

INTRODUCTION

The Achewa are found principally in the Kasungu, Dowa, and Lilongwe Districts of Nyasaland Protectorate, British Central Africa. Their territory extends eastward as far as Lake Nyasa and westward into North-Eastern Rhodesia. Ethnically, they are a division of the Nyanja group, which has its center in the Shire Valley and Highlands of the Southern Province and in the Central Province southwest of Lake Nyasa, extending as far north as the middle of the lake.

The Nyanja language, of which Chichewa (= the Chewa language) is only a variant, was classified by Father J. Torrend as a member of the 'Senna Cluster' of his 'Main Group' of Bantu languages. He gave the following languages as constituting this 'cluster':¹

Senna proper, at Senna.

Shire, on the Shire River.

Sofala, at Sofala.

Tette, at Tette.

Zumbo, or Ntsua, at Zumbo.

Nyassa, on Lake Nyassa.

Gindo, from the Rufiji to the Lindi River.

His characterization follows:²

This language, though known to the Portuguese as the 'Kafreal de Senna', is not so well spoken at Senna itself as at Tette and in the neighbourhood of the Nyassa Lake, this being probably a result of the greater contact of the natives with Europeans at Senna than in those other places. It is considered by the natives of the Lower Zambezi as being much more primitive than the language of Kilimane and far superior to it. . . .

The most prominent feature of this language as compared with the others is that, where most of these have a sharp *z* or *v* or *f*, it has, in many instances, compound sounds, some entirely labial, others entirely dental, variously pronounced in the various dialects. Most of these compound sounds are the result of a suppressed *i* or a suppressed nasal.

Tette and Nyassa are not the only varieties of the language of Senna. Others are that of Zumbo, the Mbara language of the Loangwe, and even the dialect of Sofala . . .

¹ J. Torrend, S. J., *A Comparative Grammar of the South-African Bantu Languages*, Introduction xix; London 1891.

² *Ibid.* 23-4.

We may probably add to these the Gindo language, very little of which is known. . . .

Thus it may be seen that the Senna language is one of the most extensively spoken in South Africa.

The Sena (Senna) language is spoken on the Lower Zambezi, and, according to Miss Werner, is 'virtually identical with Nyanja.'³ In another place she says, 'The languages called by some "Sena", and "Tete" (Nyungwe) are dialects of Nyanja, . . .'⁴

Father Torrend's classification was based upon Cust's geographical divisions,⁵ modified by 'comparative phonetics' so 'as to pay due regards to the existence of the Chwana-Mozambique-Mpongwe group, and to certain obvious affinities between various languages'. Considerable work has been done on the Bantu languages since this pioneer effort, but so far no adequate classification upon the basis of structure has come forth. Doke feels that it is 'in the behaviour of the noun-prefix and in the concord that we have to look for the basic principles of Bantu language classification'.⁶ This point of view seems essentially correct, but evidence from Chichewa argues for considerably more emphasis upon analysis of verbal suffixes as a means of supplying additional data. The twofold grouping of these languages into those with dissyllabic noun-prefix and those with monosyllabic noun-prefix⁷ is weakened by grossness, and moreover, these two categories are found not to be mutually exclusive.

It is the opinion of Meinhof and his collaborators⁸ that

a linguistic classification should be historical, that is, a classification that embodies as far as possible the actual history of the language concerned. It would have to show how the proto-form of the family split up into its various branches and subdivisions, how languages have influenced each other, and where foreign influence has been at work.

The requirements set up here are difficult to meet and, so far as the Bantu family is concerned, will probably not be fulfilled in the near

³ Alice Werner, *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages* 331; London 1919.

⁴ Alice Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* 25; London 1906.

⁵ Robert Needham Cust, *A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa*, 2 vols., London 1883.

⁶ Clement M. Doke, *Text Book of Zulu Grammar*, Introduction ii; Johannesburg 1927.

⁷ Doke, loc. cit. Chichewa is of the second named type.

⁸ Carl Meinhof, Alice Werner, and N. J. von Warmelo, *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages* 176; Berlin 1932 (English version of Carl Meinhof's *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*).

future. Moreover, Meinhof's hypothetical Ur-Bantu does not seem to have yielded very fruitful results in providing a basis for the type of classification desired.

We are therefore still not far removed from Father Torrend's classification.

The language presented in the following pages may be taken as representative of that spoken at Kasungu (postoffice). The account is based on some 400 pages of text, with grammatical material, and more than 700 pages of ethnographical descriptions in English which include many expressions in the native language. All the information was obtained from Kamuzu Banda, a native Chewa, while he was in attendance at the University of Chicago, from 1930 to 1932. Some of it, however, consists of letters which he received from home and kindly permitted me to study. He read these letters and aided with the translation. A portion of the material utilized in the revision was obtained from him during 'spare moments' since 1932. Mr. Banda was a very excellent informant, and without his cooperation this study would contain many more defects than it does.

I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Edward Sapir (now of Yale University) for his having made my work with Mr. Banda possible, and for his numerous other acts of kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Manuel J. Andrade, who supervised the writing of this thesis, for his most valuable suggestions and criticisms, and to other members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in whose classes it has been my pleasure to study.

It will be noted that a somewhat radical variation from established custom has been made in the order of presenting the so-called 'parts of speech'; viz., that the pronoun is not discussed immediately after the noun. In the author's opinion, the language may be more easily comprehended by studying the noun, verb, and qualificative construction first, and in the order named. Chichewa qualificatives, pronouns, and demonstratives are closely related in both function and morphology. Hence, they are here taken up in proximity.

CHAPTER I: PHONOLOGY

§1. GENERAL REMARKS. In all its aspects except the behaviour of the pitch-accent, the phonetic system of the Chewa language is a fairly simple one. There are only five vowels, and the consonantal system is highly symmetrical.

There is not sufficient material for a representative comparison of Chichewa phonology with the sounds of the neighbouring languages. The sounds of the Nyanja dialects are fairly uniform, but there are certain local variations. The following seem to be the main differences between Chichewa and the southern language (Chinyanja proper):

Chinyanja	Chichewa
<i>bv, ^mbv</i>	become <i>v, ^mv</i>
<i>bz</i> (Chipeta)	becomes <i>z</i>
<i>ps</i>	becomes <i>p'</i>
<i>pf, ^mpf</i>	become <i>f, (pf), p', ^mf</i>
<i>s</i> (some cases)	becomes <i>s</i>

All these instances show Chichewa to possess the more reduced forms. The Nyanja group as a whole shows certain instances of reduction when compared with some of the languages of the South. The nasal attack sound, for example, is represented in Zulu by a complete syllable¹, and, as has been indicated, while some of the southern languages have disyllabic noun-prefixes, in the Chinyanja group these prefixes are monosyllabic.

§2. VOWELS. The vowel sounds may be represented as to position by the following scheme:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ε</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
<i>a</i>	

Diphthongs: *ui* (*wi*), *uε* (*wε*), *uɔ* (*wɔ*), *ua* (*wa*), *ɪu*, *ɪɔ*, *ɪε*, *ɪa*.

i (high forward) has about the same quality as English *i* in *machine*. It is never pronounced as in English *hit*. In the diphthongs it is not altered in quality, but has a much briefer duration.

¹ Cf. §17.

ɛ is an open forward vowel, approximately as in English *let* or French *près*.

u, the high back vowel, has the quality of *u* in German *du*.

ɔ has approximately the quality of *o* in English *off*.

a is a low back vowel, as in German *dann*; i. e., it is never so far back as English *a* in *father* nor so much to the front as in English *at*.

b. Vowel Quantity. The vowel of the penultimate syllable is increased in quantity when a word stands alone, and in larger sound groups the corresponding vowel of the last word is so affected. In other words, this quantitative change results when the voice comes to a rest. Increase in quantity also results from coalescence, and in certain instances of elision.² There is a single instance in which two distinct forms of the same word differ in vocalic quantity only: *nidá:dza* 'I came and am now here'; *nidá:dza* 'I came, but did not remain'. This is a distinction in aspect³, and may, of course, be employed with any verb. Rapidity of utterance and rhetorical emphasis naturally affect the quantity of vowels.

c. Contraction. With the exception of the diphthongs already indicated, vowels in juxtaposition constitute separate syllables. In the regular flow of speech, words are often united and parts of words are more closely welded together by coalescence or elision of vowels and by contractions which involve certain consonants as well. It is, therefore, the final and initial sounds of morphological elements which undergo greatest phonetic alteration. Contractions are of so frequent occurrence in all speech that only the principal forms to be found in Chichewa can be considered here. In the discussions of the morphology of the language all special phonetic changes involved in the use of certain elements are included.

The general rules governing contraction may be stated as follows (it must be understood that these contractions are not unavoidable in Chewa speech):

1. When a final vowel is followed by an initial vowel of the same quality, the two coalesce, forming a long vowel of the same quality. Examples: *kumbukani:tcí* < *kumbukani í:tcí* 'remember ye this'; *kɔma:póŋgɔ:zi* < *kɔma apóŋgɔ:zi* 'but mothers-in-law'; *masekera:βa* < *masekera a:βa* 'this grass'; *tɛŋgáɓni:zi* < *tɛŋgáɓni í:zi* 'take ye some of these'.

2. When a final vowel is followed by an initial vowel of different quality: (a) The final vowel is usually elided. Examples: *furá:tcɛ:ma*

² Cf. §28, g, §30, A, d-2, and §37, j.

³ Cf. §26.

< *furú átɛ·ma* 'tortoise is calling'; *ná·lí·mbɔ* < *ní ulí·mbɔ* 'with bird-lime'; *sininawóni·nɛ* < *sininawónɛ i·nɛ* 'I have not yet seen'. (b) The initial vowel, *i*, of personal pronouns is usually elided following the conjunctive *ná*⁴. (c) In a few instances a *y*- or *w*-glide is inserted between the vowels: **gátí wú·kɔ* < **gátí ú·kɔ* 'approximately over there'. (d) It is very rare that two such vowels coalesce into a vowel of new quality, unless certain consonants are also involved. The best examples of this are afforded by forms in which the element *-ini* or *-inɛ* is included. The prefix *βa-* (Class 1) affixed to this element gives *βé·ni* or *βé·nɛ* 'owners', while in the singular it is *mwí·ni* or *mwé·nɛ*⁵. The original form seems to be, therefore, *-ini* or *-yini*, and the coalescence of *i* or (*y*)*i* with the *a* of the qualificative concordance and of the prefix *βa-* has resulted in *ɛ*, the final vowel being given this quality by assimilation. The only regularly occurring coalescence of this type is that of a final *ɛ* or *a* with a following (initial) *u* to form *ɔ*: *ɱtɛrɔ́·dápkaní·ka* < *ɱtɛré udápkaní·ka* '(the) broth has failed me'; *kó·sɔ·kɔ* < *kó·sɛ u·kɔ* 'everywhere'; *uwɔmbó·dáp·á·ú·dje* < *uwɔmbá údáp·á aú·dje* 'judgment killed Sir So-and-so'.

3. Contractions involving consonants may be summarized thus:

-*a* plus *ku-*, *kɔ-*, *wa-*, *wu-*, or *wɔ-* gives *ɔ*. (For examples see table of qualificative concordances, §39.)

When *w*, *β*, or *y* comes between two vowels, it is frequently dropped, so that the vowels come into contact and changes result as previously indicated: *wa·mba* < *waya·mba* 'he began'; *mwa·nt'u* < *muβa·nt'u* 'ye, the people'; *kuná·za* < *kuníwu·za* 'to tell me'; *makumá·βí·rí* < *makumí βaβí·rí* 'twenty' (i. e., 'two tens'); *tí·éŋ* < *tíyɛ·ní* 'let us go'.

d. Assimilation and Dissimilation. These are not very important features of Chichewa phonology, as they are not of very frequent occurrence. The most significant of such changes are: (1) The *i* of the copula *ní* or of the conjunctive *ní* is regularly assimilated to a following *a*, producing the variant forms *na* and *ná*. The *a* of either of the latter forms, it is obvious, may very easily coalesce with the *a* which has produced it. Examples: *na alá·mu* 'are siblings-in-law'; *ná akazí βá·kɛ* or *ná·kazí βá·kɛ* 'and his wives'. (2) *a* is sometimes partially assimilated to a following *i*: **t'ɛnk'ú yéiβá·yɛ* < **t'ɛnk'ú yáyíβá·yɛ* 'little facial bump'. The connecting vowels employed with certain suffixes of the verb⁶ are determined by both assimilation and dissimilation, so that *i*, *u*, or *a* in the stem gives *i* as connecting vowel, and *ɛ* or *ɔ* in the stem gives *ɛ* as connecting vowel.

⁴ Cf. §43.

⁵ Cf. also §39.

⁶ Cf. §25.

Table 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dento-alveolar	Postalveolar	Prepalatal	Postpalatal	Laryngeal
Explosive:							
Sonant	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>	
Surd	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	
Aspirated	<i>p'</i>		<i>t'</i>			<i>k'</i>	
Fricative:							
Sonant	β	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			γ	
Surd		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>			<i>h</i>
Affricative:							
Sonant			<i>dz</i>	<i>dj</i>			
Surd	<i>(pf)</i>		<i>ts</i>	<i>tc</i>			
Aspirated				<i>tc'</i>			
Nasal	<i>m</i> (η)		<i>n</i> (η)		\tilde{n}	<i>\nu</i> (η)	
Nasal Attack:							
Explosive							
Sonant	^m <i>b</i>		ⁿ <i>d</i>			^{\nu} <i>g</i>	
Surd-aspirated	^m <i>p'</i>		ⁿ <i>t'</i>			^{\nu} <i>k'</i>	
Fricative							
Sonant		^m <i>v</i>	ⁿ <i>z</i>				
Surd		^m <i>f</i>	ⁿ <i>s</i>				
Affricative							
Sonant			ⁿ <i>dz</i>	^{\nu} <i>dj</i>			
Surd-aspirated			ⁿ <i>ts</i>	^{\nu} <i>tc'</i>			
Vibrant			<i>l</i> (<i>r</i>)				
Semi-vowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

§3. CONSONANTS.

b. In the explosive series of consonants, *g*, *k*, and *k'* are classified as post-palatal. They are formed somewhat farther back than the corresponding sounds in English. The aspirated forms are even more aspirated than such sounds in initial and final positions in English, while there is no appreciable expulsion of breath following the release of the non-aspirated forms. The best evidence of this is the fact that *k* was at first often heard as *g*. The same contrast as that between *k* and *k'* exists between *p* and *p'* and *t* and *t'*. All these sounds are distinct phonemes.

The bilabial fricative *β* has approximately the value of Spanish *b* or *v* in the words *Habana* and *divertir*; i. e., it is made by bringing the lips together and allowing the stream of breath to pass between them while the vocal cords are vibrating. It can, I think, be heard somewhat more distinctly by an un-Spanish ear than the corresponding Spanish sound. It is clearly distinct from *w* and *v*; e. g., *βapi·ta* 'they went' (Class 1); *wapi·ta* 'he went' (Class 1); *vapi·ta* 'they went' (Class 6). It is also not to be confused with *b*: *kubi·ya* 'to belch'; *kusβi·ya* 'to build a fence'. Before the vowels *u* and *ɔ*, this sound is changed to *w*. In a little experiment, I had my informant underscore the bilabial fricative sound in order to distinguish it from the semi-vowel *w*. (He wrote *w* for both sounds, as the missionaries did not distinguish between the two.) He underscored the sound before the vowels mentioned, but could not pronounce it in that position in spite of his feeling that it was the same as in other positions.

v and *f*, *z* and *s* require no comment. *c* stands for the sound of English *sh* in *ship*. It occurs very rarely in Chewa speech and seems to be found only in borrowed words. Examples: *cá·ti* 'shirt'; *círi·ni* 'shilling'; *có·pɔ* 'shop'; *cápa·tɔ* 'shoe' (Portuguese *zapato*); *cá·βa* 'peanut'; *maca·mba* 'veldt'.

ɣ, the voiced fricative of the *k* series, is also an introduced sound, probably from the North (Tumbuka?), and is not of frequent occurrence. With one exception, it was found always preceded by *s* or *z*. Examples: *mbiri·ɣa* 'sororate wife'; *kusɣesɣétu·ra* 'to step on and crush (rub) with the foot'; *kusɣó·ra* 'to scout'; *zɣáma·mba* (the name of a chief); *kuzɣó·ka* 'to become transformed'; *kuzɣóli·ka* 'to become deep'.

h has practically the same value as in English. It is also a borrowed sound and there are only a few instances of its occurrence. Examples: *h'é·ma* 'tent'; *hara·rɛ* 'Southern Rhodesia'; *hánɔ·kɛ* 'Hanoch'.

Affricatives: *pf* is not frequently heard, its place being taken in

Chichewa by *f* or aspirated *p* (*p'*). *tc* has the sound of English *ch* in *church* and *dj* the sound of English *j* in *judge* or *just*.

Nasals: The syllabic forms *m̃* and *ñ* result from the reduction of *mu* (or *ni*) before labials and dento-labials and *ni* before the alveolar sounds, *ñ*, or *ṽ*, respectively. *ṽ*, as in German *fangen*, also has a syllabic form, resulting from the reduction of *ni* before *g*, *k*, or *k'*. *ñ* has the value of *ny* in English *canyon* or *ñ* in Spanish *año*. The nasal attack consonants are simply the sounds *b*, *p*, *d*, etc., preceded by their homo-organic nasals weakly articulated; i.e., the nasal part is almost voiceless. The surd form of nasal attack consonants is always aspirated.

Vibrants: *l* and *r* are practically interchangeable. There was, indeed, only one form in which my informant was noticeably consistent in his objection to their being interchanged: he could generally detect *l* when it was substituted for *r* as suffix in the applicative voice.⁷ When writing, he always recognized their distinction in this form of the verb. I was able to substitute *l* for *r* as the applicative suffix by having him pay strict attention to errors in tonal accent, which I purposely made. It may be noted that as applicative suffix, *r* is always preceded by *i* or *ε*, but its stability here seems to be more morphological than phonetic, as in other forms, although preceded by one of these vowels, it was quite freely interchanged with *l*. The rule that *i* and *ε* determine *r* rather than *l* in Chinyanja, therefore, does not seem applicable to Chichewa.⁸

The semi-vowels *w* and *y* are practically the same as in English. They are definitely related, as to point of inception, to the vowels *u* and *i* respectively.

c. Consonantal Combinations. The following tabulations show all possible consonantal combinations in Chichewa. The 'nasal attack' sounds are regarded as single consonants, although in medial position (except after *m̃* or *ñ*) the nasal part of the sound is heard more distinctly (i. e., seems more definitely voiced). This is, of course, purely mechanical, just as English *t* loses its aspiration when following certain other sounds, as in *stop*.⁹ Even if each sound may be analysed phonemically as consisting of nonsyllabic nasal plus following consonant, it would not be necessary to include them here.

⁷ Cf. §31.

⁸ Cf. The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, *A Practical Manual of the Nyanja Language* 2, Nyasaland 1922; and Alice Werner, *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*.

⁹ However, this phonetic difference has been recognized orthographically, and, except for illustrative purposes, the nasal is written as a superior letter when such sounds occur in initial position only.

Various phonetic changes occur when certain consonants follow syllabic nasals. These are shown in the third column of the table. It may be added that since the syllabic nasals result from the reduction of *mu* and *ni*, and the semi-vowel *w* may be regarded as *u* modified by a following vowel, no strictly consonantal combinations are possible except those phonologically determined; unless, as has been said, 'nasal attack' consonants may be regarded as combinations.¹⁰

Initial	Second	Result
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ɲb</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>ɲb</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>l (r)</i>	<i>ɲⁿd</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>ɲⁿdj</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	Any other consonant	No change
(No examples of <i>ɲ</i> plus <i>ɲ</i> or <i>ɲ</i> plus <i>ɲ</i> ; <i>ɲm</i> sometimes becomes <i>ɲb</i> .)		
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>mb</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>w</i> plus <i>a</i> , <i>ε</i> , or <i>i</i>	<i>ɲgwa</i> , etc.
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>w</i> plus <i>u</i> or <i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɲgɔ</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ɲm</i> , <i>ɲb</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	Any other bilabial	<i>ɲ</i> plus bilabial
<i>ɲ</i>	Any labio-dental	<i>ɲ</i> plus labio-dental
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>y</i> plus <i>a</i> , <i>ε</i> , or <i>i</i>	<i>ⁿda</i> , <i>ɲdja</i> , etc.
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>y</i> plus <i>u</i> or <i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɲdju</i> , <i>ɲdjo</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>l (r)</i>	<i>ⁿdi</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	Any post-palatal (except <i>ɣ</i>)	<i>ɲ</i> plus post-palatal
<i>ɲ</i>	Any dento-alveolar	No change
<i>ɲ</i>	Any post-alveolar	No change
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ̃</i>	No change
(No examples of <i>ɲ</i> plus <i>ɣ</i> .)		

Initial: Any other consonant except *w*, *c*, *h*, *β*, *ɣ*, or *y*, or any combination as noted. Second: *w*. Result: No change except as noted.

§4. THE SYLLABLE. Every syllable (except *ɲ* or *ɲ̃*) ends in a vowel; therefore, each word is terminated by a vowel, and consonants are pronounced with the following vowel or consonant plus vowel. The reduction of *tɪyɛni* to *tɪɛɲ* is the only instance in which a consonantal sound of any type terminates a word. Exceptions to this rule occur in the 'radical descriptive', along with other phonetic deviations.¹¹

¹⁰ *sɣ* and *zɣ* may be excepted, being borrowed sounds. *ɣ*, as has been noted, appears usually in one of these combinations. It is, therefore, excluded from the table.

¹¹ Cf. §33.

§5. PITCH-ACCENT AND STRESS. Pitch-accent and stress are very closely associated in Chichewa. There is a weak stress which is independent of pitch and occurs regularly on the penultimate syllable, but in many words a more energetic stress is combined with the high tonal accent on the penultimate syllable, so that the two become inseparable; and in general, the radical descriptive excepted, stress is never decidedly strong unless accompanied by this musical pitch. In emphatic expressions, for example, syllables normally of low register may be pronounced on the higher pitch and at the same time be given considerably more stress. Examples: *wamwa mɔ̀βa* 'you have drunk beer, he (Class 1) has drunk beer'; *wámwá móβa* 'you are intoxicated, he (Class 1) is intoxicated'; *i·nɛ* 'I'; *í·nɛ yá·i* 'I? no!' In a series of syllables of high pitch the stress is greatest on the final one: *tsikú líná·'sɔ* 'another day again'; *munt'u wáñbá·'ye* 'little person'; *kwókwá'tca ɸ kó·lí·ma* 'from It-is-a-good-day-to-hoe'.¹² In the radical descriptive, either type of stress may occur on the final syllable. Thus, it has been considered necessary to indicate stress only in the radical descriptive, where it appears in exceptional positions.

Tone is phonemically essential to the language; i. e., it is inherent in the morphological elements and must always be recognized as of grammatical and syntactical importance. There are two basic tonal distinctions in Chichewa: a high register (indicated by the acute accent) and a low register, which is unmarked. These may be called tonemes, as neither term implies absolute uniformity. A low tone on a final syllable, for example, may be either higher or lower, according to circumstances, than a low tone on a preceding syllable. If the utterance can be stopped at a given point without leaving the listener in suspense, the low tone of the final syllable becomes lower; while if such cessation would result in suspense, it is raised somewhat. This raised tone may be indicated by the numeral one (1), written in superior position for illustrative purposes, but it is not necessary to indicate it in other instances. Examples: *tsikú límó·dzi* 'one day', but *tsikú límó¹dzi* *wapita ku mu·dzi* 'one day he went to the village'; *tídxé ñmá·βa* 'let us eat in the morning', but *ñmá·βa¹ kwa·tca* 'in the morning it dawned' (the next day dawned); *ná·mυε té·rɔ* 'you also like that', but *wáfíká té·rɔ¹* 'after he arrived like that, . . . ' Further, the final syllable of most words is on the low register and when such words are isolated, or in other expressions in which the final tone becomes lower, the tone of the penultimate syllable, whether high or low, is characterized by a slightly

¹² Stress is indicated by the symbol (') placed after the syllable.

falling glide. The vowel of the penultimate syllable, it may be recalled, is increased in quantity.¹³

b. Compound Tones. A falling tone (except that already mentioned) occurs in Chichewa only as the result of the coalescence of two elements of different pitch, and in the radical descriptive. More frequently, a syllable in which elements of different pitch come together is distinguished only by a high tone (or high tone with slightly falling glide) and increase in vocalic quantity. Rising tones occur primarily in the radical descriptive. Examples: *kutí·ne* < *kuti i·ne* 'that I'; *ná·má·wo* < *ní amái bá·wo* 'and their mothers'; *ñámá·nk'á·nga* < *ñama yá·nk'á·nga* 'guinea-fowl meat'; *namzaní·ne* < *namzanú i·ne* 'I, your kinsman'; *kutá·kapa·nda* < *kuti akapa·nda* 'that when he is without' (that when he does not); *ná·gwi·ra* < *naβá·gwi·ra* 'I have caught them'; *sí·kúp'á·nt'á·tca·dje* < *síkúp'á bant'u βátca·dje* 'he (Class 5) does not kill innocent people'. These illustrations show compound tones as well as the dominance of the high pitch where elements of different pitch come together.

c. There are only a few instances in which unrelated words or different forms of the same word are distinguished by pitch-accent only. Examples: *tcó·nde* 'please', *tcó·nde* 'fertile soil'; *mté·ngó* 'tree, wood', *mté·ngó* 'price'; *ní (ná)* 'and, with', *ní (na)* 'be'; *kú·ti* 'to say, to do, to have in mind, that (conjunctive)', *ku·ti* 'where?'; *masá·no* 'sister of the paramount chief, queen, paramount chief's wife (modern usage)', *masa·no* 'grave, cemetery'; *mtó·ndo* 'mortar', *mtó·ndo* (a species of tree from which bark-cloth is made); *-ká-* 'go in order to', *-ka-* 'when, if'¹⁴; *sí-* 'not'; *si-* (*-si-*) . . . *-ná-* . . . *-ε* 'not yet'¹⁵; *βálí·pó* 'while they are existent', *βalí·pó* 'they were existent'.

d. The most intricate problem of Chewa phonology is the shift in position and equalization of tones as various elements of speech are joined in the formation of words and as words come together in syntactic relationship. This variation of pitch-accent, resulting in part from the juxtaposition of different patterns, is a complex problem which at present has not been sufficiently analysed and, therefore, cannot be presented fully in this study. It involves not only the mechanics of phonology and morphology, i. e., morphology as pure symbolism subject merely to the nature of its reference, but also certain concomitant attitudes and interests. All the Bantu languages (Swahili perhaps excepted)

¹³ Cf. §2.

¹⁴ Cf. §37, a and c.

¹⁵ Cf. §36, a and b.

seem to present the same difficulty in this respect and, so far as the writer knows, it has never received adequate solution.¹⁶

The general principles underlying this type of tonal behaviour in Chichewa may be roughly summarized thus:

1. The basic tone pattern which a word has in isolation is retained when that word is final in the simple (non-emotional) expression of a more or less independent thought, as in simple statement of fact, whether in a sentence, clause, phrase, or in simple vocative usage of proper nouns.

2. This pattern may be modified by the following factors: (a) by the affixation of morphological elements (concordances, tense-aspect prefixes, enclitics, etc.) which themselves carry specific tone patterns; (b) by the occurrence of the word (provided the penultimate syllable is of high register) in a sense-group at a point where that sense-group cannot be terminated without leaving the listener in suspense or where the speaker feels it as a single unit; (c) by rhetorical emphasis.

All three factors may operate simultaneously. By operation of the second, the high tone of the penultimate moves forward to the final syllable. Modification of the basic tone by affixation is discussed in the following pages where the various morphological elements are considered. In general, if such an element bearing a high pitch is affixed to a word the initial syllable of which is on the low register, but followed by one on the high register, the syllable of low register is raised to the level of the others: high + low-high yields high-high-high; high + low-low yields high-low-low. A simple syllable (one not the result of contraction) of low pitch generally does not occur between two syllables of high pitch, unless affected by one or more of these three factors.

In the presentation of the morphology of the language, certain morphemes have been indicated as consisting of one or more syllables spoken on the high register. It must be understood that in these instances the high tone is only called for by the morpheme, and that in certain morphological or contextual settings the two may quite well be separated.

¹⁶ Professor Daniel Jones has made an interesting study of this problem, and some of his findings are applicable to Chichewa. See Daniel Jones, *The Tones of Sechuana Nouns*, Memorandum vi, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

CHAPTER II: MORPHOLOGY

§6. INTRODUCTORY. In morphology, the Chewa language conforms quite rigidly to the general Bantu pattern. It illustrates the typically synthetic language of agglutinative technique; i. e., the word is fairly elaborate in structure, with affixed elements that are loosely united to its nucleus. With the exception of the two vocalic suffixes of the verb form,¹ there is hardly a single element that may be regarded as fused. The system of noun classes and concordances serving as relational elements may be said to stamp the Bantu family as a 'simple mixed relational' type; i. e., the relational elements may be classified as 'concrete relational' elements.² We shall see that certain of the noun classes are more formal than semantic in application—at least in Chichewa.³ Another feature (of Chichewa at least) is the identification, very much as in English, of the relation of actor and action with that of subject and predicate.⁴

The general structure of the Bantu languages is too well known to require any further comment here, and in no feature does Chichewa show important deviations.

§7. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES. Prefixation and suffixation are the primary grammatical processes employed by this language, the former being considerably the more important. As we have seen, there is only one form in which a quantitative variation has a grammatical function; likewise, the instances in which pitch-accent may be said to constitute grammatical process are almost negligible. Word order may be ranked next to affixation in importance.⁵ Reduplication is regularly employed to express intensification, as well as in certain forms of the radical descriptive. Examples: *mant'd wók'd wók'k'a* 'fear only only' (fear everywhere); *wapita kalé ká·le* 'he has been long since gone' (*ká·le* 'already'). In some instances only part of the form is reduplicated: *tcint'u tcátckákúru kú·ru* 'great big thing'. A number of forms show structural reduplication: *tcit'ú·zi* or *tcit'uzit'ú·zi* 'shadow'; *tci-*

¹ Cf. §30.

² See Edward Sapir, *Language*, Chapters 5 and 6; New York 1921.

³ Cf. §10.

⁴ Cf. §26.

⁵ Cf. §2, §5, §39, and §40.

t'wá't'wa (the name of a village); *tcik'á·k'a* 'laughter'; *tcigwó·rò* 'adultery'; *kadzi·dzi* 'owl'; *mbwé·bwé* 'spiritual possession'; *kasúkúsú·ku* 'elbow'; *tcip'ǎ·p'ǎ* 'fish tail'.

Only one word was obtained which may be regarded as approaching true compounding; i. e., not merely combinations of words due to elision or coalescence only: *ɲtsámp'u·nɔ* or *ɲtc'ámp'u·nɔ* 'bleeding from the nose'. This word may be analysed into *ɲ* 'in'; *-tc'* 'leak'; *-a* (vocalic suffix); and *mp'u·nɔ* 'nose'. *-ts-* occurring regularly instead of *-tc'* is probably the result of the fact that the form is compounded. The plural form *mitsámp'u·nɔ* is formed on the basis of analogy to the plural form of other nouns of Class 2.

As has been said, the morphological elements are loosely agglutinated to the core of the word. The vocalic suffixes, to which we have referred, and the consonantal suffixes, employed in certain 'voices' of the verb form,⁶ are the most firmly cemented of all affixes and have the least individuality. This is particularly true regarding the vocalic suffixes.

For the types of concepts expressed by affixed elements, see §8 and §26.

⁶ Cf. §31.

A. THE NOUN

§8. NOUN STRUCTURE. With the exception of those of Class 10, nouns in Chichewa are composed of two formatives: stem and prefix, generally speaking, but in numerous cases only the stem is represented. However, in a number of instances the nouns which are used without prefixes in the singular require prefixation in the plural. For some, nouns of Class 5, e. g., it can be said definitely that the prefixes have disappeared or are 'worn down', since they can be easily recognized in cognate words of other Bantu languages.¹ It requires more historical perspective to make a similar statement for many other nouns.

Nouns of Class 10 require special statement, as they are identical in form with the verb infinitive and therefore consist of at least three formative elements: prefix, stem, and vocalic suffix.² The suffixed element, or elements, may be recognized as derivative in function.

The noun prefixes indicate number, with certain exceptions, and together with the concordial agreement constitute morphological systems which divide the nouns into several 'classes' or 'class genders'. They are also employed derivationally, forming words with new meanings. The stem is that portion of the noun to which the affixes are appended. It is generally a constant element, although subject to tonal variations and various alterations due to phonetic influence. It expresses a basic (concrete) concept.³

In the following examples showing noun structure, it must be remembered that nouns of Class 10 may also be translated as verbs in the infinitive form. The class number is indicated in parentheses after these nouns.

1. Change in prefix indicating change in number:

<i>ɲtcé·βa</i> 'a Chewa person'	<i>atcé·βa</i> 'Chewa people'
<i>mu·si</i> 'pestle'	<i>mi·si</i> 'pestles'
<i>tcipa·nda</i> 'calabash'	<i>vipa·nda</i> 'calabashes'

2. Change in affix indicating derivational concepts:

<i>ɲtcé·βa</i> 'a Chewa person'	<i>utcé·βa</i> 'the Chewa country'
	<i>tcitcé·βa</i> 'the Chewa language'

¹ Cf. §17.

² Cf. §25.

³ Cf. Edward Sapir, *Language* 106-7; New York 1921.

<i>tci·nt'u</i> 'thing'	<i>mu·nt'u</i> 'person'
	<i>ka·nt'u</i> 'anything, something'
	<i>tu·nt'u</i> 'serious trouble'
<i>mp'i·ka</i> 'a type of clay pot'	<i>kup'i·ka</i> 'cooking with water' (10)
	<i>mp'i·ki</i> 'cook'
<i>kukó·dza</i> 'urinating' (10)	<i>ḡkó·dzo</i> 'urine'
	<i>tcikódzε·rɔ</i> 'bladder'
<i>kuwó·ngá</i> 'thanking' (10)	<i>tciwɔ·ngɔ</i> 'father's clan' (to which one is thankful for one's being).
<i>kusá·mba</i> 'bathing' (10)	<i>kusámbi·ra</i> 'swimming' (10)
<i>masa·mbɔ</i> 'beauty'	<i>˚sa·mbɔ</i> 'catamenia'

3. Noun stems. (These are taken from the forms given in 1 and 2.)
-nt'u, -tεβa, -pand, -si, -p'ik-, -kɔdz-, -wɔng-, -samb-.

§9. CONCORD. In order to appreciate fully the nature of the noun in Chichewa, it is necessary to take into consideration the principle of concord, which, indeed, is one of the most characteristic features of the Bantu languages. It is a method of syntax, a technique of mooring the basic concepts of a sentence to each other by a formal expression of their relationship (relational concepts) within the sentence. The system of concordances serves as a formal bond of relationship between the elements of the ensemble, leaving no doubt as regards the relational pattern, and thus constitutes an externally clear reference. All the elements which belong together or are similarly related to the subject of discourse⁴ are labeled with identical or functionally equivalent affixes. This is the 'spirit' of concordance, but, as with other cultural formalities, it may be violated when the speaker wishes 'to cut to the bone of things'.⁵ The important fact to be recognized in this connection is this: The label, in its various forms, may or may not be stamped on the subject of discourse (the noun), but it must appear as a relational index for the other elements of the sentence. It is hardly necessary to say in addition that concord does not always involve alliteration.

§10. NOUN CLASSES. The frequent lack of noun prefixes in Chichewa must be well remembered when speaking of noun systems, for, contrary to the usual manner of considering Bantu nouns, we cannot regard the prefix, nor its absence, as the sole or primary determinant of a noun class. It is rather the whole system of concordances, which, as we have said, may or may not include such affixes, that must be taken as the

⁴ Not in the grammatical sense; this 'subject' may also be an 'object.'

⁵ Cf. §32.

fundamental basis of classification. This systematization is conventional and largely, though perhaps not entirely, arbitrary, as are other types of classification; e. g., 'sex gender' in some European languages, animate vs. inanimate⁶, certain form-categories, as 'round object', 'long slender object', etc.,⁷ and several others which may be readily brought to mind.

It is quite obvious that we cannot say that the prefix determines the concord, or the class, in the case of those nouns which have no prefixes; and, moreover, there are other factors which operate against a classification on the basis of prefixes alone. Many nouns, identical in prefixes or in lack of prefixes, require different concordial systems. Examples: *ɳt'ɔ'ngɔ* 'ball of porridge' (Class 5) and *ɳt'ɔ'ngɔ* 'pus secreted by the eyes', plural *matɔ'ngɔ* (Class 3); *bwá'tɔ* 'canoe', plural *mabwá'tɔ* (Class 4) and *bwé'zi* 'formal friend', plural *mabwé'zi* (Class 3). *mí'mba* 'belly' which requires the concordance of Class 5 would otherwise be mistaken for a plural noun of Class 2, such as *mí'mbu* 'yam'.

It has been sometimes said that such superficial 'anomalies' as these represent 'shifts' from one class to another. This type of reconstruction seems no more justifiable than a claim that certain words under the sex gender classification of European languages, e. g., Spanish *mano* or German *Mädchen*, have likewise shifted. They only emphasize the necessity of acknowledging the systems as formal categories.

We may now consider the systems in relation to the meaning of the nouns which are made to fit into them. The general theory is a hypothesis which holds that in Ur-Bantu (Proto-Bantu) the noun classes betokened an assemblage based on common characteristics, so that a 'personal class', an 'animal class', an 'instrumental class', etc., were represented, and that the modern Bantu languages still bear, in varying degrees of completeness, the earmarks of this logical classification. In this sense, class genders would be purely semantic.

Now, in Chichewa, Class 1 is to some extent a personal class, but all personal nouns are by no means embraced in it, and there are included objects of an entirely non-human character.⁸ Classes 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 have semantic applications, classes 7, 8, and 9 being primarily employed in this manner.⁹ These systems therefore have meaning and are not required by specific nouns, but can be used with all nouns. The

⁶ For example, in Algonquian or Siouan, North American Indian languages.

⁷ For example, in Athabaskan, North American Indian language.

⁸ Cf. §11.

