A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH
OF KIMASHAMI

Josephat Rugemalira & **Benedictor Phanuel**

Languages of Tanzania [LOT] Project
University of Dar es Salaam

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Preface

The preparation of this grammatical sketch has been a very rewarding experience for us particularly because its appearance marks the end of a long drought in the Grammar Series of the LOT Publications! After the first publication in the series (Rugemalira 2005, *A Grammar of Runyambo*), project researchers focused their energies on the production of dictionaries (see back cover for a complete list of LOT publications). We are glad that a new generation of researchers will be bringing out at least two other grammars in the series soon. We also look forward to several more such products: the Tanzania linguistic landscape is a goldmine waiting to be exploited.

Josephat Rugemalira & Benedictor Phanuel

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Abbreviations

Adj	adjective
Appl	applicative
apprec	appreciative
aug	augmentative
aux	auxiliary
C	causative
CG	consonant-glide
Cl	class
con	connective
CV	consonant-vowel
dem	demonstrative
dim	diminutive
ext	extension
F, FUT	future
fv	final vowel
Hb	habitual
loc	locative
n, N	noun
NC	nasal-consonant
neg	negation
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
obj	object
OM	object marker
ord	ordinal
P_1	today past
P_2	yesterday past
P_3	remote past

pass, P	passive
pejor	pejorative
$Perf_1$	past perfective 1
$Perf_2$	past perfective 2
$Perf_3$	past perfective 3
PHb	past habitual
pl	plural
poss	possessive
PProg	past progressive
pref	prefix
Prog	progressive
quant	quantifier
Rel	relative
RF	reflexive
S	stative
sg	singular
subj	subject
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
v, V	verb

Numbers, e.g. 5, 6, 8, 9, 17, in the inter-linear gloss refer to noun classes unless they are shown as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person singular or plural.

CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION

The speakers of Kimashami live predominantly in the Hai and Siha districts of Kilimanjaro region. This is a relatively small area with dense population. Immigration is intense. In the plains, along the Moshi – Arusha highway, trading and maize cultivation predominate. In the mountain areas the farm plots are much smaller and major crops are bananas, coffee, maize, potatoes and beans. The lumber trade in West Kilimanjaro has been a population puller for labourers from various parts of the country. Its close rival is mountain tourism, which is a labour intensive industry. The Machame route to the Peak of Africa has a tourist hotel to support it – Protea Aishi Hotel – securely hidden amongst the banana groves. Emigration, on the other hand, was, oddly, spawned by the long history of exposure to Western schooling. The area is greatly influenced by the Lutheran Church, being a traditional German missionary sphere of influence with mission headquarters at Nkwarungo. The hallmarks are Machame Hospital and Machame Girls Secondary School. In addition, the population pressure on the small land area forced the people to venture out. This highly mobile population runs businesses in virtually all towns of Tanzania (cf. *Atlasi ya Lugha za Tanzania* 2009). Besides, predictably, there is heavy Swahili influence on the speakers of Kimashami.

The people, Wamashami, call their language Kimashami (E62a in the Guthrie classification), and their homeland Mashami, which includes the Masama area in the west. So the name "Machame" that appears in many contexts is really a corruption of the native term by outsiders. Being one of the languages spoken by the Chagga people, it shares several lexical and structural features with the immediate neighbours: Kimeru to the west, and Kivunjo and Kiwoso (Kibosho) to the east. Kimashami bears slight internal

variations across its geographical spread, notably in pronunciation and vocabulary. For example, *iboka* 'soil lump' in the Masama dialect corresponds to *ibola* in the eastern dialect of Machame proper. Similarly, within the Masama area one can note some lexical and phonological differences as one moves to Ng'uni and Kyuu in the North of Masama and along the border with Siha in the West.

Table 1 shows the estimated number of Kimashami speakers by ward, based on the 2002 national population census. But it will be appreciated that there are many speakers of the language scattered in different parts of Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions in particular, and Tanzania generally. The total number of Kimashami speakers in Hai and Siha districts is estimated to be 148,887. This figure is slightly lower than that of the Languages of Tanzania Project (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008; *Atlasi ya Lugha za Tanzania* 2009) of 194,868 mainly because here the Siha wards are regarded as speaking Kisiha whereas the *Atlasi* regards Kisiha to be a Kimashami dialect.

Table 1: **Calculating the Speakers of Kimashami[1]**

Ward	Type	Total Population	Coeff.	Kimashami Speakers
East Machame	Rural	23,817	1	23,817
South Machame	Rural	21,818	1	21,818
North Machame	Rural	21,779	1	21,779
West Machame	Rural	5,617	1	5,617
Machame Uroki	Rural	9,694	1	9,694
East Masama	Rural	24,452	1	24,452

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[1] The population figures come from the 2002 national population census which was done at a time when the area in question was still one administrative district – Hai. Subsequently a new Siha district was created.

West Masama	Rural	20,213	1	20,213
South Masama	Mixed	8,059	0.5	4,030
East Siha	Rural	15,165	0	0
Central Siha	Mixed	42,429	0	0
West Siha	Mixed	19,807	0	0
Masama Rundugai	Mixed	17,176	0.5	8,588
Hai Town	Urban	17,759	0.5	8,880
North Siha	Rural	2,816	0	0
District Total		**259,958**		**148,887**

Written literature in the language is very recent and, basically, all religious: the New Testament (*Kyaasa Kiiya* 2000); a primer *Lusomi na Ireiya Kimashami (1999)* to accompany the *Kyaasa Kiiya*; a hymnal *Kitabu kya Fiimbo* (1983) and a catechism. The latest are a master's dissertation on the tense system (Phanuel 2006) and a dictionary (Rugemalira 2008).

CHAPTER TWO

2   PHONOLOGY

2.1   Phonemic Inventory and Orthography

Mashami has the following phonemic inventory.

Table 2: **Mashami Phonemic Inventory**

Nasal stops	m		n		ɲ	ŋ
	mb		nd			ŋg
Plosives	b	(p)	t	d	(ɟ)	k
Fricatives	f	β	s		ʃ	ɣ
Lateral fricative				ɬ		
Liquids	w		r		j	
			l			

Vowels	i u
	e o
	a

The sounds represented by the symbols in parenthesis (p, ɟ) are found in borrowed words, idiophones and intensifiers.

The orthographic conventions adopted for the consonants are shown in the table below. All examples in this book are presented in orthographic conventions.

Table 3: **Mashami Orthographic Conventions**

Phonetic symbol	Ortho-graphic symbol	Example	Meaning	Remarks
β	bh	*iru**bh**a*	God	Previous writings used "v"; there is considerable free variation between [β] and [w].
b	b	*i**b**oka*	soil lump	
p	p	*i**p**aua*	to roof	[p] is used in a few words of foreign origin and in idiophones; usually [b] is used instead.
m	m	***m**aaghe*	saliva	
f	f	*i**f**u*	ash	
d	d	*i**d**ubha*	sisal	There are no native nouns with initial [d].
t	t	*i**t**inga*	wound	
n	n	*i**n**angwa*	to become drunk	
s	s	***s**ise*	spark	
l	l	*i**l**ema*	to refuse	
r	r	*i**r**eiya*	to write	
ɮ	ll	*mbi**ll**a*	care	
ʃ	sh	*i**sh**arongo*	skull	
ɲ	ny	*sho**ny**í*	skin	
k	k	***k**itara*	bed	
ŋg	ng	*ite**ng**o*	hut	
ŋ	ng'	***ng'**umbe*	cattle	
ɣ	gh	*i**gh**eiya*	to set a	Previous writings used one

Phonetic symbol	Ortho-graphic symbol	Example	Meaning	Remarks
			trap	letter "r" to write two sounds, [ɣ] and [r].
w	w	*weesi*	wages	
j	y	*iya*	to become cooked	

2.2   Consonants

The nasal stop series has four segments in the labial, alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
maaghe	spittle	*inangwâ*	to become drunk
ímâ	to finish	*ńghê*	grasshopper
makumî	tens	*inínga*	to give
iminâ	to despise, scorn	*inúnútâ*	to suspend, hang
múmû	licence, permission	*múní*	owner
shonyí	skin, leather	*ingˈanâ*	to grow, mature
ishunyâ	pinch	*ngˈanyá*	so-and-so
ísínyâ	to wink	*ngˈundé*	fist, handful
unyafí	hatred	*ngˈwaaná*	simple, easy
ughínyon	initiation camp	*ngˈúmbê*	cattle

Homorganic prenasalized stops exist for the labial, alveolar and velar positions, but not at palatal position[2]. The velar prenasalized stop /ŋg/ is rather peculiar because the voiced velar stop /g/ is missing in the phonemic inventory[3]. This fact however lends support to the analysis of the voiced prenasalized stops [mb, nd, ŋg] as phonemes in their own right, i.e. the existence of phoneme /ŋg/ does not require the existence of /g/.

Further support for the phonemic status of /mb, nd, ŋg/ comes from the distribution of other nasal + consonant sequences. In native vocabulary, prenasalized obstruents are always voiced, as in the following examples.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
iyáámbya	daub	*urangó*	slyness, trickery
yeembâ	maize	*kyaandú*	knife
úsóngâ	prostitution	*ńndû*	person

Three possible exceptions to the voicing of prenasalized obstruents are listed below:

-*antú*	swift, active, cheerful
na*nsh*â	stork, pelican
iyá*nt*â	to expel, dismiss

Normally voiceless prenasalized obstruents are found across morpheme boundaries as illustrated with the singular-plural pairs below.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
nká/bhaká	woman	*ńshî/míshî*	pestle

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[2] The only word in which the prenasalized palatal stop is found, *kisonjo* 'basket', is apparently a loan word from some neighbouring language.

[3] Swahili *jogoo* 'rooster' becomes *ijokóo* in Mashami, i.e. g > k.

nkandá/mikandá	belt	*nsháre/misháre*	type of banana
nkékâ/mikékâ	mat	*mfughû/bhafughû*	blacksmith
nkorî/ bhakorî	cook	*mfô/mifô*	gutter
nsóghi/misóghi	trap	*ntégha/mitégha*	meat
nsengê/misengê	stick/staff	*ńtírî/mítírî*	thud

The items above show that the nasal consonant in the singular noun comes from the *mu-* prefix of class 1 or class 3; after losing the prefix vowel, the nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the next consonant, which retains the voiceless feature.

There is a prominent gap in the oral stop series. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ has no voiceless counterpart but is partially in contrast and partially in complementary distribution with the voiced bilabial fricative /β/ as summarized in the chart below.

Table 4: **Bilabials**

Not prenasalized	Prenasalized	With or without prenasalization	
β	b₁	b₂	
bhe bhi bha	mbe mbi mba	***be bi ba bu bo***	
		mbe mbi mba mbu mbo	

The voiced bilabial fricative [β] is found before the front and low vowels only, and it becomes a stop [b₁] post-nasally. The other stop [b₂] is found before all five vowels, with and without the nasal consonant. In some speakers, [β] is realized as a labiodental approximant [ʋ] and sometimes as [w]. This variation involving [β, ʋ, w] appears to be partly idiolectal, partly dialectal, and may target particular lexical items or morphological features, e.g. noun

class prefix. The following examples show words with the voiced bilabial fricative [β].

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ibhabháso	commandment	*ibhée*	udder
irubhâ	god	*ibhiná*	wound (n)
íbhíndâ	to hunt	*ibhanga*	to call
bhándû / wándû	people	*ibhakâ / iwakâ*	to resemble
bhánâ / wánâ	children	*bhaka / waka*	women

As already noted, the bilabial fricative /β/ is realized as a stop [b] after the bilabial nasal consonant. This is illustrated with the singular/plural pairs below.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
úbhághî	*mbághî*	side
ubhirî	*mbirî*	blending stick
úbhyâ	*níbyâ*	fable
ubhibhi	*mbibhi*	showers
ubhambo/uwambo	*mbambo*	poker

Examples with morpheme-internal */mb/* are shown next.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
íámbâ	to say, to speak	*ng'úmbé*	cattle
íbhámbâ	to peg out, to spread out	*isembé*	loincloth
ighumbua	to sever	*isémbo*	idiot
ifumbâ	to swell	*isambú*	dregs

Examples of intervocalic [b], before all five vowels [a, e, i, o, u], are presented below.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
íbólókâ	to become soft	*shabu*	abundant
iborómua	to undo, unbind, unpack	*úbángâ*	bush knife, sword
ibóóka	to commence, initiate, establish	*ubatá*	ladle, scoop for drinking
kíbó	an expression of surprise	*ikabâ*	to rain, crow, castrate
kiboborí	giant rat	*kibirín*	door bar or latch
kiboshó	navel, umbilical cord	*kibeté*	tin, box, packet, shell
ibúshúkâ	to be hurt/injured	*ubééré*	sloth, sluggishness
kibutá	bunch		

The following examples show occurrences of [b] in both loans and native items.

Borrowed Vocabulary		Native Vocabulary	
báába	father *(Sw. baba)*	*íbábárâ*	to split into pieces
ibátísâ	to baptize *(Sw. batiza)*	*-beeré*	negligent, lazy, idle
baashâ	envelope *(Sw. bahasha)*	*ibengélé*	hoe/panga without handle
baatî	maybe; perhaps *(?Sw. bahati)*	*ibáána*	to touch

Borrowed Vocabulary		Native Vocabulary	
íbéréngétî	blanket	*kibílo*	stopper, cowry
kábíshi	cabbage	*ibarángata*	to grind coarsely
bárásâ	court of law (Sw. baraza)	*íbárásâ*	to unhusk maize
basikélyi	bicycle	*íbáríkâ*	to burst open, crack, be torn
bádô	not yet (Sw. bado)	*íbárâ*	to split into pieces; hatch (eggs)
bakurî	bowl (Sw. bakuli)	*ibáshâ*	to cut to shape, sharpen to a point; sculpt, carve
bángî	bhang; Indian hemp	*ibáláshâ*	to stir or mix by stirring
búndúúkî	gun (Sw. bunduki)	*ibalúka*	to lose colour or beauty, shrivel
bandarî	harbour (Sw. bandari)	*bírí*	nape of neck
barwâ	letter (mail) (Sw. barua)	*íbílâ*	to blink

The voiceless bilabial plosive [p] is very rare; it is dialectally in free variation with [b] and is associated with Church register, with some ideophones and intensifiers and with borrowed vocabulary. Some examples of all these are presented below.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ípárâ = íbárâ	to hatch eggs	*malapa = (Sw. malapa)*	slippers
ikapâ = ikabâ	to hit	*ikaba pa!*	to hit pa!
ipaua (Sw. paua)	to roof a house	*imaa pin!*	to finish up completely
poo = boo	outside	*úbángâ (Sw. upanga)*	knife, machete
kipárwê = kibárwê	piece, part	*ibabái (Sw. papai)*	pawpaw
pasi = (Sw. pasi)	iron	*ibíba (Sw. pipa)*	barrel

The voiceless velar stop [k] has no voiced counterpart [g]. Therefore, of the oral stop series, only the alveolar set [d, t] has an unqualified voice contrast even though there are no minimal pairs to show this.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English	Mashami	English
idóbhâ	to pick, harvest	*íténgô*	hut	*ikandâ*	bark, husk, skin
idodóra	to become red	*itínga*	ulcer, wound	*íkétî*	bachelor
ídínâ	to rumble	*itabhî*	branch (n)	*ikokóí*	mouse
ídúdúyâ	to gulp	*itúú*	cloud	*ikímba*	caution (n)
ídéngâ	to condemn, curse	*iitâ*	to hear, feel	*kilakâ*	epiglottis; uvula

The palatal stop [ɟ] is a clear borrowing; it is present in the following loans:

Mashami sg.	**Mashami pl.**	**Swahili**	**English**

ijééshi	*majééshi*	jeshi	army
íjéngô	*májéngô*	jengo	building
ijíini	*majííni*	pepo, jini	genie/spirit
ijimbô	*majimbô*	jimbo	district, province, county
ijokóo	*majokóo*	jogoo	cock/rooster

There are three voiceless fricatives /f, s, ʃ/ and none of them has a voice contrast.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ifámia	to smell	*ísâ*	to grind	*síísi*	hump
ifikâ	to break, cease	*sábhâ*	jigger	*shukî*	bee
ífótâ	to squeeze, press	*sisé*	spark	*ndóóshû*	ill will
ifungá	to dust	*iselésa*	to abolish	*sháú*	bull
ifû	ash	*-sííse*	narrow	*shófû*	elephant

Even loan words are naturalized by devoicing the fricatives and stops.

