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Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara

Wal, G.J. van der

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2. A short description of Makhuwa-Enahara

2.1 Phonology

This section gives an overview of the sounds (consonants and vowels) used in Makhuwa-Enahara and the rules and principles which apply to them. The syllable structure is also described in this section. Makhuwa is a tone language. The tonology is described in section 2; throughout the chapter underlying high tones are marked by underlining where useful, and all high tones are marked by an acute accent.

2.1.1 Consonants

As can be seen in Table 1, Makhuwa has voiceless and aspirated stops, but no voiced stops. The fricatives, on the other hand, do make the distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds. In the table, the stops <t> and <th> are placed under “alveolar”, but their place of articulation varies between dental and alveolar. The unaspirated retroflex stop <tt> can have a slight rhotic feature [ɾ] at the release. The place of articulation of <h> is glottal, but phonologically it behaves as velar; the place of articulation of <v> is labiodental.

Table 1 - Consonants²

		labial	alveolar	retroflex	(pre)palatal	velar
stops	vl	p	t	tt		k
	asp	ph	th	tth		kh
fricatives	vl	f	s		sh	
	vd	v	z			
affricates			ts		c	
nasal sonorant		m	n		ny	ng'
oral sonorant			r, l			
approximants		w			y	h

My database contains one word which uses the velar nasal [ŋ] as a phoneme, which is probably onomatopoeic (5). Otherwise [ŋ] is conditioned by a following velar consonant (6).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------|----------|
| (5) | ong'óng'a | [oŋóŋa] | to snore |
| (6) | nkhóyi | [ŋkhóyi] | line |
| | nhútsi | [ŋhútsi] | sauce |

² The sounds in this table are represented as graphemes

There is a co-occurrence restriction on dental/alveolar and retroflex stops within a stem (Schadeberg and Mucanheia's (2000) dental-retroflex incompatibility). Only such examples as in (7) and (8) are attested in the database, which show combinations of either two dental/alveolar or two retroflex stops, but not one of each.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------|
| (7) | othátúwa | to do witchcraft |
| | othótóla | to visit |
| | ntáta | hand |
| (8) | tthomóntto | hippo |
| | etthonttowa | stars |
| | nttéénttefu | wasp |

Aspiration and Katupha's Law

Aspiration is a contrastive feature for stops in Makhuwa, as can be seen in the following minimal pairs.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|
| (9) | epúla | rain |
| | ephúla | nose |
| | ottótta | to find |
| | otthótta | to sew |

Katupha (1983:27) notes that there is a constraint on the co-occurrence of aspirated consonants in Makhuwa-Esaaka. Within a stem, unaspirated consonants can combine with each other and with aspirated consonants, but there are no combinations of two aspirated consonants. Makhuwa-Enahara also largely obeys this constraint. The domain for which this constraint holds is the stem. Thus, within nouns like in (10), only one aspirated stop occurs, but in combinations of prefixes and stem, two may co-occur. In (11) the negative prefix *kha-* retains its aspiration even when combined with a verb stem which contains an aspirated consonant.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (10) | ekáráka | load (< Pt. carga) |
| | nikháka | dried cassava |
| | okákha | to push |
| | othótóla | to visit |
| | otóthóla | to give birth (of animals) |
| (11) | kha-ni-ń-thúma | emańka |
| | NEG-1PL-PRES-buy.DJ | 10.mangos |
| | 'we don't buy mangos' | |

Schadeberg (1999) introduced the name “Katupha’s Law” to denote the fact that “deaspiration applies in Makhuwa to all but the last aspirated consonant in a stem” (p.383). This is visible in causative formation where the allomorphs *-iha* and *-sha* have the same effect (12), and in reduplications like in (13): only the second part of the reduplications has the aspirated stop [tth]/[ph] while the first has become unaspirated.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (12) | othúma | to buy |
| | otúmiha | to sell |
| | ottípha | to extinguish (intr.) |
| | ottípiha | to extinguish (tr.) |
| | ophwéeya | to break (intr.) |
| | opwésa | to break (tr.) |
| (13) | eputtípútthi | sheep |
| | piríphiri | hot small pepper |

Schadeberg (1999) shows that the Makhuwa causative extension is a reflex of Proto-Bantu *-ici-*, which has evolved to *-ithi-*, with an aspirated consonant, and from there to *-ih-*. Although in present-day Makhuwa the causative extension does not contain an aspirated consonant anymore, it still triggers the application of Katupha’s Law. Occurrences of [h] from another source do not trigger or undergo the law, as shown in (14).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--|
| (14) | mihákha | barns |
| | ohańtíkha | to write Arabic script (< Sw. andika ‘to write’) |
| | fizyáu eholókho | type of bean |

There are a few counterexamples to Katupha’s Law, in the retention of the aspiration with a causative morpheme or reduplication. In (15) and (16) the verb retains aspiration in the stem, which may signal the beginning of the non-application of Katupha’s Law in productive synchronic processes.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (15) | o-ń-túph-ihá | nthály’ | úule (H14.19) | | |
| | 1-1-jump-CAUS | 3.tree | 3.DEM.III | | |
| | ‘to let/make him jump (over) the tree’ | | | | |
| (16) | katá | nípuro | yań-táthá | oo-thólá-thólá | kha-m’-phwánya |
| | every | 5.place | 2.IMPF.DJ-shake | 1.PERF.DJ-search-RED | NEG.1-PRES-meet.DJ |
| | ‘everywhere he shook, he searched, he doesn’t find (it)’ (K1.25) | | | | |

Moraic consonants

In a sequence of two consonants the first consonant is moraic. There are three possibilities in such sequences: two labial consonants <pp, ww>, two sonorant consonants <ll, mm>, or a nasal or oral sonorant preceding any consonant <mp, nt>. Makhuwa does not have prenasalised consonants. The possible moraic consonants are listed and exemplified in (17). The acute accent in these examples indicates a high tone on the consonant.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (17) | wi'ppa | to swell | cf: wiipa | to sing |
| | ori'ppeléla | to be dark | | |
| | wi'vva | to kill | cf: wiiva | to kill (Central) |
| | mi'wwa | thorns | | |
| | wi'wwa | to hear | | |
| | ophe'wwa | to be humid | | |
| | numme | toad | | |
| | wimma | to bear fruit | | |
| | wumma | to be dry | | |
| | weéshéra numma | to support the head with the hands | | |
| | ni'no | tooth | | |
| | oca'nnáthi | heaven, paradise | | |
| | mwa'nnáka | my husband | | |
| | wu'nnúwa | to grow | | |
| | esasa'lla | wood chips | | |
| | ma'llímu | teacher at islamic school | | |
| | wu'lla | to cry | | |
| | wi'lla | to dusk | | |
| | otha'lla | to choose | | |
| | epaá'rti | bucket | | |

One example has been found with a long rhotic sonorant (18). This loanword can be pronounced with the vowel -a-, but is easily pronounced without it, which results in a long consonant.

- (18) erara'ńca ~ erra'ńca (< Pt. laranja) orange

In preconsonantal position, nasals always have their own mora and tone, and they are homorganic with the following consonant. The nasals can occur within the nominal stem (19), or be a separate morpheme, such as the class 1 object marker (20), or class prefix (21). See Cheng and Kisseberth (1982) for more information.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| (19) | ttońtto | rag doll | |
| | mońkólo | millipede | |
| | kalápińteéro | carpenter (< Pt. carpinteiro) | |
| | mańsha | life (cf. Sw. maisha 'life') | |
| | ekitthíńpuwa | ball-shaped doughnut | |
| | nańtáta | plant with spikes | |
| (20) | o-ń-síceérya | to receive (someone) | |
| | 15-1-receive | | |
| | o-ń-hímeérya | to say to someone | |
| | 15-1-tell | | |
| (21) | mpattháni | friend (cl.1) | [mpatʰani] |
| | nvélo | broom (cl.3) | [ɲvelo] |
| | ntthúpi | dust | [ɲʰupi] |
| | nhúre | type of fish (cl.3) | [ɲhure] |

A word-medial nasal preceding an [l] often, but still optionally, assimilates in manner, resulting in a long consonant [ll]. This option is not available word-initially: a nasal noun class prefix assimilates in place, but not in manner of articulation (22). The assimilation in manner occurs within a verb, for example, in assimilation of a present tense marker (23), or a class 1 object marker (24), preceding a verb stem beginning with [l]. In the phrase in (24) two verbs are used, both with an object marker. Preceding the verb *-thupulusha* 'chase' the marker is a nasal, but preceding the verb *-luma* 'to bite' it becomes oral [l]. Example (25) shows that the imbricated perfect marker {*n*} assimilates when preceding [l] at the end of a verb stem. See section 2.4.4 for more information on the perfective stem {*N*}C-*e* in Makhuwa-Enahara.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|----------|------------------|
| (22) | n-láttu | mi-láttu | problem (cl.3/4) |
| | n-lúku | ma-lúku | stone (cl.5/6) |
| (23) | o-l-límpáří | ecanelá | |
| | o-N-límpáří | | |
| | 1-PRES.CJ-clean | 9.window | |
| | 'she cleans the window' | | |

- (24) e-na-'l-lúm-ak-átsá e-ná-ń-thúpulúsha (K1.70)
 10-PRES.DJ-1-bite-DUR-PLUR 10-PRES.DJ-1-chase
 'they are biting him, they are chasing him'

- (25) a. o-caw-e{1}l-é mparása
 o-caw-e{n}l-é
 1-run-APPL{PERF}-PERF.CJ 18.fortress
 'he ran to the fortress'
- b. Hamisi o-thiki{1}l-é nthali
 o-thiki{n}l-é
 1.Hamisi 1-cut{PERF}-PERF.CJ 3.tree
 'Hamisi cut down a tree'

Glides

The phonological status of glides is ambiguous: in some cases a glide is clearly consonantal, while in others we know that it is derived from an underlying vowel (i, e > y; u, o > w). The sequence CGV is not uncommon, although [y] is far less attested than [w] in these combinations (26). The glides in these occurrences contrast with each other (27a) and with their absence (27b,c).

- (26) mpwína trunk
 ephwétsa octopus
 ekwáattyo forking branch(es)
- (27) a. mwaápu waterpot
 myaápu waterpots
- b. mwaána child
 maána... because
- c. moóno arm
 myoóno arms

Glides without a preceding consonant (syllable structure GV) can be derived from a vowel, or have a phonemic consonant status. The two cases are visible, for example, in the combination of noun class prefix 15 *o-* and a vowel initial- or glide-initial verb stem, such as *-arya* 'to shine' in (28). Both infinitives in (28a) and (28b) contain a [w], but only in (28b) is the glide inherently consonantal. In (28a) the glide is underlyingly a vowel (namely, the *o-* of class 15).

- (28)
- | | | | |
|----|----------|--------|---------------|
| a. | o + arya | waarya | to shine |
| b. | o + wara | owara | to wear |
| c. | o + yara | oyara | to give birth |

Word-initially and stem-initially [w] and [y] contrast with each other and with their absence, as illustrated in the combinations in (29) and (30).

- (29)
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| oo-rówa | cl. 1/6 went |
| 1/6.PERF.DJ-go | |
| w-oo-rówa | you / cl. 3/14 went |
| 2.SG/3/14-PERF.DJ-go | |
| y-oo-rówa | cl. 9 went |
| 9-PERF.DJ-go | |
- (30)
- | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-----------|-------------------------|
| maátsí | a | Swaáléhe | water of Sualehe |
| 6.water | 6.CONN | 1.Sualehe | |
| ehópá | y-a | Swaáléhe | fish of Sualehe |
| 9.fish | 9-CONN | 1.Sualehe | |
| nsifi | w-a | Swaáléhe | fishing line of Sualehe |
| 3.fishing.line | 3-CONN | 1.Sualehe | |

Between two vowels, in the sequence VGV, the status of the glide is even less clear. It could be an inherent glide, it could be derived from a vowel, or just be epenthetic. Since its status depends partly on the syllable structure, this sequence is discussed in section 2.1.3 on syllable structure.

2.1.2 Vowels

Makhuwa-Enahara has a 5-vowel system, with contrastive short and long vowels, as shown in Table 2. The vowel quality of the mid-vowels varies in the degree of openness and may be perceived as [ɛ] or [e], and [ɔ] or [o].

Table 2 - Vowels

i	e	a	o	u
ii	ee	aa	oo	uu

There are three words in which a nasalised vowel occurs: *hĩ* ‘we, us’, *-ehũ* ‘our’, and the locative demonstratives *ũwo/ũwe* ‘there’. Otherwise, nasalisation is not a contrastive feature of vowels.

Constraint on i/u word-initially

In Makhuwa-Enahara there is a constraint on the occurrence of high vowels word-initially.³ Word-initial vowels will always be [e, a, o], as shown in (31) and (32), in contrast with some other dialects, which do allow [i] or [u] in noun prefixes or demonstratives, like the Ikorovere data from Kisseberth (2003). Central Makhuwa (Centis 2001) distinguishes the singular/plural in the prefix class 9 *e-* and class 10 *i-*, whereas Ikorovere and Enahara no longer mark this distinction. The question remains whether these word-initial vowels are underlyingly still high in Enahara.

(31)	class	Ikorovere	Enahara	Central	
	14	ú-ráwo	o-rávo	o-ravo	honey
	15	u-líma	o-líma	o-lima	to cultivate
	17	u-culu	o-tsulú	o-sulu	up, on top
	9	i-kulúwe	e-kulúwe	e-kuluwe	pig
	10	i-kuluwe	e-kulúwe	i-kuluwe	pigs

(32)	Ikorovere:	úlá	mwaán'	óola
	Enahara:	ólá	mwaámán'	oola
		1.DEM.I	1.child	1.DEM.I
			'this child'	

Long vowels

The contrastiveness of length is illustrated in the minimal pairs in (33). Long vowels are written with two symbols (e.g., <aa>, not <a:>). Makhuwa does not have automatic penultimate lengthening as in other Bantu languages, such as Makwe and Makonde.

(33)	o-mála	to finish (intr.)
	o-máala	to be quiet
	onóna	to sharpen
	onoóna	you see
	ophéla	to pull out
	ophéela	to want

I analyse long vowels as two vowels, both with their own mora. The presence of two moras can be seen in two different environments. First, it is possible to assign a H to only one of the two vowels of a sequence, which shows that they are two units, as in (34).

³ One exception to this constraint are the demonstratives of classes 4 and 10: *iya*, *iyo*, *iye*.

- (34) ehaása sea turtle
nipháawa soup spoon

Second, both vowels count in a tonal process such as H-tone doubling (HTD; see section 2.2.1). In HTD each underlying H is doubled onto the next mora, which is only the first of two vowels in (35). In the first verb in (36), *káákushálé*, the underlying H on the first vowel only spreads to the second vowel (*áá*), and not to the next syllable (*-kush-*).

- (35) waápéeliya to be cooked for
15-cook-APPL-PASS
- (36) káá-kush-álé ntsúrúkhú kaánáa-hĩmya
1SG.CF-take-PERF.CJ 3.money 1SG.IMPf.DJ-speak
'if I had taken the money, I would say so'

Vowel coalescence

Sequences of vowels within the word arise on the boundary of nominal or verbal prefixes and vowel-initial stems or TAM morphemes. In general, two equal vowels form a long vowel, and a sequence of a high and non-high vowel results in a glide and (possibly lengthened) vowel. The processes are illustrated in (37) with singular-plural pairs of classes 3/4. The nominal prefixes for these classes are *mu-* and *mi-*.

- (37) mwiici - miici cheetah
mwétto - mwétto leg⁴
mwaápu - myaápu water pot
moówa - myoówa intestinal worm
muúra - myuúra bow

When only the first vowel in a sequence is low, it forms a long vowel with the second. The vowel quality is that of the second vowel. The lowering influence of [a] is visible only when the second vowel is [i]. This is illustrated in examples of class 6, to be compared with the singular in class 5 (38). The prefixes of these classes are *ni-* and *ma-*, respectively.

- (38) niítho - meétho eye
neéku - meéku cloud
naáru - maáru ear
noóce - moóce egg
nuúlúmo - muúlúmo word

⁴ Some words do not have a distinct class 4 plural. They behave as a class 4, but retain the class 3 form, which can be seen in examples like class 3 *mwetto wawe* 'his leg' and class 4 *mwetto tsawe* 'his legs'.

The form of other word-internal vowel sequences is specific to the morphological environment, and these are therefore discussed in the sections which treat these morphemes.

Liaison

Liaison is (re-)syllabification across word boundaries. This can happen between two words if the second word starts with a vowel. Within the noun phrase it is almost always the case that two elements are combined and resyllabified, resulting in liaison between the noun and the possessives, demonstratives, and adjectives, as illustrated in (39) and (40). Liaison happens often between a verb and an object, and seldom between a subject and a verb. When two non-high vowels [e,a,o] form a sequence across word boundaries the first vowel assimilates to the second, forming a long vowel (41).

- (39) mwalápw' ááw' óole
 mwalapwa awe ole
 1.dog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III
 'his dog'
- (40) oo-váh-íya eyoóc' aaw' ey' éele (H11.41)
 eyooa awe eyo ele
 1.PERF.DJ-give-PASS 9.food 9.POSS.1 9.DEM.II 9.DEM.III
 'he was given that very food of his'
- (41) oopácér' oocáwa (K1.31)
 oopacera ocawa
 1.PERF.DJ-start 15.run
 'he started running'

A vowel sequence can also merge and form a short vowel, as in (42) and (43). Whether the combination retains its moras (long vowel) or undergoes reduction (short vowel) seems to depend on the speech rate: the faster the speech, the shorter the resyllabified vowels.

- (42) yaá-háa-vo enám' émotsá (K1.78)
 enama emotsa
 9.PAST-be-LOC 9.animal 9-one
 'there was an animal'
- (43) omwéh' ótsulú
 o-m-weha otsulu
 1-PRES.CJ-look 17.up
 'he looks up'

When a word-final high vowel is followed by a word starting with a non-high vowel, the first becomes a glide in liaison, with possible compensatory lengthening of the second vowel (44). In (45) the last vowel of *naphúlu* ‘frog’ is pronounced [w] before the possessive *awe*, while in (46) there is no glide in the same environment with the word *ephúla* ‘nose’. The second vowel can now be pronounced as a high vowel, as in (47) and (48), where the demonstrative *ela* and *ohoolo* ‘in front’ are pronounced as *ila* and *uhoolo*, respectively.

- (44) áthw’ óotééné a-náá-théya
 atthu oteene
 2.people 2.all 1-PRES.DJ-laugh
 ‘all the people are laughing’
- (45) naphúlw’ áaw’ óole (K3.35)
 naphulu awe ole
 1.frog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III
 ‘that frog of his’
- (46) ephúl’ ááwe (K1.56)
 ephula awe
 9.nose 9.POSS.1
 ‘his nose’
- (47) etthw’ íila yoo-kí-lúm’ ephúla (K1.55)
 etthu ela
 9.thing 9.DEM.I 9.PERF.DJ-1SG-bite 9.nose
 ‘this thing bit me in the nose!’
- (48) nlópwána or’ úhóóló wa nlúku
 ori ohoolo
 1.man 1-be 17.front 17-CONN 5.stone
 ‘the man is in front of the stone’

In liaison, a H belonging to the last mora of the first element can be realised on the vowel which is the result of liaison. The H is attached to the first mora, which may become the only mora when the merged vowel is shortened in faster speech. Thus two transcriptions are possible of the two words in (49) when they undergo liaison: with a double vowel and a HL pattern (40a), or with a single vowel, which is H (49b). The H can be an underlying H or a doubled H (after HTD, see section 2.2.1), as exemplified in (50)-(52). Example (50) shows that the underlying H on a monomoraic verb such as *-ca* ‘to eat’ in the present tense is realised on the merged vowel *-é*. In (51) and (52) the H on

the merged vowel is doubled from the underlying H of the previous mora. Underlying Hs are indicated by underlining.

- (49) átt^hú arar^u
 | / |
 H H
- a. átt^hw' áarar^u
 b. átt^hw' árar^u
 2.people 2.three
 'three people'
- (50) o-n-c' éⁿíka ti pani?
 oncá eníka
 1-PRES-eat.REL 9.banana COP 1.who
 'who is eating a banana?', lit. 'the one who is eating a banana is who?'
- (51) é^l' ékocoonkó ni hápa
 é^lá ekocoonkó
 9.DEM.I 9.gizzard.PL and 1.liver
 'these are the gizzard and the liver'
- (52) Natalíⁿá o-n-tsí^kúl-é^l' ésheení?
 ontsí^kúlélá esheení
 1.Nadalina 1-PRES.CJ-mourn-APPL 9.what
 'why is Nadalina sad?'

2.1.3 Syllable structure

Makhuwa has (C)V(X) syllables, and syllables consisting of a nasal. These are listed and exemplified in Table 3.

Table 3 - Syllable structures

syllable	example	translation
V	e.hó.pa	fish
N	n.té.re	lip
CV	o.ló.wa	to fish
VV	oo.ló.wa	he fished
CVV	o.khóo.la	to grind
CVN	e.mañ.ka	mango
CVC	ma'l.li.mu	teacher at islamic school

The V and N syllables are restricted to word-initial position. Word-medially a V or N forms a heavy syllable with the preceding CV syllable. Two reasons for positing a heavy syllable are the syllabification and the HL pattern when a heavy syllable is penultimate. An underlying H on the first mora of a heavy syllable does not get doubled onto the second mora when the syllable is penultimate. This is true for both CVV (53a) and CVN (53b) syllables.

- (53) a. mwalápw' áaw' óólé oo-máala (K2.54)
 1.dog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III 1.PERF.DJ-quiet
 'his dog was quiet'
- b. orívísú oo-páñka
 1.goldsmith 1.PERF.DJ-make
 'the goldsmith made (it)'

Word-finally, heavy syllables are prohibited. Heavy syllables are only allowed word-finally when they are ideophonic (54), or when extra emphasis is intended (see 2.2.2).

- (54) ryée sound of turning around
 ravaa sound of heavy rain
 thuuu sound of first signs of dawn

Loanwords are adapted to the Makhuwa phonology and syllable structure. In loanwords we can thus see that consonants are not allowed in word-final position (55) and neither are consonant clusters (56). Makhuwa-Enahara inserts an epenthetic vowel between the consonants of a cluster, or deletes a consonant.

- (55) a. olímpári < Pt. limpar to clean
 b. ecuwĩñka < En. chewing gum chewing gum
 c. ekoóre < Pt. cor colour
- (56) a. etoróku < Pt. troco change (money)
 b. kalápin̄teéro < Pt. carpinteiro carpenter
 c. oshipírítaále < Pt. hospital hospital
 d. epenéu < Pt. pneu tyre
 e. esikátta < Pt. escadas stairs

Even if a loanword in Makhuwa seems to have a consonant cluster, the whistling of the tone pattern clearly reveals the presence of another mora. In (57), for example, there seems to be a consonant cluster [pr], which results in four syllables, but five tones are whistled, which forces an analysis with an extra mora. Examples (58) and (59) also seem to have a consonant cluster, but the tone patterns show that a mora must be present.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| (57) | p(e)rofesóri
L.L.L.H.L | < Pt. professor | teacher |
| (58) | mush(i)kaléeta
L.L.L.H.L.L | < Pt. bicicleta | bicycle |
| (59) | epaá'rti
L.LH.H.L | < Pt. balde | bucket |

An epenthetic vowel is also inserted when morphology forms an infelicitous syllable. This happens for example when the present tense morpheme -N- (60a) is followed by an object marker of class 1 -N-. These cannot be combined and an [i] is added, as shown in (60b).

- | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|--------|
| (60) | a. | ki-n-thú má | ehopá |
| | | 1SG-PRES.CJ-buy | 9.fish |
| | | 'I buy fish' | |
| | b. | ki-ni-ń-thú má | poneká |
| | | 1SG-PRES.CJ-1-buy | 1.doll |
| | | 'I buy a doll' | |

Between two vowels, of the same or a different vowel quality, a glide may occur. This glide can be inherent, it can be derived from a vowel, or it can be epenthetic. It remains hard to determine the nature of the glide in this environment. For most combinations of vowels there seems to be a contrast between the two glides, but not between the presence or absence of a glide. That is, there is generally no contrast between a sequence of two vowels with and without an epenthetic (homorganic) glide between them (e.g., *eyi/ei*). The exception is in the environment a_a, as in (61), where the glides also contrast with their absence.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------|
| (61) | ekalá <u>wa</u> | sailing boat |
| | epáphá <u>ya</u> | papaya |
| | esaá <u>l</u> ása | stay (on boat) |

Although a glide is more audible in some words than in others, the syllable structure requires that a glide be interpreted. Syllables consisting of only a vowel, for example, are restricted to word-initial position. If the morphology inserts a syllable which starts with a vowel, in a word-medial position, this vowel must either become part of a heavy syllable, or make a CV syllable, having a glide as onset. To the verb stem *-khu(w)-* in (62) the final vowel *-a* or the applicative extension *-el-* is merged, and the syllable structure becomes *khu-we-la*, with a glide as the onset of the second syllable. When

adding an applicative extension to the stem *-ape(y)-*, a long syllable is formed, resulting in the syllable structure *mwaa-pee-la*.

- | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------|
| (62) | okhúwa | to bark |
| | okhúwéla | to scream |
| | waápéya | to cook |
| | omwáápeéla | to cook for him/her |

Since long vowels are excluded from word-final position, a sequence of two (unequal) vowels word-finally must be interpreted as two syllables, the second of which has a glide as the onset. This is illustrated in (63). Even though word-final combinations of vowels are analysed as two syllables here, I do not write them as such when they are perceived without a glide between the vowels, as in (64).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|
| (63) | i+a | emíya | a hundred | |
| | i+o | ekofíyo | hat as worn by muslims | |
| | e+a | woócéya | to be tired | |
| | e+o | ephéyo | wind | |
| | a+i | vayí | where | |
| | a+u | ephaáwu | bread | < Pt. pão |
| | o+a | orówa | to go | |
| | o+i | nlówi | fisherman | |
| | u+a | emákhúwa | the language Makhuwa | |
| | u+i | enúwi | bee | |
| (64) | maláu | < Pt. malão | melon | |
| | ecasáu | < Pt. injeção | injection | |
| | ekhálái | | old times | |

The epenthetic glide which appears between the two vowels is homorganic with the first vowel of the sequence: if the first is a front vowel, the glide is [y], if the first is a back vowel, it is [w]. Since the vowel [a] is underspecified, the glide following it is dependent on the quality of the second vowel. As already mentioned, the glide is more audible in some words than in others, and the spelling of vowel sequences in this thesis is therefore not consistent.

2.2 Prosody

Makhuwa-Enahara is a tonal language, and it also exhibits certain intonational properties. The first subsection describes the possible tone patterns, the underlying high tones and the processes that occur after high tone assignment. The second subsection, on intonation, discusses some environments in which intonation is used in addition to tone.

2.2.1 Tone

Makhuwa uses pitch to indicate lexical and grammatical distinctions. The functional load of tone is heavier in Makhuwa for grammatical than for lexical distinctions. Two different tone patterns for lexemes are shown in (65), and (66) to (68) exemplify tonal differences distinguishing predication and relativisation.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|--------------|--|
| (65) | ekhárare
ekattáka | hair
hide | LHHL
LLHL | |
| (66) | ntátá nuulupále
ntátá nuúlúpale | | | the hand is big
a big hand |
| (67) | nthíyáná ontthúkúlá ecanelá
nthíyáná ontthúkúlá ecanéla | | | the woman opens the window
the woman who opens the window |
| (68) | nlópwáná onińkákha nthiyána
nlopwáná onińkákha nthiyána | | | the man pushes the woman
it is a man who pushes the woman |

Although the phonetic reality is far more complex, the basic underlying system can be analysed as binary, using High and Low tones. The high tones are indicated by an acute accent on a vowel or nasal (e.g., á, ñ) or an acute accent *before* a tone-bearing consonant (e.g., 'l), for typographical reasons. The low tones are unmarked. A double vowel with a falling tone will thus have an accent only on the first symbol (e.g., áa). Only a tone bearing consonant which is L after a H vowel is marked by a grave accent (e.g., 'l). Most words have one or two underlying high tones, and words with an all-L pattern are rare. In citation form, only ideophones can be all-L.

The tone-bearing unit is the mora. This is especially visible in a sequence of two consonants, where the first is moraic and bears a high or low tone. Examples are combinations of a nasal and another consonant (69), and long consonants (70).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (69) | ttońtto
átúm̀púráu
nkáńkhanyáma | ragdoll
sharks
rainbow |
|------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|

- (70) *mi'wwa* thorns
 ma'llímu teacher at islamic school
- o-ná-mú'll-ats-íya*
 17-PRES.DJ-cry-PLUR-PASS
 'there is crying'

Tone patterns

Verbal stems do not have lexical tone, unlike nominal stems. The tone pattern of verbs is completely dependent on the “morphological composition” (TAM and affixes) of the verb (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000:24). As Cheng and Kisseberth (1979:32) phrase it:

The tonal shape of a given verb stem is entirely a function of its length and of the particular morphological environment in which it occurs; no lexical specifications are required in order to account for the tonal behaviour of verb stems.

The tonal properties of verbs are therefore presented with the verbal derivation and inflection in sections 2.4 and 2.5.

The tone pattern of nouns is lexically determined. The stem and prefix together have one tone pattern, and only in class 2a is the tone pattern dependent on the noun class prefix (see section 2.3.1). No difference is made between prefix and stem in determining the tone pattern. This is visible in some words of class 1a, which take their plural in class 6. Class 1a has a zero prefix, but class 6 has a normal visible prefix *ma-*. The tone pattern on the “stem” is different in the singular and plural, which shows that all and only visible moras are relevant for the tone pattern, and that the tone pattern applies to the word as a whole.

- (71) *patáréro* *mapátárero* builder
 sharífú *masharífú* prophet, medium
 totóro *matótóro* doctor

Nouns have at least one and at most two underlying Hs (indicated by underlining), which are doubled in the surface form. In bimoraic words the first underlying H can only be on the first mora. In words with more moras it can be on any medial mora of the noun. A second underlying H is on the penultimate mora if possible. These basic tone patterns are not only found in CVCV structure, but also in other moraic structures with double vowels or tone-bearing consonants. The various patterns are listed in Table 4.

Table 4 - Basic tone patterns

syllables	example	translation	tone pattern
2	ńtthu	person	HL
	hápa	liver	
3	epúla	rain	LHL
	natáhu	calf	
4	erúkúlu	belly	LHHL
	kapútúla	shorts	
	ephepéle	fly	LLHL
5	namárókolo	hare	LHHLL
	epwílímiti	mosquito	LLHHL
	etthonttowa	stars	LLLHL
	nsírípwíti	naked person	LHHHL

Infinitives follow a single pattern: the first H is on the second mora of the infinitive (which is the first of the stem when there is no OM), and a second H occurs on the penultimate mora of longer stems, as shown in (72). There are a few examples of infinitives in which the second mora is not H. These have the tone pattern LLH(H)L, such as *osoósa* ‘to burn, be hot -of pepper’ and *othaáciri* ‘to become rich’.

(72)	othúma	to buy	LHL
	otúmiha	to sell	LHHL
	otúmihíya	to be sold	LHHHL
	otúmihatsíya	to be sold and sold	LHHLHL
	otúmihatsaníya	to be sold to each other	LHLLHL

Tonal Processes

Underlying Hs are subject to two general tonal rules, in the literature described as High-(Tone-)Doubling (HTD) and (Phrase) Final Lowering (FL) (Cheng and Kisseberth 1979, Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000, Devos 2004). These two processes are almost always applied in Makhuwa. In the process of HTD, an underlying H doubles onto the next mora. Crucially, it only *doubles* and does not spread any further (in non-final position). This is visible in nouns and infinitives of 5 or more moras, as in (73) and (74). Another argument for analysing the Makhuwa tone system as underlying Hs plus doubled ones is found in Predicative Lowering, as described later in this section. In (73) and (74) the underlying forms are given first, and their phonetic realisation is given in square brackets. The underlying Hs are marked by underlining, and all Hs, underlying ones as well as those doubled by HTD, are marked by an accent.

(73)	namárokolo	[namárokolo]	hare
(74)	nrátthi muúlupale	[nrát ^h í muúlúpale]	big lagoon

HTD can apply across word boundaries. The H on the last mora of a verb in the perfective may double onto the first mora of the object. This does not seem to happen often and is difficult to hear. The examples in (75) show the same verb form, once doubling the H onto the object (a), and once leaving the object with its own tone pattern (b).

- (75) a. o-n-teesh-alé méetsá (meetsá)
 1-1-lift-PERF.CJ 1.table
 ‘he has picked up the table’
- b. o-n-teesh-alé meninú (meninú)
 1-1-lift-PERF.CJ 1.boy
 ‘he picked up the boy’

With Final Lowering, a H in phrase-final position disappears. Exceptions to this rule are the underlying H in the present perfective conjugation and the boundary H on a predicative noun.⁵ In the infinitive in example (72) above, the doubling of the second underlying H would result in a H on the last syllable (*otúmhatsíyá*), but this H double disappears under Final Lowering. The same happens in (76): the double of the underlying H on *nkhora* does not appear, since it is final. In non-final position, for example when followed by an adjective, the doubled H does appear.

- (76) nkhora door
 nkhorá muúlúpale big door

A long penultimate syllable has special tonal properties when the word is in phrase-final position. When only the first mora in a penultimate long syllable has an underlying H, the syllable will be HH in phrase-medial position (indicated by the periods in (77a)). In phrase-final position, however, the expected doubled H does not appear, and the syllable is HL (77b). Cheng and Kisseberth (1979:44) describe this observation with a rule called Long Fall. When the second mora of the long penultimate syllable is underlyingly H, this H is present regardless of the position of the word in the sentence. Consequently, the long syllable can be LH, as in (78), or HH, as in (79a). That this penultimate mora is underlyingly H can be seen in the predicatively lowered form in (79b): only the first H is deleted and the second (penultimate) remains (see also the next section on predicative lowering).

- (77) a. nattóotto... fool
 b. nattóotto. fool

⁵ See Cheng and Kisseberth (1979) for a discussion on the nature of the constraint *LAST MORA H, which could be due to the non-doubling of the previous H or to the tonal rule FL which actively lowers the tone of the final mora.

- (78) luúshu electrical light
- (79) a. naǎttóómwe (type of) shellfish
 b. nanttoómwe (it) is a (type of) shellfish

Predicative Lowering

Nouns and adjectives have a different tone pattern when used predicatively. This change in tone pattern has been called “Focus Lowering” by Odden (1995), and “Predicative Lowering” by Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000). Predicative Lowering is the absence of the first underlying H, and with that also the following surface H resulting from HTD (as also indicated and discussed by Stucky 1979 and Katupha 1983).⁶ This is illustrated in (80) for nouns and in (81) for adjectives. The PL form retains its second underlying H, while only the first underlying H and its double are absent. The fact that the second surface H disappears with the first is another argument to analyse it as a doubling of the first (underlying) H. As is apparent from (80), Makhuwa-Enahara does not use the predicative form for citation. Only nouns and adjectives which had a pre-prefix or augment in some earlier stage of the language have the possibility to undergo PL and have a different tone pattern.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (80) | <u>citation</u> | | <u>PL</u> | |
| | namáǎnriiya | ‘cameleon’ | namanriiya | ‘(it) is a cameleon’ |
| | L.HH.LH.L | | L.LL.LH.L | |
| | muúpáttétthe | ‘beehive’ | muupáttétthe | ‘(it) is a beehive’ |
| | LH.H.H.L | | LL.L.H.L | |
- (81) ntháli mwáǎkhaáni ‘the small tree’
 ntháli mwankhaáni ‘the tree is small’

The tone pattern of predicative (lowered) nouns can differ depending on its position in the sentence. Nouns with only one underlying H lose this H in PL and are expected to have an entirely low pattern. This is indeed the case in non-final position, as shown in (82). The noun *eyoóca* ‘food’ is not phrase-final because it is modified by *yoóvíha* ‘warm’, and it is completely low when used predicatively. This example and (83) also show that PL applies to the whole noun phrase rather than the noun alone.

⁶ This is true for words with one or two underlying Hs. It is unclear so far what happens in words with three underlying H tones: is it really only the first H which disappears, or all but the last H? Three underlying H tones can be present in a 7 mora noun of class 2a, where the attached prefix adds a H tone. An example is *ánámáǎnriiya* ‘cameleons’, but the PL form of this word is not in my database.

- (82) eyoó cá yoó víha warm food (citation)

e-n-kí-tsívé lá eyooca yoó víha
 9-PRES-1SG-please.REL 9.food.PL 9.warm
 'what I like is warm food'

- (83) e-n-kí-tsívé lá ekalaw' eéla
 9-PRES-1SG-please.REL 9.boat.PL 9.DEM.I
 'what I like is this boat'

A noun that loses its only underlying H in the predicative form does not appear as all-low when in sentence-final position: a H appears on the last mora, as shown in (84). This cannot be the original tone that moved to the right, as can be seen in the previous examples where the first underlying H disappears. A boundary tone might be a more likely analysis.

- (84) a. namá ró kolo hare
 (LHHLL)
 b. namarokoló (it) is the hare
 (LLLLH)

There are three common nouns in Makhuwa-Enahara which have a deviant PL form. In these nouns, given in (85), the first surface H disappears, but the second stays. This deviant form may be due to their origin as compound nouns. The adjective *-uhupale* 'big' also has an unexpected PL form with a H on the penultimate syllable which is not present in the attributive form (86).

- | (85) | <u>citation</u> | | <u>PL</u> | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| | mwanámwáne | 'child' | mwanamwáne | '(it) is a child' |
| | L.H.H.L | | L.L.H.L | |
| | nthiyána | 'woman' | nthiyána | '(it) is a woman' |
| | nlópwána | 'man' | nlopwána | '(it) is a man' |
| (86) | a. nkhorá | muúlúpale | | 'the big door' |
| | | LH.H.L.L | | |
| | b. nkhorá | muulupále | | 'the door is big' |
| | | LL.L.H.L | | |

The PL form is also used in some vocatives (87) and directly following a conjoint verb form. See section 2.6.5 and Van der Wal (2006b) for more information on this phenomenon in Makhuwa-Enahara.

- (87) mwañ' áka 'my husband'
- mwann' aká ki-n-r' óopuúsu (H3.47)
- 1.husband 1.POSS.1 1SG-PRES.CJ-go 17.well
- 'husband of mine, I am going to the well'

2.2.2 Intonation

Makhuwa is clearly a tonal language, but it has some intonational features as well. These include the indication of continuation of speech, question intonation, and emphasis. Since at least the last two of these phenomena have more degree-like characteristics (e.g., the higher the pitch, the more emphasis) they are described as intonation.

The common phenomenon of downdrift is also present in Makhuwa. Downdrift makes each successive H following a L a little less high, creating an overall H-to-L intonational pattern.

In some Bantu languages, including some with a similar conjoint/disjoint distinction such as Makonde, Makwe, Zulu and Sotho, an automatic lengthening of the penultimate syllable occurs at the end of a phonological phrase, thus indicating the right boundary of that phrase. Unlike these languages, Makhuwa does not have this penultimate lengthening.

Continuation

One indication of the right boundary of a prosodic phrase is the process of Final Lowering, which lowers the last syllable of a sentence, and possibly also of smaller phrases. In (88) the last syllable of the sentence-final word *oisilámu* is L because of FL. This process is absent when a phrase or sentence still continues, which is especially clear in the complementiser *wírá* in (88), which has a H final syllable (since another phrase always follows). The complementiser could alternatively have been lowered, since the pause is after the complementiser (indicated by |). It can also be observed in conjunctions or sentences which in some way belong together, like the contrasting clauses in (89).

- (88) hĩ ñi-ñní-tsúwélá wírá | onghípíti ñnó etiíni
- 1PL.PRO 1PL-HAB-know COMP 17.Ilha 17.DEM.I 9.religion
- e-n-tthár-iyá oisilámu (H4.1)
- 9-PRES-follow-PASS.REL 14.islam.PL
- 'we know that on Ilha the religion which is adhered to, is Islam'

- (89) o-n-khúúra masáú nthiyána |
 1-PRES-chew.REL 1.apple 1.woman.PL
 o-n-c' ééníká nlopwána
 1-PRES-eat.REL 9.banana 1.man.PL
 'the one who eats an apple is the woman, the one who eats a banana is the man'

However, the absence of FL does not account for all the Hs on the boundaries of related sentences, such as a matrix and subordinated clause. Even word-final moras which are not affected by FL (also phrase-finally) are H when at the boundary of two related clauses. This could be analysed as a continuative, non-terminal H boundary tone. The word *wanthálini* in (90a), for example, will in any position in the sentence have this tone pattern (LHHL) with a L last mora, regardless of FL. However, when in a clause-final, but not sentence-final position it gets the H continuation tone: *wanthálini*.... The marking of dependent clauses often goes together with a (locative) demonstrative *va/vale*, which then carries the H boundary tone, as in (90b,c).

- (90) a. nlopwána muúlúpale eemel-alé wa-ntháli-ní | (nthiyána...)
 1.man 1.big 1.stand.up-PERF.CJ 16-tree-LOC (1.woman...)
 'the big man stands by the tree, (the woman...)'
- b. wa-ntháli-ni vá | eeme-nlé nlopwána muúlúpale
 16-tree-LOC 16.DEM.I 1.stand.up-PERF.REL 1.man.PL 1.big
 'at the tree, the one standing is the big man'
- c. válé wa-ntháli-ni valé | o-ni-m-wéha
 16.DEM.III 16-tree-LOC 16.DEM.III 1-PRES.CJ-1-look
 mwalápw' ááw' ole (K4.101)
 1.dog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III
 'there on that tree he saw his dog'

Questions

In questions the last mora (whether underlyingly H, doubled H or L) is never as low as in an affirmative sentence: it is either H or at a level between H and L. It even seems that there can be an "updrift" in questions: instead of every high tone getting a bit lower after an intervening L, it gets higher. This characterisation holds for yes/no questions as well as *wh*-questions.

Emphasis

When putting emphasis in a sentence, expressing surprise or despair, the last syllable of the phrase can sometimes be lengthened, and a HL pattern is used, of which the H can be

(91) o-wenry-é tsáyi orééla erráncá iye okhopéla
2SG-succeed-PERF.CJ how 15.go.APPL 10.oranges 10.DEM.III 17.other.side
ũwê? (H5.47)
17.DEM.III
'how (on earth) did you succeed to get the oranges from the other side?'

(93) vale niir-é tsáyíi? (H2.14)
 16.DEM.III 1PL.do-OPT how
 ‘now what do we do?’

(94) oo-hím-ээр-йя́ wiirá
1.PERF.DJ-say-APPL-PASS COMP

nyû n-naá-lávúl-átsá paáhí mímo (H9.5)
2SG.RESP 2PL-PRES.DJ-talk-PLUR just 18.DEM.II
'they told him: "you, you are just talking!"'

This emphatic intonation can influence the tone pattern of the word, making the high tones disappear. This is visible in the examples in (96) and (97), where the intonation indicates an emphasis on the truth value of the proposition. In (97a) the object *anámwáne* ‘children’ has its normal tonal form LHH L, whereas in (97b) only the last syllable has a HL pattern and the rest has become L.

(96) a. nlópwná owa-alé ntsúri
1.man 1-come-PERF.CJ yesterday
'the man came yesterday'

- b. nlópwáná owa-alé ntsuriĩ
 1.man 1-come-PERF.CJ yesterday
 ‘the man did come yesterday’
- (97) a. o-h-aá-váha nrámá anámwáne?
 2SG-PERF.DJ-2-give 3.rice 2.children
 ‘did you cook rice for the children?’
- b. o-h-aá-váha nrámá anamwanê?
 2SG-PERF.DJ-2-give 3.rice 2.children
 i. ‘did you indeed/really cook rice for the children?’
 ii. I said, more clearly now: ‘did you cook rice for the children?’

Combination continuation and emphasis (HLH)

When an emphasised word is at a boundary, and the high tone for continuation is inserted, the result can be a lengthened vowel with a HLH pattern, as *ceshêê* in (98) and *vâá* in (99).

- (98) epilári ceshêê | kata nihúkuú | kha-tsi-ń-hél-iyé
 10.pillars 10.four every 5.day NEG-10-PRES-put-PASS.DJ
 ‘four pillars, every day, (they) are not put’
- (99) masi vâá | nyú n-háána efaitá muulúmwenkú-ní mu (H9.15)
 but 16.PRO 2SG.RESP 2PL-have 9.merit 18.world-LOC 18.PRO
 ‘but now, you have merit in this world’
 (situation: the jackal has managed to catch the owl)

Speech rate

The speed of speaking influences the pronunciation of H (boundary) tones: in fast speech a H is easily dropped. This happens frequently in the relative present perfective conjugation, where the H on the last mora may or may not surface, depending on the speech rate. In (100) the relative verb can be pronounced as *etekalé* or *etekale*, with a difference in tone on the last mora. In (101) the speech rate influences the liaison between the verb and the object and with that also the tone pattern on the object.

- (100) slow: enúpá etekalé patáréro | yuulupále
 fast: enúpá etekale patáréro | yuulupále
 9.house 9-build-PERF.REL 1.boss 9-big.PL
 ‘the house that the boss built is big’

- (101) slow: ti paní o-m-wá owany' aká?
fast: ti pani omw' úwány' aka?
COP 1.who 1-PRES-come.REL 17.home POSS.1SG
'who is it that comes to my home?'

2.3 Nominal morphology

This section describes the noun in Makhuwa-Enahara and its modifiers. It explains the noun class system and discusses the form and use of the connective, possessive, demonstrative, adjective, quantifiers, numerals and interrogatives, as well as the personal pronouns. The prefixes referred to below (nominal, pronominal and numeral) are summarised in Table 14 at the end of this section.

2.3.1 Noun classes

Typically, nouns in Makhuwa consist of a nominal prefix and a stem. The nouns are divided into noun classes, according to their nominal prefixes and concord in the phrase and sentence. Classes 1-10 form singular/plural pairs, also referred to as genders. For example, classes 5 (singular) and 6 (plural) form one pair. Table 5 shows the inventory of noun classes and some examples of singular/plural pairs. The slash in this table distinguishes the allomorphs which appear under different phonological environments. More on the phonological processes on these boundaries is to be found in section 2.1 on phonology.

Table 5 - Noun class system

class	prefix	example	translation
1	N̩- / mw-	ńtthu; mwaána	child; person
1a	ø-	totóro; nakhúku	doctor; crow
2	a-	átthu; aána	people, children
2a	á-	ánákhúku	crows
3	N̩- / mw-	nvélo; mwaálo	broom; knife
4	mi- / my-	mivélo; myoóno	brooms; arms
5	ni- / n- / n̩-	nikútha; naáru; ntáta	knee; ear; hand
6	ma-	makútha; maáru; matáta	knees; ears; hands
9	e-	ekaláwa	dhow
10	e-	ekaláwa	dhow
14	o-	orávo	honey
15	o-	okáttha	to wash
16	va-, wa- (-ni)	vathí; watsulú	on the ground; above
17	o- (-ni)	ontékóni	at work
18	N̩- (-ni)	mmáttáni	in the field

Some nouns in class 1a denoting professions take their plural in class 6. These words have a zero-prefix in the singular (often because they are loans), and a prefix *ma-* in the plural, as illustrated in (102). See section 2.2.1 for information on the tone pattern.

(102)	patáréro	mapátárero	builder
	sharífu	masharífu	prophet, medium
	totóro	matótóro	doctor

Class 2(a) is not only used as the plural form of class 1(a) nouns, but also to express respect. This is the case with animal names in fables, as for example in (103).

(103)	havára	leopard
	áhavára	Mr. Leopard

The prefix of class 2a is the only prefix which has an underlying H and which is not counted in determining the tone pattern of the word. This extraprosodic prefix is added to nouns of class 1a. With the extra H, the total number of underlying Hs can be higher than in other nouns, depending on the number of moras of the stem: nouns in class 2a with seven moras (or more) are the only nouns with a possibility of having three underlying Hs: one or two on the noun stem plus one on the prefix. Nouns with two underlying Hs, but only five syllables in the singular, lose one H in the class 2 plural, as *namáshááka* in (104). Although this is reminiscent of Meeussen's rule, which prohibits the occurrence of two adjacent Hs, it can not be applied in general, since the H is allowed in the other syllable structures.

(104)	<u>syll</u>	<u>1a</u>	<u>syll</u>	<u>2a</u>	<u>translation</u>
	2	khóle	> 3	ákhóle	monkey
	3	kharámu	> 4	ákháramu	lion
	5	nampáyáya	> 6	ánámpáyáya	type of spider
	5	namáshááka	> 6	ánámashaáka	kite (bird)
	6	namánriiya	> 7	ánámánriiya	cameleon

In Makhuwa-Enahara the prefixes for classes 1 and 3 are *mw-* before a vowel-initial stem, but a homorganic moraic nasal (indicated by N) in preconsonantal position. Only with monosyllabic stems is the prefix still *mu-*, as in *múru* 'head' (class 3). Before an alveolar, retroflex or palatal consonant the prefix of class 5 (*ni-*) is also just a moraic nasal (105).