⁹ Cf. §§19-24.

other classes are not subject to any satisfactory characterization on the basis of meaning. For this reason, it cannot be said that all classes are gender classes. They are concord systems—some formal, others

Table 2
Chichewa Noun Classes

Table of Concords						
Class No.	Number	Prefix	Verbal		Qualificative	
			Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
1	Sg.	<i>mu-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wamu-</i>
	Pl.	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>-βa-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βaβa-</i>
2	Sg.	<i>mu-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-(w)u-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa(w)u-</i>
	Pl.	<i>mi-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya(y)i-</i>
3	Sg.	none	<i>li-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>lali-</i>
	Pl.	<i>ma-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>-βa-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βaβa-</i>
4	Sg.	none	<i>bu-, u-</i>	<i>-bu-, -u-</i>	<i>bwa-, wa-</i>	<i>bwabu-, wa(w)u-</i>
	Pl.	<i>ma-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>-βa-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βaβa-</i>
5	Sg.	none	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya(y)i-</i>
	Pl.	none	<i>zi-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>zazi-</i>
6	Sg.	<i>tci-</i>	<i>tci-</i>	<i>-tci-</i>	<i>tca-</i>	<i>tcatci-</i>
	Pl.	<i>vi-</i>	<i>vi-</i>	<i>-vi-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>vavi-</i>
7	Sg.	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kaka-</i>
	Pl.	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>-tu-</i>	<i>twa-</i>	<i>twatu-</i>
8	Sg.					
	Pl.	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>-pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>papa-</i>
9	Sg.					
	Pl.	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>mwa-</i>	<i>mwamu-</i>
10	Sg.					
	Pl.	<i>ku-, u-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>	<i>kwaku-</i>

semantic. This is the point of view which we must take regarding the Chichewa system at least.

If we are desirous of attaining a greater degree of accuracy, we should present the classes in terms of whole systems. They will thus be defined

in terms of the noun prefix (singular and plural), the verbal concordial agreement (subjective and objective), and the qualificative concordial agreement, which is of two formal types, generally called 'relative' and 'adjectival'. The order of arrangement (numbering) is purely conventional.

§11. CLASS 1.

Concordial System

Prefix	Verbal		Qualificative	
	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg. <i>mu-</i> (<i>m-</i>)	<i>a-</i>	<i>-mu-</i> (<i>-m-</i>)	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wamu-</i> (<i>wam-</i>)
Pl. <i>βa-</i> (<i>a-</i>)	<i>βa-</i> (<i>a-</i>)	<i>-βa-</i> (<i>-a-</i>)	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βaβa-</i> (<i>βa-</i>)

This is the so-called 'Personal Class' of Proto-Bantu, but it contains many non-personal nouns, and there are nouns of other classes which refer to human beings. It is interesting to note, however, that in stories words for animals are sometimes brought into this class by affixation of the plural prefix *a-* to the complete symbol, in which case the entire system of concordances is employed in consonance. Examples: **k'ára·mu* 'lion' (Class 5) may be referred to as *añk'ára·mu*; **djɔ·vu* 'elephant' (Class 5) as *andjɔ·vu*; *tcíwa·ra* 'locust' (Class 6) as *atcíwa·ra*; **n'de·mja* 'bat' (Class 2) as *añn'de·mja*. **tc'efú i·ri* 'eland (Class 5) said, . . .', but *antc'efú βa·li* 'sir eland (Class 1) said, . . .' Likewise, *áu·dje* 'what's-his-name' is in Class 1, but *tcíú·dje* 'what-do-you-call-it' is in Class 6.

The application of the plural in this manner constitutes a reference of respect. Terms of relationship for persons of generations above that of the speaker, and older than the speaker, are always in the plural, taking the prefix *a-* rather than *βa-*. Also, *a-* may be affixed to a person's name for a reference of respect.

On the basis of these forms, it appears that Class 1 may be considered as having 'meaning'; or at least it has an application which is definitely semantic. It must also be added that all nouns of Class 1 proper (i. e., all so far obtained) are personal nouns.

The full forms of the prefixes (*mu-* singular; *βa-* plural) do not appear as a rule unless the stem is monosyllabic; otherwise they are reduced to *m-* and *a-* respectively. In *βá·na*, *βé·ni*, etc., the stem is superficially monosyllabic because of contractions.

If the stem begins with a vowel, *mu-* becomes *mw-*, and certain other phonetic changes take place when the stem begins with *l* or the semi-vowels *w* and *y*.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. §3.

The following illustrate nouns of Class 1:

Singular	Plural	
<i>mu·nt'u</i>	<i>βa·nt'u</i>	'person'
<i>ḡbó·mba</i>	<i>awó·mba</i>	'judge'
<i>ḡda·ni</i>	<i>ada·ni</i>	'enemy'
<i>ḡhé·ḡga</i>	<i>ahé·ḡga</i>	'a Henga'
<i>mwá·na</i>	<i>βá·na</i>	'child'
<i>mwí·ni (mwé·nε)</i>	<i>βé·ni (βé·nε)</i>	'owner'
<i>ḡⁿdjé·mba</i>	<i>ayé·mba</i>	'co-parent-in-law' (Spanish <i>consuegro</i>)
<i>ḡⁿdji·ndi</i>	<i>ayi·ndi</i>	'Indian'
<i>ḡⁿdú·ndji</i>	<i>alú·ndji</i>	'just person'
<i>ḡⁿdo·ḡgo</i>	<i>alo·ḡgo</i>	{ 'sister' (said by a man) { 'brother' (said by a woman)
<i>mú·p'wa</i>	<i>βá·p'wa</i>	'man's sister's child'
<i>ḡⁿdé·si</i>	<i>alé·si</i>	'lazy person'
<i>ḡⁿdí·sya</i>	<i>alí·sya</i>	'herd boy'
<i>ḡⁿdó·nda</i>	<i>aló·nda</i>	'guard'
<i>ḡⁿk'ú·ḡgu</i>	<i>axk'ú·ḡgu</i>	'rogue'
<i>ḡná·si</i>	<i>aná·si</i>	'friend, neighbour'
<i>ḡza·mba</i>	<i>aza·mba</i>	'midwife'
<i>ḡzu·ḡgu</i>	<i>azu·ḡgu</i>	'European'

Illustrations of concordial agreement with nouns of this type:

1. *ḡsirikalí wáḡkálí á-t'ámiḡgi·tsa mwaná wábú·lí*
 policeman angry he is chasing child innocent
 'The angry policeman is chasing the innocent child.'

áḡḡwí·ra 'He is catching him.'

he him is catching

wáḡká·lí shows the qualificative concord of type two, *wáḡ·ká·lí* (-*ká·lí* 'angry'); *á-t'ámiḡgi·tsa*, the subjective verbal concord *a-*; *wá·bú·lí*, the qualificative concord of type one *wa-*; and *á-ḡḡwí·ra* illustrates the objective verbal concord *-ḡ-* as well as the subjective form *a-*.

2. *asirikalí βá·kálí βát'ámiḡgi·tsa βaná βábú·lí*
 policemen angry they are chasing children innocent
 'The angry policemen are chasing the innocent children.'

βá·ḡwí·ra 'They are catching them.'

they them are catching

βá·-ká·lí (< *βáβá·ká·lí*) shows the qualificative concord of type two

βα-; *βá-t'ámiŋgi'tsa*, the subjective verbal concord *βα-*; *βá-bú'li*, the qualificative concord of type one *βα-*; and *βá-gwí'ra* (< *βá-βá-gwí'ra*) shows the subjective verbal concord *βα-* and the objective verbal concord *-βα-*. All these forms are in the plural.

§12. CLASS 1a.

Concordial System

	Prefix	Verbal		Qualificative	
		Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	none	<i>a-</i>	<i>-mu- (-ŋ-)</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wamu- (waŋ-)</i>
Pl.	<i>a-</i>	<i>βα- (a-)</i>	<i>βα- (-a-)</i>	<i>βα-</i>	<i>βαβα- (βα-)</i>

Nouns of this type occur regularly without any prefix in the singular form, and the plural prefix is *a-* rather than *βα-*. Both forms probably represent reductions from the full prefixes of Proto-Bantu. Contracted noun prefixes are practically conterminous with polysyllabic noun stems and there are no monosyllabic stems in this subdivision of Class 1.

Some of these nouns begin with syllabic *m* (*ŋ*); others with *mw* or *tc*, but these are not to be confused with the prefixes which have the same form. They are not prefixes, since they are retained in the plural and it seems somewhat speculative to assume that in all cases they were once separable or represent 'shifting' of classes.

Nouns of Class 1a:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gá·ru</i>	<i>agá·ru</i>	'dog'
<i>tcó·na</i>	<i>atcó·na</i>	'cat'
<i>tcíwú·ta</i>	<i>atcíwú·ta</i>	'God'
<i>tcíwú·li</i>	<i>atcíwú·li</i>	'honey badger'
<i>barawú·ra</i>	<i>abarawú·ra</i>	'butterfly'
<i>ba·twa</i>	<i>aba·twa</i>	'Pygmy, Bushman'
<i>fó·dja</i>	<i>afó·dja</i>	'tobacco'
<i>ŋⁿdji·ri</i>	<i>aŋⁿdji·ri</i>	'wart hog' (<i>Phocochoerus aethiopicus</i>)
<i>ŋⁿdju·zi</i>	<i>aŋⁿdju·zi</i>	'serval' (<i>Felis serval</i>)
<i>ŋə·na</i>	<i>aŋə·na</i>	'crocodile'
<i>ŋpó·to</i>	<i>aŋpó·to</i>	'north, gnu'
<i>ŋsú·ru</i>	<i>aŋsú·ru</i>	'banded mongoose' (<i>Crossarchus fasciatus</i>)
<i>mwavú·li</i>	<i>amwavú·li</i>	'umbrella'
<i>mwε·ra</i>	<i>amwε·ra</i>	'south'
<i>tcú·le</i>	<i>atcú·le</i>	'frog'
<i>mwí·ri</i>	<i>amwí·ri</i>	'rusty spotted genet' (<i>Genetta rubiginosa</i>)

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *namwáli wáñbáyé áñámura ñtsu·kɔ ñbalé*
 girl little she is lifting water-pot sister

wáké wábwíno áñs'é·za
 her good she her is helping

'The little girl is lifting a water-pot; her good sister is helping her.'

wáñbáyé (< *wámú-βáyé*), qualificative concord, type two; *wábwíno*, qualificative concord, type one; *á-ñámura*, subjective verbal concord; *á-ñ-s'é·za*, subjective verbal concord (*a-*) and objective verbal concord (*-ñ-*); *wá·ké*, qualificative ('possessive') concord, type one.

2. *anamwáli βá·βáyé βáñámura ñtsu·kɔ abalé*
 girls little they are lifting water-pots sisters

βáwó βábwíno βá·s'é·za
 their good they them are helping

'The little girls are lifting the water-pots; their good sisters are helping them.'

βá·βáyé (< *βáβá-βáyé*), qualificative concord, type two; *βá-ñámura*, subjective verbal concord; *βá·wɔ*, qualificative concord, type one; *βá·s'é·za* (< *βá-βá-s'é·za*), subjective verbal concord *βa-* and objective verbal concord *-βa-*.

§13. CLASS 2.

Concordial System

	Verbal			Qualificative	
	Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	<i>mu-</i> (<i>-ñ-</i>)	<i>u-</i>	<i>-(w)u-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa(w)u-</i>
Pl.	<i>mi-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya(y)i-</i> (<i>yεi-</i>)

The statements made concerning the form of the prefixes and modification of initial consonants and semi-vowels of the stem in regard to nouns of Class 1 also apply to nouns of this class.

Nouns of Class 2:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ñka·ka</i>	<i>(mika·ka)</i>	'milk'
<i>ñkó·ndo</i>	<i>mikó·ndo</i>	'spear'
<i>ñkú·βa</i>	<i>mikú·βa</i>	'brass' (pl. 'pieces of brass')
<i>ñ^mp'ánga·ra</i>	<i>mimp'ánga·ra</i>	'a species of hardwood tree'
<i>ñpa·ndo</i>	<i>mipa·ndo</i>	'chair, seat'
<i>ñsá·mp'a</i>	<i>misá·mp'a</i>	'trap'
<i>ñt'é·ngɔ</i>	<i>mit'é·ngɔ</i>	'tree, stick'

Singular	Plural	
<i>ɲtɛ·ɲɔ</i>	<i>mitɛ·ɲɔ</i>	'price'
<i>ɲtsóɔ·nt'ɔ</i>	<i>mitsóɔ·nt'ɔ</i>	'maize cob'
<i>mu·dzi</i>	<i>mi·dzi</i>	'village'
<i>mu·ɲga</i>	<i>mi·ɲga</i>	'thorn, fin, fish-bone, alligator scale'
<i>mu·si</i>	<i>mi·si</i>	'pestle'
<i>mu·tu</i>	<i>mi·tu</i>	'head'
<i>mu·zu</i>	<i>mi·zu</i>	'root'
<i>ɲ'dɔ·mɔ</i>	<i>miɔ·mɔ</i>	'lip'
<i>ɲ'dá·ndu</i>	<i>mirá·ndu</i>	'case in native court'
<i>ɲ'dó·sɣɔ</i>	<i>miɓ·sɣɔ</i>	'rust'
<i>ɲ'dú·vɿu</i>	<i>miú·vɿu</i>	'whistle'

Illustrations of concordial agreement with nouns of Class 2:

1. *ɲtundu wát'ú úpóña *k'ó·ndɔ*
 tribe our it is fighting war

'Our tribe is at war.'

wá-t'u, qualificative concord, type one; *ú-póña*, subjective verbal concord.

2. *mitundu ípóña·na*
 tribes they are fighting each other

'The tribes are fighting each other.'

í-póña·na, subjective verbal concord in the plural.

3. *ɲkɔndó wák'é wátáálí ɲgwábwi·nɔ wó·súrú*
 spear his long is good blacksmith
áúnó·ra

he it is sharpening

'His long spear is good; the blacksmith is sharpening it.'

wá-ke, qualificative concord, type one; *wátá·lí*, qualificative concord, type two; *ɲgwá·bwi·nɔ* (< *ní wá·bwi·nɔ*), qualificative concord, type one; *á-ú-nó·ra*, objective verbal concord -u-.

4. *miɔndó yáwó yátáálí ɲdjábwi·nɔ wó·súrú*
 spears their long are good blacksmith
áínó·ra

he them is sharpening

'Their long spears are good; the blacksmith is sharpening them.'

yá-wɔ and *ɲdjábwi·nɔ* (< *ní yá·bwi·nɔ*) show qualificative concord, type one; *yátá·lí*, qualificative concord, type two; *á-í-nó·ra*, objective verbal concord -i-.

§14. CLASS 2a.

Concordial System						
Verbal				Qualificative		
	Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2	
Sg.	<i>mw-</i> , <i>ŋ-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-(w)u-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa(w)u-</i>	
Pl.	<i>miñ-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya(y)i-</i> (<i>yɛi-</i>)	

This subdivision of Class 2 is distinguished by variations in the prefix forms, which, as can be seen, have no influence on the remainder of the system.

The prefix *mu-* has evidently been reduced to *mw-* by influence of initial vowels of the stem, except in cases where that vowel is *ɔ*. In the latter case the prefix vowel *u* has probably been elided before the following *ɔ* or coalesced with it. *miñ-*, plural prefix, probably represents a threefold change, also due to the influence of a vowel standing at the beginning of the stem. Its development was perhaps somewhat as follows: The *i* of *mi-* was separated from the stem vowel by a *y*-glide, the *y* ultimately becoming nasalized into prepalatal *n* (*ñ*) by influence of the antecedent *m*; *i* would not be similarly modified, because there are no nasal vowels in Chichewa, while prepalatal *n* occurs quite frequently under other circumstances. All these aberrant forms might thus be explained as resulting from the operation of factors which are purely phonetic in character.¹¹ This reconstruction, however, is entirely hypothetical.

Nouns of Class 2a:

Singular	Plural	
<i>mɔ'βa</i>	<i>miñɔ'βa</i>	'beer'
<i>mɔ'no</i>	<i>miñɔ'no</i>	'fish trap'
<i>mɔ'tɔ</i>	<i>miñɔ'tɔ</i>	'fire'
<i>mɔ'yo</i>	<i>miñɔ'yo</i>	'life, health'
<i>mwa'βi</i>	<i>(miñ'a'βi)</i>	'good luck'
<i>mwa'i</i>	<i>miñ'a'i</i>	'soot'
<i>mwa'mbi</i>	<i>miñ'a'mbi</i>	'fiction, sermon'
<i>mwa'mbɔ</i>	<i>miñ'a'mbɔ</i>	'custom, law'
<i>mwa'ra</i>	<i>miñ'a'ra</i>	'stone'
<i>mwa'vi</i>	<i>miñ'a'vi</i>	'ordeal, ordeal poison'
<i>mwa'vu</i>	<i>miñ'a'vu</i>	'dry season'
<i>mwa'wu</i>	<i>miñ'a'wu</i>	'yawn'
<i>mwa'zi</i>	<i>(miñ'a'zi)</i>	'blood'
<i>mwe'za</i>	<i>miñ'ɛ'za</i>	'water current'
<i>mwé'zi</i>	<i>miñ'ɛ'zi</i>	'moon, month'

¹¹ Cf. §2 and §3.

Concordial agreement with nouns of Class 2a:

1. *mwezi ukak'a-ra sá'wút'íşkerá k'ş'si*
 moon it when appears not they it break for neck
 'When the moon appears, they (people) do not break their necks for it.'
u-kak'a-ra, subjective verbal concord; *sá'-wu-t'íşké-ra*, objective verbal concord *-wu-*.

2. *mwará wáşga ukú'p'ía tcifukwá mşótó*
 stone my it is becoming hot reason fire
wáúkúru úwút'é'nt'a
 big it it is burning

'My stone is becoming hot because the big fire is burning it.'
wá-şga, qualificative concord, type one; *u-kú'p'ía*, subjective verbal concord; *wáú-kú-ru*, qualificative concord, type two; *ú-wú-té'nt'a*, subjective verbal concord *u-* and objective verbal concord *-wu-*.

3. *mişará yáşga ikú'p'ía tcifukwá mişótó*
 stones my they are becoming hot reason fires
yáikúru iyít'é'nt'a
 big they them are burning

'My stones are becoming hot because the big fires are burning them.'
yá-şga, qualificative concord, type one; *i-kú'p'ía*, subjective verbal concord; *yáí-kú-ru*, qualificative concord, type two; *t-yi-té'nt'a*, subjective verbal concord *i-* and objective verbal concord *-yi-*.

§15. CLASS 3.

Concordial System

	Verbal		Qualificative	
	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	none	<i>li-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	<i>la- lali-</i>
Pl.	<i>ma-</i>	<i>şa-</i>	<i>-şa- (-a-)</i>	<i>şa- şaşa- (şa'-)</i>

After the plural prefix, the following modifications in the initial consonant of the stem frequently occur: An aspirated consonant in most cases becomes unaspirated; *ts* in most cases becomes *s*; *pf* always becomes *f*; *dz* frequently becomes *z*; *dz* is frequently lost, sometimes leaving a *y-* or *w-* glide between the vowel *a* of the prefix and the stem vowel; *d* frequently becomes *l*; in one instance *d* is lost; *b* frequently becomes *ş*; in one case *b* is lost; in one instance *g* becomes *k*; in one instance a 'nasal attack' consonant changes to a plain stop.

There are many nouns of this class which have no singular form.

The prefix *ma-* can be employed with the non-agentive passive stem (and vocalic suffix), forming a word which has the significance of English words that have the suffixes *-able* and *-ible*. This is probably not

a semantic application, as the meaning of the form is not significantly changed. It seems rather that the prefix in this instance is merely interchangeable with the infinitive prefix and is, therefore, little more than an expletive syllable. Examples: *kuwón é·ka* 'to become seen, seeable'; *mawón é·ka* 'seeable'; *kufíwgi·ka* 'to become threatened, threatenable'; *mafíwgi·ka* 'threatenable'.

Nouns of Class 3:

Singular	Plural	
<i>bá·mba</i>	<i>maβá·mba</i>	'scar'
<i>ba·wga</i>	<i>maβa·wga</i>	'spot'
<i>bá·wgc</i>	<i>maβá·wgc</i>	'reed'
<i>bó·dza</i>	<i>mabó·dza</i>	'lie'
<i>bú·t'u</i>	<i>maú·t'u</i>	'pre-pubertal girl'
<i>bwé·zi</i>	<i>mabwé·zi</i>	'friend'
<i>pemp'ε·rɔ</i>	<i>mapemp'ε·rɔ</i>	'prayer'
<i>p'á·mp'a</i>	<i>mapá·mp'a</i>	'shoulder'
<i>p'á·zi</i>	<i>mapá·zi</i>	'foot, foot-print'
<i>p'i·ri</i>	<i>mapi·ri</i>	'mountain'
<i>dá·mbo</i>	<i>madá·mbo</i>	'small stream, marsh'
<i>dε·ra</i>	(<i>malε·ra</i>)	'swimming'
<i>dipi·rɔ</i>	<i>malipi·rɔ</i>	'wages, salary'
<i>dí·sɔ</i>	<i>má·sɔ</i>	'eye'
<i>t'εβε·ra</i>	<i>mateβε·ra</i>	'breech-clout'
<i>t'eké·ña</i>	<i>mateké·ña</i>	'jigger'
<i>pfu·kɔ</i> (<i>fu·kɔ</i>)	<i>mafu·kɔ</i>	'mother's clan'
<i>pfu·wgc</i> (<i>fu·wgc</i>)	<i>mafu·wgc</i>	'odor'
<i>fu·nɔ</i>	<i>mafu·nɔ</i>	'wish, need'
<i>dza·na</i>	<i>maza·na</i>	'hundred'
<i>dzá·ni</i>	<i>mayá·ni</i>	'leaf'
<i>dzé·ndjε</i>	<i>maé·ndjε</i>	'hole'
<i>dza·ra</i>	<i>maza·ra</i>	'ash heap'
<i>dzú·wgu</i>	<i>ma(w)ú·wgu</i>	'pumpkin'

Concordial agreement with nouns of Class 3:

1. *p'ensére* *láúdjé* *lálífúpi* *líkú·gwa*
 pencil of so-and-so short it is falling
 'So-and-so's short pencil is falling.'

lá·ú·djε, qualificative concord, type one; *láli·fú·pi*, qualificative concord, type two; *lí·kú·gwa*, subjective verbal concord.

2. *mapensére* *βáúdjé* *βá·fúpi* *βakú·gwa*
 pencils of so-and-so short they are falling
 'So-and-so's short pencils are falling.'

βá-ú·d̥je, qualificative concord, type one; *βá·fú·pi* (< *βáβá·fú·pi*), qualificative concord, type two; *βa·kú·gwa*, subjective verbal concord.

3. *iri ni dzú·ngu tili·d̥ja*
this is pumpkin we it are eating

'This is a pumpkin; we are eating it.'

tí-tí·d̥ja, objective verbal concord -*li*-.

4. *βaná βáwótc'a makɔ·swɛ*
children they are roasting house rats

tsópánó βáβá·d̥ja
now they them are eating

'The children are roasting house rats; now they are eating them.'

βá-βá·d̥ja, objective verbal concord -*βa*-.

§16. CLASS 4.

Concordial System

	Verbal		Qualificative	
Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg. none	<i>bu-</i> , <i>u-</i>	<i>-bu-</i> , <i>-(w)u-</i>	<i>bwa-</i> , <i>wa-</i>	<i>bwabu-</i> , <i>wa(w)u-</i>
Pl. <i>ma-</i>	<i>βa-</i>	<i>-βa-</i> (<i>-a-</i>)	<i>βa-</i>	<i>βaβa-</i> (<i>βa-</i>)

Nouns of this class begin with the vowel *u* or the bilabial sonant stop (explosive) *b*, but these do not have the function of prefixes, at least as regards number. They probably represent a worn-down prefix, *ubu-*. That this is evident may be seen by comparison with nouns of Class 7 in Zulu.¹² The vowel *u*, like the prefix *ubu-* in Zulu, frequently appears in a derivative rôle, forming nouns of an 'abstract' nature. It is also presumable that the plural has been imposed upon this class from Class 3. In the following examples the derivational use of *u-* is indicated, together with five cognate words from Zulu. The comparison with Zulu could be made much stronger, if it were not limited, for simplicity, to words with obviously identical stems:

Chichewa	Isizulu
<i>ust·ku</i> 'night'	<i>ubusuku</i> ¹³
<i>u·nt'u</i> 'humanity'	<i>ubunt'u</i>
<i>mu·nt'u</i> 'person'	<i>umunt'u</i>
<i>ukú·ru</i> 'massiveness'	<i>ubuk'ulu</i> 'greatness'
<i>-kú·ru</i> 'big'	<i>-k'ulu</i> 'great'
<i>ukapó·rɔ</i> 'slavery'	
<i>kapó·rɔ</i> 'slave'	
<i>ul é·ndu</i> 'journey'	

¹² Cf. Clement M. Doke, *Text Book of Zulu Grammar* 60-2; Johannesburg 1927.

¹³ Implosive *b*.

bwábú·bí·si, qualificative concord, type two; *bu·fú·na*, subjective verbal concord; *bu·vúníkir é·ni*, objective verbal concord.

2. *mabwató* *βá·βáyé* *βábwino* *βáyénda* *ηsarogá ηsá·nga*
 canoes little good they are sailing rapidly
βant'u *βáβáwó·na*

people they them are looking at

'The good little canoes are sailing rapidly; the people are looking at them.'

βá·βá·ye (< *βáβá·βá·ye*), qualificative concord, type two; *βá·bwi·no*, qualificative concord, type one; *βá·y é·nda*, subjective verbal concord; *βá·βá·wó·na*, objective verbal concord -*βa-*.

3. *ukonde* *bwábútáli* *bwákálé* *búwámbi·ka*
 animal net long old it is being torn
ibúwámbá *ni* *ñi·sa*

he it is tearing is buck

'The long old animal net is being torn; the buck is tearing it.'

bwábú·tá·li, qualificative concord, type two; *bwá·ká·lé*, qualificative concord, type one; *bu·wámbi·ka*, subjective verbal concord; *i·bú·wá·mba*, objective verbal concord -*bu-*.

4. *ufá* *bwábwino* *búwora*
 maize flour good it is molding
ufá *wábwino* *úwora*
 maize flour good it is molding

'The good maize flour is molding.'

bwá·bwi·no and *wá·bwi·no*, qualificative concords, type one; *bú·wora* and *ú·wora*, subjective verbal concords. These sentences show how the two forms of verbal and qualificative concords may be interchanged with the same subject without modifying the conceptual value of the statement.

§17. CLASS 5.

Concordial System

		Verbal		Qualificative	
	Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	none	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya(y)i-</i> (<i>yεi-</i>)
Pl.	none	<i>zi-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>zazi-</i>

Nouns belonging to this class have no prefixes; nevertheless, the class is fully characterized by the concordial forms. Most of these nouns begin with 'nasal attack' consonants, prepalatal *n*, and post-palatal *n*.

All words beginning with the post-alveolar fricative *c*, as well as most borrowed words beginning with the fricative *s*, take the concordial forms of this class.

The prefixes for nouns of this class may be found in cognate words of related languages. This can be readily seen in the following comparison with Zulu:

Isizulu ¹⁴		Chichewa	
Singular	Plural		
<i>imbuzi</i>	<i>izimbuzi</i>	<i>mbú·zi</i>	'goat'
<i>imvula</i>	<i>izimvula</i>	<i>mvú·ra</i>	'rain'
<i>iñoka</i>	<i>iziñoka</i>	<i>ndjǒ·ka</i>	'snake'
<i>iǎk'omo</i>	<i>iziǎk'omo</i>	<i>ǎǎ·mbɛ</i>	'one head of cattle'

In Isizulu the prefixes for nouns of this class in the singular are *im-*, *iñ-*, *iǎ-*, etc., and in the plural *izim-*, *izin-*, *iziñ-*, *iziǎ-*, etc. The Chichewa speaker is, indeed, not averse to pronouncing such plurals as *zimbú·zi*, *zindjǒ·ka*, *ziǎǎ·mbɛ*, etc., if asked to make plural distinctions. These forms, however, do not occur in ordinary speech, where even the 'nasal attack' is often dropped.

Nouns of Class 5:

<i>ñé·mba</i>	'peas, beans'	<i>mfu·ti</i>	'gun'
<i>ñɛ·ngɔ</i>	'season'	<i>mfí·ti</i>	'witch'
<i>ñú·mba</i>	'house'	<i>mfú·mu</i>	'chief'
<i>ña·ma</i>	'meat, game, animal'	<i>ndi·nda</i>	'watch-hut'
<i>ǎǎ·ma</i>	'drum'	<i>ndja·ra</i>	'hunger, famine'
<i>ñá·nda</i>	'bark cloth, garment'	<i>ndjá·ti</i>	'buffalo'
<i>ñéñé·zi</i>	'star, starlight'	<i>ntc·é·fu</i>	'eland'
<i>ñí·fa</i>	'death'	<i>nt'í·ti</i>	'rib'
<i>ǎǎ·ndjǔ</i>	'furnace for melting iron ore'	<i>ngǎ·ma</i>	'gnu'
<i>mba·lɛ</i>	'plate'	<i>nguru·βɛ</i>	'bush pig'
<i>mbɛ·βa</i>	'field mouse'	<i>nk·ára·mu</i>	'lion'
<i>mbɛrɛ·rɛ</i>	'sheep'	<i>nk·ú·ku</i>	'fowl'
<i>mbí·dzi</i>	'zebra'	<i>cá·βa</i>	'peanut'
<i>mbí·ra</i>	'hyrax'	<i>cápa·tɔ</i>	'shoe'
<i>mp·á·fa</i>	'liver'	<i>círí·ni</i>	'shilling'
		<i>sitá·mbɔ</i>	'postage stamp'
		<i>sukú·ru</i>	'school'
		<i>mí·mba</i>	'belly'

¹⁴ These words are taken from Clement M. Doke, Text Book of Zulu Grammar 49-50; Johannesburg 1927. Transcription slightly modified.

Concordial agreement with nouns of Class 5:

1. *mbere* *yó·yé·rá* *yáí·báyé* *í·rí·ra*
 sheep white little it is crying
átgwirá *η* *ñaru·bwe*
 he it is catching is leopard

'The little white sheep is crying; the leopard is catching it.'

yó·yé·rá (< *yá·kúyé·rá*), qualificative concord, type one; *yáí·báyé*, qualificative concord, type two; *í·rí·ra*, subjective verbal concord; *átgwí·ra*, objective verbal concord -i.

2. *mbere* *zó·yé·rá* *zázi·báyé* *zí·rí·ra*
 sheep white little they are crying
βázígwirá *na·ñaru·bwe*
 they them are catching are leopards

'The little white sheep are crying; the leopards are catching them.'

zó·yé·rá (< *zá·kúyé·rá*), qualificative concord, type one; *zázi·báyé*, qualificative concord, type two; *zí·rí·ra*, subjective verbal concord; *βází·gí·ra*, objective verbal concord -zi.

§18. CLASS 6.

Concordial System

	Verbal			Qualificative	
	Prefix	Subj. Verb.	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	<i>tci-</i>	<i>tci-</i>	<i>-tci-</i>	<i>tca-</i>	<i>tcatci-</i>
Pl.	<i>vi-</i>	<i>vi-</i>	<i>-vi-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>vavi-</i>

The full form of the singular prefix is *tci-*, but before stems beginning with a vowel the *i* is elided, while the *i* of *vi-* combines with the stem vowel to form a diphthong.

In Chinyanja the plural prefix for nouns of this class is *zi-*, and there is a trace of this form in Chichewa; viz., *zi·nt'u*, which seems to mean 'things in general' or 'things not definitely conceived', as contrasted with the regular form *vi·nt'u*. The full word *zi·nt'u* rarely occurs, but its concordial agreement (*z* replacing *v* in the concordances) is somewhat frequent. Examples: *zó·wó·na* 'truth' < *zint'u zá·kúwó·na* 'seen things'; *zat'a i·zi* 'these things are past'.

§19. SEMANTIC APPLICATION OF CLASS 6. This system may be applied in a derivational manner, constituting what may be characterized as a 'derogatory-augmentative' reference. When thus used, the prefixes *tci-* and *vi-* do not replace those of other nouns, but are affixed to the complete forms, while the remainder of the system follows the

pattern of Class 6 and is not combined with that normally required by the noun the significance of which is being changed.

Either of the two ideas which this derivational usage adds to a symbol may stand out as the more significant, according to the contextual setting, or they may be given equal weight. Although in general the two notions are inseparably bound, when personal nouns are so modified that of disparagement seems to be usually the more conspicuous. This, indeed, is the situation in most cases, a sarcastic reference being the primary factor while the concept of accession follows as a sort of hanger-on. Normally the idea of largeness is expressed by use of the qualificative (of type 2) -*kúru*.

This application of Class 6 may be employed with any nouns except those of its own category and of Classes 7, 8, 9, and 10. In other words, it cannot be compounded with itself nor with any other semantic class, nor with the similar employment of the plural form which has been indicated for Class 1.¹⁵ Compounding with Class 7 would be both unnecessary and contradictory, since that class expresses the same meaning as this one (detraction), coupled with an opposite quality (diminution), and Classes 8, 9, and 10 (locative and 'abstract' nouns) do not lend themselves readily to such modification as the derivational use of this system imposes, particularly not to that of physical massiveness. Combination with the semantic application of Class 1 (respect) is obviously impossible. Since formally the reference is the same whether Class 6 be employed in an ordinary or derivational manner, it is not made to turn upon itself, such modification being expressed by intonation only, or the same end may be attained by a semantic application of Class 7.

A few examples where the derogatory reference is primary are:
tcindjóká tcindjóká tcindjóká 'Snake! Snake! Snake!' *ndjóká* 'snake'.
tsópánó níwóna masau tsə

now I see trouble

ndimó kúli kuyendá ní vá-túmbuka vó-pú-sa

is therein there is traveling with Atumbuka foolish

'Now I am having trouble; it is always thus when traveling with the foolish Atumbuka.' *vá-túmbu·ka < ví-átúmbu·ka; vó-pú·sa < vá-kúpú·sa.*

batí va·nt'u ivi kuyitána inε kutí

just think people these telling me that

tikumbé tcitsímε

we dig must well

¹⁵ Cf. §11.

'Just think of these people telling me that we must dig a well!' *va·nt'u* < *vi·βa·nt'u*. *munt'u wámkú·ru* 'large man', but *tcimu·nt'u* 'big stiff!'¹⁶

Nouns of Class 6:

Singular	Plural	
<i>tcá·ka</i>	<i>vjá·ka</i>	'year'
<i>tcá·mba</i>	<i>vjá·mba</i>	'hemp'
<i>tcíβá·le</i>	<i>viβá·le</i>	'coconut tree'
<i>tcí·fu</i>	<i>ví·fu</i>	'stomach'
<i>tcikó·ndε</i>	<i>(vikó·ndε)</i>	'love'
<i>tcikó·rɔ</i>	<i>vikó·rɔ</i>	'pipe'
<i>tcí·kwi</i>	<i>vi·kwi</i>	'thousand'
<i>tcí·k'ɔ</i>	<i>vi·k'ɔ</i>	'calabash dipper'
<i>tciná·ngwa</i>	<i>viná·ngwa</i>	'cassava'
<i>tcí·nt'u</i>	<i>vi·nt'u</i>	'thing'
<i>tcipa·nda</i>	<i>vipa·nda</i>	'calabash'
<i>tcísó·nga</i>	<i>visó·nga</i>	'wooden arrow point'
<i>tcíté·te</i>	<i>vité·te</i>	'harvesting basket'
<i>tcíwɔ·ngɔ</i>	<i>viwɔ·ngɔ</i>	'father's clan'
<i>tcɔ·ndε</i>	<i>vjɔ·ndε</i>	'fertile soil'
<i>tcu·ru</i>	<i>vju·ru</i>	'ant-hill'
<i>tcá·ra</i>	<i>vjá·ra</i>	'finger, toe'
<i>tcíp'ǎ́·p'ǎ́ε</i>	<i>vip'ǎ́·p'ǎ́ε</i>	'fish tail'
<i>tcu·mba</i>	<i>vju·mba</i>	'sterile woman'
<i>tcipa·ra</i>	<i>vipa·ra</i>	'ashes'
<i>tcita·nda</i>	<i>vita·nda</i>	'corpse'
<i>tcitsa·mba</i>	<i>vitsa·mba</i>	'bush'
<i>tcítsú·rɔ</i>	<i>vítsú·rɔ</i>	'iron'
<i>tcɔkɔ·rɔ</i>	<i>vjɔkɔ·rɔ</i>	'widow'

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *tcíβanda tcáké ŋ́ tcátciká·li*
 evil spirit his is dangerous
 'His evil spirit is dangerous.'

tcá·kε, qualificative concord, type one; *tcátci·ká·li*, qualificative concord, type two.

2. *viβanda vávó ŋ́ vávíká·li*
 evil spirits their are dangerous
 'Their evil spirits are dangerous.'

vá·wɔ, qualificative concord, type one; *váví·ká·li*, qualificative concord, type two.

¹⁶ Not literally, of course. No exact translation is possible.

3. *tcámkolé tcánú tcátckúrú tcít'a:βa*
 hostage your valuable he is running away
átciwirá ni mu·nt'u
 he him is catching is person

'Your valuable hostage is running away; the man is catching him.'

tcá·nu, qualificative concord, type one; *tcátci-kú·ru*, qualificative concord, type two; *tcít-t'a:βa*, subjective verbal concord; *á-tci-gwí·ra*, objective verbal concord -*tci*-.

4. *vámkolé vánú vápk'áni vit'a:βa*
 hostages your many they are running away
βávwirá ni βa·nt'u
 they them are catching are people

'Your many hostages are running away; the people are catching them.'

vá·nu and *vá-pk'á·ni* show the qualificative concord, type one; *vit-t'a:βa*, subjective verbal concord; *βá-vi-gwí·ra*, objective verbal concord -*vi*-.

§20. CLASS 7.

Concordial System

	Verbal			Qualificative	
	Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kaka-</i>
Pl.	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>-tu-</i>	<i>twa-</i>	<i>twatu-</i>

In formal application and regular function this class is exactly parallel to the semantic application of Class 6. Its reference may be called 'derogatory-diminutive,' both ideas being associated in the manner which we have pointed out in the previous discussion. It may be employed with any noun with which it is possible to use the derivational application of Class 6, and may also be employed with regular nouns of Class 6.

There are only a few nouns which normally require the concordances of this system; e. g., *tú·rɔ* 'sleep'; *tu·nt'u* 'serious trouble'; *ká·sɔ* 'parsimony'.

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *tumbuzi utu twó·wóndá tulira masikú wó·sɛ*
 little goats these lean they cry days all
ttúpwetéká ni ʳdja·ra
 it them hurts is hunger

'These little goats are always crying; they are hungry.'

twó·wó·nda < *twá·kúwó·nda*, qualificative concord, type one; *tú·lí·ra*, subjective verbal concord; *i·tú·pwéte·ka*, objective verbal concord -*tu*·.

2. *kambuzi (y)aka kákáBáyé kó·wónda kalira*
 little goat this little lean it cries
masikú wó·se ikápweteká ni ʳdja·ra
 days all it it hurts is hunger

‘This little lean goat is always crying; it is hungry.’

káká·Bá·ye, qualificative concord, type two; *ká·lí·ra*, subjective verbal concord; *i·ká·pwéte·ka*, objective verbal concord -*ka*·.

3. *tuntʳu twátúkúru túnisaú·tsa*
 serious troubles great they me are annoying

‘Great troubles are annoying me.’

twátú·kú·ru, qualificative concord, type two; *tú·ní·saú·tsa*, subjective verbal concord.

§21. CLASS 8.

Concordial System

		Verbal		Qualificative		
		Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>		<i>-pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>papa-</i>
Pl.						