Swahili	Mashami	Gloss	Swahili	Mashami	Gloss

mjeledi	*nsheléti*	whip	wavu	*wááfu*	net
mzigo	*nsíkô*	load	gari	*ikárî*	car
ugoro	*ukórô*	snuf	harage	*yaaráki*	bean
jogoo	*ijokóo*	rooster	Mnyamwezi	*inyamusi*	Nyamwezi person; beast of burden
ugali	*ukari*	stiff porridge	hirizi	*irisî*	charm

Received orthography has not made any distinction between the alveolar trill /r/ and the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/[4] (in our orthography we use 'gh' to represent the velar fricative).

[r]		**[ɣ]**	
úrô	gullet	*úghô*	weight
iréíya	to write	*ighéíya*	to trap
irubhâ	god, sky	*ighúbhâ*	lake, pool
irémá	darkness	*ighemâ*	to cultivate
írâ	to ooze	*ighâ*	to pass; win
íríkâ	to bury	*ighíka*	to respond

A clear distinction between the alveolar liquids /l, r/ is demonstrated by the examples below.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ilâ	to become dark; become clean; despise, underrate	*írâ*	to ooze
ílémâ	to refuse	*irémá*	darkness
kikulu	hot pepper	*kikurú*	insect (diminutive)
ikulâ	to desire	*ikurâ*	to scratch
ikolá	to choke	*ikorá*	to cook
iolokâ	to descend	*iorokâ*	to straighten (intransitve)
ibilâ	to blink	*ibirâ*	to dislike

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[4] In the introduction to the dictionary (Rugemalira 2008) this sound was analysed as a uvular trill.

The voiced lateral fricative [ɮ] is a rare segment.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ilóllyâ	to see, find	*-lollo*	self-evident
illwa	to uproot; castrate	*mbilla*	pile, heap
ikíllya	to jump, skip, leap	*ifállyâ*	to sprinkle, scatter for/at
illyá	to eat	*íllyáa*	to become long/tall
imalállya	to keep silent	*úllyámárî*	sin (n)
-llyá	that/those	*illyállya*	to delay

In some cases, the segment appears to be a germinate lateral resulting from vowel elision.

ifállyâ	to sprinkle, scatter for/at;	applicative of *ífálâ* – to scatter
iíllá	to look; = *ilola*	

There are two glides /w, y/. The labio-velar glide /w/ is an independent phoneme in spite of the possible encroaching merger with /β/, in some forms at least, especially in the noun class prefix (cf. *bhandu/wandu* – 'people'; *bhana/wana* – 'children').

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
kiwasî	animal's behind	*wéndé*	marvel
sáwánâ	female goat	*wéési*	wage, salary
iwâ	to drop, fall	*wiindî*	good behaviour
wémbé	horn	*íláwâ*	to rise early

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
kítóyô	stammer, lisp (n)	*kiwoyé*	rope for cattle
isongóya	to lead the way	*irúya*	to look for, hunt
ikóóya	to catch red-handed	*iyâ*	to burn, be cooked
iyáíya	to sweep	*mumúyo*	breath, spirit

In initial position, the palatal glide may be the result of a phonological process to create a CV syllable; e.g. *yeemba* from *i-emba* 'maize' (pl. *meemba* < *ma-emba*); *yaabhe* 'God/provider/distributor' from *i-abha* 'to divide/ distribute'. The infinitive morpheme may, in certain cases, not participate in this glide formation process. In final position, both glides are rather weak, as exemplified below.

Mashami	Variant(s)	English
iruâ	*irwâ / iruwâ*	to loiter, wander idly
iruárua	*iruwáruwa*	to walk about, roam
isémbéâ	*isémbéyâ*	to move to, approach, move forward
shya	*shia*	road
síê	*syê, síyê*	to claim, demand
iswâ	*isuâ*	to be sullen, sulk, be annoyed

It is this weakness on the part of the palatal glide that frequently calls for the insertion of a strong consonant [k] to break up a series of consecutive vowels when the applicative extension is in place.

Base	Gloss	Applicative	Gloss
irúya	look for	*irúkya/irúkia*	look for something for someone
iiyâ	cry	*ikyâ/iikyâ*	cry for something
ikóóya	find	*ikóikya*	find for someone
iyáíya	sweep	*yáíkia/iáíkya*	sweep for/with

2.3   Vowels

There are five vowels as already shown in the chart. The analysis of vowel length is rather problematic; it appears that the language is moving away from the use of the length contrast feature. In some words, vowel length is irrelevant, i.e. non-contrastive, as shown below.

Lost vowel length contrast

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ifanâ/ifaanâ	to become dirty	*sókô/sóókô*	beans
ibhánga/ ibháánga	to call, invite	*kyárá/ kyáárá*	axe
shónga/ shóónga	food	*ifinâ/ ifiinâ*	to play, dance
sákâ/ sáákâ	wilderness	*iyasâ/ iyaasâ*	to forbid, warn
búsa/ búúsa	maize beer		

In many other words, the vowel must be either long or short, but not both.

Long and short vowels can be seen in different words.

Long Only		Short Only	
ifóósa	to calm down,	*imisha*	to spit

	cool		
kideebhá	type of wooden bowl	*ifírâ*	to choke
ifááma	to smell nicely	*mwallyí*	bride
figháánû	five	*unyafí*	hatred, anger
figháághû	three	*úsárî*	forgiveness
imááma	to urinate	*ibhakâ*	to resemble
ndooro	ululation	*ńnsángâ*	sand
-nííni	big, great	*útórê*	beauty/decoration

There are a few instances of minimal pairs distinguished by vowel length. All (except the last) of the examples below have a length contrast in final position and a tonal contrast in addition. This effectively weakens the role of vowel length in distinguishing the words.

Length and tone contrasts in vowels

Short	Gloss	Long	Gloss
máálâ	small intestines	*malâ:*	type of banana dish
ifwá	to die	*ifwâ:*	to cool down
ísâ	to grind	*isâ:*	to remain
íwâ	to fall down	*iwâ:*	to kill
íshâ	to come	*ishâ:*	to suffer
ighwá	to ascend	*ighwâ:*	to send
ighâ	to scoop	*íghâ:*	to stink
ighá	to cease, stop		
illyá	to eat	*íllyâ:*	to become long/tall
imâ	to hinder	*ímâ:*	to finish
iná	to drink	*ínâ:*	to wither

Short	Gloss	Long	Gloss
ibhá	to be, become, befit	*ibhâ:*	to rise (sun), bloom
ísámâ	to relocate	*isá:ma*	to climb

The following minimal pairs involve a length contrast in the initial vowel; the items in the left column have a high front vowel in the root, which combines with the infinitive vowel to create a long vowel; the items in the right column do not have an initial high vowel in the root.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ííya	to cry	*iyá*	to burn, become cooked
iitâ	to feel, hear	*itâ:*	to pay fine, bleed
iighâ	to pass, give birth	*íghâ:*	to stink
iibhâ	to steal	*ibhâ:*	to rise (sun), bloom
iilâ	to be clean/ healthy	*ilá*	to become dark
íírâ	to leak	*irâ:*	to dress

However, this distinction appears to be on its way out in line with the general tendency to neutralize the vowel length distinctions.

In addition, it does not appear that vowels necessarily get lengthened after consonant+glide (CG) or before nasal+consonant (NC) clusters. The examples below show that after a CG cluster the vowel may be long or short. Similary, before a NC cluster the vowel may be long or short.

Mashami	English

mwallyí	bride
kyárá / kyáárá	axe
ínsángâ	sand
shónga / shóónga	food

2.4   Tone

Tonal contrasts consist of a default low, a high tone and a falling tone. The contrastive pairs below illustrate this. Note that Swahili glossing has been used along with the English one because it was felt that some concepts lack precise English equivalents but the same are clearly expressed in Swahili.

Mashami	English	Swahili
ighiná	pit, hole	shimo, tundu
ighinâ	name (n)	jina
ighinâ	to circumcise	kutahiri
ikandâ	tree bark	gamba la mti
íkándâ	to freeze, clot	kuganda (k.v. maji, damu)
ubhirî	whisk, blending stick	kipekecho
úbhírí	eagle	kipungu
mborâ	yellow colour; water trapped outside current	rangi ya njano
mbórâ	blessing	baraka
ibhá	to be	kuwa
ibhâ	to rise (sun)	kuchomoza
ibhâ	arena	dimba (n)
iibhâ	to steal	kuiba

Mashami	English	Swahili
m´m´bwâ	nose	pua
mmbwâ	rain	mvua
ísángâ	nation	taifa
isangá	neck; strong desire	shingo; hamu kubwa
kyééghî	cheek	shavu
kyeeghi	era, season	majira
úníînî	thievery	wizi
unííni	greatness	ukubwa
iambâ	to smear	kupaka
iámbâ	to speak	kusema
iatâ	to cause to enter	kuingiza
iátâ	to light	kuwasha
ibhikâ	to clothe	kuvika
ibhika	to carry on back	kueleka
ibhirâ	to mature, become soaked	kupevuka, iva, lowa
ibhíra	to bring back	kurudisha
dédê	true	kweli
kidedé	peak	kilele
ishongâ	to jump	kuruka
shónga	food	chakula
sókô	bean	harage
sókó	water drain	mtaro

A falling tone can only be realized before pause. Otherwise, any vowel and other tone-bearing consonant (the nasals) may carry a high tone, including the infinitive prefix vowel. It is not clear what rule assigns high tone to the infinitive prefix in some of the verbs.

Rising tone is uncharacteristic and may indicate a lost consonant before the high tone vowel.

Mashami	English
nduú	type of grass
-koó	young
shuú	pigeon pea
ibuú	coward

2.5   Syllable Structure Conditions

The most common two-vowel sequence is /ei/ and it is not certain whether it should be regarded as a diphthong. Other attested sequences are /ai/, /ia/, /ua/, /oi/ and /ie/. It may be reasonable to treat all these as independent sequences, which lead to glide formation, or easily get broken up when a third vowel appears.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ighéíya	to trap	*kisóíya*	sweet potato
iréíya	to write	*kyaghíé*	type of tree
ibhéíya	to rebuild, reconstruct, rehabilitate	*igháíya*	to scoop
-eréi	cowardly	*ighuâ*	to put down
itetéî	underpants, panties, knickers	*iórúâ (iórúwâ)*	to straighten
kiréíyo	document, deed	*nsiá (nsiyá)*	hope
nghéíyo	trap (n)		

CHAPTER THREE

3   THE NOUN AND ITS DERIVATION

3.1   Noun Structure

The underived noun consists of the class prefix and the stem, as examples below indicate.

Mashami	English	Mashami	English
ú-rô	gullet	*u-batá*	ladle
ki-tê	dog	*i-ghúbhâ*	lake, pool
i-rémá	darkness	*ki-lwá*	frog

The derived noun consists of the class prefix, the stem and the derivational suffix. See the following examples.

Derived Noun	Gloss	Source	Gloss
ki-réíy-o	document	*iréíya*	to write
i-máám-u	urine	*imááma*	to urinate
n-kund-é	lover	*ikunda*	to love
n-ghum-î	messenger	*ighumâ*	to send

3.2   The Noun Classes

Nouns referring to human beings are found in classes 1 and 2 which form a singlular/plural pair. The other pairs are 3 & 4, 5 & 6, 7 & 8, 9 & 10. The class prefix in the last pair is typically a homorganic nasal or zero.

Class 1	Class 2	Gloss
muumbî	*bhombî [βa-umbî]*	creator, potter
ńghíngî [ńɣíŋgî]	*bhághíngî*	protector, guard
nká [ŋká]	*bhaká*	woman, wife
mmikú	*bhamikú*	old man
nkokú [ŋkokú]	*bhakokú*	infant
nkorî [ŋkorî]	*bhakorî*	cook

Classes 3 and 4 consist of nouns denoting things in the physical landscape, typically trees and rivers.

Class 3	Class 4	Gloss
munyî	*minyî*	handle(s)
múghâ	*míghâ*	river(s), sea(s)
ndooró	*midooró*	ululation(s)
nghí	*mighí*	tree(s), medicine(s)
mubhá	*mibhá*	sugar-cane(s)

Classes 5 and 6 consist of miscellaneous nouns, including non-count items like milk and saliva.

Class 5	Class 6	Gloss
ibháághí	*mabháághí*	blister(s)
ibhabháso	*mabhabháso*	commandment(s) rule(s)
idubha	*madubha*	sisal
ifanû	*mafanû*	mask(s), carving(s)
ifû	*mafû*	ash(es)

Class 5	Class 6	Gloss
malelá	*malelá*	milk
yaaghe	*maaghe*	saliva
ifubhê	*mafubhê*	baboon(s)

Terms with negative connotations referring to humans are found in classes 5 and 6 as shown below.

Class 5	Class 6	Gloss
ísóngâ	*másóngâ*	prostitute (woman/women)
isekâ	*masekâ*	uncircumcised man/men
íkétî	*mákétî*	senior bachelor(s)
itondó	*matondó*	idiot(s)
irumanungú	*marumanungú*	idiot(s)
ishingá	*mashingá*	servant(s)
ikwáábhi	*makwáábhi*	Maasai (Kwavi)/naked person(s)
inyamusi	*manyamusi*	Nyamwezi/servant(s)

Class 7 is the typical 'thing' class with the plural in class 8.

Class 7	Class 8	Gloss
kindo	*findo*	thing(s)
kiboshó	*fiboshó*	navel(s), umbilical cord(s)
kibutá	*fibutá*	bunch(es)
kidághi	*fidághi*	chest(s), thorax(es), brisket(s)
kidáû	*fidáû*	flat/palm of hand
kidáû	*fidáû* (slang)	one who likes to gossip
kidede	*fidede*	top, peak

kidéébhâ	*fidéébhâ*	wooden dish(es)
kídéngô	*fídéngô*	curse, spell
kidinasí	*fidinasí*	earthquake(s)

The animal classes 9 and 10 are marked by a nasal prefix or no prefix at all. It is the class that readily accommodates loan words that can be analysed as carrying a zero prefix.

Class 9	Class 10	Gloss
kánâ	*kánâ*	mouth(s)
nungú	*nungú*	earthenware pot(s)
nyíndâ	*nyíndâ*	banana plant(s)
nyíshé	*nyíshé*	cockroach(es)
mbughû	*mbughû*	sheep, goat(s)
mbúmbû	*mbúmbû*	spider(s)
ndibhí	*ndibhí*	calabash(es)
ndogho	*ndogho*	colobus monkey(s)
samû	*samû*	blood
samburâ	*samburâ*	uncircumcised woman/women
tutu	*tutu*	heel(s)

Class 11 nouns take their plural in class 10a, where a special prefix *ngi-* is available for this purpose although some of the nouns do not take it.

Singular Class 11	Plural Class 10a	Gloss
ú-bángâ	*ngíbángâ / ngyúbángâ (*mbángâ)*	sword
u-bhirî	*mbirî / ngibhirî*	whisk, blending stick

u-finâ	*ngyufinâ/ ngifinâ (*mfinâ)*	dance used in initiation ceremony for girls
u-rááwé	*ngyurááwé / ngirááwé (*nrááwé)*	riddle
u-sú	*ngisú*	dagger, short sword
u-tééghí	*ngitééghí / ngyutééghí*	soil, earth
u-bhághî	*mbághî*	generation
wálâ (u-álâ)	*ngyálâ*	cock's spur
wémbe (u-émbe)	*ngyémbe*	razor blade
wémbé (u-bhémbé)	*mbémbé*	horn of animal
woyî (u-oyî)	*ngyoyî*	a slap
óyô (Ø-oyô)	*ngyóyô*	piece of broken pot
ú-bháyô	*ngyáyô / ngibháyô (*mbáyô)*	sole, footprint
u-batá	*mbatá / ngibatá / ngyubatá*	ladle, scoop for drinking

The formation of the plural class 10a would be expected to utilize the homorganic nasal consonant as can be seen in *mbirî, mbághî, mbémbé, mbatá*.   But this is not always the case as the ungrammatical **mbángâ, *mfinâ, *nrááwé* and **mbáyô* show. It seems that there is a tendency to generalize what appears to be an innovation, using *ngi/ngy-* in the formation of the plural for class 11 nouns even where the root has a non-velar consonant. If the singular class prefix *u-* is retained or if the stem has an initial vowel, the vowel in the plural prefix glides to form the *ngy-* variant; otherwise *ngi-* replaces the *u-* prefix.

Class 12 forms diminutives by prefixing *ka-* to nouns from other classes without dropping the original prefix. The plural is formed with the class 8 prefix *fi-* and so there is no class 13.

Class 12 (singular)	Class 8 (plural)	Gloss
kambughu	*fimbughu*	small goat/sheep
kanghi	*fimighi*	small tree
ka(i)bata [kéébátâ]	*fíbátâ*	small duck
kanká	*fibhaká*	small woman
káńńdû	*fíbhándû*	small person

Nouns designating abstract entities are in class 14.

