prefix:

This prefix indicates motion in or into a place or thing, as well as indicating location inside of a place or thing. Like Set 9, these prefixes only occur in superimposed position.

Morphophonemics of the prefix:

| Class 140 | Class 120 |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| 143.10 um-oo (mu-~mw-~m-~M-) | 123.10 M- |

3.13.1. Allomorphy of Prefix 143.10

/um-/ is the result of the morphophonemic process of methathesis which is described in Section 2.6.7. It occurs before Class E stems:

| | |
|------|------------|
| um-u | (in here) |
| um-ó | (in there) |

/mu-/ occurs before consonant initial (adjective) stems:

mu-ja (in that previously referred to place)

/mw-/ is distributionally identical to /kw-/, prefix
143.8; (see Section 3.11.1.)

mw-a'-bwino (good)

mw-i'na (somewhere)

/M-/ stands for the allomorphs affected by the process of nasal assimilation in which the nasal is syllabic before consonants. (For the allomorphs see prefix 141.1, /M-/, at Section 3.4.1.)

mw-a'-ŋ-kulu (big)

/m-/ is the result of the process of elision, such that /mu-/ plus /o'/ elide to form /mo'-/:

m-o'-ipa (badly)

Morphotonemics of the Class 140 prefix:

Class 140 prefixes are High when immediately preceding Class B stems and Low elsewhere.

3.13.2. Allomorphy of Prefix 123.10

/M-/ is identical to prefix 111.1, /M-/, described in Section 3.4.3. It can be superimposed on any Class 110 prefix in Sets 1 through 7:

/inágwa m-Ø-má'dzi/

It fell into the water.

/n~n-úmba'-mo mu-li mi-pando y-a'-i'-kulu/

In that house there are big chairs.

Morphotonemics of the Class 120 prefix:

Class 120 prefixes are always Low.

3.14. NOUN THEMES

Verb stems which co-occur with prefix 113.8 can incorporate certain verbal prefixes, namely 237, 2311, 221, 222, and, or any Class 210 prefix, in the noun stem slot. Any such incorporated verb stem which co-occurs with prefix 113.8 is called a noun theme. E.g.:

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|------|---|--------|---|-------|-------------------|
| 113.8. | + | 2311 | + | Cl 210 | + | stem | |
| ku- | | -sa' | | | | -ba' | (to not steal) |
| ku- | | -sa- | | -ci' | | -ba | (to not steal it) |
| ku- | | | | -mu' | | -óna' | (to see him) |

The morphotonemics of the noun theme are the following: Class 210 prefixes are always High. Prefixes 237 and 2311 are High before one single High, and Low elsewhere. Prefixes 221 and 222 are Low when followed by a Class 210 prefix and High elsewhere. The tone of the base plus Class 320 suffix is discussed in Section 10.).

3.15. ADJECTIVE THEMES

Verb stems which co-occur with prefixes of Class 140 and prefix 1320 can incorporate verbal prefix 2311 or any Class 210 prefix in the adjective stem slot. Any such incorporated stem is called an adjective theme. E.g.:

Cl. 140 + 2311 + Cl. 210 + stem

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----|------|------|----------|---------------------|
| (a-nthu) | ó- | -sa- | -mwá | (moa) | (not drinking beer) |
| (a-nthu) | ó- | | -tí- | -gulitsa | (selling us) |
| (ci-nthu)có- | | -sa- | | -yéla | (of not white) |

The morphotonemics of the adjective theme are the following: Class 210 prefixes are always High. Prefix 237 is always Low. The stem is High on the first syllable and Low elsewhere, when co-occurring with Class 140 prefixes and 1320; viz., as an adjective stem. The stem, as part of a theme, is Low . . . Low after any Class 120 prefix; (Los Low Low) High Low with polysyllabic stems preceded by prefix 237, /-sa-/. and High with monosyllabic stems preceded by prefix 237, /-sa-/. E.g.:

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|--|
| mabúku | ó-sa-welengéka | (books of not to be few) |
| mpeni | w-ó-sa-thwá | (knife of not to be sharp) |
| mádzi | o-wíla | (water of to boil) |
| ndinángogwanso | mó-dzí-poña | (I just fell also by throwing myself.) |

4. DEFINITION OF THE PRONOUN

A pronoun in Chinyanja is an independent word which consists of two morphemes in fixed order. The two morphemes are the pronominal stem $\{i-\}$ and one of a suffixal sub-set of person markers. The person markers which are allomorphs of the previously dealt with AAs and NAs are classified into three sub-sets of allomorphs. The members of the first set, which are listed below, are called pronominal person markers. This set occurs after the pronominal stem $\{i-\}$ and together they constitute pronouns. The meaning of these pronouns is emphatic. This set also occurs after the allomorph $/n\acute{a}-/$ of the conjunction $\{ndi\}$, meaning "with; and; by."¹ The first, second and third persons, Set 1 only, occur after the pseudo verb $\{ndi\}$. (See Section 8.17.) The tone of the stem is always Low; and the tone of the person markers is always Low. The second and third sub-sets of allomorphs are the Class 240 and 210 verbal prefixes. (For details see Section 5.3.)

¹(* $\{Ndi\}$ is an unflected word here regarded as a conjunction. A conjunction is a syntactically defined unit which is bilaterally dependent. $\{Ndi\}$ has two allomorphs; $/n\acute{a}/$ to which the pronominal person markers are suffixed, and $/ndi/$ which occurs in all other environments. In fast speech $/ndi/$ contracts to a homorganic syllabic nasal.)

| | | Pronouns | Person Markers (pronominal) |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| First person sg. | | i-ne | -ne |
| Second person sg. | | i-we | -we |
| First person pl. | | i-fe | -fe |
| Second person pl. | | i-nu | -nu |
| Third person sg. | Set 1 | i-ye | -ye |
| Third person pl. | | i-wo | -wo |
| | Set 2 | i-wo | -wo |
| | | i-yo | -yo |
| | Set 3 | i-lo | -lo |
| | | i-wo | -wo |
| | Set 4 | i-co | -co |
| | | i-zo | -zo |
| | Set 5 | i-yo | -yo |
| | | i-zo | -zo |
| | Set 6 | i-ko | -ko |
| | | i-to | -to |
| | Set 7 | i-wo | -wo |
| | | (plural in Set 3) | |
| | Set 8 | i-ko | -ko |
| | Set 9 | i-po | -po |
| | Set 10 | i-mo | -mo |

Examples:

a.) /i-ne si-ndi-ne mwana' wanu'/

As for me, I am not your child.

b.) /i-nu ndi-ka'-ku-kumbila-ni/

As for you, I'll go and dig for you.

c.) /kódi ndi-nu ndá'ni/ /ine/ /ndi-ne kandodo/

Who are you? I It's I, Kandodo.

(Idiomatically, Who is there?)

d.) /tiyeni ná'-ye kumanda/

Let's go with him to the grave.

e.) /azibambo aja aná'tengeka ná'-wo/

Those respected men got excited with them.

4.1. CLASS C ADJECTIVE STEMS AND THE PRONOUN

Class C adjective stems can be in concordial agreement with an independent pronoun; that is to say, the Class C stem preceded by a prefix of Class 140 and 132 is in concordial agreement with the pronouns in Sets 1-10, in the same way that it can be in concordial agreement with nouns in Sets 1-10; e.g., /i-wo w-ó'-nse/, "as for all of them." Similarly, Class C stems preceded by prefix 132 can be in concordial agreement with the independent pronouns which mean "first and second persons." The prefixes are the following:

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| First person sg. | nd- |
| Second person sg. | w- |
| First person pl. | t- |
| Second person pl. | n- |

Examples:

| | | |
|------|----------|---------------------|
| i-ne | nd-é-kha | (I, I alone) |
| i-fe | t-ó-nse | (We, we all) |
| i-we | w-é-mwe | (You, you yourself) |
| i-nu | n-ó-nse | (You, you all) |

(There is no occurrence in the language of /*nd-e-nse/ nor /*nd-e-mwe/.) The tone of the Class 130 prefix is always High.

5. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Chinyanja verbal constructions are composed of morphemes from the following morphological classes:

Verbal Prefixes

Verbal Suffixes

Verbal Bases

5.1. VERBAL PREFIXES

There are five position classes of verbal prefixes described here which represent five potential slots reading from right to left preceding verbal bases: Classes 250, 240, 230, 220, 210.

5.2. CLASS 250

Class 250 has one member {si-} (with Low tone) which will be called the Negative Indicative marker. This morpheme has two allomorphs, /si-/ occurs before Class 240 consonant initial prefixes and /s-/ occurs before Class 240 vowel initial prefixes. This prefix presupposes a Class 240 prefix, and may occur before any of them, except 247.8, 247.9, 247.10. On the other hand any Class 240 prefix can occur without {si-}. This prefix, furthermore, only co-occurs with a limited number of Class 230 prefixes, namely: 231a; 232, 233, 235, 237, 2310. For example:

| | | |
|------------------|-----|-------------------|
| si-ndí-dza-pít-a | 232 | (I shall not go) |
| s-a-ŋgá-weléng-e | 235 | (He can not read) |

5.3. CLASS 240 AND 210

Class 240 prefixes and Class 210 prefixes are conveniently treated together, as they are interpreted as being the same morpheme in different positions in a verbal construction. Class 240 prefixes, called Subject Person Markers are in concordial agreement with the Subject of the verb. Class 210 prefixes, called Object Person Markers, are in concordial agreement with the Object of the verb. Subject Person Markers are obligatory;¹ that is, they must occur whether or not the actual subject is expressed. Object Person Markers are optional; that is, they may co-occur with the expressed Object of a transitive verb. If the two co-occur, the Object means a definite person, thing, etc. If the Object Person Marker is not present, the Object means an indefinite person, thing, etc. E.g.:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| ndi-ná-mu-ona mu-nthu | (I saw the man) |
| ndi-ná-ona mu-nthu | (I saw a man) |

Class 240 prefixes occur initially or immediately after /si-/. Class 210 prefixes always immediately precede the verbal base.

¹ (They may be deleted in one construction, viz., the nonindicative hortative when the Object Person Marker is present: /(mu)-Ø-ndi-puunsitse/, "teach me!")

5.3.1. Morphophonemic Alternations of
Class 240 Prefixes

Class 240 prefixes undergo the following morphophonemic alternations, when followed by prefix 234, /-a-/. (See Section 6.4.) Prefixes having the shape Ci or (C)a, except 245.1, elide with prefix 234; thus,

| | |
|-----------|------------------|
| nd-a-pita | (I have gone) |
| a-pita | (they have gone) |

Prefixes having the shape (C)u or i lose their tone when followed by prefix 234; thus,

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| mw-a-pita | (you pl. have gone) |
| w-a-pita | (you sg. have gone) |

Prefix 245.1, /a/, becomes a High back nonsyllabic vowel before prefix 234; thus,

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| w-a-pita | (he has gone) |
|----------|---------------|

| Class 240 | | | Class 210 | | |
|-------------|---------|------------------------------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| 241 | nd(i)- | (I) | 211 | -ndi- | (me) |
| 242 | u-~w- | (you sg.) | 212 | -ku- | (you sg.) |
| 243 | t(i)- | (we; I honorific) | 213 | -ti- | (we) |
| 244 | mu-~mw- | (you pl.; honorific you sg.) | 214 | -ku- | (you pl.) |
| 245.1 Set 1 | a-~w- | (he, she, it) | 215.1 | -mu- | (him; her; it) |
| 246.1 | a- | (they; he; she, honorific) | 216.1 | -wa- | (them) |
| 245.2 Set 2 | u-~w- | (it) | 215.2 | -u- | (it) |

| Class 240 | | | Class 210 | | |
|-----------|--------|---|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| 246.2 | | i-~y- (they) | 216.2 | -i- | (them) |
| 245.3 | Set 3 | l(i)- (it) | 215.3 | -li- | (it) |
| 246.3 | | a- (they) | 216.3 | -wa- | (them) |
| 245.4 | Set 4 | c(i)- (he, she, it) | 215.4 | -ci- | (he, she, it) |
| 246.4 | | z(i)- (they) | 216.4 | -zi- | (them) |
| 245.5 | Set 5 | i-~y- (it) | 215.5 | -i- | (it) |
| 246.5 | | z(i)- (they) | 216.5 | -zi- | (them) |
| 245.6 | Set 6 | k(a)- (it) | 215.6 | -ka- | (it) |
| 245.6 | | t(i)- (they) | 216.6 | -ti- | (them) |
| 245.7 | Set 7 | u-~w- (it) | 215.7 | -u- | (it) |
| | | (plural is 246.3) | | | (plural is 216.3) |
| 247.8 | Set 8 | ku-~kw-(thereat; he, she, it, they in context) | 217.8 | -ku- | (thereat) |
| 247.9 | Set 9 | p(a)- (thereon; thereat) | 217.9 | -pa- | (thereon) |
| 247.10 | Set 10 | mu-~mw-(therein) | 217.10 | -mu- | (therein) |
| | | | 218 | -dzi- | (self) |

Object Prefix 218 /-dzi-/ co-occurs with all Class 240 prefixes, except 247.8, 247.9, and 247.10.

Examples:

a.) /ɲona ija i-na'-dzi-menetsa pamwála/ 245.5 + 218

That crocodile crashed into a rock.

b.) /a-na'-mu-welengela búku ntsikana/ 245.1 + 215.1

The girl read the book to him.

- c.) /ndi-ná'-i-nena nthano/ 241 + 215.5
 I told the tale.
- d.) /pa-ná'-bwela ñchenche/ 247.9
 Thereon alighted a fly.

5.4. THE TONE OF CLASS 240 PREFIXES

The tone of the Class 240 prefixes is as follows. It is High before prefix 231a and 231e when followed by a single High; e.g.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------|
| si-ndí-Ø-mú-phá | (I will not kill him) | 231a |
| mú-Ø-phé | (You may kill) | 231e |

It is High before prefixes 232 when preceded by 250, 236, 237, /-sana-/, /kána/ when followed by one High, 221 when followed by Low, and before 2310 when preceded by 250. E.g.:

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------|
| s-á-dza-bwéla | (He will come) | 232 |
| ndí-ta'-téñga | (Having taken) | 236 |
| tí-ma-khála | (We usually sit) | 237 |
| á-sana-súta | (Before he smoked) | Sana |
| á-kána-dyá | (Before he ate) | kana |
| á-ngó-gula | (He just bought) | 221 |
| si-ndí-ká-ba | (I didn't steal) | 2310 |

It is High before prefix 233 when preceded by 250:

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| si- <u>ndi</u> -na-gúle | (I didn't buy) | 233 |
| si- <u>ndi</u> -na-ku-óne | (I didn't see you) | 233 |

There is a morphemic process of tone change from High to Low representing a morpheme of absoluteness of negation

which affects the Class 240 prefix in the environment preceding prefix 233 in a negative construction; thus,

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| si- <u>ndi</u> -na-gúle | (I haven't ever bought) |
| si- <u>ndi</u> -ná-ku-one | (I haven't ever seen you) |

Class 240 prefixes are Low in all other environments:

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------|
| nd-a-pita | (I have gone) | 234 |
| a-ka-mva | (If they hear) | 239 |
| i-nga-thamángé | (It can run) | 235 |
| mu-sa-ndí-phe | (Don't kill me) | 2311 |

5.5. THE TONE OF CLASS 210 PREFIXES

The tone of the Class 210 prefixes is as follows. The prefixes are High after prefixes 236, 235, 221, and 2312.