This is a locative class, the meaning being derived by affixing the element *pa-* ‘on’ to a complete noun form of any class. The referent of the symbol thus formed is ‘location on’ thought of as an object, and in this case only is the entire system employed; otherwise, the concordances of the class normally required by the noun express the relational concepts.

There are a few instances in which *pa-* is affixed to other elements, forming regular nouns of Class 8: *pa·níʒ* ‘anus’ from *kú·níʒa* ‘to defecate’; *patʳá·kó* and *paṁtumbó* ‘anus’ from *tʳá·kó* and *ṁtu·mbó* ‘buttocks’; *paka·mwa* ‘mouth’ from *kú·mwa* ‘to drink’; *pasé·ri* ‘secret’ from *-sé·ri* ‘absence’; *pami·mba* ‘dysentery’ from *mí·mba* ‘belly’.

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *papʳiri pali sukurú yámíco·ni*
 on mountain is school of mission
 ‘There is a mission school on the mountain.’
pa·lí, subjective verbal concord.
2. *papʳiri pakúgwá ʳvú·ra*
 on mountain is falling rain

'It is raining on the mountain.'

pa-kú·gwa, subjective verbal concord.

3. *pakamwa pápábáyé pátcóná pañéñε·ra ápáká·nda*
 mouth little of cat it is itching he it is scratching

'The cat's little mouth is itching; he is scratching it.'

pápá-βáyε, qualificative concord, type two; *pá-tcóna*, qualificative concord, type one; *á-pá-ká·nda*, objective verbal concord *-pa-*.

4. *pak'omó pák'é η pábwi·no*
 on doorway his is good

'It is good at his house.' *pá·kε* and *pá-bwi·no* show qualificative concord, type one.

§22. CLASS 9.

Concordial System

Prefix	Verbal		Qualificative	
	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg. <i>mu-</i> (<i>η-</i>)	<i>mu-</i> (<i>η-</i>)	<i>-mu-</i> (<i>-η-</i>)	<i>mwa-</i>	<i>mwamu-</i> (<i>mwamη-</i>)
Pl.				

This is also a locative class. The meaning expressed by this system is obtained by affixing the element *mu-* 'in' in the same manner as indicated for Class 8, the referent being 'location within.'

Some derived forms with the prefix *mu-* are regular nouns of this class: *ηka·mwa* 'mouth'; *ηsέ·ri* 'secret'; *ηk·wá·pa* 'arm-pit'.

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *ηk'wapá mwák'é múnu·ηk'a*
 arm-pit his it is emitting an odor

'His arm-pit is emitting an odor.'

mwá·kε, qualificative concord, type one; *mú-nu·ηk'a*, subjective verbal concord.

2. *muηt'uzi mwámúkú·rú mó·zizí·ra muli nó·mbe*
 in shade big cool is cow

ímúp'é·ña

she it is looking at

'A cow is in the big cool shade; she is looking at it.'

mwámú·kú·ru, qualificative concord, type two; *mu·li*, subjective verbal concord; *mó·zizí·ra* < *mwá·kúzizí·ra*, qualificative concord, type one; *í-mú-p'é·ña*, objective verbal concord *-mu-*.

§23. CLASS 10.

Concordial System

	Verbal		Qualificative		
	Prefix	Subj. Verb	Obj. Verb	1	2
Sg.	<i>ku-, u-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>	<i>kwaku-</i>
Pl.					

In form, nouns of this class are identical with the verb infinitive.¹⁷ They may appear with the full infinitive prefix *ku-* or, by elision, merely with *u-*, the stem always remaining unmodified. There is no difference in meaning when the prefix is reduced. These are 'abstract' nouns in general. Examples:

<i>ukwé·ra</i>	'climbing'
<i>umá·na</i>	'niggardliness'
<i>uná·ma</i>	'falseness'
<i>unú·nk'a</i>	'odor'
<i>uparámu·ra</i>	'crime, vexation, annoyance'
<i>upondédze·ra</i>	'oppression'
<i>uté·pa</i>	'frailty'
<i>uzindíki·ra</i>	'understanding'
<i>kú·ba</i>	'theft'
<i>kukóro·ra</i>	'harvest'
<i>kuβá·βa</i>	'pain'
<i>kuβá·la</i>	'sunlight, moonlight, starlight'

§24. SEMANTIC APPLICATION OF CLASS 10. By application, this is the third locative class, and the meaning is obtained by affixation of the element *ku-* 'to, at, from', which is also the prefix of the verb in its infinitive form.

When the qualificative concord, type one, is affixed to possessive pronominal elements or personal names a meaning equivalent to French *chez moi*, *chez vous*, etc., is obtained: *kwá·nga* 'my home', *kwá·nu* 'your home', *kwákáundji·ka* 'Kaundjika's home'. This is simply an abbreviation of the full form *kuñumbá kwá-* plus the possessor 'to, at the house of . . .'

The following regular nouns are formed with this locative: *kú·ka* 'headwoman's house, girls' dormitory, women's workshop'; *kumá·so* 'face' ('to the eyes'); *kusé·ri* 'secret'.

¹⁷ Cf. §32.

Examples of concordial agreement:

1. *kubá kwáké kwákúkúrú kútisaá'tsa tíkúti'ók'a*
 theft his great it us is annoying we it hate
 'His great thievery is annoying us; we hate it.'

kwá·kε, qualificative concord, type one; *kwákú·kú·ru*, qualificative concord, type two; *kú·tí·saá·tsa*, subjective verbal concord; *tí·kú·tí·ók'a*, objective verbal concord.

2. *kukasungú ɸ kwábwi'no*
 at Kasungu is good

'It is good at Kasungu.' *kwá·bwi·no*, qualificative concord, type one.

3. *mumsamp'á mwáké mwagwidwá *k'á'oga*
 in trap his has become caught guinea-fowl

'A guinea-fowl has been caught in his trap.'

mwá·kε, qualificative concord, type one; *mwagwí·dwa* < *mu·agwí·dwa*, subjective verbal concord.

4. *kumasó kwáoga kwatu·pa yakúruma *djú·tci*
 face my it has become swollen he has it stung bee

'My face is swollen; a bee has stung it.'

kwá·oga, qualificative concord, type one; *kwatu·pa* < *ku·atu·pa*, subjective verbal concord; *ya·kú·ru·ma*, objective verbal concord.

B. THE VERB

§25. STRUCTURE OF THE VERB. Except in certain forms of the imperative mood, the verb is composed of at least three formative elements: prefix, stem, and vowel suffix.

That which has been called the final vowel of the stem (-*a*) by students of Bantu, although they recognize its being frequently replaced by a front vowel (-*ε* in Chichewa; -*e* or -*i* in Isizulu, e. g.) as well as its shift in position when the so-called 'derivative' suffixes are attached, is demonstrably, I think, a vocalic suffix. This suffix has in most cases a terminative position in the word.¹ It is one of a pair of morphological elements, of which -*ε* is the other, that alternate in the operation of a dual system which symbolizes the expression of attitude to reference.²

The three basic elements of the verb may be seen in the following: *ku-pí-t-a* 'to go'; *ni-ma-pí-t-a* 'I was going, I used to go'; *ni-pí-t-ε* 'let me go, I must go'; *ku-pít-i-k-i-ts-a* 'to chase' (literally, 'to cause to become gone'); *u-nga-ŋ-pít-i-k-i-ts-ε* 'you can chase him'.

It can be shown that the 'defective' verb (terminating in -*i*) *kú-ti* 'to say, to do, to have in mind, to be' is of analogous pattern, with prefix *ku-*, stem -*t-*, and a suffixed vowel -*i*,³ by comparison with the forms *kut'é-ro* 'to do that way' etc. and *kut'é-rε* 'to be thus', etc.

It will perhaps be difficult to convince previous investigators in this family of languages that there is a serious fallacy in their interpretation of -*a* as a part of the stem, and that the constantly repeated statement that it is replaced by or 'changes into' the suffixes of the verbal 'derivatives', the reciprocal suffix, etc., is not a correct observation. A consideration, however, of any instance in which two or more of these 'verbal derivative' suffixes are affixed as parts of the same word will be sufficient to show their true forms. Thus instead of saying that -*ika* is the suffix of the passive (non-agentive passive) in *ku-pít-i-k-a* 'to become gone, capability of going' (from *kupí-ta* 'to go'), we may readily see that the proper form does not include -*a* by comparing it with

¹ Both -*a* and -*ε* may be followed only by the suffix -*ni* of the second person plural or by certain enclitic elements.

² Cf. §30.

³ -*i* seems to have no morphological significance here, but serves merely as a vocalic complement to the consonantal stem. Cf. §4.

ku-pit-i-k-i-ts-a 'to cause to become gone', the causative-passive form; likewise, it can be shown that the causative suffix is not *-itsa* in the latter word by making it a passive: *ku-pit-i-k-i-ts-i-k-a* 'to become caused to become gone, capability of being caused to go'. In these instances it is quite obvious that *-a* can be placed at some distance from the stem and is, therefore, a detachable grammatical increment, a morpheme. Its separability from *-ik-* and *-its-* is also clearly demonstrated. It is, therefore, neither a part of the stem nor of the suffixes which express voice—the 'derivative' suffixes.

In order to isolate the passive and causative suffixes completely, it will be necessary to consider the vowel *-i-*, which appears as an affixed part of the word. It must be remembered that every syllable (except syllabic nasals) in Chichewa must end in a vowel,⁴ and that the combinations *tk*, *kts*, *tsk*, etc., are not possible.⁵ We may tentatively conclude, then, that the vowel *-i-* is not a component of either suffix, but answers to phonetic requirements only. The case is proved if *-i-* can be dispensed with without altering the meaning of the suffixed elements with which it is associated. This we may do by taking a stem of another form, such as *kú-d-a* 'to become black, to grow dark (at the approach of night), to hate' where there is no stem vowel. The passive is *ku-d-é-k-a*, the causative *ku-d-é-ts-a*, the passive-causative *ku-d-é-ts-é-k-a* 'to become caused to become black', etc. The form *ku-d-ε-ts-é-k-ε-ts-a* is perfectly intelligible, although it is not actually used. It means 'to cause to become caused to become black', etc.

In these words we see that the vowel *-ε-* has the same function as that of *-i-* in the former examples. This function is always performed by one of these two vowels. The conditions governing their selection lie in the nature of the stem. Allowing C to stand for a single consonant and the few possible consonantal combinations, V to stand for a vowel, V/2 for a semi-vowel (*w* or *y*), and γ for the vowel *i⁶* in the diphthongs *ia*, *ie*, *io*, and *iu*, we may characterize all Chichewa verb stems with the following formulae: (1) C, (2) C γ , (3) CVC, (4) V/2, (5) V/2VC, (6) CVV/2, (7) CVCVC, (8) CVCVCVCVC, (9) CVVC, and (10) C γ VC, allowing also for the possible forms CVVCVC, CVCVVC, C γ VCVC, etc. Every stem except C γ , CVV/2, and V/2 is thus consonantal or terminates in a consonant. The rule, without exceptions, for the phonetic association of *-i-* or *-ε-* with the suffixed elements is as follows:

⁴ Cf. §4.

⁵ Cf. §3, b.

⁶ This is not a true vowel. It could just as well be written as *y*.

5. Type CVC: *ku-ló·nd-a* 'to guard'
 (V is *ɔ*) *ku-lónd-ε·ts-a*
ku-lónd-ε·r-a
ku-lónd-έ·k-a
ku-lónd-ε·w-a
6. Type CVC: *ku-lí·m-a* 'to weed (with a hoe)'
 (V is *i*) *ku-lím-i·ts-a*
ku-lím-i·r-a
ku-lím-ί·k-a
ku-lím-i·w-a
7. Type CVCVC: *ku-súmp'ɔ·r-a* 'to take a wife by force'
 (Ultimate V is *ɔ*) *ku-sump'ór-ε·ts-a*
ku-sump'ór-ε·r-a
ku-sump'ór-έ·k-a
ku-sump'ór-ε·w-a
8. Type CVCVC: *ku-βéra·m-a* 'to stoop'
 (Ultimate V is *a*) *ku-βεράm-i·ts-a*
ku-βεράm-i·r-a
ku-βεράm-ί·k-a
9. Type V/2VCVCVC: *ku-yembέke·z-a* 'to expect'
 (Ultimate V is *ε*) *ku-yembέkez-ε·ts-a*
ku-yembέkez-ε·r-a
ku-yembέkez-έ·k-a
ku-yembέkez-ε·w-a

§26. GENERAL SURVEY OF VERB FORMS. a. In the verb the primary association of grammatical process with the various types of concepts is as follows:⁷ The prefixed elements express concrete relational concepts, basic (concrete), and derivational concepts;⁸ the stem expresses a basic concept; and the suffixed elements (including enclitics) express derivational concepts—whence the term 'derivative verbs'—basic concepts, and concrete relational concepts.

Tense and aspect, number, personal relations, class gender, modality, etc. are expressed by prefixes; voice, modality, and, in part, personal relations (2nd person plural) are expressed by suffixes. Certain auxiliary formatives appear as preposed elements and others as enclitics. The order in which these are assembled into a unified word is thus: subjective concord (including class gender), tense and aspect, mood, auxiliary,

⁷ Cf. Edward Sapir, *Language* 106-7; New York 1921.

⁸ It all depends upon one's interpretation of certain auxiliary elements. Cf. §37. Absolute demarcation between these categories is very nearly impossible.

objective concord (including class gender), stem, voice, mood, and enclitic auxiliary. In negation, the negative affix comes first in the word. This statement is not exhaustive, but it gives the most general order.

b. There are six tenses in Chichewa: present (generalized present), recent past with present influence (identical with narrative past), recent past without present influence, remote past with present influence, remote past without present influence, imperfect or past descriptive (identical with habitual), future, and future habitual, the recent past and remote past being counted as only two tenses, although there are actually four forms included.

Two of the three past tenses, it will be noted, involve a consideration of the result of the act. If linguists are justified in speaking of resultative aspect, such a term might be applied to one of the meanings of these forms—presence of influence. To the other meaning (absence of influence) we should then be forced to apply the term non-resultative aspect, which seems even less suitable to the general notion of aspect; i.e., point-linear view of action. Both these forms are perfective in significance, the act being expressed as completed. Result, it seems to me, may be regarded as aspect only by some such analysis as the following: If the result, B, of an act, A, can be looked upon as a part of a larger unit of action, $A + B$, we may speak of aspect as regards this larger unit. From the Chewa point of view, this aspect will be durative in one instance (presence of result or influence), symbolized in these algebraic terms as $A + B$,⁹ and in the other instance it will be momentaneous or punctual, symbolized as $(A + B) - B$. The verb which we translate 'to eat' means from this point of view, approximately, 'to do an anabolic act with food'. *na·d̄īa* 'I have recently eaten and am not hungry, I ate (narrative past)' would be symbolized by $A + B$; *ṅna·d̄īa* 'I have recently eaten, but am now hungry' would be symbolized by $(A + B) - B$. The same formulae also satisfy the aspect of the remote tenses. To take another example, *kup̄i·ta* 'to go' corresponds to English 'to take a trip', so that *napi·ta* means 'I have gone recently and am still away' or 'I am taking a trip, the beginning of which was recent'; *ṅnapi·ta* 'I have recently gone and returned'. Therefore, from a strictly Chewa point of view, tense and aspect are inseparably bound.¹⁰

All verbs in this language have an active orientation; i. e., the subject is represented as 'acting' or 'becoming' in the case of most verbs which express states. In a few stative verbs, as *kudz̄i·βa* 'to know', *kuk·ṡ·za*

⁹ Or $A + B \dots$

¹⁰ This is in no sense a unique characteristic.

'to be able', the subject is presented as 'producer' of the action. It follows that in order to express a state, as 'seated, being ill' or the durative phase of an act, as 'carrying, wearing', etc., a past tense form of the type A + B must be employed.

c. Two basic moods are to be recognized in Chichewa: indicative and imperative. The indicative includes certain expressions which have been called 'intentional', 'subjunctive', 'past future', etc., but from the point of view of the language itself these terms seem unnecessary.¹¹ Certain subdivisions of the imperative may be stated as (1) obligatory or strong imperative, (2) less strong imperative, (3) mild or simple imperative, (4) prohibitory, and (5) hortatory.¹² The infinitive form is not a mood, as it does not express a subjective attitude. As previously indicated, it is identical in form with nouns of Class 10.

d. The function of the vocalic suffixes which we have attempted to isolate in a previous discussion is that of furnishing 'support of reference'. These are, therefore, modal suffixes. No regular verb in the language is complete without the support of one of these two suffixes.¹³

e. If we regard 'voice' as having to do (in one way or another) with the relations among subject, verb, and predicate (including object), it will be a convenient term by which the meaning of those forms generally called 'derivative verbs' may be characterized. We may then recognize seven voices, six of which are expressed by verbal affixes: (1) causative, (2) applicative, (3) non-agentive passive, (4) agentive passive, (5) reciprocal, and (6) reflexive. The last named is expressed by a prefix; all the others by suffixes. The active voice, as stated above, is inherent in the verb form.

f. The basic concept carried by the verb stem may find expression in another form, which may be called the 'radical descriptive'.¹⁴ In some cases it is definitely onomatopoeic. For many verb stems there are no corresponding radical descriptives. In these cases the same effect is achieved by reduplicating the stem with a suffixed ϵ -vowel. Both verb and radical descriptive may often be employed in the same reference.

§27. VERB CONCORDANCES. Two types of concordances are employed as prefixes to the verb stem: the subjective concord and the objective concord. The former must always be expressed except in

¹¹ Cf. §37, j.

¹² Cf. §29.

¹³ Cf. §30.

¹⁴ Cf. §33.

certain forms of the imperative mood and in the case of the infinitive. The objective verbal concordance is omitted when a substantival object is expressed, unless it is necessary for emphasis or clarity. When verbs with consonantal stems or stems of the type Cy or V/2¹⁵ are employed with the subjective verbal concord alone, the sign of the infinitive is not dropped in the present tense: *akú·ba* 'he (Class 1) is stealing', *kú·ba* 'to steal'.

When parts of the body are referred to, the subjective or objective concordance is frequently (but not always) in agreement with the possessor. Examples:

nak'uta *mí·mba*
I have become full belly
'I have become full in the belly' (i. e., I am enceinte).

nat'ǐóká *dza·ndja*
I have become broken arm
'I have broken my arm.'

aǐénda *kuṃmáogá* *miñendo* *ní* *míñáoga* *ku* *ṃt'é·ogo*
he walks to him bind legs and horns to tree
'Then he bound his legs and horns to the tree.'

titciwóné *ṃka·mwa*
us it look at let mouth
'Let us look into its mouth.'

ḃayiñóogorora *k'ɔ·si*
they it twisted neck
'They twisted its neck.'

tífúna *kutsékúra* *ṃka·mwa*
we wish to open mouth
'We wish to open (its) mouth.' (Note that possessor is not expressed as object.)

The table of verbal concordances is as follows:

	Subjective		Objective	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1st P.	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-ni-</i>	<i>-ti-</i>
2nd P.	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu- (ṃ-)</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>-ku- . . . -ni</i> ¹⁶
3rd P.	(According to classes.)			

¹⁵ Cf. §25.

¹⁶ The dots indicate separation. *-ku-* is prefixed next to the stem and *-ni* is suffixed as the final element in the word. Example: *nakugwira ni* 'I have caught you'.

Cl. No.

1	<i>a-</i>	<i>βa-</i> (<i>a-</i>)	<i>-mu-</i> (<i>-m-</i>)	<i>-βa-</i> (<i>-a-</i>)
2	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-(w)u-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>
3	<i>li-</i>	<i>βa-</i> (<i>a-</i>)	<i>-li-</i>	<i>-βa-</i> (<i>-a-</i>)
4	<i>bu-, u-</i>	<i>βa-</i> (<i>a-</i>)	<i>-bu-, -(w)u-</i>	<i>-βa-</i> (<i>-a-</i>)
5	<i>i-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>
6	<i>tci-</i>	<i>vi-</i>	<i>-tci-</i>	<i>-vi-</i>
7	<i>ka-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>-tu-</i>
8		<i>pa-</i>		<i>-pa-</i>
9		<i>mu-</i> (<i>m-</i>)		<i>-mu-</i> (<i>-m-</i>)
10		<i>ku-, u-</i>		<i>-ku-</i>

§28. THE INDICATIVE MOOD. The present tense refers not only to action taking place at the moment of speaking, but also expresses a generalized fact. With sufficient contextual support, it may be used for the future. Examples:

zakú·pɔ *zibwε·ra*

of from council they return

'They (things) return from the council.'

nikudǵá *ɳmá·βa*

I eat tomorrow

'I (shall) eat tomorrow.'

ɳpi·ta 'I am going, I go' (*kupí·ta* 'to go').

akúlípani *tɔámítúndú·rɔ*

he you pays compensation

'He shall pay you compensation.'

The following paradigms illustrate the indicative mood in all the tenses. *kú·dǵa* 'to eat' is the infinitive form.

a. Present tense. Meaning: 'I am eating, I eat', etc.

Tense prefix: none

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>nikú·dǵa</i> (<i>ɳkú·dǵa</i>)	<i>tikú·dǵa</i>
2nd P.	<i>ukú·dǵa</i>	<i>mukú·dǵa</i> (<i>ɳkú·dǵa</i>)
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>akú·dǵa</i>	<i>βakú·dǵa</i>
2	<i>ukú·dǵa</i>	<i>ikú·dǵa</i>
3	<i>likú·dǵa</i>	<i>βakú·dǵa</i>
4	<i>bukú·dǵa, ukú·dǵa</i>	<i>βakú·dǵa</i>

Cl. No.

5	<i>ikú·d̂ia</i>	<i>zikú·d̂ia</i>
6	<i>tcikú·d̂ia</i>	<i>vikú·d̂ia</i>
7	<i>kakú·d̂ia</i>	<i>tukú·d̂ia</i>
8	<i>pakú·d̂ia</i>	
9	<i>mukú·d̂ia (ɱkú·d̂ia)</i>	
10	<i>kukú·d̂ia (ukú·d̂ia)</i>	

b. Recent past with present influence, narrative past. Time interval: from the night before to the moment of speaking. Meaning: 'I have eaten and am not hungry, I ate', etc. Where *i* occurs in the subjective concord it is elided before the tense prefix, (*y*)*i-a-* becoming *y-a-*, *tc-i-a-* becoming *tc-a-*, etc.; likewise, *u* in the concordance becomes *w* and *a* coalesces with the prefix *-a-*.

Tense prefix: *-a-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>na·d̂ia</i>	<i>ta·d̂ia</i>
2nd P.	<i>wa·d̂ia</i>	<i>mwa·d̂ia</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>wa·d̂ia¹⁷</i>	<i>βa·d̂ia</i>
2	<i>wa·d̂ia</i>	<i>ya·d̂ia</i>
3	<i>la·d̂ia</i>	<i>βa·d̂ia</i>
4	<i>bwa·d̂ia, wa·d̂ia</i>	<i>βa·d̂ia</i>
5	<i>ya·d̂ia</i>	<i>za·d̂ia</i>
6	<i>tca·d̂ia</i>	<i>va·d̂ia</i>
7	<i>ka·d̂ia</i>	<i>twa·d̂ia</i>
8	<i>pa·d̂ia</i>	
9	<i>mwa·d̂ia</i>	
10	<i>kwa·d̂ia</i>	

For most stative verbs this tense must be employed to express a present state or condition. Examples: *nik'a-ra* 'I am taking a seat', *nak'a-ra* 'I am sitting' (i. e., 'I have taken a seat and have not arisen'), *nídwa-ra* 'I am becoming ill', *nadwa-ra* 'I am ill', *tcip̄ɔga-ma* 'it is becoming horizontal', *tcapīɔga-ma* 'it is horizontal'.¹⁸ Exceptions:

¹⁷ *w* is here undoubtedly an old concordance, *u-*, which has been preserved in this tense. It occurs in other places; e. g., *munt'u u yu* 'this person'. *u-* is the regular concordance for this class in Isizulu.

¹⁸ This form clearly shows that there is no suffix *-ama* existing as a live form expressive of the stative in this language, as is said to be the case in some of the other members of the Bantu family.

níwɔ·na 'I see', *nawɔ·na* 'I have seen and am yet influenced', *nídzi·βa* 'I know', *nadzi·βa* 'I have known and am yet influenced'.

This tense is also most generally used to express the narrative past, although the present tense is often resorted to for vividness of description. Examples:

βimbe wapita ku mú·nda wat'ɔra pamá·nga
 Wimbe he went to field he broke maize
wabwera ku mu·dzi akú·dja akú·dja akú·dja
 he returned to village he eats he eats he eats
 'Wimbe went to the field, gathered maize, and returned to the village. Then he ate it.'

More complete illustrations of both usages may be found in the texts, chapter 3.

c. Recent past without present influence. Meaning: 'I have eaten, but am now hungry', etc.

Tense prefix: *-ná-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ɲá·dja</i>	<i>tiná·dja</i>
2nd P.	<i>uná·dja</i>	<i>muná·dja</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	
Cl. No.		
1	<i>aná·dja</i>	<i>βaná·dja</i>
2	<i>uná·dja</i>	<i>iná·dja</i>
3	<i>liná·dja</i>	<i>βaná·dja</i>
4	<i>buná·dja, uná·dja</i>	<i>βaná·dja</i>
5	<i>iná·dja</i>	<i>ziná·dja</i>
6	<i>tciná·dja</i>	<i>viná·dja</i>
7	<i>kaná·dja</i>	<i>tuná·dja</i>
8	<i>paná·dja</i>	
9	<i>muná·dja</i>	
10	<i>kuná·dja</i>	

d. Remote past with present influence. Time interval: prior to last night. Meaning: 'I have eaten and am not hungry', etc.

Tense prefix: *-dá-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ɲdá·dja</i>	<i>tidá·dja</i>
2nd P.	<i>udá·dja</i>	<i>mudá·dja</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>adá·ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá·ḍiá</i>
2	<i>udá·ḍiá</i>	<i>idá·ḍiá</i>
3	<i>lidá·ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá·ḍiá</i>
4	<i>budá·ḍiá, udá·ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá·ḍiá</i>
5	<i>idá·ḍiá</i>	<i>zidá·ḍiá</i>
6	<i>tcidá·ḍiá</i>	<i>vidá·ḍiá</i>
7	<i>kadá·ḍiá</i>	<i>tudá·ḍiá</i>
8	<i>padá·ḍiá</i>	
9	<i>mudá·ḍiá</i>	
10	<i>kudá·ḍiá</i>	

This tense, like the recent past with present influence, is used to express a present state or condition when stative verbs are employed. Choice between the two tenses is determined on consideration of the actual time element which the speaker has in mind and on the basis of the fact that certain states or conditions are necessarily thought of as having had their inception in one period of time rather than another. Thus the state of being seated is thought of as having had its inception in time not greatly removed from the moment of speaking, and is expressed by the recent past tense:

tak'a·ra 'we are sitting', *mwaná wacita tú·ro*
 child it has done sleep

'The child is asleep.' The acts of becoming clever or learned would be thought of as having more remote beginnings; hence, it is possible and correct to say *udátcéndjε·ra* 'you are clever' (*kutcéndjε·ra* 'to become clever'), *udáp'unzi·ra* 'you are learned' (*kup'unzi·ra* 'to become learned'), *ṛdǎfu·nt'a* 'ye are insane' (*kufú·nt'a* 'to become insane').

e. Remote past without present influence. Meaning: 'I have eaten but am now hungry', etc.

Tense prefix: *-dá:-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ṛdá:ḍiá</i>	<i>tídá:ḍiá</i>
2nd P.	<i>udá:ḍiá</i>	<i>mudá:ḍiá</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>adá:ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá:ḍiá</i>
2	<i>udá:ḍiá</i>	<i>idá:ḍiá</i>
3	<i>lidá:ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá:ḍiá</i>
4	<i>budá:ḍiá, udá:ḍiá</i>	<i>βadá:ḍiá</i>

Cl. No.

5	<i>idá:dja</i>	<i>zidá:dja</i>
6	<i>tcidá:dja</i>	<i>vidá:dja</i>
7	<i>kadá:dja</i>	<i>tudá:dja</i>
8	<i>padá:dja</i>	
9	<i>mudá:dja</i>	
10	<i>kudá:dja</i>	

The difference in meaning between the two forms of this tense, as that between the two forms of the recent past to which it is parallel, is very important. Failure to recognize it when attempting to speak the language may lead to rather serious social breaches. Thus, if a man refuses food which he knows is being offered him merely as a matter of etiquette and says that he has eaten, he must express this fact by saying *na·dja*, not *ɲná·dja*, although the statement that he has eaten will be given in either case. Also, if one wishes to adhere to good theology, one must say *yésú k'irisitú adá:fa* 'Jesus Christ died, but did not remain dead', not *yésú k'irisitú adá:fa* 'Jesus Christ died and is dead'. But one must use the latter form in order to agree with Genesis: *tciwutá adapánga dzi·kɔ* 'God created the world and his creation is yet existent', not *tciwutá adá:pánga dzi·kɔ*. The last statement would, on naive consideration, be quite perplexing unless the native should decide that a second creator did a more enduring piece of work.

f. Past descriptive and habitual. Meaning: 'I was eating, I used to eat', etc.

Tense prefix: *-má-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ɲbá·dja (nimá·dja)</i>	<i>timá·dja</i>
2nd P.	<i>umá·dja</i>	<i>ɲbá·dja (mumá·dja)</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>amá·dja</i>	<i>ɓamá·dja</i>
2	<i>umá·dja</i>	<i>imá·dja</i>
3	<i>limá·dja</i>	<i>ɓamá·dja</i>
4	<i>ɓumá·dja, umá·dja</i>	<i>ɓamá·dja</i>
5	<i>imá·dja</i>	<i>zimá·dja</i>
6	<i>tcimá·dja</i>	<i>vimá·dja</i>
7	<i>kamá·dja</i>	<i>tumá·dja</i>
8	<i>pamá·dja</i>	
9	<i>ɲbá·dja (mumá·dja)</i>	
10	<i>kumá·dja</i>	

Use of the prefix *-má-* in the habitual is not restricted to the past. It is quite frequently employed with negative injunctions. Examples:

1. Past descriptive. *mwaná amáséβera η ñú'mba*
 child she was playing in house

watεga sarú yánu pɔ'pí'ta
 she took cloth your on leaving

'The child was playing in the house. On leaving, she took your cloth.'

ise sítimába ^mbuzi yá'ke yá'i
 we not we were stealing goat his no

'We were not stealing his goat.'

2. Past habitual. *ump'áβi ní kúsadzí'βa*
 poverty and to not know

kumatisáútsá kwámbí'ri
 they were us annoying much

'Poverty and ignorance were annoying us very much.'

3. Negative injunction. *musamágwira*
 ye must not habitually catch

zákúñtós'ndɔ
 of from mortar

'You must not habitually catch (things) from the mortar.'

('Do not listen to women's talk.')

*usamáy'éndá *gati upíta ku masa'no*
 you must not habitually walk as if you are going to grave

'You must not make a habit of walking as if you are going to the grave.'

In the following expression (part of a song) the prefix seems to carry the idea of obligation instead of the usual form *-zi-*, which may, however, be understood:

umak'ará ná'wɔ η matá'kɔ ηkandá kú sit'srɔ
 you must be with them is hips beads from store

'You must have hips (if you want) beads from the store.'

The use of the prefix *-má-* in the simple indicative mood always refers to acts or states associated in the past (past descriptive) or habitual action or states in the past. That is, in this mood it is always related to elapsed time.

g. Future tense. Meaning: 'I shall eat', etc.

Tense prefix: *-dzá-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ñdzá'dǵa</i>	<i>tídzá'dǵa</i>
2nd P.	<i>udzá'dǵa</i>	<i>mudzá'dǵa</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	<i>adzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>βadzá·ḍɣa</i>
2	<i>udzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>idzá·ḍɣa</i>
3	<i>lidzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>βadzá·ḍɣa</i>
4	<i>budzá·ḍɣa, udzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>βadzá·ḍɣa</i>
5	<i>idzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>zidzá·ḍɣa</i>
6	<i>tcidzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>vidzá·ḍɣa</i>
7	<i>kadzá·ḍɣa</i>	<i>tudzá·ḍɣa</i>
8	<i>padzá·ḍɣa</i>	
9	<i>mudzá·ḍɣa</i>	
10	<i>kudzá·ḍɣa</i>	

This tense is probably derived from the verb *kú·dza* 'to come', which is sometimes employed as an auxiliary to indicate the future. Examples of the future tense:

nikadzáwona *dará·ma* *nidasáək'a* *mp'unzi'tsi*

I when future see money I shall choose teacher
'When I have the money, I shall choose a teacher.'

maβá *tikátémé* *bá·əgɔ*

tomorrow we go in order to cut must reed

kudzaruké *vité·te*

to future make must harvesting baskets

'Tomorrow we must go and cut reed(s) with which we must make harvesting baskets.'

ηdzáwona *η* *má·βa*

ye shall see in morning

'You shall see in the morning.'

When it is desired to express both futurity and uncertainty, the prefix *-dzá-* may be omitted, its place being taken by an increase in quantity of the vowel of the subjective concordance. This form takes the vocalic suffix *-ε*.¹⁹ Examples:

nt·tcóké *sabatá* *yámá·βa*

I shall leave perhaps week of tomorrow

'I shall perhaps leave next week.'

tí·fiké *ku* *mudzi* *kwáβa·nt'u*

we shall arrive perhaps at village of people

'We shall perhaps arrive at the people's village.'

tí·mwéndji *má·dzi*

we shall drink what water

'What shall we drink for water?'

¹⁹ Cf. §30, A: d-2.

h. Future habitual. Meaning: 'I shall eat habitually', etc.

Tense prefix: *zí-*

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ní·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>tí·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
2nd P.	<i>ú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>má·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	
Cl. No.		
1	<i>á·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>βá·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
2	<i>ú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>í·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
3	<i>lí·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>βá·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
4	<i>bú·zí·d̥ǵa, ú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>βá·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
5	<i>í·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>zí·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
6	<i>tcí·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>ví·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
7	<i>ká·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	<i>tú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>
8	<i>pá·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	
9	<i>mú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	
10	<i>kú·zí·d̥ǵa</i>	

Examples: *tsópánó* *ní·zír é·mba*

now I shall habitually write

'Now I shall write regularly.'

βafúna kutí ní·zítýéndá ní βa·nt'u
 they wish that I shall habitually walk with people

'They wish that I shall habitually go about with men.'

tsónó inε ní·zítgóná·mó

then I I shall sleep there-in

'Then I shall be sleeping (i. e., living) there.'

i. The verb *kú·d̥ǵa* which has served as the foundation for these paradigms has a stem of type Cγ. Therefore the sign of the infinitive (*ku-*) appears in the present tense. If verbs with stems having one or more syllables be chosen, this prefix will not occur in any tense and, moreover, there will be a variation in the tone pattern. This tonal difference is due in part to influences of the tense prefixes, which either express their inherent tones or cause them to be felt in the adjoining syllables, and in part to the tone pattern of the stem. These two factors, coming together, have a tendency toward leveling, thus producing an order which is a blend; i. e., not the result of simply adding the characteristics of its components. It will be convenient to illustrate these variations by giving the forms in the first person singular only, since the pattern remains the same for all persons and class genders.

1. Infinitive: *kupá'tsa* 'to give'.

Present tense: *nípa'tsa* 'I am giving, I give'.

Recent past with present influence: *napa'tsa* 'I have given and the result is present, I gave'.

Recent past without present influence: *ḡnapá'tsa* 'I have given and the result is not now felt'.

Remote past with present influence: *ḡdápa'tsa* 'I have given, etc.'

Remote past without present influence: *ḡdá:pá'tsa* 'I have given, etc.'

Past descriptive: *ḡbápa'tsa* (*nímápa'tsa*) 'I was giving, I used to give'.

Future: *ḡdzápa'tsa* 'I shall give'.

Future habitual: *ní:zipá'tsa* 'I shall give habitually'.

2. Infinitive: *kutáfu'na* 'to chew'.

Present tense: *nítáfu'na*.

Recent past with present influence: *natafu'na*.

Recent past without present influence: *ḡnatáfu'na*.

Remote past with present influence: *ḡdátáfu'na*.

Remote past without present influence: *ḡdá:táfu'na*.

Past descriptive: *ḡbatáfu'na* (*nimatáfu'na*).

Future: *ḡdzátáfu'na*.

Future habitual: *ní:zitáfu'na*.

3. Infinitive: *kupáramu'ra* 'to commit crime, to annoy'.

Present tense: *ḡpáramu'ra* (*nípáramu'ra*).

Recent past with present influence: *nápáramu'ra*.

Recent past without present influence: *ḡnapáramu'ra*.

Remote past with present influence: *ḡdápáramu'ra*.

Remote past without present influence: *ḡdá:páramu'ra*.

Past descriptive: *ḡbapáramu'ra* (*nimapáramu'ra*).

Future: *ḡdzápáramu'ra*.

Future habitual: *ní:zipáramu'ra*.

4. Infinitive: *kuk'úrurupí'ra* 'to trust'.

Present tense: *ḡk'úrurupí'ra*.

Recent past with present influence: *nak'úrurupí'ra*.

Recent past without present influence: *ḡnak'úrurupí'ra*.

Remote past with present influence: *ḡdák'úrurupí'ra*.

Remote past without present influence: *ḡdá:k'úrurupí'ra*.

Past descriptive: *ḡbak'úrurupí'ra* (*nimak'úrurupí'ra*).

Future: *ḡdzák'úrurupí'ra*.

Future habitual: *ní:zik'úrurupí'ra*.

§29. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD. This mood embraces several subdivisions: obligatory or strong imperative, less strong imperative,

simple imperative, prohibitory, and hortatory forms. In all the forms the plural may be employed as a command to a single individual, in which case it signifies a formal or polite attitude to the listener. The two strong forms indicate commands which are enforceable and that the person addressed or spoken of is subordinated, at least in the given situation, to the speaker.

a. To form the strongest imperative the prefixes *ka-* and *-zi-*, or merely the latter and the subjective verbal concord, are affixed to the stem plus the suffix *-a*, followed in the plural or formal^{19a} by the suffix *-ni*. *-zi-* may be omitted after *ka-* and its place taken by lengthening the vowel of the latter. Examples: *kazikú·mba* 'dig', *kazi·d̥īa* 'eat', *βazi·d̥īa* 'let them eat.'

ise *ᵐdisε* *akazi* *βá·nu* *kaziyan̄k'úlani* *ná·sε*
we is we wives your speak ye with us

'It is we your wives (i. e., your wife's sisters): Speak to us.'

usamapéñá *mwamuná* *pa má·sɔ* *kɔma*
you must not look at husband on eyes but

úziñpéñá *pa mí·mba*
you him look at on belly

'You must not look at your husband's eyes, but look at his belly.'
(Do not merely look into your husband's face and smile, but see that he has plenty to eat.)

mwaná wá·nga *kazid̥īa* *vint'u* *ivɔ* *tíkúpatsa* *unɔ*
child my eat things those we you give here

ᵐ mudzi wá·kɔ
in village your

'My child, eat the things which we give you here in your village.'

b. With stems of types C, V/2, and C \bar{y} ²⁰ both prefixes (*ka-* and *-zi-*) must be employed in order to form a strong imperative, but with stems of one or more syllables *-zi-* may be dropped entirely, giving a less strong reference. Examples: *kayí·mba* 'sing', *kaló·βa* 'enter'.

atá·te *ᵐk'ukú* *i·yi* *kadiáni* *tcakud̥īa* *itcɔ* *níkúpatsá·ni*
fathers fowl this eat ye food that I you give

'Fathers (i.e., son-in-law), here is a fowl. Eat the food which I give you.' (In this form the stem is balanced by the plural suffix *-ni*.)

c. The simple imperative is formed with stems of types C, V/2, and C \bar{y} by affixing the prefix *i-*²¹ in the singular and adding the suffix *-ni* in

^{19a} I.e., the plural as polite form of address to a single individual.