(105)	nháno	aháno	lady (cl. 1)
	nhútsi	mihútsi	sauce (cl. 3)
	ntsína	matsína	name (cl. 5)

Class 6 contains many mass nouns (106). There are no regular pairs for mass nouns, but sometimes an equivalent of a singular/plural pair can be formed. The mass noun in (107) is in class 6 and has a derived singular form in class 5. This should be regarded as a singulative form, the plural being the default.

- (106) maháatsa porridge
 maátsi water
 makhála charcoal
 meésha braids
- (107) maákha salt
 naákha a grain of salt

The noun classes 7/8 and 9/10 found in other Bantu languages are no longer distinguishable in Makhuwa. This merged combination of classes I call 9/10 (like Stucky 1985 and unlike Katupha 1983, 1991). Makhuwa-Enahara does not mark the distinction between class 9 and 10 in the noun prefix as Central Makhuwa does. In the Central variant class 9 is *e-* and class 10 *i-*, whereas in Enahara they are both *e-* (108)).

- (108) Enahara
- a. epúrí e-kíná e-rí váyi?
 9.goat 9-other 9-be where
 ‘where is the other goat?’
- b. epúrí tsi-kíná tsi-rí váyi?
 10.goat 10-other 10-be where
 ‘where are the other goats?’

Central (Centis 2000)

- a'. epuri ekina eri vayi?
 b'. ipuri sikina siri vayi?

Class 14 contains mainly non-countable nouns, such as “time” or “world”. It is also used to derive nouns indicating an abstract concept, like “poverty” (109).

- (109) okáthi time
 okóoko brain
 olúmwénku world
- osikhíni ‘poverty’ < masikhíni ‘poor person’
 okúmi ‘health’ < nkúmi ‘healthy person’

Class 15 has the same concord as class 14 (113) but contains only infinitives/verbal stems. These behave as nouns, although their tone patterns are restricted (see section 2.2.1).

- (110) orówa to go
 orápa to bathe

The classes 16-18 are locative classes. These classes contain primary (underived) and secondary (derived) locative nouns. The primary locatives are always in a locative class and have no counterpart in another noun class. They have an inherent locative meaning (111).

- (111) otsulú heaven, sky, above
 óta outside
 okhopéla on the other side (= the mainland)

Unlike the primary locatives, the derived locatives do have a non-locative counterpart. They do not only take a prefix, but very often also a locative clitic *-ni*. The locative prefix does not replace the original prefix, but is in general added onto the lexical prefix of the word, except for classes 9/10, where *e-* is omitted. The classes differ in the exact meaning of location. Class 16 indicates the direct vicinity of an element or place, often translatable as ‘on’; class 17 renders a more general, unspecific locative reading; and class 18 indicates containment, often translatable as ‘in(side)’. The (stacked) prefixes, the suffix *-ni* and the meaning of the locative classes are illustrated in (112).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| (112) | e-kisírwa
9-island | ‘island’ | wa-kisírwa
16-island | ‘on the island’ |
| | n-téko
3-work | ‘work’ | o-n-tékó-ni
17-3-work-LOC | ‘at work’ |
| | m-aátsi
6-water | ‘water’ | m-m-aátsi-ni
18-6-water-LOC | ‘in the water’ |
| | e-máтта
9-field | ‘field’ | m-máтта-ni
18-field-LOC | ‘on the field’ |

2.3.2 Nominal derivation

Two morphemes in the formation of nouns are discussed here: *na-* and *-shi-*. All nouns formed with *na-* are in class 1a and take their plural in class 2a. There are especially many animals in this group of nouns.

(113)	nakhúku	ánákhúku	crow
	namúhe	ánámúhe	type of fish
	nattóotto	ánáttóotto	fool
	namílili	ánámílili	glutton, greedy person
	nakhúwo	ánákhúwo	maize

The *-shi-* form of class 2 can be used as a diminutive, as in (114) and (115), but it can also be used to distinguish between a simple plural (*ashi-*) and a singular form of respect (*a-*) (116). There is no diminutive form in the singular.

(114)	ánáphúlú	iíncéene uúlúpaly’	áálé	n’	aashíkháani (K4.114)
	2.frog	2.many	2.big	2.DEM.III	and 2.small
	‘many frogs, big ones and small ones’				

(115)	athíyána	women
	ashíthíyána	girls, young women
	enúni	birds
	ashínúni	small birds

(116)	piípi	grandma
	ápíípi	old woman / grandma (respect)
	ashípiípi	old women

2.3.3 Connective

The most common way to indicate a possessive relation is to use a connective (also termed “associative” in the literature) between the possessed and the possessor. The connective *-a* is preceded by a pronominal prefix, which agrees in noun class with the possessed. This determines the form of the connective, as can be seen in the overview in Table 6. The connective can also be used in combination with an infinitive to express an adjectival concept (on which see section 2.3.6).

Table 6 - Connective

noun class	possessee	connective	possessor	
1	mwaáná	a	namárókolo	child of the hare
2	aáná	a	namárókolo	children of the hare
3	nvéló	wa	namárókolo	broom of the hare
4	mivéló	tsa	namárókolo	brooms of the hare
5	nipúró	na	namárókolo	place of the hare
6	mapúro	a	namárókolo	places of the hare
9	emáttá	ya	namárókolo	field of the hare
10	emáttá	tsa	namárókolo	fields of the hare
14	okúmi	wa	namárókolo	health of the hare
15	ocáwá	wa	Folóra	running of Flora
16	watsulú	wa	mwaáko	on top of the hill
17	ohoóló	wa	nlúku	in front of the stone
18	mmapáráraní	ma	esikátta	on the side of the stairs

2.3.4 Possessive

Possessive pronouns occupy the first position following the noun, and differ in form depending on the possessor. There are six forms, for all the grammatical persons, which are listed in Table 7. They agree in noun class with the possessed (by means of the pronominal prefix), just like the connective.

Table 7 - Possessive pronouns

SG	1	-áka
	2	-áu
	3	-áwe (= class 1)
PL	1	-éhũ
	2	-ínyu
	3	-áya (= class 2)

- (117) a. ntsíná n-áka ntsíná n-áwe
 5.name 5-POSS.1SG 5.name 5-POSS.1
 ‘my name’ ‘his/her/its name’
- b. ehópá ts-áka ehópá ts-áwe
 10.fish 10-POSS.1SG 10.fish 10-POSS.1
 ‘my fish’ ‘his/her/its fish’

It is possible to have a possessive pronoun in combination with a possessor expressed as a full noun or independent pronoun, as in (118) and (119), where the nominal possessor follows the possessed.

- (118) élá enup' ááwé Folóra
 9.DEM.I 9.house.PL 9.POSS.1 1.Florá
 'this is Flora's house'
- (119) óyo mwan' aka míí... (H2.37)
 1.DEM.II 1.child.PL 1.POSS.1SG 1SG.PRO
 'that is my child'

The possessive pronoun can also be used with infinitives. The possessor then refers to the agent of the action expressed by the verb (120). A possible lexical object can occur between the pronominal and nominal possessor (121).

- (120) o-cáwá w-áwé Folóra (o-kí-tsívéla)
 15-run 15-POSS.1 1.Florá (?-1SG-please)
 'Flora's (way of) running (I like)'
- (121) o-téká w-aw' enúpá Zainále (ti w-oóréera)
 15-build 15-POSS.1 9.house 1.Zainal (COP 15-good)
 'Zainal's (way of) building a house (is good)'

When a noun of a noun class other than 1/2 is the possessor, it usually takes the "plural" class 2 form of the possessive pronoun, *-aya* (122a,b), and the class 1 form is ungrammatical (122c). However, some nouns can still take their possessive in class 1 (*-awe*) (122d).

- (122) a. nkhór' áaya enúp' éela o-rí váyi?
 3.door 3.POSS.2 9.house 9.DEM.I 3-be where
 'where is the door of this house?'
- b. mapúrúrw' ááyá nikhúle
 6.fur 6.POSS.2 5.mouse
 'the mouse's fur'
- c. * mapúrúrw' áawe nikhúle
 6.fur 6.POSS.1 5.mouse
- d. matténkw' ááwé nthúpi
 6.feathers 6.POSS.1 3.rooster
 'the rooster's feathers'

Many kinship terms, including “the companion of” (124), are obligatorily combined with a possessive pronoun. The possessive also combines with *meekh-* or *veekh-* to form an adverb meaning ‘alone’ or ‘by oneself’ (125).

- (123) nhím’ ááka my younger sister/brother⁷
 ashítáat’ ááka my elder brothers
- (124) a. nlopwáná o-ni-ń-kákhá nlópwána nkhw’ áawe
 1.man.PL 1-PRES-1-push.REL 1.man 1-counterpart 1.POSS.1
 ‘it is the man who pushes the other man’
- b. micócó ni tsi-khwá ts-áya
 4.impala with 4-counterpart 4-POSS.2
 ‘the impala’s and the other ones’
- (125) aa-khálá meekh-áawe (H2.6)
 1.IMPF.CJ-stay alone-POSS.1
 ‘she stayed by herself’

Possessive pronouns are also used to express the subject in a non-subject relative clause, which is described in section 2.6.6. See also Van der Wal (to appear).

2.3.5 *Demonstrative*

Demonstratives come in three series, indicating a difference in distance (Table 8). These are referred to by the Roman numerals I, II, III. The first series is used for elements close to the speaker, the second for elements close to the hearer and the third for elements further away from both. They correspond to the Portuguese *este*, *esse* and *aquela*. When indicating something particularly far away, the third series demonstrative is pronounced on a very high tone, with a possibility of lengthening the last syllable. In the second series Enahara differs from Central Makhuwa, which has demonstrative *owo* (cl. 1,3) and *awo* (cl. 2,6).

In stories, the first and second series are predominantly used in direct speech or deictic reference, but the demonstratives in the third series are mostly used for text-internal reference, to earlier mentioned entities.

⁷ The sex is the same as the sex of the “possessor”.

Table 8 – Demonstrative pronoun

class		this I	that II	that III (further)	
1	mwaáná	óla	óyo	óle	child
2	aáná	ála	áyo	ále	children
3	nvéló	óla	óyo	óle	broom
4	mivéló	íya	íyo	íye	brooms
5	ntátá	ńna	ńno	ńne	hand
6	matátá	ála	áyo	ále	hands
9	emáttá	éla	éyo	éle	field
10	emáttá	íya	íyo	íye	fields
14	orávó	óla	óyo	óle	honey
16		vá	vó	vále	here
17		ńno	ńwo	ńwe	there
18		mú	mímo	mímwe	in there

When used pronominally, the demonstratives in class 2 can occur with the plurality suffix *-tse*.

- (126) alé-tsé a-náá-cáwa
 2.DEM.III-PL 2-PRES.DJ-run
 ‘they are running’

For emphasis or reactivation a reduplication can be used, for which the forms are given in Table 9, and the use is illustrated in (127). Classes 4 and 10 sometimes sound like *yeyíye*.

Table 9 - Reduplicated demonstrative pronouns

class	I	II	III
1	oloóla	oyoóyo	oloóle
2	alaála	ayaáyo	alaále
3	oloóla	oyoóyo	oloóle
4	iyeíya	iyoiíyo	iyeíye
5	nnańna	nnońno	nneńne
6	alaála	ayaáyo	alaále
9	eleéla	eyeéyo	eleéle
10	iyeíya	iyoiíyo	iyeíye
14	oloóla	oyoóyo	oloóle
16	vááva	váávo	váávale
17	wóńno	wó’wwó	wó(n)we
18	móómu	mómímo	mómíwe

- (127) ni mwalápw' ool' oólé oo-lúm-ák-ats-íyá... (K1.84)
 and 1.dog 1.DEM.III RED 1.PERF.DJ-bite-DUR-PLUR-PASS
 'and that dog was bitten'

Another possibility to express emphasis is to use a demonstrative with an agreeing prefix (glossed by E in the prefix), as in (128). This is the confirmative demonstrative as discussed by Floor (1998), which "has to do with confirming or affirming the identity of a referent previously mentioned (or known) in the context". It is translated as 'the very (same)'. Katupha (1983) refers to it as the "long form" of the demonstrative. It is often used pronominally (129).

- (128) válé okhúma nihúkú né-ñné... (H15.37)
 16.DEM.III 15.exit 5.day 5E-5.DEM.III
 'as of that day/ from that day on...'
- (129) y-oólé mpákhá wa-ámútsy' ááwe (H3.66)
 1E-1.DEM.III until 16-2.family 2.POSS.1
 'she/the same went to his family's place'

Demonstratives can be used to refer text-internally, to something mentioned earlier in the discourse or story, or text-externally, to a referent in the "real world". The two can also be combined, as in the following example. The protagonist goes to his neighbour and says he comes to propose. "Propose to whom?" the neighbour asks. Then the protagonist utters the sentence in (130), referring to the earlier mentioned neighbour's daughter with the first demonstrative and pointing at her with the final demonstrative.

- (130) o-m-úuryá mwan' iny' úl' oóle (H12.8)
 15-1-propose 1.child POSS.2PL 1.DEM.III 1.DEM.III
 'to propose to that child of yours, that one'

When a single demonstrative is present, it always follows the noun. It is also possible to have one demonstrative preceding and one demonstrative following the noun. The function of the doubled demonstrative seems to be reactivation of a known referent. An example of reactivation is in (131), where Leopard comes to Tortoise's place, after which the story goes on about Tortoise fetching his paint. A few sentences later Leopard is mentioned again and this time a doubled demonstrative is used.

- (131) a. havará ole oo-rówá wa-khápá óle (H14.25)
 1.leopard 1.DEM.III 1.PERF.DJ-go 16-tortoise 1.DEM.III
 'Leopard went to Tortoise's place'

- b. o-mw-aátsím' ólé havár' óole (H14.29)
 1.PERF.DJ-1-call 1.DEM.III 1.leopard 1.DEM.III
 'he called (that) Leopard'

The demonstrative is frequently used independently, functioning as a free personal pronoun. The use of a pronominal demonstrative in addition to the normal subject marking on the verb often occurs in stories and may signal a topic shift or an episode boundary. In example (132), from the story in the appendix, the topic is the Portuguese ("they"). The just introduced fisherman is the topic of the next sentence in (133), where the demonstrative *ole* is used. The fisherman is still the topic in (134), but in (135) the topic shifts to the Portuguese again, and the demonstrative *ale* occurs.

- (132) a-mí-phwányá nlópwaná m-motsá (H15.9)
 2.PERF.DJ-1-meet 1.man 1-one
 'they met a man'
- (133) ólé aa-rí nákhavokó (H15.10)
 1.DEM.III 1.PAST-be 1.fisherman.PL
 'he was a fisherman'
- (134) aa-ríná ekalawa ts-áwé ts-a khavóko (H15.11)
 1.PAST-have 10.boat 10-POSS.1 10-CONN fishing
 'he had his fishing boat'
- (135) álé a-mí-wéh-átsa (H15.12)
 2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-1-see-PLUR
 'they looked at him'

Especially locative demonstratives are often used pronominally, meaning 'here' or 'there' (136). The locatives *vano* and *vale* can also occur with a more temporal sense ('now' or 'then') and as such they are also used to start a new episode in the story (137).

- (136) ólé o-h-i'wwá onyákúliyá ũwé (K2.42)
 1.DEM.III 1-PERF.DJ.hear 15.shout 17.DEM.III
 'he heard shouting there'
- (137) vánó ólé khwíyá-khuwel-áka (K4.45)
 now 1.DEM.III NARR.PAST-shout-DUR
 'now he was shouting'

2.3.6 Adjective

There are few true adjectives in Makhuwa-Enahara. The probably complete list is: *-(a)nkaani* ‘small’, *-uulupale* ‘big’, *-kumi* ‘alive, healthy’, *-kina(ku)* ‘other’ and *-kithi* ‘green, unripe’. The adjectival stem has a nominal prefix, but does not belong to one noun class in the lexicon. Rather, the prefix agrees in noun class with the modified noun, as shown in Table 10, and the examples in (138) and (139).

Table 10 - Agreement on adjectives

class		big	small	healthy
1	mwanámwáné	muúlúpale	mwáńkhaáni	nkumi
2	anámwáné	uúlúpale	akháani	akumi
3	nkhorá	muúlúpale	mwáńkhaáni / *nkhaáni	nkumi
4	mikhórá	tsuúlúpale	tsikháani / *tsáńkhaáni	tsikumi
5	nlítí	nuúlúpale	náńkhaáni / nikháani	nikumi
6	maárú	muúlúpale	makháani	makumi
9	enúpá	yuúlúpale	yańkhaáni	ekumi
10	ekaláwá	tsuúlúpale	tsikháani	tsikumi
14	wííthó	uúlúpale	wáńkhaáni	nkumi

- (138) nthíyáná o-ho-ń-cá fizyáú n-kíthi
 1.woman 1-PERF.DJ-1-eat 1.beans 1-green
 ‘the woman ate green beans’

- (139) nki-ń-phéél’ éthú e-kínáku
 NEG.1SG-PRES-want.DJ 9.thing 9-other
 ‘I don’t want anything else’

Adjectival concepts can also be expressed in other ways. A frequent strategy is the use of a construction of an agreeing connective combined with a noun, as in (140) and (141), including infinitives of verbs indicating a quality or a result state (142). Some verbs occur in this construction predominantly in the database, such as *orekama* ‘to be tall’, while other verbs are also found in inflected forms, like the verb *oviha* ‘to be hot’ in (143b). The tone pattern on these combinations of connective + infinitive is different from the expected form as a verb (compare (143a) and (143c)) and has a rising tone on the first (long) syllable *oó-*. In the rest of the thesis these adjectival constructions are glossed without explicit reference to the connective.

- (140) ehantísí y-a khálái
 9.story 9-CONN past.times
 ‘an old story’

- (141) ehópá y-a safaráwo
 9.fish 9-CONN yellow
 ‘a yellow fish’
- (142) ntháli w’ oórékama
 3.tree 3.CONN 15.be.tall
 ‘a tall tree’
- (143) a. eyoóca y’ oóvíha
 9.food 9.CONN 15.be.hot
 ‘warm food’
- b. o-náá-víhá para shéeni?
 17-PRES.DJ-be.hot for what
 ‘why is it hot?’
- c. eyoóc’ éélá yoo-víha
 9.food 9.DEM.I 9.PERF.DJ-be.hot
 ‘this food is hot’

With vowel-initial verb stems the form of the construction is irregular. In (144) we would expect connective *a* + infinitive *wootha* to come out as *awootha*, but the connecting vowel is *o-*. The reason for this exceptionality is unknown.

- (144) a. o-hi-n-thel-é nthíyána o-wóotha (H3.5)
 2SG-NEG-1-marry-OPT 1.woman 1.CONN-15.lie
 ‘don’t marry a lying woman’
- b. nikúthá no-wóóceya
 5.knee 5.CONN-be.tired
 ‘a tired knee’

Another way to express an adjectival concept is used in the fixed expressions for “last” and “next”. Here, a (subject) relative phrase is used, which is often accompanied by a demonstrative. The series of demonstratives used depends on the temporal deixis in (145) and (146).

- (145) esumána e-vir-al’ éele
 9.week 9-pass-PERF.REL 9.DEM.III
 ‘last week’

- (146) mweéri o-m-w' óoyo
 3.month 3-PRES-come.REL 3.DEM.II
 'this coming month', 'next month'

Comparisons between two elements with respect to a quality are made by stating the quality of the one element with an adjective, and using the verb *ovikana* 'to surpass' followed by the other element, of which the quality or degree is less, as exemplified in (147) and (148).

- (147) enúpa y' aápáápá y-uulupalé yoo-vikáná enúpa
 9.house 9.CONN 2.father 9-big.PL 9.PERF.DJ-surpass 9.house
 y' aápáp' áu
 9.CONN 2.father 2.POSS.2SG
 'my father's house is bigger than your father's house'
- (148) etsíitsi e-háána m-uúpúwéló m-uúlupalé wo-wúú-vikáná wê
 9.owl 9-have 3.knowledge 3-big 3.PERF.DJ-2SG-surpass 2SG.PRO
 'the owl is smarter than you' (H9.35)

Another strategy for comparison is to use an adjective with one of two forms which translate as 'than': *tiki*, borrowed from Portuguese *do que*, or *khampa* from Swahili *kwamba* (149).

- (149) akhili a-háána ekúru v-íncééné tiki / kham pá owáli (H5.48)
 2.wisdom 2-have 9.power 16-much than / than 14.force
 'wisdom has more power than (physical) force'

2.3.7 Quantifiers

To indicate "every", the Portuguese word *cada* is borrowed as the invariable *kata*. *Kúta* also occurs, but it seems to be used less on the coast. It is placed before the noun (150).

- (150) katá nípuro yañ-táthá (K1.25)
 every 5.place 2.IMPF.DJ-shake
 'he shook everywhere' (in the context of searching in a room)

Universal quantification is expressed by *-otéene*. The pronominal prefix on this quantifier agrees in noun class with the noun it modifies, also when it is a floating quantifier as in (151). When used with a singular noun it can be translated as 'whole' or 'completely' (152); when used with a plural it translates as 'all', as in (153) and (154).

- (151) yoo-nyányánk-ey-átsá y-ootéene (K4.39)
 9-PERF.DJ-break-STAT-PLUR 9-all
 ‘it broke completely’
- (152) o-hi-n-khuur-e mwalákhú ootéene
 2SG-NEG-1-chew-OPT 1.chicken 1.all
 ‘don’t eat the whole chicken!’
- (153) etthú ts-áu ts-ootééné |
 10.things 10-POSS.2SG 10-all
 o-r-eék-é w-á-kúsh-ek-e (H4.102)
 2SG-go-DUR-OPT 2SG-SUBS-carry-DUR-OPT
 ‘all your things, go and take them’
- (154) oo-pánttul-átsá epańká ts-ootééné (K3.15)
 1.PERF.DJ-lift-PLUR 10.seats 10-all
 ‘he lifted all the seats’

A high quantity of an entity (“much/many”) is expressed by *-íncéene*, with a pronominal prefix agreeing in noun class with the noun it modifies, as illustrated in (155) and (156).

- (155) tsoo-wáá-ts’ éńámá ts-íncéene (H5.5)
 10.PERF.DJ-come-PLUR 10.animals 10-much
 ‘there came many animals’
- (156) o-háána ntsúrúkhú mw-íncéene
 1-have 3.money 3-much
 ‘he has a lot of money’

“Little” or “few” is expressed by the invariable *vakhaáni* (157), which is also used as an adverb. This invariable quantifier differs from the agreeing adjective *-khaani*, which means ‘small’ (158).

- (157) ntsóro vakhaáni little rice
 fizyáú vakhaáni little beans (mass noun)
- átthú ari vakhaáni the people are few
 2.people 2-be few
- (158) makhúlé vakhaáni few mice
 makhúlé makháani small mice

2.3.8 Numerals

The numerals in Makhuwa-Enahara are listed in Table 11. The numeral system of Makhuwa-Enahara differs from that of the central variant of Makhuwa. Whereas the central variant uses complex forms from 5 onwards (e.g., 5-and-1 for 6), Enahara has borrowed some numerals from Swahili. However, it does use the complex forms in the decades 50-90. In everyday life, the Portuguese numerals are used for the higher numbers. The tone pattern of the cardinal numerals is all-L with the last mora H. This is especially audible in bare counting.

Table 11 - Numerals

1	motsá	
2	piilí	
3	tthaarú	
4	ceshé	
5	thanú	
6	sitá	< Sw. sita
7	saapá	< Sw. saba
8	naané	< Sw. nane
9	khenttá	< (old) Sw. kenda
10	nlokó	
11	nlokó na motsá	
20	milókó miilí	
70	milókó mithánú na míli	
100	emiya	

Only the numerals 1-5 have a numeral prefix (differing from the adjectival prefix) which agrees in noun class with the modified noun (159). This is also illustrated in Table 12, where “one” modifies the singular classes (1,3,5,9), and “two” and “three” modify the plural (2,4,6,10). The forms in class 10 are irregular synchronically (*tthaaru*, and not *tsiraru* or *eraru*), displaying a reflex of the Proto-Bantu prenasalisation of class 10. It is only in the classes 4 and 10 that the numeral prefix is deviant from the nominal prefix. See also Table 14 at the end of section 2.3.