E.g.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------|
| ndí-tá-mú-pha | (I having killed him) | 236 |
| si-ndi-nga-cí-dye | (I can't eat it) | 235 |
| a-ná-ngo-cí-gulítsá | (He just sold it) | 221 |
| ta-lí-téngáni | (Please bring it) | 2312 |

Class 210 is always High before monosyllabic stems, except in non-negative constructions when following prefix 231a.

E.g.

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|------|
| á-zi-pha | (He will kill them) | 231a |
| s-á-zí-phá | (He will not kill them) | 231a |
| a-zí-dya | (They must eat) | 238 |
| t-a-lí-mva | (We heard it) | 234 |

Class 210 prefixes are Low in all other environments; e.g.:

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|------|
| á-ma-mu-súta | (I usually smoke it) | 237 |
| á-Ø-ndi-phikila | (She will cook for me) | 231a |
| ka-wa-gúle | (Go and buy them) | 2310 |

6. CLASS 230 PREFIXES

Class 230 prefixes are obligatory; that is to say, if there is a Class 240 prefix in any given construction, then there must be a Class 230 prefix directly following. The Class 230 prefixes are described below.

6.1. PREFIX 231

Prefix 231, $\{-\emptyset-\}$, indicates a neutral tense. When it co-occurs with Suffix 321, $\{-a\}$, it indicates an action to be carried out in the immediate future, that is, generally before the end of the same day. E.g.:

ndí- \emptyset -pit-a kutáuni (I shall go to town)

si-ndí- \emptyset -mu-phikíl-a lélo (I shall not cook for him today)

When $\{-\emptyset-\}$ co-occurs with Suffix 322, $\{-e\}$, it indicates the nonindicative present positive.

mu- \emptyset -pèlék-é (You may deliver)

a- \emptyset -lów-é (They may enter)

(Henceforth the following numerical device will be used in differentiating these two uses of the neutral tense. Index 231a refers to the immediate future usage, while Index 231e refers to the nonindicative present positive.)

6.2. PREFIX 232

Prefix 232, {-dza-}, indicates an action to be carried out in the more remote future, that is, later than the same day. Its tone is High after a Low, and Low after a High, except that in negative constructions when immediately followed by a monosyllabic stem, its tone is High. E.g.

/ndi-dzá-ik-a-mo maluwa/ (I shall put flowers in there)

/s-á-dza-ti-dziwíts-a cáká cino/ (They will not tell us this year.)

/s-ú-dzá-gwa/ (It will not fall.)

6.3. PREFIX 233

Prefix 233, {-da-} ≈ {-na-}, indicates simple past action, the results of which are not relevant in the present. Its tone is High after Low, and Low after High, except that in negative constructions when immediately followed by a monosyllabic stem, its tone is High. In the event of the morphemic process of tone change from High to Low, mentioned in Section 5.4., this prefix remains Low. E.g.:

/a-dá-fik-a kúnúmbá kwáó/ (They arrived at their home.)

/abambo éna s-á-na-mwalíl-e/ (A certain respected man died.)

There are two tonally distinctive verbal constructions for forming negatives using this prefix. One is in the simple past and is translated as "I did not . . .," or occasion-

ally as "I have not yet . . ." The other is simply an absolute negation and is translated as "I did not ever . . .", or "I have not ever . . ."

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| /si-ndí-na-b-é khasu láce/ | (I did not steal his hoe.) |
| /si-ndi-na-mv-e mútú | (I have not ever had a headache.) |
| /si-ndí-na-pít-e kuñsika/ | (I didn't go [I have not yet gone] to the market.) |
| /si-ndi-na-sút-e fódya/ | (I have not ever smoked tobacco.) |

In some dialects the absolute negation construction has a final {-a} instead of the Chingoni {-e}.

6.4. PREFIX 234

Prefix 234, {-a-}, indicates a completed action, the results of which are relevant in the present. Its tone is always Low. In combination with Class 240 prefixes there is a morphophonemic change which is described in Section 5.3.1. E.g.:

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| /nd-a-gul-a nsómba/ | (I have bought fish, [furthermore they have not been eaten, I still have them.]) |
| /kw-a-cha/ | (It [there] has dawned.) |
| /cáká c-a-tha/ | (The year has finished. Literally, "last year.") |

There is no negative construction in which this prefix occurs.

6.5. PREFIX 235

Prefix 235, {-nga-}, indicates that the subject of the

verb is potentially capable of carrying out the activity designated by the verb. It is translated as "can." The tone is High when immediately preceding the stem in negative constructions; and, when immediately preceding monosyllabic stems in non-negative constructions. The tone is Low in all other environments. E.g.:

/si-mu-ŋgá-nén-e kúí iyi ndi ndudu/

Can't you call this ndudu?

/ndi-ŋga-í-kumbukil-e ntháwi yáñjála ija yádzómbé/

I can remember the locust famine.

/u-ŋgá-sw-é/

It can break.)

6.6. PREFIX 236

Prefix 236, {-tá-}, indicates a past completed action. Any following action, furthermore, is contingent upon that completion. Any construction containing this morpheme must be followed by a construction containing prefix 233, {-na-}. Its tone is always High. E.g.:

/ali yénse á-tá-pít-a kunúmbá kwáké +

After each one had gone to his (own) house,

Ságuza a-dá-uza nkázi wáce/

Saguza told his wife.

/paméne á-tá-ónana + a-ná-yamba kufúnsana maina/

When they had seen each other, they began to ask each other's names.

6.7. PREFIX 237

Prefix 237, {-ma-}, indicates habitual or usual action. Its tone is High in negative constructions when immediately preceding the stem; and in negative constructions when immediately preceding a Class 240 prefix plus monosyllabic stem. Its tone is Low in all other environments. E.g.:

/ine si-ndí-ma-bwel-a ndí úcí wanjúci/

As for me, I don't usually bring honey.

/si-tí-ma-lí-dy-á gaga/

We don't (usually) eat the bran of maize.

/kódi mú-ma-yan'khúl-a ciñáñja/

Do you speak Chinyanja?

/kódi mú-ma-khá-l-a kuti/

Where do you live?

/ndí-ma-khá-la kuñchéu/

I live in Ncheu.

6.8. PREFIX 238

Prefix 238, {-zi-}, indicates regular or inevitable action. It never co-occurs with Class 250 or Class 210 prefixes. Its tone is Low before two Highs and High elsewhere. E.g.:

? /anthu a-zí-mw-a mádzi/

People must drink water.

/dzúwa li-zi-kwél-á tsíku ndí tsíku/

The sun must rise every day.

6.9. PREFIX 239

Prefix 239, {-ka-}, indicates the present conditional. If one event occurs, or if one action takes place or is carried out, then some other event or action will follow. A construction with this prefix must be followed by a construction containing prefix 232. There is no single morpheme which negates this construction. Negation is formed by a present conditional construction using the verbal stem {-panda} which means "to be without." Prefix 239 does not co-occur with Class 210 prefixes. Its tone is always Low. E.g.:

/mu-ka-ph-a nálugwe + mudzá^ˈtsekela ndénde/

If you kill a leopard, you will be locked up in prison.

/a-ka-pand-a kupí^ˈta kusukú^ˈlu + sádzaphunzí^ˈla zinthu

If he doesn't go to school, he will not learn many zám^ˈbili/ things.

6.10. PREFIX 2310

Prefix 2310, {-ka-}, in context indicates remoteness from the present in either the past or future. Its tone is Low in negative constructions and preceding Class 210 prefixes; and High elsewhere. E.g.:

/pamé^ˈne i-ka^ˈ-othel-a dzú^ˈwa cón^ˈcija +

When (crocodile) he was warming himself in the sun,

panábwela ñchénche/

in the aforementioned manner, thereon alighted a fly.