²⁰ Cf. §25.

²¹ This is not a concordance. It may be called an expletive prefix, since its function seems to be entirely of that nature.

the plural or formal. In the latter the prefix *i-* is usually dropped. With other stems the singular form consists merely of the stem plus the suffix *-a*, and by affixing *-ni* the plural or formal is obtained. Examples: *i·dja* 'eat', *idja·ni* or *dja·ni* 'eat (formal), eat ye'.

ataté *βáké* *βámwá·na* *tumítsókwe* *u·tu* *teŋga·ni*
 fathers his of child little beer sediments these take ye
 'Fathers of the child (i. e., son-in-law), here are little beer sediments (i. e., here is some beer). Take them.'

laβani *p'ala* *i·li* *abalé* *βáké* *βákáte·ma*
 taste ye gruel this brothers his of Katema
 'Taste this gruel, Katema's brothers.'

tcɔ·ka *kakarú·ru*
 get away little rabbit
 'Get away, little rabbit!'

In some instances this form is made more emphatic by intonation:

fú·ru *uttsɔkɔsέ·ra* *tcó·ka*
 tortoise you us disturb get away

'Tortoise, you are disturbing us. Get away!'

When an objective verbal concord is expressed, the suffix *-ε* takes the place of *-a*.²² Examples: *panda·ni* 'beat ye', but *npándε·ni* 'beat ye him'.

βapatséni *mɔβa* *akarú·ru*
 them give ye beer rabbits
 'Give beer to Sir Rabbit.'

The verb *kú·ya* 'to go' has two forms of the plural or formal imperative, *kɔyé·ni* and *yá·ni*, the first being exceptional to the regular formation which we have outlined. The high pitch of the second form is also exceptional, as it is not necessarily emphatic. *kɔyé·ni* represents a type similar to that found in the Swahili language. Thus, Father Torrend, commenting on the imperative of 'to come' (*kuja* in Swahili), says, 'In Swahili the other monosyllabic verbs, and a few of those which begin with a vowel, take in the singular the prefix *ku-*, which is probably the pronoun which means "thou". Ex. *kula* (from *-la*) "eat thou." There is no plural form properly corresponding to this; for such imperatives as *kuleni* "eat ye" must be referred to the subjunctive form.'²³ The prefix *ku-* here could just as well be the infinitive prefix, and there is perhaps more justification in deriving the form *kɔ-* in Chichewa from the

²² Cf. §30.

²³ J. Torrend, S. J., *A Comparative Grammar of the South-African Bantu Languages* 222; London 1891.

locative *ku* 'to, at, from', which could be associated with the concept of going, than in regarding it as equivalent to the concordance *u-*, for in the latter case *koyé·ni* would seem to express 'you' as an objective form.

Both simple and strong forms of the imperative may be brought together in successive statements which really constitute a single command: *ka·pitáni i·mwε tεogani ʳdjira yá·nu*
 go ye ye take ye path your

'Go! Take your path!'

tcoka karú·ru ka·pí·ta ʳgati sú·fúna kú·fa
 get away rabbit go if not you wish to die

'Get away, rabbit! Go, if you do not wish to die!'

d. To form the prohibitive the prefix *-sa-* is employed, preceded by the subjective concordance. To it is frequently added the prefix *-má-*, even where habitual action seems to be but slightly or not at all thought of or implied.²⁴ Examples:

atá·te lεɔ musapíta ku mú·nda
 fathers today ye must not go to field

'Fathers (i. e., son-in-law), today you must not go to the field.'

ʳsadá ʳtí·ma
 ye must not become black heart

'You must not become black in the heart.' ('You must not worry.')

musamátí·pa ise ʳdisε ámvuná bá·nu
 ye must not us fear us is we husbands your

'You must not fear us; it is we, your husbands.' ('You must not regard us as being in the avoidance relationship, for we are your husband's brothers.')

usámádzíp·á ní ʳdja·ra vint·u vilí·pɔ
 you must not self kill with hunger things while they are existent

'You must not kill yourself with hunger while there are things (to eat).'

Both this form and the simple imperative may be modified by replacing the suffix *-a* with *-ε*. This modification is discussed and illustrated in §30.

e. Two forms of the hortatory exist: a stronger form, expressed by the prefix *-zi-*, and a simple form, symbolized by the suffix *-ε*. Examples: *nizi·p·a* 'let me kill, I must kill', *ní·p·ε* 'let me kill, I must kill'.

wóσε awɔ bállí ní ʳńáogá βadzé kunɔ ku mɔ·βa
 all those they are with horns them come let here to beer

'Let all those who have horns come here to beer.'

²⁴ Cf. §28.

nipit é ku mudzi kwáβa·nt'u
 me go let to village of people
 'Let me go to the people's village.'

ŋzipitá ku mu·dzi
 me go let to village
 'Let me go to the village.'

tì éŋ tikáwó·ne
 us go let ye us go in order to see let
 'Let us go and see.'

tìβik é pa m̄p'ara sú·ŋgwi
 us place let on men's square bamboo
 'Let us place the bamboo on the men's square.'

§30. SUPPORT OF REFERENCE. In a previous discussion we have been able to isolate the suffixes *-a* and *-ε* from the verb stem and from certain other suffixes to which they may be attached. It now remains to show that they have definite morphological functions and to make clear the conditions under which choice of the one or the other is made.

Their alternation cannot be accounted for on a purely phonetic basis, for both may occur in situations which are morphologically and phonetically identical up to the point at which either may be affixed—not indiscriminately, of course—and one of them is necessary at this point in order that the formal structure may be complete. Example: *úmó βátíβápítá* 'immediately after they went, . . .' (literally, 'therein they be they went, . . .'). But *úmó βátíβápíté* 'as they tried to go, . . ., but when they tried to go, . . .' (literally, 'therein they be they go might,²⁵ . . .'). In this case it is clearly the difference in vocalic suffix only that accounts for the inequality in symbolization of reference.

Every regular verb, it must be remembered, contains one or the other of these suffix vowels, but never both at the same time. They are, therefore, mutually exclusive. Moreover, certain modal prefixes can determine their choice. In the strong imperative, for example, the prefixes *ka-*, *ka-zi*, and *-zi-* make the vocalic suffix *-a* requisite. These facts, with other considerations which will be enumerated, give some clue in regard to the function of these suffixes. Before attempting to define this function, it will be advisable to indicate and give examples of the usages of each suffix.

A. Employment of the suffix *-ε*.

- a. In the simple form of the hortatory, as illustrated in §29, e.
- b. Except in the stronger forms, the imperative may be modified or

²⁵ Allowing 'might' to stand for the volitional phase and its frustration.

rendered more mild by making use of the suffix *-ε*. In this event the subjective verbal concord is generally, but not always, also employed, although if the first person be the object, both subjective and objective concordances may be omitted. When *-ε* is so employed it symbolizes either a type of hortatory or a type of obligatory reference and may often be translated as 'must'. Examples: *usá·p'ε* 'you must not kill'.

djenára wati tisavá·ε ηsá·nga ziná
Jenara has said we must not dress soon other
˚sarú ziri·po

cloth while it is existent

'Jenara said (that) we must not dress (i. e., buy clothing) soon while the old clothing lasts.'

aβa na aú·d·je bakutí ηsun·gané ná·wɔ
these are So-and-so they say ye keep each other must with them

'This is So-and-so. He says (that) you must keep each other.'

('He wishes to inherit you.')

patsé·kɔ pamá·nga
give some maize

'Give me some maize (for I am very hungry).'

ηtu·zé ˚dimwε ˚fú·mu ní bwá·rɔ
ye us tell is ye chief and council

'It is you (who) must tell us, chief and council.'

ηp'unzirié ˚zé·ru ní tɛfú·ndo
ye learn must wisdom and mercy

'You must learn wisdom and mercy.'

kawú·ε aηná bá·kɔ bakatɛé
go in order to tell husbands your they go make must

liβamba lí·límba ku mú·nda
fence strong at field

'Go and tell your husband that he must go and build a strong fence at the field.'

c. When an imperative form contains the objective verbal concord, the suffix *-ε* is employed. For illustrations, see §29, c.

d. *-ε* is employed to indicate the fact that an act is not regarded as being under the volitional control of the speaker (or subject of the action), but is a contingency. Verbs which follow expressions of desire, intention, etc., therefore, often take the suffix *-ε*.²⁶ Examples:

²⁶ This has been called the 'dependent mood', but, as we shall see, the terminology is not very satisfactory. See Clement M. Doke, *Text Book of Zulu Grammar* 172; Johannesburg 1927.

muniú·ze kutí nidzí·βε
 ye me tell must that I know might
 'You must tell me so that I might know.'

ta·tcitá·ndji pa kutí utigwí·re
 we have done what on which you us catch might
 'What have we done that you might catch us?'
nifuná kutí nwé munó η bwaró mwá·nu
 I wish that I hear may herein in court your
 'I wish that I may hear here in your court.'

kapalamúlé kutá·li
 go in order to commit crime at distance
anzakó βakutándí·ze
 fellowmen your they you help might
 'Go far away to commit crime (if you must), then your people will help you.'

tikutí tí·díε
 we have in mind we eat might
 'We want to eat (that is why we are doing this).'

tikupóñé pa mwá·ra
 we you throw might on stone
 'Shall we throw you on the stone?'

tíyeni ηkákámbe ku "p'ara kwáfú·mu
 us go let ye ye go in order to talk might at court of chief
 'Let us go so that you might talk (defend yourselves) in the chief's court.'

analémba kaláta róbatí kutí agulé "djí·nga
 he has written letter Robert that he buy might bicycle
 'He has written a letter to Robert so that he might buy a bicycle.'

d-2. When the uncertainty of the future and the feelings which accompany references to it stand out as important factors in a situation, the verb may take this suffix:

imwe tsónó mu·li ηdzágwí·ré karú·ru
 ye then ye said I will catch rabbit
 'Then you said, "I will catch rabbit".'
mwaná wángá ádákwa·ta á·suogí·ke
 child my he has married he will be kept
 My son is married: he will be cared for.'

leró βá·nidzí·βε i·nε
 today they will me know me
 'Now they will know (and respect) me.'

adzadzizwóné·re

he will himself see for

'He will see for himself.'

mudzi usungiké ní yá·ni
village it be protected by whom

'Who will protect the village?'

kapanda vírásá mú·goné kuti le·ro
If without them shoot ye will sleep where today

'If you do not shoot them, where will you sleep today?'

mituró akut'úlréni ndá·ni
tributes he pays you with is who

'(If you kill me) who will bring you tribute goods?'

e. When the action expressed is felt as contrary to that which might be expected or when its possibility is questioned:

(*ndáni·ne >*) *nitcité tciyáni i·ne*

I do might what I

'What shall I do!'

anté·é·fu náimwe t'é·ro akukániké·ni karúru kugwí·ra
elands with you like that he you fails rabbit to catch

'Sir Eland, have you also failed to catch rabbit?'

imwe kumléká iyé kuti akugonéké·ni
ye to him let him that he you hypnotize might

'You to let him hypnotize you!' ('How could you let him hypnotize you!')

βant'u aβa βanimáné m·βa tci·fukwá t·c·pándá ñá·nga
people these they me refuse beer reason without horns

'These people are refusing me beer (simply) because I have no horns.'

ní·yendé bwá·ndji ndázóβé·era η ñá·ndja
I walk how I have become accustomed to in lake

'How shall I walk? I have become accustomed to (living) in the lake.'

a·kakaniká i·mwe nangga ηgwír'é ndá·ni
he when fails ye what about him catch is who

'When you fail, who else will catch him?'

f. To express failure in a potential situation; i. e., attempt, but failure, including the failure of an accomplished act to bring satisfactory results:

i·ne niyese kumúwú·za kuti yá·i mbuzi iri ní

I I try to him tell that no goat it is with

mánó kusí kó·k'a

teeth below only

'I tried to tell him that he is wrong, that a goat has lower incisors only.'

*k'ukú zǎngá zósé k'ó' η ñú'mba kuti
 fowl my all finished in house that
 níkuyáníkír é ηtcé're

I you dry for might broth

'All the fowl of my house have been consumed in my attempt to dry broth for you.'

umwátá·bwer éré η mǎdzi *g'ó'za
 therein she be she return might into water Ngoza

βant'u βá·múná βǎngwi'ra
 people male they her caught

'But as Ngoza tried to return into the water, the men caught her.'

umwátá't'áné karú·ru karurú a-li
 therein they be they called rabbit rabbit he said

ka·píta·ni sínífu·na
 go ye not I wish

'But when they called rabbit, rabbit said, "You go, I do not wish to go".'

umwátá·sinder éré ηsí mwátáctst·mε
 therein he be he moved over by side of well

waponda fú·ru
 he stepped on tortoise

'But when he moved over by the side of the well, he stepped on tortoise.'

umwátá·ñamulé mwε·ndo wapeza
 therein he be he lift might foot he found

wakanirí·ra awó·ne umwátá·wó·ne
 it has become stuck he looks therein he be he looked

wapeza ni fú·ru
 he found is tortoise

'But as he tried to lift his foot, he discovered that it was stuck. He looked. But as he looked, he saw that it was tortoise.'

g. In negative statements which at the same time express contingencies, or which refer to prior unaccomplishment of acts that have been realized at the time of speaking; i. e., negative of pluperfect or past perfect. Examples:

róbati sanabwé're

Robert not he has returned yet

'Robert has not yet returned.'

akabaβé síβanámve zákálátá u·yu
 Akabawe not she has heard yet of letter this

'Akabawe has not yet heard of this letter.'

ino:si ndiyé sanayámbe
 Enos is he not he has begun yet

'It is Enos (who) has not yet begun.'

Basánáfiké Bant'u Bámícóni mu dzikó lá:t'u
 they have not arrived people of mission in country our
mudá:lí vint'u vámbíri vimasautsá Ba'nt'u
 therein were things many they were annoying people

'Before the missionaries came to our country there were many things annoying the people.'

rabéka ñúma sanakwati:we
 Rebecca Nyuma not she has been married yet

'Rebecca Nyuma has not yet been married.' (Nobody has married her yet.)

h. With the auxiliary prefix *-nga-* 'can, lest'.

Examples:

ñugant'pnde namunt'u wá:nu
 lest ye me trample on me person your
 '(Be careful) lest you trample on me your slave.'

muŋgaŋp'etse ŋbalé wáke mu'nt'u
 ye can him kill cause brother his person
 'You can cause a man to kill his brother.'

karurú aŋgatuŋge má:dzi
 rabbit he lest draw water
 'Lest rabbit draw water.'

mó:té:ro sínŋgawone malóna pa sitró yá:nga
 therefore not I can see trade on store my
 'Therefore, I cannot see (get) trade at my store.'

B. Employment of the suffix *-a*. This suffix is by far the more frequently used of the two, a fact which is of importance in understanding its function.

a. It is employed in the simple infinitive. Examples have already been given.

b. In the strong and simple forms of the imperative. For illustrations see §29.

c. Some of the functions of the suffix *-ε* may be performed by certain prefixes, of which *-zi-* is the most common. When these changes are made, the verb takes the suffix *-a*. *-zi-* in this usage seems to be a stronger element than *-ε*. Examples:

nió:pa kutí aŋgazidáná ná azuŋgu bá:t'u
 I fear that they lest hate each other with Europeans our
 'I fear that he and our Europeans will become enemies.'

tci·na *ndiyó* *mfu·ti* *kuti* *nizip' érá* *ñá·ma*
 another is it gun that I may kill with game
 'Another (thing) is a gun with which I may kill game.'

muzintuzá·kó *zi·na* *zó·tcttká* *u·kó*
 ye must me tell some additional done there
 'You must tell me some of the other (things) that have taken place there.'

tiβafúniré *mank'wá·ra* *βazidá* *vi·nt'u*
 us them look for let medicine they might eat things
 'Let us look for medicine for them so that they might eat things.'
βazikátú·nga 'they must go in order to draw (water).'

c-2. When *-ka-* takes the place of *-ε* as the modal element. This substitution is of quite infrequent occurrence.

Example: *nik'úlorupit·ra kuti* *sa·kat'á·βa*
 I hope for that not he may run away
 'I hope that he will not run away.'

c-3. When *-tci-* takes the place of *-ε* as the modal element. This is also very rare. Example:

mwalékerándji *kubwéréká* *mpa·ngo* *gulé*
 ye have ceased for what to borrow mupango gule
aticó·nda
 it might become rapturous

'Why have you ceased borrowing a *mupango*²⁷ (so that) the *gule*²⁸ might become rapturous?'

d. All other forms of the indicative mood except those recorded under A take the suffix *-a*.

It should now be quite clear that the two suffixes under consideration are to be regarded as morphemes performing rather definite functions, more definite, in fact, than those of certain modal morphemes found in many other languages. Meinhof, many years ago, recognized the morphological value of vocalic suffixes in Bantu. He wrote:

Man denke sich gewissermassen die drei Endungen *-a*, *-e*, *-i* so, dass *-e* zwischen *-a* und *-i* steht: *-a* bezeichnet die Handlung als 'wirklich', *-e* als 'erwünscht', als 'möglich', *-i* als 'nicht wirklich'.²⁹

Our analysis has shown their functions within more or less precise limits. And we have seen that certain prefixes may be, in a measure, substituted

²⁷ A piece of cloth which is worn so as to hang down apron-like behind.

²⁸ A type of dance.

²⁹ Carl Meinhof, Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen 64; Berlin 1906.

for $-\varepsilon$ and that in these cases the suffix $-a$ is employed. Also that verbs containing prefixes indicating 'strong forms' take the suffix $-a$, the element which, nevertheless, is found in the simple forms and is the more frequently employed. Further, that references which are, or tend to be, forms of exhortation (A: a, b, perhaps c^{30}) or which contain a degree of tension (A: d, d-2, e, f, and h) or which are forms of denial (A: g^{31}) take the suffix $-\varepsilon$.

We may conclude, therefore, that these suffixes stand for attitudes concomitant with references; attitudes of 'ease' on the one hand, symbolized by $-a$, and of 'difficulty' on the other, symbolized by $-\varepsilon$. The function common to both we shall designate as 'support of reference'.³²

This conclusion seems more satisfactory than the formulation of a number of loosely defined and overlapping moods, and it avoids especially the confusion so frequently brought about by speaking of 'subjunctives', a term which often is little more than an explanation of *ignotum per ignotius*. That attitudes can profoundly influence the symbolization of references which they may accompany is well illustrated in Boas' statement that in Tsimshian (Nass River dialect) 'All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker's own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode'—the subjunctive.³³ Formal support of reference is not rare in American Indian languages. It is quite well developed in Kwakiutl³⁴ and occurs in Maidu, Dakota

³⁰ This form of imperative seems to be less emphatic or somewhat more mild than that in which a substantival or independent pronominal object is involved. That the mood may be changed by addition of the objective concord is not in the least far-fetched. In Spanish, e. g., there is an instance to some extent parallel, wherein introduction of a negative in a command causes the verb to take the subjunctive form: *Ponlo en la mesa*. But *No lo pongas en la mesa*. *No escribas eso*, *Inés*.

As we shall see, the suffix $-\varepsilon$ is more appropriate for a formal reference than for a strong, more imperious one.

³¹ In the first instance the speaker denies that which is expected or contingent, as in *He has not come—yet*, and the second is a denial of that which is at the time of speaking true, as in *He had not come—then*. This, again, may be compared to such Spanish forms as *Niego que lo haya hecho*, although there are other factors, *que* and change of subject, involved. Subjunctives also occur in negation in the Tsimshian (Nass River dialect) language. See Franz Boas (ed.), *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Part 1.403; Washington 1911.

³² This terminology has been taken from Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, Chapter 10; London 1923.

³³ *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Part 1,399.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 495-6.

(Teton dialect), Hupa, Navajo, Takelma, Tsimshian, Quileute, and perhaps others. It is not claimed, however, that exact parallels to the forms in Chichewa exist in any of these languages.

§31. VOICE. In Chichewa verb forms there are several distinctions which indicate relations among subject, verb, and predicate, including object. To these categories the term 'voice' may be applied. This seems more suitable than the designations 'derivative verbs' or 'verbal derivatives', since the latter terms indicate only a modification of verb form and are therefore too general. Voice, on the other hand, implies certain more or less specific functions associated with these formal patterns.³⁵

Every verb in Chichewa, with but few exceptions, as we have seen, has an active orientation; i. e., the subject is regarded as 'acting' or 'becoming', in the case of stative verbs.³⁶ Therefore, no special morpheme is required for the active voice. Including this active form, in which the subject is represented as producing the action which the verb expresses, or as 'acting' in the sense of becoming—subject to verb relationship—there are seven voices to be recognized. The other six are (2) causative (subject to predicate relationship), (3) applicative (verb-object relationship), (4) non-agentive passive (verb to formal subject, active subject not implicated), (5) agentive passive (verb to formal subject, active subject definitely implicated), (6) reciprocal (subject and object in interchangeable relationship), and (7) reflexive, in which the subject and object are in the relationship of identity.

Five of these voices are symbolized by suffixes, four of which, together with the connecting vowels, have already been discussed.³⁷ It can be shown, by the same procedure as was followed in that discussion, that the reciprocal suffix is *-an-* (not *-ana*) and that the vowel suffix of mood (*-a* or *-ε*) takes a position after this element in the word. Examples:

nifúna kutí musunǵá·nε níkafa i·nε

I wish that ye protect each other I when die I

'I wish that you protect each other (i. e., marry) when I am dead.'

kusú·nǵa 'to protect', *kusú·nǵa·na* 'to protect each other'.

³⁵ It is very difficult to give a definition of voice on a purely functional basis, such as would be of universal application. It is closely related to the question of relationship among subject, verb, and predicate, which is largely a matter of formalism. The linguist's recognition of certain voices in a language (except active and passive) is often based primarily on formal analogy.

³⁶ Cf. §26.

³⁷ Cf. §25.

muogapitikitsa·nε (*mu-oga-pit-i-k-i-ts-a·n-ε*) 'ye can chase each other' ('ye can cause each other to become gone').

These five suffixes, as well as the reflexive prefix, affect reduction in the same manner as do certain other formative elements and the longer types of stems: *nikú·d̥ja* 'I eat, I am eating', *nid̥žé·tsa* 'I cause to eat, I am causing to eat'. See also §32, b.

a. The active voice needs no further characterization. For purposes of comparison, its infinitive form will be given in contrast with that of the other voices in the illustrations which follow.

b. In the causative voice, which is regularly symbolized by the suffix *-ts-*, the subject is represented as the agent of the action expressed and expanded in the predicate. 'To cause to . . .' is the significance of the infinitive form. Examples:

Active	Causative
<i>kubú·nt'a</i> 'to become blunt'	<i>kubúnt'i·tsa</i>
<i>kupé·za</i> 'to find'	<i>kupéε·tsa</i>
<i>kugwá·da</i> 'to kneel'	<i>kugwádi·tsa</i>
<i>kuk'ú·mba</i> 'to desire'	<i>kuk'úmbi·tsa</i>
<i>kukú·mba</i> 'to dig'	<i>kukúmbi·tsa</i>
<i>kuwí·wa</i> 'to bark'	<i>kuwíwi·tsa</i>
<i>kuwíku·ta</i> 'to blow with a bellows'	<i>kuwíkúti·tsa</i>
<i>kufúβi·ra</i> 'to become red'	<i>kufuβiri·tsa</i>
<i>kuzú·za</i> 'to make miserable'	<i>kuzúzi·tsa</i>
<i>kusé·ma</i> 'to carve'	<i>kuséε·tsa</i>
<i>kusó·ŋk'a</i> 'to gather, to levy taxes'	<i>kusóŋk'ε·tsa</i>
<i>kú·dza</i> 'to come'	<i>kudzé·tsa</i>
<i>kutsókómɔ·ra</i> 'to cough'	<i>kutsókómɔε·tsa</i>
<i>kulámu·ra</i> 'to decree'	<i>kulamúli·tsa</i>
<i>kulávu·ra</i> 'to expectorate'	<i>kulavúli·tsa</i>
<i>kulémé·ra</i> 'to become heavy'	<i>kuleméré·tsa</i>
<i>kugú·ra</i> 'to buy'	<i>kugúli·tsa</i> 'to sell'
<i>kú·d̥ja</i> 'to eat'	<i>kud̥žé·tsa</i> 'to poison'
<i>kumé·za</i> 'to swallow'	<i>kuméε·tsa</i>
<i>kurú·ma</i> 'to bite, to sting'	<i>kurúmi·tsa</i>

There are several types of variations from the regular formation of the causative. However, these variations are not inflexible, since the regular method may be substituted for any of them.

1. The suffix *-ts-* may take the place of the final consonant of the stem, in which case no connecting vowel is, of course, necessary.

Active

kukávu·ka 'to become poor'
kukámbu·ka 'to remember'
kuwóro·ka 'to cross a body of water'
kuwú·ka 'to awaken, to arise'
kupúrúmu·ka 'to become rescued'
kup'únzi·ra 'to learn'
kup'úrúru·ka 'to fly'
kulé·ka 'to cease, to release'

Causative

kukávu·tsa
kukámbu·tsa
kuwóro·tsa
kuwú·tsa
kupúrúmu·tsa
kup'únzi·tsa
kup'úrúru·tsa
kulé·tsa 'to prevent'

2. The suffix *-z-* occurs in some instances, with the connecting vowel, instead of *-ts-*. Examples:

Active

kusú·nga 'to protect'
kukúma·na 'to meet'
kuká·na 'to refuse, to deny'
kubwé·ra 'to return'

Causative

kusú·ngi·za
kukumáni·za
kukáni·za
kubwé·ra·za 'to repeat,
to revenge'

3. *-z-* also occurs in place of the final consonant of the stem.

Active

kukóngo·ra 'to become beautiful'
(animate being)
kukú·ra 'to grow, to experience
puberty'
kupí·ra 'to pass'
kumí·ra 'to sink, to drown'
kudándáú·ra 'to complain'
kudápi·ra 'to deny'
ku'tú·ra 'to pay tribute goods, to
take a burden from the
head or shoulders'
kubwé·ra 'to return'

Causative

kukóngo·za
kukú·za
kupí·za
kumí·za
kudandáú·za
kudápi·za
ku'tú·za
kubwé·za 'to return something,
to repay'

In one word *-zγ-* is affixed in this position to form the causative: *kukázu·ra* 'to become defiled by taking something unclean into one's system, as to drink the milk of a woman who is not of one's mother's clan'; *kukázu·zγa* 'to cause to . . . '.

4. *-z-* with further reduced stem:

Active

kukú·k'úli·ra 'to roll' (intransitive)

Causative

kukú·k'u·za

kuzuwǒgúli·ra 'to move in a circle, to surround'
kuzúwǒgu·za

kuzóβé·ra 'to become accustomed to' *kuzóβe·za*

5. When *-β-* occurs as the final stem consonant in the active form, it may be replaced by *-vǐ-* to make the causative; likewise, *-p-* in the same position may be replaced by *-fǐ-*:

Active Causative

kut'á·βa 'to run away' *kut'á·vǐa*

kuwólw·βa 'to become wet and soft, to become mild in temperament'
kuwólw·vǐa

kuwó·pa 'to fear' *kuwó·fǐa*

Examples of the causative in context:

nikúkwati·tsa *kwáwi·na*

I you to marry cause to another

'I shall give you in marriage to another.'

βámicw·ni *βadáyámbá* *kup'únzǐtsa* *βa·nt'u*

missionaries they began to learn cause people

'The missionaries began to teach the people.'

nǐle·mba *kalá·ta* *kukudzǐβítsá* *zamáli·rw*

I write letter to you to know cause of death

'I am writing a letter to inform you of the death.'

idánǐletsá *ni* *ndja·ra*

it has me to cease caused is hunger

'Hunger prevented me.'

sítidzi·βa *tcifukwá* *tcíméné* *tcatcítítsá* *i·zi*

not we know reason which it has to do caused these

'We do not know what has caused these (things).'

c. The applicative voice expresses the action of the verb with reference to an object which would not otherwise be involved. It is symbolized by the suffix *-r-*. The infinitive form may be translated as 'to . . . for, to . . . by means of, to . . . with reference to'. Examples:

Active Applicative

kupáfu·ra 'to kick' *kupafúli·ra*

kupóñ·ra 'to throw, to shoot' *kupóñ·ra*

kupwéte·ka 'to hurt' (transitive) *kupwetéke·ra*

kup'ǐé·da 'to sweep' *kup'ǐéde·ra*

kup'ú·kwa 'to escape' *kup'úkwi·ra*

kudódw·ma 'to doubt' *kudódwme·ra*

kutáfu·na 'to chew' *kutafúni·ra*

<i>kutá·ma</i> 'to praise, to trust'	<i>kutámi·ra</i> 'to depend upon'
<i>kutándi·za</i> 'to help'	<i>kutandízi·ra</i>
<i>kutéte·ra</i> 'to cackle'	<i>kutetéte·ra</i>
<i>kutiáok·u·ra</i> 'to smack'	<i>kutiáok·úli·ra</i>
<i>kut'á·βa</i> 'to run away'	<i>kut'áβi·ra</i> 'to take refuge'
<i>kut'á·na</i> 'to call'	<i>kut'áni·ra</i> 'to call to'
<i>kutε·za</i> 'to visit, to bewitch'	<i>kutεze·ra</i>
<i>kwoázi·ma</i> 'to sparkle'	<i>kwoázimi·ra</i>

Examples of the applicative in context:

teogani *nté·ogɔ* *tip'eré* *ndjók'a*

take ye stick us kill with let snake

'Take the stick (and) let us kill the snake with it.'

βaná *βánté·é·fu* *βátéogera* *karurú* *mp'á·sa*

children of eland they are getting for rabbit mat

'Eland's children are getting a mat for rabbit.'

ndiwó *βáfúnitsa* *bant'u* *ñá·ogá* *kup'erá*

is they they to want cause people medicine horns to kill with

abalé *βá·wɔ*

brothers their

'It is they (who) cause people to want medicine horns with which to kill

their brothers.'

dzuβá *lídát:títúrukirá* *tígwira* *só·mba*

sun it has us come out for we are catching fish

'The sun rose while we were catching fish.'

βaniwónogera *mɔβa* *wá·ogá*

they are me spoiling for beer my

'They are spoiling my beer.'

mwézi *wantífe·ra*

moon it has me died for

'The moon has died for me' ('I am in the catamenial period').

kwañdéra *panɔ* *pa* *t'ε·ogɔ*

there has me darkened for here-on on forest

'It became dark while I was here in the forest.'

d. In the non-agentive passive voice, which is symbolized by the suffix *-k-*, the formal subject is represented as becoming affected by the action expressed in the transitive verb. The agent of the action (active subject) is completely excluded by this reference. The speaker either has no idea of the cause, wishes to conceal his knowledge of it, or does not care to indicate this knowledge, or it may be clear from the general context. This form, however, is frequently employed as the

first part of a twofold reference in which the cause is presented in the second part as the subject of the verb in the active voice. Example:

tcifuḥá tcámunt'u tcírúmt'ka
 chest of person it is becoming bitten
itcírúmá ni 'k'ára·mu
 he it is biting is lion

'The man's chest is being bitten; the lion is biting it.'

Since the active subject is not implicated, this voice may be employed in a polite or judicious reference. If, for example, a man finds that his child has been injured, he may say, in the presence of other people, that his child has been beaten and at the same time make it clear that he is not accusing any of them of the action:

mwaná wáḥgá wapandí·ka
 child my it has become beaten

'My child has been beaten.'

Many references must be made in this manner in order to avoid insults.

The non-agentive passive form also symbolizes possibility of the formal subject's being affected by the action expressed in the transitive verb:

ukadwara sívdĩé·ka
 you when ill not they are eatable

'When you are ill, they (things) cannot be eaten.'

This type of construction is, however, very rarely employed, the qualitative form being used instead, as in

ukadwara vint'u sívś·dĩé·ka
 you when ill things not eatable

'When you are ill, things cannot be eaten.'

Intransitive verbs in this form have only the potential significance, which is expressed in relation to the milieu; i. e., they express the possibility of acting with reference to the surroundings, which are represented as the formal subject.

There are, then, three significances symbolized by the non-agentive passive form, two of which are expressed by thus modifying verbs that are transitive in meaning: 'to become done . . . to' and 'to be possible of being done . . . to', and the other expressed by thus modifying intransitive verbs, meaning 'to be possible of being done . . . within'. Examples:

Active	Non-agentive passive
<i>kut' é·ba</i> 'to gather firewood'	<i>kut' éb é·ka</i>
<i>kú·t'wa</i> 'to become sharp'	<i>kut'w é·ka</i>

<i>kugá·βa</i> 'to divide, to distribute'	<i>kugáβi·ka</i>
<i>kugó·nt'a</i> 'to limp'	<i>kugón't·é·ka</i>
<i>kubi·sa</i> 'to hide' (transitive)	<i>kubisi·ka</i>
<i>kutúzu·ra</i> 'to scold'	<i>kutuzúli·ka</i>
<i>kugú·za</i> 'to pull'	<i>kugúzi·ka</i>
<i>kugó·βa</i> 'to bend' (transitive)	<i>kugóβé·ka</i>
<i>kuβí·ya</i> 'to build a fence'	<i>kuβíyi·ka</i>
<i>kuwá·za</i> 'to sow'	<i>kuwázi·ka</i>

In a few cases in which the final consonant of the stem is *r*, the non-agentive passive is formed by affixing the suffix *-k-* in place of that consonant. This alternation between *r* and *k* also appears as a partially developed grammatical process by which transitives are made intransitive and vice versa. Since change from transitive to intransitive is not regularly expressed in this language by any grammatical process, this variation between *r* and *k* may be regarded as based primarily on the relationship of active to non-agentive passive. The following examples illustrate these forms:

Active (Transitive)	Non-agentive passive (Intransitive)
<i>kuk'údu·ra</i> 'to turn inside out'	<i>kuk'údi·ka</i>
<i>kupépu·ra</i> 'to belittle'	<i>kupépu·ka</i> 'to become light'
<i>kusuwágúnu·ra</i> 'to melt'	<i>kusuwágínú·ka</i>
<i>kudzidzimu·ra</i> 'to startle'	<i>kudzidzímú·ka</i>

The following examples show the appearance of *-k-* in transitive forms:

Intransitive	Transitive
<i>kusá·mba</i> 'to bathe'	<i>kusámbi·ka</i>
<i>kú·p'ja</i> 'to cook, to ripen, to burn'	<i>kup'i·ka</i>
<i>kugó·na</i> 'to lie down, to sleep'	<i>kugón·é·ka</i> 'to put to bed, to hypnotize'
<i>kupú·sa</i> 'to become stupid'	<i>kupúsi·ka</i> 'to deceive'
<i>kuwá·ra</i> 'to dress'	<i>kuwá·ka</i>

Examples of the non-agentive passive form in context:

βapeza pamawá vanwĩĩngi·ka
they found maize it has become mangled
'They found the maize mangled.'

tcigwɔwɔ sitcítimikizi·ka
adultery not it is proveable
'Adultery is not proveable' (If a man is so accused by a woman, he is assumed to be guilty without proof).

ḡ dzikó li·no ḡtácéndjeré·ka
 in country herein in is possible to be clever
 'It is possible to be clever in this country.'

ḡ gólé síḡséndereré·ka
 in slave stick not in is possible to move away
 'It is impossible to move away in the slave stick.' (The slave stick is a forked stick fastened about a slave's neck to prevent him from walking or running away.)

wapeza ḡbuzi yáké yap' é·ka
 he found goat his it has become killed
 'He discovered that his goat had been killed.'

e. The agentive passive voice represents the formal subject as becoming affected by the action expressed in the verb, but, in contrast with the non-agentive passive, the active subject is definitely implied. Therefore, only transitive verbs can take this form. It is symbolized by the suffix *-w-*, sometimes appearing as *-dw-*. Examples:

Active	Agentive passive
<i>kwi·ka</i> 'to thatch'	<i>kwi·ki·wa</i>
<i>kwi·ta</i> 'to annoy'	<i>kwi·ti·wa</i>
<i>kufuḡa·ta</i> 'to embrace'	<i>kufuḡáti·wa</i>
<i>kusá·ḡk'a</i> 'to choose'	<i>kusá·ḡk'i·wa</i>
<i>kumé·za</i> 'to swallow'	<i>kumé·ze·wa</i>
<i>kuñḡḡró·ra</i> 'to twist'	<i>kuñḡḡró·le·wa</i>
<i>kuñḡḡgu·ta</i> 'to lick'	<i>kuñḡḡgúti·wa</i>
<i>kusyó·ra</i> 'to scout, to explore'	<i>kusyó·re·wa</i>
<i>kutká·pa</i> 'to wash clothes'	<i>kutkápi·wa</i>
<i>kutc'á·ya</i> 'to strike with a club'	<i>kutc'áyi·wa</i>
<i>kunú·sa</i> 'to smell' (transitive)	<i>kunúsi·wa</i>
<i>kudzá·dza</i> 'to fill' (transitive)	<i>kudzádzi·wa</i>
<i>kugwí·ra</i> 'to catch'	<i>kugwí·dwa (kugwíri·dwa)</i>

Examples of the agentive passive in context:

aḡéndḡ·gwí·dwa mḡ·li·mbḡ
 he walks to become caught in birdlime
 'Then he was caught in the birdlime.'

ḡlé·ke·ni tḡáḡmandja akwatiwé ku kasú·ḡgu
 her permit ye Chammanja she become married at Kasungu
 'Let Chammanja be married at Kasungu.'

ḡawḡna ḡdjo·vu ḡapeza ḡumbá zḡwó
 they saw elephant they found houses their
zawḡḡḡḡ·wa
 they have become destroyed

'They saw an elephant and found their houses destroyed.'