- (159) a. mishírí mi-ceshé
 4.cucumbers 4-four
 ‘four cucumbers’

- b. ámáláú a-ceshé
 2.melons 2-four
 ‘four melons’
- c. mishiri naané
 4.cucumbers eight
 ‘eight cucumbers’

Table 12 – Agreement on numerals

noun class	one	two	three	four	five
1/2	mmotsa	enli / eeli	araru	aceshe	athanu
3/4	mmotsa	miili	miraru	miceshe	mithanu
5/6	nimotsa	menli	mararu	maceshe	mathanu
9/10	emotsa	piili	tthaaru	ceshe	thanu

The ordinal numeral “first” is formed with a connective and one of the infinitives shown in (160) for “to begin” or “to start”.

- (160) a. mwaáná oópáçera first child
 1.child 1.CONN.15.begin
- b. mwaáná o-wáñtsa first child
 1.child 1.CONN-15.start

The other ordinal numerals consist of a connective and a nominalised cardinal numeral. The nominal cardinal number is formed by means of the formative *na(N)-* (161). These “ordinal nouns” can be used pronominally or in a construction with the connective (162). The connective has a pronominal prefix which agrees in noun class with the modified nominal. The nominalisation sometimes results in variants, such as *naneéráru* and *namíráru* for ‘third’.

- (161) nanéérarú the third one
 naácéshe the fourth one
- (162) mweéri wa namíili second month
 mweéri wa nanénli
 mweéri wa namíráru third month
 mweéri wa neéráru
 mweéri wa neéshéshe fourth month
 mweéri wa neéthánu fifth month

nikhúlé	na	neéráru	third mouse
makhúlé	a	nanénli	second (group of) mice
ehópá	ya	nanénli	second fish
ehópá	tša	nanénli	second fish (plural)

2.3.9 Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns can be divided into independent interrogatives (163) and modifying ones (164). The meaning and use of these interrogatives are discussed in turn.

- (163) independent
- | | |
|---------|-------|
| pani | who |
| esheeni | what |
| vayi | where |
| tsayi | how |
| lini | when |
- (164) modifying
- | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| (e)sheeni | what sort/which (invariable) |
| -kavi | how much/many (variable) |

The independent interrogatives must occur in the position immediately following a conjoint verb form or in a cleft construction. A subject can only be questioned in a (pseudo)cleft. The modifying interrogatives follow the modified noun, and this unit of noun and interrogative modifier also occurs in the immediately post-verbal position. In the non-cleft examples in this section the verb is in its conjoint form, unless indicated otherwise. More information on the position of interrogatives follows in chapters 4 and 5.

Pani ‘who’

When asking about a person, the interrogative *pani* ‘who’ is used. There are two properties which strongly suggest that this question word is in class 1a. First, it has a plural form in class 2a (165), and second, it triggers object agreement on the verb when it is the object, as in (166) and (165).⁸ When the questioned element is the subject a cleft or pseudocleft construction must be used, as in (167) and (168). *Pani* is also used when asking for someone’s name, as in (169).

- (165) poólá o-n-aá-váha á-pání?
 1.ball 2SG-PRES.CJ-2-give 2a-who
 ‘to whom (plural) do you give the ball?’

⁸ Class 2 is also used to express a honorific singular.

- (166) o-ń-thóla páni? (K4.21)
 15-1-search 1.who
 ‘searching whom?’
- (167) ólá o-ki-var-aly’ óola ti páni? (K2.43)
 1.DEM.I 1-1SG-grab-PERF.REL 1.DEM.I COP 1.who
 ‘who is this one who gripped me?’
- (168) ti páni o-lep-al’ epaphélo?
 COP 1.who 1-write-PERF.CJ.REL 9.letter
 ‘who wrote the letter?’
- (169) o-n-aátsím-íyá páni?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS 1.who
 ‘how are you called?’

An alternative form of this question word is found combined with the preposition *ni*, as shown in (170a). It is not used frequently in Makhuwa-Enahara, and the separate form is also used (170b).

- (170) a. ekaáshá e-n-shóvíya naaní?
 9.box 9-PRES.CJ-push-PASS with.1.who
 ‘who is the box pushed by?’
- b. ekaáshá e-n-shóvíya ni páni?
 9.box 9-PRES.CJ-push-PASS with 1.who
 ‘who is the box pushed by?’

“Whose” is expressed by a connective and *páni*, following the noun, as exemplified in (171) and (172).

- (171) enupa ya á-pán’ ííla?
 9.house.PL 9.CONN 2-who 9.DEM.I
 ‘whose is this house?’
- (172) o-m-phwany-alé mwalapwa a páni?
 2SG-I-meet-PERF.CJ 1.dog 1.CONN 1.who
 ‘whose dog did you come across?’

Esheeni ‘what/why’

There are two forms of the interrogative “what”: an independent pronoun *esheeni* (173) and a clitic *-ni* (174). In general there are no specific restrictions on the use of either the

full or the clitic form in the basic meaning. When the subject of the sentence is questioned with *esheeni*, it is in the tonally lowered form as the predicative part of a cleft (175). As such, it can also be used by itself, questioning the general state of affairs, as in (176).

- (173) élé chantísí ilé e-n-hímy-ák-ats-érá esheení? (H8.46)
 9.DEM.III 9.story 9.DEM.III 9-PRES.CJ-say-DUR-PLUR-APPL 9.what
 ‘what does this story tell?’

- (174) Mariámú iir-alé-ní?
 1.Mariamú 1.do-PERF.CJ-what
 ‘what did Mariamu do?’

- (175) esheení e-n-núkha?
 9.what.PL 9-PRES-smell.REL
 ‘what is it that smells?’

- (176) óo mwenye havará k-aáshútari-ni (H14.16)
 oh 1.master 1.leopard 1SG-help.OPT-PLA
 ‘oh, mister Leopard, help me!’

aá esheení? (H14.17)
 aa 9.what.PL
 ‘okay, what is it?’

Esheeni is also found in reason questions. There are three strategies for forming a reason question. The first is by using the applicative form of the verb followed by *esheeni*. This strategy can be translated as ‘for what’ (meaning ‘why’), but it can also be interpreted as ‘what’ in combination with another interpretation of the applicative, such as a locative or direction in (178a) for example.

- (177) o-n-tsíkúl-él’ ésheení?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-be.sad-APPL 9.what
 ‘why are you sad?’

- (178) a. o-mor-el-alé-ní?
 2SG-fall-APPL-PERF.CJ-what
 i. ‘why did you fall?’
 ii. ‘what did you fall on?’

The second strategy uses *para* (a preposition borrowed from Portuguese) and *(e)sheeni*.⁹ This question combination can be placed before or after the verb or sentence (179), and both the CJ and DJ verb form seem to be allowed before *para sheeni*, as can be seen comparing (178b) and (180).

- (178) b. woo-mórá para shéeni khu-n-óona?
 2SG.PERF-fall for what 2SG.NEG-PRES-see.DJ
 ‘why did you fall, don’t you look (out)?’
- (179) a enúp’ áú para shéeni e-n-khálá y-oóttéela?
 9.house 9.POSS.2SG for what 9-PRES.CJ-stay 9-white
- b. para shéeni enúp’ áú e-n-khálá y-oóttéela?
 for what 9.house 9.POSS.2SG 9-PRES.CJ-stay 9-white
 ‘why is your house white?’
- (180) o-’l-límá para shéeni?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-cultivate for what
 ‘why are you working on the land?’

The easiest possibility, however, is to simply state an action and then question it by putting (PL) *esheeni* after it, as in (181). In this strategy the verb needs to be in its DJ form, and the interrogative is in sentence-final position, with a possible pause before the interrogative (182a,b). I analyse these as separate clauses, the second being just the question word. Note that the requirement to occur after a DJ verb form is the opposite of the interrogative in the applicative strategy, or any other question. In these question strategies, the verb needs to be in a CJ form, and the interrogative pronoun must immediately follow the verb (182c).

- (181) o-náá-rúpá esheeni? o-náá-were-íya?
 2SG-PRES.DJ-sleep 9.what 2SG-PRES.DJ-hurt-PASS
 ‘why are you sleeping? are you sick?’
 lit. ‘you are sleeping. why? are you sick?’

⁹ Another analysis would be to view *para* as a noun modified by *sheeni*, as in “which”-questions. Since *para* is used as a preposition elsewhere (see section 2.6.1), an analysis of *para sheeni* as a prepositional phrase is simpler.

- (182) a. o-náá-thíkíla mitháli esheeni?
1-PRES.DJ-cut 4.trees 9.what
- b. * o-náá-thíkíl' esheeni mitháli?
1-PRES.DJ-cut 9.what 4.trees
- c. o-n-thíkíl-él' ésheeni mitháli?
1-PRES.CJ-cut-APPL 9.what 4.trees
'why is he cutting trees?'

Vayi 'where'

When inquiring after a place the invariable *vayi* is used. Whether the locative is an argument or an adjunct, it should occur either in a cleft, as in (183), or directly after a CJ verb form (184). Nothing may intervene between the CJ verb form and the question word (185).

- (183) (ti) vayi waa-vínthy-ááwé ntsúrukhu?
COP where 17.PAST-hide.PERF.REL-POSS.1 3.money
'where is it that he hid the money?'
- (184) ashínúni y-aa-vav-álé vayi?
2.DIM.birds 2-PAST-fly-PERF.CJ where
'where have the birds flown?'
- (185) * o-m-vara nteko vayi?
2SG-PRES.CJ-grab 3.work where
int. 'where do you work?'

Tsayi 'how'

The interrogative *tsayi* is translated as 'how' and questions the manner in which something is done (186), or the state in which a person is (187). It can also be used just by itself for this latter purpose, as illustrated in (188). A cleft with *tsayi* is judged ungrammatical (189).

- (186) mwann' aká maály' áala o-phwany-alé tsáyi? (H4.27)
1.husband 1.POSS.1SG 6.wealth 6.DEM.I 2SG-meet-PERF.CJ how
'my husband, how did you become so rich?'
- (187) o-m-mál-él-áká-tho tsayî? (H2.46)
1-PRES.CJ-finish-APPL-DUR-REP how
'how will she end up?'

- (188) tsayi piípi kaa-wa-álé wuu-thotolá-ni (H2.26)
 how grandma 1SG.PAST-come-PERF.CJ 15.2PL-visit-PLA
 ‘how is it grandma, I have come to visit you’
- (189) * tsayí tsi-phwany-al-ínyú maály’ áála?
 how 10-meet-PERF.REL-POSS.2PL 6.richness 6.DEM.I
 int. ‘how did you become rich?’

In some cases a manner is questioned by using a “which”-question. In the story from which example (190) comes, Hyena meets the newly painted Leopard and asks how it is that he got these colours by using the noun *moota* ‘manner’ and a clitic *-ni* ‘what’.

- (190) áá moota-níi manép’ áála? (H14.45)
 aa manner-what 6.colours 6.DEM.I
 ‘hey, how (come you have) these colours?’

Lini ‘when’

The interrogative *lini* ‘when’ asks for a general time, such as a day, month or year. When asking for a time of day, a ‘which’-question is used with the word *ewora* ‘hour’, which can also be put in a cleft (192).

- (191) o-wa-álé liní? (H10.44)
 I-come-PERF.CJ when
 ‘when did he come?’
- (192) a. o-rup-álé ewora shéeni?
 2SG-sleep-PERF 9.hour what
 ‘when did you (go to) sleep?’
- b. ewora shéení e-rup-aly-áu?
 9.hour what 9-sleep-PERF.REL-POSS.2SG
 ‘when did you (go to) sleep?’

(E)sheeni ‘which’

As seen in (192) above, the invariable dependent interrogative *(e)sheeni* is also used to form questions asking “which”. Both “which” and “what kind of” are expressed by putting *(e)sheeni* after the noun it modifies.¹⁰ The clitic form is not always accepted here: only with an emphatic intonation is it grammatical in (193b). A cleft is also possible with the noun preceding *sheeni* being tonally lowered (193c).

¹⁰ The first vowel of *esheeni* is very often deleted in the modifying use. This might be due to a slight difference in meaning or use, or to an untypical kind of liaison.

- (193) a. o-n-tháll' époolu shéeni?
 2SG-1-choose-PERF.CJ 1.cake what
 'which cake did you choose?'
 b. o-n-tháll' époolu-nii?
 2SG-1-choose-PERF.CJ 1.cake-what
 c. epoolu shéeni e-thall-aly-áu?
 9.cake.PL what 9-choose-PERF.REL-POSS.2SG
 'which is the cake that you chose?'

-Kavi 'how much'

The interrogative *-kavi* 'how much/many' is the only interrogative which can agree in noun class (194). It takes the same prefix as the numerals and can also be used as a free pronoun, as in the cleft in (195). There is a difference in use when asking about a quantity or the price of an item. When asking for the number of eggs, an agreeing *wh*-word is used, as in (196a). When inquiring about the price of the eggs, the invariant form without prefix is used *kavi*, as in (196b). The invariant form is the one used with class 10, which is a reflex of an earlier form with prenasalisation (197).

- (194) a. o-m-phéélá mivéló mi-kavi?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-want 4.broom 4-how.much
 'how many brooms do you want?'
 b. mivéló mi-kavi tsi-m-phéél-ínyu?¹¹
 4.broom 4-how.much 4-PRES-want.REL-POSS.2PL
 'how many brooms do you want?'
 (195) a-kaví a-hi-ń-rówa okhattéya?
 2-how.much.PL 2-NEG-PRES-go.REL 17.prison
 'how many don't go to prison?'
 (196) a. moócé ma-kaví?
 6.eggs 6-how.much
 'how many eggs?'
 b. moócé kavi?
 6.eggs how.much
 'how much do the eggs cost?'

¹¹ The tone pattern on *mivéló mikavi* differs from the pattern expected under PL, which would be the lowered form *mivelo*.

- (197) o-low-alé ehópá kavi?
 2SG-fish-PERF.CJ 10.fish 10.how.much
 ‘how many fish did you catch?’

Mass nouns cannot be questioned by *kavi*, as shown in (198a). A countable measure unit must always be added in order to make the question grammatical, as in (198b).

- (198) a. * nthiyáná o-rik-alé maátsí ma-kaví?
 1.woman 1-draw-PERF.CJ 6.water 6-how.much
 int. ‘how much water did the woman draw?’
- b. nthiyáná o-rik-alé micómá mi-kaví maátsi?
 1.woman 1-draw-PERF.CJ 4.drums 4-how.much 6.water
 ‘how many drums of water did the woman draw?’

Multiple questions

For most informants of Makhuwa-Enahara it is ungrammatical to ask multiple questions. One would rather ask two separate questions, using the verb twice if needed (199b), or asking one question with a dummy in the place of the other question word (199c). See also chapter 5, section 5.4.1.

- (199) a. * ti paní o-n-shov’ eshéeni?
 COP 1.who 1-PRES-push.REL 9.what
 int. ‘who pushes what?’
- b. o-n-shov’ ékaáro ti paní
 1-PRES-push.REL 9.car COP 1.who
 o-n-shov’ ékaáshá ti pani?
 1-PRES-push.REL 9.box COP 1.who
 ‘who pushes the car and who pushes the box?’
- c. ti paní o-n-shov’ étthu?
 COP 1.who 1-PRES-push.REL 9.thing
 ‘who pushes something?’

2.3.10 Personal pronouns

There are two sets of free personal pronouns: a shorter and a longer form, as given in Table 13. The preferences in use for these forms are still unclear. Makhuwa distinguishes two forms of the 2nd person singular: one informal and one to express respect for older people or people higher in social ranking. For classes 1 and 2 (=3SG/PL),

just as for the other classes, the demonstratives (*ole*, *ale(tse)*) are very frequently used instead of the personal pronouns.

Table 13 - Personal pronouns

SG	1	mi	miyaano
	2	we	weyaano
	2RESP	nyu	nyuwaano
PL	3	yena	
	1	hĩ	hiyaano
	2	nyutse	nyuwaanotse
	3	ayenatse	

Independent personal pronouns (in addition to a subject prefix on the verb) are used when putting emphasis on the argument (200), or when, for morphological reasons, it cannot be expressed as a prefix on the verb. This is for example the case when there is already an object marker on the verb (of which there can be only one, as in (201)), or when a preposition is used (202).

- (200) hatá mí tsoowírá n-ki-ń-tsúwela (H2.48)
 even 1SG.PRO 10.CONN.15.do NEG-1SG-PRES-know.DJ
 ‘even I don’t know what to do’

- (201) Folórá o-núú-kí-váha wé (para w-uú-rúma)
 1.Flor 1-PERF.PERS-1SG-give 2SG (for 15-2SG-send)
 ‘Flora gave you to me (to send you)’

- (202) ni-m-vará ntekó ni yéna
 1PL-PRES.CJ-grab 3.work with 1.PRO
 ‘we are working with her’

2.3.11 Clitics

There are three clitics which are used after a non-verbal element: *-ene*, *-ru* and *-tho*, of which the last two are also used after a verb (see section 2.4.5). These clitics seem to be cliticised to the phrase including modifiers, rather than to the noun per se. One indication for this analysis is the order of cliticisation in (203): first the clitic form of the question word is cliticised to the verb, and then the repetitive clitic is added after the *wh*-clitic.

- (203) o-ca-alé-ní-thô?
 1-eat-PERF.CJ-what-REP
 ‘what else did she eat?’

The clitic *-ene* can be found in (or added to) modifiers to intensify their meaning. Examples (204) and (205) show the use in adjectivals and adverbials (in which it is lexicalised), and (206) shows the clitic after a relative modifier.

- (204) tsootéene all, completely
 tsiñcéene much/many
 ottyááwéne far away
 mwanéene self, by him/herself
- (205) ntháli w-oórippelelá saan-éene (< saana ‘well’)
 3.tree 3-dark very-INT
 ‘a very dark tree’
- (206) ehópá iyé ki-phwany-alé tsi-mal-al’ éene
 10.fish 10.DEM.III 1SG-meet-PERF.CJ 10-finish-PERF.SIT INT
 ‘those fish I found when they were finished’

The clitic *-ru* expresses exclusivity, and can be translated as ‘only’. It indicates that in the given set, there is no mixture of different things, or people, as in (207) and (208). The noun to which *-ru* attaches undergoes a tonal change: only the syllable preceding the clitic is H. This tonal change is not due to predication or the conjoint verb form. Although the conjoint verb form expresses exclusivity of the element following it (see chapter 5), the clitic *-ru* is not found in verbal predication in my database.

- (207) eníká nasapató-ru tí-n-áape-íya
 9.banana plantain-EXCL COP.9-PRES-cook-PASS.REL
 ‘it is only plantain banana which is cooked’ (not the other types of banana)
- (208) esaál’ éélé arí athiyaná-ru
 9.room 9.DEM.III 2-be 2.women-EXCL
 ‘in that room there are only women’

The clitic *-ru* is also found lexicalised in the adverbs in (209).

- (209) vakhiviiru closeby
 motayáru whichever way
 nannanóru suddenly

The clitic *-tho* can be translated as ‘more’ or ‘else’, as in (210) and (211), or as ‘anymore’ in combination with a negative verb (212). Example (213) shows the cliticisation of *-tho* to the modifier rather than to the noun.

- (210) Amíná o-n-aápéyá esheení-thó?
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-cook 9.what-REP
 ‘what else does Amina cook?’
- (211) ekináku-tho?
 9.other-REP
 ‘anything else?’
- (212) nyúwáánó kha-na efáíta-tho (H11.49)
 2PL.PRO NEG-have 9.worth-REP
 ‘you no longer have (any) value’ OR ‘you have no value anymore’
- (213) n-ki-rí-ná éthú kwalkéerí y’ oóhímya-tho
 NEG-1SG-be-with 9.thing whatsoever 9.CONN 15.say-REP
 ‘I don’t have anything else to say’

The agreeing nominal, verbal, numeral and prepositional prefixes referred to in this section are listed in Table 14.

Table 14 – Prefixes

	NPx	VPx	NPx adjectives	EPx numerals	PPx	PPx demonstratives
1	N̩ / mw	o, a	N̩ / mw	N̩	-	o
1a	Ø					
2	a	a / y	a	a	-	a
2a	á					
3	N̩ / mw	o / w	N̩ / mw	N̩	o / w	o
4	mi	tsi / ts	tsi / ts	mi	ts	i
5	ni / n̩ / n	ni / n	ni	ni	n	n̩
6	ma	a / y	ma	ma	-	a
9	e	e / y	e	e	y	e
10	e	tsi / ts	tsi / ts	proto ^N (C)	ts	i
14	o	o	N̩	?	w	o
15	o	o	n.a.	n.a.	w	n.a.
16	wa, va	wa	n.a.	n.a.	w	
17	o	o	n.a.	n.a.	w	
18	N̩	N̩	n.a.	n.a.	w, m	

2.4 Verbal morphology

2.4.1 Stem, base and root

The verbal stem consists of the verbal base (VB) and a final suffix (Fi).¹² The VB is the lexical core of the verb, and it can be subdivided into a root and possible extensions, as schematised in Table 15. Unlike many other Bantu languages, Makhuwa does not have H and L verbal stems. That is, the verbal stems do not have lexical tone. The tone pattern of the verb is completely dependent on the length of the verb and the morphological environment in which it occurs (Cheng and Kisseberth 1979:32).

Table 15 - Structure of stem and VB

prefix	VB			Fi	translation
	root	ext	ext		
o	thum			a	'to buy'
o	khum	el		a	'to go out to'
o	tsiv	el	iy	a	'to be pleased'
ki	kott	ih		ale	'I prohibited'
m	vir			e	'you may pass'

The canonical form of the root is CVC, and that of the extensions VC. The root may alternatively have the form VC or C, as in (214) and (215). There are few verbs in this last category.

(214)	<u>stem</u>	<u>infinitive</u>	
	-ip-	wiípa	to sing
	-ett-	weétta	to walk
	-am-	waáma	to wring
	-oth-	woótha	to lie
	-up-	wuúpa	to form

(215)	-c-	óca	to eat
	-khw-	ókhwa	to die
	-w-	ówa	to come
	-sh-	ósha	to dawn

The stems of some verbs cannot be segmented into a VB and a final suffix. These are verbs which end in *-i* or *-u*, and which are mostly loanwords from Portuguese or Swahili (the last may in turn be derived from Arabic).

¹² When the final suffix is the neutral *-a*, it is either glossed together with the verb, or separately as the conventional FV (final vowel).

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| (216) | opétsári | to weigh | < Pt. pesar |
| | okhúwári | to water | < Pt. aguar |
| | oswáli | to pray | < Sw. kuswali |
| | ofáhámu | to understand | < Sw. kufahamu |
| | oshúpiishu | to bother | |

2.4.2 Reduplication

Reduplication of the full VB is a productive process indicating repetition of the action expressed by the verb, or the duration of the action over a longer period of time. This is illustrated in the two successive sentences in (217), in which a boy is searching for his frog. The shaking and searching in this example are perceived as repeated actions, lasting for some time.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|---------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (217) | aa-kúshá | epoót' | ááwé | oo-tátá-táthá | kha-mí-phwánya |
| | 2.PERF.DJ-take | 9.boot | 9.POSS.1 | 1.PERF.DJ-shake-RED | NEG.1-PRES-meet.DJ |
| | 'he picked up his boot, he shook and shook it, without finding' (K1.24) | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | katá | nípuro | yań-táthá | oo-thólá-thólá | kha-mí-phwánya |
| | every | 5.place | 2.IMPF.DJ-shake | 1.PERF.DJ-search-RED | NEG.1-PRES-meet.DJ |
| | 'he shook everywhere, he searched and searched, without finding' (K1.25) | | | | |

In some verbs the VB is partly reduplicated. Partial reduplication is a lexicalised process, whereby the first CV syllable of the VB is copied. Some of these partly reduplicated verbs refer to an iterative movement.

- | | | |
|-------|------------|----------------|
| (218) | oshúshúma | to squat |
| | okókhóra | to kneel |
| | opúpúttha | to scale |
| | otúthúnya | to limp |
| | ovúvúra | to dry (intr.) |
| | okókóththa | to caulk |

2.4.3 Verbal extensions

Verbal derivation happens primarily by means of suffixing one or more extensions to the root. Some of these extensions are used more productively than others. The least productive are not discussed in this thesis, and they are glossed together with the root. The properties of the following productive extensions are discussed in turn: causative, applicative, associative, durative, plurative, passive, and stative. See Katupha (1991) for a detailed analysis of the verbal extensions in the Esaaka variant of Makhuwa.

Causative

The regular causative extension *-ih-* is fully productive, although some verbs are lexicalised with a specialised meaning (219). The causative extension adds a subject to the simple proposition, which is often intransitive. This “extra” subject is the one letting or making the original subject carry out the action expressed in the verb. The agent of the simple verb, like *numímé* in (220), is now expressed as the object, as in (221).