Class 14	Gloss
uríngi	antagonism, discord, mischief, betrayal
urongó (pl. ngirongo)	brain
úníínî	thievery
úńndû	virtue
unyáási	fierceness, severity

unywa	smallness
ughoko	laziness
ukushombi	arrogance
usuri	glory

There are no nouns in class 15. Verb infinitives take the class five prefix -*i*-. The concordial affixes prevaricate between the class 5 *li*- and the *ku*- of class 15. This may indicate that the nominal prefix was originally *ku* as is still the case in other languages.

Table 5: **Agreement affixes for the infinitive nominal**

Cl	Pf	Ex	gloss	sub	obj	adj.	one	this	that¹	that²	my	con
5/15	i	ioghã	marrying	ku/lyi	ku/lyi	ku/lyi	lyimwi	ilyi /kunu	ilyo	llya /kulya	lyakwa	lya

ighema nkusenyi/nlyisenyi   cultivating is pleasant   (*isenya* be pleasant) {subject agreement}.

ighema nshilyikundye/nshikukundye   as for cultivating, she likes it {object agreement}.

ighemá lyishá/ ighemá kushá good cultivating {adjective}.

ighema ilyi/kunu, ilyo, ilya/kulya this, that cultivating {demonstrative}.

ighema koose/lyoose all cultivating {quantifier}

*ighema **ku**mwi/**lyi**mwi* one cultivating {numeral}

*ighema **lya**kwa/**kwa**kwa* my cultivating {possessive}

*ighema **lya/kwa** wana*   the children's cultivating {connective}

Even though both prefixes are well-formed, it appears that the *li*-prefix is more popular in current usage and that the *ku*- prefix is disappearing.

The locative expressions are marked by suffixes rather than prefixes. The general suffix is **-ni** with vowel harmony effects on the preceding vowel: [a] always changes to [e] or [i], but the back vowels do not change. The final vowel on the locative prefix is apparently getting lost.[5]

Base Noun	Locative Noun	Gloss
ngô	*ngón*	on the pole
ifumbú	*ifumbún*	in/on/at the mountain
ighiná	*ighinín/ ighinén*	in hole
múghâ	*múghen*	in water/river
íghúbhâ	*íghúbhen*	in the lake
shónga	*shóngen*	in the food
nswá	*nswén*	in the porridge
kítárâ	*kítárén*	in the bed

---

[5] But see Phanuel 2006 where the locative suffix is recorded with the vowel: (i) *nghíni* 'in the tree'; (ii) *kighíni* 'on the chair'; (iii) *mughéni* 'in the water'; (iv) *murine* 'in town'.

A few nouns whose meaning include the feature [+high/elevated] also take -*eu,* with special semantic nuances.

ngíná	*ngínééú*	high in the sky
	ngínén	in the sky
irubhâ	*irubheú*	in the heavens
	irubhén	in the clouds/weather
mmba	*mmbeú*	on the top of the house
ifumbú	*ifumbúú*	on the mountain top
	ifumbún	in/on/at the mountain

Some nouns with the semantic feature [+locative] may not take the locative suffix, as examples below show.

mmba	in the house
mungo	on the back
kisangu	on the face
boo	home/outside
ndeu	on the stomach

There is the possibility that *ndeu* is actually marked for location and comes from a lost *nda,* which exists in other Bantu languages. The well-formed *ndeun* 'in the stomach' provides a convenient contrast.

The full set of nominal prefixes and agreement markers are presented in the table below.

Table 6: **Noun class concordial pattern**

Cl	Pf	Example	Gloss	sub	obj	adj	num	this	that₁	that₂	my	con
1	*N*	*ńndû*	person	*a*	*N*	*mu*	*umwi*	*eu*	*ito*	*ulya*	*akwa*	*wa*
2	*bha*	*bhándû*	people	*bha*	*bha*	*bha*	*bhabhii*	*bhandi*	*wando*	*bhalya*	*bhakwa*	*bha*
3	*N*	*nghí*	tree	*u*	*u*	*mu*	*umwi*	*eu*	*ito*	*ulya*	*wakwa*	*wa*
4	*mi*	*mighí*	trees	*i*	*i*	*mi*	*ibhii*	*ei*	*iyo*	*ilya*	*yakwa*	*ya*
5	*i*	*iyái*	egg	*lyi*	*lyi*	*lyi*	*lyimwi*	*ilyi*	*ilyo*	*lilya*	*lyakwa*	*lya*
6	*ma*	*mayái*	eggs	*a*	*ya*	*ma*	*abhii*	*andi*	*ando*	*alya*	*akwa*	*a*
7	*ki*	*kíndô*	thing	*ki*	*ki*	*ki*	*kimwi*	*iki*	*ikyo*	*kilya*	*kyakwa*	*kya*
8	*fi*	*fíndô*	things	*fi*	*fi*	*fi*	*fibhii*	*ifi*	*ifyo*	*filya*	*fyakwa*	*fya*
9	*N*	*mbughû*	goat	*i*	*i*	*shi*	*imwi*	*ei*	*iyo*	*ilya*	*yakwa*	*ya*
10	*N*	*mbughû*	goats	*ti*	*ti*	*shi/ti*	*ibhii*	*iti*	*ito*	*tilya*	*takwa*	*ta*
10a	*ngi*	*ngíbángâ*	swords	*ti*	*ti*	*shi/ti*	*ibhii*	*iti*	*ito*	*tilya*	*takwa*	*ta*
11	*u*	*úbángâ*	sword	*lu*	*lu*	*lu*	*lumwi*	*ilu*	*ilo*	*lulya*	*lwakwa*	*lwa*
12	*ka*	*kambu-ghû*	small goat	*ka*	*ka*	*ka*	*kamwi*	*aka*	*ako*	*kalya*	*kakwa*	*ka*

Cl	Pf	Example	Gloss	sub	obj	adj	num	this	that₁	that₂	my	con
14	u	*úndû*	humanness	u	lu	lu	lumwi	ilu/elu	ilo/elo	lulya	lwakwa	lwa
15/5	i	*ioghâ*	marrying	ku/ lyi	ku/ lyi	ku	lyimwi	ilyi/ kunu	ilyo	llya/ kulya	lyakwa	lya
16	a	*ándô*	place	ku	ku	ku	amwi	andi	ando	alya	kwakwa	kwa/a
17	ku	*kúndô*	place	ku	ku	ku	kumwi	andi	efo	kulya	kwakwa	kwa
18	-	*mmbéú nghín ukuten*	on the house, in the tree, on the wall	ku	ku	ku	kumwi	kunu	efo	kulya	kwakwa	kwa

3.3   Noun Derivation

3.3.1   Noun Derivation by Change of Class

A noun is usually understood to belong to a particular class in the singular; when the appropriate plural prefix replaces the singular prefix, the change is normally regarded as an inflectional process to mark a number contrast. Beyond that regular contrast, nouns may relocate into other classes to convey various shades of meaning. In the simplest forms, the original prefix is replaced by a prefix from a different class as in *nríngi* 'agitator'*, uríngi* 'betrayal'. In other cases, the original prefix may be retained and the new prefix simply added before it, as in *mwanâ* 'child', *kamwanâ* 'small child'. In the case of the form related to *ńndû* 'person', even the final vowel of the base noun changes*: kíndô* 'thing', *kúndô* 'place'. The meaning relation is even more debatable.

The more regular semantic nuances concern augmentative and diminutive senses. But such derived forms usually convey senses other than merely physical size, and may be marshalled to capture some pejorative or appreciative nuance. Whether an augmentative or diminutive form is pejorative or appreciative depends on what is conceived, as the standard or expected size in a given context – movement from the basic class to a new noun class is sufficient to signal a new nuance. For instance, the augmentative *imwanâ* '*child*' may carry negative connotations because it is expected that a child will be small; but it could carry positive connotations if it is seen as focusing on some aspect of the health of the child to indicate that the child is growing well, and so is above the average child in size. So, in the example derivations below the remarks referring to pejorative and appreciative senses need to be taken in that spirit of relativity.

Class	Example	Gloss	Class	Example	Gloss
1	*ńndû*	person	1	*nríngi*	agitator
2	*bháńndû*	persons	2	*bharíngi*	agitators

Class	Example	Gloss	Class	Example	Gloss
5	*íńdû*	person (aug/ pejorative)	5	*iríngi*	agitator (aug.)
6	*mábhándû*	persons (pejorative)	6	*maríngi*	agitators (aug.)
7	*kíndô*	thing			
8	*fíndô*	things	8	*firíngi*	small agitators
12	*kańdû*	person (dim. appreciative)	12	*karíngi*	small agitator
14	*úńdû*	humanness	14	*uríngi*	betrayal
16/17	*ándô / kúndô*	place			

Class	Example	Gloss	Class	Example	Gloss
1	*mwanâ*	child	1	*mbughû*	goat, sheep
2	*bhanâ*	children	2	*mbughû*	goats, sheep
5	*imwanâ*	child (aug/ pejorative)	5	*imbughû*	goat (aug. pejorative)
6	*mabhanâ*	children (aug. pejor.)	6	*mambughû*	goats (aug.)
7	*kimwanâ*	child (dim.)	7	*kimbughû*	goat (dim. pejorative)
8	*fimwanâ*	children (dim.)	8	*fimbughû*	goats (dim. pejorative)
12	*kamwanâ*	child (dim. apprec.)	12	*kambughû*	small goat (dim. apprec.)

Many nouns are derived from verbs by means of a suffix vowel and an appropriate noun class prefix.

a)   *Derivation using suffix -a*

Verb		Noun	
ighemâ	to cultivate	*ghemâ/ighemâ*	farm

ifwá	to die	*ifwâ*	death
iasâ	to advise, warn	*kyaasá*	agreement
ikyá	to dawn	*makyá*	dawn
ikundâ	to love	*ikundâ*	love
iisa	to grind	*nswa*	flour

b) *Derivation using suffix -i*

Verb		**Noun**	
ighemâ	to cultivate	*ughemî*	agriculture
ighemâ	to cultivate	*nghemî*	farmer
íbhíngâ	to win	*úbhíngî*	victory
íbhíngâ	to win	*ḿbíngî*	winner
ighumâ	to send	*ghumî*	message
igheghâ	to talk	*ugheghî*	manner of talking
igheghâ	to talk	*ngheghî*	speaker
iéékyâ	to help	*wéékî*	help, aid
ikundâ	to love	*ukundî*	love

c) *Derivation using suffix -o*

Verb	**Gloss**	**Noun**	**Gloss**
isiyâ	to come to an end	*masíyô*	end
íbhíngâ	to win	*úbhíngô*	judgement
iréíya	to write	*kiréíyo*	document/writing instrument
iasâ	to advise, warn	*kyaasô*	advice
igheghâ	to talk	*igheghô*	word
ibhabhâ	to be bitter, itch	*mabhábhio*	pain

Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
ílúngâ	to join	*ílúngô*	joint
íghásâ	to make sacrificial offering	*kíghásô*	sacrifice
ísékâ	to laugh	*sékô*	laughter
ighááka	to vomit	*ughááko*	vomit
ísésâ	to gnaw (as insect or bird)	*kísésô*	grain weevil
iésâ	to tempt, measure	*kyéésô*	temptation, measurement
íbáshâ	to sculpture	*mbáshó*	tiny pieces of wood

d)   *Derivation using suffix -u*

Verb		Noun	
ifwá	to die	*mfú/ufú*	dead person/death
imááma	to urinate	*imáámu*	urine
isongóya	to lead	*kisóngóghû*	leader
ifumâ	to dig	*ifumû*	spear
íanâ	to thank	*kyánû*	sacrifice
yuumâ	to be hard/dry	*muumû*	not generous (esp.with food)
iélâ	to winnow	*muulú*	chaff

e)   *Derivation using suffix -e*

Verb		Noun	
ikundâ	to love	*nkundé*	lover
ibhabhâ	to be bitter/itch	*ibhabhe*	leprosy
iishíbhya	to get accustomed to	*mishíbhyé*	customs

ííndyâ	to worship	*miindyé*	mass
íkúrâ	to scratch	*ikure*	food stuff from scratching
isáára	to cut (e.g. with razor blade)	*sáré*	incision
íísâ	to grind	*isewe*	grindstone
íshéshékâ	to sieve	*shekesheké*	sieve
ighéngéâ	to slumber	*ghwê*	sleep
ing'anâ	to grow	*ming'ányé*	upbringing, socialization

f)   *Derivation using suffix -ie*

The derivation with *-ie* implies mannerism or way /style of doing things (*cf. ile/ele* in other Bantu languages)

Verb		**Noun**	
ikorá	cook	*mikóryé*	cuisine/manner of cooking
iénda	walk	*mengyé*	behaviour, way of walking (d > g)
ikundâ	love	*mikúndyé*	way of loving
iná	drink	*miníyé*	way of drinking

g)   *Derivation involving no change of final vowel*

Nouns derived in this way are assigned to class 7/8 with the ki/fi noun class prefixes.

Verb	**Gloss**	**Noun**	**Gloss**
í-éng'â	breathe	*kyeng'á*	breath
isisâ	disturb	*kisisâ*	disturbance
ítítâ	burrow	*kítítâ*	blending stick; type of insect

íréngétâ	cut (tree)	*kirengetâ*	(tree) cutter
ílólâ	look, watch	*kílólâ*	mirror

3.4   Compounding and Reduplication

3.4.1   Noun + Associative + Noun

Compounds that combine two nouns require the associative connector so that the literal semantics is possessive, as in *kibere kyá ífúbhê* 'potato of baboon' = 'baboon's potato'. However, the true meaning of the compound cannot, in most cases, be computed from the constituent nouns.

Compound Noun	Basic Term	Modifying Term
isálé lyá shófu	*isálé*	*shófu*
aloe vera	kind of aloe vera plant	elephant
iuwá lyá shókâ	*iuwâ*	*shokâ*
kind of bad smelling flower	flower	snake
ighumá lyá múghen	*ighumâ*	*mughen*
kind of medicinal riverside yam	yam	in the water
kibere kyá ífúbhê	*kiberé*	*ifubhê*
kind of bitter potato	potato	baboon
mangi á ndeyé	*mangí*	*ndeyé*
kind of crowned bird	king	bird

3.4.2   Verb + Noun Compounds

In verb plus noun compounds, the noun is a complement of the verb, even though the verb is already in the nominal form with an appropriate noun class prefix.

Compound Term	Verb	Noun
ifishá ńńdô	*ifishâ*	*ńńdô*
kind of plant with hard stem	to break	sickle
íbhándá súbhâ	*bhandâ*	*súbhâ*
kind of plant with thick leaves	to grow fat	ram
kirinda múndi	*rindâ*	*múndí*
fool	to seal a crack to stop seepage	wooden container
kiwambo kughwî	*wambâ*	*kughwî*
mantis	to spread around	ear
kitúla itíkó	*túlâ*	*ítíkó*
kind of hard spreading grass	to fell	zebra
ibara nungú	*barâ*	*nungú*
kind of large grasshopper	to break	pot

3.4.3   Reduplication

The nouns below are derived via partial or full reduplication of the stem. In many cases, the non-reduplicated form is no longer available and it can only be assumed because of the identical parts in the current noun.

Noun	Gloss
ifarafara	type of edible and medicinal herb that produces some noise when disturbed.
bhyaabhya	rumour mongering (from *bhyâ* 'tell')
sisighî	small black ant
ififína	type of tree
ifwafwá	numbness (from *fwa* 'die'; cf. *Swahili: kifafa* – epilepsy)
imbarámbárâ	type of grass
ishwíshwí	non-maturing flowers of the banana bunch

Noun	Gloss
isosoro	house lizard
itungúrúrû	banana leaf stem
kibhiribhiri	a whisper, secret meeting, plot, scheme
kiboborí	giant rat
kírórómâ	squirrel
kifirífírî	jealousy
kíghághásâ	hedgehog, porcupine
munyúnyû	bat
mwálúkólúkô	unreliability/ undependability (from *iálúkâ* 'change')
sarusárú	things in shambles
mbarara	unnecessary talks
mbuumbuu	spider

3.5   Pronominal Forms

The freestanding personal pronouns are shown in Table 7, together with the subject and object concordial affixes. The possessive forms are bound morphemes that take prefixes from the appropriate noun class.