The following statements show the difference between the two passive forms:

sinídziβa *tcifukwá* *napweteké·ka*
not I know reason I have become hurt
'I do not know why I am hurt.'

wanípa·nda *napwetekε·wa*
you have me beaten I have become hurt
'You have beaten me and I am hurt.'

mu *ṁsamp'á* *wáké* *mwagwidwá* **k'á·ṁga*
in trap his in has become caught guinea-fowl
'A guinea-fowl was caught in his trap.'

f. In the reciprocal form of the verb the action is expressed as mutually affecting subject and object. It is symbolized by the suffix *-an-*. Examples:

Simple active	Reciprocal
<i>kukwá·ta</i> 'to marry a woman' ³⁸	<i>kukwá·na</i> 'to copulate'
<i>kugwí·ra</i> 'to catch'	<i>kugwí·na</i> 'to wrestle'
<i>kukó·nda</i> 'to love'	<i>kukó·na</i>
<i>kutsú·tsa</i> 'to dispute'	<i>kutsú·na</i>
<i>kulóndjε·ra</i> 'to greet formally'	<i>kulóndjε·na</i>
<i>kuwó·ṁga</i> 'to thank'	<i>kuwó·na</i>
<i>kulá·ta</i> 'to point at'	<i>kulá·na</i>
<i>kukúru·ma</i> 'to backbite'	<i>kukúru·na</i>

Examples of the reciprocal in context:

βámíco·ni *βadáúza* *βant'u* *kutí* *kugulítsana*
missionaries they told people that to buy cause each other
βant'u *ṁ* *kó·ípa*
people is bad

'The missionaries told the people that it is bad for people to sell each other.'

βant'u *βá·múná* *sá·káná·na*
people male not they refuse each other
'Men do not refuse each other.'

adjérema·ni *ní* *ángerezi* *βápóña·na*
Germans and English they are fighting each other
'The Germans and the English are fighting.'

³⁸ From the Chewa point of view, a woman does not marry, but is married by a man: *kukwáti·wa* 'to become married by a man'.

kodí *bant'u* *βá·múná* *βakakumana* *sá·lóndjera·na*
do³⁹ people male they when meet not they greet formally each
other

'When men meet do they not greet each other formally?'

tsópánó *tisamáwópá·na*
now we must not habitually fear each other

'Now we must not fear each other.' ('Now we must not observe the avoidance relationship.')

timsátsá·na 'we were disputing each other'.

g. The reflexive voice denotes that the action is directed back upon the subject. It is symbolized by the prefix *-dzi-*, which is affixed immediately before the stem. This prefix is invariable for person, number, etc. Examples:

Simple active	Reflexive
<i>kú·p'a</i> 'to kill'	<i>kudzi·p'a</i>
<i>kutá·ma</i> 'to praise'	<i>kudzítá·ma</i> 'to boast'
<i>kusó·pa</i> 'to worship'	<i>kudzítsó·pa</i>
<i>kuñé·nga</i> 'to deceive'	<i>kudziñé·nga</i>
<i>kufú·sa</i> 'to question'	<i>kudzífú·sa</i>
<i>kulé·ra</i> 'to rear'	<i>kudzilé·ra</i>
<i>kulá·nga</i> 'to chastise, to instruct'	<i>kudzílá·nga</i>
<i>kumásu·ra</i> 'to release'	<i>kudzímásu·ra</i>

Examples of the reflexive in context:

awo *áβérénga* *kalatá* *u·yu* *βá·dzinénééré*
those they read letter this they themselves say for must
wó·k'a **gati* *βámico·ni* *βalidjé* *kutci·ta*
alone if missionaries they have not to do
kant'u *kábwi·no* *mu* *dzikó* *lá·t'u*
anything good in country our

'Those who read this letter must say for themselves alone whether or not the missionaries have done anything good in our country.'

**k'áramu* *ya·mbo·dzítá·ma*
lion he began to himself praise

'Lion began to boast.'

udádzikwatí·ra 'you have married for yourself'.

tikadzilangí·ra 'we are going in order to train (her) for ourselves'.

§32. USES OF THE INFINITIVE. The infinitive is formed by affixing

³⁹ *kó·di* merely indicates that that which follows is a question. Cf. §37, k: 6 and §53.

the prefix *ku-* (sometimes reduced to *u-*) to the stem plus one of the two vocalic suffixes. Examples: *ku-pú·m-a* 'to breathe', *ku-sáz-a* 'to vomit', *ku-sókósε·r-a* 'to disturb by making noise'.

There are several usages in which the infinitive is employed.

a. As a noun of Class 10. Examples:

kup'á *ndjóká* *η* *kuβέ·nda*
to kill snake is to stalk

'In order to kill a snake, one must stalk it.' (Use your wit, not mere force, for accomplishing anything.)

uku *η* *kut'á* *kwádzí·kó*
this is end of world

'This is the end of the world!'

βavera *kulí·ra*
they heard crying

'They heard crying.'

b. As a qualificative of type one. Only when verbs with stems of types C, C_γ, and V/2 are so employed does the full infinitive prefix *ku-* appear; otherwise, it coalesces with the *a* of the qualificative concord to form *ɔ*. Examples:

liβamba *lólí·mba* 'strong fence'.
fence strong

βant'u *wó·yé·nda* 'traveling people, strangers'.
people traveling

tcákú·dja < *tcint'u* *tcákú·dja* 'food, thing to eat'.

When suffixes are affixed to stems of types C, C_γ, and V/2, coalescence takes place in the same manner as with the longer forms:

tcó·dijé·ra < *tcint'u* *tcákú·dijé·ra* 'eating instrument, thing with which to eat'.

Infinitive forms: *kulí·mba* 'to become strong', *kuyé·nda* 'to travel', *kú·dja* 'to eat', *kudjé·ra* 'to eat by means of'.

c. With certain auxiliary verbs and with verbs having an auxiliary capacity. The rule stated above regarding coalescence of the infinitive prefix with the preceding vowel (in the present case final vowel of the auxiliary verb) is also operative here. Examples:

βant'u *βá·kází* *βαῖ·éndo·kátú·nga* *má·dzi*
people female they walk to go in order to draw water

'Then the women went to draw water.'

tayamba *kalé* *ká·le* *kutcitá* *liwú·ma*
we have begun already to do argument

'We have been arguing for a long time.'

níyéndá kuséβε·ra ní kúdíá tcá·dje

I walk to play and to eat only

'I am only playing and eating.'

sintogát'ε kuyá·nk'a i·nε

Not I can finish to answer I

'I cannot answer completely.'

sítimadzíβa kumwá kwá·balé βá·t'u

not we were knowing to hear from brothers our

'We did not know how to hear from our brothers.'

d. With the auxiliary *-li* and the copula *ni*, in the sense of 'being able to'. When *-li* is so employed, the vowel *i* and the *k* of the infinitive prefix are omitted in accordance with the rules of coalescence previously given. *ni* before the infinitive is almost always reduced to *ɸ*. Examples:

nílu·ñámu·ra mu·nt'u

I can lift person

'I can lift the man.'

munt'u aru·ñámu·ra

person he can lift

'The man can lift.'

βant'u βaru·ñámu·ra

people they can lift

'The people can lift.'

**k'ára·mu iri kú·díá*

lion he can eat

'The lion can eat.'

βant'u ɸ kuñámu·ra

people they can lift

'The people can lift.'

i·nε utcepá u·ku ɸ kupándá aogɔ·ma

I smallness this I can beat gnus

'As small as I am, can I beat Sir Gnu?'

e. Combination of the infinitive with the locative *pa* forms a construction similar to the 'gerund phrase' in English. The rule of coalescence is also operative here. Examples:

pɔ·fiká βámícɔ·ni ɸ dzikó lá·t'u

on arriving missionaries in country our

'Upon the missionaries' arriving in our country, . . .'

ɳdákóndwera pɔ·lándira kalatá wá·nu

I have become glad made for on receiving letter your

'I am glad to have received your letter.'

nidá:lí wó'yámba wáó'se pò'kwé'ra

I was first of all on climbing

'I was first of all in climbing.' ('I made the highest grade of all.')

f. Where person, tense, etc. are all clearly apparent from the context, the infinitive is sometimes employed. These are to some extent emotive usages, in which the word may be stripped of all its architecture except that which is indispensable to its formal existence. In other words, there is a sacrifice of some of the functions of symbolism, so that the form tends 'merely to satisfy the condition of appropriateness'.⁴⁰

Examples:

nayesa yeso'yánika ñtceré wáñk'ángá

I have tried tried to dry broth of guineafowl

yá'ko udáñkaní'ka ñpaká kutúma aṅná bá'nga

your it has me failed until to send husbands my

*ní báná bá'nga kukáp'á *k'á'nga*

and children my to go in order to kill guineafowl

kup'í'ka kuyésásó kuyánika ñtceré'so na'wósó

to cook to try again to dry broth again with it also

*wapániká'so ñpaká *k'úkú zángá zósé*

it has me failed again until fowls my all

*k's' ṅ ná'mba kuyésá kukuyáníkirá ñtceré *dí't'u*

finish in house to try to you dry for broth still

'I have tried and tried to dry your guineafowl broth. I failed. I had to send my husband and children to kill another guineafowl so that I could cook it and try again to dry the broth. It failed again. (And then I began to kill my domestic fowl) until all have been consumed in further efforts to dry broth.'

*ñfumú ná'yó *gati kup'á bant'u wó'salá'k'wa*

chief with him as if to kill people without blame

'Does the chief also kill innocent people?'

tikadáyí'gwa'za kapená kuyíté'ma kapená kuyíté'á'ya

we would have it speared or to it cut or to it clubbed

'We would have speared it, or cut it, or clubbed it.'

akalátá wale'mba koma kutúmi'za yá'i

letters he has written but to send no

'He has written letters, but he has not sent anything.'

⁴⁰ See Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* 371-81; London 1923. Cf. also §33.

bant'u *βamagúla·na* *ní* *kúgúlítsa·na*
 people they were buying each other and to buy cause each other
 'People were buying and selling each other.'

g. In the present indicative when no objective concordance is expressed and no suffix of voice included, the infinitive is employed with the subjective concordance if the stem is of types C, C_γ, or V/2. This usage has been illustrated in the paradigms of the indicative mood.⁴¹

h. When an objective verbal concordance is employed with the infinitive, it is affixed between the prefix *ku-* and the stem:

afúna *kum·páfú·ra* 'he wants to kick him'.
 he wants to him kick
imwe *kumléká* *iyé* *kutí* *akugoméké·ní*
 ye to him let him that he you hypnotize might
 'You permitting him to hypnotize you!'
ndákútcitá·ndji *kuníté·ro*
 I have you done what to me do that way
 'What have I done to you that you treat me that way?'

§33. THE RADICAL DESCRIPTIVE. On the basis of its function, some students treat this form in connection with qualificatives—adverbs or adjectives—but since in both form and function it is closely related to the verb, it may be included in our analysis of the verb and verb forms.

The terminology is taken from Doke,⁴² who defines the 'radical' as 'a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate in respect to manner, colour, sound or action.' Meinhof, regarding it as an interjection, gives the following characterization:⁴³

Die Interjektionen sind bei diesen Sprachen reichlich entwickelt. Eine besondere Beachtung verdienen dabei die Wortbilder, die zum Ausdruck von vielen Vorstellungen, nicht nur schallnachahmend, gebraucht werden. Diese Wortbilder sind natürlich in der Regel aus den sonst vorkommenden Sprachlauten gebildet—doch lässt sich auch sonst Ungebräuchliches nachweisen. Im übrigen sind sie formlos. Sehr beliebt sind auch Verba mit dem Zeitwort 'sagen' und folgendem Wortbild.

The statement that the words are formless is not justified, since there are other types of words in Bantu which contain no relational elements; the term 'word-pictures' (Wortbilder) is preferable to calling them interjections. Various other terms have been proposed, none of which seem any better than these.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. §28.

⁴² Clement M. Doke, *Text Book of Zulu Grammar* 238; Johannesburg 1927.

⁴³ Carl Meinhof, *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* 81; Berlin 1906.

⁴⁴ See Alice Werner, *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages* 186–98; London 1919.

Doke's definition does not include the usage as a verb; i. e., as a word which expresses (perhaps descriptively in this case) an action or state associated with a substantive, as it is employed in Chichewa. Another difference is that in this language the form does not require an auxiliary, nor is it frequently employed with auxiliaries, as in Isizulu and certain other languages. The term 'radical descriptive', however, seems sufficiently appropriate, since in numerous instances the form is closely related to the radical element (the stem) of the verb,⁴⁵ and in many cases is merely reduplication of that element with -ε as a terminating vowel. That it is sometimes descriptive is also quite clear, since it may be onomatopoeic. My informant, however, stated that the form does not afford him a more vivid symbolization (i. e., is not a 'word-picture'); also that he does not feel it as an intensifier. He feels only that it lends eloquence and beauty of form to narration. Psychologically, this usage and that of the infinitive pointed out in §32, f are similar.

This form often contains phonetic characteristics which do not otherwise occur in the language. The most important of these in Chichewa are (1) stress on the final syllable,⁴⁶ (2) consonantal ending of a syllable, (3) rising or falling tones (where there is no obvious omission or coalescence), and (4) nasalization of vowels. Some forms are terminated by a distinct glottal stop, and in some instances the vocalic timbres *ā* (as in *hat*) and *v* (as in *full*) occur. The length of the penultimate or ultimate vowel is also sometimes much greater in these forms. This length I have indicated with a double colon (::). On the whole, however, the radical descriptive is built out of the regular phonetic elements. Exceptional phonetic values in this form occur also in other Bantu languages.⁴⁷

The radical descriptive may be employed instead of the verb, it may

⁴⁵ In such instances as these, Doke regards the verb as derived from the radical, and apparently never the reverse. See op. cit. 147-8, 238-52. This seems to be the usual opinion. Cf. Werner loc. cit. I should hesitate in pronouncing either form the older in Chichewa. It is possible that derivation may proceed in either direction, although there is perhaps more a priori justification for assuming the radical descriptive to be the older.

⁴⁶ Such a syllable also has considerably more 'weight' or force than that which normally appears.

⁴⁷ See Carl Meinhof, *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* 81; Berlin 1906, and Alice Werner, *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages* 197-98; London 1919.

precede or follow the verb, and for some forms there is no corresponding verb.

Three types may be recognized in Chichewa: (A) Forms which show no phonetic or etymological similarity to the verbs with which they are associated, (B) forms which show such similarity, and (C) reduplicated stems with the terminating vowel *-e*. Examples:

Type A

Verb	Radical Descriptive
<i>kubí·ya</i> 'to belch'	<i>ge::</i> (The <i>g</i> has a definite throat quality.)
<i>kupó·ña</i> 'to throw, to shoot'	<i>tcɔ̃</i> (Nasalized <i>i</i> .)
<i>kú·t'wa</i> 'to become sharp or pointed'	<i>βiyé:: βiyεβiyεβiyε . . .</i>
<i>kú·da</i> 'to become black, to grow dark (at night), to hate'	<i>bi::</i> or <i>bí</i> (Not when meaning 'to hate'.)
<i>kú·t'a</i> 'to finish, to expire, to complete'	<i>k'ó'</i>
<i>kuló·βα</i> 'to enter'	<i>patt'</i>
<i>kulí·mba</i> 'to become strong'	<i>p'áká·ti</i> (when running)
<i>kurú·ma</i> 'to bite, to sting'	<i>gwá'</i>
<i>kufúβi·ra</i> 'to become red'	<i>*gá</i>
<i>kuyé·ra</i> 'to become white'	<i>pju:</i>
<i>kutéze·ra</i> 'to remain awake throughout the night'	<i>mbú</i>
<i>kú·gwa</i> 'to fall, to alight'	<i>téte·te·</i>
	<i>mwá</i> or <i>pwata pwata pwata . . .</i> (Falling of rain.)
	<i>pwá·ta</i> (A person falls.)
	<i>kum</i> (With voiceless <i>m</i> .) (More or less massive object falling.)
	<i>yoyoyoyoyo . . .</i> (Teeth, nuts, leaves, urine, etc., falling continuously.)
	<i>mbó:tó'</i> (Falling of horns.)
	<i>mbwí'</i> (Falling of faeces.)
No verb. The noun <i>k'ó·fi</i> 'slap' must precede or follow	<i>p'á'</i> (<i>k'ófi p'á'</i>)
No verb. The meaning is 'helter-skelter'	<i>bárá·li</i> or <i>bará·li bara·li</i>

Illustrations in context:

ṁtumbúka uyu liwumá gwá'
Tumbuka this argument strong
'This Tumbuka persisted in arguing.'
bi:: kwa·da

there has become dark

'It became very dark.'

wasamba k's'
he bathed finished

'He bathed. He finished.'

usi·ku karurú wafi·ka ní vípanda vá·kε
night rabbit he arrived with calabashes his
búwǔndú búwǔndu búwǔndú búwǔndu búwǔndú
(noise made by the calabashes)

andjati βamúw·na p'utu p'utu p'utu
buffaloes they him saw (rushing forward)

'At night rabbit arrived with his calabashes, which were tinkling. Sir Buffalo saw him and rushed toward him.'

anc'efú βali ná·i pa k'osi bwá' kúnuxunuxu ...
eland they are with him on neck clutch threw away
'Sir Eland seized him by the neck and threw him out.'

Type B

Verb	Radical Descriptive
<i>kubisa·ra</i> 'to hide' (intransitive)	<i>bisa::rú'</i>
	<i>ṁya'</i> (Type A)
<i>kupáfu·ra</i> 'to kick' (transitive)	<i>páf</i>
<i>kup'úrurú·ka</i> 'to fly'	<i>p'úrururu ...</i>
<i>kupwéfu·ka</i> 'to become an oversized belly'	<i>pwe·fu</i>
<i>kupé·za</i> 'to find'	<i>pε::zú</i>
<i>kutúnu·ra</i> 'to stoop, sticking out the rump'	<i>túnu</i>
<i>kugó·na</i> (+ <i>tú·rɔ</i> 'sleep') 'to fall asleep' and <i>kú·fa</i> 'to die'	<i>*gó</i>
<i>kuk'úru·ra</i> 'to untie in one move- ment'	<i>k'uru::rú</i>
<i>kubówɔ·ra</i> 'to make a hole through a solid object'	<i>bɔ::wó</i>
<i>kup'áyi·ra</i> 'to wink the eyes'	<i>p'ayi'</i>
<i>kupwá·ña</i> 'to shatter' (transitive)	<i>p'wá p'wá p'wá ...</i>

kubúli·ka 'to appear suddenly'

bú::lí

kutúru·ka 'to make egress'

turu::kú (out of water)

bá (out of an enclosure)

Illustrations in context:

*turó twa·βá·ba *gó βagó·na*

sleep it them stole they fell asleep

'They became sleepy and fell asleep.'

**gozá *gó wabwerera ku mafú·pa*

Ngoza died she returned to bones

'Ngoza died and became a skeleton again.'

karurú zwé: zwé: zwé: zuwuguli::rú

rabbit ran zigzag turned around

'Rabbit ran zigzag and turned around.'

kuzwé·ta 'to move in a zigzag manner', *kuzuwugúli·ra* 'to whirl'.

madzi bo::wó 'water burst forth'.

furú kwakwatu kwakwatu kwakwatu wabwε·ra

tortoise crawling he returned

'Tortoise returned crawling.'

kukwakwátu·ra or *kukwá·βa* 'to crawl'.

karurú η mandja gó· gó· gó· gó· gó· . . .

rabbit in hands clapping

'Rabbit clapped his hands in submission.'

kugógo·da (ma·ndja) 'to clap the hands in submission'.

Type C

Any stem consisting of one or more syllables may be reduplicated in this manner, although the feeling for its appropriateness varies with the meaning of the verb. The verb *kukó·nda* 'to love', for example, would probably not be so employed, but the form as such would be accepted. As a rule, this type is most frequently employed for the expression of action, not states. Type C, if any type, may be said to serve for the purpose of intensification. In structure, as has been indicated, it consists of the verb stem with the terminating vowel -ε, reduplicated with a high pitch on the penultimate syllable the first time and with all syllables on the low register the second time. Examples:

madzi tú·wge tu·wge wasa·mba sá·mbe sa·mbe

water drew he bathed

'He drew water and bathed.' *kutú·wga* 'to draw water'.

usi·ku mp'εpó yafi·ka iyéndó·t'í·jórá pamá·wga

night wind it arrived it walks to break maize

vwiñi·ogε vwiñi·ogε

mangling

'At night the wind came and broke down the maize, mangling it.'

ηααna aǰénda kuηwúmbá·so wú·mbε wu·mbε
crocodile he walks to her mold again

'Then crocodile remolded her.' *kuwú·mba* 'to mold'.

karurú aǰéndo·nǰatírira ñaogá η mutú mwá·ke
rabbit he walks to paste horns in head his
nǰatirí·re nǰatiri·re

'Then rabbit pasted the horns on his head.'

ηkómwéni aǰéndo·viká ñú·mba ví·ke ví·ke
son-in-law he walks to thatch house

'Son-in-law then thatched the house.'

There is a special form, *-yésotí*, which may be employed for emphasis with radical descriptives of types A and B when they refer to that which is visible. This auxiliary form takes the subjective verbal concordances, after which the *y* of the element and the vowel of the concordance (except *u* and in certain cases *i*) are elided. Both forms are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

	Full Form		Reduced	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>niyésotí</i>	<i>tiyésotí</i>	<i>né·sotí</i>	<i>té·sotí</i>
2nd P.	<i>uyésotí</i>	<i>muyésotí</i> (<i>ηndjésotí</i>)	<i>wé·sotí</i>	<i>mwé·sotí</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)			
Cl. No.				
1	<i>ayésotí</i>	<i>bayésotí</i>	<i>é·sotí</i>	<i>βé·sotí</i>
2	<i>uyésotí</i>	<i>iyésotí</i>	<i>wé·sotí</i>	<i>yé·sotí</i>
3	<i>liyésotí</i>	<i>bayésotí</i>	<i>lé·sotí</i>	<i>βé·sotí</i>
4	<i>buyésotí</i>	<i>bayésotí</i>	<i>bwé·sotí</i>	<i>βé·sotí</i>
	<i>uyésotí</i>		<i>wé·sotí</i>	
5	<i>iyésotí</i>	<i>ziyésotí</i>	<i>yé·sotí</i>	<i>zé·sotí</i>
6	<i>tciyésotí</i>	<i>viyésotí</i>	<i>tcé·sotí</i>	<i>vé·sotí</i>
7	<i>kayésotí</i>	<i>tuyésotí</i>	<i>ké·sotí</i>	<i>twé·sotí</i>
8	<i>payésotí</i>		<i>pé·sotí</i>	
9	<i>muyésotí</i> (<i>ηndjésotí</i>)		<i>mwé·sotí</i>	
10	<i>kuyésotí</i>		<i>kwé·sotí</i>	

Examples: *fundó zé·soti wára wa·ra utá·li*
 joints length

'These joints are long indeed!'

tcimsukó tcaku·ra tcé·soti ndé:·ndende
 big pot it swelled

'The pot swelled.' (Derogatory reference to pot.)

The imperative mood is sometimes employed with the same effect as the radical descriptive of type C. Examples:

ñkómwéni aǰéndó·témá·sò míté·ngò ßiyirani
 son-in-law he walks to cut again trees fence for ye
má·nda ßí·ye ßí·ye
 field

'Then son-in-law cut trees again and made a fence for the field.'

wa·dǰa í·dǰa í·dǰa 'he ate.'

§34. DEFECTIVE VERBS. In Chichewa there are only two verbs which may be called defective: *kú·ti* 'to say, to do, to have in mind, to be' and *-li* '(to) be, (to) say, (to) have'. These verbs in no cases take the vocalic suffixes *-a* and *-e*, and *-li* does not appear with the infinitive prefix *ku-*, nor with any morpheme expressive of voice. *kú·ti* is restricted to the active and applicative voices, and in the latter has two forms: *kuté·re* 'to . . . in this way, to . . . with reference to this' and *kuté·ro* 'to . . . in that way, to . . . with reference to that'. Both verbs are limited to the present and past tenses and both are employed as auxiliaries. *kú·ti* is never employed as a true copula. *-li* has the significance 'to say' only when used in the narrative past and in this case it is employed in present tense form. Example: *tili bwi·nó* 'we said, "Be careful," we are well'. It is employed with the conjunctive *ní* 'and, with' to express the English possessive 'to have', but the conjunctive is not necessary when the statement is negative. Examples:

*tiri ní *k'a·βa* 'we have anxiety, we are anxious'.
 we are with anxiety

ise tidá·lí ñ míkóndó yá·t'u
 we we were with spears our

'We had our spears.'

kapíutú alí ní má·t'é·nda
 Kapiutu he is with illness 'Kapiutu is ill.'

ise tili ñ pákamwa pá·t'u
 we we are with mouths our

'We have our mouths.' (We can speak for ourselves.)

niri ní mí·mba
 I am with belly 'I have a belly.' (I am with child.)

nílídje i'ne pamangá vó·pátsá ßa·nt'u
 I have not I maize giveable people
 'I have no maize to give people.'

§35. AUXILIARY VERBS. There are several verbs in Chichewa which are regularly employed as auxiliaries: *kuyé·nda* 'to walk, to travel, to flow', *kú·ya* 'to go', *kuk'á·ra* 'to be, to sit, to remain', *kut'á·nga* 'to begin', *kutsógó·ra* 'to go before, to lead', *kú·ti* 'to say, to do, to have in mind, to be', and *-li* '(to) be, (to) say, (to) have'. There are, of course, other verbs which are auxiliary in force, or may be so used, such as *kuyá·mba* 'to begin', *kuk'ó·za* 'to be able', *kuyé·sa* 'to try, to think', and *kufú·na* 'to wish, to look for, to be almost'. On the whole, verbs of this second type deserve no special consideration.

a. *kuyé·nda* occurs as an auxiliary verb in narration, where it has the significance of English 'then, at that time'. It is followed by the infinitive form, the vocalic suffix *-a* and the infinitive prefix *ku-* frequently coalescing into *ɔ*, or the vowel *-a* may be partially assimilated into *ɔ* even when the following prefix is not disturbed. With *tcá·dje*⁴⁸ *kuyé·nda* expresses 'to . . . only'. In this construction it precedes the main verb and *tcá·dje* follows the main verb, as in French *ne . . . que*. Examples:

kalé apó·ngɔzi ßa·jé·ndɔ·tumá ñkómwé·ni
 once mothers-in-law they walk to send son-in-law
 'Once upon a time, mother-in-law then sent son-in-law.'

tsónó ñkómwé·ni a·jé·ndɔ·pitá ku ulé·ndu
 then son-in-law he walks to go to journey
 'Then son-in-law went on a journey.'

*a·jé·ndɔ·zɔkáká *k'ára·mu*
 he walks to turn into lion
 'Then he turned into a lion.'

ßa·jé·ndɔ kú·ñndjázira karú·ru
 they walk to him spread for rabbit
 'Then they spread (it) for rabbit.'

ßa·jé·nda ku·ñnámizira tcá·dje
 they walk to me speak falsely against only
 'They are only speaking falsely against me.'

uyé·ndɔ·tígwirá tcá·dje
 you walk to us catch only
 'You are only catching us.' (Arresting us without cause.)

⁴⁸ Cf. §37, k: 4.

baǐéndá *kupóñana* *tcá·dje*
they walk to shoot each other only

'They are only fighting.' (Without gain for either.)

b. *kú·ya* is employed in the hortatory imperative mood, first person plural. Its function here seems to be merely that of giving the reference a more polite character, since it may be dispensed with and the main verb is also in the hortatory mood.⁴⁹ The full forms *tí·y·ε·ni* and *tí·y·ε* in this usage are generally reduced to *tǐéñ* and *tǐé* respectively. Examples:

tǐé *típ'épó* *mbú·zi*
us go let us kill let of goats
'Let us kill (one) of (these) goats.'

tǐéñ *tímst·yε*
us go let ye us him leave let
'Let us leave him.'

tǐéñ *tik'alé* *pá·si*
us go let ye us sit let down
'Let us sit down.'

tíyé *tídjint'é* *mikéndó* *pá·si*
us go let us thrust let spears down
'Let us thrust (our) spears down.'

tǐé *tizipitá* *ku mu·dzi*
us go let us let go to village
'Let us go to the village.'

c. The employment of *kuk'á·ra* as an auxiliary is illustrated in §37, j.

d. *kut'á·nga* and *kutsógó·ra* when employed as auxiliaries have the same significance, that of giving precedence to one act or state over another. The act or state which is given precedence must be expressed by a past tense form, since it is to be completed before the other begins. Examples:

nit'awóé *nágánt·za*
I first must I have thought
'First, I must think.'

nit'awóé *mwázizírítsá* *ku k'osa* *tcíña·ma*
ye first must ye have become cool caused to neck Chinyama
'First cool your throat, Chinyama.'

tsogorani *mwáí·ma*
first ye ye have waited
'Wait!'

⁴⁹ Cf. §29, e.

po·yambá *titsogólé* *tákátémá* *sú·ngwi*
 on beginning we first must we have gone in order to cut bamboo
 'To begin with, we must first go and cut bamboo.'
zó·válá *zá·t'u* *ziri* *zó·fó·ka* *zifúna* *kú·t'a*
 clothings our they are weak they are almost to wear out
koma *tit'angé* *tágánzá* *bwi·no*
 but we first must we have thought well
 'Our clothing is weak and almost worn out, but we must first think well
 (before buying).'

e. The verb *kú·ti* is employed as an auxiliary in a special form of temporal reference, where it has the significance of English 'after', and with the demonstrative *u·mó* 'therein' expresses 'immediately after' or 'just as'. In these constructions both *-ti* and the main verb take concordances and tense prefixes, but in normal speech both are fused into a single 'word-group',⁵⁰ in which even the demonstrative *u·mó* may be included. This word-group may be written as three separate units for purposes of analysis or, in order to recognize its phonetic unity, it may be written as a single form. Both *u·mó* and *-ti* (with its prefixes) may be omitted when the context is sufficiently clear, in which case their influence is expressed in the tone pattern of the main verb, giving it a high pitch on every syllable except the last.⁵¹ Examples:

náti ná·dĩa 'soon after I ate'

nítá·dĩa < *níti ná·dĩa* 'after I ate'

úmó náti ná·dĩa 'immediately after I ate'

úmó náti ní·dĩε 'just as I tried to eat'⁵²

wáti *wák'ú·ta* *wayambo·lí·ra*
 he was he became full in the belly he began to roar
 'Soon after he satisfied his hunger, he began to roar.'

átá·k'ú·ta *ali* *tcĩa*
 he is he became full in the belly he said pshaw
 'After he satisfied his hunger, he said, "Pshaw!"'

wák'útá *té·rɔ* *wayambasó·lí·ra*
 he became full in the belly like that he began again to roar
 'Immediately after he satisfied his hunger in that way, he began to roar
 again.' (*úmó wáti* is omitted.)

⁵⁰ 'A word-group is a combination or fusion of two or more words brought about through vowel elision (or coalescence).' Clement M. Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language* 190; Johannesburg 1926.

⁵¹ A high pitch on the last syllable in this case will be determined by the word which follows in the 'sense-group'. Cf. Doke, *ibid.* 194.

⁵² Cf. §30. A: f.

úmwá-té-ro *wapeza* *wazγokásó* *tí·yi*
 therein he did that way he found he has turned into again *tí·yi*
 '(But) just as he did that way, he discovered that he had again turned
 into a *tí·yi*.' (*tí·yi* is a bird [robin?])

úmwá-té-ro < *úmo wáti wáté-ro*.

yati *yáfíká* *ku mu·dzi* *bant'u* *βaiwó·na*
 it was it arrived at village people they it saw
 'Soon after it arrived at the village, the people saw it.'

úmwá-tí *βayaniké* *ηtcé·re* *βapeza*
 therein they were they dry might broth they found
wawuma *wó·se*
 it has dried all

'(But) when she tried to dry the broth, she discovered that it had all evaporated.'

f. *-li*, as an auxiliary, appears in two constructions. It may be employed in the formation of the present perfective when a negative statement is made. In this case it has the significance of the English auxiliary 'to have'. It may also be employed, in the present tense, with the significance of English 'to be able to'. Examples:

βalidjé *uβikápó* *ní* *ηmódzi* *yó·se*
 they have not to place here-on even one anybody
 'They have not placed even a single one here.'

tampítiki·tsa *karú·ru* *alidjó·tíñé·wga*
 we have him chased rabbit he has not to us deceive
 'We have chased rabbit; he has not deceived us.'

tcóná *ali* *kufá* *ní* *ru·dzu*
 cat it can to die with thirst
 'The cat can die of thirst.'

karurú *alu·gaβá* *móβa* *yé·k'a*
 rabbit he can to divide beer himself
 'Rabbit can divide the beer himself.'

wómbe *ziru·ñáwgu·ta* *pa·no*
 cattle they can to lick here-on
 'The cattle can lick here.'

kapóró *ali* *kupú·kwa*
 slave he can to escape
 'The slave can escape.'

§36. AFFIXES OF NEGATION. Four morphemes are employed as negative elements in verb forms.

a. *sí-* expresses negation for all verb forms except *-li* as a possessive

or auxiliary. It is also employed with *-li* when this verb has the significance 'to be', except in the impersonal meanings 'there is, there are, there was', etc. Before vowels the *i* of *si-* is frequently elided; likewise, before *w*, *β*, or *y* plus a vowel. *si-* precedes all other elements in the word. It is here regarded as a prefix, since it cannot be used independently, but it is also employed as a negative element (proclitic) with nouns and pronouns. Examples:

**tc'itó síkú-t'a*

work not it ceases

'Work never ceases.'

ɲtumbúka u-yu sá-dziβa ka-nt'u

Tumbuka this not he knows anything

'This Tumbuka does not know anything.'

**gozá sá-dá·fa*

Ngoza not she has died

'Is Ngoza not dead?'

vipanda i·vi sú-túngira madzi βá-t'u

calabashes these not you draw with water our

'Do you not draw our water with these calabashes?'

sí·nε yá·i (sí- i·nε) 'Not I, no!'

not I no

karurú a·li sâ-nt'u βá·nga

rabbit he said not people my

'Rabbit said, "Are they not my slaves?"'

á· sí-tú·rɔ amuná βándmwa·li

ah not sleep husbands of girl

'Ah, does not the girl's husband like to sleep?'

b. *si-* (*-si-*) . . . *-ná-* . . . *-ε* 'not yet'. This morpheme differs in form from the preceding one in pitch-accent only. It may occur in first or second position in the word, usually occurring in the first position. The tense-aspect prefix *-ná-* and the vocalic suffix *-ε* must be employed with this element. Elision of the vowel *i* takes place as indicated in the preceding paragraph. Examples:

akabaβé síβanámvε zákálátá u-yu

Akabawe not yet they have heard of letter this

'Akabawe has not yet heard of this letter.'

sa·nabwére kufikira lɛrɔ li·nɔ

not yet he has returned to arrive for today herein

'Up to this date, he has not yet returned.'

c. *-sa-* is employed as the negative with the infinitive form of the verb.

It is affixed between the infinitive prefix and the stem. In form, it is identical with the element which expresses the prohibitory form of the imperative mood.⁵³ Examples: *kú·p'a* 'to kill', *kusá·p'a* 'not to kill', *kú·dza* 'to come', *kusá·dza* 'not to come', *kutáfu·na* 'to chew', *kusatáfu·na* 'not to chew', *kuxú·u·ta* 'to mumble', *kusaxú·u·ta* 'not to mumble'.

ump'á·βi ní kúšadzi·βa kumatísai·tsa
poverty and to not know they were us annoying
'Poverty and ignorance were annoying us.'

*mwayambá kále kugwirá *tc'i·to wó·sapumurá ma·ndja*
ye have begun already to catch work not resting hands
'You have been working for a long time without resting your hands.'

*ndzakálá·nge wó·saticitá *gati kupusá kwá·ngoma*
ye will him punish not doing like foolishness of gnu
'You will punish him without doing as foolishly as gnu.'

d. *-dje* is employed with the verb *-li* when this verb has the significance 'to have', as either a possessive or an auxiliary, and in the impersonal expressions 'there is not, there was not', etc. Examples: *nilidjé ka·nt'u* 'I have not anything', *nilidjé·tcitá ka·nt'u* (*nilidjé kutcitá ka·nt'u*) 'I have not done anything.'

βagáni·za kuti βámico·ni βalidijé·tcitá
they think that missionaries they have not to do
kant'u kábwi·no yá·i
anything good no

'They think that the missionaries have not done anything good.'

padá·lidjé mtende·re padá·lidjé kuyendéra·na
there was not peace there was not communication
kapená maló·nda
nor trade

'There was no peace, no communication, nor trade.'

**gozá ali ku·no koma nkazi wákó kulí·dje*
Ngoza she is here-at but female your there is not
'Ngoza is here, but there is no wife of yours here.'

sá·ru kulí·dje
calico there is not
'There is no calico.'

§37. AUXILIARY AND SUBORDINATING ELEMENTS. There are several derivational morphemes which add to the significance of the verbal form, serving it in an auxiliary or subordinating manner. These elements do not express grammatical relationship between words in the

⁵³ Cf. §29, d.

sentence, but are limited in their influence to the particular form to which they may be appended.

a. *-ká-* indicates movement to some place for the purpose of performing the action expressed in the stem. It may be translated as 'go in order to'. Its use is not restricted to any particular tense. Examples:

βant'u yá·wó βapita kukákumba tcitst'mε
 people over there they went to go in order to dig well
 'The people went to dig a well.'

ϕkáπέμπ'a pamá·nga 'I am going to beg maize'.
 I go in order to beg maize
tḡéη tikáβá·mβε
 us go let ye us go in order to hunt let
 'Let us go hunting.'

b. Parallel to the usage illustrated above is the employment of *-dza-* 'come in order to'. Although it appears as a prefix, it is obviously derived from the verb *kú·dza* 'to come', which is, in fact, employed with the same significance. This element is also identical with the prefix symbolizing the future tense, except that it is spoken on the low register, while the future tense prefix is spoken on the high pitch. Examples:

dzaténgéni mɔ·βα
 come in order to get ye beer
 'Come and get beer.'

kati madzi βá·nú dzamanéni i·ne
 if water your come in order to refuse ye me
 'If it is your water, come and refuse me.'

sú·fúnó·dzátúnga madzi βá·t'u
 not you wish to come in order to draw water our
 'Do you not wish to come and draw our water?'

nawga udzatci·ta tciyá·ni
 what you come in order to do what
 'What are you coming to do?'

c. The prefix *-ka-* has a subordinating function, and may be translated as 'when, if, still'. Examples:

akakwata sá·táyá ηkazi wáká·le
 he when marries not he throws away female previous
 'When he marries, he does not throw away the wife he already has.'

ηzakó akap'ia ʳde·vu ηzímire
 fellowman your he when burns beard him extinguish for
ημαβá adzázimá zá·ko
 tomorrow he will extinguish yours

'When your fellowman's beard burns, extinguish it for him. Tomorrow he will extinguish yours.'

ikak'ara milandú sá-ka-mba
it if be lawsuit not they speak

'If (when) there is a lawsuit, do they not have a trial?'

βakali kutá-li
they are still at distance

'They are still far away.'

abalé βánú βákált-po
brothers your while they are still existent

'While your brothers are still living.'

masikú wó-se ŋkapita ku má-dzi
days all I when go to water

'Every day when I go to the water.'

akambadzá tcilo-βa aténgera ñama
he when habitually comes Chilowa he gets for game
tcisu-mp'i

paramount chief

'Whenever Chilowa comes, he gets game for the paramount chief.'

tikambá-d̄ɣa (tikamá-d̄ɣa) 'when we habitually eat'.

tikambadzá-d̄ɣa 'when we habitually come in order to eat'.