/tsopáno mméne i-ká-dya pacilóna paja ñchénche ija +

Now when that [previously referred to] fly ate on
that [previously referred to] wound,

gona inámva kuwawa/

crocodile felt pain.

/ságuza anáúza ñkázi wáce kútí lélo ndikágulitsa

Saguza told his wife saying "today I'll go and sell

cípiku + sizikátheke/

wholesale, won't it be possible?"

6.11. PREFIX 2311

Prefix 2311, {-sa-}, indicates nonindicative negative.

It co-occurs with suffix 322, /-e-/. Its tone is High before
a single High and Low elsewhere. (For the combination of
/-sa-na-/ see Section 7.3.) E.g.:

/mu-sa-phé/

You may not kill. Don't kill.

/mu-sa-ndi-itáne/

You may not call me. Don't call me.

6.12. PREFIX 2312

Prefix 2312, {-ta-}, indicates a very polite command;
that is to say, the person to whom the utterance is addressed
is urged to perform in a particular way. This morpheme
never co-occurs with Class 240 prefixes; it may co-occur

with Class 210 prefixes. Its tone is High before a single High and Low elsewhere. E.g.:

/támwá/ (Please drink.)

/tabwélani/ (Please come.)

/ta-li-tanthauzil-a/ (Please translate it.)

7. CLASS 220 PREFIXES

Class 220 prefixes are optional; that is they can co-occur with Class 230 prefixes. A Class 220 prefix presupposes a Class 230 prefix, with the exception of one construction containing prefix 222. (For details see below.)

7.1. PREFIX 221

Prefix 221, {-ngo-}, indicates that the subject of the verb is only doing one thing and nothing more. This prefix co-occurs with 231a, 233, and 237. Its tone is High after {-ø-} and 237, and Low elsewhere. E.g.:

/ndi-ø-ngo-mwá moa pópánda cólákwa/ 231a

I just drink beer and nothing more for no reason at all.

/a-ná-ngo-puma mpwéá wáké wónse ku-ø-ngo-pumilatu/ 233

He just exhaled all of his breath, just exhaled and nothing more.

/a-ma-ngo-ona kúbá/ 237

He just steals habitually.

7.2. PREFIX 222

Prefix 222, {-ka-}, indicates motion away from the speaker, or other point of reference. It is translated as "go and. . . ." Its tone is High after prefix 237 and 2311 and Low elsewhere. It co-occurs with prefixes 235, 237,

2311, 2310. This morpheme can occur without Class 240 and 230 prefixes; in such a construction it co-occurs with suffix 322, {-e}, and has the meaning of a command. E.g.:

/a-ŋga-ka-ndí-temel-e ñtéŋgowo/ 235

He can go and cut that tree for me.

/a-ma-ka-gulits-a zinthu/ 237

He (usually) goes and sells things.

/mu-sa-ka-b-é mafuta ena/ 2311

Don't go and steal any oil!

/mu-sa-ka-wa-b-é/ 2311

Don't go and steal it!

/ka-wa-gul-e

Go and buy it!

/ka-wa-kazíng-é-ni/

Go and fry it!

/ɔna ija i-ka-ka-lowá mmádzí/ 2310

That (previously referred to) crocodile went and dove into the water.

7.3. PREFIX 223

Prefix 223, {-na-}, co-occurs with prefix 2311, {-sa-}. Together they indicate that before carrying out one activity, another activity was or will be completed. A construction containing these two morphemes requires that another construction precede or follow containing prefixes 231a, 232, or 233. /-sa-na-/ is Low High before a single High, and Low Low elsewhere. Constructions containing /-sa-na-/ do

not contain Class 210 prefixes. E.g.:

/ndí-sa-ná-f-é + ndí-Ø-funa kupíta kuñja kwádzíko lino/

Before I die, I want to go outside of this country.

/á-sa-na-fúns-e + a-ná-patsa ulemu kwáGománi/

Before he answered, he gave respect to Gomani.

Prefix 223, {-na-}, co-occurs with prefix 239, {-ka-} and indicates the past conditional. That is, if one event had occurred, or if one action had taken place or been carried out, then some other event or action would follow. A construction with /-ka-na-/ must co-occur with another construction with /-ka-na-/. There are two tonal patterns, one for each of the two /-ka-na-/ constructions. The tonal pattern Low High before a single High, and Low Low in all other environments indicates the main clause. The tonal pattern Low Low in negative constructions, except when immediately preceding a monosyllabic stem, and Low High elsewhere, indicates a subordinate clause. Negation by Class 250 prefix, /si-/, occurs only in the subordinate clause. Negation by the stem /-panda/ occurs in the main clause. Thus, if the main clause were deleted, the tonal pattern plus the presence of /si-/ would signal the subordinate clause. Dialectally, this /-na-/ is in free variation with /-da-/. Furthermore, the following permutations are permitted: /-ka-na-;/ /-na-ka-;/ /-ka-da-;/ and /-da-ka-/. For example:

/á-ka-na-gúl-a maswíti awó + a-ka-ná-wá-dy-á/

If I had bought those sweets, I would have eaten them.

/anthu á-ka-da-pánda kúdyá + s-á-ka-ná-f-á/

If the people had not eaten, they would not have died.

8. VERBAL SUFFIXES

There are seven position classes of verbal suffixes described here which represent seven potential slots reading from left to right following verbal bases: Classes 370, 360, 350, 340, 330, 320, 310. All except 320 and 310 are derivational suffixes.

8.1. VOWEL HARMONY WITH DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

Classes 360, 350 and 330 whose members begin with a vowel, each have two allomorphs which follow a general rule of Vowel Harmony which is stated here. If the final vowel of the base is /-i, -a, -u/, the initial vowel of the allomorph will be /-i/. If the final vowel of the base is /-e, -o/, or if the base has no vowel, the initial vowel of the allomorph will be /-e/.

8.2. CLASS 370

Class 370 has one member with two allomorphs /-dw-/ and /-w-/. /-w-/ occurs with one stem as illustrated below. /-dw-/ occurs with one stem ending in /l-/; thus, /l-/ plus /-w-/ becomes /-dw-/. This morpheme indicates the passive voice with the agent either expressed or implied. E.g.:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| /ku-kond-w-a/ | (to be loved; liked; pleased) |
| /ku-ba-dw-a/ | (to be born) |

(-bá/ - bear a child)

8.3. CLASS 360

Class 360 has two members. Suffix 361, /-il-/ and /-el-/, and Suffix 362, /-il-il-/ and /-el-el-/, indicate that the action of the verb is being done on someone's behalf, or, to or for someone. E.g.:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| /w-a-ndí-imb-il-a nímbo/ | (He sang a song for me) |
| (-imb- sing) | |
| /a-ná-ndi-ph-el-a ṅkhúku/ | (They slaughtered chicken on my behalf.) |
| (-ph- kill) | |
| /a-ná-ndi-teng-el-a moa/ | (They brought beer to me.) |
| (-teng- bring; take) | |
| /ku-pít-il-il-a/ | (to go through with; persevere) |
| (-pít-il- go by or through) | |
| (-pít- go) | |

Suffix 361 can co-occur with Class 370; thus:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| /ku-kónd-w-el-a/ | (to be pleased with) |
| (-kónd-w- be pleased) | |
| (-kónd- like; love) | |
| /ku-ba-dw-il-a/ | (to be born at, for) |
| (-ba-dw- be born) | |
| (-bal- bear a child) | |

8.4 CLASS 350

Class 350 has two members. Suffix 351 has two phono-

logically conditioned allomorphs, /-its-/ and /-ets-/, and a morphologically conditioned allomorph /-ts-/ which occurs after two bases ending in /k-/; (furthermore the /k-/ is replaced by /-ts-/). This morpheme indicates a causative action. E.g.:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| /á-thamang-its-a ñkángo/ | (They will cause the lion to run.) |
| /a-ná-on-ets-a mabúku/ | (They caused books to be seen. They exhibited books.) |
| (-ón- see) | |
| /ku-dzú-ts-a/ | (to wake) |
| (-dzúk- be awake) | |
| /ku-có-ts-a/ | (to go away; take away) |
| (-cók- go away) | |

Suffix 352 has two allomorphs /-its-its/ and /-ets-ets/. This morpheme has the same causative significance as the unreduplicated morpheme, but with the added meaning of intensification of the activity. E.g.:

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| /ku-lím-its-its-a/ | (to cause to plow very much) |
| /ku-mángg-its-its-a/ | (to bind very tightly) |

Suffix 351 can co-occur with suffix 361 when preceded by the Class 370 morpheme; thus:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| /ku-kónd-w-el-ets-a/ | (to cause to be happy; make happy; give pleasure) |
|----------------------|---|

8.5. CLASS 340

Class 340 has one member {-an-} which indicates an interaction between the subjects or between the subject and object.