Table 7: **Pronouns**

	Personal pronouns		Subject affix	Object affix	Possessive pronoun	
1s	*yen*	I	*shi-*	*shi-*	*-kwa*	my
2s	*iwe*	you	*ku-*	*ku-*	*-afo*	your
3s	*we*	s/he	*a-*	*m-*	*-akwe*	his/her

	Personal pronouns		Subject affix	Object affix	Possessive pronoun	
1p	*ise*	we	*lu-*	*lu-*	*-eru*	our
2p	*ini*	you	*mu-*	*mu-*	*-an*	your
3p	*wo*	they	*bha-*	*bha-*	*-awo*	their

3.6   Numerals

The names of the numerals are nouns falling in various noun classes; numbers one through six and nine appear with the *ki/fi* prefixes; one and nine have the singular prefix *ki*. *mfungághé* 'seven' is probably class 3 and *nyanyá* 'eight' is probably class 9. *Ikumî* 'ten' is in class 5, with the plural, *makumí*, in class 6. Numeral agreement is marked up to six only, i.e. the prefix on the number word agrees with the class of the noun modified: *bhandu bhaghíndághû* 'six people' and not **bhandu fighíndághû; bhandu mfungághé* 'seven people' and not **bhandu bhafungághé.*

Table 8: **Cardinal numbers**

	Ones	Tens		Hundreds	
1	*kyímwî*	*ikumî*		*íyánâ*	
2	*fíbhí*	*makumí*	*ábhí*	*mayana*	*abhí*
3	*figháághû*	*makumí*	*ágháághû*	*mayana*	*ágháághû*
4	*fíínâ*	*makumí*	*áánâ*	*mayana*	*áánâ*
5	*figháánû*	*makumí*	*ágháánû*	*mayana*	*ágháánû*
6	*fighíndághû*	*makumí*	*ághíndághû*	*mayana*	*ághíndághû*
7	*mfungághé*	*makumí*	*mfungághé*	*máyáná*	*mfungághé*
8	*nyanyá*	*makumí*	*nyanyá*	*máyáná*	*nyanyá*
9	*kyeendá*	*makumí*	*kyeendá*	*máyáná*	*kyeendá*

The ordinal terms are formed by changing the noun class prefix: *lyimwî* 'once' is now in class 5 instead of seven; *kábhí* 'twice' is in class 12 instead of 8. Again, the pattern ends at sixth. From seventh *'mara mfungághé'* the pattern uses what is probably a borrowed item from Swahili to do the numeral ordering. In the table 'x' stands for 'times'.

Table 9: Ordinal numbers

x1	*lyimwî*	once
x2	*kábhí*	twice
x3	*kagháághû*	three times
x4	*káánâ*	four times
x5	*kagháánû*	five times
x6	*kaghíndághû*	six times
x7	*mara mfungághé*	seven times
x8	*mara nyanyá*	eight times
x9	*mara kyeendá*	nine times
x10	*mara ikumî [marekumî]*	ten times

When the ordinal term modifies a noun, the associative construction is used. The associative form may be *a* or *wa*. The free ordinal already shown above is used, except in the case of 'first noun' where *mbê/ kwánsa* replace *lyimwî*.

Table 10: **Numeral as noun modifier**

1st	*nndu á mbê/ kwánsa*	first person
2nd	*nndu a kabhí*	second person
3rd	*nndu a kagháághû*	third person
4th	*nndu a káánâ*	fourth person
5th	*nndu a kagháánû*	fifth person

6th	*nndu a kaghíndághû*	sixth person
7th	*nndu a mfungághé*	seventh person
8th	*nndu a nyanyá*	eighth person
9th	*nndu a kyeendá*	ninth person
10th	*nndu a ikumî*	tenth person
11th	*nndu a ikumí na lyimwî*	eleventh person
12th	*nndu a ikumí na kabhí*	twelfth person

CHAPTER FOUR

4   THE ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN THE NOUN PHRASE

4.1   Categorization Criteria

The criteria for establishing the types of elements that can become dependents of the noun in the noun phrase are based on morphological properties, syntactic behaviour and semantic features. The table for concordial affixes (Table 6) shows that different types of noun dependents take different sets of agreement affixes. For example, the agreement affixes for *adjectives* are different from the agreement affixes for *numerals*. So, the morphology establishes a distinction between adjectives and numerals as belonging to different categories. It will be noted though that there are many overlaps in the affixes across categories. The perfect example is provided by classes 7/8: the *ki/ky* marker is found in all cells across the table. Similarly, as can be observed in Table 11, the markers for *that*$_2$, possessive *my*, and *connective* are almost identical (with the usual glide formation and vowel deletion processes); the mismatches are in classes 1, 14, and 16.

Table 11: **Identical affixes across dependent categories**

Class	that$_2$	my	connective
1	*u-lya*	*a-akwa*	*w-a*
2	*bha-lya*	*bha-akwa*	*bha-a*
3	*u-lya*	*w-akwa*	*w-a*
4	*i-lya*	*y-akwa*	*y-a*
5	*li-lya*	*ly-akwa*	*ly-a*
6	*a-lya*	*a-akwa*	*a-a*
7	*ki-lya*	*ky-akwa*	*ky-a*

Class	that₂	my	connective
8	*fi-lya*	*fy-akwa*	*fy-a*
9	*i-lya*	*y-akwa*	*y-a*
10	*ti-lya*	*ti-akwa*	*ti-a*
10a	*ti-lya*	*ti-akwa*	*ti-a*
11	*lu-lya*	*lw-akwa*	*lw-a*
12	*ka-lya*	*ka-akwa*	*ka-a*
14	*u-lya*	*lw-akwa*	*lw-a*
15	*i-lya/ku-lya*	*kw-akwa*	*kw-a*
16	*a-lya*	*kw-akwa*	*kw-a/a-a*
17	*ku-lya*	*kw-akwa*	*kw-a*
18	*ku-lya*	*kw-akwa*	*kw-a*

The syntactic criteria pertain to the positions that an element may occupy in the noun phrase as well as the possibilities of, and limits on, co-occurrence of an element with other elements. If an element cannot co-occur with another, it may be because the two occupy the same syntactic position and stacking is not permitted. This would be a strong basis for considering such elements as belonging to the same syntactic category. For example, the English determiners 'the' and 'my' cannot co-occur; only one of them may fill the determiner slot (*<u>*the* <u>*my*</u> book</u>). On the other hand, it may be that two or more items of the same category can co-occur because stacking is permitted. In that case, co-occurrence does not signal different category membership (as in the Mashami possessive and demonstrative determiners *kitabu kilya kyakwa* 'that book of mine').

In principle, stacking (i.e. repetition of a word or a category) is prohibited, as is clearly demonstrated in the case of restricted sets of determiners and modifiers, e.g. demonstratives, possessives, numerals and general quantifiers.

*fitabu fingi fyoose	many all books (general quantifiers)
*ikusáro lyilyá ilyi	that this thought (demonstratives)
*fitabu fyakwa fyakwe	my your books (possessives)
*makusáro abhii aghaanu	two five thoughts (numerals)

It would appear that even in cases like that of the adjective category where it looks like stacking is permitted, the items in question belong to different subcategories. Thus, the adjectives in *kitabu kisha kidodori* 'good red book' belong to different sub-categories, i.e. general adjective and colour.

A further syntactic criterion concerns the phrasal properties of a category. Adjectives may be modified by intensifiers (adverbs), whereas demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers may not.

Quantifier	**Adjective**
fitabu fingi dén/nnú	*fitabú fyóósé dén/*nnú*
books many very	books all very

The differences in the behaviour of *dén* and *nnú* in the examples above shows how further lexical restrictions can complicate the categorization of a word. For instance, *nnú* may not co-occur with fixed ranged adjectives and numerals, whereas *dén* may.

*bhandu baghindaru nnú

bhandu baghindaru dén 'really six people!' (positive orientation – we had expected less).

If they are stacked, then *dén* must be final; the order is not variable.

fitabu fingi nnú dén but not **fitabu fingi dén nnú* 'very very many books'.

nyálekaba mwana nnú dén 'he thrashed the child very severely'.

There is greater freedom of movement within the construction for *nnú* but not for *dén*.

nyálekaba nnú mwana

nyálekaba mwana nnú

nyálekaba mwana dén

* *nyálekaba dén mwana*

'he thrashed the child severely'

So, even intensifiers have variations among themselves and using them as criteria for categorizing other items will give variable results.

4.2   Determiners

Nominal dependents in Mashami are post-head with one exception, namely the distributive determiner *wo* 'each/every'. In the noun phrase, the position preceding the noun is regarded as 1 and the position following it is regarded as 1 as well, whereas that which is occupied by the noun is 0. See the following examples.

01	0	
each	**noun**	**Gloss**
wó	*nndu*	each person
wó	*kilwa*	each frog

Determiners pick out the entity denoted by the noun. They belong to closed sets of mutually exclusive items. In Mashami there are two main sets, demonstratives and possessives, whose respective members may co-occur, in that fixed order. It is the items in each set that are internally mutually exclusive, meaning that demonstratives may not co-occur, and possessives may not co-occur. This may be regarded as a semantic restriction: an item cannot be both proximate and distal (**ikusáro lyilyá ilyi* 'that this thought'.

In the following examples when the possessive precedes the demonstrative the construction is ill-formed. It will be shown that no other element can precede the demonstrative or intervene between the demonstrative and the possessive.

Table 12: Determiner order

	0	1	2	Gloss
		determiners		
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	
a	*ńndú*	*ulya*	*wákwa*	that person of mine
b	* *ńndú*	*wakwa*	*ulya*	
c	*ikusáro*	*lyilyá*	*lyákwa*	that thought of mine
d	**ikusáro*	*lyakwá*	*lyilyá*	

4.3   Modifiers

Modifiers introduce additional properties to the noun that has been picked. These may be divided into two groups, namely quantifiers and qualifiers. Quantifiers consist of numerals (*bhandu bhaghíndághû* 'six people'), ordinals (*nndu a kabhí* 'second person') and general quantifiers (many, other, all, only).

bhandu	*bhéngi*	<u>many</u> people
bhandu	*bhengí*	<u>other</u> people
bhandu	*bhóósê*	<u>all</u> people
bhándú	*bhéní/nsí*	people <u>only</u>

Qualifiers include adjectives *(bhandu bhashá* 'good people'*)*, associative (connective) phrases *(bhandu bhá másama* 'people of Masama'*)*, and relative clauses (*bhandu bhakéé úlaya* 'people who are in Europe'). The modification properties of each of these will be considered in the following sections.

Quantifiers

The numeral may follow the two determiners (demonstrative and possessive). The ill-formed constructions below place the numeral before both determiners or in between them.

Table 13: **Determiner – Numeral Order**

	0	1	2	3
	Noun	***Dem.***	***Poss.***	***Num.***
a	*bhandu* people	*bhalyá* those	*bhákwa* my	*bhagháánû* five
b*	*bhandu*	*bhagháánu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*
c*	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhagháánu*	*bhákwa*
	those five people of mine				
d	*makusáro*	*alyá*	*ákwa*	*agháánû*
	those five thoughts of mine				

The construction in (c) above would be acceptable if possessive changed to associative, thus *bhandu bhallya bhaghaanu bha Masama* those five people of Masama.

For best results below the ordinal is placed immediately after the numeral in (a and c). The results are not so good if the ordinal precedes the numeral in (b and d). The numeral is grudgingly treated as an afterthought.

Table 14: **Numeral and ordinal order**

	0	1	2	3	4	*gloss*
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	
a	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*	Those first
!b	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bha mbê*	*bhagháánú*	five people of mine
c	*makusáro*	*alyá*	*ákwa*	*agháánú*	*á kábhí*	Those
!d	*makusáro*	*alyá*	*ákwa*	*á kábhí*	*agháánú*	second five thoughts of mine

In the following examples, the general quantifier *bhéngi* 'many' may not co-occur with the numeral in (a-b) or follow the ordinal in (c). Rather it may replace the numeral i.e. occupy the position between the possessive and the ordinal in (d).

Table 15: **Numeral and quantifier 'many'**

	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Quant.*
*a	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*	*bhéngi*
	people	those	my	five	first	many
	Those first five many people of mine					
*b	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	-	*bhéngi*
	Those five many people of mine					
*c	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	-	*bha mbê*	*bhéngi*

	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Quant.*
	Those first many people of mine					
d	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhéngi*	*bha mbê*	
	Those first many people of mine (quantifier before ordinal)					
e	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	-	-	*bhéngi*
	Those many people of mine					

On the other hand, the quantifier *bhóósê* "all" has no such restrictions, being able to co-occur with the numeral and occupy positions before and after the numeral and ordinal, as in (a-g) below.

Table 16: **Quantifier 'All'**

	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Quant.*
a	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*	*bhóósê*
	All those first five people of mine					
b	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhóósê*	*bha mbê*	*bhagháánú*
	All those first five people of mine (gen. quantifier before ordinal and numeral)					
c	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	-	*bhóósê*
	All those five people of mine					
d	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhóósé*	*bha mbê*	-
	All those first people of mine (gen. quantifier before ord.)					
e	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	-	*bha mbê*	*bhóósê*
	All those first people of mine (ordinal before gen. quantifier)					
f	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhoose*	*bhágháánû*	
	All those five people of mine (general quantifier before					

	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Quant.*
	numeral)					
g	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	-	-	*bhóósê*
	All those people of mine					

Qualifiers

The adjective may occupy various positions, namely after the ordinal and numeral, between them, or before them, as in (a-d); but it cannot be placed before the determiners (demonstrative and possessive: e-f). The position after the possessive in (d) is probably most preferred.

Table 17: **Adjective**

	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Adj.*
a	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bhá mbê*	*bhashá*
	Those first five good people of mine					
b	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bhá kábhí*	*bháshá*
	Those second five good people of mine					
c	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bhasha*	*bha mbê*
	Those first five good people of mine (adj. before ordinal)					
d	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhasha*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*
	Those first five good people of mine (adj. before ordinal and numeral)					
*e	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhasha*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*
*f	*bhandu*	*bhasha*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bha mbê*

Acceptability gets more unlikely the longer the construction.

Table 18: **Testing the limits of expansion**

a	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhasha	bhagháánú	bha mbê	bhóósê
	people	those	my	good	five	first	all
?b	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhasha	bhagháánú	bhóóse	bhá mbê
*c	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhasha	bhóóse	bha mbê	bhagháánú
*d	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhóósê	bha mbê	bhagháánú	bhasha
*e	bhandu	bhalyá	bhóósê	bha mbê	bhagháánú	bhasha	bhákwa
*f	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bha-gháánú	bhasha	bhóósê	bha mbê
All those good first five people of mine							

The associative phrase (connective + noun) is positioned after all modifiers already discussed.

Table 19: **Associative phrase**

	0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Adj.*	*Con+N*
a	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá mbê	bhasha	bhá másama
	people	those	my	five	first	good	of Masama
	Those first five good people of mine from Masama						
*b	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá másama	bhasha	bhá mbê
*c	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhá másama	bhagháánú	bhá mbê	bhasha
*d	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá mbê	bhá másama	bhasha
*e	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá másama	bhá mbê	bhasha
*f	bhandu	bhá másama	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá mbê	bhasha
g	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhá másama	bhagháánú	bhasha	bhá mbê
h	bhandu	bhalyá	bhákwa	bhasha	bhagháánú	bhá másama	bhá mbê
*i	bhandu	bhalyá	bhá másama	bhákwa	bhagháánú	bhá mbê	bhasha

The relative clause is strictly in final position and no other position is available for it as illustrated below.

Table 20: **Relative clause**

	0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Adj.*	*Con+N*	*Rel.*
a	*bhandu*	*bhalyá*	*bhákwa*	*bhagháánú*	*bhá mbê*	*bhasha*	*bhá másama*	*bhééshi íghínâ*
	people	*those*	*my*	*five*	*first*	*good*	*of Masama*	*who know the name*
	Those first five good people of mine from Masama who know the name							
*b	*bhandu bhalyá bhákwa bhééshi íghínâ bhagháánú bhá mbê bhasha bhá másama*							
*c	*bhandu bhalyá bhákwa bhagháánú bhééshi íghínâ bhá mbê bhasha bhá másama*							
*d	*bhandu bhalyá bhákwa bhagháánú bhá mbê bhééshi íghínâ bhasha bhá másama*							
*e	*bhandu bhalyá bhákwa bhagháánú bhá mbê bhasha bhééshi íghínâ bhá másama*							

Interrogative words

The interrogative word seeks further specification of the head noun; it occupies the position after all modifiers (a-d below). As the number of modifiers increases, the interrogative is more likely to be superfluous, as in (e), implying that there is no further specification of the head noun needed or possible.

Table 21: **Position of the interrogative word**

	0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
	Noun	*Dem.*	*Poss.*	*Num.*	*Ord.*	*Adj.*	*Interrogative*
a	nndu						ungáu
	which person						
b	bhandu						bhangâ
	which people						
c	bhandu			bhoose			bhangâ
	which all people?						
d	nndu	ulya					ungáu
	that person, which one?						
e	bhandu	bhalya	wakwa	bhasha	wabhii	wa mbê	bhangâ
	people	*those*	*my*	*good*	*two*	*first*	*which*
	my first two good people, which ones?						

The list of interrogative words forms a closed set.

-nga-	indíi	kwí	angâ	ki kwi	ni kiki [nkiki]	woobhi/ bháábhî, bhaki	keenga
who, which, what	when	where (wide)	where (narrow)	how	why	who (sg/pl)	how often

The difference between *kwí* and *angâ may be illustrated thus:*

A: *nkwí [ni kwi] kukaa* where do you stay?