-ka- as 'still' seems to be the reduced form of the prefix -káda-, which may be used with this meaning, but which is employed more frequently in another construction.⁵⁴

βakadalt-po 'they are still living'.

βákádalt-po 'while they are still living'.

akadaté-ma 'he is still cutting'.

nikadá-d̄ɣa 'I am still eating'.

d. *ká-* is a subordinating element which may be translated as 'while'.

Examples:

ŋpíta kámwéra madzi ŋ ʳdji-ra
I go while drinking from water in path

'I drink water from (them) while going along the path.'

teŋgani ñémba i-zi ŋpité kád̄ɣá ŋ ʳdji-ra
take ye beans these ye go while eating in path

'Take these beans and eat them while going along the path.'

e. The same subordinating function is performed by the prefix *tcá-*, which is affixed to the infinitive form of the verb, giving a coalesced form *tcó-*. The locatives *u-mo* 'therein' and *u-ko* 'there-at' express

⁵⁴ See j, below.

the same idea when appended to the verb form as enclitics, the vowel *u* and the vocalic suffix *-a* coalescing into *ɔ*. Examples:

nikudʒa tcɔ'k'ará pá·si

I eat while sitting down

'I eat while sitting.'

βant'u sá·lónɗjerana tcɔ'yímiri·ra

people not they greet formally each other while standing

'Men do not greet each other in a formal manner while standing.'

típéñɔ·mɔ i·zi tikudzá ku murɗi

we look at while these we are coming to village

'We look at these (things) while we are coming to the village.'

The same kind of subordination may be expressed by word order only:

niyt·mba níkú·ɗja 'I sing while I eat.'

I sing I eat

f. The elements *-kɔ*, *-pɔ*, and *-mɔ*, appended to the verb form, have the function of partitives. Affixed to the verb *-li*, they signify 'existence'. These forms are obviously derived from the locatives. *-kɔ* and *-pɔ* seem to be employed more frequently than *-mɔ*. Examples:

βanivikilékɔ ñú·mba lé·rɔ

they me thatch for must some house today

'They must do some thatching on the house for me today.'

tcət't'ək'a ataté βalí·mɔ

Chaathinkha fathers they are in

'Chaathinkha, is your father home?'

teŋgápɔni i·zi

take some ye these

'Take some of these.'

patsékɔ ʔt'ɔ'tci

give some bananas

'Give me some bananas.'

sítíwónápɔ ɱndáɱdu a·pa

not we see any lawsuit here

'We do not see any lawsuit here.'

mimbu yjéndɔ·k'alá·pɔ

mimbu it walks to remain some

'Then some of the *mimbu* (yams?) remained.'

kukakúmba tcitsimé i·ne viβant'u váŋgá

to go in order to dig well I big people my

virí·pɔ

while they are existent

'I go and dig a well while my slaves are living?'

g. *-nga-* is an auxiliary which symbolizes potentiality: 'can, lest'. With it the vocalic suffix *-ε* or one of the modal prefixes *-zi-*, *-ka-*, or *-tci-* must be employed.⁵⁵ Examples:

wəgapi'te 'you can go, lest you go'.

paŋgadze mwá:zi 'blood can come from this place'.
on can come blood

ku kasúŋgú síkúŋgateokeré bant'u wó'i'pa
from Kasungu not from can come from people bad
'Bad people cannot come from Kasungu.'

sinúŋgafé ní ru'dzu
not I can die with thirst
'I cannot die of thirst.'

h. *-di* appended to the verb form as an enclitic serves to reenforce its expressiveness, and can be translated as 'indeed'. It is also employed with nouns and with the qualificative construction. Examples:

ɽdaramá zi'dja nidáβikádi ku bó'ma
money that I have placed indeed at Government
'Indeed, I have deposited that money with the Government.'

tsópánó niri wó'sáúká:di
now I am poor indeed
'Now I am poor indeed.'

idá:kulá:di 'it was great indeed.'

munt'ú:di 'a person indeed.'

i. *-so* affixed to the verb form denotes repetition: 'again'. This element is also used in another construction, meaning 'also'⁵⁶. Examples

sítítításó liwú'ma
not we do again argument
'We no longer argue.'

ŋəɽna aɽéndo'túmizasó tcina tcú'ma
crocodile he walks to send again additional property
'Then crocodile again sent additional property.'

tiyi wagwirasó ña'ma
tiyi he caught again game
'Tiyi (robin?) caught game again.'

ɽdjoká ya'aβásə
snake he ran away again
'Snake ran away again.'

⁵⁵ See §30, A: h and B: c.

⁵⁶ Cf. §43.

**gozá aḡéndo·k'arásó ní mɔ·yo*
 Ngoza she walks to be again with life
 'Then Ngoza became alive again.'

j. *a-*, *-zi-*, *-káda-*, and **p'á(y)i-*. These morphemes are employed in compound tenses to express the negative consequence of a past contingency, or the consequence of a generalized contingency: 'If x had been (were) p, y would be q.' A similar construction in Isizulu is called 'intentional mood' by Doke.⁵⁷ Although the translation into English may be expressive of intention (or, more precisely, the 'unreal mood' of the verb 'to be'), this does not seem to be closely associated with the construction when seen from the point of view of the Chewa language. The formula stated above may be made to read: 'y is not q (as is evident, manifest), therefore x is not p'. Or 'When x is p, y is q',⁵⁸ as in *tikadḡa tikú·fa* 'if (when) we eat we shall die'. This would seem to be more representative of the Chewa feeling, so that the construction may be regarded as belonging to the category of the indicative mood.

Of these morphemes, *-zi-* symbolizes the contingency, and when it is omitted its influence is left upon the preceding affix, the vowel of which becomes long. The tense expressed by this element is indefinite past. *a-* is employed as an 'expletive' prefix; i. e., in place of any subjective concordance, with the verb *kuk'á·ra*, which is employed as an auxiliary in this construction with the meaning 'to be', when definite tense is expressed. Either *-káda-* or **p'á(y)i-* is employed to symbolize the consequence, **p'á(y)i-* when definite tense is expressed, and *-káda-* when the tense is indefinite. Examples:

nizidḡá ḡkadá·fa 'If I had eaten, I should have died'. (Indefinite past.)
azík'ara kuti ḡnadḡá ḡkadá·fa 'if it had been that I had eaten, I should have died'. (Recent past momentaneous, but not restricted within this time limit.)

This may also be expressed by any of the following constructions:

2. *a:k'ara kuti ḡnadḡá ḡkadá·fa*

3. *ḡzík'ará kuti ḡnadḡá ḡkadá·fa*

4. *ní:k'ara kuti ḡnadḡá ḡkadá·fa*

*a:k'ara kuti ḡnadḡá *p'ayḡná·fa* 'if it had been that I had eaten, I should have died at that moment'.

*a:k'ara kuti na·dḡa *p'ayḡna·fa* 'if I have eaten, I should be dead at this moment'.

*a:k'ara kuti tikudḡá *p'ayḡtikú·fa* 'if we eat, we should die, if we ate habitually, we should die, if we were eating, we should be dying'.

⁵⁷ Clement M. Doke, Text Book of Zulu Grammar 180; Johannesburg 1927.

⁵⁸ Cf. c, above.

The last construction has the same significance as
tikadĩa tikú fa 'if (when) we eat, we shall die'.

pa:k'ara °gɔká akadáŋse:za or

a:k'ara kutí °gɔzá alí·pɔ akadáŋse:za 'if Ngoza were (here), she would have helped me place the burden on my head'.

a:k'ara kutí timafuná kubá mbú·zi
if it had been that we were wishing to steal goat

ní kúyí·p'a sɪmp'áyítídá:yí·ka mikɔndó
and to it kill not should we have placed spears

pá·si tikadáyígwa:za
down we should have it speared

'If we had been wishing to steal the goat and kill it, we should not have put down our spears. We should have speared it.'

k. There are several elements which are employed in a subsidiary rôle, but which are phonetically independent of the verbal form. It is admitted that these words⁵⁹ are placed here with some arbitrariness, but on the whole, this place seems as suitable as any other.

1. *pót'ú* is employed with the applicative form of the verb to express 'time which opportunity provides'. It has no significance out of this context. Examples:

nǎdǎéré pót'ú ɣkálí ní mɔ·yɔ
me eat regarding let time I still am with life

'Let me eat while I still have life.'

bakali kutá·li ɣñɔɔl'é pót'ú ma·ndja
they still are at distance me stretch for let last time hands

'They are still at a distance: let me stretch my hands for the last time.'

2. *ví·βi* is employed to express excessiveness or intensity. With the causative form of the verb it symbolizes a more emphatic reference. It may, therefore, be omitted when the verb is in the causative voice, provided the context is sufficiently clear. Examples:

utafunítsá ví·βi 'you are chewing too much'. (Strong.)

utáfu·na ví·βi 'you are chewing too much'. (Less strong.)

wadíetsá ví·βi or *wa·día ví·βi* 'you have eaten too much'.

é: na·mwé ɣndákóŋgɔ·la ví·βi
eh with you ye have become beautiful excessively

'Oh, you are exceedingly beautiful!'

aníkɔndé·tsa (ví·βi)

she me love causes

'I love her intensely.'

⁵⁹ 'The word is merely a form, a definitely molded entity that takes in as much or as little of the conceptual material of the whole thought as the genius of the language cares to allow.' Edward Sapir, *Language* 33; New York 1921.

3. *kaβili kaβi·li* 'frequently'. This reduplicated form resembles the radical descriptive, but its use is slightly different in that it cannot be employed instead of the verb:

βapóna·na kaβili kaβi·li 'they fight (in war) frequently'.
akudzá kaβili kaβi·li 'he comes frequently'.

4. *tcá·dje* is employed as a restrictive.⁶⁰ Examples:
tcita i·tci tcá·dje 'do this (thing) only'.

do this only

nǎéndɔ·pitá tcá·dje 'I am only going'.

I walk to go only

furú a·li yesani tcá·dje

tortoise he said try ye only

'Tortoise said, "Just try".'

5. *ɾdi·t'u* is employed as a continuative in narration of past events, and in reference to the present it may have the added significance of 'in spite of, notwithstanding'. Examples:

nayenda ɾdi·t'u 'I continued to walk'.

nǎyénda ɾdi·t'u 'I walk in spite of'.

tímadiǎ ɾdi·t'u 'we were still eating'.

tira ɾdi·t'u 'continue to pour'.

ɱtumbúka u·yu liwumá ɾdi·t'u

Tumbuka this argument still

'This Tumbuka continued to argue.'

6. *kó·di* is employed to indicate that a reference is interrogative. It may either precede or follow the reference, but generally precedes it. When interrogation is not otherwise indicated (except by intonation), this form is either employed or to be understood. It appears also in the reduced form *kó*. Examples:

kodúɱbóna < *kodí umúwóna* 'do you see him?'

kodí ɱkúmbu·ka izo ɱdánítcitá i·ne

do ye remember those ye have me done me

'Do you remember what you did to me?'

kodí ɱkú·diǎ maβé·re

do ye eat millet

'Do you eat millet?'

kó ɱnapitá ku·ti 'where have you been?'

ye have gone where

kó ɾdimó βálóndjerera·na le·ro

is therein they greet formally for each other today

'Is that the way they greet each other formally now?'

⁶⁰ Cf. §36, c.

C. THE COPULA

§38. The copula, *ni*, is employed as a link between subject and predicate. It is also, although rarely, used with the significance of the English auxiliary 'to be able'.¹ Morphologically, it is an invariable form, i. e., no affixes can be appended to it; but it undergoes considerable phonetic change. These phonetic changes may be summarized as follows: (1) It may be reduced to syllabic *n* (*ŋ*), which in turn may become *ɸ* or *ɱ*, according to the initial consonant of the following word.² (2) It combines with the initial *i* of the personal pronouns and demonstratives that have initial *i*, giving the forms:³

Singular	Plural
1st P. ⁿ <i>di·nε</i>	ⁿ <i>di·sε</i>
2nd P. ⁿ <i>di·wε</i>	ⁿ <i>di·mwε</i> , ⁿ <i>di·nu</i>
3rd P. (According to classes.)	
Cl. No.	
1 ⁿ <i>di·yε</i>	ⁿ <i>di·wɔ</i>
2 ⁿ <i>di·wɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·yɔ</i>
3 ⁿ <i>di·lɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·wɔ</i>
4 ⁿ <i>di·bɔ</i> , ⁿ <i>di·wɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·wɔ</i>
5 ⁿ <i>di·yɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·zɔ</i>
6 ⁿ <i>di·tɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·vɔ</i>
7 ⁿ <i>di·kɔ</i>	ⁿ <i>di·tɔ</i>
8	ⁿ <i>di·pɔ</i>
9	ⁿ <i>di·mɔ</i>
10	ⁿ <i>di·kɔ</i>

(3) The following changes occur when the copula is followed by the qualificative construction:⁴

ni wa-, *wa-ku-* (*wɔ-*) become *ɸgwa-* and *ɸgɔ-*
ni βa-, *βa-ku-* (*wɔ-*) become *ɱba-* and *ɱgɔ-*
ni ya-, *ya-ku-* (*yɔ-*) become *ɱdja-* and *ɱdjɔ-*
ni la-, *la-ku-* (*lɔ-*) become ⁿ*di la-* and ⁿ*di lɔ-*

¹ Cf. §32, d.

² Cf. §3.

³ Cf. §41 and §48.

⁴ Cf. §39.

Other changes, such as *ni va-* to *η va-* and *ni va-ku-* to *η vɔ-* follow rule one.

Examples showing the use of the copula:

námpatsá *ni·ne ni ηkazi wábisa·ni*
I have her given is I is female of Bisani
'It is I who gave (it) to her. (She) is Bisani's wife.'

aβa η marau·rɔ ni tɔ·ka
these are bad omens are ill fortune
'This is a bad omen; it is ill fortune.'

ñumbá yá·mái ηdjámzati umó·dzi η tciyá·ni
house of mothers is of central post one is what
η bɔ·wa
is mushroom
'Mother's house has one central post. What is it? It is a mushroom.'

kati η milandú βayésɔ·ká·mba
if is lawsuit they try to speak
'If there is a lawsuit, they try to settle it legally.'

vipanda i·vi η vá·nga
calabashes these are mine
'These calabashes are mine.'

i·mwe simdzamtcitá ka·nt'u karú·ru ηgó·tcéndje·ra
ye not ye will him do anything rabbit is clever
'You will not do anything to rabbit. He is clever.'

βant'u a·βa ηgó·mbúrú makú·tu
people these are without ears
'These people are deaf.'

mɔβa ηgwántc'i·tɔ
beer is of work
'It is beer for work.'

ni·se wó·dwá·ra
is we ill
'It is we (who are) ill, we are ill.'

D. THE QUALIFICATIVE CONSTRUCTION

§39. The qualificative or adjectival construction (which includes the possessive) is distinguished primarily by two features: the qualificative concordance and word order. In general, it is the special concordance alone which stamps a word as a qualificative—and most words may be so employed. There are a few elements which may be regarded as specifically adjectival, since they are distinct forms—not mechanically determined—that are employed in the qualificative construction only. Most of these, however, are related to noun or verb forms somewhat as English ‘good’ corresponds to ‘good-ness’ or as the affinity shown in German ‘Ruh-e, ruh-ig, be-ruh-ig-en’. The second feature mentioned apropos of this construction is that the qualifying form always follows the word which is modified.

a. There are two types of concordances employed in the qualificative construction. These are here designated type one, generally called ‘relative’, and type two, generally termed ‘adjectival’. Their classification as relative versus adjectival concordances does not seem justifiable, since they differ only in form. On a functional basis, both may be regarded as adjectival. The term ‘relative concordance’ is, moreover, misleading, for all concordances are relational elements. Both forms are shown in Table 4. Type one is by far the more frequently employed, as can be seen by noting the elements which take the second type and recognizing the fact that all nouns (including the infinitive form of the verb, which is a noun of Class 10) and some demonstratives and interjections may be employed as qualificatives. Type two may be seen to consist of type one plus the form employed as verb subject. In Class 1, singular, there is an exception to this rule in that *ḡ* occurs in the second type where we might expect to see *a*.¹

When an infinitive form (noun of Class 10) is employed as a qualificative, certain phonetic changes occur between its prefix and the qualificative concordance of type one. (Nouns do not take the second type.) These are shown in the column entitled ‘appearing before *ku-* as’. If the infinitive form consists simply of prefix, stem of type C, C \bar{y} , or V/2, and vocalic suffix, no phonetic change occurs.²

¹ Cf. §42.

² For explanation of these symbols for stems, see §25.

It has been stated that there are few morphemes that stand apart as qualificative forms. These are shown in the following lists. The lists are arranged to show the affinity between the specifically adjectival

Table 4. Qualificative Concordances

Type One				
		appearing before		
		<i>ku-</i> as		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Cl.				
1	<i>wa-</i>	$\beta a-$	<i>wɔ'-</i>	<i>wɔ'-</i>
2	<i>wa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>wɔ'-</i>	<i>yɔ'-</i>
3	<i>la-</i>	$\beta a-$	<i>lɔ'-</i>	<i>wɔ'-</i>
4	<i>bwa-, wa-</i>	$\beta a-$	<i>bɔ'-, wɔ'-</i>	<i>wɔ'-</i>
5	<i>ya-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>yɔ'-</i>	<i>zɔ'-</i>
6	<i>tca-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>tcɔ'-</i>	<i>vɔ'-</i>
7	<i>ka-</i>	<i>twa-</i>	<i>kɔ'-</i>	<i>tɔ'-</i>
8	<i>pa-</i>		<i>pɔ'-</i>	
9	<i>mwa-</i>		<i>mɔ'-</i>	
10	<i>kwa-</i>		<i>kɔ'-</i>	
Type Two				
	Singular	Plural		
Cl.				
1	<i>wamu- (wam-)</i>	$\beta a\beta a-$ ($\beta a-$)		
2	<i>wa(w)u-</i>	<i>yayi-</i> (<i>yɛi-</i>)		
3	<i>lali-</i>	$\beta a\beta a-$ ($\beta a-$)		
4	<i>bwabu-, wa(w)u-</i>	$\beta a\beta a-$ ($\beta a-$)		
5	<i>yayi- (yɛi-)</i>	<i>zazi-</i>		
6	<i>tcatci-</i>	<i>vavi-</i>		
7	<i>kaka-</i>	<i>twatu-</i>		
8	<i>papa-</i>			
9	<i>mwamu- (mwam-)</i>			
10	<i>kwaku-</i>			

elements and other forms. It will be convenient to list nouns of Class 10 as verb forms.

b. Morphemes which take the concordances of type one:

- Qualificative form: *-bwi·no* 'good'
 Noun form: *ubwi·no* 'goodness'
 Other form: *bwi·no* 'be careful' (interjection)
 Qualificative form: *-tce·te* 'silent, reticent, innocent'
 Verb form: *kutcéta·ma* 'to become silent, etc.'
 Qualificative form: *-tcá·dje* 'innocent'
 Other form: *tcá·dje* 'only' (auxiliary)
tcá·dje or *zaticá·dje* 'nothing'
 Qualificative form: *-ñí·ndji* 'many'
 Noun form: *uñí·ndji* 'multiplicity'
 Qualificative form: *-bú·li* 'innocent'
 Noun form: *ubú·li* 'innocence'
 Qualificative form: *-ʔt·ε·te* 'weak, frail'
 Noun form: *unt·ε·te* 'weakness, frailty'
 Verb form: *kutént'a·ma* 'to tremble with fear'
kutéte·ma 'to become weak, etc.'
 Qualificative form: *-yá·zi* 'open'
 Qualificative form: *mbí·ri* 'many, famous'
 Noun form: *mbí·ri* 'fame'
 Qualificative form: *-k'á·ni* 'many'
 Noun form: *k'a·ni* 'conversation' (Differing in tone and meaning.)
 Qualificative form: *-iné -i·ne* 'own, appropriate, sufficiently, appropriately, right (in right hand)'.

This reduplicated form may be employed with nouns or verb forms. Its initial vowel and the *a* of the qualificative concordance coalesce into *ε*; e. g., *tcint'u tcángá tce·né tc·é·ne* 'my own thing', *dzandja lené lé·ne* 'right hand', *mtεngεpó kwené kwé·ne* 'take some sufficiently, help yourself'.

Noun form: *mwí·ni* or *mwé·ne* (plural *βé·ni* or *βé·ne*) 'owner'.

To this list may be added (1) the possessive pronominal elements, (2) certain interrogative elements, (3) certain words of temporal significance, (4) all noun forms (including the infinitive form of the verb), and (5) ordinal numbers. Examples of type one in context:

ku tcitsimé tcáβant'u βá·nga

at well of people my

'At my slaves' well.'

naziwóná ku·ti i·ne k'ó·ngɔ·no zó·pándíra

I have them seen where I strength of to beat with

aøk'ára·mu

lions

'Where did I get strength enough to beat Sir Lion?'

βawóné·ni mandja βá·nga βant'έ·τε α·βα
them look at ye hands my frail these

'Look at these frail hands of mine.'

mizimú yámbúyέ yagwira "tc'itós yábwi·no
spirits of ancestors they have caught work good

'The spirits of (my) ancestors have done good work.'

tcint'u i'tco ine ntyésa tcbwi·no βiná βakuti
thing that I I think good others they say

ni tcó·yí·pa

is bad

'The thing that I think to be good, others say is bad.'

sízó·kámbi·ka 'unspeakable'.

wagwira βant'u βábú·li
you have caught people innocent

'You have caught innocent people.'

c. The only morphemes which take the second type of concordances are:

Qualificative form: - *-ká·li* 'dangerous, angry'

Noun form: *uká·li* 'anger, ferociousness'

Verb form: *kukáli·pa* 'to become angry'

Qualificative form: - *-nós·no* 'little'

Other form: *panós·no* 'few, somewhat'

Qualificative form: - *-βί·si* 'unripe, crude'

Noun form: *uβí·si* 'unripeness, crudeness'

Qualificative form: - *-fú·pi* 'short, low'

Verb form: *kufúpi·ka* 'to become short, to become near'

Noun form: *ufú·pi* 'shortness'

Other form: With locatives it expresses 'near, easy, cheap'³

Qualificative form: - *-tá·li* 'long, tall'

Noun form: *utá·li* 'length, height'

Verb form: *kutáli·mp'a* 'to become tall, to become high, to become long, to become far away'

Other form: With locatives it expresses 'far, difficult, dear (in price)'

Qualificative form: - *-ká·zi* 'female'

The noun forms *mká·zi* 'wife, woman' (plural *aká·zi*, *baká·zi*) are simply

³ Cf. §50.

reduced forms of *munt'u wámkáká·zi* 'female person' and *βant'u βá·káká·zi* 'female people'.

Qualificative form: --*mú·na* 'male'

The noun forms *mwamú·na* 'husband' (plural *amú·na*, *βamú·na*) are like *ηká·zi* in derivation. The concordance of Class 1, singular, is exceptional when employed with this form in that it is *wámwámú·na*, not *wámú·na* as one might expect. It looks as if the *a-* which is the subjective verb concordance and the *mu-* which is regularly employed in this type of concordance are combined.

Other noun form: *bwamú·na* 'manhood, semen'

Qualificative form: --*βá·γε* 'little, young'

ηbayé wá·oga (*μβayé wá·oga*) 'my younger brother' (said by a man), 'my younger sister' (said by a woman), is simply a reduced form of *ηbalé wáoga wámβá·γε* (*wámúβá·γε*) 'brother my younger, etc.'

Qualificative form: --*kú·ru* 'big, old'

There is also a reduced form *ηkurú wá·oga* 'my older brother, etc.', from *ηbalé wáoga wámkú·ru*.

Other noun form: *ukú·ru* 'bigness'

Verb form: *kukú·ra* 'to grow, to experience puberty'.

Examples showing the qualificative concordance of type two:

βant'u βá·múná βaηndóndó·ra
people male they her followed

'The men followed her.'

mwaná wáoga wámwós·no mágire·te adá·fa
child my little Margaret she has died

'My little child, Margaret, is dead.'

kakarurú kákáβáyé ηkós·tcéndje·ra
little rabbit little is clever

'Little rabbit is clever.' (The reference is derogatory: 'The little rascal, rabbit, is clever.')

símúwona dzúβa ní rudzu lálikáli kali i·li
not ye see sun and thirst dangerous this

'Do you not see this very dangerous drought and thirst?' (The qualificative is reduplicated for emphasis.)

mulirándji andjovu βant'u βá·kú·rú kú·rú βádzi·ko
ye cry for what elephants people big of world

mulidjé mañá·zi mwa·nt'u βá·kú·rú kú·rú i·mwε
ye have not shame ye people big ye

'Why are you crying, Sir Elephant? The big man of the world! Have you no shame? You, the big man?'

temani fundó zázitá·li 'Cut the long joints.'
cut ye joints long

d. The qualificative may be used predicatively. In this construction the copula *ni* is most frequently employed as the linking verb, although the verb *-li* is sometimes used, especially when the subject is in the first person.⁴ The verbs *kuk'ára* 'to be, to sit, to remain' and *kupí·ta* 'to go' are also used in certain fixed expressions; e. g., *bak'alé bwi·no* 'let them be good, goodbye' (said by guest to host), *k'alani bwi·no* 'be good, goodbye', *βapité bwi·no* 'let them go good, goodbye' (said by host to guest).

mwamuná wánámwali ni wávili·dzo
husband of girl is strong

'The girl's husband is strong.'

tiri wó·fóka "di·t'u tcifukwá "tc'itó ni yó·só·βa
we are poor indeed reason work is lost

'We are poor indeed, because there is no work.'

tcibambá i·tci η tcátcikú·ru
scar this is big

'This scar is big.'

ñama yagó·ru·βε ni yápáñtí·má wánk'ára·mu
meat of bush-pig is of on heart of lion

'Bush-pig meat is dear to the lion's heart.'

munt'u ni wó·kákára ηti·ma
person is rough heart

'The man is uncharitable, the man is cruel.'

ino·si ni wó·dwá·la 'Enos is ill.'

Enos is ill

e. Qualificatives are formed from proper nouns by affixation of the prefix *tci-*, which makes the word a noun of Class 6, before the qualificative concordance is affixed:

ñk'irisi·tu 'a Christian', *tcik'irisi·tu* 'Christianity, Christian'.

bukú látcik'irisi·tu 'Christian book'.

ñzu·ngu 'a European', *vint'u vátcizu·ngu* 'European things'.

ñsirá·mu 'Islamite', *tcisirá·mu* 'Islamism, Islamic'.

f. There are several ways of expressing differences of degree in quality.

(1) Either the verb *kupámbá·na* 'to excell, to surpass' or the verb *kupó·sa* (same meaning) may be employed as a qualificative of superlative significance. (2) Superlative degree may also be expressed by employing the causative form of the verb as a qualificative. In this

⁴ Cf. §34 and §38.

case, the element *vi·βi* 'excessive'⁵ is either expressed or implied. (3) The element *-kɔ*, from the demonstrative *u·kɔ* 'there', may be used as a comparative element. (4) Comparison may also be expressed by employing the applicative form of the verb as a qualificative. Examples: *utci wó·fúβi·ra* 'red honey'; *utci wó·fúβiri·ra* 'redder honey' (honey that is red with reference to honey that is not as red); *utci wó·fúβiri·tsa* 'reddest honey' (excessively red honey).

kaβenda ni wábwi·nɔ tcilɔβa ni wábwinó·kɔ kɔma
 Kawenda is good Chilowa is good there but
mwase ni wábwi·nɔ kó·pámhá·na
 Mwase is good surpassingly
 'Kawenda is good, Chilowa is better, but Mwase is best.'
ni munt'u wó·pó·sa
 is person most excellent
 'He is a most excellent man.'

⁵ Cf. §37, k: 2.

E. NUMERALS

§40. The Chichewa numerals constitute a quinary-decimal system. The words *k'ú·mi* 'ten' (plural *makú·mi*) and *dza·na* 'one hundred' (plural *maza·na*) are nouns of Class 3, and the word *tci·kwi* 'one thousand' (plural *vi·kwi*) is a noun of Class 6. These forms are related to the objects which they enumerate by word order only; i. e., they follow the names of such objects, and when multiplied in compound numerals they govern the concordances affixed to the multiplying numerals, if such numerals require concordances for completion. All other numeral stems require concordances for completion and take, with one exception, the system of concordances employed as subjects with the verb. The one exception is in Class 1, singular, where *ḡ-* occurs instead of *a-*.¹ In abstract counting, i. e., when no particular objects are enumerated, the concordances of Class 5 are employed as expletive elements. These are given in the list of numerals.

It will be seen that there are distinct stems for the numerals from one to five, inclusive, and that between five and ten the numerals are compounds, 'five and one, five and two', etc., while between ten and twenty they are 'ten and one, ten and two', etc. Twenty is 'two tens', thirty is 'three tens', etc.

The system is based on counting the fingers and toes. Certain variant forms clearly reveal this fact. For example, seven may be expressed as 'five and two inside' or 'five and two above'; i. e., five fingers counted and clenched and two additional fingers placed inside or above the hand so clenched. Likewise, eleven may be expressed as 'ten and one inside, ten and one above', and any other compound may be similarly expressed, even where the act of so counting the digits is impossible. Again, twenty expressed as 'ten and to foot' clearly reveals the system.

a. Cardinals:

1. *ímó·dzi*
2. *ziβí·ri*
3. *zítá·tu*
4. *ziná·yi*
5. *zisa·nu*

¹ Cf. §42.

6. *zisa·nu ní ímó·dzi, zisa·nu ñkati ímó·dzi*
 five and one five inside one
7. *zisa·nu ní zíβi·ri*
8. *zisa·nu ní zítá·tu*
9. *zisa·nu ní zíná·yi*
10. *k'ú·mi*
11. *k'umí ní ímó·dzi*
12. *k'umí ní zíβi·ri*
16. *k'umí ní zisa·nu ní ímó·dzi*
20. *makumí βαβi·ri, k'umí ní kú mwé·ndo*
 tens two ten and to foot
21. *makumí βαβiri ní ímó·dzi* 'two tens and one unit'
30. *makumí βatá·tu*
40. *makumí βaná·yi*
50. *makumí basa·nu*
60. *makumí basa·nu ní ímó·dzi* 'five tens and one ten'
70. *makumí basa·nu ní βáβi·ri*
80. *makumí basa·nu ní βátá·tu*
90. *makumí basa·nu ní βáná·yi*
100. *makumí k'ú·mi*
dza·na
makumí wók'á wók'a 'tens only'
101. *makumí k'umí ní ímó·dzi* 'ten tens and one unit'
dza·na ní ímó·dzi
107. *makumí k'umí ní zisa·nu ní zíβi·ri*
dza·na ní zisa·nu ní zíβi·ri
200. *makumí k'umí βαβi·ri*
mazana βαβi·ri
800. *makumí k'umí basa·nu ní βátá·tu*
mazana basa·nu ní βátá·tu
- 1,000. *tei·kwi*
- 2,000. *vikwi viβi·ri*
- 9,000. *vikwi visa·nu ní víná·yi*
- 10,000. *vikwi k'ú·mi*
- 100,000. *vikwi dza·na*
vikwi makumí k'ú·mi
- 900,000. *vikwi mazana basa·nu ní βáná·yi*
vikwi makumí k'umí basa·nu ní βáná·yi
- 1,000,000. *vikwi tei·kwi*
- 9,000,000. *vikwi teikwi visa·nu ní víná·yi*
- 10,000,000. *vikwi teikwi k'ú·mi*

It may be readily seen that this system can go on indefinitely by such compounding.

Examples showing concordial agreement with numerals:

munt'u ɲmó·dzi 'one person'

inɛ namunt'u ɲmó·dzi (naɲmó·dzi) 'I, one person'

iyé munt'u ɲmó·dzi (iyé ɲmó·dzi) 'he, one person'

tcint'u tcimó·dzi 'one thing'

vint'u makumí βαβίρι ní zísá·nu ní zíná·yi
 things tens two (tens) and five (things) and four (things)
 'twenty nine things'

makóbiri k'umí ní βάβι·ρι βαπάωγα ctri·ní
 coppers ten and two they make shilling
 'Twelve pence make a shilling.'

b. Ordinals. Ordinals are formed from cardinals by affixation of the prefix *tcí-* of Class 6, in the same manner that proper nouns are made into qualificatives.² The ordinal form takes the qualificative concordance of type one. Ordinals are compounded in the same manner as cardinals.

-tcimó·dzi 'first'

-tcíβi·ri 'second'

-tcísa·nu 'fifth'

-tcísa·nu ní tcimó·dzi 'sixth'

-tcík'ú·mí 'tenth'

-tcík'umí ní tcísa·nu ní tcimó·dzi 'sixteenth'

-tcimakumí βαβίρι ní tcísa·nu ní tcíná·yi 'twenty ninth'

dzani látcimó·dzi 'first leaf'

kubá kwátcik'umí ní tcísa·nu ní tcítá·tu 'eighteenth theft'

c. Numerals of repetition (numeral adverbs) are formed from cardinals as follows: (1) Words for 'once' to 'nineteen times', inclusive, are formed by affixation of the prefix *ka-* of Class 7; (2) there are no special forms to express 'twenty times' and beyond, but the word *ɲt'á·wi (ɲt'á·wɛ)* 'time, times' is used with cardinals just as in English.

kamó·dzi 'once'

kaβt·ri 'twice'

kasa·nu 'five times'

kasa·nu ní kámó·dzi 'six times'

kak'ú·mí 'ten times'

kak'umí ní kása·nu 'fifteen times'

kak'umí ní kása·nu ní káná·yi 'nineteen times'

² Cf. §39, e.

ʔi'awé makumí ßaßi'ri 'twenty times'

ʔi'awé makumí ßaßiri ní kása'nu ní kámó'dzi 'twenty six times'

The interrogative 'how many times?' is expressed by affixation of *ka-* to the interrogative element *-ʔgá'ndji*:³ *kaʔgá'ndji* 'how many times?' *ʔi'awé ziʔgá'ndji* is never said.

³ Cf. §49, c-2.

F. THE PRONOUN (§§41-47)

§41. THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS in Chichewa may be used instead of the corresponding nouns or may be employed with them, either for emphasis or in apposition. They may be used as either subjects or objects, but cannot take the place of the various concordances. There is a close etymological relationship between the pronouns, both independent and qualificative (possessive), concordances, demonstratives, and, to some extent, the noun prefixes. The plural forms of the second person and of the third person (Class 1) are also employed with singular subjects in references that are formal or polite, the referent being regarded as a person.¹

Independent Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>i'ne</i>	<i>i'se</i>
2nd P.	<i>i'we</i>	<i>i'mwe, i'nu²</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	
Cl. No.		
1	<i>i'ye</i>	<i>i'wo</i>
2	<i>i'wo</i>	<i>i'yo</i>
3	<i>i'lo</i>	<i>i'wo</i>
4	<i>i'bo, i'wo</i>	<i>i'wo</i>
5	<i>i'yo</i>	<i>i'zo</i>
6	<i>i'to</i>	<i>i'vo</i>
7	<i>i'ko</i>	<i>i'to</i>
8	<i>i'po</i>	
9	<i>i'mo</i>	
10	<i>i'ko</i>	

Examples showing the use of independent pronouns:

i'ne *nda:li* *ni* *mundá* *wánga* *dzu'ro* *ni* *mbuzi* *zá'nga*
 I I was in field my yesterday with goats my
 'I was in my field with my goats on yesterday.'

¹ Cf. §11.

² This form is rarely used in Chichewa. It really belongs to Chinyanja proper, as that spoken in the Blantyre district.

iwó *βáká'na*
 they they are denying
 'They are denying (it).'

iyé *a'li* *ηmabá* *mbuzi* *yá'oga*
 he he said ye were stealing goat my
 'He said, "You were stealing my goat".'

βaná *i'mwe* *kaβaténgéréni* *mp'ása* *βa'nt'u*
 children ye go in order to them get for ye mats people
 'You children, go and get mats for the people.'

tsópánó *siyaní* *i'ne*
 now leave ye me
 'Now leave me.'

i'mwe *akakukánikantí* *i'mwe* *muyésa* *kutí* *axogaβakaníké*
 ye he when you fails ye ye think that he can them fail
βant'u *wó'se*
 people all
 'When you fail (to catch him), you think that everybody can fail.'

§42. PRONOMINAL CONCORDANCES. There is a special set of concordances serving to relate pronoun to noun in certain forms of demonstrative and appositional references.³ These are derived from the pronominal elements and the *-a-* which is common to the qualificative concord. They are regularly employed with the morpheme *-za-*, which seems primarily to symbolize 'kinship', but, by extension, is also employed with the significance of 'fellowman, sort'.

Nouns of Class 1 are related to the element *-za-* by the concordance *η-* (*mu-*) in the singular and by *a-* (*βa-*) or *an-* (*βan-*) in the plural; those of other classes by the system of concordances employed as verb subjects.⁴

The full expressions *i'ne namunt'u ηzá'ko* 'I, person of your kinship, I, your kinsman', *i'we wamunt'u ηzá'oga* 'you, person of my kinship, you, my kinsman', etc. are reduced to *namzá'ko*, *wamzá'oga*, etc. The complete set of these reduced forms is as follows:

³ Cf. §47 and §48.

⁴ *η-* (*mu-*) may also be regarded as originally belonging to the system of subjective concordances by comparing it with the noun prefix of Class 1. The plural concordance *a-* (*βa-*) is not exceptional. For *an-*, I have no explanation worthy of statement.

The use of this system here is an example of the fusion in form of the categories of qualifier or possessor of an object and performer of an action. This phenomenon is said to exist in the language of the Wolof of West Africa, in Maya of Yucatan, in the language of the Lules (extinct) of South America, and in others.

I, of your kinship, etc.

	<i>na-</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	—	—
2nd P.	<i>naŋzá·kɔ</i>	<i>naŋzá·nu</i>
3rd P.	<i>naŋzá·kɛ</i>	<i>naŋzá·wɔ</i>

You, of my kinship, etc.

	<i>wa-</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>waŋzá·ŋga</i>	<i>waŋzá·t'u</i>
2nd P.	—	—
3rd P.	<i>waŋzá·kɛ</i>	<i>waŋzá·wɔ</i>

He, of my kinship, etc.

	<i>ŋ-</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ŋzá·ŋga</i>	<i>ŋzá·t'u</i>
2nd P.	<i>ŋzá·kɔ</i>	<i>ŋzá·nu</i>
3rd P.	<i>ŋzá·kɛ</i>	<i>ŋzá·wɔ</i>

We, of your kinship, etc.

	<i>ta-</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	—	—
2nd P.	<i>tazá·kɔ</i>	<i>tazá·nu</i>
3rd P.	<i>tazá·kɛ</i>	<i>tazá·wɔ</i>

Ye, of my kinship, etc.

	<i>mwa-</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>mwazá·ŋga</i>	<i>mwazá·t'u</i>
2nd P.	—	—
3rd P.	<i>mwazá·kɛ</i>	<i>mwazá·wɔ</i>

They, of my kinship, etc.