/ku-láŋkhul-an-a/ (to speak to each other; greet)
 (-láŋkhul- speak)

/ku-gwíl-an-a mikono/ (to catch hold of each other's
 arms; to shake hands.)
 (-gwíl- seize)

/ku-ón-an-a/ (to see each other; meet)

This morpheme can co-occur with suffix 351 and 361; thus:

/ku-sámal-il-an-a/ (to care for each other)
 (-sámal-il care for)

(sámal- care)

/ku-dziw-its-an-a/ (to cause each other to know)

(-dziw-its- inform)

(dziw-an know each other)

(-dziw- know)

8.6. CLASS 330

Class 330 has the following members. Suffix 331 has the allomorphs /-idw-/, /-edw-/, /-w-/, which occurs with one base and /-dw-/, which occurs with one base. It indicates the passive voice with the agent either expressed or implied. E.g.:

/ku-phík-idw-a/ (to be cooked)

/ku-kóndz-edw-a/ (to be prepared)

/ku-dy-edw-a/ (to be eaten)

/ku-co-ts-w-a/ (to be taken away)

/ku-gwí-dw-a/ (to be caught)

Suffix 331 co-occurs with 351 and 352, as well as occurring simultaneously with all of the preceding; thus:

/ku-vút-its-idw-a/ (to be caused to trouble)

(-vút-its- cause to trouble)

(-vút- trouble)

/ku-lím-its-its-idw-a/ (to be [caused to be] plowed
very much)

/ku-kond-w-el-ets-edw-a/ (to be caused to be happy; to
be made happy; to be interested
in)

The other member of this class, suffix 332, has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs /ik/ and /-ek/ and a morphologically conditioned allomorph /-k/ which occurs with two bases ending in /l-/. This morpheme indicates a state or condition, or in some cases entry into a state or condition. It is generally translated as a passive but excluding any implication of agency. E.g.:

/ku-fún-ik-a/ (to be necessary)

(-fún- need)

/ku-péz-ek-a/ (to be found)

(-péz- find)

/ku-sw-ek-a/ (to become broken; shattered)

(-sw- break)

/ku-tyó-k-a/ (to be broken; cracked)

(-tyó-l- crack)

/ku-tségu-k-a/ (to be open)

(-tségul- open)

No examples have been recorded of this morpheme co-occurring with any of the preceding suffix Classes. It is worthwhile

to mention that most polysyllabic bases consist of various combinations of the preceding suffix Classes. I am concerned about these suffixes only insofar as they are productive. The nonproductive suffixes are more of historical interest than they are of interest for descriptive purposes. For example, we could set up another morphologically conditioned allomorph of suffix 351, namely /-ez-/ for such a pair as /ku-lów-a/, "to enter" and /ku-lów-ez-a/, "to insert." We then find /kú-gw-á/, "to fall"; /ku-gw-édw-a/, "to be dropped"; /ku-gw-éts-a/, "to cause to fall; to drop." Finally, we find /ku-gw-éd-ez-a/, "to shake an object or person, thus causing something to fall." This form has lost the /-w-/ of the passive suffix /-edw-/. Unlike suffix 331, /-ed-/ does not fill the last suffix slot before suffix 321, /-a/. And, there is no indication whether this form is actually related to /kú-gw-á/ or to an earlier form /*ku-gwéd-a/. Consequently, such longer bases are not going to be introduced as complex bases (see Section 9) unless there is an obvious relationship to a shorter form.

8.7. CLASS 320

Class 320 has two members: Suffix 321, {-a}, and Suffix 322, {-e}. These morphemes occur after all preceding Class suffixes, or in their absence, directly following the base.

8.8. SUFFIX 322

Suffix 322 has two meanings. When it co-occurs with prefixes 231, 2310, or 2311, it means nonindicative, that is, subordinate to another verb.¹ When it co-occurs with prefixes 235, /-sa-na-/, 233 in negative constructions, or a 222 construction meaning a command, its meaning has not been ascertained. The sole function seems to be that the word in which it occurs is a verb. E.g.:

231 /ndífuna kúti mu-g-ndi-ítán-é/

I want you to call me. (that you call me)

2310 /inácoka kúti i-ka-othel-e dzúwa/

He went away that he might warm himself in the sun.

2311 /ndífuna kúti mu-sa-ndi-ph-e/

I want that you don't kill me.

235 /si-ndi-nga-sút-e fódya/

I can't smoke tobacco.

-sa-na- /wúla í-sa-na-vumb-e + anthu ámakóna kufúna-

Before the rains come, people like to look for
winged

fúna inswá/

white ants.

¹(Subordinate clauses which contain a verb ending in /-e/, are generally introduced by /kúti/, "to say." See Section 8.13.)

233 /akázi ácícáwá sáwawakónda amúna améne
 Yao women don't like husbands who have
s-a-na-vin-ídw-e/
 never been circumcised.

222 /ka-tanthauz-íl-e-ni-nso mabúku éna/
 Go and translate again some books.

8.9. SUFFIX 321

Suffix 321, {-a}, means indicative. It occurs in constructions with all Class 230 prefixes, except those containing prefixes 2311, 235, and 233, when in a negative construction. E.g.

232 /pópeza s-á-dza-gúl-a pkhósa yánga +
 Since he will not buy my sheep,
si-ndí-dza-lan^hkhúl-a náye/
 I will not greet him.

2310 /i-ká-othel-a dzúwa/
 He warmed himself in the sun.

233 /mu-ná-ba-dw-a liti/
 When were you born?

231 /ñalugwe á-ǫ-gwi-dw-a/
 The leopard will be caught.

8.10. SUFFIX 310

Suffix 310, {-ni}, (with Low tone) means "you plural" or "you singular honorific." It occurs after suffix 321, if Object Prefix 214 is in the construction, or if prefix

2312 is present. It occurs after suffix 322, if the construction has prefix 231 and the Class 240 prefix has been deleted, or if prefix 222 occurs initially in a construction. It also occurs after stems which are not preceded by any prefixes in Classes 240, 230, 220, or 210. (See Section 8.11.)

214 /ti-ku-ku'-thaw-a'-ni/

We are running away from you

(the most polite way of saying) We must run along.

2312 /ta-bwel'-a-ni/

Please come in. Welcome.

231 /ø-ndi'-phunzi'ts-e-ni/

Teach me!

222 /ka-wa-tanthauz-il'-e'-ni/

Go and translate them.

8.11. IMPERATIVES

Polysyllabic imperatives are formed by the base plus suffix 321 in the singular; and the base plus suffix 321 plus suffix 310 in the plural. They are always Low tone structures:

/bwel-a-ni kuno/ (come here!)

/khal-a-ni pansi/ (sit down!)