- (219) ovénaya to wake, get up (intr.)
 ovényíha to wake up (tr.)
- osóma to study, to read
 osómiha to teach (to make learn)
- othúma to buy
 otúmiha to sell (to make buy)
- (220) numímé noo-khúma (K2.9)
 5.toad 5.PERF.DJ-exit
 ‘the toad left’
- (221) kha-weery-álé o-kúm-íhá numímé nne (K2.5)
 NEG.1-succeed-PERF.DJ 15-exit-CAUS 5.toad 5.DEM.III
 ‘he didn’t manage to get that toad out’

When a causative is formed from a verb with a (lexicalised) extension *-ey-* (stative) or *-uw-* (separative), the result is a fused extension *-esh-* or *-ush-* expressing both derivational meanings.¹³

- (222) opápwarúwa to boil (intr.)
 opápwarúsha to boil (tr.)
- othérénéya to stumble
 othérénésha to let stumble

Example (223) shows an interesting semantic difference between the intransitive use of a verb (223a), the use with a causative (223b), and with causative plus a passive (223c). Since the causative adds an agent to the proposition, and the passive “removes” that agent, one might think the two operations cancel each other out. However, the form with

¹³ These fused extensions contain the “short causative” morpheme, which has a palatalising or spirantising influence (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000:83).

the causative still has an implied agent, which is not the case in the simple intransitive form.

- (223) a. maátsí oo-pápwáruwa
 6.water 6.PERF.DJ-boil
 ‘the water boiled’
- b. ki-m-pápwár-úshá maatsi
 1SG-PRES.CJ-boil-CAUS 6.water
 ‘I boil the water’
- c. maátsí oo-pápwár-úsh-íya (ni mí)
 6.water 6.PERF.DJ-boil-CAUS-PASS (by 1SG.PRO)
 ‘the water was boiled (by me)’

The “added agent” in a causative can also be expressed paraphrastically, by means of an auxiliary *-hiya* ‘let’. Example (224a) shows the simple verb, (224b) the causative, and (224c) the paraphrastic construction.

- (224) a. mwanámwáne o-ná-mwéétta
 1.child 1-PRES.DJ-walk
 ‘the child walks’
- b. o-mí-wéétt-íha mwanámwáne
 15-1-walk-CAUS 1.child
 ‘to let the child walk’
- c. o-ń-híyá weéttá mwanámwáne
 15-1-let 15.walk 1.child
 ‘to let the child walk’

The added agent can be interpreted either as the authority giving permission, approval or opportunity; or as an acting entity, with an intention to have the action of the verb being carried out. The first interpretation is illustrated in (225), where the agent of the causative verb does not allow the other person involved to perform the action indicated in the verb (namely, to sleep).

- (225) khu-ki-rúp-íh-ale ohíyu
 NEG.2SG-1SG-sleep-CAUS-PERF.DJ night
 ‘you don’t let me sleep at night’

The second interpretation can be seen in (226), where (226a) means that I intentionally let the book fall, or I made the book fall. Example (226b) is the appropriate way to express that the book accidentally fell.

- (226) a. koo-mór-ih' eliívúru
 1SG.PERF.DJ-fall-CAUS 9.book
 'I made the book fall'
- b. yoo-kí-mórá eliívúru
 9.PERF.DJ-1SG-fall 9.book
 'I dropped the book', lit. 'the book has fallen me'

Applicative

The basic function of the applicative extension is to add an (object) argument to the proposition. The regular productive form in Enahara is *-el-*, but a form *-er-* occurs in (lexicalised) causative forms (227). There is probably a dialectal difference as well, *-el-* being "more Enahara".

- (227) wuúpúshéra to remember (tr.)
 wuúpúwéla to think
- otóónyihéra to show

The added argument can have various thematic roles. The prototypical role added by an applicative is the beneficiary, as illustrated in (228) and (229).

- (228) a. Amíná o-n-rúwá eshimá
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-stir 9.shima
 'Amina prepares shima'
- b. Amíná o-n-aá-rúw-él' éshimá anámwáne
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-2-stir-APPL 9.shima 2.children
 'Amina cooks shima for the children'
- (229) ki-ni-m-vár-élá ntekó Coána
 1SG-PRES.CJ-1-grab-APPL work 1.Joanna
 'I am working for Joanna'

The applied argument can also be affected in a negative way (malefactive).

- (230) ki-núú-khw-él-íya n' aápíípi
 1SG-PERF.PERS-die-APPL-PASS with 2.grandma
 'my grandmother died', lit. 'I was died on by grandmother'

Similarly, the applied argument can be the goal.

- (231) koo-thúm-élá makútthí enúpa
 1SG-PERF.DJ-buy-APPL 6.palm.leaves 9.house
 'I bought palm leaves for the house' (to thatch)

The applicative derivation can add a location to the proposition, as in (232). When the applicative is added to a verb expressing movement from a location, the verb becomes goal-oriented and the location is now the goal, as in (233) and (234).

- (232) mankáásíá íttthu o-m-vúr-élá wapeétó wáwe
 6.oars 1.person 1-PRES.CJ-pull-APPL 16.chest 16-POSS.1
 'oars, a person rows towards his chest'
 ('when you work you earn money for yourself')
- (233) ni-n-thámá onakhálá ni-n-thám-élá onhípiti
 1PL-PRES.CJ-move 17.Nacala 1PL-PRES.CJ-move-APPL 17.Ilha
 'we move from Nacala to Ilha'
- (234) vánó mwaámáné olé oo-mórá n-tsulú mwé
 now 1.child 1.DEM.III 1.PERF.DJ-fall 18-up 18.DEM.III
 oo-mór-éla vathi (K3.42)
 1.PERF.DJ-fall-APPL 16.down
 'now the child fell down from up there'

The semantic role of instrument can be expressed either in a prepositional phrase with *ni*, as in (235a), or by using an applicative in the verb, as in (235b) and (236).

- (235) a. Aminá o-n-rúw' eshimá ni nkhóri
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-stir 9.shima with 3.spoon
 'Amina prepares shima with a spoon'
- b. Aminá o-n-rúw-él' eshimá nkhóri
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-stir-APPL 9.shima 3.spoon
 'Amina prepares shima with a spoon'

- (236) enúp' éélá yoo-ték-él-íyá ekaáli
 9.house 9.DEM.I 9.PERF.DJ-build-APPL-PASS 9.lime
 'this house is built with lime'

In questions, the applicative suffix is used in combination with the interrogative *esheeni* to ask for a reason, i.e., a why-question (see also section 2.3.9). The applicative is optionally used in the answer in (238).

- (237) o-n-u'll-él' esheení?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-cry 9.what
 'why are you crying?'
- (238) ki-n-u'll-(él-)á ki-núú-mán-íya
 1SG-PRES.CJ-cry-(APPL-)FV 1SG-PERF.PERS-beat-PASS
 'I cry (because) I was beaten'

In some cases it is not clear from the sentence itself which meaning of the applicative is intended. In (239) "Hare" can be interpreted as the direct object or the indirect object, and the question can ask for a reason (239a), an instrumental (239c), or the theme/direct object (239b).

- (239) a-n-hit-el-alé esheení namárókolo?
 2-1-slaughter-APPL-PERF.CJ 9.what 1.hare
 a. 'why did they slaughter Hare?'
 b. 'what did they slaughter Hare with?'
 c. 'what did they slaughter for Hare?'

Double applicative

The applicative extension can occur twice in the VB. This double applicative can be lexicalised, as in (240), or it can be used productively to add two arguments in different roles. For example, the double applicative can add a reason and a direction (241) or a reason and a benefactive (242). Probably not all combinations of roles are possible, but I do not have examples of ungrammatical combinations.

- (240) orámpeléla to swim
 olípéléla to wait, to hope
- (241) o-n-cáw-él-el' esheeni wapońti?
 2SG-PRES.CJ-run-APPL-APPL 9.what 16.bridge
 'why are you running to the bridge?'

- (242) Coáo o-n-thum-el-el-alé-ní ekúwo?
 1.Joao 1-1-buy-APPL-APPL-PERF.CJ-what 9.cloth
 ‘why did João buy her a cloth?’

More information object marking of the (applied) arguments on the verb can be found in section 2.4.4.

Associative

The associative extension *-an-* is most often used to express reciprocity. The reciprocal verb is derived from a transitive verb where subject and object are capable of assuming identical thematic roles (“symmetrical” verbs, Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000). This reciprocal meaning is illustrated in (243) and (244), where the first person plural subject is referred back to by the class 2 object marker. In (245) the associative can also be used to indicate “togetherness”, as in (245).

- (243) ni-ná-wáa-patthel-ána
 1PL-PRES.DJ-2-embrace-ASSO
 ‘we embrace each other’
- (244) onyákúla to make noise, shout
 o-nyákúl-ih-ána to quarrel, debate (to make each other shout)
 15-shout-CAUS-ASSO
- (245) okhúamá to go out
 okhúmáná to go out together

Plurative

The extension *-ats-* indicates or reinforces plurality of the subject, the object or the action. The plurality of the subject is shown in the afterthought in (246). In (247) the plurality of the object is reinforced by the quantifier “all”.

- (246) aa-vír-átsá y-eett-áka mwanámwáné oolé ni
 2.PERF.DJ-pass-PLUR 2-walk-DUR 1.child 1.DEM.III with
 mwálápw’ aáw’ óole (K3.25)
 1.dog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III
 ‘they passed walking, that child and that dog of his’
- (247) oo-pánttul-átsá epanká ts-ooteéné (K3.15)
 1.PERF.DJ-lift-PLUR 10.seats 10-all
 ‘he lifted all the seats’

Plurality of the event or action is often combined with reduplication, as in (248). It can also have a connotation of being extended over a longer period of time in which the action takes place several times (249).

- (248) mí ki-náá-kóhá-koh-átsa
1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.DJ-ask-RED-PLUR
'I am doing research'
- (249) makhálélo áwé y-aa-rí ovékél-átsá ntsúrúkhú
6.life 6.POSS.1 6-PAST-be 15.beg-PLUR 3.money
ovékél-átsá ekúwó paáhi (H2.7)
15.beg-PLUR 10.clothes only
'her way of life was just begging for money, begging for clothes'

Durative

The durative extension *-ak-* indicates a longer duration of the action or adds a habitual or frequentative aspect, as illustrated in (250) and (251).

- (250) o-háa-vo íttthú o-m-wá-aka vá
1-stay-LOC 1.person 1-PRES-come-DUR.REL 16.PRO
'there is someone who (regularly) comes here'
- (251) ehópá tsi-n-khál-áká mmaátsí-ni
10.fish 10-PRES.CJ-stay-DUR 18.water-LOC
'fish are in the water'

The durative extension is directly related to (and formally equal to) the durative pre-final morpheme *-ak-*. This pre-final morpheme is used with a typically aspectual meaning, being associated with the durative situative and habitual conjugations. These two can co-occur, as for example in (252), which is the reason to analyse them as two different morphemes. Both morphemes are glossed as DUR. See for more information section 2.5.4 on the non-basic conjugations.

- (252) ólé a-ruwan-áká álé a-m-pwésh-ák-ats-aká... (H5.38)
1.DEM.III 1-insult-DUR 2.DEM.III 2-1-hit-DUR-PLUR-DUR
'(with) him insulting, (and) them hitting him...'

The vowel in the durative extension assimilates to the vowel in the final suffix. Thus, it appears as *-ek-* with an optative mood (253), which ends in *-e*, and as *-ik-* with verbs which have *-i* as the last vowel (254).

- (253) ni-row-é ná-múmul-ek-e wakisírwá vale (H15.8)
 1PL-go-OPT 1PL.SUBS-rest-DUR-OPT 16.island 16.DEM.III
 ‘let’s go (and) have some rest on that island’
- (254) n-r-eék-é ná-páseyar-ikí (K1.38)
 1PL-go-DUR-OPT 1PL.SUBS-stroll-DUR
 ‘let’s go walking’

Passive

The passive extension *-iy-* always follows the other extensions. When the passive extension is added to a verbal base which ends in a (semi)vowel, the vowel *-i-* can be very closed and is perceived as partially nasal (256).

- (255) othéla to marry (of a man)
 othéliya to be married (of a woman)
- waátsíma to call
 waátsímiya to be called
- (256) waápéya to cook
 waápéi(n)ya to be cooked

The restrictions for passivisation show that Makhuwa is an asymmetric language (Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Peterson 1996). When a passive is derived from a ditransitive verb, only the indirect or applied object can be the subject of the passive verb. In (257b) and (257c) the subject marker on the verb agrees with the IO *Shiila* (class 1), and it is impossible for it to agree with the DO *mithúpi* ‘roosters’ (257d). The same goes for the applied objects and direct objects in (258), where the agreement is in class 2, independent of the word order.

- (257) a. Apílíyú o-nu-mí-váhá mithúpi Shiila
 1.Abelho 1-PERF.PERS-1-give 4.roosters 1.Shila
 ‘Abelho gave Shila roosters’
- b. Shiílá o-núú-váh-iyá mithúpi (ni Apíliyu)
 1.Shila 1-PERF.PERS-give-PASS 4.roosters (with 1.Abelho)
 ‘Shila was given roosters (by Abelho)’

- c. mithúpí o-núú-váh-íyá Shiílá
 4.roosters 1-PERF.PERS-give-PASS 1.Shila
 ‘the roosters were given (to) Shila’
 ‘the roosters, Shila was given them’
- d. * mithúpí tsi-núú-váh-íyá Shiíla
 4.roosters 4-PERF.PERS-give-PASS 1.Shila
 int. ‘the roosters were given (to) Shila’
- (258) a. anámwáné a-n-rúw-él-íyá eshimá
 2.children 2-PRES.CJ-stir-APPL-PASS 9.shima
 ‘the children are cooked shima’
- b. eshimá a-n-rúw-él-íyá anamwáne
 9.shima 2-PRES.CJ-stir-APPL-PASS 2.children
 ‘shima is cooked (for) the children’
 ‘shima, the children are cooked it’

The demoted agent of the action may be expressed in a “by”-clause headed by the preposition *ní*.

- (259) íi koo-vár-íya ní khwátte (H9.12)
 ii 1SG.PERF.DJ-grab-PASS by 1.jackal
 ‘hey, I am caught by a/the jackal’
- (260) oo-kúsh-íyá n’ iinám’ éele (K3.53)
 1.PERF.DJ-carry-PASS with 9.animal 9.DEM.III
 ‘he was taken by that animal’

A passive verb can also be formed from an intransitive, resulting in a so-called impersonal passive. The subject agreement in these passives is probably in the locative class 17.

- (261) otsulú o-náá-ték-íya
 17.up 17-PRES.DJ-build-PASS
 ‘upstairs there is building (going on) / there is being built’
 ‘they are building upstairs’
- (262) o-núú-khw-íya
 17-PERF.PERS-die-PASS
 ‘someone died’, lit: ‘there was died’

Stative

The productive stative extension *-ey-* is similar to the passive in meaning (and hence cannot co-occur with it), but may also be translated as ‘be V-able’, as in example (264).

- (263) etthw’ íiyó e-ńńi-thúm-éya saána
 9.thing 9.DEM.II 9-HAB-buy-STAT well
 ‘that thing sells well’

- (264) ...okhopelá w-a múró m-uúlúpále wa-haa-vír-éya (H5.3)
 17.other.side 17-CONN 3.river 3-big 3-NEG.IMPF-pass-STAT.REL
 ‘...on the other side of the big river, which is impassable’

Combinations of extensions

The examples below show some possible combinations of the extensions discussed in this section.

- (265) y-aa-túm-ih-er-ats-íy-á anamwáne
 2-IMPF.CJ-buy-CAUS-APPL-PLUR-PASS-FV 2.children
 ‘it is sold to the children’

- (266) erapusaátú ts-án-túm-ih-er-an-íy-á (mpááni mímwe)
 10.sweets 10-IMPF.DJ-buy-CAUS-APPL-ASSO-PASS-FV (18.inside 18.DEM.III)
 ‘sweets were being sold to one another (in there)’

- (267) ni mwaláp’ool oólé oo-lúm-ák-ats-íy-á (K1.84)
 and 1.dog 1.DEM.III RED 1.PERF.DJ-bite-DUR-PLUR-PASS-FV
 ‘and that dog was bitten’ (several times, for a while)

- (268) o-tthúkúl-íyá khi-m-phwány-an-ey’ eétthu (H7.28)
 15-open-PASS NEG.9-PRES-meet-ASSO-STAT.DJ 9.thing
 ‘being open(ed), nothing was found’

2.4.4 Verbal inflection

The verbal base is the basis of every inflected verb form. Together with the final suffix it forms the verb stem, which can in turn be combined with the object marker (OM) to form the macrostem. The stem and macrostem are referred to in describing the tonal profile of the inflected verb forms. Preceding the macrostem there are several slots for prefixes indicating negation, subject (agreement), and tense/aspect/mood (TAM). The infinitive marker may also occur in the initial slot. The slots in the inflected verb form are organised as in Table 16.

Table 16 - Structure of the inflected verb

NEG	initial	NEG	TAM	macrostem				
				OM	stem			
					VB		Fi	
	o				thum		a	‘to buy’
kha	n		aa		kush		a	‘we did not carry’
				ki	vah		e	‘give me!’
	o	hi		n	thel		e	‘you should not marry her’
	ki				kott	ih	ale	‘I prohibited’

Stem

The stem can differ in form, depending on the conjugation of the inflected verb form. There are three different final suffixes. The verb stem most commonly occurs with the final suffix *-a*, which is not associated with any particular meaning. The stem ending in *-e* is used in one form of the imperative, in the (affirmative and negative) optative, and in the negative counterfactual and counterexpectational conjugations. Finally, there are two forms for the (affirmative and negative) present and past perfective conjoint verb form: one ending in *-ale* (269a) and one with an imbricated nasal and *-e* as final vowel (269b). Imbrication is the process of interlacing the perfective morpheme into the verb stem (Bastin 1983, Hyman 1995). In Makhuwa this results in a verb stem with a homorganic nasal immediately before the last consonant of the stem. The two forms have the same meaning, and both forms are used freely in Makhuwa-Enahara. The imbricated nasal is glossed here between curly brackets { }. Elsewhere the gloss only separates the final vowel *-e* and leaves the imbricated stem as a whole, as shown in the second form in (269b). The nasal assimilates in place of articulation with the consonant it precedes; compare (269b) to (270b).

- (269) a. ki-kush-alé...
1SG-carry-PERF.CJ
- b. ki-ku{n}sh-é ki-kunsh-é...
1SG-carry{PERF}-PERF 1SG-carry-PERF.CJ
‘I carried...’
- (270) a. o-liv-alé...
2SG-pay-PERF.CJ
- b. o-limv-é kávi?
2SG-pay-PERF.CJ how.much
‘how much did you pay?’

Verbs with a passive or stative extension do not have the perfective final suffix or imbrication, but display a change in the final vowel in a perfective conjugation (271).

- (271) a. e-náá-kúsh-íya
 9-PRES.DJ-carry-PASS
 ‘it is being carried’
- b. e-kush-iy-é...
 9-carry-PASS-PERF.CJ
 ‘it was carried’

Subject marker

The subject is marked on the verb by means of a subject prefix. Except for verbs in the infinitive, narrative, and imperative conjugations, all inflected verb forms have a subject prefix in the initial slot. Table 17 lists the subject prefixes for all noun classes and persons in their basic form, and also as before the past TAM marker *-a(a)-*, as in the present perfect disjoint conjugation with a consonant-initial verb stem *-oo-*, and as in a negative disjoint conjugation (combined with *kha-*). The table also lists the object markers. This section discusses the remarkable properties first of the various subject markers and next of the object markers.

Table 17 - Subject and object marker on the verb

person/class	SM	SM-a	SM PERF	NEG-SM	OM
1SG	ki-	kaa-	koo-	nki-	-ki-
2SG	o-	waa-	woo-	khu-	-u-
1PL	ni-	naa-	noo-	khani-	-ni-
2PL ¹⁴	N / mw-/ mwi-	mwaa-	moo-	khaN-	-u- -ni
1	o- / a-	aa-	oo-	kha-	-N-
2	a-	yaa-	aa-	kha	-a-
3	o-	waa-	woo-	khu-	
4	tsi-	tsaa-	tsoo-	khatsi-	
5	ni-	naa-	noo-	khani-	
6	a-	yaa-	aa-	kha-	
9	e-	yaa-	yoo-	khi-	
10	tsi-	tsaa-	tsoo-	khatsi-	
14	o-	waa-	woo-	khu-	
15	o-	waa-	woo-		
16	wa-	waa-	woo-	khawa-	
17	o-	waa-	woo-	khu-	
18	N / mw / mwi	mwaa-	moo-	khaN-	

The subject agreement of class 1 is *a-* in the (durative and perfective) situative and the (subsecutive) optative, in all other inflectional forms it is *o-*. The various forms of 2PL and class 18 are dependent on the phonological environment. Before a consonant or rounded vowel they appear as a nasal, shown in (272) and (273), before a non-rounded vowel as *mw-* (274) and before another nasal the epenthetic *i* appears, and the prefix is *mwi-* (275).

- (272) m-vir-é
2PL-pass-OPT
'come in!', lit: 'you (may) pass'

- (273) m-oo-rúpá saláama?
2PL-PERF.DJ-sleep peaceful
'did you sleep well?' (greeting in the morning)

- (274) mw-aá-hiy-ek-e anámwáne ni nthiyán' oolá (H11.50)
2PL-2-let-DUR-OPT 2.children with 1.woman 1.DEM.I
'leave the children with this woman'

¹⁴ This form is also used for a honorific singular.

- (275) kaa-phéélá otsuwelá khampa nyúwáánó
 1SG.IMP.F.CJ-want 15.know COMP 2PL.PRO
 mwi-ńńi-tsúwélá olávílávi
 2PL-HAB-know 14.cleverness
 ‘I wanted to know whether you know a trick’ (H7.51)

As can be seen in the various forms of the subject markers in Table 17, the vowel of the subject marker can undergo coalescence with a TAM marker, but also before a vowel-initial verb stem, as in (276) and (277).

- (276) mí k-eéttá vakhaáni
 1SG.PRO 1SG.IMP.F.CJ-walk little
 ‘I walked a bit’

- (277) vá k-iir-é tsayi? (H9.12)
 16.PRO 1SG-do-OPT how
 ‘now what do I do?’

When a subject marker consisting of a vowel precedes a vowel-initial TAM morpheme or a vowel-initial stem, the first vowel appears as a glide, and the second is lengthened. This happens with the subject prefixes *e-* (class 9 in (278)), *o-* (2SG, class 3, 15, like in (279)), and even *a-* (class 2, and the *a*-form of class 1 in (280)-(282)). The examples first show the combination of the vowels, followed by the sentence in which the verb form is used.

- (278) e-(a)anaa-viravira > yaanaaviravira

y-aánáa-vírá-vírá enúwi
 9-IMP.F.DJ-pass-RED 9.bee
 ‘there passed a bee’

- (279) o-irihale > wiirihale

w-iir-ih-al’ éshéeni?
 2SG-do-CAUS-PERF.CJ 9.what
 ‘what did you do (to it)?’

(280) a-ir-ale > yiirale

ashínúní y-iir-al' éshéeni?
 2.DIM.birds 2-do-PERF.CJ 9.what
 'what did the birds do?'

(281) a-apey-ale > yaapeyale

athíyán' aayó y-aapey-alé nhutsí
 2.women 2.DEM.II 2-cook-PERF.CJ 3.sauce
 'those women cooked sauce'

(282) a-upuwela > yuupuwela

aa-khálá y-uúpúwel-aká wírá nummé nne
 2.PERF.DJ-stay 2-think-DUR COMP 5.toad 5.DEM.III
 ni-kum-ih-é tsayi? (K2.3)
 5-exit-CAUS-OPT how
 'he was thinking: that frog, how are we getting it out?'

Although the class 1 prefix is *o-* (in most conjugations) just like the prefix for class 3, it does not behave like the class 3 prefix before a vowel-initial stem. Whereas the class 3 prefix forms a glide as the onset (279), the prefix of class 1 seems to disappear, as in (283).

(283) Maríámú iir-alé-ní?
 1.Mariamú 1.do-PERF.CJ-what
 'what did Mariamu do?'

There are irregular lexicalised allomorphs of the pre-initial negation *kha-* merged with the subject prefix for 1SG and 2SG. These are *nki-* (284), and *khu-* (285), respectively. Analogous to these forms the classes 3 and 14 also have the negative prefix *khu-*, and class 9 has *khi-* (286).

(284) n-ki-ń-tsúwela
 NEG-1SG-PRES-know.DJ
 'I don't know'

(285) wé khu-ní-ń-tsuwelá?
 2SG.PRO NEG.2SG-1-PRES-1-know.DJ
 'don't you know him/her?'