	<i>a- (βa-), an- (βan-)</i>	
	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>azá·ŋga</i>	<i>azá·t'u</i>
2nd P.	<i>azá·kɔ</i>	<i>azá·nu</i>
3rd P.	<i>azá·kɛ</i>	<i>azá·wɔ</i>

Examples: *akazi ánzá·nga* 'co-wife, co-wives', *ñkazi ñzá·nga* 'co-wife'; *mwaná ñzá·nga* 'step-sibling, father's wife's child', *βaná ánzá·nga* 'step-siblings, etc.'

ñzembá ñzá·nga 'my relative-in-law'.

tcisu·mp'i níwá·nga namwaná wá·kó

chief I thank I child your

'Chief, I thank (you), I, your child.'

karú·ru tazákó tayambá ká·le tcitst·mε

rabbit we fellowmen your we have begun already well

'Rabbit, we, your fellowmen, have already begun the well.'

§43. To the personal pronouns may be appended the element *·sɔ* 'again, also' and the conjunctive *ná* 'and, with',⁵ the first as an enclitic and the second as a proclitic, the initial *i* of the pronoun being elided. *·sɔ* is, however, frequently omitted. The meanings of the resulting forms are literally 'and . . . also, with . . . also, and . . . , with . . . ', but either may be employed with the significance of 'also, too' only. In the complete form the first person plural has the *t* of the subjective concordance and not the *s* of the independent pronoun. The reduced form is by far the more frequently employed.

	Reduced		Complete	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>ná·nε</i>	<i>ná·sε</i>	<i>nané·sɔ</i>	<i>naté·sɔ</i>
2nd P.	<i>ná·wε</i>	<i>ná·mwε</i>	<i>nawé·sɔ</i>	<i>namwé·sɔ</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)			
Cl. No.				
1	<i>ná·yε</i>	<i>ná·wɔ</i>	<i>nayé·sɔ</i>	<i>nawó·sɔ</i>
2	<i>ná·wɔ</i>	<i>ná·yɔ</i>	<i>nawó·sɔ</i>	<i>nayó·sɔ</i>
3	<i>ná·lɔ</i>	<i>ná·wɔ</i>	<i>naló·sɔ</i>	<i>nawó·sɔ</i>
4	<i>ná·bɔ, ná·wɔ</i>	<i>ná·wɔ</i>	<i>nabó·sɔ, nawó·sɔ</i>	<i>nawó·sɔ</i>
5	<i>ná·yɔ</i>	<i>ná·zɔ</i>	<i>nayó·sɔ</i>	<i>nazó·sɔ</i>
6	<i>ná·tɔ</i>	<i>ná·vɔ</i>	<i>nató·sɔ</i>	<i>navó·sɔ</i>
7	<i>ná·kɔ</i>	<i>ná·tɔ</i>	<i>nakó·sɔ</i>	<i>nató·sɔ</i>
8	<i>ná·pɔ</i>		<i>napó·sɔ</i>	
9	<i>ná·mɔ</i>		<i>namó·sɔ</i>	
10	<i>ná·kɔ</i>		<i>nakó·sɔ</i>	

Examples: *nawé údáfu·nt'a*

with you you have become insane

'You also are insane.'

⁵ Cf. §37, i and §52.

karurú nayé wayamba kú·d̄iá
 rabbit with him he began to eat
 'Rabbit also began to eat.'

namwesó kuli tcint'u tcó·kúkánká·ni
 with you also there is thing of to you fail
 'Is there something which you too cannot do?'

ḡdává ku·ti kutí ᵐp'εpó nayó Bayíβiyirá
 ye have heard where that wind with it they it build for
líβa·mba
 fence

'Where have you heard that they build a fence for the wind also?'

namwé ḡkwá ᵐd̄ja·ra
 with you ye sense hunger
 'Do you also get hungry?'

§44. The element *-k'a* when employed with pronouns symbolizes the isolation of the person ('alone') as well as serving to express the emphatic pronouns 'he himself', etc. Except for the first person plural where *t* again appears,⁶ this element is affixed to the independent pronoun minus the initial *i*. The independent pronoun is usually omitted when this form is used.

	Reduced		Complete	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>né·k'a</i>	<i>té·k'a</i>	<i>ine né·k'a</i>	<i>ise té·k'a</i>
2nd P.	<i>wé·k'a</i>	<i>mwé·k'a</i>	<i>iwe wé·k'a</i>	<i>imwe mwé·k'a</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)			
Cl. No.				
1	<i>yé·k'a</i>	<i>wó·k'a</i>	<i>iyé yé·k'a</i>	<i>iwó wó·k'a</i>
2	<i>ló·k'a</i>	<i>yó·k'a</i>	<i>iwó wó·k'a</i>	<i>iyó yó·k'a</i>
3	<i>ló·k'a</i>	<i>wó·k'a</i>	<i>iló ló·k'a</i>	<i>iwó wó·k'a</i>
4	<i>bó·k'a</i>	<i>wó·k'a</i>	<i>ibó bó·k'a</i>	<i>iwó wó·k'a</i>
	<i>wó·k'a</i>		<i>iwó wó·k'a</i>	
5	<i>yó·k'a</i>	<i>zó·k'a</i>	<i>iyó yó·k'a</i>	<i>izó zó·k'a</i>
6	<i>tcó·k'a</i>	<i>vó·k'a</i>	<i>itcó tcó·k'a</i>	<i>iwó vó·k'a</i>
7	<i>kó·k'a</i>	<i>tó·k'a</i>	<i>ikó kó·k'a</i>	<i>itó tó·k'a</i>
8		<i>pó·k'a</i>		<i>ipó pó·k'a</i>
9		<i>mó·k'a</i>		<i>imó mó·k'a</i>
10		<i>kó·k'a</i>		<i>ikó kó·k'a</i>

⁶ Cf. §43.

Examples:

ηααna úyó wapita yé·k'a
 crocodile over there he went himself
 'Crocodile went there himself.'

ηkámú·za né·k'a
 I go in order to him tell myself
 'I am going to tell him myself.'

na akazi bánú mwé·k'a
 are wives your ye alone
 '(She) is your wife only.'

η záise t'é·k'a
 are of us us alone
 '(They) concern us alone.'

mwa·patsé mbiyá yá·wo balawgulé wó·k'a
 ye them give pot their they distribute may themselves
 'Give him his pot (so that) he may distribute (beer) himself.' (The
 reference is in the plural because it is formal.)

ndjara yó·k'a ndiyó iwúta βa·nt'u
 hunger it alone is it it is annoying people
 'It is hunger alone that is annoying the people.'

§45. ENUMERATIVE PRONOUNS, expressing quantity or number, are formed by affixation of the morpheme *-se* or *-nse* of Chinyanja proper. This element is affixed in the same manner as *-k'a*, but the *o* of the third person, except Class 1 singular, is employed with the first and second persons plural, giving *tó·se* and *mó·se*. *t'é·se* and *mwé·se* are, however, recognized as correct. This form may be translated as 'entire' in the singular and 'all, every' in the plural.

The indefinite pronouns 'anyone, someone', etc. are expressed by use of this form and the verb *-li*,⁷ although in the singular this verb is sometimes omitted.

	Enumerative		Indefinite	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>né·se</i>	<i>tó·se</i>	—	<i>tíri tó·se</i>
2nd P.	<i>wé·se</i>	<i>mó·se</i>	—	<i>múli mó·se</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)			
Cl. No.				
1	<i>yé·se</i>	<i>wó·se</i>	<i>áli yé·se</i>	<i>βáli wó·se</i>
2	<i>wó·se</i>	<i>yó·se</i>	<i>úli wó·se</i>	<i>íri yó·se</i>

⁷ Cf. §34.

Cl. No.

3	<i>ló·se</i>	<i>wó·se</i>	<i>lílí ló·se</i>	<i>βálí wó·se</i>
4	<i>bó·se</i>	<i>wó·se</i>	<i>búlí bó·se</i>	<i>βálí wó·se</i>
	<i>wó·se</i>		<i>úlí wó·se</i>	
5	<i>yó·se</i>	<i>zó·se</i>	<i>írí yó·se</i>	<i>zílí zó·se</i>
6	<i>tcó·se</i>	<i>vó·se</i>	<i>tcírí tcó·se</i>	<i>vírí vó·se</i>
7	<i>kó·se</i>	<i>tó·se</i>	<i>kálí kó·se</i>	<i>túlí tó·se</i>
8		<i>pó·se</i>		<i>pálí pó·se</i>
9		<i>mó·se</i>		<i>múlí mó·se</i>
10		<i>kó·se</i>		<i>kúlí kó·se</i>

Examples: *wamgwira* *bwá·ndji* *ise* *tó·se* *kutúkání·ka*
 you have him caught how we all to us fail
 'How did you catch him (when) we all failed?'

má·ndja *miñé·ndo* **gá·nga* *má·no* *vó·se* *vakanírí·ra*
 hands legs chest teeth all they have become stuck
 'Hands, legs, chest, teeth, all became stuck.'

ḡəɔna *a·li* *i·ne* *nífúna* *ḡkazi* *wá·nga* *nenani*
 crocodile he said I I want wife my say ye
tcírí *tcó·se* *itcɔ* *múfu·na*
 it is whatever that ye wish

'Crocodile said, "I want my wife: ask for anything you wish".'

βapeza **gozá* *wadǵá* *yó·se* *mi·mbu*
 they found Ngoza she has eaten all *mimbu*

'They discovered that Ngoza had eaten all the *mimbu* (yams?).'

ḡ dzú·rɔ *wosé* *βabwera* *ku* *mu·dzi*
 in evening both they returned to village
 'In the evening both returned to the village.'

§46. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS are formed by prefixing the qualificative concord, type one, to the morphemes which have the function of possessive qualificatives. These morphemes are not independent forms, but require this concordance for completion. They agree in person, number, and class gender with the possessor and the concordances agree in the same manner with the object possessed.

Qualificative Elements

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-t'u</i>
2nd P.	<i>-kɔ</i>	<i>-nu</i>
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	

Cl. No.

1	-kε	-wɔ
2	-wɔ	-yɔ
3	-lɔ	-wɔ
4	-bɔ, -wɔ	-wɔ
5	-yɔ	-zɔ
6	-tɔ	-vɔ
7	-kε	-tɔ
8		-pɔ
9		-mɔ
10		-kɔ

Examples of possessive pronouns and qualificatives:

η váɔga ʔfú·mu

are mine chief

'(They) are mine, chief.'

nik'ára η ɲumbá mwá·ɔga uk'ára η ʔdjá·kɔ

I live in house my you live in yours

'I live in my house and you live in yours.'

addima mundá wá·kε ní wá·t'u

he has hoed field his and ours

'He has hoed his field and ours.'

ʔfumú yá·ɔga tcisump'i wá·ɔga watitúndu·ra

chief my paramount chief my he has us accused falsely

'My chief, my paramount chief, he has accused us falsely.'

b. The element *-kε* may be used with reference to nouns of any class, provided the context is sufficiently clear. This accounts, perhaps, for its occurring in Class 7, where we should expect to find *-kɔ*. It is sometimes employed as an expletive possessive when the substantival possessor is also expressed. Examples:

mwintí wáké wámbúzi a·li

owner its of goat he said

'The owner of the goat said, . . .'

bɔwa η bó·pándá pá·kε kɔma buwínikír'é·ni

mushroom is without its but it turn (something) over for ye

'The mushroom is useless, but cover it up.'

tcint'u tcizá·kε 'thing of his sort, another thing.'

§47. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN. *-m'é·ne* 'who, whom, that, which' is employed with the system of concordances that the verb takes as its subjects. While this form is felt as proper, in the great majority of

instances of actual usage its place is taken by the demonstrative which indicates the location of an object near the second person.⁸

There are two possible forms for the first and second persons, meaning 'I, the man who, we, the men who, etc.'

First form	Second Form
<i>ine munt'u amé·ne (ine amé·ne)</i>	<i>ine namunt'u ημέ·ne</i>
<i>ise bant'u bamé·ne (ise bamé·ne)</i>	<i>ise tabant'u bamé·ne</i>
<i>iwe munt'u amé·ne (iwe amé·ne)</i>	<i>iwe wamunt'u ημέ·ne</i>
<i>imwe bant'u bamé·ne (imwe bamé·ne)</i>	<i>imwe mwa·nt'u bamé·ne</i>

munt'u ημέ·ne or *iyé munt'u ημέ·ne (iyé ημέ·ne)* is felt as possible, but never used. The forms *ine amé·ne*, etc., represent actual usage, but *-mé·ne* is rarely employed with first and second persons.

The complete class system is as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural
1	<i>amé·ne</i>	<i>bamé·ne</i>
2	<i>umé·ne</i>	<i>imé·ne (yimé·ne)</i>
3	<i>limé·ne</i>	<i>bamé·ne</i>
4	<i>bumé·ne, umé·ne</i>	<i>bamé·ne</i>
5	<i>imé·ne (yimé·ne)</i>	<i>zimé·ne</i>
6	<i>tcimé·ne</i>	<i>vimé·ne</i>
7	<i>kamé·ne</i>	<i>tumé·ne</i>
8		<i>pamé·ne</i>
9		<i>ημέ·ne</i>
10		<i>kumé·ne</i>

Examples showing the use of the relative pronoun:

tilandira akalatá wó·tcó·kera kwá·balé
we take from letters coming from from brothers

βá·t'u βáméné βali kutá·li
our they who they are at distance

'We receive letters from our brothers who are away.'

vidá·li vint'u ví·na víméné vimatí·saú·tsa
there were things other they which they were us annoying
'There were other things which were annoying us.'

η maró βánga a·βα páméné ní·pumu·ra ηkadja
is place my this on which I rest I when eat
°djeré záú·dzu
grains of grass

'This is my place, on which I rest when I eat the grains of grass.'

⁸ Cf. §48.

G. DEMONSTRATIVES

§48. DEMONSTRATIVES in Chichewa may be divided into four groups: (1) demonstratives of anaphoric reference, (2) those primarily of local reference, (3) those which combine local, anaphoric, and temporal references, and (4) those which combine local and anaphoric references.

a. Demonstratives of anaphoric reference are expressed by the morpheme *-i·na* 'other, additional'. When this element (with its concordance) follows the noun, it has both meanings given, but when it precedes the noun it seems to mean 'additional' only. This is the explanation given by my informant, and my texts show only one exception, which, however, seems explainable on an ethnographical basis.

The first and second persons and Class 1 may take either of the following forms, but in actual usage follow the second:

First Form

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>inε namunt'u mwi·na</i> (<i>namwi·na</i>)	<i>isε taβant'u βi·na</i> (<i>isε taβi·na</i>)
2nd P.	<i>iwε wamunt'u mwi·na</i> (<i>wamwi·na</i>)	<i>imwe mwa·nt'u βi·na</i> (<i>imwe mwaβi·na</i>)
3rd P.	<i>iyé munt'u mwi·na</i> (<i>mwi·na</i>)	<i>iwó βant'u βi·na</i> (<i>iwó βi·na</i>)

Second Form

1st P.	<i>inε wi·na</i>	<i>isε βi·na</i>
2nd P.	<i>iwε wi·na</i>	<i>imwe βi·na</i>
3rd P.	<i>iyé wi·na</i>	<i>iwó βi·na</i>

The class system is as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural
1	<i>wi·na</i>	<i>βi·na</i>
2	<i>wi·na</i>	<i>i·na (yi·na)</i>
3	<i>li·na</i>	<i>βi·na</i>
4	<i>bwi·na, wi·na</i>	<i>βi·na</i>
5	<i>i·na (yi·na)</i>	<i>zi·na</i>

Class	Singular	Plural
6	<i>tí·na</i>	<i>ví·na</i>
7	<i>kí·na</i>	<i>twí·na</i>
8		<i>pwi·na</i>
9		<i>mwí·na</i>
10		<i>kwí·na</i>

Examples: *usikú wíná·sɔ mp'epó yafká·sɔ*
 night another again wind it arrived again

'Another night the wind arrived again.'

βap'a í·na
 they killed another

'They killed another one.'

tsikú lí·na ŋbalé wáké wáŋgózá wapítá·sɔ ku má·dzi
 day another sister her of Ngoza she went again to water
 'Another day Ngoza's sister went again to the stream.'

tcaká tci·na kwatcíta mvú·ra
 year other there did rain

'The other year there was rain.'

ŋkómwéni aĩendo·témá íná·sɔ míté·ŋgɔ
 son-in-law he walks to cut additional again trees

'Then son-in-law again cut more wood.'

b. Table 5 shows the demonstratives of local reference. They constitute a fivefold system. Those referring to objects at a point which is a short distance from both speaker and listener also indicate that the objects are within sight and may be referred to by gesture. It may be noted that they differ only in tonal quality from the set referring to objects near the listener. The fact that they are associated with gesture probably accounts for their use in narration as verbs of motion. In this usage the influence of the high pitch is transferred to the following locative and noun symbolizing destination. If the noun has a high pitch on one or more syllables, the syllables on the low register are made intermediate; if all its syllables are on the low register, they are made high. The locative is treated as a syllable of the noun. When this tonal pattern is followed, the demonstrative may be omitted.

The demonstratives which indicate the location of objects at a point near the person addressed are regularly employed as relative pronouns.¹

The term 'local reference' as used here includes both space and time, since the demonstratives referring to objects the location of which

¹ Cf. §47.

Table 5. Demonstratives of Local Reference

Part 1

Cl. No.	Including 1st Person		Near 1st Person		Near 2nd Person	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>ywno</i>	<i>βano</i>	<i>wyu</i>	<i>aβa</i>	<i>wyo</i>	<i>awo</i>
2	<i>wno</i>	<i>ino</i>	<i>wwu</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>wwo</i>	<i>iyō</i>
3	<i>li'no</i>	<i>βano</i>	<i>i'li</i>	<i>aβa</i>	<i>i'lo</i>	<i>awo</i>
4	<i>bu'no</i>	<i>βano</i>	<i>wbu</i>	<i>aβa</i>	<i>w'bo</i>	<i>a'wo</i>
	<i>wno</i>		<i>wwu</i>		<i>wwo</i>	
5	<i>i'no</i>	<i>zi'no</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>izi</i>	<i>iyō</i>	<i>izō</i>
6	<i>tci'no</i>	<i>vi'no</i>	<i>i'tci</i>	<i>i'vi</i>	<i>i'tcō</i>	<i>i'vō</i>
7	<i>ka'no</i>	<i>tu'no</i>	<i>a'ka</i>	<i>wtu</i>	<i>a'ko</i>	<i>u'to</i>
8		<i>pa'no</i>		<i>a'pa</i>		<i>a'pō</i>
9		<i>mu'no</i>		<i>wmu</i>		<i>w'mō</i>
10		<i>ku'no</i>		<i>wku</i>		<i>w'kō</i>

Part 2

Cl. No.	From Both (Over there)		Yonder (Remote)	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>ú'yó</i>	<i>á'wó</i>	<i>yu'dja</i>	<i>βa'dja</i>
2	<i>ú'wó</i>	<i>i'yó</i>	<i>(w)u'dja</i>	<i>(y)i'dja</i>
3	<i>i'ló</i>	<i>á'wó</i>	<i>li'dja</i>	<i>βa'dja</i>
4	<i>ú'bó</i>	<i>á'wó</i>	<i>bu'dja</i>	<i>βa'dja</i>
	<i>ú'wó</i>		<i>(w)u'dja</i>	
5	<i>i'yó</i>	<i>i'zó</i>	<i>(y)i'dja</i>	<i>zi'dja</i>
6	<i>i'tcó</i>	<i>i'vó</i>	<i>tci'dja</i>	<i>vi'dja</i>
7	<i>á'kó</i>	<i>ú'tó</i>	<i>ka'dja</i>	<i>tu'dja</i>
8		<i>á'pó</i>		<i>pa'dja</i>
9		<i>ú'mó</i>		<i>mu'dja</i>
10		<i>ú'kó</i>		<i>ku'dja</i>

includes the speaker's position also indicate time which includes the moment of speaking, and those of 'remote' significance may be employed with reference to 'remoteness' in time. Examples:

kuno ku mudzi bant'u bali bwi'no

here at village people they are well

'The people are well here at the village.'

niri pano pa mico'ni

I am here on mission

'I am here at the mission.' (On the mission grounds.)

tcaká tci'no fodiá waguliká bwi'no

year this tobacco it has become bought well

'This year there has been a good market for tobacco.'

sabatá i'no natsimikiza nti'ma kuti páundi zisanu

week this I became definite heart that pounds five

ñ zita'tu niβiké ku pósiti ófi'si

and three I place might at postoffice

'This week I definitely decided that I might deposit eight pounds in the postoffice.'

**t'wogá i'yi ndjólí'mba*

club this is strong

'This club is strong.'

tcúma i'tci nifúna nkazí wá'nga

property this I want wife my

'(Here is) this property: I want my wife.'

**dizó súngwi i'zi nangá i'zi*

are they bamboo these what about these

'These are bamboo. What about these?'

**vurá idákáni'ka tcaká i'tci tcápítá a'pa*

rain it failed year this it has gone here

'Last year rain failed.'

úyó madzí túnge tu'ngε kú mú'dzi

he over there water drew to village

'He went there and drew water. He returned to the village.'

úyó ku ntsi'ndjε

she over there to stream

'She went there to the stream.'

*úmó náti *gáti yá'pó² napeza*

therein I was approximately over there I found

² y is here a glide-sound between the vowels.

Bayikándirira ^mbuzi yá·nga
 they it held down firmly goat my
 'But as I was approximately as far away as that place over there (indicated by gesture), I discovered that they held my goat down firmly.'

ɸ kúti ku·dja βanákut·ánírání anzá·nu
 is where yonder they have you called to they fellowmen your
 'Is it yonder where your fellowmen called you?'

mu·dja ɸdá·mbírá kúḡtúmbí·ka
 yonder-in I have begun for to him respect
 'I have been respecting him for a long time.'

tcisu·mp'i uyɔ adá·kú·zání kutí·nε
 paramount chief that he has you told that I
*ɸdápándá·*k'ára·mu ná·zawó wó·sá·ná·ma*
 I have beaten lions and fellowmen their all he is falsifying
 'Paramount chief, he who told you that I have beaten Sir Lion and all his fellowmen is falsifying.'

*palidjé munt'u uyɔ ádáwóná *k'arámu*
 there is not person that he has seen lion
yétkáli té·re
 ferocious thus

'There is not a person who has seen so ferocious a lion.'

**djovu zifúna kudjá mawogú wó·se awɔ*
 elephants they wish to eat pumpkins all those
βadá·gwa
 they have fallen

'The elephants wish to eat all the pumpkins that are ripe.'

c. Demonstratives of local, anaphoric, and temporal reference. From the verb *kú·ti*, which has the two applicative forms *kuté·re* and *kuté·rɔ*,³ are derived the demonstratives *té·re* 'thus, like this' and *té·rɔ* 'like that'. These forms do not vary for person, number, or class. It is interesting to note that in morphology they are exactly parallel to part of the system of demonstratives symbolizing local reference, in that the vowel *ɔ* indicates distance from the speaker, while *ε*, corresponding to the vowel which precedes it, indicates relative proximity to the speaker. From Table 5 it can be readily seen that the same principle is followed; namely, that, where other factors are not involved—as in the first and fifth columns—the final vowel of the element indicating proximity to the speaker corresponds to, or is determined by, the preceding vowel, and that *ɔ* replaces this final vowel as a symbol of distance from the

³ Cf. §34.

speaker. From this point of view, *kú·ti*, in so far as it has the forms *kut'é·re* and *kut'é·ro*, is not so 'defective' after all. It is simply a word in which both verbal and demonstrative functions are combined. Examples:

ɸ kuβápánda ine t'é·re
am to them beat I thus
'Can I beat them? I, thus?'

·ndiwós t'é·re kufuná kup'á wós·sakambá milandú yós·se
is they thus to wish to kill without talking lawsuit any
'It is they (who are) like this: they wish to kill without having any legal trial whatever.'

ná·mwε t'é·ro aok'ára·mu
with you like that lions
'Are you like that, Sir Lion?'

c. Local and anaphoric references are combined by employment of the morpheme *-mwé* 'same as'. It must be followed by a demonstrative of local reference or, when employed with the first and second persons, by a personal pronoun. In the latter usage it will be generally felt as an intensive, with the significance of 'only . . . of all people!', if the context is not clearly otherwise. When intensive significance is expressed with reference to the third person, it is followed by a demonstrative indicating the location of an object near the listener.⁴

	Singular	Plural
1st P.	<i>namunt'u ηmwé·nε</i> (<i>namwé·nε</i>)	<i>taβant'u βamwé·σε</i> (<i>tamwé·σε</i>)
2nd P.	<i>wamunt'u ηmwé·wε</i> (<i>wamwé·wε</i>)	<i>mwa·nt'u βamwé·mwε</i> (<i>mwamwé·mwε</i>)
3rd P.	(According to classes.)	
Cl. No.		
1	<i>ηmwé</i>	<i>βamwé</i>
2	<i>umwé</i>	(<i>y</i>) <i>imwé</i>
3	<i>limwé</i>	<i>βamwé</i>
4	<i>bumwé, umwé</i>	<i>βamwé</i>
5	(<i>y</i>) <i>imwé</i>	<i>zimwé</i>
6	<i>tcimwé</i>	<i>vimwé</i>
7	<i>kamwé</i>	<i>tumwé</i>

⁴ Cf. also §50.

Cl. No.

8

pamwé

9

mumwé (ηmwé)

10

kumwé

Examples: *koma tcisó·ni ʳdaramá zimwé·zo*
 but sorrow money same that

zapeza ataté βanu βadamwáli·ra
 it found fathers your they have died

‘But (there is) sorrow: That same money found your father dead.’
imwé·yo tinéna ná·yo kutí mu·panda i·mwε
 it same that we say with it that ye without ye

tikadafá ní ʳdja·ra ʳdí·tʳu
 we should have died with hunger indeed

‘(Referring to) that same (object of Class 5 singular), we say, concerning it, that without you we should have died of hunger, indeed.’
ηmáβá ni ηmwé·mo ηmáβá ni ηmwé·mo
 tomorrow is in same that tomorrow is in same that

‘Tomorrow it is that same way; tomorrow it is that same way.’ (The next day it happened in the same way as that which I have already told you; likewise, the next day.)
βamwé awo aηgɔ·ma sí·ne yá·i
 they same those gnus not I no

‘Only Sir Gnu (would be so foolish). Not I, no!’

H. INTERROGATIVES

§49. There are three distinct elements from which interrogatives are derived. These interrogatives are both pronominal and qualificative.

a. *y·ani* 'who? whom?' is an independent form and does not require any affix for completion when used in reference to persons. For class distinction, the system of concordances which the verb takes as its subjects may be employed, but this is not frequently done except in the case of Class 6. *tciyá·ni*, formed with the concordance of this class, has the significance of English 'what?': *tcint'u tciyá·ni* 'what thing?' *tciyá·ni* is regularly employed when the referent is indefinite; e. g., in such expressions as 'What is the matter? What have you done? What has he done? It is what?, etc. What shall I do?'

The Possessive 'whose?' is formed from *ya·ni* by affixation of the qualificative concord, type one. Examples:

dziná lákó ʳdiwé ya·ni

name your are you who

'What is your name? Your name? Who are you?'

ya·ni bwá·na í·ne yá·i

who master I no

'Who, Sir? I? No!'

naɔga vipanda i·vi ŋ vátciyá·ni

what about calabashes these are of what

'What about these calabashes? What are they for?'

yatá·ni ʳbuzí yá·nga (yatá·ni < yatcíta tciyá·ni)

it has done what goat my

'What is the matter with my goat?'

váyani pamánga vó·wónóŋgéká ʳgati niridjé ŋkómwé·ni

of whom maize destroyed as if I have not son-in-law

'Whose maize (is going to be) destroyed as if I have no son-in-law?'

tcisu·mp'i mwatá·ni kump' é

paramount chief ye have done what to me kill

naŋnt'u wá·nu (mwatá·ni < mwatcíta tciyá·ni)

me person your

'What is the matter, paramount chief, that you should kill me, your slave?'

ŋ tciyá·ni mfú·mu
 is what chief
 'What is the matter, chief?'

ufúna tciyá·ni ku·no
 you want what here
 'What do you want here?'

b. *-ti* 'which?' is not an independent form, but requires concordances for completion:

Class	Singular	Plural
1	<i>yu·ti</i>	<i>wɔ·ti</i>
2	<i>u·ti</i>	<i>(y)i·ti</i>
3	<i>li·ti</i>	<i>wɔ·ti</i>
4	<i>bu·ti, u·ti</i>	<i>wɔ·ti</i>
5	<i>(y)i·ti</i>	<i>zi·ti</i>
6	<i>tci·ti</i>	<i>vi·ti</i>
7	<i>kɔ·ti</i>	<i>tu·ti</i>
8		<i>pɔ·ti</i>
9		<i>mu·ti</i>
10		<i>ku·ti</i>

b-2. The interrogatives *li·ti* 'when?', *ku·ti* 'where?', *pɔ·ti* 'where-on?', and *mu·ti* 'where-in?' are often listed as adverbs, but they are derived in the same manner as the other forms. *li·ti* 'when' is in agreement with *tsikú li·ti* 'which day?', just as one may say *p'iri li·ti* 'which mountain?' Likewise, the other forms have the significance of 'to, at, on, in which location?' From the point of view of the language itself, these forms are, therefore, pronominal or qualificative in force. Examples:

swəgwí zi·ti zilí ku·ti
 bamboo which they are where
 'Which bamboo? Where are they?'

*βap'a *k'ú·ku kɔma yi·ti sinidzi·βa*
 they killed fowl but which not I know
 'They killed a fowl, but I do not know which one.'

βaná a·βa yá·i wɔ·ti
 children these no which
 'These children? No. Which ones?'

ukudíá li·ti 'When do you eat?'

you eat when

c. *-ndji* 'what? what kind?' requires the qualificative concord, type

one, for its completion as a pronominal or qualificative form. It may, however, be freely appended as an enclitic to verbs and is sometimes so affixed to pronouns. Standing alone, it does not seem to have as much concreteness of force as English 'what?', and it is never employed as a separable form in the manner in which *ya·ni* and *tciyá·ni* may be used. Examples:

η tsoka lándji i·ri η marawo βá·ndji
is ill fortune what this are bad omens what
'What an ill fortune this is! What a bad omen!'

ηléke·ni iyé wá·ndji
him permit ye he what kind
'Let him be! What kind (of person) is he?'

βaná βamwé·ndji má·dzi
children they drink might what water
'What will the children drink (for) water?'

viβant'u vámitundu yá·ndji
big people of tribes what kind
'People of what kind of tribes?' (Derogatorily.)

ti·ta ná·y éndji na·nga
we do with him what what about
'What about it? What shall we do with him?'

utcitá·ndji pa·no 'What are you doing here?'
you are doing what here

mulirá·ndji 'What are you crying for? Why are you crying?' (Note the applicative form of the verb.)

c-2. *-·gá·ndji* 'how many? how much?' is obviously based on *-ndji*. It takes the concordances that are employed as subjects with the verb. Examples:

ziri η mudzi ñumbá ziwgá·ndji
they are in village houses how many
'How many houses are there in the village?'

tcumá tciwgá·ndji nifúna ηkazi wá·nga
property how much I want wife my
'How much property do you want? I want my wife.'

βant'u unáwo·na i·nde βawgá·ndji
people you have seen yes how many
'Did you see the people? Yes. How many?'

·buzi ziwgá·ndji 'How many goats?'
goats how many

c-3. *bwá·ndji* 'how?' is also derived from *·ndji*. It is employed as an independent form. Examples:

kaya uko muli bwá·ndji
I do not know there ye are how

'I do not know how you are there.'

mbuzi tip' é bwá·ndji
goat we kill might how

'How shall we kill the goat (without spears)?'

ali bwá·ndji 'How is he? How large is he?'

ukudjá bwá·ndji 'How do you eat?'

I. LOCATIVES

§50. The three morphemes *pa*, *mu* (*m*), and *ku* form the basis of the locative system. They symbolize respectively location or direction (to, from) on, location or direction (to, from) within or among, and direction to or from or location at.

These elements may be recognized as phonetically independent when followed by nouns, but also occur as parts of composite forms. For precision of reference, they are affixed to a number of other elements, and they vary as pronominal forms. It is not necessary to repeat the forms previously given. Other elements which are combined with these morphemes to give preciseness of reference and which do not take the concordances of other classes may now be considered.

a. *-tá·li* 'distance'. Cf. *kutáli·mp'a* 'to become far away, to become tall, to become high, to become long'. This form indicates more remoteness than *-dja*.¹

patá·li 'at the distance, located on'

mutá·li 'in the distance'

kutá·li 'at the distance'

Any of the following forms may be used: *pa·nɔ patá·li* 'here-on, far from there', *a·pa patá·li* 'here-on (near speaker, but not including speaker), far from there', *a·pɔ patá·li* 'there-on (near listener), far from there', *á·pɔ patá·li* 'there-on (over there), far from there', *pa·dja patá·li* 'yonder-on, far from here'. *mu·nɔ mutá·li* 'here-in, far from there', etc. *ku·nɔ kutá·li* 'here, far from there', etc.

With the qualificative concord, type one, *patá·li* is employed with the significance of 'difficult, dear in price'; e. g.,

tcám̄tɛngɔ wápátá·li 'a costly thing'.

of price dear

b. *-fú·pi* 'near'. Cf. *kufú·pi·ka* 'to become short, to become low, to become near'.

pafú·pi 'near-on'

mufú·pi 'near-in'

kufú·pi 'near-at'

pafú·pi is also employed in the sense of 'soon'; e. g.,

ali pafupí kubwé·ra 'He will return soon'.

he is soon to return

¹ Cf. §48, Table 5.

The qualificative concord, type one, appended to *pafú·pi* gives the significance of 'easy, cheap in price'.

c. *·si*. This element occurs as *-nsi* in Chinyanja proper and as *-nts'i* in Isizulu. In Ila there is a noun *iñci* (*inshi*) 'ground', which occurs in Swahili as *nti*, *ntci* (*nchi*) 'land, earth'. All these forms are obviously related.

pá·si 'down, underneath'

mú·si 'beside a vertical object, at the foot of'

kú·si 'below'

It is to be noted that these forms have more or less specialized significances. As has been illustrated, two locatives may be employed so as to form a more minute symbolization of reference:

<i>tì·éñ</i>	<i>tikáwóné</i>	<i>pakú·si</i>
us go let ye	us go in order to look let	downstream

'Let us go and look downstream.'

d. *-mwá·mba*

pamwá·mba 'on top of'

ñmwá·mba 'in the top of'

kumwá·mba 'above, skyward'

Examples: *akutí* *mbuzi* *iri* *ní* *mánó*
 he says goat it is with teeth

kúsi *é* *kúmwá·mba*
 below and above

'He says that the goat has lower and upper teeth (incisors).'

zisa·nu *pamwambá* *imó·dzi*

five on top one

'Five, and one on top.' (Five fingers counted and clenched and one placed on top of them equal six.)

e. *-mp'épe·te*

pamp'épe·te 'by the side of'

ñmp'épe·te 'by the side of'

kump'épe·te is not in general usage, but it is intelligible.

It appears that the other two forms may be used interchangeably.

pamp'épe·te *pa* *tc'áritci* *pali* *sukú·ru*

by the side of church there is school

'There is a school by the side of the church.'

f. *-mbú·yo*

pambú·yo 'after'

ñmbú·yo 'behind, after'

kumbú·yo 'behind, back'

Examples: *pambuyó páké tsónó ^rdípó*
 on back its then is therein

tiruké malíte·ro
 us make let winnowing baskets

'After doing that, let us make winnowing baskets.'

djani pambuyó pó·sá·mba
 eat ye on back of washing

'Eat after washing (your hands).'

ali ŋmbuyó mwá·nga 'he is behind me'

ali kumbuyó kwá·nga 'he is close behind me'

ali pambuyó pá·nga 'he is close behind me'

g. *-ká·ti*

paká·ti 'in the middle, between'

ŋká·ti 'inside'

kuká·ti or, preferably, *kump'áka·ti* 'inside the chief's enclosure (*ŋpá·nda*), inside the chief's village, inside the principal wife's house, inside the council place (*bwá·ro*), into safety'. Examples:

pakati pámtundu umó·dzi ní wí·na idá·lí
 between of tribe one and another it was

**k'ondó yó·k'a*

war only

'Between one tribe and another there was only war.'

k'umi ŋkati zisa·nu ŋ zíβi·ri
 ten inside five and two

'Ten, and five and two inside.' (Seventeen.)

h. Locatives affixed to the enumerative element *-se* express English 'everywhere, wherever'.²

pó·se 'on all'

mó·se 'in all'

kó·se 'at all, to all'

pó·se pa·no 'everywhere here-on, wherever here-on'³

pó·se a·pa 'everywhere here-on, wherever here-on' (*pó·sa·pa*)

pó·se á·pó 'everywhere there-on, wherever there-on' (*pó·sá·pó*)

pó·se pa·dja 'everywhere yonder-on, wherever yonder-on'

mó·se mu·no 'everywhere here-in, wherever here-in', etc.

kó·se ku·no 'everywhere here, wherever here', etc.

With the demonstrative which indicates the location of an object near the second person, the reference is more indefinite:

² Cf. §45.

³ Cf. §48.

pó·sa·pɔ 'everywhere-(on), wherever-(on)' (*pó·sɛ a·pɔ*)

mó·sɔ·mɔ 'everywhere-(in), wherever-(in)' (*mó·sɛ u·mɔ*)

kó·sɔ·kɔ 'everywhere, wherever' (*kó·sɛ u·kɔ*)

tawona nɔ·mbɛ mbú·zi ní mbé·rɛ·rɛ kó·sɔ·kɔ tápt·ta
 we saw cattle goats and sheep everywhere we went
 'We saw cattle, goats, and sheep everywhere we went.'

i. With the element *-mwé* emphatic locatives indicating 'point reference' are formed.⁴

pɔmwé pa·nɔ (*pó· pa·nɔ*) 'right on here (including speaker)'

pɔmwé a·pa (*pó· a·pa*) 'right on here'

pɔmwé a·pɔ (*pó· a·pɔ*) 'right on there'

pɔmwé á·pó (*pó· á·pó*) 'right on there (over there)'

pɔmwé pa·dja (*pó· pa·dja*) 'right on yonder'

mɔmwé mu·nɔ (*mó· mu·nɔ*) 'right in here', etc.

kɔmwé ku·nɔ (*kó· ku·nɔ*) 'right here', etc.

uβapátstírɛ mɔ·mu·nɔ ŋ bwaró mwá·ŋga
 you them give to must right here in court my
 'You must give it to them right here in my court.'

j. The locative *ku* is employed with words indicating the points of the compass:

vú·ma 'east' *ku vú·ma* 'eastward'

za·mbwɛ 'west' *ku za·mbwɛ* 'westward'

ŋpó·tɔ 'north' *ku ŋpó·tɔ* 'northward'

mwɛ·ra 'south' *ku mwɛ·ra* 'southward'

Locatives are sometimes employed with nouns of local significance in the qualificative construction:

ñama záŋt'ɛ·ŋgɔ 'wild game'

game of in bush

munt'u wápámu·dzi 'a village person, as distinct from a stranger'

person of on village

munt'u wámu·dzi 'a hospitable person'

person of village

pa and *ku* may be affixed to the numeral *-mó·dzi* 'one' as follows: *pamó·dzi* 'together, at the same time'; e. g., *βapítira pamó·dzi* 'they went together', *βadábádwira pamó·dzi* 'they were born at the same time'. (Note that the applicative form of the verb is used.)

kumó·dzi 'one part of, one side'

kumɔdzi kwáñú·mba 'one side of the house'.