B: *Kinondoni*

A: *Kinondoní ángâ?* Where in Kinondoni

Table 22: **Agreement patterns for *-nga-***

Cl	Pref.	Example	Gloss	who/which	How many
1	N	*ńndû*	person	*ungáu*	-
2	bha	*bhándû*	people	*bhangâ*	*wéngâ*
3	N	*nghí*	tree	*úngáú*	-
4	mi	*mighí*	trees	*íngáí*	*íngâ*
5	i	*iyái*	egg	*lyingályí*	-
6	ma	*mayái*	eggs	*angâ*	*éngâ*
7	ki	*kíndô*	thing	*kingák^yî*	-
8	fi	*fíndô*	things	*fingáfí*	*fíngâ*
9	N	*mbughû*	goat	*ingáí*	-
10	N	*mbughû*	goats	*tingátí*	*íngâ*
10a	ngi	*ngíbángâ*	swords	*tingátí*	*tíngâ/ íngâ*
11	u	*úbángâ*	sword	*lungálú*	-
12	ka	*kambughû*	small goat	*kangáa*	-
14	u	*úndû*	humanness	*lungálú*	-
15/5	i	*ioghâ*	marrying	*lyingályí*	-

Cl	Pref.	Example	Gloss	who/which	How many
16	a	*ándô*	place	*angáa*	-
17	ku	*kúndô*	place	*angáa*	*kwíngâ*
18	-	*mmbéú nghín ukuten*	on the house, in the tree, on the wall	*angáa*	

Noun phrase structure summary

It is possible to present the structure of the noun phrase in Mashami as shown below.

Table 23: **Noun Phrase Structure**

01	0	1		2							3	4
Pred	*Noun*	*Determiner*		*Modifier 1*							*Mod₂*	*Mod₃*
		a	b	a	b	c	d	e	f			
Distr.		Dem.	Poss.	Num.	Ord.	Qua.	Adj.	Ass.	Rqua.		Rel clause	Inter

Where: Poss.= possessive pronoun; Ass. = associative; Pred. = predeterminer; Dem. = demonstrative; Ord. = ordinal; Distr. = distributive; Num. = numeral; Adj. = adjective; Rqua. = restrictive quantifier (other, only); Rel. = relative; Inter. = interrogative; Mod. = modifier; Qua. = quantifier.

There is considerable variation in the ordering of the items in the Modifier 1 position but no such freedom in any other position. It would appear that the relative clause occupies a unique position on account of its syntactic complexity. The interrogative is special in that it does not really modify the head noun, but seeks further information to specify that head.

Is there a limit on the size of the Mashami noun phrase? Given the various syntactic and semantic restrictions on the co-occurrence of the elements of the noun phrase, it is reasonable to argue that it is not possible to expand the phrase indefinitely.

CHAPTER FIVE

5   VERB MORPHOLOGY

5.1   Verb Template

Ten slots are identifiable for the analyisis of the Mashami verb form. This includes two tense-aspect-mood (TAM) slots before the verb root, and one after the root. The template also includes the slot for the negative element '*fo*' which is arguably a clitic falling outside the verb group proper. The reflexive prefix might also be regarded as a subset of the object markers.

Table 24: **Verb template**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INITIAL	SUBJ	TAM		OBJ	RF	ROOT	EXT	TAM	NEG
ni	*a*	*ø*	*ke*	*shi*		*kor*	*i*	*a*	*fo*
He/she is not cooking for me									

where*:*

SUBJ = subject =; TAM = tense, aspect, mood; OBJ = object; RF = reflexive; EXT = extension; NEG = negation.

Further examples of the verb template are presented below.

Table 25: **Illustrations of the verb tempate**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Remarks
(INITIAL)	*SUBJ*	*TAM*		*OBJ*	*RF*	*ROOT*	*EXT*	*TAM*	
ni	*bha*	*ø*	*ke*			*ghem*		*a*	
they are cultivating									

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Remarks
(INITIAL)	SUBJ	TAM		OBJ	RF	ROOT	EXT	TAM	
ni	ki	ø	ke			iy		a	
It is crying									
ni	shi	e	n			ghem		a	
I had cultivated									
ni	a	ø	ke	shi		kor	i	a	applicative
he is cooking for me									
ni	a	e	ø			kab	w	a	passive
He was beaten									
ni	bha	ø	ke			kab	an	a	reciprocal
They are hitting each other ('fighting' where *kabana* is lexicalized)									
ni	a	le		m		ghish	is	a	causative
He made him run/he chased him									
(ni)	lyi	a	m			bar	ik	a	stative
It is broken /it broke									
ni	bha	le	ø	i		bom	u	a	reversive
They destroyed it									
ni	lu	a	ø		ku	kab		a	reflexive
We hit ourselves									
ni	lu	e	ke			tem	ir	a	
We were putting the pot on the fire									
ni	bha	ø	ø			lal		e	
They are asleep/sleeping (Swahili: *wamelala*)									
ni	lu	a	m			iiy		a	
We have cried (Swahili: tumelia)									

5.2   The Initial Element

The initial element *ni-* comes before all other elements in the verb template. In ordinary conversation, the vowel gets deleted and the nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the next consonant. If a vowel follows, the initial consonant is realized as a palatal nasal. It is not quite clear what function the initial element serves. Virtually all contexts in the examples used here have the initial element, as the default case; yet it does not appear that its absence would render the construction ungrammatical, as the examples below suggest.

n-shí-kenda ghemâ	I am going to cultivate
Ø-shi-kénda ghemâ	I am going to cultivate

This element appears to be closely related to the distribution of new and given information. In the examples above the constructions differ in that in the first instance the speaker is communicating something quite new to the hearer, while in the second it may be the case that the hearer expects the speaker to be digging or to have dug. The following examples provide some context for the two constructions:

A: *enda kwándella nkeku* 'please go and see grandmother';

enda   ku-á-nde-lola   nkekû (go 2sg subj-TAM-go-see grandmother) : polite form of imperative;

enda lola nkeku 'go see grandmother': not polite.

B: *n-shi-kenda i-ghema* 'I am going to 'cultivate'

Here the idea of the assignment is known to B only.

A: *nkiki ilyi agha kwánghemá?*

ni-kiki ilyi agha ku-a-n-ghema (initial-what that refrain 2nd sg subj-P1-perf-cultivate); 'why haven't you cultivated?'

> B: *Ø-shi-kénda ghemâ*   'I am going to cultivate' (initial element must be omitted).

Here the idea of the assignment is known to both participants.

The imperative form of the verb does not carry the initial element. The imperative serial verb forms below, though considered too direct and rather rude, illustrate the point.

enda ilola nkeku	go and see the old woman
enda ikora shonga	go and cook food
enda ighema ubhin	go and cultivate immediately

Sometimes the initial element has a similar meaning as copula *ni* in Swahili and other Bantu languages.

nyimbi akeende ghema   who is going to cultivate?
ni-bhi a-ke- enda ighema
initial-who 3rd sg subj-TAM-go cultivate

nyén = ni-en	it is me
ni-bhi	it is who (sg.); may be realized as *nyímbî* or as *mmbî*
ni-bhaki / ni-bhabhi *mbábhî*	it is who (pl.); may be realized as *mbákî / mbábhî*
nyísê = ni-ise	it is us

Other nuances attributed to the initial element include warning, excitement, assurance and finality.

5.3   The Subject Marker

This comes immediately after the initial element as exemplified below with Tense P3 – before yesterday (remote) past.

ímányâ to know	initial-subj-TAM-verb	
nshémánya	*ni-**shi**-é-mánya*	I knew
nkwémánya	*ni-**ku**-é-mánya*	You knew
nyémánya	*ni-**a**-é-mánya*	He knew
nlwémánya	*ni-**lu**-é-mánya*	We knew
mmwémánya	*nii-**mu**-é-mánya*	You knew
mbémánya	*ni-**bha**-é-mánya*	They knew

5.4   The Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) Markers

As the verb template above shows there are two pre-root cells for the TAM morphemes and there are possibilities of filling both simultaneously, namely Past + Perfective or Past + Progressive. In addition, the post-root TAM slot consists of a vowel (final vowel) which is long in the case of the Habitual and Future tenses – a remnant of the *-aga* found in other Bantu languages. Tone too plays a significant role in the marking of tense and aspect. In the table below, we use two verbs to show the various patterns for tense and aspect; glossing is done for only one of the verbs. In addition, Swahili glossing is available where it is deemed to provide better clarity.

Table 26: **TAM patterns – affirmative**

ímányâ 'to know/understand'; *itemíra* 'to put pot on fire' /nitial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM/			

Tense	Affirmative Sg.	Affirmative Pl.	Remarks
Hb	*nshímanyaa /n-shí-ø-many-aa/*	*n-lú-ø-many-aa*	*-a+a* from *–ag+a*
	I know	We know	habitual
	n-shí-ø-temir-aa	*n-lú- ø-temir-aa*	zero marking before V
	initial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM		
Prog	*nshíkémanya /n-shí-ké-many-a/*	*nlúkémanya*	*-ke-*
	I am knowing	We are knowing	progressive
	nshíketemíra	*nlúketemíra*	
P1	*nshámanya /n-shi-á-many-a/*	*nlwámanya /n-lu-á-many-a/*	*-á-*
	I knew	We knew	today past
	nshátemira	*nlwátemira*	
P2	*nshílemánya /n-shí-le-mány-a/*	*nlúlemánya /n-lú-le-mány-a/*	*-le-*
	I knew	We knew	yesterday past
	nshíletémíra	*nlúletémíra*	
P3	*nshémánya /n-shi-é-mány-a/*	*nlwémánya /n-lu-é-mány-a/*	*-é-*
	I knew	We knew	remote past

ímányâ 'to know/understand'; *itemíra* 'to put pot on fire' /nitial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM/			
Tense	**Affirmative Sg.**	**Affirmative Pl.**	**Remarks**
	nshétémíra	*nlwétémíra*	
PProg	*n-shí-é-ké-many-a*	*n-lú- é -ké-many-a*	*-é-ké-*
	I was understanding	We were understanding	progressive for all pasts
	Swahili:Nilikuwa naelewa	*Swahili:Tulikuwa tunaelewa*	
	n-shí-é-ke-temír-a	*n-lú- é -ke-temír-a*	
F	*nshímányaa /n-shí-ø-mány-aa/*	*nlúmányaa /n-lú-ø-mány-aa/*	suffix –*aa* from *-ag+a*
	I will know	We will know	future
	nshítémíraa	*nlútémíraa*	
Perf1	*nshámmanya /n-shi-á-m-many-a/*	*nlwámmanya /n-lu-á-m-many-a/*	*-á-m-*
	I have already known (Swahili: nilishajua)	We have already known (Swahili: tulishajua)	P1 +perf (already)
	shántemíra	*lwántemíra*	
Perf2	*n-shí-lé-m-many-a*	*n-lú-lé-m-many-a*	*-lé-m-*
	I have known (Swahili: nimewahi kujua)	We have known (Swahili: tumewahi kujua)	P2 + perf (ever)

ímányâ 'to know/understand'; *itemíra* 'to put pot on fire' /nitial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM/			
Tense	*Affirmative Sg.*	*Affirmative Pl.*	*Remarks*
	nshílentemíra	*nlúlentemíra*	
Perf3	*n-shí-é-m-many-a*	*n-lú-é-m-many-a*	*-é-m-*
	I had known	We had known	P3 + perf
	nshéntemíra	*nlwéntemíra*	
P Hb	*n-shi- é -many-aa*	*n-lu- é -many-aa*	*-é-…-aa*
	I used to know/understand	We used to know	past habitual

Note:

i. Use the irregular verb *nshiishi* for certain tense-aspect combinations (Section 5.5):

nshíeishi I knew (*Swahili: nilikuwa najua*) *nlúeishi* we knew (*Swahili: tulikuwa tunajua*). For Swahili "*nilijua*" use *imanya.*

ii. The progressive in the past takes the P3 formal marker *-e-*, but it can be interpreted as P1/P2; hence the need for proper context or use of temporal adverbials.

n-shí-é-ke-temíra ngama	(P1) I put up the pot this morning.
n-shí-é-ke-temíra ukou	(P2) I put up the pot yesterday.
n-shí-é-ke-temíra isho	(P3) I put up the pot the day before yesterday.

Table 27: **TAM patterns - negative**

ímányâ 'to know/understand': initial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM-NEG		
Tense	*Negative Singular*	*Negative Plural*	*Remarks*
Hb	*nshimányaafo* /n-shi-ø-mány-aa-fo/ I do not know	*nlumányaafo* /n-lu-ø-mány-aa-fo/ We do not know	-aa-fo habitual
Prog	*nshikémanyafo* /n-shi-ké-many-a-fo/ I am not knowing	*nlukémanyafo* /n-lu-ké-many-a-fo/ We are not knowing	- ké -…fo progressive
P1	*nshamányafo* /n-shi-a-mánya-fo/ I did not know	*nlwamányafo* /n-lu-a-mánya-fo/ We did not know	-a-…fo today
P2	*nshilémányafo* /n-shí-lé-mánya-fo/ I did not know	*nlulémányafo* /n-lu-lé-mánya-fo/ We did not know	-lé-…fo yesterday
P3	*nshemányafo* /n-shi-e-mánya-fo/ I did not know	*nlwemányafo* /n-lu-e-mánya-fo/ We did not know	-e-…fo before yesterday
PProg	*nshíéishifo* /n-shí-é-ishi-fo/ I was not knowing *(Swahili: sikuwa najua)*	*nlúéishifo* /n-lú-é-ishi-fo/ We were not knowing *(Swahili: hatukuwa tunajua)*	- é-…fo past progressive see verb *ishi* below

ímányâ 'to know/understand': initial-subj-TAM-verb-TAM-NEG			
Tense	*Negative Singular*	*Negative Plural*	*Remarks*
F	*nshímányaafo /n-shí-mány-aa-fo/* I will not know	*nlúmányaafo /n-lú-mány-aa-fo/* We will not know	*-aa-fo* future
Perf1	*nshalémanyafo /n-shi-a-lé-manya-fo/* I have not yet known *(Swahili: sijajua)*	*nlwalémanyafo /n-lu-a-lé-manya-fo/* We have not yet known *(Swahili: hatujajua)*	*a-lé-…fo* perfective (not yet) P1 +P2
Perf2	*nshilémmanyafo* */n-shi-lé-m-many-a-fo/* I have not known *(Swahili: sikuwahi kujua)*	*nlulémmanyafo* */n-lu-lé-m-many-a-fo/* We have not known *(Swahili: hatukuwahi kujua)*	*-lé-m-…fo* never P2 +perf.
Perf3	*nshiémmanyafo* */n-shi-é-m-many-a-fo/* I had not known *(Swahili: sikuwa nimejua)*	*nluémmanyafo* */n-lu-é-m-many-a-fo/* We had not known *(Swahili: hatukuwa tumejua)*	*-é-m-…fo* P3 + perf

Perfective *-m-* never appears alone without a tense marker; progressive *-ke-* does not combine with perfective *-m-*; nor does it combine with the past tense markers *-le-* and *–a-* since the *–e-+-ke-* combination functions in the relevant contexts.

5.5   Irregular verb *ishi*

Table 28: *ishi* 'to know'

nshiishi 'I know'			
Tense	**Affirmative singular**	**Affirmative plural**	**Remarks**
Hb	*nshíishi* I know */ni-shí-ishi/*	*nlúishi* we know */ni-lú-ishi/*	habitual
	nkúishi you know */ni-kú-ishi/*	*mmúishi* you know */ni-mú-ishi/*	
	nyáishi he knows */ni-á-ishi/*	*mbáishi* they know */ni-bhá-ishi/*	
P1,2,3	*nshíeishi* I knew */ni-shí-e-ishi/*	*nlúeishi* we knew */ni-lú-e-ishi/*	stative verb, no progressive past *(Swahili: nilikuwa najua)*
	nkúeishi you knew */ni-kú-e-ishi/*	*mmúeishi* you knew */ni-mú-e-ishi/*	
	nyéishi he knew */ni- á-e-ishi/*	*mbéishi* they knew */ni- bhá -e-ishi/*	
	/ni-shi-kóy-aa ni-shí-ishi /initial-subj- aux-TAM + initial-subj-ishi 'I will happen to know'		
F-aux	*nshikóyaa nshíishi* */ni-shi-koy-aa ni-shi-ishi/*	*nlúkoyaa nlúishi* */ni-lu-koy-aa ni-lu-ishi/*	future: I/We will know *(Swahili: ('nitakuta najua' = nitakuwa najua)*
	nkúkoyaa nkuishi */ni-ku-koy-aa ni-ku-ishi/*	*mmúkoyaa mmúishi* */ni-mu-koy-aa ni-mu-ishi/*	

nshiishi 'I know'			
Tense	**Affirmative singular**	**Affirmative plural**	**Remarks**
	nyákoyaa nyéeshi /ni-a-koy-aa ni-a-ishi/	*mbákoyaa mbéeshi* /ni-bha-koy-aa ni-bha-ishi/	

The verb *ishi* 'know' has no infinitive form and is available in these tense patterns only; for progressive and perfective senses the appropriate verb to use is *imanya* as in *kwámmanya /ku-á-m-many-a/* 'have you known/understood' (2sg subject-P1+perfective-know-fv).