Monosyllabic imperatives are formed in the same way as the preceding with the exception that they prefix an {i-} to the base; their tone is always Low:

/i-dy-a-ni/ (eat!)

/i-mv-a-ni/ (listen!)

(One only rarely hears an imperative in the singular, as it is impolite to address any person in that way.)

8.12. ENCLITICS

There are five separate words which have no phonologically independent status which are called enclitics.² These five enclitics may be added to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, interjections, conjunctions and verb stems; and they all have Low tone. They are always the last element in any given construction; that is to say, the last morpheme in any word may be an enclitic.

- a.) {-nso} means "also; too; again." E.g.:
- Verb Stem: nen-a-ni'nso (say again; repeat!)
- Pronoun: ife'nso (we too . . .)
- Adjective: kuno'nso (here too)
- b.) {-nji} is translated "what for?"
- Verb Stem: /aṇamátá aja a-ná-b-a'nji/
- What did those boys steal for?
- c.) {-tu} is translated as "indeed, or certainly."
- Conjunction: ndí'tu (and certainly)

²These enclitics are words by criterion c.) of the definition of a word. (See Section 2.) For example: /bwela'nso/ "come again" /bwela kuno'nso/ "come here again."

d.) {-di} expresses emphasis and means the same as {-tu}. In one expression {-di} can be superimposed on {-tu}.

Conjunction: ndi'tu'di (indeed)
 Interjection: inde'di (yes certainly)
 Adjective: zoona'di (very true indeed)
 Verb Stem: wavina'di (they danced exactly. . . .)

e.) {-be} is translated as "still."

Verb Stem: ndi-ku'-dy-a'be (I'm still eating)
 Copula: a-li-po'be (He is still here)

(For other uses of /-be/ with the Copula see Section 8.14.

8.13. ABERRANT VERBAL STEMS

There are two verbal stems which are unlike other verbal stems in Chinyanja in that they end in final /-i/ not /-a/ or /-e/. These stems have limited co-occurrences with the various classes of verbal prefixes, and they never occur with any of the derivational suffixes. Furthermore, both combine with other verbal constructions to form compound verbal tense constructions.

8.14. VERBAL STEM /-ti/

The verb stem /-ti/ meaning "to say," co-occurs with the following Class 230 prefixes:

231 a-Ø-ti (he will say)
 233 a-na-ti (he said)

237 á-ma-tí (he usually says)

2310 a-ká-ti (he said [in context])

The infinitive, /kú-tí/, whose tone is High High is used chiefly to introduce subordinate clauses. (It should not be confused with the Class A adjective /ku-ti/ meaning "where" and having Low Low tones.) The stem /-ti/ is used in forming three compound tenses which indicate intended action in three dimensions of time.

1. Near Future. This is formed by /-ti/ plus prefix 231, and followed by a construction with prefix 231e. E.g.:

/á-ø-ti á-ø-mw-é madzi/

He intends to drink water.

/á-ø-ti a-ø-tsokomól-é/

He intends to cough.

2. Simple Past. This is formed by /-ti/ plus prefix 233, and followed by a construction with prefix 231e. E.g.:

/a-ná-ti a-ø-gúl-é cakúdyá/

He intended to buy food.

/a-ná-ti a-ø-weléng-é buku/

He intended to read a book.

3. Contextual Past. This is formed by /-ti/ plus prefix 2310, and followed by a construction with prefix 231e. E.g.:

/a-ká-ti a-ø-gúl-é nsomba + kóma palibe/

He intended to buy fish but there were none.

/a-ká-ti á-ø-b-é ŋkhúku + kóma sánazipéze/

He intended to steal chickens but he didn't find them.

8.15. VERBAL STEM /-li/. THE COPULA

The copula stem /-li/ meaning "be," co-occurs with the following Class 230 prefixes:

| | | |
|-----|---------|----------|
| 231 | a-ø-li | (he is) |
| 233 | a-ná-li | (he was) |

It may occur with the Class 250 negative /si-/, whereas /-ti/ never does. Neither /-li/ nor /-ti/ ever co-occur with Class 210 prefixes. (The infinitive /kuli/ is never used.) The conjugation of the copula is as follows:

1. Present Tense.

/ndi-li-moyo/

I am life. I am alive.

2. Present Progressive. This is formed by the Present Tense of the Copula plus an infinitive. It indicates that the action is in progress but has not been completed. Generally, the /-li/ of the copula is dropped in Chingoni. In the speech of some people who retain the /-li/ stem a homorganic nasal³ /-ŋ-/ is inserted between /-li/ and the initial /k-/ of the infinitive.

/ndi-li ku-máng-a nũmbá/

/ndi-ku-máng-a nũmbá/

³(This nasal is noun prefix 123.10.)

/ndi-li ŋku-máng-a ñúmbá/

I am (in the act of) building a house.

The tone of the Copula is High Low after /si-/ and Low Low in the Present Positive.

/si-ndí-li bwino/

I am not well.

3. Simple Past.

/ti-ná-li bwino/

We were well.

4. Past Progressive. This is formed by the Past Tense of the Copula plus an infinitive. It indicates that the action was in progress at some specified point in past time. The tone is High High High after /si-/ and Low High Low elsewhere.

/si-ndí-ná-lí ku-bwél-a kuno/

I was not coming here.

/a-ná-li ku-kázíng-a macámbo/

She was frying chambo (white fish).

8.16. CONJUGATION OF THE COPULA

The present and past Copula constructions plus the conjunction /ndí/ form the present and past tenses of the Nyanja equivalent of the verb "to have."

/ndili ndí ŋkhósa/

I have sheep.

/zála zili ndí zikhádabo/

Fingers (toes) have nails.

/ndi-na-li ndí mpeni + kóma tsopáno watayika/

I had a knife but now it has been lost.

Negation of these constructions are formed by placing the enclitic /-be/ after the Copula.

/pa-li-be kanthu/

There had no matter. It didn't matter.

/kále angóni análibe mfúti/

Long ago the Angoni had no guns.

The Future tense of the Copula is expressed by the Future tense of the verb /ku-khála/ meaning "to sit or stay"; and the Future tense of the Nyanja equivalent of the verb "to have" is expressed by the Future tense of the verb /ku-khála/, plus the conjunction /ndí/.

/a-dzá-khal-a mfúmu/

He will be chief.

/s-a-dza-khal-a ndí galimoto/

He will not have a car.

8.17. DEFINITION OF THE VERB

A verb is any word which contains a Class 320 suffix. We also consider /-li/ and /-ti/ verbs since they combine with verbal prefixes of Class 230. (We do not, however, consider /ndí/ nor its negative /sí/ as verbs, because they do not combine with verbal prefixes of Class 230; they will be called pseudo verbs. They occur in the same syntactic slot as verbs, but they are not in concordial agreement with any other words in the sentence. These so-called

pseudo-verbs are translated as "he, she, it, they, is or are" and the negative of that.) E.g.:

/nzúzu si \nzínda wáúkulu/

Mzuzu is not a big town.

/nzúzu ndi \nzínda wáññoño/

Mzuzu is a small town.

In fast speech /ndi/ contracts to a homorganic nonsyllabic nasal before consonants other than nasals; and to a syllabic nasal before /m/; thus,

/kúphá ndi kóípa/ or /kúpha ŋkóípa/

To kill is bad.

/nnumba ndi mwaŋkulu/ or /nnumba mmwaŋkulu/

In the house is big.

The contracted form is affected by the morphophonemic process of replacement, when followed by /y-/ or /l-/; and by the process of addition of a velar consonant, when followed by /w-/, /a/ or /o-/; thus,

/mwána ndi wáŋga/ or /mwána ŋwáŋga/

Child is mine.

/khasu ndi lálikulu/ or /khasu ndálikulu/

Hoe is big.

/njóka ndi yómwe'yo/ or /njóka njómwe'yo/

Snake is that same one.