- (286) eyuúpúrá khi-ná-ń-kanyerá mwáha
 9.whirlwind NEG.9-PRES-1-disturb.DJ 1.conversation
 lit: ‘a whirlwind does not interrupt the conversation’
 ‘now, where were we?’

The post-initial negative marker *-hi-* is used in the non-basic conjugations. The database contains two examples where the 2PL subject marker has merged with this negative marker (287), otherwise the two morphemes can be distinguished (288).

- (287) mu-hi-cawihe > mwiicawihe
 mwii-caw-ih-é ntokó tsi-n-iír-ih-ák-ááyá
 2PL.NEG-flee-CAUS-OPT like 10-PRES-do-CAUS-DUR.REL-POSS.2
 akhw’ iinyu (H7.42)
 2.companion 2.POSS.2PL
 ‘don’t let (him) get away like your colleagues have done’
- (288) n-hi-thumím’ ésheeni?
 2PL-NEG-buy.PERF.CJ 9.what
 ‘what didn’t you buy?’

Object marker

In Makhuwa there is one slot for object marking on the verb, which means that only one object can be marked. Object markers (OM) exist only for 1st and 2nd person, and classes 1 and 2, as given in Table 17. In the presence of a nominal object of class 1 or 2 the OM is obligatorily present on the verb, irrespective of the semantic characterisation as human (Hamisi), animate (hare) or inanimate (fish hook) (289a,b). No other noun class can be marked, regardless of its semantic characterisation (289c,d).

- (289) a. ki-ni-m-wéha Hamisi / namarokoló / nancoólo
 1SG-PRES.CJ-1-look 1.Hamisi / 1.hare / 1.fish.hook
 ‘I see Hamisi / the hare / the fish hook’
- b. * ki-m-wéhá Hamisi / namarokoló / nancoólo
 1SG-PRES.CJ-look 1.Hamisi / 1.hare / 1.fish.hook
- c. ki-m-wéhá nveló / mikhorá / kalapinteéro / etthepó
 1SG-PRES.CJ-look 3.broom / 4.doors / 5.carpenter / 9.elephant
 ‘I see the broom / doors / carpenter / elephant’

- d. * ki-ni-m-wéha nveló / mikhorá / kalapinteéro / etthepó
 1SG-PRES.CJ-1-look 3.broom / 4.doors / 5.carpenter / 9.elephant

The object marker is used with definite and indefinite, specific (290) and non-specific nouns (291), and also (obligatorily) with the class 1 *wh*-word *pani* ‘who’ (292).

- (290) ki-nú-ń-rúmá ńtthú o-n-thikilá mitháli
 1SG-PERF.PERS-1-send 1.person 1-PRES-cut.REL 4.trees
 ‘I have sent for a person who cuts trees’
- (291) yéná iir-alé kha-ń-kí-tsivela o-ń-wéhá ńtthu
 1.PRO 1.say-PERF.CJ NEG-PRES-1SG-please.DJ 15-1-look 1.person
 ‘he said that I don’t like to see anyone’
- (292) o-m-úurya páni? (H12.7)
 15-1-date 1.who
 ‘to date who?’

The difference between the second person singular and plural is not in the object marker itself, but rather in the clitic *-ni* indicating plurality, as in (293). The second person OM escapes possible coalescence with the preceding vowel by insertion of an epenthetic [m], [w] or sometimes [mw] or even [h]. The same applies to the class 2 OM *-a-* (294).

- (293) kaa-húú-wehá-ní nyúwáánó-tsé ootéene
 1SG.PAST-2PL-look-PLA 2PL.PRO-PL 2.all
 ‘I had seen you all’
- (294) ehantisi naawááleléla anamwané
 ehantisi ni-a-aa-alelela anamwane
 9.story 1PL-IMPF.CJ-2-tell 2.children
 ‘the story, we told (it to) the children’

A verb with two objects can still only have one OM, even if both objects are in class 1 or 2, or when they are a first or second person. In that case the indirect object (IO) is object marked on the verb, rather than the direct object (DO). For example, in (295a) the class 1 DO *tońttó* ‘doll’ is object marked on the verb, but in (295b) the IO “me” must be object marked; marking of the DO is ungrammatical in that case (295c). In (296a) the class 1 DO *naphúlú* ‘frog’ is object marked on the transitive verb, but in (296b) the OM on the ditransitive verb can only agree with the indirect object, which is the class 2 beneficiary *ashipaapa* ‘parents’.

- (295) a. ttoóttó Luísá o-n-thum-aly-áawe
 1.ragdoll 1.Luisa 1-1-buy-PERF.REL-POSS.1
 ‘the ragdoll which Luisa bought’
- b. ttoóttó Luísá o-ki-toonyiher-aly-áawe
 1.ragdoll 1.Luisa 1-1SG-show-PERF.REL-POSS.1
 ‘the ragdoll which Luisa showed me’
- c. * ttoóttó Luísá o-n-toonyiher-aly-áawe
 1.ragdoll 1.Luisa 1-1-show-PERF.REL-POSS.1
- (296) a. o-ń-thóla naphúlu ule (K3.21)
 1.PERF.DJ-1-search 1.frog 1.DEM.III
 ‘he searched for that frog’
- b. mwanámwáne o-n-aá-váhá ashipaap’ aáwé naphúlu
 1.child 1-PRES.CJ-2-give 2.parents 2.POSS.1 1.frog
 ‘the child_i gave the frog to his_i parents’
- c. * mwanámwáne o-ni-ń-váha ashipaap’ aáwé naphúlu
 1.child 1-PRES.CJ-1-give 2.parents 2.POSS.1 1.frog

The reflexive marker *-i-* also occurs in the object marker slot and refers back to the subject of the verb, which may be any person, singular or plural (297).

- (297) a. o-h-ii-tíkíla
 2SG-PERF.DJ-REFL-cut
 ‘you cut yourself’
- b. a-h-ii-tíkíla
 2-PERF.DJ-REFL-cut
 ‘they cut themselves’

See also chapter 5, section 5.3.5 for the conjoint/disjoint alternation and object marking.

2.4.5 Clitics

There are several clitics which can be added after the final suffix of the verb, some of which may also be used after a noun. The clitics do not have an underlying H, but they may bear a H doubled from the previous mora. The clitic *-tho* seems to count for the assignment of Hs, the clitic *-ni* does not count, and the clitic *-ru* behaves unclearly with respect to tone. See also section 2.3.11 for the adnominal clitics.

The clitic *-tho* expresses a repetition of the event or action of the verb (298). It is also used adnominally, with a similar meaning. Combined with a negative verb this yields the reading “no longer” as in (299). In the context of the story of example (300), a worker had already been sent the day before, and now the action of sending is repeated, but with another worker.

- (298) Aminá o-n-aápéyá-thó nramá
1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-cook-REP 3.rice
‘Amina cooks rice again’
- (299) khu-ní-ń-tsivela-thó ntékw’ áaw’ óole
NEG.3-PRES-1-please-REP.DJ 3.work 3.POSS.1 3.DEM.III
‘he doesn’t like his work anymore’
- (300) orúp’ óshélélíyá khú-rúm-iyá-thó nańtéko n-kína (H7.29)
15.sleep 15.dawn.PASS NARR-send-PASS-REP 1.worker 1-other
‘the following day another worker was sent’

To indicate the plurality of the addressee (PLA), the clitic *-ni* is used. The plural form of the 2nd person is also used to express respect, as in (302) and (303).

- (301) n-hi-ir-é-ní íyo
2PL-NEG-do-OPT-PLA 9.DEM.II
‘don’t do that!’ (addressing a group of children)
- (302) kaa-wa-álé wuu-thotolá-ni (H2.26)
1SG.PAST-come-PERF.CJ 15.2PL-visit-PLA
‘I have come to visit you’
- (303) ki-ná-múú-vékelá-ní (nyú) (H9.18)
1SG-PRES.DJ-2PL-beg-PLA (2SG.RESP)
‘I beg you’

The clitic *-ru* after a verb is often associated with the situative conjugation (section 2.5.4). It is used to emphasise the correlation between the main and dependent clause (Katupha 1983:113). This clitic is also used adnominally, where it has an exclusive reading.

- (304) wa-m-aatsimá-rú o-náá-w’ esumán’ éeyo
2SG.SIT-1-call-*ru* 1-PRES.DJ-come 9.week 9.DEM.II
‘if you call him, he will come next week’

- (305) n-ki-ná-tth' ú-ń-cá koo-yar-íyá-ru
 NEG-1SG-CE-do.DJ 15-1-eat 1SG.PERF.DJ-bear-PASS-*ru*
 'I haven't smoked (ever) since I was born' (speaking of cigarettes)

2.5 Conjugations

Each inflectional category in Makhuwa (referred to as “conjugation”) is characterised by a subject prefix or an invariable prefix, its possible TAM prefix and/or final suffix, and its tone pattern. The negative inflected verb forms additionally have one of the two possible negative prefixes. These characterising properties of each inflectional category are summarised in Table 18, which first gives the affirmative conjugations, then the negative, and finally the relative (affirmative and negative). The relative verb forms are not discussed here, but in section 2.6.6.

In this section, the tone and vowel coalescence in certain conjugations are discussed before indicating the form and use of each conjugation. The affirmative and negative conjugations are first divided into a basic and non-basic group. The basic conjugations are characterised by the conjoint/disjoint (CJ/DJ) alternation, and the negative basic conjugations are can also be recognised by the negative prefix *kha-* (not *-hi-*). In the non-basic conjugations a further division is made according to the initial slot, which may be occupied by an infinitive marker, by a zero-morpheme or by a subject marker. Some semantic characterisations and uses of these conjugations are discussed below, as well as their tone patterns and morphology. In sections 2.5.9 and 2.5.10 the irregular verb *ori* ‘to be’ and the complex conjugations are discussed.

In Table 18, the third column provides the formula of the conjugation, indicating the subject and object marking, the verbal stem and the inflectional prefixes and suffixes. The vowel length of the pre-stem TAM markers is represented as in the surface form. This means that the vowels which have compensatory lengthening under influence of the combination with the subject marker are written with two symbols, and those which are shortened are written with one symbol. The fourth column in the table provides the tone pattern of the conjugations, indicating the high tones on the moras of the S(tem), M(acro)S(tem) and P(en)U(ltimate) or U(ltimate) mora.

Table 18 - Conjugations

label	form	formula	tone/notes
present	CJ	SM-N(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
	DJ	SM-náá(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
present perfective	CJ	SM(-OM)-VB-alé SM(-OM)-VB {N} -é	- imbrication
	DJ	SM-oo(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
past imperfective	CJ	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
	DJ	SM-aánáa(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
past perfective	CJ	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-ale SM-aa(-OM)-VB {N} -e	MS2 imbrication
	DJ	SM-aahí(-OM)-VB-a	PU

present perfective persistive		SM-núú(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
past perfective persistive		SM-aa-núú(-OM)-VB-a	PU
optative		SM-VB-e	S2
		SM-OM-VB-e	MS1
subsecutive optative		SM-á(-OM)-VB-(ek)e	-
situative		SM-a(-OM)-VB-a(-ru)	PU
durative situative		SM-VB-aka	MS2
perfective situative		SM(-OM)-VB-ale	MS1
counterexpectational perf. situative		SM-ná(-OM)-VB-ale	-
past counterfactual		SM-áá(-OM)-VB-ále	-
non-past counterfactual		SM-áá(-OM)-VB-a	MS1
habitual present		SM-íni(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
habitual past		SM-aání(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
infinitive		o(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
resumptive infinitive		nuu-VB-á	U
narrative		(k)hú-VB-a	PU
narrative imperfective		(k)húya-VB-a	PU
imperative		VB-á (-ni)	U
		OM-VB-e(-ni)	MS2 U
		nka-VB-a(-ni)	U

neg. present	CJ	SM-hi-Ń(-OM)-VB-a	-
	DJ	kha-SM-Ń(-OM)-VB-a	-
neg. present perfective	CJ	SM-hi(-OM)-VB-ale SM-hi(-OM)-VB{N}-e	MS2 imbrication
	DJ	kha-SM(-OM)-VB-ale kha-SM(-OM)-VB{N}-e	MS2 imbrication
neg. past imperfective	CJ	SM-haa(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
	DJ	kha-SM-aa(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
neg. past perfective	CJ	SM-haa(-OM)-VB-ale SM-haa(-OM)-VB{N}-e	MS2 imbrication
	DJ	kha-SM-áá(-OM)-VB-ale kha-SM-áá(-OM)-VB{N}-e	MS2 imbrication
prohibitive		SM-hi-ya-VB-a	MS1
neg. optative		SM-hi(-OM)-VB-e	U
neg. situative		SM-a-hí(-OM)-VB-e	U
neg. durative situative		SM-hí-VB-aka	-
neg. perfective situative		SM-hí(-OM)-VB-ale	MS2
neg. counterexpectational situative		SM-hi-ná(-OM)-VB-e	-
neg. counterexpectational		kha-SM-ná-VB-e	U
neg. counterfactual		SM-á-háa-VB-ale	MS2

neg. infinitive		o-hí(-OM)-VB-a	-
neg. narrative		khú-hí(-OM)-VB-a	-

rel. present	S	SM-N(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
	O	SM-N(-OM)-VB-a(-POSS)	MS1 PU
rel. present perfective	S	SM(-OM)-VB-alé	-
	O	SM(-OM)-VB-alé(-POSS)	-
rel. past imperfective	S	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-a	MS1 PU
	O	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-a(-POSS)	MS1 PU
rel. past perfective	S	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-ale	MS2
	O	SM-aa(-OM)-VB-ale(-POSS)	MS2
rel. neg. present	S	SM-hi- <u>N</u> (-OM)-VB-a	-
	O	SM-hi- <u>N</u> (-OM)-VB-a(-POSS)	-
rel. neg. present perfective	S	SM-hi(-OM)-VB-ale	MS2
	O	SM-hi(-OM)-VB-ale(-POSS)	MS2
rel. neg. past imperfective	S	SM-a-haa(-OM)-VB-a	(M)S1
	O	SM-a-haa(-OM)-VB-a(-POSS)	MS1
rel. neg. past perfective	S	SM-a-haa(-OM)-VB-ale	MS2
	O	SM-a-haa(-OM)-VB-ale(-POSS)	MS2

2.5.1 Tone

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, the tone pattern of inflected verb forms in Makhuwa is completely dependent on the “morphological composition” (TAM markers and affixes) of the verb (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000:24). A verb stem may have one or at most two underlying high tones. These occur in a designated position in the verb stem, which can be the first or second syllable of the stem (S) or macrostem (MS), i.e., the stem including a possible OM, and/or it can be the ultimate (U) or penultimate (PU) syllable of the stem. This pattern is indicated in Table 18 for each conjugation. An additional high tone may be associated to a particular morpheme (a tense prefix or final suffix). After the high tone association, the processes of high tone doubling (HTD) and Final Lowering (FL) take place, as described in section 2.2.1. Only certain relative verb forms may be all-L; other conjunctions always have at least one H.

Example (306) illustrates these tonal processes in deriving the tone pattern of a verb form in the habitual past. First, the verb stem *-rampelela* ‘to swim’ is combined with the TAM prefix *-ani-*, which has an underlying H on the first syllable. This in turn combines with the subject prefix *ki-* (1SG) (306a). As this conjugation is characterised by the tone pattern MS1 PU, the other underlying Hs are assigned to the first syllable of the macrostem (MS1) and the penultimate syllable (PU). In the absence of an OM, the H is assigned to the first syllable of the stem (306b), indicated by underlining. These underlying Hs are doubled onto the next syllable by HTD (306c), after which FL

removes the H from the last syllable (306d). After vowel coalescence, the surface form of the verb is as in (306e).

- (306) a. ki-ani-rampelela
 b. ki-ani-rampelela
 c. HTD ki-áni-rámpelelá
 d. FL ki-áni-rámpelela
 e. kaánirámpelela
 ‘I used to swim’

2.5.2 No vowel coalescence in present and perfective persistive

Vowel coalescence usually takes place in combining a TAM marker and a (vowel-initial) verb stem. When combining the present disjoint morpheme *-náá-* or the perfect persistive morpheme *-núú-* with a vowel-initial stem, no coalescence takes place. Instead, the morphemes are separated by [m] before a rounded vowel, as with the verb stem *-ona* in (307), and [mw] elsewhere (308). Sometimes [w] is used (309). Interestingly, these tense morphemes have long vowels when prefixed to a consonant-initial stem, but short vowels before the epenthetic consonant, which hints at a possible constraint on adjacent long syllables or general rhythm.

- (307) o-náá-wéha
 2SG-PRES.DJ-look
 ‘you’ll see / you see’

 o-ná-móóna
 2SG-PRES.DJ-see
 ‘you’ll see / you see’
- (308) a-ná-mwáápey-átsa
 a-na(a)-apeya
 2-PRES.DJ-cook-PLUR
 ‘they are cooking’
- (309) ki-ná-wóórá ntsúwa
 1SG-PRES.DJ-heat.up 5.sun
 ‘I am heating up in the sun’

2.5.3 Affirmative basic conjugations

The affirmative basic conjugations are the present, present perfective, past imperfective and past perfective. These conjugations represent the basic TAM categories of the language, and they distinguish between CJ and DJ verb forms (on which see section 2.6.5). Furthermore, these are the only conjugations which occur in the relative conjugations.

Present

Events which are going on at the moment of speaking or which are about to happen in the near future are expressed in the present tense. The TAM marker is a prefixed homorganic nasal in the CJ verb form (310), and a prefix *-náá-* with an underlying H in the DJ verb form (311). The stem is marked by an underlying H on MS1 and, if the length of the verb permits, also on PU.

- (310) CJ etsíitsí e-n-vává ntsulú (K3.45)
 9.owl 9-PRES.CJ-fly 18.up
 ‘the owl is flying up there’

- (311) DJ ki-náá-vénúla (H7.36)
 1SG-PRES.DJ-open.little
 ‘I (will) open it a bit’

Present perfective

The perfective describes an action completed in the recent past and is often used in stories. The perfective CJ form has a H on the ultimate syllable and takes the perfective final suffix *-alé* (312), or the imbricated verb stem (313). The DJ form is marked by the simple final suffix *-a* and a TAM prefix *-(h)o-*. Before a consonant-initial stem the prefix *-o-* is always merged with the subject prefix (314).¹⁵ The *-h-* of the TAM prefix emerges before a vowel-initial stem (unless an object marker is present), as in (315) and (316). See Kisseberth (2003:559) for the analysis of this TAM marker and comparison with other Makhuwa variants. The underlying Hs in the DJ form are on MS1 and if possible PU as well.

- (312) CJ o-phwany-alé enuwí (H11.31)
 1-meet-PERF.CJ 10.bees
 ‘he encountered bees’

¹⁵ For classes 2 and 6 the merger with the subject prefix does not keep the vowel quality of the TAM prefix, but results in a combined prefix *aa-* (see also Table 17).

- (313) CJ o-thaacinr-é tsáyí? (H4.21)
2SG-become.rich-PERF.CJ how
'how did you become rich?'
- (314) DJ koo-vérúny-íha (H6.35)
1SG.PERF.DJ-flash-CAUS
'I sent lightning'
- (315) DJ o-h-eémélá o-h-ońkómááthí (K1.8)
1-PERF.DJ-stand.up 1-PERF.DJ-sit.down
'he was standing and sat down'
- (316) DJ vánó amútsí a-h-oówa (H11.43)
now 2.family 2-PERF.DJ-come
'now his family came'

The present perfective is specifically used with inchoative verbs, such as “to lie down”, “to sit down”, or “to stand up” (317), to indicate a result state (being seated, or standing).

- (317) nlópwáná n-kíná eemel-alé wankhórá-ní w-a enúpa
1.man 1-other 1.stand.up-PERF.CJ 16.door-LOC 16-CONN 9.house
'another man is standing at the door of the house'

Past imperfective

The CJ and DJ imperfective verb forms are marked by the TAM prefix *-aa-* (318) and *-ánáa-* (319), respectively, with an underlying H on the first mora of the DJ prefix. The tone pattern of the verb stem for both verb forms is MS1 PU.

- (318) CJ masi enúw' íilé y-aa-virá wantháí-ní váávale (K3.28)
but 9.bee 9.DEM.III 9-IMPF.CJ-pass 16.tree-LOC 16.DEM.III.RED
'but the bee passed right by the tree'
- (319) DJ w-aánáa-khúruwa (K1.94)
17-IMPF.DJ-descend
'it was sloping down'

The imperfective is used to describe events of longer duration in the past. The difference with the present perfective is exemplified in (320), where the imperfective (320a) indicates that you are hitting more than once, whereas in the perfective (320b) there is just one hit, after which the event is over. The imperfective tense in (320a) could also be used as a conditional and in that sense the phrase would be translated as “I would have hit the dog”.

- (320) a. mwalápwá ka-m-máná mphíró-ni
 1.dog 1SG.IMP.F.CJ-1-hit 18.path-LOC
 ‘I was hitting the dog on the street’
- b. mwalápwá ki-m-mann-é mphíró-ni
 1.dog 1SG-1-hit-PERF.CJ 18.path-LOC
 ‘I hit the dog on the street’

There is a dialectal difference in the DJ imperfective, but both forms are encountered in my database. The form in (321a) is considered to be “true” Enahara by my informants, and this form is not used in the district capital Nampula (where the Central variant is spoken).

- (321) a. k-aánáa-rápa
 b. k-ań-rápa
 ‘I swam’

Past perfective

The past perfective is the fourth conjugation for which a CJ/DJ alternation exists. The CJ form is marked by an MS2 pattern, a TAM prefix *-a-* and the final suffix *-ale* (322) (or the imbricated verb stem, as (323) shows). The DJ form has a prefix *-aahi-* and the neutral suffix *-a*, with underlying Hs on the second syllable of the TAM prefix and on the penultimate syllable. The past perfective is used to describe completed events in the past, often in a series of past events with the narrative, as in example (346) later in this section.

- (322) CJ aa-var-ále ni mennó (H9.22)
 1.PAST-grab-PERF.CJ with 6.teeth
 ‘he had caught (it) with his teeth’
- (323) CJ aa-vińr-é a-purúléy-aká a-rá-ák’ ówáani
 1.PAST-pass-PERF.CJ 1-crawl-DUR 1-go-DUR 17.home
 ‘he had passed, crawling home’
- (324) DJ vánío mwalápwá o-ni-ń-thóla naphulú
 now 1.dog 1-PRES.CJ-1-search 1.frog
 maana aahi-m-wehá (K4.25)
 because 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-1-look
 ‘now the dog searches the frog because he had seen him’

2.5.4 *Affirmative non-basic conjugations with subject marker*

(Present and past) perfective persistive

In both the present and the past perfective, there is an extra form, which is called “persistive”. This form is marked by an extra prefix *-nuu-*. Katupha (1983:132) describes the difference between the persistive forms of the perfective tenses and the basic form (“completive” in Katupha’s terms) as follows:

There is a contrast between the completive, which describes something as accomplished prior to the narrative time, and the persistive, which describes the persistent consequences of such an action at the narrative time.

This difference is illustrated by the two questions in (325): the first is a neutral question, inquiring after someone’s activities working on the land, whereas in the second the speaker has a presupposition and there is some clue that the person indeed worked on the land, e.g., she is sweating or her clothes are muddy.

- (325) a. woo-líma?
 2SG.PERF-cultivate
 ‘did you work on the land?’
- b. o-núú-líma?
 2SG-PERF.PERS-cultivate
 ‘you have been working on the land?’

Optative

The optative expresses wishes or desires and is generally used for commands and wishes. It is marked by the final vowel *-e* and the tone pattern S2 for forms without OM (326), or MS1 if an OM is present. The optative can occur as the only verb in a sentence, with a hortative (326) or purposive reading (327), but it frequently occurs after an imperative or a verb form expressing preference, obligation or volition (328). The optative is one of the tenses which require the subject prefix *a-* for class 1. As further explained in chapter 5, section 5.2.1, the optative can occur in environments which are typical for DJ verb forms, but also in environments where only a CJ verb form may be used. Other grammars often use the term “subjunctive” to refer to this kind of conjugation.