5.6   Irregular Verb *ibha* 'to be'

The *ibha* forms are used in all tenses except present and past (of which there is only one). The negative clitic *fo* cannot precede the complement of the verb; it must always be in final position. (For locative clitic *fo*, see below).

Table 29: *ibha* 'to be'

T/A	Affirmative	Negative
Present	/ni-shí-ø-ke-e/ initial-subj-TAM-be-TAM	
	nshíkee mwanâ I am a child	*nshikéé mwáná fo* I am not a child
	nkúkee mwanâ You are a child	*nkukéé mwáná fo* You are not a child
	nyákee mwanâ He is a child	*nyakéé mwáná fo* He is not a child
	nlúkee bhanâ We are children	*nlukéé bháná fo* We are not children
	mmúkee bhanâ	*mmukéé bháná fo*

T/A	*Affirmative*	*Negative*
	You are children	You are not children
	mbákee bhanâ	*mbakéé bháná fo*
	They are children	They are not children
Habitual	*/ni-shí-ø-bhe-e/* initial-subj-TAM-be-TAM	
	nshíbhee mwanâ I be a child	*nshibhée mwáná fo* I be not a child
	nkúbhee mwanâ You be a child	*nkubhée mwáná fo* You be not a child
	nyábhee mwanâ He be a child	*nyabhée mwáná fo* He be not a child
	nlúbhee bhanâ We be children	*nlubhée mwáná fo* We be not children
	mmúbhee bhanâ you be children	*mmubhée mwáná fo* you be not children
	mbábhee bhanâ They be children	*mmbabhée mwáná fo* They be not children
Past	*/ni-shí-e-ke-e/* initial-subj-TAM-be-TAM	
	nshíekee mwanâ I was a child	*nshiékee mwaná fo* I was not a child
	nkúekee mwanâ You were a child	*nkúekee mwaná fo* You were not a child
	nyíekee mwanâ He was a child	*nyíekee mwaná fo* He was not a child
	nlúekee bhanâ We were children	*nlúekee bhaná fo* We were not children
	mmúekee bhanâ you were children	*mmúekee bhaná fo* you were not children
	mbáekee bhanâ They were children	*mbáekee bhaná fo* They were not children
Pro-gressive	*/ni-shí-ke-bha mwanâ/* I am being/becoming a child	*/ni-shi-ké-bha mwaná fo/* I am not being/ becoming a child
Future	*/ni-shí-ø-bha-a/* initial-subj-TAM-be-TAM	

T/A	*Affirmative*	*Negative*
	nshíbhaa mwanâ I will be a child	*nshibháá mwáná fo* I will not be a child
Perfective (today)	*/ni-shí-a-m-bha/* initial-subj-TAM-be	*/n-shí-a-le-bha/* initial-subj-TAM-be
	nshíamba mwanâ I have been a child	*nshíalebha mwaná fo* I have not been a child
	Swahili: Nimekuwa mtoto	*Swahili: Sijawa mtoto*
Perfective (before today)	*/ni-shí- é -m-bha/* initial-subj-TAM-be	
	nshémba mwana I had been a child	*nshémba mwáná fo* I had not been a child

5.7   (Auxiliary) Verb + verb Constructions

Two verbs, *ímâ* 'to finish' and *ikóya* 'to find/come upon', are used extensively in auxiliary-like positions. In the verb + verb construction the second verb may be a tenseless infinitive form.

Perfective	*nshámmeeghémâ*	I have already cultivated
	ni-shi-á-n-ima íghémâ	*(Swahili: Nimeshamaliza kulima)*
	(initial-subj-tense-asp-finish cultivate)	

On the other hand, both verbs may be fully inflected for tense/aspect and for subject.

Table 30: **Two inflected verbs**

Future perfective	*nshíkóyaa nshiánghema* *ni-shí-kóy-aa ni-shi-á-n-ghema* *(initial-subj-V-TAM +initial-subj-tense-asp-V)*	I will have cultivated *(Swahili: Nitakuwa (nitakuta) nimelima)*
Future progressive	*nshíkóyaa nshíkeghemâ* *ni-shí-kóy-aa ni-shí-ke-ghemâ* *(initial -subj-V-TAM + initial -subj -asp-V)*	I will be cultivating *(Swahili: Nitakuwa (nitakuta) ninalima)*
	nshíkóyaa sheeghemâ *ni-shí-kóy-aa shi-e-ghemâ* *(initial -subj-V-TAM + subj -tense-V)*	*(Swahili: Nitakuwa (nitakuta) nikilima)*

Past progressive	*nkwékoyaa sheeghemâ*	I was cultivating
	ni-ku-é-koy-aa shi-e-ghemâ	*(Swahili: Nilikuwa (ulikuta) nikilima)*
	(initial -2nd sg subj-tense-V-TAM + subj -tense-V)	

In addition, two main verbs may be sequenced to express simultaneity of action.

Past progressive

nshéémba sheeghemâ   I sang (while) cultivating

ni-shi-é-imba shi-e-ghema   *(Swahili: Niliimba nikilima)*

(initial-subj-tense-V + subj -tense-V)

5.8   Resultatives

The following verbs illustrate the use of the post-root TAM slot with the Proto-Bantu morpheme*-ide*; this has been reduced to *-ie* following the loss of the consonant, and then further reduced to either of the two vowels *-i-* or *-e-*.

isalála	to stand up/stop
iiyâ	to be cooked/burnt (*Swahili: kuiva, kuungua*)
ilwâ	to be sick (*Swahili: kuwa mgonjwa*)
ishi	to know

Table 31: **Resultative verb forms**

singular	plural
nyásalalye, mbwásalalye	*mbásalalye, mbwásalalye*
/ni-á-salal-i-e/, /mbu-á-salal-i-e/	*/ni-bha-salal-i-e/, /mbu-bha-salal-i-e/*
initial-subj-stand-perfective+fv	initial-subj-stand-perfective+fv
	(*mbu/mbo* is an intensified initial form for new and important information)
He is standing (in a standing position)	They are standing
(*Swahili: amesimama*)	(*Swahili: wamesimama*)
shónga nyíiye, mbwíiye	*shónga ntíiye, mbútíiye*
/shonga ni-i-iy-i-e/, /mbu-i-iy-i-e/	*/shonga ni-ti-iy-i-e/mbú-tí-iy-i-e/*
initial-9subj-cook-perfect+fv	initial-10subj-cook-perfect+fv
Food is cooked (*Swahili: chakula kimeiva*)	Food is cooked (*Sw: vyakula vimeiva*)
nyálwe, mbwálwe	*mbálwe /mbwálwe, mbubhálwe*
/ni-a-lw-i-e/, /mbu-á-lw-i-e/	*/ni-bha-lw-i-e/, /mbu-bhá-lw-e/*
initial-subj-be sick-perfective+fv	initial-subj-be sick-perfective+fv
He is sick (*Swahili: anaumwa, ni mgonjwa*)	They are sick (*Swahili: wanaumwa, ni wagonjwa*)
nshíeishi I knew (*Swahili: nilikuwa najua*)	*nlúeishi* we knew i.e. "we were in the know" *Swahili:*

singular	plural
	tulikuwa tunajua)

Table 32: **Other resultatives**

nshíghemye	I have grown crops *(Swahili: nimelima - nina mazao shambani)*
nyáfie	s/he is dead
nyákufingye	s/he is pregnant
nyásuye	s/he is angry
nyásomye	s/he is schooled / educated
nungu nyíbarikye	the pot is broken
nyámirye mbéngú	s/he has swallowed seeds (he has lived long)
shoká nyímirye ikokoi	The snake has swallowed a mouse (it has it in the stomach)
nyábarikyé mísô	s/he is blind (has broken eyes – *(Swahili: amevunjika macho)*
nyáfikye ughéndé	s/he has a broken leg *(Swahili: amevunjika mguu)*

5.9   Short Verbs

The monosyllabic verbs display a peculiarity in the marking of the habitual where the final vowel is mid rather than low. The patterns are illustrated using five verbs, *ina* (to drink), *illya* (to eat), *isha* (to come), *isa* (to grind), and *ifwa* (to die).

Table 33: **Habitual in short verbs**

T/A	*1st person singular*	*1st person plural*	*gloss*
Habitual	*nshínee*	*nlúnee*	I/we drink
	nshíllyee	*nlúllyee*	I/we eat
	nshíshee	*nlúshee*	I/we come
	nshísee	*nlúsee*	I/we grind
	nshífwee	*nlúfwee*	I/we die
Past habitual	*nshienaa*	nluenaa	I/we used to drink
	nshiellyaa	nluellyaa	I/we used to eat
Yesterday past	*nshilena*	*nlulena*	I/we drank

5.10   Summary of Tense and Aspect Marking

Table 34: **TAM summary**

	Markers	*Description*	*Example/remarks*
1	Ø + ke	present prog.	
2	e + ke	(all) past prog.	no separate combinations of *-a-* or *-le-* with *-ke-*
3	kóyaa + Ø +ke	future prog.	*/ni-á-kóy-aa ni-á-ke-kor-aa/ nyákóyaa nyákekorâ* He will be cooking
4	kóyaa + V.. *aa*	future prog.	*/ni-á-kóy-aa i-kor-aa/ nyákóyaa ekoraa* He will be cooking
5	a + n	today past + perfective	*/ise n-lu-á-n-iiya/ ise nlwámiiya* *(Swahili: sisi tumelia)* we have cried
6	e + n	past + perfective	*/ni-lu-é-n-iiya/ nlwémiiya* We had cried
7	Ø + n	present +perfective	*/ku-n-sha ni-shi-a-kya/ kunshá nshákya* since you have come I am safe *(Swahili: kwa kuwa umekuja nimepona)*

	Markers	Description	Example/remarks
			{2nd sg-perf-come initial-1st sg-pst-be cured}
8	Ø + Ø …ie	resultative	/n-lú-salall-ye/
			we are standing *(Swahili: tumesimama)*
9	e + Ø	simple past -P3	/ni-lu-é-ghém-a/ nlwéghéma we cultivated
10	le + Ø	yesterday past-P2	/ni-lu-le-ghem-a/ nlúleghéma we cultivated
11	a + Ø	today past- P1	/n-lu-á- korâ/ nlwákorâ we cooked
12	koyaa + a+n+V	future + perfective	/n-lu-koyaa n-lu-a-n-ghem-a/ nlúkóyaa nlwánghemâ
			We will have cultivated
			(Swahili: tutakuwa tumelima);
			/n-lu-koyaa n-lu-a-m-maa i-ghem-a/ nlúkóyaa nlwámmaa íghémâ (we will have finished cultivating)
13	Ø …aa	habitual	n-shí-Ø-kor-aa [nshíkoraa/ I cook
14	Ø…V́..aa	future	n-shí-Ø-kór-aa [nshíkóraa/ I will cook; note high tone

5.11   Object Marking on the Verb

Up to three object markers may be available on the verb. However, the most natural constructions would involve the use of two object markers and one post verb noun phrase. The examples that follow present verbs with two object markers.

Table 35: **Two object markers**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	remarks
INITIAL	SUBJ	TAM		OBJ	OBJ	ROOT	EXT	TAM	
ni	a	é		shi	ki	end	i	e	two OMs
nyeshikyengye he brought it to me									
ni	a	é		shi	lyi	ghém	i	a	two OMs
nyéshilighémia he cultivated it for me									
ni	a	é		shi	mu	káb	i	a	two OMs
nyéshimukábia she hit him for me									

The verb *ende* 'bring' is peculiar in having a mid front vowel in final position. Also the root consonant changes if two object markers are present. Hence *shi-ki-engye* 'bring (it) to me' (two objects) contrasts with *ny-a-ki-ende* 'he has brought it' (one object).

The order of the object markers does not conform to what has been found in several other Bantu languages. Here the first person singular marker '*shi*', which instantiates a beneficiary participant, is positioned farthest from the verb root. Third person human and inanimate markers (*ki, lyi, mu*) occupy the position closest to the root and instantiate the patient/theme semantic role.

Three object markers are illustrated below.

Table 36: **Three object markers**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INITIAL	SUBJ	TAM		OBJ		ROOT	EXT	TAM	REMARKS
ni	*a*	*é*		*shi-ya-bha* *shi-ya-mu*		*níng* *amb*	*i*	*a*	three OMs
nyéshiyabhaníngya she gave it to them for me									
nyéshiyamwámbya she smeared it on him for me									
shi = first person singular; **ya** = class six (for *mafugha* 'oil'); **bha** = class two (3ʳᵈ person plural); **mu** = 3ʳᵈ person singular									

Again, first person object marker (*shi-* for beneficiary) is positioned farthest from the verb root. The second and third person markers (*bha- & mu-* for patient role) are closest to the root. The inanimate marker (*ya-* for the theme) is positioned between the other two markers.

Even when some variation in this basic ordering of the object markers is tolerated, <u>the meaning is largely kept constant</u>, provided the levels of animacy are different.

*nye**shikye**ngye* = *nye**kish**engye* he brought it to me

*nyé**shili**ghémia* = *nyé**lishi**ghémia*   he cultivated it for me

The first alternative in the examples above is the correct one but the second may be tolerated and understood in the same way. It appears that the privileged position for object markers is farther away from root, i.e. the first to be mentioned.

ndumí nyénínga mwaná kitabû   the man gave the child a book

*nyémukinínga [ni-a-é-**mu-ki**-ninga]*   he gave it to her

*nyékimunínga [ni-a-é-**ki-mu**-ninga]*   he gave it to her {NOT
                                                 *he gave her to it}

The reflexive marker *-ku-* occupies the position immediately before the verb root and is a type of object marker.

*ikwámba mafughâ /i-**ku**-amba mafughâ/*
to smear self with oil

nyéyakwamba   */ni-a-é-ya-**ku**-amba/*   (initial-subj-tense-object-reflexive-smear) he smeared it on himself

When the levels of animacy are equal, the construction becomes potentially ambiguous; it may require a second thought to interpret it. This may be the window for accepting variable order of the object markers with variable interpretation as in the examples below.

*nyéshimukábia /ni-a-é- **shi-mu**-káb-i-a/*   she hit him for me

*nyémushikábia /ni-a-é-**mu-shi**-káb-i-a/*   she hit me for him

*nyébhámúnínga /ni-a-é-**bhá-mú**-níng-a/*

she gave him to them

*nyémubhanínga /ni-a-é-**mu-bha**-níng-a/*   she gave them to him

*nyékushiningia /ni-a- é –**ku-shi**-ning-i-a/*
'he gave you to me' (also: 'he just gave me')
(initial-3rd sg subj-tense-2nd sg obj-1st sg obj-give-appl-fv)

*nyéshikuningia /ni-a-é-**shi-ku**-ning-i-a/*
'he gave me to you'

When variable ordering is rejected or restricted in some way as already noted, ambiguity may be further checked by requiring that the construction be interpreted in only one way. Such a decision is dependent on semantic role considerations, namely who is normally likely to do what to whom in the real world.

*nyeshimwengye (*nyemushengye)* he brought him to me (NOT *he brought me to him).

The alternative structures below may be preferred instead of entertaining the ambiguity associated with variation in the ordering of object markers.

nyéshikaba kimaghuma kyakwe
ni-a-é-shi-kab-a ki-maghuma ki-akwe
initial-3rd sg subj-tense-1st sg obj-hit-fv reason his
'she hit me on account of him'.

nyéshiekya inkaba
ni-a-é-shi-eky-a i-mu-kab-a
initial-3rd sg subj-tense-1st sg obj-help-fv inf-3rd sg obj-hit-fv
'she helped me to hit him'.