9. VERBAL BASES AND STEMS

The root of a verbal construction after the prefixes and suffixes have been removed is called the base. There are three sub-classes of bases:

a.) Simplex bases which are monomorphemic, and in combination with Class 320 suffixes constitute stems.

b.) Complex bases which are polymorphemic, and consist of simplex bases plus derivational suffixes from Classes 370, 360, 350, 340, and 330. (See Section 8.1. through 8.6.) Complex bases plus Class 320 suffixes constitute stems.

c.) Reduplicative bases which are polymorphemic, and consist of reduplication of either a simplex or complex base. Each part of which requires a suffix of Class 320 in order to constitute a stem. (See Section 9.2.) For example,

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Simplex: | ku-k [́] ond-a | (to like, love, please) |
| Complex: | 371 ku-k [́] ondw-a | (to be happy) |
| | 361 ku-k [́] ondwel-a | (to be happy to or for) |
| | 351 ku-k [́] ondwelets-a | (to cause to be happy) |
| | 331 ku-k [́] ondweletsedw-a | (to make happy) |
| | 331 ku-k [́] ondedw-a | (to be liked by) |
| | 332 ku-k [́] ondek-a | (to be liked) |

Reduplicative: ku-k^hond-a-k^hond-a (to like often,
regularly)
ku-k^hondw-a-k^hondw-a (to be happy often)

9.1. SIMPLEX BASE

Simplex bases are subdivided into those which begin in consonants and those which begin in vowels:

a.) Consonant commencing bases have the following shapes:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| C | -d- | (black; dark) |
| | -thw- | (be sharp) |
| | -ch- | (dawn) |
| NC | -mw- | (hear; listen) |
| | -ng- | (resemble) |
| | -nk- | (go) |
| CVC | -gul- | (buy) |
| | -dul- | (cut) |
| | -dziw- | (know) |
| CVCVC | -nenep- | (be fat) |
| | -gogod- | (knock) |
| | -ganiz- | (think) |
| CVCVCVC | -fulumil- | (make haste) |
| | -welemuk- | (rise up from a bent position) |
| | -pelewel- | (be too little) |
| CVNC | -mang- | (build) |
| | -kond- | (love, like) |
| | -pang- | (make) |

| | | |
|----------|------------|--------------------------|
| CVCVNC | -finimp- | (be short) |
| | -kalamb- | (be old) |
| | -thamang- | (run) |
| CVNCVC | -tumbul- | (cut open) |
| | -fumbat- | (grasp in the hand) |
| CVNCVCVC | -sangalal- | (be happy) |
| | -tembenuk- | (turn around) |
| | -sungunul- | (melt) |
| CVVC | -bool- | (bore a hole) |
| | -vuul- | (take off one's clothes) |
| | -chuul- | (take out of water) |
| | -fuul- | (shoot) |
| CVNCVVC | -dandaul- | (complain) |
| | -tanthauz- | (translate) |

b.) Vowel commencing bases have the following shapes:

| | | |
|-------|---------|------------------------------------|
| VC | -ip- | (be bad) |
| | -um- | (be dry) |
| | -ik- | (put; place) |
| | -on- | (see) |
| VNC | -umb- | (mould with the hands) |
| | -omb- | (beat a drum; clap hands) |
| | -ing- | (frighten or drive something away) |
| VCVC | -itan- | (call) |
| | -olok- | (cross a river; ford) |
| | -uluk- | (fly) |
| VCVNC | -onong- | (spoil a person or thing) |

| | | |
|-------|---------|---------------|
| VNCVC | -oñjez- | (add) |
| | -ongok- | (be straight) |

9.2. REDUPLICATIVE STEMS

Reduplicative stems have the meaning of performing the activity frequently or regularly. Morphologically they act exactly like the corresponding unreduplicated stems. That is to say, both parts of a reduplicative stem function like a single stem having the same number of syllables. E.g.:

/ku-lím-a-lím-a/ (to plow regularly)

/ku-lím-its-a-lím-its-a/ (to cause to plow regularly)

Not, /*ku-lim-a-lim-its-a/

The tone patterns of reduplicated stems are also identical to the corresponding unreduplicated stem. E.g.:

/a-ku-síyan-a-síyan-a/ (They are different)

/a-ku-fún-a-fún-a/ (They are searching)

/i-ná-phindik-a-phindik-a/ (It was crooked)

/a-ma-lím-a-lím-a/ (He plows regularly)

10. THE TONE OF THE VERB

A given verbal construction (that is, a base plus various affixes), is marked by one or more prefixes, plus the tone of the base and the Class 320 suffixes. Since there is no contrastive lexical tone for verbal stems, all verbal stems with the same number of syllables have identical tone in constructions involving the same morphological sequences. There are five patterns of tone for verbal base plus Class 320 suffixes. Only patterns #1 and #5 are manifest with monosyllabic stems, since they can only occur with final High or Low. No examples of stems having more than five syllables have been recorded in the language.

Tone patterns #1 and #5 occur only with monosyllabic stems. The parentheses in Tone pattern #1 indicate that (a) monosyllabic stems end in final High; (b) all polysyllabic stems have final High High; and (c) stems with more than two syllables have Low tones on any syllables preceding the final High High.

Tone pattern #2, which excludes disyllabic and monosyllabic stems, indicates that quadrisyllabic and quinesyllabic stems have initial High tone plus medial Low tone or tones, and final High High. The trisyllabic stems have High High High.

Tone pattern #3 differs from Tone pattern #4 in that stems with more than two syllables have initial High followed by Low or Lows in #3; while they have initial Low or Lows in #4.

Tone pattern #5 indicates that (a) monosyllabic stems end in final Low; (b) all polysyllabic stems have final Low Low; and (c) stems with more than two syllables have Low tone on any preceding syllables.

10.1. TONE PATTERN #1

Tone pattern #1 is (LLL) (H) H. It occurs in the environment with suffix 322, /-e/, under the following conditions:

a.) When the stem is immediately preceded by prefix 231, /-ø-/:

/mú-ø-phé/ (you may kill)

/mu-ø-itané/ (you may call)

b.) When the stem is preceded by prefix 222 with or without a Class 210 prefix, but only in a negative construction:

/mu-sa-ká-wa-be/ (don't go and steal it)

/mu-sa-ká-tanthauzil-e/ (don't go and translate)

c.) When a polysyllabic stem is immediately preceded by /-ŋgà-/ with Low tone, or a monosyllabic stem is immediately preceded by /-ŋgá-/ with High tone:

/a-ŋga-gulíts-e/ (He can sell)

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| /ndi-nga-b-e/ | (I can steal) |
| /si-li-nga-sw-e/ | (It can not fall) |

d.) When a monosyllabic stem is preceded by two Highs and one Low:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| /si-ndi-na-be/ | (I did not steal) |
|----------------|-------------------|

e.) When a monosyllabic stem is immediately preceded by /-sa-/, or /-sana-/:

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| /mu-sa-f-e/ | (You may not die; don't die) |
| /a-sa-na-f-e/ | (Before he dies) |

It occurs in the environment with suffix 321, {a} :

a.) When the stem is immediately preceded by a Class 210 prefix plus prefix 236 or 221 or 2312:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| /ndi-ta-li-sw-a/ | (After I had broken it) |
| /a-na-ngo-ci-gul-a/ | (He just bought it) |
| /ku-ngo-wa-gula/ | (To just buy them) |

b.) When a disyllabic stem is immediately preceded by prefix 238:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| /a-zi-gon-a/ | (He must sleep) |
|--------------|-----------------|

c.) When a positive polysyllabic infinitive contains only a Class 210 prefix:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| /ku-zi-gulits-a/ | (to sell them) |
| /ku-wa-kululukil-a/ | (to forgive them) |

d.) When a monosyllabic stem is preceded by two Highs, one of which is a Class 210 High tone prefix:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| /si-ndi-mu-pha/ | (I will not kill him) |
| /a-na-mu-b-a/ | (He stole it) |