- (326) ni-ń-kóh-e ntsíná n-áwé (H15.13)
 1PL-1-ask-OPT 5.name 5-POSS.1
 ‘let’s ask for his name’

- (327) ki-m-phéél' o-n-thola manttúví ááká | a-hi-mel-é (H6.6)
 1SG-PRES.CJ-want 15-1-harvest 1.peanuts 1.POSS.1SG 1-NEG-sprout-OPT
 'I want to harvest my peanuts so that they don't sprout'
- (328) ki-m-phéélá mwanamwané a-rap-é
 1SG-PRES.CJ-want 1.child 1-bathe-OPT
 'I want the child to take a bath'

Subsecutive optative

In Makwe, the subsecutive optative “places the desired event away from the place of speaking” (Devos 2004:276). I assume a similar function for this conjugation in Makhuwa. The subsecutive optative generally follows another optative form, and frequently this is the verb *orowa* ‘to go’. The subsecutive optative is marked by a (shortened) *-á-* with a H as pre-stem TAM marker and a final suffix *-e*.

- (329) ni-row-é ná-múmul-ek-e wakisírwá vale (H15.8)
 1PL-go-OPT 1PL.SUBS-rest-DUR-OPT 16.island 16.DEM.III
 'let's go and take a rest on that island'

The subsecutive optative can also be used on its own, expressing a command.

- (330) mw-á-ráp-e
 2PL-SUBS-bathe-OPT
 'take a bath!'

Situative

Katupha (1983) states that the situative, or in his terms “contingential”, expresses a logical or temporal precondition. This dependent tense is characterised by a prefix *-a-* which is merged with the subject prefix, and a H on the penultimate syllable for verbs with 4 moras or more (332). Verbs with stems of 3 moras or less have an all-L pattern with a possible boundary tone (331). In Makhuwa-Enahara the situative is often combined with a locative demonstrative *vale* (332), and sometimes with the clitic *-ru* (333).

- (331) nikhwáttá na-khalá ni-kíthi o-hááná o-loól-áka
 5.wound 5.SIT-stay 5-unripe 2SG-have 2SG-treat-DUR
 'when the wound is fresh you have to treat it'
 ('strike while the iron is still hot')
- (332) ka-lipelel-íyá valé ni-náá-rá-atsa
 1SG.SIT-wait-PASS 16.DEM.III 1PL-PRES.DJ-go-PLUR
 'if I am waited for, we go together'

- (333) w-a-livá-rú o-ná-mwáákhéla ekúwó iyó meélo
 2SG-SIT-pay-ru 2SG-PRES.DJ-receive 9.cloth 9.DEM.II tomorrow
 ‘if you’ve already paid, you will receive that cloth tomorrow’

Durative situative

The durative situative describes an event which happens at the same time as some other event. It functions as a present participle or gerund and is characterised by an underlying H on MS2, and the pre-final morpheme *-ak-*. This morpheme is related to the extension *-ak-*, which is a derivational suffix (see section 2.4.3), but the inflectional marker has a more aspectual reading, indicating a longer duration or habit. The pre-final inflectional *-ak-* is probably also used in the habitual and narrative, although it is difficult to tell whether it is the inflectional or the derivational morpheme when there is only one morpheme *-ak-*. Because of the similarity in meaning, both are glossed as DUR. The durative situative is one of the conjugations in which the subject prefix *a-* is used for class 1.

- (334) ni yéná hwíyá-vira a-tthimák-él-aká ncóc’ óole (K1.92)
 and 1.PRO NARR.IMPf-pass 1-run-APPL-DUR 3.impala 3.DEM.III
 ‘and he passed chasing that impala’

- (335) o-h-iípúrúla o-h-iípúrúla a-pheél-ák’ ocáwa (H14.4)
 1-PERF.DJ-crawl 1-PERF.DJ-crawl 1-want-DUR 15.flee
 ‘he crawled and crawled, wanting to flee’

Perfective situative

The perfective situative also takes the subject marker *a-* for class 1 and is further marked by the perfective final suffix *-alé* and a tone pattern MS1. This conjugation describes an event which has happened prior to another event expressed in the first verb.

- (336) o-rup-alé a-cá-ale
 1-sleep-PERF.CJ 1-eat-PERF.SIT
 ‘he went to sleep after he had eaten’

Counterexpectational perfective situative

Because of its morphological similarities with the negative counterexpectational, this conjugation is termed counterexpectational, as well. A thorough investigation on the semantics has not been done, but I presume that this conjugation adds a counterexpectational aspect to the perfective situative: the event expressed in this situative has happened before the event expressed in the main clause, but it has also already happened before the speaker had expected it to take place. The conjugation is marked by a high toned TAM prefix *-ná-* and the perfective final suffix *-ale*.

- (337) o-ra-alé ontékó-ní o-ná-ń-ttikh-ale poóla
 1-go-PERF.CJ 17.work-LOC 1-CE-1-play-PERF 1.ball
 ‘he went to work when he had already played football’

Past counterfactual

The past counterfactual is used in a dependent clause (protasis), and expresses a condition that can no longer be met, for an event in the past. Apart from the high toned TAM marker *-á-*, it is also marked by the final suffix *-ále*. The tone pattern on the verb stem is MS2. The verb in the main clause (apodosis) typically appears in the imperfective.

- (338) káá-kush-ále ntsúrúkhú kaánáa-hímya
 1SG.CF-carry-PERF 3.money 1SG.IMPF.DJ-speak
 ‘if I had taken the money, I would have said so’

Non-past counterfactual

The non-past counterfactual is used in a dependent clause, expressing a hypothetical situation (which is not true). It has a TAM marker *-á-*, which has a H, and a further H on MS1. As in the past counterfactual, the verb in the main clause is in the imperfective in (339), but it can also be in the future.

- (339) nlúkú áá-khála va-thí áthú yaa-tthúná o-n-reel-áka
 1.God 1.CF-stay 16-down 2.people 2.IMPF.CJ-want 15-1-go.APPL-DUR
 ‘if God lived on earth, people would want to approach him’

Habitual present and past

The habitual expresses the regular or customary repetition of an action or event. This may be a current habit (habitual present, as in (340)) or it may have been a habit some time ago (habitual past, as in (341)). The habitual present is marked by the TAM prefix *-ńni-*; the habitual past by *-áni-*. Both prefixes have an underlying H on the first mora, a second H is assigned to MS1, and if possible a third to PU.

- (340) opatsári tsi-ńni-tumih-iy’ ehópa
 17.market 10-HAB-sell-PASS 10.fish
 ‘on the market fish is usually/normally sold’
- (341) ekhálaí ekhálaí enámá ts-aání-lávúla (H9.1)
 long.ago RED 10.animals 10-HAB.PAST-speak
 ‘a long, long time ago animals used to talk’

2.5.5 Affirmative non-basic conjugations(infinitive or with covert marker)

Infinitive

The infinitive form takes the nominal infinitive prefix *o-*, which occupies the initial slot. This infinitive prefix is the noun prefix of class 15, which categorises the infinitive as a noun. The infinitive may have an object marker, and is characterised by the tone pattern MS1 PU. See section 2.2.1 for the tone patterns of the infinitive.

- (342) *o-tthúka* to close
 o-ń-tthúka to tie him/her

Resumptive infinitive

The resumptive does not have a subject marker either, but uses the initial *nuu-*, which is probably a combination of the conjunction *ni* and the infinitive prefix. It is used in stories to order the story chronologically and to make explicit transitions. The verb in the resumptive often repeats or resumes the verb of the previous sentence, as in the head-tail construction in (343). The H on U is possibly a (continuative) boundary tone, since it disappears in (344), where an object follows the resumptive.

- (343) *vánó oo-phára* (K1.30)
 now 1.PERF.DJ-get.stuck
 ‘now he got stuck’ (with his head in a jar)
- nuu-phará vánó oo-pácér’ oocáwa* (K1.31)
 RES-get.stuck now 1.PERF.DJ-start 15.flee
 ‘after he got stuck, he started to run away’
- (344) *vánó nuu-pah-iya moóró...* (H14.3)
 now RES-burn-PASS 3.fire
 ‘after the burning...’

Narrative

The narrative is used very often in stories and relating a sequence of events. The narrative only has the prefix *khú-*; no separate subject marking is present. Thus, in (345) and (346) the subject is in class 1, and in (347) the subject is 1SG, but the prefix on the verb remains *khú-*.

There is some variation in the pronunciation of /kh/, as it is often softened to the fricative [x], written as <h>. The prefix *khú-* has an underlying H, as does the penultimate syllable, if possible.

- (345) khú-kúm-ih-érá maárw' áalé (H7.17)
 NARR-exit-CAUS-APPL 6.ears 6.DEM.III
 'and he stuck out his ears'
- (346) nlópwán' oóla aahí-rówa khú-cáwá khú-rówá kh-íí-mana
 1.man 1.DEM.I 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-go NARR-flee NARR-go NARR-REFL-hit
 ní ntháli
 with 3.tree
 'the man had gone and he ran, and he went and bumped into a tree'
- (347) koo-thúm' épilyeéti y-a nteéké khú-rów' omaláwi
 1SG.PERF.DJ-buy 9.ticket 9-CONN 3.airplane NARR-go 17.Malawi
 'I bought a ticket and went to Malawi'

Narrative imperfective

Unlike Central Makhuwa, Makhuwa-Enahara makes an aspectual distinction within the narrative conjugations. Compared to the (perfective) narrative, the imperfective narrative (which is absent in Central Makhuwa) occurs more often with the pre-final suffix *-ak-* (indicating habit or duration), and with atelic verbs. The pronunciation of the prefix varies as described for the narrative, but there is also a difference in the vowel combination, varying between [k^huya] and [k^hwiya]. As in the case of the narrative perfective, the imperfective has an underlying H on the prefix (first mora) and on the penultimate mora if possible.

- (348) hw-éémelá khwíyá-m-weh-áká naphúlú ááw' óole (K4.4)
 NARR-stand.up NARR.IMPF-1-look-DUR 1.frog 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III
 'he stood up and was looking at his frog'

Imperative

In this conjugation the initial slot is occupied neither by an infinitive morpheme nor by a subject marker. However, a 2nd person (SG/PL) is always understood as the subject of the imperative, and a reflexive also refers back to the 2nd person.

Three different imperative forms exist in Makhuwa-Enahara. Without an OM the imperative does not have any prefixes and consists solely of the stem, with a H on the ultimate mora (349). When the verb does contain an object marker, the second form is used, where the final vowel changes to *-e*, and the tone pattern to MS2 U (350). Although the imperative is the most direct way to phrase a command, the optative form is used far more frequently. In many grammars of Bantu languages it is said that the optative is used as a more polite version of the imperative. I would like to shift the standard for Makhuwa-Enahara and claim that the optative is the normal form, the imperative being a form of disrespect for, or closeness to, the addressee.

- (349) vánó hw-íír-iy-áka háya lavulá (H3.80)
 now NARR-do-PASS-DUR well speak
 ‘and then he was told: “okay, speak!”’

- (350) ki-lipélel-é-ní vá
 1SG-wait-IMP-PLA 16.PRO
 ‘wait for me!’

The preclitic *nka-* can be added to the imperative. This form I only encountered with the verbs *owa* ‘to come’ and *oweha* ‘to look’. Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000) mention that one of the functions of this form in Ekoti is to avoid a monosyllabic or vowel-initial imperative. Makhuwa-Enahara also avoids monosyllabic imperatives: the imperative of the monosyllabic *-wa* ‘to come’ is lengthened with the hortative *nka-*, but it can also appear as in (353), with a durative extension and a plural addressee marker.

- (351) nka-wehá numímé n-aa-ni-cámw-e (K1.110)
 HORT-look 5.toad 5-PAST-1PL-flee-PERF.REL
 ‘look, the toad that had run away from us!’

- (352) nka-waá-ní (H14.29)
 HORT-come-PLA
 ‘come!’

- (353) wa-aká-ní vá (H14.53)
 come-DUR-PLA 16.PRO
 ‘come here!’

2.5.6 Negative basic conjugations

The basic conjugations form a separate group in the negative, as well. The DJ conjugations are marked by the negative pre-initial morpheme *kha-*, whereas the CJ form and the non-basic conjugations take the post-initial *-hi-*. An exception to this distinction is the counterexpectational negative, which also has *kha-* in the non-situative conjugation. As further explained in chapter 5, the negative basic conjugations display an alternation which resembles the CJ/DJ distinction. Although it does not have all the properties the CJ/DJ distinction has in the affirmative, I refer to the negative alternating forms as CJ and DJ.

Negative present

The negative counterpart of a present tense verb is marked by the negative prefix *kha-* (or the allomorph *nki-* for 1SG) in the DJ form (354), and the negative prefix *-hi-* in the CJ form (355). The only underlying H in this conjugation appears on the present tense morpheme *-N-*.

- (354) DJ kha-ń-tthúna (H2.59)
NEG.1-PRES.DJ-want.DJ
'she doesn't want to'
- (355) CJ wé o-hi-ní-ń-koh-er-aka-ní? (H10.43)
2SG.PRO 2SG-NEG-PRES-1-ask-APPL-DUR.CJ-what
'you, why don't you ask him?'

To express a habit of not doing something, the pre-final aspectual *-ak-* is added in the negative present tense. There is no separate negative habitual conjugation.

- (356) DJ n-ki-ń-thúm-áka ehópa
NEG-1SG-PRES-buy-DUR.DJ 10.fish
'I don't usually buy fish' / 'I usually don't buy fish'

Negative present perfective

Apart from the negative prefix *kha-* in the DJ and *-hi-* in the CJ form (359), the only difference in form between the affirmative and negative present perfective is the H, which is placed on MS2 in the negative. Like the affirmative perfect, the negative varies between the *-ale* final suffix (357) and the imbricated verb stem (358).

- (357) DJ kha-m-phwány-ále (K4.23)
NEG.1-1-meet-PERF.DJ
'he didn't find him'
- (358) DJ a-kínákú kha-phwań-nye
2-others NEG.2-meet-PERF.DJ
'the others didn't come across it'
- (359) CJ o-hi-thum-ále esheení?
2SG-NEG-buy-PERF.CJ 9.what
'what didn't you buy?'

Negative past imperfective

For the negative past imperfective the formal properties are the same as in the affirmative form, except for the negative prefix *kha-* in the DJ (360) and *-hi-* in the CJ form (361). To express a negative habitual past, the pre-final *-ak-* is added, as in the negative present.

- (360) DJ élá elápw' éela akúnyá kha-yaa-tsúwél-íya (H15.1)
 9.DEM.I 9.country 9.DEM.I 2.whites NEG-2.IMPF-know-PASS.DJ
 'the Portuguese weren't known in this country'
- (361) CJ akúnyá ya-haa-tsúwél-áká Musampíikhi
 2.whites 2-NEG.IMPF -know-DUR.CJ Mozambique
 'the Portuguese didn't know Mozambique'

Negative past perfective

The negative past perfective DJ form is marked by the negative prefix *kha-*, a TAM prefix *-á-* with an underlying H, and the final suffix *-ale*. A second H is placed on MS2 (362). The CJ form is marked by the negative prefix *-hi-*, the final suffix *-ale* and the tone pattern MS2. The TAM prefix *-a-* does not have a H in the CJ form (363).

- (362) DJ anámwáné kha-y-áá-thip-álé mikhóva
 2.children NEG-2-PAST-dig-PERF.DJ 4.beads
 'the children had not dug up beads'
- (363) CJ mwa-ha-m-wéh-áts-ale páni?
 2PL-NEG.PAST-1-look-PLUR-PERF.CJ 1.who
 'who hadn't you seen?'

2.5.7 Negative non-basic conjugations with subject marker

Prohibitive

This "negative imperative" is used to order someone to not do something, although in general the negative optative is used for this purpose. Formally, it cannot be seen as the negative counterpart of the affirmative imperative, since it has a subject marker, in contrast to the imperative. The tone pattern is MS1 PU.

- (364) o-hiya-ń-rúwáná ńtthu
 2SG-PROHIB-1-insult 1.person
 'don't insult anyone'

Negative optative

The negative optative, as just mentioned, is frequently used to prohibit something (365), but can also be used to express a wish or desire that something may not happen (366). The negative optative is marked by the negative prefix *-hi-* plus the final suffix *-e* and has a H on the ultimate syllable.

- (365) o-hi-n-thel-é nthíyáná owóotha (H3.5)
 2SG-NEG-1-marry-OPT 1.woman 1.CONN.15.lie
 'don't marry a lying woman'

- (366) ...ni mí o-hi-ki-pah-é (H14.18)
 and 1SG.PRO 3-NEG-1SG-burn-OPT
 ‘... so that it doesn’t burn me either’

Negative situative

The negative situative is marked by a TAM prefix *-a-* and the negative prefix *-hi-*, which has an underlying H. It is used to express a logical or temporal negative precondition.

- (367) wé waa-hi-kí-vah-e ephaáú o-náá-tsúwela vó! (H10.25)
 2SG.PRO 2SG.SIT-NEG-1SG-give-SIT 9.bread 2SG-PRES.DJ-know 16.DEM.II
 ‘if you don’t give me the bread, you’ll find out!’

Negative durative situative

The negative durative situative is used to express a (negative) state holding at the same time as an event. It is marked by the negative marker *-hi-* (with a H), and the pre-final durative morpheme *-ak-*. Sentence (368) is an example of an affirmative durative situative (“throwing”) followed by a negative (“not knowing”). The agent in these sentences is a boy who throws a toad in the middle of some other toads, without knowing that they are the relatives of the frog he is throwing.

- (368) a-ttikél-áka úwé w-aa-ry-ááyá makínákw’ aale (K1.121)
 2-throw-DUR 17.DEM.III 17-PAST-be.REL-POSS.2 6.others 6.DEM.III
 ‘throwing to where the others were’
- a-hií-tsúwel-aka wiirá a-n-aá-váha eshípáapa ts-áya nummé
 2-NEG-know-DUR COMP 2-PRES-2-give 10.DIM.parents 10-POSS.2 5.toad
 nne (K1.123)
 5.DEM.III
 ‘not knowing that he was giving the frog back to his parents’

Negative perfective situative

The negative perfective situative describes the state of the subject referent as not having done something, in relation to another event. The subject prefix is *a-* for class 1, and the conjugation is marked by the negative prefix *-hi-* and the tone pattern MS2. The situative can appear before or after the main clause.

- (369) hú-rúp-aká a-hi-ca-ál’ éetthu (H12.40)
 NARR-sleep-DUR 1-NEG-eat-PERF 9.thing
 ‘and he went to sleep without having eaten anything’

Negative counterexpectational situative

The counterexpectational conjugations are divided into a situative and an independent conjugation. The independent counterexpectational conjugation occurs with the auxiliary verb *-tthi* more frequently than not (see section 2.5.10 on complex tenses), but the dependent form, the counterexpectational situative, is also used without it (370). The situative form can only be used in dependent clauses and may be used sentence-finally (372). The counterexpectational conjugation expresses an event that has not yet happened (i.e., it occurs later than “expected”). The negative marker *-hi-* is followed by the prefix *-ná-*, which has an underlying H. The tone pattern in the rest of the verb stem is unknown, since my database only contains examples of this conjugation with verbs of one or two moras.

- (370) ki-hi-ná-phíyé waámpúlá ki-náá-téléfonári
 1SG-NEG-CE-arrive 16.Nampula 1SG-PRES.DJ-telephone
 ‘when I haven’t arrived in Nampula yet, I will call’
- (371) o-n-ca-alé o-hi-ná-tthí wi’lla
 1-1-eat-PERF 17-NEG-CE-do 15.darken
 ‘she ate them when it wasn’t dark yet’ (about beans)
- (372) ekóm’ éelé kaá-mwíin-áká khalái ki-hi-ná-khál-etsá (H8.34)
 9.drum 9.DEM.III 1SG.PAST-dance-DUR long.ago 1SG-NEG-CE-stay-PLUR
 ‘that drum I used to dance to long time ago, before staying here’

Negative counterexpectational (independent)

Similar to the basic negative conjugations, the negative counterexpectational is marked by the negative prefix *kha-*. However, it is not analysed as one of the basic conjugations, because of its heavier semantic load (presupposition or expectation) and because of the absence of the CJ/DJ distinction in the counterexpectational conjugations (as argued above). The use of the negative counterexpectational situative conjugation sentence-finally indicates that it does not form a CJ/DJ pair with the (non-situative or independent) negative counterexpectational. Apart from the negative pre-initial prefix *kha-*, the negative counterexpectational is marked by the prefix *-ná-*, the final vowel *-e* and a H on the ultimate syllable.

- (373) mí nki-ná-ń-koh-é (H10.42)
 1SG.PRO NEG.1SG-CE-1-ask-PERF
 ‘I haven’t asked him yet’

- (374) nláttw' úúlá khu-ná-phwány-an-ey-é ephátt' ááyá
 3.problem 3.DEM.I NEG.3-CE-meet-ASSO-STAT-PERF 9.solution 9.POSS.3
 e-m-mál-áaya
 9-PRES-finish.REL-POSS.9
 'this problem has not found its complete solution yet'

Negative counterfactual

The negative counterfactual expresses an unfulfilled condition to a (now no longer possible) event in the past. It is formally characterised by a negative prefix *-hi-*, a TAM marker *-á-*, the final suffix *-ale*, and a tone pattern MS2.

- (375) ná-háa-therénéy-alé ní-phińy-é mpántté n-kína
 1PL.CF-NEG-stumble-PERF 1PL-arrive-PERF.CJ 3.side 3-other
 'if we hadn't stumbled, we would have reached the other side'

2.5.8 Negative non-basic conjugations (infinitives)

Negative infinitive

The negative infinitive is marked by the post-initial negative marker *-hi-*, which has an underlying H. There is no additional H in the verb stem (the H on U in (376) is a boundary tone).

- (376) orámpelélá n' uu-hí-rámpelelá khii-v' étthu
 15.swim and 15-NEG-swim NEG.9-LOC 9.thing
 'swimming or not swimming, it doesn't matter'

Negative narrative

The narrative perfective and imperfective have one negative counterpart, which is marked by the narrative H-toned prefix *khú-*, followed by the negative prefix *-hi-*. Just as the affirmative narrative, this conjugation is used to describe a series of events.

- (377) Afónsó aahí-thúm' ehópá khú-hí-row' owáani
 Afonso 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-buy 10.fish NARR-NEG-go 17.home
 'Afonso bought fish and didn't go home'

2.5.9 Verb "to be"

The verb *ori* 'to be' only occurs in a limited number of conjugations. These are the imperfective affirmative (conjoint) and the imperfective negative, the non-past counterfactual, and the relative imperfective affirmative and negative.

The present and the situative conjugation of *ori* have irregular forms. The present tense does not have a tense marker, but is simply composed of the subject marker and the verb stem *-ri* (378), in the non-relative as well as in the relative (379).

The situative in contrast has an extra morpheme and consists of the subject marker, the marker *-ná-* and the verb stem (380).

- (378) ki-rí sáána
1SG-be well
'I am well'
- (379) mwálápwá o-ri wasufáá-ní o-m-wéh' ótsulú
1.dog 1-be.REL 16.couch-LOC 1-PRES.CJ-look 17.up
'the dog that is on the couch looks up'
- (380) ki-núú-furahiya wuú-phwányá o-ná-rí nkúmi
1SG-PERF.PERS-be.happy 15.2SG-meet 2SG-SIT-be 1.healthy
'I was happy to find you healthy'

The verb *okhála* 'to stay' (381) is sometimes used instead of *ori* 'to be' (382). When attributing a property or profession to someone, the verb *okhála* can be used to express the aspect of "becoming", and it is in a perfective conjugation (383). In a relative clause with a property or profession as the predicate, *okhála* is always used and not *ori* (384). This verb is also used to indicate presence in a location, as illustrated in (385) and (386). The combination of *okhála* and the locative demonstrative *vo* is lexicalised and more often than not eroded to *oháavo* 'be there'. It is typically used in presentational constructions, as in (387).

- (381) o-núú-khálá nlópwána m-motsá ni mwálápw' aáwe
1-PERF.PERS-stay 1.man 1-one and 1.dog 1.POSS.1
'there was a man and his dog'
- (382) aa-rí nlopwana m-motsá n' aámwáár' áwé (H3.1)
1.PAST-be 1.man.PL 1-one and 2.wife 2.POSS.1
'there was a man and his wife'
- (383) khu-ń-khála shooféeri esheení?
NEG.2SG-PRES-stay.DJ 1.chauffeur 9.what
'why aren't you a chauffeur?' or 'why didn't you become a chauffeur?'
- (384) Luíshí o-khall-e thaácíri o-háán-áts' ekaáro
Luiz 1-stay-PERF.REL 1.rich 1-have-PLUR 10.cars
'Luiz, who is rich, has cars'

- (385) e-n-khála vayí enúpa y-oóttéela?
 9-PRES.CJ-stay where 9.house 9-white
 ‘where is the white house?’
- (386) ehópá tsi-n-khál-áká mmaátsí-ni
 10.fish 10-PRES-stay-DUR 18.water-LOC
 ‘fish are/live in the water’
- (387) y-aá-háa-vo enámá e-motsá e-n-aátsím-íyá ncóco (K1.78)
 9-PAST-be-LOC 9.animal 9-one 9-PRES-call-PASS.REL 3.impala
 ‘there was an animal which is called impala’

These verbs, *ori* ‘to be’ and *okhála* ‘to stay’, also occur in a lexicalised combination with *na*, which may have been a (stranded) preposition. The combination “be with” is translated as ‘to have’. Interestingly, there is no tense marker in the present tense of this verb (*oháana*).