⁴ Cf. §48, d.

J. WORDS WITH TEMPORAL SIGNIFICANCE

§51. The following words are used in various temporal references. They constitute no single morphological class:

ndi·ko 'then'

tsópá·no 'now' (This word is used as a qualificative, meaning 'new', taking the qualificative concord of type one.)

tsó·no 'then'

ká·le 'already, once upon a time' (As a qualificative, 'old, previous'.)

kalé ká·le 'long ago, a long time'

mpá·ka 'until'

msá·nga 'soon'

msangá msá·nga 'very soon, rapidly'

tcidze·ro 'since' (This word must be related by the qualificative concord, type one, to the subject or to the demonstrative indicating the location of the subject. It is, therefore, a noun.)

le·ro 'today, now' (As a qualificative, 'new'.)

dzu·ro 'yesterday'

mdzi·ro 'in the afternoon'

dza·na 'day before yesterday'

dzana lálíβi·si 'day before *dza·na*' ('unripe *dza·na*')

dzana lálíkú·ru 'day before *dzana lálíβi·si*' ('big *dza·na*')

mmá·βa 'tomorrow, in the morning'

mmaβá mma·βa 'early in the morning'

ṁku·tca 'day after *mmá·βa*' (Cf. *kú·tca* 'to dawn'.)

ṁdzi·nga 'day after *ṁku·tca*'

ṁsu·ko 'day after *ṁdzi·nga*'

ṁdi·ti 'day after *ṁsu·ko*'

msá·na 'midday, vertebral column, back'

matcé·za 'early in the morning, about 3:00 to 5:00 A. M.'

matcézá βá·kú·ru 'time between 1:00 and 2:00 A. M.' ('big *matcé·za*')

matcézá βá·βá·ye 'about dawn, when the cocks crow' ('little *matcé·za*')

usi·ku 'at night, night'

Examples: *ndakwáta tcitanda tcákúfá ká·le*

I have married corpse dead already

'I have married a person that is already dead.'

ndá·ni afúna kwará masisi tsópánó a·pa
 is who he wishes to wear mourning now here-on
 'Who wishes to wear mourning just now?'

tcidzero tcákuno i·ne
 since of here I
 'Since I have been here, . . . '

tcidzero tcá·wó η dzikó li·no
 since their in country this
 'Since they have been in this country, . . . '

wak'azya ηpaká furú wabwε·ra
 he lay in waiting until tortoise he returned
 'He lay in waiting until tortoise returned.'

muniyæk' é ηsá·nga
 ye me answer must soon
 'You must answer me soon.'

lirani mwázi lε·ro
 cry ye blood today
 'Now cry blood!'

imwε tsónó mu·li siyanî·ne lε·ro
 ye then ye said leave ye me today
 'You then said, "Leave me today".'

η mwarabirirándji ηmaβá ηma·βa
 oh ye have gone out for what early in the morning
 'Oh, why have you gone out so early in the morning?'

K. CONJUNCTIVES

§52. There are in Chichewa a few conjunctives, or elements which have the function of joining sentences or parts of sentences. They are also used as introductory words.

koma 'but'

ní, ná 'and, with, even'. The form *ná* is used before independent personal pronouns and before words with initial *a*. It is employed with personal pronouns and the element *so* in the sense of 'also'.¹

ná·po 'rather'. There is no adequate English translation of this word.

It is employed when an error or 'slip of speech' is corrected, somewhat in the sense that English 'rather' is used.

kú·ti 'that'. This form is phonetically identical with the verb *kú·ti*.² *tcifú·kwa* 'reason'. This is a noun of Class 6. It is used as English 'because, on account of, why?'.³

tcifukwá tciyá·ni 'what reason? why?'³

tcó·té·ro, mó·té·ro 'therefore'. These forms are derived from the verb form *kuté·ro* by affixation of the qualificative concordances of Classes 6 and 9 respectively: *tcint'u tcó·té·ro* 'thing like that', *mó·té·ro* 'in that way'.

kapé·na, pé·na, pí·na 'or, nor, either, neither, perhaps'.

gá·ti 'if, like, as, as if, approximately'

gák'á·le (*gati k'á·le*) 'although, not even'. The subjective verbal concordance is sometimes employed with this form.

ká·ti 'if'⁴

kape·za 'if'

ndi·po. This form is employed as an introductory word. It may be translated as 'and, and thereupon'.

Examples: *i·ne niri kunó ku kóko·mo tsópá·no*

I I am here at Kokomo now

koma nípitásó ku mári·ni nshaná mu·no

but I go again to Marion midday here-in

¹ Cf. §43.

² Cf. §34.

³ Cf. §49.

⁴ Cf. §53.

'Now I am at Kokomo, but I shall return to Marion in the middle of the day.'

palidjé mu·nt'u ní ημό·dzi άργάνένέ kutt
 there is not person even one he can say that
taba mbuzi yá·ke kapená mbere·re kapená
 we have stolen goat his or sheep or
*ɔ·mbε *gák'álé *k'ukú yábwé·ya*
 cow not even fowl of feathers

'There is not even one man who can say that we have stolen his goat, or sheep, or cow; not even a feathered fowl.'

ηdzákápafu·ra ní p'ází lá·nga ηdzákákunuwu·za ní ηñá·nga
 I shall him kick with foot my I shall him gore with horns
 'I shall kick him with my foot; I shall gore him with my horns.'

aiéndɔ·teŋgá utá wí·na ní míkó·ndɔ
 he walks to take bow another and spears

'Then he took another bow and (his) spears.'

Bant'u Bántundu umó·dzi angák'álé kutt
 people of tribe one they although that
siBáfuko limó·dzi ní aná·si wó·satt ada·ni yá·i
 not of mother's clan one are friends not being enemies no
 'People of one tribe, although they may not be of one mother's clan, are friends, not enemies.'

vóse i·vi tcifukwá Bámícóni Batip'únzi·tsa
 all these reason missionaries they have us learn caused
 '(We have) all these (things) because the missionaries have taught us.'

tcifukwá i·tcɔ i·ne nigániza kutt Bámícóni
 reason that I I think that missionaries

Batcita kant'u kábwi·no η dzikó láBant'u
 they have done something good in country of people

Bákú·da

black

'Therefore, I think that the missionaries have done something good in the black people's country.'

*kuBakószya *gati atsidweni Bákɔ*
 to them resemble as if mother's brothers your

'To resemble him as if he were your mother's brother.'

nipíta ɔ́ káundji·ka karump'a ná·pɔ
 I am going with Kaundjika Karumpha rather

'I am going with Kaundjika—rather with Karumpha, I am going with Kaundjika—I mean with Karumpha.'

L. INTERJECTIONS

§53. The following words may be classified as Interjections. They are of various degrees of emotional character. Some of the forms listed as radical descriptives might very well have been placed here. There is no claim that the list is exhaustive, as there are many such forms which cannot be translated, such as expressions of extreme surprise, imitative sounds, expressions or cries peculiar to certain animals, etc.

yá·i 'no'

í·ndε 'yes, by the way, ...'

˚dí·t'u 'indeed'¹

kó·di 'is that true?'²

yé·wɔ 'thank you'

tcó·ndε 'please'

kwá·li, kwá·li 'is that true? I do not know, I do not care to say, I did not know that!' There is a related verb form: *amakwáli·ka* 'he was astonished! he would not say, etc.'

bwi·nɔ 'be careful'

tcá·bwi·nɔ 'all right'

ka·ya 'I do not know'

pé·ra 'oh, just a ...'

ká·ti 'I do not know'. This form expresses a complexity and is strictly subjective. It may sometimes be translated as 'if, perhaps', but these words are really too mild.

βa·ti 'just think of, what do you think of it!' This word must be followed by the infinitive form of the verb:

βati kaundjika kuptúk·wá·na 'Just think of Kaundjika's swearing at me!' But *βati kaundjika anitukwá·na* 'They say that Kaundjika swears at me.'

na·ŋga 'what about it?' This form might be listed as a simple interrogative, but it carries more emotional tone. It is sometimes employed merely to indicate that the statement is interrogative.

há 'what!' (With nasalized *a*.)

tcá·dʒε, zatcá·dʒε 'nothing!' (In disgust.)

wó·di wó·di wó·di 'may I come in?' This is the call which is made when

¹ Cf. §37, k: 5.

² Cf. §37, k: 6.

one wishes to enter another's house. It is also indicated by clapping one's hands, imitated by *gó'gó'gó'gó'gó' . . .*

wódi'ni 'come in!' The suffix *-ni* of the second person plural may be recognized: 'come ye in!'

tu 'indeed, what can you do about it?' This form is not phonetically independent, but appears as enclitic or proclitic.

ε: 'yes indeed!' (With nasalized *ε*.)

The rules for forming interjections from verb stems are as follows:

1. For the first persons the infinitive form, simple or reduplicated, is used, followed by the independent personal pronoun: *kukó'ma i'ne* 'how nice I am!' *kukó'ma i'se* 'how nice we are!'

2. For the second persons the same form is used, but it is followed by the demonstrative which indicates the location of something near the speaker:³ *kuyi'pa u'yu* 'how bad you are! how homely you are!' *ufusá fú'sa u'yu, ufusá fú'sa a'βa* 'such questions! do not ask so many questions!'

3. For the third persons the subjective verbal concordance is affixed and the vocalic suffix *-ε* is employed:⁴

βakúle awk'áramu βakali'pe βali'mbe
how large lions how ferocious how strong

βát'we manó βá'wó ni vík'áda'ba
how sharp teeth their and claws

'How large Sir Lion is! How ferocious! How strong! How sharp are his teeth and claws!'

4. When nouns (other than those of Class 10) are so employed, they are followed by the demonstrative, as in rule 2, or by the personal pronoun: *ndjara i'yi* 'this hunger!'

Examples showing the use of interjections:

há abwérezá'so
what he repeats again

'What! He is doing it again!'

á kwatca bwino le'ro
ah there has dawned well today

'Ah, this is a beautiful day!'

tcábwi'no tí'én tik'alé pá'si
all right us go let ye us sit let down

'All right, let us sit down.'

³ Cf. §48, Table 5.

⁴ Cf. §30.

sá·wotu *ηndá·ndu*

not that indeed lawsuit

'Is that, indeed, a lawsuit?'

naəga *imwé* *ηtá·ni*

what about it ye ye think what

'What about it? What do you think of it?'

kəma *túimwé* *ηdzi·βa* *kuti* *watitúndu·ra*

but indeed ye ye know that he has us accused falsely

'But you know, indeed, that he has accused us falsely.'

η *masekera* *a·βa* *ηkərokətéré* *p'úra* *η* *k'ú·tu*

grass this ye clean out with wax from in ear

'umph, take this grass and clean the wax out of your ears!'

kwá·li *tiwónε* *lε·rə*

is that true us see let today

'Is that true? Let us see today.'

ikúle *miñε·ndə* *italípe* *miñá·əga* *tcá·dje*

how large legs how long horns nothing

'What large legs! What long horns! (All for) nothing!'

CHAPTER III: TEXTS AND ANALYSES

TEXT No. 1

	<i>mu·nt'·u¹</i>	<i>nt²</i>	<i>*k'wá·ngwa³</i>		
	person	and	ax		
<i>tsikú⁴</i>	<i>ímó·dzi⁵</i>	<i>munt'·u¹</i>	<i>aǰénda⁶</i>	<i>kufiká⁷</i>	<i>pa⁸</i>
day	one	person	he walks	to arrive	on village
<i>wáβa·nt'·u¹⁰</i>	<i>wáfiká¹¹</i>	<i>té·rɔ¹²</i>	<i>aǰénda⁶</i>	<i>kuk'ará¹³</i>	<i>pa⁸</i>
of people	he has arrived	like that	he walks	to sit	on
<i>^mp'·a·ra¹⁴</i>	<i>akámba¹⁵</i>	<i>nt²</i>	<i>βa·nt'·u¹⁰</i>	<i>wátí¹⁶</i>	
council place	he is talking	with	people	he was	
<i>wát'á¹⁷</i>	<i>kúkámbá¹⁵</i>	<i>nt²</i>	<i>βa·nt'·u¹⁰</i>	<i>watco·ka¹⁸</i>	
he has finished	talking	with	people	he arose	
<i>wáyamba¹⁹</i>	<i>kupí·ta²⁰</i>	<i>úmó²¹</i>	<i>wáyámbá¹⁹</i>	<i>kúptá²⁰</i>	<i>té·rɔ¹²</i>
he began	to go	there-in	he began	to go	like that
<i>munt'·u¹</i>	<i>uyɔ²²</i>	<i>amakambá²³</i>	<i>ná²⁴</i>	<i>iyé²⁵</i>	<i>pa⁸</i>
person	that	he was talking	with	him	on council place
<i>wamí·ámíngí·ra²⁶</i>	<i>a·lí²⁷</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>waba²⁹</i>	
he	him	ran after	he said	hey	hey
<i>*k'wángwá³</i>	<i>yá·ngá³⁰</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>waba²⁹</i>	
ax	my	hey	hey	you have stolen	
<i>*k'wángwá³</i>	<i>yá·ngá³⁰</i>	<i>iyé²⁵</i>	<i>úyó³¹</i>	<i>ápi·ta²⁰</i>	
ax	my	he	over there	he is going	
<i>ápi·ta²⁰</i>	<i>ápi·ta²⁰</i>	<i>wó·samwé·ra³²</i>	<i>wat'and'·sɔ³³</i>		
he is going	he is going	without sensing	he called	again	
<i>a·lí²⁷</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>waba²⁹</i>	<i>*k'wángwá³</i>	<i>yá·ngá³⁰</i>
he said	hey	hey	you have stolen	ax	my
<i>é:28</i>	<i>é:28</i>	<i>waba²⁹</i>	<i>*k'wángwá³</i>	<i>yá·ngá³⁰</i>	<i>úmó²¹</i>
hey	hey	you have stolen	ax	my	there-in
<i>wátí¹⁶</i>	<i>*gátí³⁴</i>	<i>yá·pó³⁵</i>	<i>ɲ'dé·ndú³⁶</i>	<i>tcendje::wú³⁷</i>	
he was	approximately	over there	stranger	looked back	
<i>a·lí²⁷</i>	<i>ɲkútá³⁸</i>	<i>úmó²¹</i>	<i>wátéró³⁹</i>	<i>ɲ'dé·ndu³⁶</i>	
he said	ye say what	there-in	he did like that	stranger	
<i>iyé²⁵</i>	<i>wawa⁴⁰</i>	<i>*k'wángwá³</i>	<i>yáké⁴¹</i>	<i>pa⁸</i>	<i>p'é·wa⁴²</i>
he	he sensed	ax	his	on	shoulder
<i>ɲkútá³⁸</i>	<i>mwapita⁴³</i>	<i>pa⁸</i>	<i>*dja·ra⁴⁴</i>	<i>dzatεngεní⁴⁵</i>	
I say	ye have gone	on	hunger	come in order to take	ye

<i>*k'ú·ku</i> ⁴⁶	<i>aiénda</i> ⁶	<i>kubwére·ra</i> ⁴⁷	<i>munt'u</i> ¹	<i>wápámudzi</i> ⁴⁸
fowl	he walks	to return	person	of on village
<i>aiénda</i> ⁶	<i>kugwirá</i> ⁴⁹	<i>*k'ú·ku</i> ⁴⁶	<i>kwaê::</i> ⁵⁰	<i>kwaê::</i> ⁵⁰ <i>kwaê::</i> ⁵⁰
he walks	to catch	fowl		
<i>aiénda</i> ⁶	<i>kúñpá'tsa</i> ⁵¹			
he walks	to him give			

TRANSLATION

The Man and the Ax

One day a man came to the people's village. After he arrived, he sat in the council place and talked with the men. When he had finished talking with the men, he arose and started on his journey. Immediately after he left, the man who was talking with him in the council place ran after him, calling, 'Hey! Hey! You have stolen my ax. Hey! Hey! You have stolen my ax.' He (the stranger) continued without hearing. He (the village man) called again, saying, 'Hey! Hey! You have stolen my ax. Hey! Hey! You have stolen my ax.' Just as he was approximately as near as that point over there (indicated by gesture), the stranger looked back and asked, 'What do you say?' Just as the stranger did that, he (the village man) felt his ax on his shoulder. He said, 'I say that you have gone hungry. Come and take a fowl.' Then he (the stranger) returned for it. The village man then caught a fowl and gave it to him.

NOTES

1. When no sex is stated, 'man' is understood. The complete reference is *munt'u wámwámú·na* 'male person'; see §39.
2. Conjunctive: 'and, with, even'; §52.
3. This is a noun of Class 5; §17.
4. Noun of Class 3; §15.
5. Concordance *li-* and numeral stem *-módzi*; §40.
6. *aiénda* < *ayénda*. Cf. §2. The verb is employed here as an auxiliary with the significance of 'then' (§35). Subjective concordance *a-* (§27), stem *-yend-* (§25), and vocalic suffix *-a* (§30).
7. *ku-* infinitive prefix (§32), *-fik-* stem, *-a* vocalic suffix. The infinitive form is employed after the preceding auxiliary (§32 and §35): 'One day a man then (at that time) arrived.'
8. *pa* locative 'on' (§50). It refers to the village locality: 'On the village grounds.'
9. Noun of Class 2 (§13). Prefix *mu-*, stem *-dzi*.
10. *wá·ba·nt'u*, *wa-* qualificative (possessive) concordance, type one

- (§39) in agreement with *mu·dzi*. *βa·nt'u* plural of *mu·nt'u* (Class 1; §11).
11. The demonstrative *u·mɔ* and the verb *-ti* (*kú·ti*) are omitted; §35, e.
 12. 'like that, in that way'. Demonstrative; §48, c.
 13. The infinitive form is employed as explained in 7 above: 'Then he sat.'
 14. Noun of Class 5; §17. The council place is a reserved space in the village where the men gather for discussions. The chief holds his court there.
 15. *a·ká·mb-a* from *kuká·mba* 'to talk, talking'; §23 and §28. Note the change to present tense for vividness.
 - 16-17. See 11 above. *kú·t'a* 'to finish', *wa·t'a* 'he has finished' (narrative past; §28).
 18. Narrative past of *kutɔ́·ka* 'to arise'.
 19. Narrative past of *kuyá·mba* 'to begin'.
 20. The infinitive form is employed here after the auxiliary, just as in English.
 21. See 11 above.
 22. This demonstrative is regularly employed as a relative pronoun; see §48, b.
 23. See 15 above. *a-* subjective concordance, *-má-* imperfect or past descriptive; §28, f.
 24. The conjunctive *ní* takes this form before independent personal pronouns and before words with initial *a*.
 25. Independent personal pronoun; §41.
 26. *w-a-ŋ-t'ámíng-í-r-a*. *w-* (*u-*) concordance of Class 1 singular in the narrative past (§28, b), *-a-* tense-aspect prefix (§28, b), *-ŋ-* objective verbal concordance, Class 1 singular (§27), *-t'ámíng-* stem, *-i-* connecting vowel (§25), *-r-* applicative suffix (§31), *-a* vocalic suffix (§30). 'He ran with reference to him.'
 27. *a·li*. *a-* subjective concordance, *-li* defective verb; §34.
 28. Interjectional calls to attract attention.
 29. *w-a·b-a* from *kú·ba* 'to steal'. The form is recent past with present influence; §28, b.
 30. *yá·ŋga*. *ya-* qualificative concordance, type one, in agreement with **k'wá·ngwa* (§39), *-ŋga* possessive stem, first person singular; §46.
 31. The demonstrative is used here with gesture for clarity; §48, b. 'He, the one at a short distance away.'
 32. *wó·samvé·ra* < *wákúsamvé·ra*. *wa-* qualificative concordance, type one (§39), *ku-* infinitive prefix (§32), *-sa-* negative element (§36),

- mver-* stem 'sense, except visually'. Cf. 40 below. Formally, this is a qualificative construction.
33. *ɛso* 'again' (§37, i), *kut'ána* 'to call'.
 34. See §52.
 35. The *y* is a glide-sound between the vowels; cf. §2. The reference is to a point in space, located at a short distance from the speaker. It is accompanied by gesture; see §48, b.
 36. *m^rdé·ndu* < *m-lé·ndu*; see §3.
 37. Radical descriptive, type B (§33), from *kutcéndjéwú·ka* 'to look backward'.
 38. *ɲkútá* < *mukutí tciyá·ni*; see §49, a. This contracted form is regularly employed.
 39. The applicative form of the verb *kú·ti* (§34), with demonstrative *ɔ*; §48, c.
 40. See 32 above. This verb has three forms, all of the same conceptual significance: *kú·va* *kú·mva*, and *kumvé·ra*. The third form seems to be derived from the second by affixation of the applicative suffix *-r-*. All are, however, employed with exactly the same meaning.
 41. *ya-* as in 30 above, *-kɛ* possessive stem, second person singular; §46.
 42. Noun of Class 3; §15.
 43. The plural is used in formal references; cf. §11. The stranger is no longer thought of as a thief, but is now thought of as a person who will probably be offended; cf. 51 below.
 44. Noun of Class 5; §17.
 45. *dza-* 'come in order to' (§37), *-tɛng-* stem, *-ɛ* vocalic suffix supporting the reference (§30), *-ni* 'ye' employed in the formal imperative; §29.
 46. Noun of Class 5; §17.
 47. Applicative form of *kubvé·ra* 'to return' (§31), meaning that the stranger returned before reaching his destination.
 48. The man who lives on the village grounds; cf. §50, j.
 49. See 7 above. 'Then he caught.'
 50. This is the noise made by the fowl.
 51. *ku-* infinitive prefix, *ɲ-* objective verbal concordance, Class 1 singular, *-pats-* stem, *-a* vocalic suffix. 'Then he gave (it) to him.' See 7 above. He did this because the stranger might have sued him for false accusation, and the compensation would have been more valuable than a fowl. Perhaps he would have been required to pay a goat or a cow. This story illustrates a very important phase of Chewa legal sanctions.

TEXT No. 2

ⁿsá·tɔ¹ ⁿtí² ^mu·nt'ú³
python and person
kalé⁴ kudá:lí⁵ ⁿsá·tɔ¹ ⁿtí² ^mu·nt'ú³ asatɔ⁶
once there were python and person pythons
βαιένδο·κάγε·νδα⁷ βάττ⁸ βάγένδα⁹
they walk to go in order to travel they were they traveled
té·rɔ¹⁰ βαιένδο·fiká¹¹ pa¹² dí·βa¹³ pasi¹⁴
like that they walk to arrive on deadfall underneath
lɔ:wú¹⁵ úmɔ¹⁶ βát'é·rɔ¹⁷ díβá¹³ bwánt'ú¹⁸
entered there-in they did like that deadfall fell
kara:zú¹⁹ kara:zú¹⁹ kara:zú¹⁹ βa·mbɔ·lí·ra²⁰ wá²¹ wá²¹
they began to cry
wá²¹ munt'ú³ uyɔ²² ádá:lí⁵ ⁿgátí²³ úkɔ²⁴ ⁿɛ²⁵
person that he was approximately over there in
mundá²⁶ mwáke²⁷ wamwε·ra²⁸ a·lí²⁹ á'³⁰ ⁿɛ³¹ tciyá·ní³²
field his he sensed he said ah is what
ɸkáwɔ·nε³³ wafi·ka¹¹ wapeza³⁴ asatɔ⁶
me go in order to see let he arrived he found pythons
βali⁵ taka:zú¹⁹ taka:zú¹⁹ taka:zú¹⁹ βáttí⁸ βáwóná³³
they are they were they saw
^mu·nt'ú³ βa·lí²⁹ nakúπε·mba³⁵ nanzá·kɔ³⁶ munt'ú³
person they said I you beg I fellowman your person
a·lí²⁹ mwátáni³⁷ asá·tɔ⁶ asatɔ⁶ βa·lí²⁹
he said ye have done what pythons pythons they said
nimayendá⁷ pa·nɔ³⁸ ⁿdíkɔ³⁹ kunúgwé·ra⁴⁰ tciwára⁴¹
I was traveling here-on then to me fall upon big stone
i·tci⁴² munt'ú³ wayambɔ·tciñámú·ra⁴³ ali⁵ ná·tɔ⁴⁴
this person he began to it lift he is with it
ñá:mú⁴³ aǰéndɔ·tci·ká⁴⁵ pá·sí¹⁴ ⁿgátí²³ yá·pɔ⁴⁶
lifted he walks to it place down approximately over there
úmɔ¹⁶ wát'é·rɔ⁴⁷ wapeza³⁴ asatɔ⁶ hɔ'⁴⁸ hɔ'⁴⁸
there-in he did like that he found pythons
hɔ'⁴⁸ pɔ́mb'é·ré·ru⁴⁹ pɔ́mb'é·ré·ru⁴⁹ pɔ́mb'é·ré·ru⁴⁹ ⁿɛ²⁵
coiling around coiling around coiling around in
t'upi⁵⁰ mwá·ke²⁷ munt'ú³ a·lí²⁹ asá·tɔ⁶ ⁿɛ³¹ tciyá·ní³²
body his person he said pythons is what
asatɔ⁶ βa·lí²⁹ ⁿdjara⁵¹ i·nε⁵² nífúna⁵³ kú·dǰa⁵⁴
pythons they said hunger I I wish to eat

munt'u³ a·li²⁹ á³⁰ mudĩé⁵⁴ i·ne⁵² nákw·mbórá·ni⁵⁵
 person he said ah ye eat me I have you rescued
βa·li²⁹ i·nde⁵⁶ úmó¹⁶ βát·é·ro¹⁷ karurú⁵⁷
 they said yes there-in they did like that rabbit
wafi·ka¹¹ wapeza³⁴ batcíta⁵⁸ tciwá·wa⁵⁹ a·li²⁹
 he arrived he found they are making noise he said
ŋ³¹ tciyá·ni³² tciwawá⁵⁹ tcó·se⁶⁰ i·tci⁴² munt'u³ a·li²⁹
 is what noise all this person he said
i·ne⁵² ŋnáli⁵ úkó²⁴ ku⁶¹ ŋndá²⁶ wá·ŋga⁶² nava²⁸
 I I was over there at field my I sensed
asátó⁶ kulí·ra²⁰ ni·ri²⁹ á³⁰ ŋkáwó·ne³³
 pythons crying I said ah me go in order to see let
nátí³ náfi·ka¹¹ napeza³⁴ asató⁶ βali²⁹ kara:zú¹⁹
 I was I arrived I found pythons they are
kara:zú¹⁹ kara:zú¹⁹ βátí³ βáwóná³³ i·ne⁵² βa·li²⁹
 they were they saw me they said
nakúpe·mba³⁵ namzá·kó³⁶ ŋtcótséré⁶³ tciwára⁴¹ i·tci⁴²
 I you beg I fellowman your me remove for big stone this
ni·éndo·ticitó·tsa⁶³ úmó¹⁶ nátí³ nátcitcót·tsa⁶³ napeza³⁴
 I walk to it remove there-in I was I it removed I found
asató⁶ βayambo·dzikúrwá⁶⁴ ŋ²⁵ t'upi⁵⁰ mwá·ŋga⁶²
 pythons they began to themselves wind in body my
ni·ri²⁹ á³⁰ asá·tó⁶ ŋ³¹ tciyá·ni³² iwó⁶⁵ βa·li²⁹
 I said ah pythons is what they they said
ndjara⁵¹ i·ne⁵² níkwúdiá⁵⁴ i·we⁶⁶ i·ne⁵² ni·ri²⁹ mudĩé⁵⁴
 hunger I I eat you I I said ye eat
i·ne⁵² nákw·mbórá·ni⁵⁵ iwó⁶⁵ βa·li²⁹ i·nde⁵⁶ ndimó⁶⁷
 I I have you rescued they they said yes is there-in
u·mó¹⁶ mwátípézerá³⁴ títcíta⁵⁸ tciwá·wa⁵⁹ karurú⁵⁷
 there-in ye have us found we are making noise rabbit
a·li²⁹ ŋ³¹ zó·wó·na⁶⁸ i·zi⁶⁹ asá·tó⁶ iwó⁶⁶ βa·li²⁹
 he said are truths these pythons they they said
i·nde⁵⁶ karurú⁵⁷ a·li²⁹ tcábwi·no⁷⁰ ká⁷¹ niwóné³³ i·ne⁵²
 yes rabbit he said all right let me see let me
umó¹⁶ ŋndágn·érá⁷² pásí¹⁴ pámwá·ra⁴¹ asató⁶
 there-in ye have lain underneath of stone pythons
βai·éndo·góná⁷² pá·sí¹⁴ karurú⁵⁷ a·li²⁹ tɛŋga⁷³ mwá·ra⁴¹
 they walk to lie down rabbit he said take stone
uβiké⁴⁵ pamwambá⁷⁴ páásá·tó⁶ munt'u³ ai·éndo·tɛngá⁷³
 it place on top of pythons person he walks to take

*mwá·ra*⁴¹ *nú·wúβíká*⁴⁵ *pamwambá*⁷⁴ *páásá·tò*⁶ *úmǒ*¹⁶
stone and to it place on top of pythons there-in
*wát·é·rɔ*⁴⁷ *karurú*⁵⁷ *a·lí*²⁹ *kazipíta*⁷⁵ *i·we*⁶⁶
he did like that rabbit he said go you

TRANSLATION

The Python and the Man

Once upon a time there were a python and a man. One day Sir Python went on a journey. Soon after he left, he came to a deadfall and entered beneath it. Just as he did so, the deadfall fell upon him. He scuffled and cried for help. A man who was working in his field not far away heard the noise and said, 'Ah, what is that? Let me go and see.' When he arrived, he found Sir Python trying to escape. As soon as he saw the man, Sir Python said, 'I beg you, release your fellowman.' The man said, 'What is the trouble, Sir Python?' Sir Python said, 'I was walking along here and this big stone fell upon me.' The man then lifted the stone and put it aside. As soon as he did so, Sir Python began to hiss and coil around the man's body. The man said, 'Sir Python, what is the trouble?' Sir Python said, 'I am hungry; I wish to eat.' The man said, 'Ah, are you going to eat me? I have rescued you!' Sir Python said, 'Yes.' While they were disputing, rabbit came. He said, 'What is all this noise?' The man said, 'I was over there in my field and heard Sir Python crying. I said, "Let me go and see what the trouble is." When I arrived, I found Sir Python struggling beneath this stone. As soon as he saw me, he said, "I beg you, I, your fellowman, remove this stone for me." Then I removed it. But as I did so, Sir Python began to wind himself around my body. I said, "Ah, Sir Python, what is the trouble?" He said, "I am hungry; I am going to eat you." I said, "Are you going to eat me? I have rescued you!" He said, "Yes." That is how you found us making this noise.' Rabbit said, 'Are these things true, Sir Python?' Sir Python said, 'Yes.' Rabbit said, 'All right, let me see how you lay beneath the stone.' Sir Python then lay down. Rabbit said, 'Take the stone and place it on top of Sir Python.' The man then took the stone and placed it on top of Sir Python. As soon as he did so, rabbit said, 'Be on your way'.

NOTES

1. Noun of Class 5; §17.
2. See note 2 of the first text.

3. See note 1 of the first text.
4. 'Once upon a time.' See §51.
5. *ku-dá:-lí*. *ku-* subjective verb concordance, Class 10, *-dá:-* tense-aspect prefix (§28, e), *-lí* defective verb (§34); see also §28, c.
6. The noun has been changed to the plural of Class 1 for formal reference. It may be translated as 'Sir Python'; see §11.
7. See note 6 of the first text. *βαιένδο·κάγε·νδα* < *βαιένδα kukáγε·νδα*. *-ká-* 'go in order to' (§37, a); *ni-má-ye·nd-a* 'I was traveling'. *-má-* tense-aspect prefix; §28, f.
- 8-9. See notes 11, 12, 16, and 17 of the first text: 'soon after he left'; see §35, e.
10. See note 12 of the first text.
11. See note 7 of the first text.
12. See note 8 of the first text.
13. Noun of Class 3; §15.
14. Locative; §50, c.
15. Radical descriptive, type B (§33), from *kuló·βα* 'to enter'.
- 16-17. See notes 11 and 39 of the first text.
18. Same as 15 above. The *a* is of very brief duration and the first syllable is heavily stressed. *-nt'u* is unvoiced. The form is from *kubwánt'u·ka* 'to fall (referring to something which is propped)', the non-agentive passive of *kubwánt'u·ra* 'to knock down that which is propped'; see §31, d: 'it became knocked down'.
19. Same as 18 above. *kukárázú·ka* or *kutákázú·ka* 'to scuffle on the ground'.
20. See notes 18-20 of the first text. *βa·mbo·lí·ra* < *βayamba kulí·ra*.
21. This is the noise which he made when crying. *a* as in *hat*.
22. See note 22 of the first text.
- 23-24. See notes 34 and 35 of the first text.
25. *η* < *mu*. Locative; §50.
26. Noun of Class 2; §13. *ηnda* < *mundá*.
27. *mwa-* qualificative concordance, type one, Class 9 (§39), *-ke* possessive stem, Class 1 singular (§46).
28. See notes 32 and 40 of the first text.
29. See note 27 of the first text.
30. Interjection, §53.
- 31-32. *η* < *ni*. Copula (§38), *tciyá·ni* < *tcint'u tciyá·ni* 'what is the trouble? what is that?' See §49.
33. *pkáwó·ne* < *ni-ká-wó·n-ε*. *ni-* subjective or objective concordance, first person singular (§27), *-ká-* 'go in order to' (§37, a), *-won-*

- stem (§25), -ε vocalic suffix expressing the hortatory mood (§25, §29, and §30): 'let me go and see'.
34. *w-a-pe-z-a* narrative past of *kupé:za*; see §28, b.
 35. *kupé:mba* 'to implore, to make fire'. *n(i)-a-kú-pe-mb-a*. *ni*-subjective concordance, *-a*- tense-aspect prefix (recent past with present influence or recent past durative); see §26 and §28. The verb is regularly used in this tense to express a present act of imploring. *-pe-mb-* stem, *-a* vocalic suffix; see §25 and §30.
 36. See §42.
 37. *mwatá:ni* < *mwatcita tciyá:ni* 'ye have done what? what is the trouble?' See §49.
 38. Demonstrative; §48, b: 'here where I am included.'
 39. See §51.
 40. *ku-ní-gw-é-r-a*. The infinitive form is employed, as the context is clear; see §32, f. *-ni-* objective concordance (§27), *-gw-* stem (§25), *-ε-* connecting vowel (§25), *-r-* applicative suffix (§31, c), *-a* vocalic suffix (§25 and §30): 'it fell with reference to me.' Cf. note 26 of the first text.
 41. *tci-mwá:ra*. *tci-* prefix of Class 6 used semantically; §19. The reference is derogatory. *mwá:ra* 'stone', noun of Class 2a; §14.
 42. Demonstrative; §48, b. He is near the stone, but not included by it. Cf. note 38 above.
 43. *wayambo:tciñámú:ra* < *w-a-yamb-a ku-tci-ñámú:r-a*. *waya:mba* narrative past of *kuyá:mba* 'to begin', *ku-* infinitive prefix (§32), *-tci-* objective concordance (§27), *-ñamur-* stem (§25), *-a* vocalic suffix (§25 and §30), *ña:mú* radical descriptive, type B (§33).
 44. *ná:tcɔ* < *ná i:tcɔ*. *ná* conjunctive (§52), *i:tcɔ* independent pronoun, Class 6 singular (§41). *ali ná:tcɔ* 'he has it'; see §34.
 45. *ajéndɔ:tci:ka* < *ajénda kutciβi:ka*. *kubi:ka* 'to place', *ku-tci-βi:k-a* 'to place it': 'then he placed it'.
 46. See notes 34 and 35 of the first text.
 47. See note 39 of the first text.
 48. The hissing of the python, spoken somewhat as a whisper.
 49. Radical descriptive, type B (§33), from *kupombé:ra* 'to coil'.
 50. Noun of Class 3; §15.
 51. Noun of Class 5; §17.
 52. Independent personal pronoun; §41.
 53. *ni-fú:n-a* present indicative, first person singular; see §28. *kufú:na* 'to wish'.

54. See note 20 of the first text. *mu-* subjective concordance, second person plural or formal, *-d̥i-* stem, *-ε* vocalic suffix, indicating that the action is contrary to that which is expected; see §30, A: e.
55. *nákó·mbórá·ni* < *n(i)-á-kú-wómbór-á·ni*. The high pitch is exclamatory. *n(i)*-subjective concordance (§27), *-a-* tense-aspect prefix (§28, b), *-ku-* . . . *-ni* objective concordance, second person plural or formal (§27), *-wómbór-* stem (§25), *-a* vocalic suffix. *kuwómbó·ra* 'to rescue, to ransom'.
56. See §53.
57. Noun of Class 1a; §12.
58. The present tense is employed in this type of construction, somewhat as in English. *kutí·ta* 'to do, to make (in this sense)'.
59. Noun of Class 6; §18.
60. See §45.
61. Locative; §50.
62. See note 27 above.
63. *ñtcóts·é·r·ε* < *ni-tcóts-é·r-ε*. *ni-* subjective or objective concordance, first person singular, *-tcóts-* stem, *-ε-* connecting vowel, *-r-* applicative suffix, *-ε* vocalic suffix (§30, A: b): 'please remove this stone for me'.
64. *Bayamba·dzíkú·rú·nga* < *Bayamba ku-dzi-kú·rú·ng-a*. *-dzi-* reflexive (§31, g), *kukú·rú·nga* 'to wind'.
65. Independent personal pronoun; §41. The plural is employed, as reference to the python is formal throughout the story; cf. §11.
66. Independent personal pronoun; §41.
67. *ñdimó* < *ni u·mó*. *ni* copula (§38), *u·mó* demonstrative (§48, b): 'it is thus'.
68. *zówó·na* < *zint'u zákúwó·na* 'seen things, truths'; see §18.
69. Demonstrative; §48, b; cf. note 42 above.
70. See §53.
71. *ká* < *le·ka*. Simple imperative (§29, c), from *kulé·ka* 'to permit'.
72. *ñnágóné·rá* < *mú-ná-gón-é·r-á*. *mu-* subjective concordance, second person plural or formal (§27), *-ná-* tense-aspect prefix, recent past without present influence or recent past momentaneous (§26 and §28, c), *-gón-* stem (§25), *-ε-* connecting vowel (§25), *-r-* applicative suffix (§31, c), *-a* vocalic suffix; §25 and §30.
73. Simple imperative; §29, c. *kuté·nga* 'to take'.
74. Locative; §50, d.
75. Strong imperative; §29, a.