In general, with three object markers the ordering is severely constrained considering that each of the affixes could take three distinct positions with respect to the other two. The result would be six different constructions. However, only the first arrrangement below is allowed; even when the second is grudgingly accepted, it is on the understanding that the meaning is the same as in the first one, that is, "she gave it to them for me"

1. ni-a-é-**shi-ya-bha**-níng-y-a

(**shi** = first person singular;   **ya** = class six;   **bha** = class two (3rd person plural))

2. ?ni-a-é- ya -shi-bha-níng-y-a

3. *ni-a-é- bha -shi-ya- níng-y-a

4. *ni-a-é- bha -ya-shi-níng-y-a

5. *ni-a-é-ya- bha -shi -níng-y-a

6. *ni-a-é-shi-bha-ya-níng-y-a

Similarly, one interpretation is available in the following:

*nyéshiyamwámbya /ni-a-é-**shi-ya-mu**-ámb-i-a/*
'she smeared it on him for me'

*nyáshiyamwámbyaa /ni-á-**shi-ya-mu**-ámb-i-aa/*
'she will smear it on him for me'

5.12   Co-occurrence of OM with NP

The object marker may not co-occur with its noun phrase. Therefore, the OM has pronominal status.

nyémwamba mafughâ   */ni-a-é-**mu**-amb-a /*
'she smeared oil on him'

nyáamba mwána mafughâ   */ni-a- é –amb-a /*
'she smeared oil on the child'

nyémwamba*   */ni-a-é-mu**-amb-a /*   **mwána** *mafughâ*

The object may be preposed and so be marked on the verb by OM.

 mungó *nyéwámbá mafughâ [ni- a-é -**u**-amba/*

'as for the back, she smeared it with oil'

mafugha *nyeyaamba mungo*
'as for the oil, she smeared it on the back'

The understood object, even when preposed, may be omissible.

*mafugha nye**ku**amba mungo*
'as for the oil, she smeared herself [with it] on the back'
(Swahili: mafuta alijipaka mgongoni)

It is possible for OM to co-occur with its defining referent pronoun.

*nyeshikaba /ni-a-e-**shi**-kab-a/ yen*   'she hit me'

*nyekuningya /ni-a-e-**ku**-ningy-a / iwe*   'she gave to you'

*nyekukiningya /ni-a-e-**ku**-**ki**-ningy-a/ iwe*   'she gave it to you'

In such cases, the pronoun plays an emphatic role and is somewhat redundant.

5.13   The Shape of the Verb Root

The canonical shape of the verb root is CV(N)C-. Longer shapes are derived via suffixation and reduplication (see below). Vowel initial roots may have lost the initial consonant. The list of CV-roots is considerably longer than what may be found in several other Bantu languages. It is possible that some of these verbs, especially those with a long final vowel, resulted from the loss of the second consonant of the root. The infinite prefix is retained in the following examples to capture the instances where it is high toned.

Short (CV) Verbs

ifwá	to die	*ifwâ:*	to cool down
ísâ	to grind	*ísâ:*	to remain
íwâ	to fall down	*íwâ:*	to kill
íshâ	to come	*íshâ:*	to suffer
itá	to feel	*itâ:*	to pay fine; bleed
ighwá	to ascent	*ighwâ:*	to send
ighâ	to scoop	*ígha:*	to stink
irâ:	to wear, dress	*ighá*	to cease, stop
ilâ	to be clean/healthy	*íkâ:*	to dwell, reside
illyá	to eat	*íllyâ:*	to become long/tall
ibhá	to be, become, befit	*ibhâ*	to rise (sun), bloom
imâ	to hinder	*ímâ:*	to finish
iná	to drink	*inâ:*	to wither
iyá	to burn, be cooked		

The list below shows verbs with an initial vowel in the root; if it is /i/, then in the infinitive there is lengthening, otherwise we get a palatal glide initially.

iighâ	to pass	*íshâ* (imperative *oshó)*	to come
iéndâ	to go	*iághúbhâ*	to soil
ííghíbâ	to fart	*iólótâ*	to bring down
iighíkya	to accept	*iukwâ*	to become mad
iámbâ	to say, tell	*iághua*	to scratch
iámbya	to daub	*iilúya*	to hurry up

5.14   Verb Extensions

The applicative *-i-* and the passive *-u-* are the most productive of the extensions. The causative *-is-* and stative *-ik-* are also widely available. The vowel of the suffix is invariable, i.e. there is no vowel harmony.

Verb	Applicative	Causative	Stative	Passive	Gloss
ímányâ	*ímányíâ*	*ímányísâ*	*ímányíkâ*	*ímánywâ*	know
ighemâ	*ighémya*	*ighemísa*	*ighemíka*	*ighemwâ*	cultivate
inínga	*iníngya*	**iníngisa*	*iníngika*	*iníngwa*	give
ífíngâ	*ífíngyâ*	*ífíngísâ*	*ífíngíkâ*	*ífíngwâ*	close
ífúngúâ	*ífúngúyâ*	-	*ífúngúkâ*	*ífúngúwâ*	open
ímírâ	*ímíryâ*	*ímírísâ*	*ímíríkâ*	*ímírwâ*	swallow
ísíkyâ	*ísíkyâ*	-	-	*ísíkywâ*	bury, engulf
ísúkúâ	*ísúkúyâ*	-	*ísúkúkâ*	*ísúkúwâ*	uncover
ighishâ	*ighíshya*	*ighishísa*	-	*ighishwâ/* *ighishíswa*	run

There are a number of verbs with the *-ut-/-uk-* alternation that corresponds to the transitive/intransitive pattern; the *-ut-* form is some kind of causative of the *-uk-* form. The *-ut-* form has the same meaning as an existing form that has lost the consonant *-t-*.

Verb	Applicative	Stative	Passive	Gloss
ísómútâ = ísómúâ	*ísómúyâ*	*ísómúkâ*	*ísómúwâ*	draw out; bring out *(Swahili: chomoa)*
íghúmbútâ	*íghúmbútyâ*	*íghúmbúkâ*	*íghúmbútwâ*	blow away; cause to fly away *(Swihili: peperusha, rusha)*
ighúmbua	*ighumbúya*	*ighumbúka*	*ighúmbuwa*	break (Swahili: *kata*)
ibalúta= ibalúa	-	*ibalúka*	*ibalútwa*	cause to fade *(Swahili: chujua)*
írútâ= írúâ	*írúyâ*	*írúkâ*	*írúwâ*	open; resuscitate *(Swihili: fufua)*
isambúta	-	*isambúka*	*isambútwa*	warm *(Swahili: pasha moto)*
iitâ	*iítyâ*	*iighâ*	*iitwâ*	cause to pass *(Swahili: pitisha)*
irungúta	*irungútya*	*irungúka*	*irungútwa*	spin *(Swahili: zungusha)*

The reciprocal suffix *-an-* is restricted in occurrence with several lexicalized forms appearing without base forms of the verb; instead, it shares space with the reflexive prefix *-ku-* which is more productively used for both reciprocalization and reflexivization.

Table 37: Reciprocal *-an-* forms

Reciprocal verb		Source verb	
ikabána	to fight	*ikabâ*	to hit
ílákánâ	to part company, separate e.g. in marriage	-	
ikundána	to love each other	*ikundâ*	to love
isubhána=ikuswâ	to hate each other	*iswâ*	to hate
ikwánanya	to meet each other	-	
ikwáána	to be blood relatives	-	

We would expect that where the *-an-* form exists, the *-ku-* form will automatically be interpreted as reflexive rather than reciprocal. However, in the majority of cases, morphosyntactic features (e.g. plurality of participants for reciprocal) as well as pragmatic context will determine the proper interpretation. Also, there are unexpected gaps as is shown above where some *-an-* forms do not have existing base forms; and below where *-an-* forms may not exist, as in **isangyana*.

ikusángya	bathe (wash oneself); wash each other	**isangyana* from *isangya*	wash each other
ikukúndâ	love self	*ikundana*	love each other
ikukábâ	hit self	*ikabána*	hit each other, fight

There are only a few traces of the reversive *-ur-* extension. In the examples that follow, the reversive form is represented with the vowel *-u-* (the consonant is no longer available in Mashami), and this vowel normally glides to *-w-* so that the tone is as shown on the final vowel. Traces of some vowel harmony may be noted; it would appear that after the derivation of the reversive the root vowel changes to acquire the rounding feature in *isúkua, ísúkuâ* and *ísómuâ*.

yosósa=iosósa	wind, twist, weave (*Swahili: sokota*)	*yosósua*	unwind
itemíra	put pot on fire	*itémua*	remove pot from fire
ighikâ	put load on head (*Swahili: twika*)	*ighuâ*	put down load (*Swahili: tua*)
isíka	support with	*isúkua*	remove support
ísíkyâ	cover	*ísúkuâ*	uncover
ísímíkâ	insert (*Swahili: chomeka*)	*ísómuâ*	pull out (*Swahili: chomoa*)

Several other reversive *-ur-/-uk-* forms exist without a base counterpart.

Table 38: **Traces of *–u-/-uk-* reversive**

Transitive *–u-*		Intransitive *–uk-*	
ikúrua	uproot	*ikurúka*	be uprooted
idúkua	turn upside-down	*idúkuka*	turn upside-down
idoróshua/ idoshâ	make a hole, puncture (*Swahili: toboa*)	*idoróshuka/ idoshíka*	be punctured (*Swahili: toboka*)
ighondókua	temper with wound (*Swahili: tonesha*)	*ighondókuka*	be liable to tempering - said of a wound (*Swahili: tonesheka*)

Transitive *-u-*		Intransitive *-uk-*	
ibalálua	break/split (wood) horizontally *(Swahili: pasua)*	*ibaláluka*	become split *(Swahili pasuka)*
yáláluâ	turn over repeatedly	*yálálukâ*	change, become altered *(Swahili : badilika)*
ighóghua	pick one by one	*ighóghuka*	be pickable *(Swahili: okoteka)*
yorómua	untie	*yorómuka*	become untied *(Swahili: funguka)*

5.15   Verb Extension Co-occurrence and Ordering

The possibilities of combining and arranging the extensions in any one construction are limited. The following examples are indicative of the limitations, virtually all involving combinations of two extensions.

Causative +Applicative

*ní-a-é-m-ghem-**is-i**-a ghemâ = ni-a-e-m-ghemia / ni-a-e-m-ghemikya*
initial-subj-TAM-obj-dig-C-A-fv field
'he had someone till the field for her'
(Swahili: alimlimishia shamba)

Causative + Passive

*ní-a-é-ghem-**is-w**-a ghemâ*
initial-subj-TAM-dig-C-P-fv field
'he was made to till the field'
(Swahili: alilimishwa shamba)

Applicative+ Passive

*ní-a-é-ghem-**y-w**-a ghemâ*
initial-subj-TAM-dig-A-P-fv field

'a field was tilled for him'
(Swahili: alilimiwa shamba)
n.b. the 'him' of the gloss is subject in Mashami.

Causative + Applicative + Passive

*ní-a-é-ghem-**is-y-w**-a ghemâ*
initial-subj-TAM-dig-C-A-P-fv field
'a field was caused to be tilled for him'
(Swahili: alilimishiwa shamba)

The causer is eliminated by passivization, the causee is omitted, and the 'him' of the gloss is subject in Mashami.

Stative + Applicative

*ni-a-é-many-**ik-i**-a ghém-in*
initial-subj-TAM-know-S-A-fv field-loc
'he became known while in the field'
(Swahili: alijulikania shambani)

The next two examples show the use of the reflexive affix in object position to achieve a reciprocal reading. This works like a pre-emptive strategy to avoid the sequencing of the reciprocal extension with causative or applicative extension.

*ni-bha-é-**kú**-ghém-ís-a /mbékúghémísa/ ghemâ*
initial-subj-TAM-RF-dig-C-fv field
'they made each other till the field'
(Swahili: walijilimisha shamba => walilimishana shamba)

*ni-bha-é -**ku**-ghem-y-a   ghemâ*
initial-subj-TAM-RF-dig-A-fv field
they dug the field for each other
(Swahili: walijilimia shamba => walilimiana shamba)

5.16   Reduplication

Reduplication of the verb commonly involves the copying of the initial syllable of the stem, even when there is no derivationally related verb. This pattern is also found in the nouns. In some cases, both syllables of a disyllabic stem are copied. There is a notable number of animal and plant names in which reduplication is involved. A sample of verbs derived via reduplication is provided below.

Verb	Gloss	Reduplication	Gloss
kabâ	hit	*kakába*	mash, smash or crush by pounding
manyâ	cut	*mamánya*	chop up
bárâ	split	*bábárâ*	split into pieces
bhághâ	trample	*bhábhághâ*	trample repeatedly
bhika	carry on back	*bhibhíka*	be blown away
bhyâ	chop	*bhyábhya*	cut up into small slices
fálâ	scatter	*fáfálâ*	scatter as chicken in search of food, search
lembâ	deceive, cheat, outwit, beguile	*lelémba*	soothe, calm, woo, appease

The shape of the following verbs indicates some reduplication history even though there may be no current non-reduplicated base.

Verb	Gloss
lelébhya	stalk
mimínda	suck, lick e.g. sweets
sásándâ	mix (from *sanda* 'keep close')
sisíghya	bear, endure, support, sustain, perservere

sísíkâ	shake off, wring, cause to fall in a shower
tatala	embezzle, squander
tatárua	disorganise (from *tarua* 'break enclosed liquid')
kíllyakillya	jump about (from *killya* 'jump')

CHAPTER SIX

6   CLAUSE STRUCTURE

6.1   Double Objects

In constructions with two object noun phrases, only one of the objects may be readily made subject of the passive construction.

ndumí nyéninga ng'úmbé mare   (*/ni-a-é-ninga/* initial-subj-P3-give)
man   give   cow   grass   'the man gave the cow grass'

ng'úmbé nyéningwa mare ní ndumî   (*/ni-i-é-ning-w-a/*
initial-subj-P3-give-pass-fv)   'the cow was given grass by the man'

Some modification of the verb, via the applicative, is necessary in order to make the other object become subject of the passive form.

mare nyíéníngywa ng'úmbé ní ndumî   (*/ni-a-é-ning-i-u-a/*
initial-subj-P3-give-app-pass-fv)   'the grass was given to the cow by the man'

Only one of the objects, typically the beneficiary or recipient (child), may be positioned next to the verb. The theme/patient (book) may not preced it.

ndumí nyéninga mwanâ kitabú   'the man gave the child a book'
*ndumí nyéninga kitabú mwanâ

When the two objects have equal animacy, the word order plays a crucial role in the interpretation. The NP immediately after the verb is interpreted as the recipient or beneficiary while the other NP is interpreted as the theme/patient.

A. *ndumí nyénínga /ni-a-é-ninga/ bhaka mún*
'the man gave the women a visitor i.e. the women got a visitor'.

B. *ndumí nyénínga /ni-a-é-ninga/ mún bhaka*
 'the man gave the visitor the women i.e. the visitor got the women'.

Both post-verbal NPs can be subject of passive with normal *–w-*morphology.

C. *bhaka nibhéningwa /ni-bha-é-ning-w-a/ mún ní ndumî*
'the women were given the guest by the man (the women got the guest)'   {passive of (A) with women as recipient}.

D. *mún nyíéníngywa /ni-a-é-ning-i-u-a/ bhaka ní ndumî*
'the visitor was given the women / women were handed over to the guest'.

{passive of (A) with guest as recipient and subject of applicativized passive}.

E. *mún nyíéníngwa /ni-a-é-ning-w-a/ bhaka ní ndumî*
'the visitor was given the women / women were handed over to the visitor'
{passive of (B) with guest as recipient}

6.2   Body Part Syntax (Inalienable Possession)

What is usually described as body part syntax involves structures in which two noun phrases in a 'part/whole' relation constitute the two objects of a usually monotransitive verb. The syntax nevertheless treats them as unequal before the law. The part NP may not precede the possessor NP.

nyéghúmbwa inini wokô   (*/ni-a-e-ghumbu-a/* in-subj-P3-cut-fv)
  he cut   thief arm

*nyeghumbwa woko inini
'He cut off the thief's arm'   *(Swahili: alimkata mwizi mkono)*

The associative construction would be resorted to if the part has to come first and so effectively raising it to be sole object noun phrase.

nyéghúmbwa woko lwa ínini   he cut off the arm of the thief

The body part may not become subject of the passive construction.

nyésuka waná fíi she braided the children's hair

waná mbwésukwa fíi   the children had their hair braided

*fii ntesukwa wana   *the hair was braided the children

Such constructions extend beyond what can legitimately be regarded as 'part/whole' relations as illustrated below.

nyékábá ngubhe ifumû   he struck the pig with a spear
(Swahili: alimchoma nguruwe mkuki)

ngubhe nyékabwa ifumû   the pig was struck with a spear *(Swahili: nguruwe alichomwa mkuki)*

*ifumu lyekabwa ngubhe   the spear was struck onto the pig

6.3   Locative Licencing (Complements and Clitics)

A locative complement (*ghúkón* 'in the kitchen', *nungún* 'in the pot') may be licensed by the applicative extension and such a complement follows any existing object (*shónga* 'food').

nyékora /ni-a-é-kora/ shónga she cooked food

nyékoria /ni-a-é-kor-i-a/   shónga ghúkón she cooked food in the kitchen (applicative).

nyékoria /ni-a-é-kor-i-a/ shónga nungún she cooked food in the pot (applicative)

Locative complements, whether they have been introduced by the applicative or are originally subcategorized for in the argument structure of the verb, may be pronominalized by the locative enclitic *fó.*

nyékoriafó /ni-a-é-kor-i-a+fó/	she cooked in there
nyékoriafó /ni-a-é-kor-i-a+fó/ shónga	she cooked the food in there
nyélalá fó /ni-a-é-lal-á+ fó /	she lay there
nyángafó /ni-a-é-anga-fó/	she entered in there

When one of two post-verbal NPs is locative, the strictness of the ordering may be relaxed.

nyámba mafughá mungo = nyámba mungo máfughâ
'he smeared oil on the back/he smeared the back with oil'

Each of them may be marked on the verb in one fixed order; when the locative NP is marked, the locative clitic cannot appear.

nyéuamba mafughâ   he smeared it (the back) with oil

nyéyamba mungo   he smeared it (oil) on the back.