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| /ndi-ka'-zi-pha'/ | (I killed them) |
| /ndi-ta'-mu-pha'/ | (After I killed him) |
| /a-ka-na'-ci-dy-a'/ | (He would have eaten it) |

e.) When a monosyllabic stem is immediately preceded by prefix 2312, 221, 236, or /-kana'/ if the Class 240 prefix is High, or Low tone /-ma-/, or /-sa-/ in a noun theme:

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| /ta'-mw-a'-ni/ | (Please drink) |
| /ndi-ngó'-mwa'/ | (I can drink) |
| /ndi-ta'-mv-a'/ | (After I heard) |
| /a'-ka-na'-dy-a'/ | (He would have eaten) |
| /ndi-ma'-dy-a'/ | (I eat) |
| /ku-sa'-gw-a'/ | (not to fall) |

10.2. TONE PATTERN #2

Tone pattern #2 is H (LL) HH. It occurs in the environment with suffix 322, /-e/; when the stem is preceded by a Class 210 prefix plus prefix 231, or prefix 222 when initial:

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| /mu-Ø-ndi-ítán-é'/ | (You may call me) |
| /mu-Ø-ndi-kumbukil-é'/ | (You may remember me) |
| /ka-wa-kázíng-é'/ | (Go and fry it) |
| /ka-wa-tánthauzil-é'/ | (Go and translate them) |

10.3. TONE PATTERN #3

Tone pattern #3 is H (LLL) L. It occurs in the environment with polysyllabic stems ending in suffix 322, /-e/,

in negative constructions having a High tone /-ná-/
prefix, 233:

/si-ndi-ná-mu-phíkil-e/ (I have not ever cooked
for him)

It occurs in the environment with suffix 321, /-a/, when
prefix 236 or 2312 immediately precedes the stem:

/ndí-tá-cókel-a/ (After I had gone away)

/ta-cók-a-ni/ (Please go away)

10.4. TONE PATTERN #4

Tone pattern #4 is (LLL) HL. It occurs in the environ-
ment with suffix 322, /-e/:

a.) When there is a Prefix 2311 with or without a
Class 210 prefix; or, when there is a Low tone prefix 233,
/-ná-/; or, a combination of prefix 2311, /-sa-/, plus
prefix 223, /-ná-/ with Low tone:

/si-ti-na-gwilán-e/ (We have not ever seized
each other)

/si-ndí-na-mu-kumbukíl-e/ (I did not remember him)

/mu-sa-ndi-kululukíl-e/ (Don't forgive me)

/tí-sa-na-thandizán-e/ (Before we helped each
other)

b.) When the stem is preceded by /-nga-/ and the
negative /si-/:

/si-ndi-nga-lów-e/ (I can't enter)

/si-ndi-nga-cí-nén-e/ (I can't speak it)

c.) When prefix 222 is in initial position and imme-
diately precedes the stem:

| | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| /ka-lím-e/ | (Go and plow) |
| /ka-tsegúl-e/ | (Go and open [door]) |

d.) When prefix 222 is in initial position and followed by a Class 210 prefix plus a disyllabic stem; or, if Prefix 231 is followed by a Class 210 prefix plus a disyllabic stem:

| | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| /ka-zi-byál-e/ | (Go and plant them) |
| /mu-ø-i-sók-e/ | (You may sew it) |

It occurs in the environment with /-a/:

a.) When the construction is negative and contains Prefix 231, 232, or 2310, together with a Class 210 prefix:

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| /s-á-ø-ti-phunzít-s-a/ | (They will not teach us) |
| /si-ndí-dza-zi-iwál-a/ | (I will not forget them) |
| /si-zí-ka-zi-ñamúl-a/ | (They didn't lift them) |

b.) or, in a negative construction when Prefix 232 immediately precedes the stem:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| /si-tí-dza-folél-a/ | (We shall not thatch) |
|---------------------|-----------------------|

c.) or, any construction containing /-kà-nà-/ with Low tones, or /-mà-/ with Low tone:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| /tí-ma-sauk-a/ | (We are poor) |
| /si-ndí-ma-zi-tsít-s-a/ | (I don't usually pluck fruit from trees) |
| /á-ka-na-vuúl-a/ | (If he would take off his clothes) |
| /si-tí-ka-na-u-lím-a/ | (We would not have plowed it) |

d.) or, when the stem is immediately preceded by Prefix 238, or /-sa-/:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| /zi-zí-ulúk-a/ | (They must fly) |
| /ku-sa-sambíl-a/ | (Not to swim) |
| /ku-sa-sésa/ | (Not to sweep) |

10.5. TONE PATTERN #5

Tone pattern #5 is (LLL) (L) L. It occurs in the environment with final /-e/:

a.) When a polysyllabic stem is preceded by /nga-/ plus a Class 210 prefix in a non-negative construction; or, when a monosyllabic stem is preceded by /-nga-/ plus a Class 210 prefix in a negative construction:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| /ndi-nga-ci-kumbukil-e/ | (I can remember it) |
| /si-ndi-nga-zí-b-e/ | (I can not steal them) |

b.) When a monosyllabic stem is immediately preceded by a Class 210 prefix with High tone, or by /-ná-/ with High tone:

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| /si-ndi-na-ci-dy-e/ | (I didn't eat it) |
| /mu-sa-ndi-ph-e/ | (Don't kill me) |
| /mu-Ø-ndi-phe/ | (Kill me) |
| /si-ndi-ná-b-e/ | (I have not ever stolen) |

It occurs in the environment with final /-a/:

a.) When the stem is immediately preceded by Prefix 234, 239, or 221:

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| /t-a-thandizan-a/ | (We have helped each other) |
| /ndi-ka-fik-a/ | (If I arrived) |

b.) When the stem is preceded by prefix 2310 /-ká-/ with High tone, or immediately preceded by /-má-/ with

High tone:

- /ndi-ká-zi-kumbukil-a/ (I remembered them)
 /si-ndi-má-ph-a/ (I don't usually kill)
 /si-ndi-má-vin-a/ (I don't usually dance)

c.) When the stem is preceded by Prefix 231 in any construction except a negative construction, together with a Class 210 prefix:

- /á-Ø-gw-a/ (He will fall)
 /si-ti-Ø-cap-a/ (We will not wash)

d.) When the stem is preceded by /-sa-/ or /-a-/ plus a Class 210 prefix:

- /w-a-ndi-kumbukil-a/ (He has remembered me)
 /ku-sa-ci-kazing-a/ (Not to fry it)

e.) When a polysyllabic stem is preceded by Prefix 232 or 233 in a non-negative construction:

- /a-dzá-bwel-a/ (He will come)
 /a-ná-cit-a/ (He worked)

f.) When a polysyllabic stem is preceded by /-ka-ná-/:

- /a-ka-ná-gul-a/ (If he had bought)

g.) When a monosyllabic stem is immediately preceded by Prefix 232 or 233, or 238, or occurs in any construction containing 2310, except a non-negative construction with a Class 210 prefix:

- /a-dzá-sw-a/ (It will shatter)
 /a-ná-gw-a/ (He fell)
 /a-zí-dy-a/ (They must eat)

/si-ndí-ka-zí-pha/ (I didn't kill them)

/ndi-ká-mv-a/ (I heard)

h.) When a monosyllabic stem is preceded by a Low tone /-ma-/ plus a Class 210 prefix:

/ndí-ma-cí-dy-a/ (I usually eat it)

i.) When a monosyllabic stem is preceded by Low Low /-ka-na-/ or Low High /-ka-na-/ when following a single Low:

/si-ndí-kana-cí-b-a/ (I would not have stolen it)

/a-kana-f-a/ (They would not have died)

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