*nyéyamba**fo***/ *nye-**u-ya**-amba/ **nye-**ya-u**-amba*   he smeared it there

6.4   Locative Inversion

Locative complements may be promoted to subject position as the following examples show.

*nyalekoria /ni-a-le-kor-i-a/ shónga **ghúkón***
'she cooked food in the kitchen' (locative complement)

***ghukón** nkúlekóryo / nkúlekórywa shónga* (locative subject)
/ghukó-ni ni-kú-le-kór-i-u-a/ shónga
kitchen-loc initial-17-P2-cook-appl-passive-fv food
'in the kitchen there was cooked food'

*nyalekoria /ni-a-le-kor-i-a/ shónga **nungún***
'she cooked food in the pot'   (locative complement)

***nungún** nkúlekóryo / nkúlekórywa shónga /ni-kú-le-kór-i-u-a/*
'in the pot there was cooked food'   (locative subject)

kyen nkwífó bhándu   (*/ni-ku-ifo/* initial-17subj- be there)
'at home there are people'

kyen nkúsenye / nkúsenyi (*/ni-ku-seny-ie/*   initial-17subj-please-perfective)   'at home it is pleasant'

ndén nkwífó máru (/*nda-ni ni-ku-ifo maru/*)
farm-loc initial-17subj-be there bananas
'in the farm there are bananas'

ndén kúkééghaa
(/*nda-ni ni-ku-kee ighaa*/farm-loc initial-17subj-be smell)
'in the farm it stinks'

6.5   Direction Reversal in Applicatives

The applicative extension, besides licencing a new complement for the verb, to which it is affixed, may in some verbs have other non-valency related effects. One such effect is to reverse the direction of movement of a participant in the action described by the verb. The following constructions are illustrative.

nyákeghisha bhanâ
(/*ni-á-ke-ghish-a/*   initial-subj-prog-run-fv)
'he is running away from children'

nyákeghishya bhanâ
(/*ni-á-ke-ghish-i-a/* initial-subj-prog-run-**appl**-fv)
'he is running to/after the children'

nyákésama múrî
(/*ni-á-ké-sam-a/* initial-subj-prog-move-fv)
'he is moving from the city'

nyákésamia nden
(/*ni-á-ké-sam-i-a/* initial-subj-prog-move-**appl**-fv)
'he is moving to the farm'.

Apparently such verbs subcategorize an omissible complement so that *ghisha* and *sama* are understood as running away or moving away from something/some place. Therefore, the transitivizing affix introduces a complement that is clearly distinct from what is

already taken for granted and requires no special mechanism to licence it.

6.6 Applicative Semantics

Besides introducing beneficiary and recipient objects, the applicative has a wider range of the types of semantic roles associated with the complements it licences. These include instrument, locative, direction, and reason.

Applicative instruments

nyéikória shónga
*(/ni-a-é-**i**-kór-**i**-a/*   initial-subj-P3-**obj**-cook-**appl**-fv)
'he cooked food with it (pot)'

nyélyíghémia ghemâ   *(/ni-a-é-**lyi**-ghém-**i**-a/*   initial-subj-P3-
obj-cultivate-**appl**-fv)
'he cultivated the field with it (hoe)'

Applicative locative

*nyálefiya **sakén***   he died in the wilderness.

Applicative direction/goal

*nyáleghishya **sakén***   he ran to the wilderness

Applicative reason

This is particularly available in interrogative contexts.
nki kwákábyá mwánâ
*(/**ni-ki** ku-a-kab-**i**-a/* initial-what 2nd sg subj-P1-hit-**appl**-fv)
'why have you beaten the child?'

*nshánkab**ia** **shónga***   *(/ni-shi-a-n-kab-**i**-a/* initial-1st sg subj-P1-3rd
sg obj-hit-**appl**-fv)

I beat him for food
Applicative non-objects

The applicative suffix may be used together with the reflexive marker to effect a 'subjective' interpretation denoting empathy. In the example that follows, the person who is addressed is perhaps being shielded from some potential danger or disturbance.

ku-kaa-y-ê/ku-ka-iky-ê   stay here (empathy)
(Swahili: jikalie hapa)
2nd sg subj-stay-app-fv

6.7   Coordination

Below we illustrate the conjoining of nouns, verbs, noun phrases and clauses using *na* or *aó*.

N+N   *kité **na** bhanâ*   the dog and the children

       *kité **aó** mbúghû*   a dog or a goat

V+V   *ighemá **na** imbâ*   cultivating and singing

NP + NP *kíte kinywa **ná** nguku shúu*
       a small dog and a black chicken

Clauses

*kité nkyélya /ni-ki-e-lya/ shónga <u>neena</u> /**na** ina / múgha*
the dog ate the food and drank some water.

6.8   Gender Conflict Resolution

When two noun phrases are coordinated in subject or object position, a conflict may arise regarding the form of their marking on the verb if they belong to different noun classes. The collective method of resolving mismatches in noun class concordial forms is to assign one of the nouns to the corresponding plural class of the

other noun while taking care not to downgrade human nouns to non-human classes. A better way is to avoid the coordination structure altogether.

ikari na nghingi mbewa
(/i-kari na n-ghingi *ni-bha-e-wa*/
5-car and 1-guard initial-2subj-tense-fall)
'the car and the guard fell'　　　(assignment of car and guard to class 2 which is the plural for class 1)

nghingi nyewa nekari
(/n-ghingi ni-a-e-wa na ikari/
1-guard initial-1subj-tense-fall and 5-car)
'the guard fell with the car'　　　(avoidance of the structure)
but not: **ikari lyewa na nghingi*　the car fell with the guard

kitabú na sóri nfíléyâ | ntíléyâ
/7ki-tabu na 9ø-sori ni-8fi | 10ti-le-ya/
(7-book and 9-dress initial-8 | 10subj-tense-burn)
'the book and the dress got burned'　　　(assignment of both nouns to class 8 or to class 10)
*(Swahili: **ki**tabu na **n**guo **vi**liungua)*

kitabú nkíleya ná sóri / sóri ntíleya ná kitabû
'the book got burned with the dress / the dress got burned with the book'
(avoidance of the coordinate NP structure)

6.9　Subordination

The various words that are used in subordination structures are illustrated by underlining in the examples given below.

nyéghémá ghééfó ekyééywa   (*gha ifo* = let alone)
ni-a-e-ghema **gha ifo** *a-e-keeywa*
'He cultivated although he was late'

nyéghémá **ando amwí nélyi** *ekyééywa*
'He cultivated although he was late'

kimba *kwakyééywá nshighéghaa neewé fô*
kimba ku-a-kyeeywá ni-shi-ghégh-aa na iwé fô
since 2S-perf-be late initial-1st sg subj-talk-tense with you not
'Since you are late, I won't speak to you'

elyí *kushâ kushikóyâ*
elyi ku-shâ ku-shi-kóyâ
when you-come you-me-find
'When you come, you will find me there'

kikô *kulesha kweshikóyâ*
kikô ku-le-sha ku-e-shi-kóyâ
if   2nd sg subj-tense-come 2nd sg subj-tense-1st sg obj-find
'If you had come, you would have found me there'

6.10   Relativization

The relative structure has a floating high tone and does not include the initial element.

ikorâ to cook; *imáágha* to bite

Main clause	Relative clause
nndu nyákyekorâ /ni-á-ke-korâ/	*nndu akyékórâ /a-ké-kórâ/*
initial-3rd sg subj-Prog-cook	3rd sg subj-Prog-cook
'a person is cooking'	'a person who is cooking'
nndu nyákórâ /ni-á-kór- áa/	*nndu akóráa /a-kór-áa/*
initial-3rd sg subj-cook-FUT	3rd sg subj -cook-FUT

'a person will cook'   'a person who will cook'

nndu nyékórâ   */ni-a-é-korâ/*   *nndu ekórâ /a-e-kórâ/*
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj –P3-cook   3ʳᵈ sg subj – P3-cook
'a person cooked'   'a person who cooked'

nndu nyákyemáágha   *nndu akyémáágha*
/ni-á-ke-máágha/   */a-ké-máágha/*
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj -Prog-bite   3ʳᵈ sg subj -Prog-bite
'a person is biting'   'a person who is biting'

nndu nyámáághaa /ni-á-máágh-aa/   *nndu amáághaa /a-máágh-aa/*
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj -bite-FUT   3ʳᵈ sg subj -bite-FUT
'a person will bite'   'a person who will bite'

nndu nyémáághâ /ni-a-é-máághâ/   *nndu emáágha /a-e-máágha/*
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj -P3-bite   3ʳᵈ sg subj -P3-bite
'a person bit'   'a person who bit'

6.11   Questions

Yes-No questions are marked by intonational effects while content questions use various question words already noted (see Section 4.3).

ng'umbe yánlya   (*/i-á-n-lya/*   9subj-P1-perf-eat)

'has the cow eaten?'

yeê   yes   *óde*   no

Q.   *nki kyalyá mare?*

A.   *nng'umbe*
        *ni-**ki** ki-a-lyá* [initial-what 7-P1- eat]
        'What ate the grass?'
        It's the cow.

*mbi /ni-**bhi**/alyá shonga?*   *nyén /ni-yén/*
'Who ate the food?'   'It's me'.

ng'umbe nkwi yéénda   or *nkwi ng'umbe yéndaa?*
*ni-**kwi** i-a-enda*   /initial-where 9subj-P1-go/
'Where did the cow go?'

ng'umbe nyindii yéénda?
*ng'umbe ni-**indii** i-a-enda*   /initial-when 9subj-P1-go/
'When did the cow go?'

nkiki ilyí *mwáná alya shónga*
what this child eat food
'Why has the child eaten the food?'   (*nkiki ilyí* is a fixed
expression)

mwaná nyághema índa|kikwi   (*/ni-a-á-ghema/* initial 3rd
sg subj-P1-cultivate)
child   cultivate   how
'How did the child cultivate?'

Interrogative clitic
*nkwaghemia**ki***   (*ni-ku-a-ghem-i-a+ki*   initial-2nd
sg subj-P1-cultivate-appl-fv+clitic)
'why did you cultivate?'

6.12   Negation Clitic

Negation is achieved by using +*fo* in non-relative constructions;
the element must always be final in the construction, i.e. even after
an object, if any.

nndu nyakyékoráfo
/ni-a-ke-kora+fo/ the person is not cooking
initial-3rd sg subj-Prog-cook+neg

nndu nyakóráafo
/ni-a-kór-áa+fo/ the person will not cook.
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj -cook-FUT+neg

nndu nyekóráfo
/ni-a-e-kórá-fo/   the person did not cook.
initial-3ʳᵈ sg subj -P3-cook+neg

kité nkikyémáághafo
/ni-ki-ke-máágha+fo/   the dog is not biting
initial-7subj-Prog-bite+neg

kité nkimáághaafo
/ni-ki-máágh-aa+fo/   the dog will not bite
initial-7subj-bite-FUT+neg

kité nkyemáághafo
/ni-ki-e-máágha+fo/   the dog did not bite
initial-7subj-P3-bite+neg

kité nkikyémáágha mwanáfo
ni-ki-ké-máágha mw-aná+fo   the dog is not biting the child
initial-7subj-Prog-bite 1-child+neg

kité nkimáághaa mwanáfo
ni-ki-máágh-aa mw-aná+fo   the dog will not bite the child
initial-7subj–bite-FUT 1-child+neg

kité nkyemáágha mwanáfo
ni-ki-e-máágha mw-aná+fo   the dog did not bite the child
initial-7subj–P3–bite 1-child+neg.

6.13   Negation in Relative Constructions

The invariable form *alághá* (from *igha* desist) is used before the verb or the short form *lá* is prefixed before the tense morpheme.

Table 39: *alagha* and *la* **Negation**

alagha	la
nndu alághá ákyékórâ */á-ké-kórâ/* person neg+rel. 3rd sg subj-prog-cook 'A person who is not cooking'	*nndu alákyékórâ* */a-lá-ké-kórá/* person 3rd sg subj-neg+rel-Prog-cook 'A person who is not cooking'
nndu alághá á-kórá person neg+rel. 3rd sg subj-cook 'A person who does not cook' (habitual)	*nndu a-lá-kórá* person 3rd sg subj-neg+rel-cook 'A person who does not cook (habitual)'
nndu alágha ákóráa */á-kór- áa/* person neg+rel 3rd sg subj-cook-FUT a person who will not cook	*nndu alákóráa* */a-lá-kór-áa/* person 3rd sg subj-neg+rel-cook-FUT 'A person who will not cook'
nndu alághá ékórâ */a-é-kórâ/* person neg+rel 3rd sg subj- P3-cook 'A person who did not cook'	*n.a.; alagha* must be used in this tense

Nevertheless, the verb *igha* may itself be regularly inflected and negated and normaly comes with the locative *fo* clitic:

nndu nyéghafo íkorâ (nndu ni-á-gha-fo í-korâ)

'the person desisted from cooking'

nndu égháfó íkorâ
n-ndu   a-é-ghá-fó í-korâ
person   3rd sg subj-P3-desist-loc inf-cook
'a person who desisted from cooking [absence of initial *ni-* marks relative]'.

nndu alághá égháfó íkorâ
n-ndu   alághá a-é-ghá-fó í-korâ

person   neg+rel 3S-P3-desist-loc inf-cook
a person who did not desist from cooking

The form *alagha* does not vary irrespective of noun class:

Table 40: *alagha* in Noun Classes

alagha	la
kite alághá kíkyémáágha /kí-ké-máágha/ a dog that is not biting	*kite kílakyemáágha* /kí-la-ke-máágha/ 7subj-neg + rel-prog-bite a dog that is not biting
mmba alághá ikyésámbúwa /i-ké-sámbú-w-a/ 'a house that is not being demolished'	*mmba ilakyésámbú-w-a* /i-la-kyé-sámbú-w-a/ /9subj-neg+rel-prog-demolish-pass-fv/ 'a house that is not being demolished'
mmba alághá yésámbúwa /i-é-sámbú-w-a/ house neg+rel. 9subj-P3-demolish-pass-fv 'a house that was not demolished'	not available

6.14   Double Negatives

In imperative constructions, the two forms of marking negation co-occur, with prefix *la* and clitic *fo*:

Person	Person-*neg-cook-fv+neg*	English	Swahili
1sg	*shi-lá-kor-é+fó*	I should not cook	*nisipike*
2sg	*ku-lá-koré-fô*	Don't cook	*usipike*
3sg	*a-lá-kor-é+fô*	He should not cook	*asipike*
1pl	*lu-lá-kor-é+fô*	We should not cook/Let's not cook	*tusipike*

Person	Person-*neg-cook-fv+neg*	English	Swahili
2pl	*mu-lá-kor-é+fô*	Don't cook	*msipike*
3pl	*wa-lá-kor-é+fô*	They should not cook	*wasipike*

6.15   Idioms and Ideophones

The following idiomatic expressions have a verb as the head.

Idiom	Meaning	Literal Gloss
iutá nghwê	shave	to remove the head
ilalá shóóbhi	be vigilant	to half sleep
illya m'má	take oath	to eat agreement
iutá úsúghû	deprive of rights	(idiomatic expression)
imanyá ńséngô	cultivate new land	to cut virgin land

Ideophones are like idiomatic expressions in having fixed meanings associated with particular combinations of words. In addition, part of the expression attempts to capture the concept involved with a particular set of sounds.

ighishá pyan	to run swiftly
iilá peru/pyan	be very clean/extremely white
ilá piti	become very dark at nightfall
-úú subhi	very black
-dodóru dábha/dán	extremely red
-bhírye púruru	extremely ripe
-úmu kán/dán	extremely hard/dry/difficult
-bhisí kashu	extremely raw
iwa bu!	to fall down with a thud
imágha ng'ashu	to bite…
imira kiti	to swallow…

imalálya sau	to keep dead silence
isalála shu	to stand upright
yooroka shumu	to be extremely straight
ilúa tushu	to uproot…
ishúra shabu	to be full to the brim
ilema fushu	to completely deny
tasuka tasu	to burst severely
waa fuku	kill completely
ighumbwa taba	to sever completely

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