- (388) aa-ríná ekalawa ts-áwé tsa khavóko (H15.11)
 1.PAST-have 10.boats 10-POSS.1 10.CONN fishing
 ‘he had his fishing boats’
- (389) ki-háána etińtá ekoóré piilí (H14.28)
 1SG-have 10.paint 10.colours 10.two
 ‘I have paint in two colours’

For more information on non-verbal predication see section 2.6.4.

2.5.10 Complex conjugations

Complex conjugations are combinations of two verb forms, of which one or both may be inflected, and which have a specialised meaning. The combinations auxiliary + infinitive are discussed first, followed by the combinations with two inflected verbs.

Auxiliary + infinitive

Reference to non-immediate future events is made by the verb *-rowa* ‘go’ or *-wa* ‘come’ in the present tense CJ form, followed by the infinitive form of the verb. The infinitive is tonally lowered as is usual for the object of a CJ verb form (390). Consequently, the object of the infinitive remains in its normal tonal form. The inflected verb “go” or “come” is very often phonetically shortened, which makes it appear as if it were a future tense prefix. The fact that a question word follows the infinitive also indicates that the construction is in the process of being grammaticalised to a prefix (392). However, the tone patterns indicate that this process is not (yet) completed.

- (390) ki-n-rówá okattha ekúwo
 1SG-PRES.CJ-go 15.wash 10.clothes
 ‘I’m going to wash clothes’
- (391) moóró o-m-w’ ó-kí-paha (H14.9)
 3.fire 3-PRES.CJ-come 15-1SG-burn
 ‘the fire is coming to burn me’
- (392) o-n-ró-ttikha eshééni?
 1-PRES-go-throw 9.what
 ‘what will he throw away?’

A second periphrastic construction is the negative counterexpectational conjugation. Whereas the situative form can occur with other verbs, the negative counterexpectational as an independent conjugation in my database is only found with the auxiliary verb *otthi* (not translatable without the conjugation). In (393) the infinitive is implied, but in (394) the auxiliary is followed by an infinitive. The situative often also makes use of this auxiliary strategy (395). The construction is used to make reference to an event that has not yet occurred.

- (393) áttthú hw-íira naáta kha-wa-ná-tthi (H6.10)
 2.people NARR-do no NEG-16-CE-do
 ‘the people said: “no, it isn’t yet (time to harvest)”’
- (394) n-ki-ná-tth’ uuthél-íya
 NEG-1SG-CE-do 15.marry-PASS
 ‘I am not married yet’
- (395) ákhólé y-aa-lakáán-é a-hi-ná-tthí okélá mmátta
 2.monkeys 2-PAST-agree-PERF.CJ 2-NEG-CE-do 15.enter 18.field
 ‘the monkeys had agreed before entering the field’

To express the concept of “already once” the experiencer auxiliary verb *-tóko* is used (so labelled because it expresses that the subject has already experienced the event). The auxiliary is conjugated in the present perfective (396) or the past perfective conjugation (397), and there is liaison between the inflected auxiliary and the class 15 prefix of the following consonant-initial infinitive. The form of the infinitive with a vowel-initial verb reveals the status of *-tóko* as an auxiliary (398).

- (396) emátt’ éela woo-tók’ ólíma?
 9.field 9.DEM.I 2SG.PERF.DJ-EXP 15.cultivate
 ‘have you worked on that field before?’

- (397) w-aahí-tók' okátthâ?
 2SG-PAST.PERF.DJ-EXP 15.wash
 'have you ever washed it?'
- (398) mw-aahí-tóko waápéya nráma?
 2PL-PAST.PERF.DJ-EXP 15.cook 3.rice
 'have you ever cooked rice before?'

A construction which seems to be growing in popularity is the borrowed auxiliary *poótí* (from Portuguese *pode* 'you can') followed by an infinitive. The auxiliary is not inflected, and the construction expresses ability.

- (399) áthhw' uutééné poótí woóna
 2.people 2.all can 15.see
 'all people can see (it)'

Two inflected verbs

The need or obligation to do something is expressed by an inflected form of the verb *oháana* 'to have' in combination with a durative situative. These conjugated verbs have the same subject marker (1SG in (400) and class 1 in (401)).

- (400) vánó ki-hááná ki-thel-áka (H3.22)
 now 1SG-have 1SG-marry-DUR
 'now I have to marry'
- (401) íi o-hááná a-ki-thél-áka (H2.63)
 ii 1-have 1-1SG-marry-DUR
 'oi, he must marry me'

There are a number of examples of complex constructions with the verbs *ori* 'to be' (402), *oraana* 'to bring' (403) and *okhala* 'to stay' (404) combined with another verb, where both verbs are fully inflected. These conjugations probably appear as two verbs, because the combination of tense, aspect and mood expressed in them cannot be expressed in one conjugation. In (402), for example, the counterexpectational aspect is already expressed in a complex conjugation, but to add a temporal reference to it (tense), an additional auxiliary is used.

- (402) nléló n-aa-rí ni-hi-ná-tthí ophíya
 still 1PL-past-be 1PL-NEG-CE-do 15.arrive
 'we still haven't arrived (yet)'

- (403) álé aa-rááná aa-víruwá-tsa (H5.36)
2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-bring 2.PERF.DJ-become.angry-PLUR
'they became angry'
- (404) álé aa-khálá aa-vélávela (H7.71)
2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-stay 2.PERF.DJ-be.trapped
'they were trapped'

2.6 Syntactic issues

Some aspects in the grammar of Makhuwa-Enahara do not fit within the previous sections. The prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs are discussed in this section, as well as non-verbal predication, the CJ/DJ alternation and the formation of relative clauses.

2.6.1 Prepositions

The invariable *ni* is used as a preposition in marking arguments as an instrument (405), agent (406) or comitative (407). *Ni* is also used in coordination.

- (405) Aminá o-n-rúw' eshimá ni nkhóri
 1.Amina 1-PRES.CJ-stir 9.shima with 3.spoon
 'Amina prepares shima with a spoon'
- (406) ki-núú-rúm-iyá ni mfálúme (H7.13)
 1SG-PERF.PERS-send-PASS by authority
 'I was sent by the governor'
- (407) oo-rúp-ááthi ni mwaláp'w' áawe (K1.18)
 1.PERF.DJ-sleep-down with 1.dog 1.POSS.1
 'he lay down with his dog'

Especially before a personal pronoun *ni* has a special connotation, which can be translated as 'X too' (408) or 'even X' (409). The context of (408) indicates that the interpretation should be "as well": Tortoise painted Leopard with nice spots, and Hyena also wants to be painted by Tortoise and therefore wants to go to Tortoise's house, as well.

- (408) aá ni mí ki-n-ráá wówwo (H14.47)
 aha and 1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.CJ-go 17.DEM
 'aha, I'll go there as well'
- (409) Coáo o-low-alé ehopa | Antóónyó o-low-al' éhopá |
 1.Joao 1-fish-PERF 9.fish 1.Antonio 1-fish-PERF.CJ 9.fish
 Hamísí ni yéná o-low-alé ehopá
 1.Hamisi and 1.PRO 1-fish-PERF.CJ 9.fish
 'Joao caught fish, Antonio caught fish, even Hamisi caught fish'

For the same purpose *hata* can be used, which easily combines with *ni*.

- (410) aahí-thúma hatá (ní) esapáto
 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-buy even and 10.shoes
 ‘he even bought shoes’

The preposition *mpákha* ‘until’ is used to indicate a boundary in space (411) or time (412). In the examples in my database it is always followed by a noun (not a clause). As shown in (412), the infinitive form *okhuma* ‘to exit’ can also be used as a preposition expressing a point of departure.

- (411) ólé oh-eéttá mpákhá eriyári y-a etákhwa (H8.9)
 1.DEM.III 1.PERF.DJ-walk until 9.middle 9-CONN 9.forest
 ‘he walked until the middle of the forest’
- (412) okhúma eléló váa mpákhá omálá-málá w’ oolúmwénkú
 15.exit today 16.DEM.I until 15.finish-RED 15.CONN 14.world
 ‘from today until the end of the world’ (H6.47)

The preposition *ntokó* ‘like’ is often used with the verbs *okhála* ‘to stay, be’ (413) and *woóna* ‘to see’ (414). This preposition is also used for expressing what in English can be translated as ‘to seem’ (415).

- (413) élé enámá e-n-aátsim-iyá khwátté
 9.DEM.III 9.animal 9-PRES-call-PASS.REL 9.jackal

 e-n-khál-áka ntokó mwalapwá...(H9.3)
 9-PRES-stay-DUR.REL like 1.dog
 ‘that animal which is called a jackal, which is like a dog...’
- (414) oo-vár-élá manyánk’ ááy’ aalé oon-áká ntokó mitháli
 1.PERF.DJ-grab-APPL 6.horns 6.POSS.2 6.DEM.III 6.see-DUR like 4.trees
 ‘he gripped those horns that looked like trees’ (K1.78/80)
- (415) mwann’ aká ki-ná-móóná ntokó wiírá n-náá-kí-thépya
 1.husband 1.POSS.1SG 1SG-PRES.DJ-see like COMP 2PL-PRES.DJ-1SG-lie
 ‘husband of mine, it seems to me that you are lying to me’ (H4.36)

The preposition *para* is borrowed from Portuguese and can be used as an alternative to an applicative extension on the verb. As such, it is also used for similar roles, namely introducing a reason, benefactive (416), or goal (417). The preposition is also used in why-questions (see section 2.3.9).

- (416) nthíyáná aapey-alé nramá para mwanámwáne óle
 1.woman 1.cook-PERF.CJ 3.rice for 1.child 1.DEM.III
 ‘the woman cooked rice for that child’
- (417) koo-hókólówá para owáani
 1.PERF.DJ-return to 17.home
 ‘I returned home’

2.6.2 Conjunctions

Coordinate conjunction

As a conjunction, *ni* can join two noun phrases (418) or two sentences (419).

- (418) n-aa-rí nummé ni mwaámúunku (H13.1)
 5-PAST-be 5.toad.PL and 1.caterpillar
 ‘there once was the toad and the caterpillar’
- (419) etsíitsi koo-vará ni koo-khúura (H9.25)
 9.owl 1.PERF.DJ-grab and 1.PERF.DJ-chew
 ‘the owl, I caught it and I ate it!’

The coordinating *walá* ‘nor’ (borrowed from Swahili) expresses an alternative choice, which may be between positive sentences as in (420), or negative sentences as in (421) and (422).

- (420) o-khum-alé nnepá walá o-khum-alé kwaatú?
 3-exit-PERF.REL 3.ghost.PL or 1-exit-PERF.REL 1.cat.PL
 ‘did a ghost appear or a cat?’
- (421) kahí Sañtára walá kahí María
 NEG.COP 1.Sandra nor NEG.COP 1.Maria
 ‘it was neither Sandra nor Maria’
- (422) o-h-aal-é ntháli w-a mi’wwá wapuwa-ní w-áu (H3.6)
 2SG-NEG-plant-OPT 3.tree 3-CONN 4.thorns 16.compound-LOC 16-POSS.2SG
 ‘do not plant thorn bushes in your garden’
- walá o-hi-pank-é opátthání ni mfálúme (H3.7)
 nor 2SG-NEG-make-OPT 14.friendship with 1.authority
 ‘and don’t become friends with the police’

The conjunction *au* ‘or’ conjoins two noun phrases. It is borrowed from Swahili *au* or Portuguese *ou* and is not frequently expressed overtly in Makhuwa-Enahara (423). Quite often the two DPs are simply juxtaposed, as in (424).

- (423) o-mw-aapey-alé fisyáú ti pani nlópwaná áú nthíyána?
 1-1-cook-PERF.REL 1.beans COP 1.who 1.man or 1.woman
 ‘who cooked the beans, the man or the woman?’

- (424) ni-n-r’ óóthuma vayi eviishíitiitú ts-oóréera?
 1PL-PRES.CJ-go 15.buy where 10.dress 10-good
 nloóca mparáákha-ni?
 18.shop 18.booth-LOC
 ‘where are we going to buy nice dresses, in the shop or in the booth?’

Two coordinated sentences expressing a contrast are joined by the conjunction *masi* ‘but’, borrowed from Portuguese *mas*.

- (425) álé aa-rí numwaarí masí khaa-tthúná othéliya (H2.2)
 2.DEM.III 2.PERF-be 1.virgin.PL but NEG.2.IMPF-want.DJ 15.marry-PASS
 ‘she was a marriageable girl, but she didn’t want to get married’

The conjunction *ankhi* is used in questions of the type “and how about...?”. In example (426) the story tells how people introduced themselves and then asked for each other’s names.

- (426) mí ki-n-aátsím-íyá fulánó fuláno (H15.20)
 1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS so-and-so RED
 ‘I am so-and-so’
 ankhi wé? (H15.21)
 and.how 2SG.PRO
 ‘and you (are)?’

Subordinate conjunction (complementiser)

The complementiser *wiira* ‘that’ is derived from the verb *wiira* ‘to do, to say’. It can introduce direct speech (427) or a subordinate clause, which may or may not contain indirect speech, as in (428) and (429), respectively. In the latter case the verb in the dependent clause has optative inflection if the optative meaning is appropriate (430).

- (427) mumímé alé khú-shúkur-el-áká wiirá alihámítuliláhi (K2.63)
 6.toads 6.DEM.III NARR-thank-APPL-DUR COMP alhamdulillah
 ‘those toads thanked him: “alhamdulillah”’

- (428) oo-kí-hím-eéryá wiírá mwan' áwé o-na-ń-ttikha saáná poóla
 1.PERF.DJ-1SG-tell-APPL COMP 1.child 1.POSS.1 1-PRES.DJ-1-play well 1.ball
 'he said that his son plays football well'
- (429) kha-mí-wéha wiírá e-háá-vo enámá e-ri-na manyánka
 NEG.1-PRES-look.DJ COMP 9-stay-LOC 9.animal 9-have.REL 6.horns
 'he didn't see that there was an animal with horns' (K2.39)
- (430) oo-mánáníhá wiírá á-vár-e numímé nne (K1.29)
 1.PERF.DJ-try COMP 1-grab-OPT 5.toad 5.DEM.III
 'he tried to get that toad'

There are two complementisers expressing reason. The first, *maana*, is borrowed from Swahili (431). The second is a grammaticalised form consisting of *okhála* 'to stay' and *wiíra*, the complementiser (432).

- (431) vánó mwalápwa o-ni-ń-thóla naphulú maana aahí-mí-wehá (K4.25)
 now 1.dog 1-PRES.CJ-1-search 1.frog because 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-1-look
 'now the dog searches the frog because he had seen him'
- (432) masi okhála wiírá Muúsá Alí Mpiíkhi ntsina n-oórékama...
 but 15.stay COMP Musa Ali Mbiki 5.name.PL 5-be.tall
 'but since Musa Ali Mbiki is a long name,...' (H15.34)

There are also two interrogative complementisers: *khampa* 'whether/if', borrowed from Swahili *kwamba* (433), and *finti* (434).

- (433) kaa-phéélá otsuwelá khampa nyúwáánó
 1SG.IMP.CJ-want 15.know COMP 2PL.PRO
 mwi-ńni-tsuwélá olávílávi
 2PL-HAB-know 14.cleverness
 'I wanted to know whether you know a trick' (H7.51)
- (434) n-ki-ń-tsuwela finti aa-tthúná o-m-ooná ntthu
 NEG-1SG-PRES-know.DJ COMP 2.PERF.CJ-want 15-1-see 1.person
 'I don't know whether they wanted to see anyone'

2.6.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are taken to be one-word modifiers of a proposition. Many nouns (and demonstratives) are used as such, but here I will discuss the ones that occur only or most frequently in an adverbial function. Adverbs can be ideophonic or non-ideophonic.

Some common adverbs are listed below, arranged in semantic groups, and a few examples of ideophones are given.

Locative

Locative nouns are frequently used in a connective construction (“outside of”, “on top of”), as in (435). The last two, “down” and “up” can occur in all three of the locative noun classes.

wakhivíru	closeby
ottyááwéne	far away
otá	outside
mpááni	inside
nhiná	inside
ottulí	behind (back)
ohoólo	front
eriyári	middle, halfway
vathí, othí, nthí	down
watsulú, otsulú, ntsulú	up, on top

- (435) ekaáshá e-rí wá-tsulú wa meétsá ma-kháani
 9.box 9-be 16-top 16-CONN 6.table 6-small
 ‘the box is on top of the small table’

Temporal

naánnáanová	right now
nannaanórú	suddenly
nléló	still
matsúri	three days ago
ntsúri	the day before yesterday
ntsána	yesterday
elélo	today
meélo	tomorrow
nróto	the day after tomorrow
epáláme	in three days
wiícísu	early in the morning
othána	during the day
ntsúwá noóthékuwa	in the afternoon (‘when the sun is high’)
makááripí	at dusk
ohíyu	in the evening

Manner

vakhaani-vákháani	slowly
mahála	in vain, for free
meekh-, veekh-	alone (+ possessive)
khwaátsi	maybe, almost
saána	well
mancíra	well, handy
tsiítsó, tsiítsáale	like this, like that

Ideophones:

(436) epúlá rávaa! (H6.21)

9.rain *ravaa*

‘the rain came down really hard’

(437) khú-kúm-ih-érá maárw’ áalé khw-íír-íha pereúúú otsulú
 NARR-exit-CAUS-APPL 6.ears 6.DEM.III NARR-do-CAUS *pereu* 17-up
 ‘and he stick out his ears, and he put them straight up’ (H7.17)

Intensifying

To stress the quality expressed in a verb or adjectival construction an adverb can be formed in class 16 (438), or an ideophone can be used, if an appropriate one exists (439).

(438) a-núú-reeréshá v-íncéene (H5.4)
 1.PAST.PERF.DJ-PERS-become.good 16-much
 ‘she was very beautiful’

(439) oóriipa phí oóttéela phé
 dark phi white phe
 ‘pitch-black’ ‘very white’

2.6.4 Non-verbal predication

Makhuwa has two basic strategies to make a non-verbal predicate: Predicative Lowering and an invariant copula *ti*. In similar environments the verb *ori* ‘to be’ can be used, which makes a verbal predicate. The two strategies are used for non-verbal predication which is unspecified for TAM; the verb “to be” is used with a past tense and in relative clauses with a non-verbal predicate. See also section 2.5.9 on the verb *ori* ‘to be’.

Predicative Lowering (PL)

PL is a tonal process described in section 2.2.1, and exemplified in (440) and (441). PL deletes the first H of the word, and a boundary tone may be added on the last syllable of words which would otherwise be all-L. This predicative function is indicated by PL in

the gloss. The same tone pattern is used after a conjoint verb form, but there it is not indicated in the gloss.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| (440) | nkúlúkhana
nkulukhaná | traditional doctor
(it) is a traditional doctor | (LHHLL)
(LLLLH) |
| (441) | nakhúku
mwaánúni ulá nakhukú | crow
this bird is a crow | (LHL)
(LLH) |

PL is used to express identification, which includes equation and qualitative characteristics. Different elements can undergo PL: nouns (441), adjectives (442), infinitives (443) and most interrogatives (444). These are words which had a pre-prefix in an earlier stage, where the form without the pre-prefix was used for identification and hence predication (see Van der Wal 2006b). PL is often used in a (pseudo)cleft, as in (443). In parentheses the citation form of the noun is given, with the non-lowered tone pattern. In (444) the subject (the demonstrative *íyo*) follows the predicate (*esheeni*).

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|-----------|
| (442) | ntháli mwánkhaáni
ntháli mwankhaáni | ‘the small tree’
‘the tree is small’ | |
| (443) | ntékó o-m-vár-áú
3.work 3-PRES-grab.REL-POSS.2SG
‘what you do is washing’ | okathá
15.wash.PL | (okáttha) |
| (444) | esheeni íyo?
9.what.PL 9.DEM.II
‘what is that?’, lit: ‘it is what, that?’ | (eshéeni) | |

When the subject is a first or second person, the verbal prefix precedes the predicate, which is in the tonally lowered form. The nominal predicate in (445) and (446) is in class 1 *nkumi* or 2 *akumi* depending on the number of the subject. When the subject is a noun of class 1 or 2, the predicate NP follows the subject without the subject marker between them (447).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (445) | mí ki mmakhuwá | I am (a) Makhuwa |
| (446) | (mì) ki nkumí
(wé) o nkumí
(hĩ) n’ aakumí
(nyutse) mw’ aakumí | I am healthy/alive
you are healthy/alive
we are healthy/alive
you (plural) are healthy/alive |

- (447) yéná nkumí he/she is healthy/alive
 1.PRO 1.healthy
- álé-ts' aakumí they are healthy/alive
 2.DEM.III-PL 2.healthy

For nouns which have the option of expressing predication by means of PL, this is the only strategy allowed. This is exemplified in the (pseudo)clefts in (448)-(450): PL is the only strategy allowed in the referential part (the a.-examples below) and neither the use of the invariant copula *ti* nor the verb “to be” would be grammatical (the b. and c.-examples).

- (448) a. oravó o-thum-aly-áaka
 4.honey.PL 14-buy-PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
 ‘it is honey which I bought’
- b. * ti orávo o-thum-aly-áaka
 COP 14.honey 14-buy-PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
- (449) a. a-m-phéél-ááka moocé
 6-PRES-want.REL-POSS.1SG 6.eggs.PL
 ‘what I want is eggs’
- b. * a-m-phéél-ááka ti moóce
 6-PRES-want.REL-POSS.1SG COP 6.eggs
- c. * a-m-phéél-ááka arí móocé
 6-PRES-want.REL-POSS.1SG 6-be 6.eggs
- (450) a. esheení e-n-núkha?
 9.what.PL 9-PRES.smell.REL
 ‘what (is it that) smells?’
- b. * ti eshéeni e-n-núkha?
 COP 9.what 9-PRES-smell.REL

Copula

The second strategy for non-verbal predication is to use the copula. The general form of the copula is *ti*, but classes 4 and 10 can also have *pi*. Whereas PL is used for nouns with a (pre)prefix, the copula is obligatorily used in non-verbal predication with the following elements, which did not have an augment in some earlier stage of the language:

- constructions headed by a connective (451), also in adjectival use (452),
- personal and demonstrative pronouns, (453) and (454),
- cleft-questions with “who”, (453) and (455),
- questions asking “which one” (456),
- the relative (participial) modifier, (457) and (458).

After a copula the tone pattern of the predicate does not change and is as in citation form.

- (451) epaártí e-kush-iy-é ti y’ aánéene
 9.bucket 9-carry-PASS-PERF.REL COP 9-CONN 2.boss
 ‘the bucket which is carried belongs to the boss’
- (452) 3 ntháli ti woóréera the tree is beautiful
 4 mitháli pi/ti tsoóréera the trees are beautiful
 5 ntátá ti noóréera the hand is beautiful
 6 matátá t’ oóréera the hands are beautiful
 9 erínta ti yoórékama the branch is long
 10 erínta pi/ti tsoórékama the branches are long
- (453) o-pwesh-alé evaásó ti pani
 1-break-PERF.REL 9.vase COP 1.who
 ti wéyáánó nhim’ áu?
 COP 2SG.PRO 1.brother.PL 1.POSS.2SG
 ‘who is the one who broke the vase, was it you (or) your brother?’
- (454) mi’wwá íye t’ ííyé tsi-ki-hom-ak-ants-é (H3.88)
 4.thorns 4.DEM.III COP 4.DEM.III 4-1SG-sting-DUR-PLUR-PERF.REL
 ‘those thorns are the ones that stung me’
- (455) ti paní o-ni-mí-vúr-ááwe menínu?
 COP 1.who 1-1-pull.REL-POSS.1 1.boy
 ‘who is it that the boy pulls?’
- (456) tíívishe?
 COP.9.which.one
 ‘which one is it?’
- (457) ní mí també t’ í-n-úu-him-eery-áaka (H3.19)
 and 1SG.PRO also COP 9-PRES-2SG-say-APPL.REL-POSS.1SG
 ‘and this is also what I say to you’

- (458) ekanétá t' i-kí-vah-aly-ááwé Aléksi
 9.pen COP 9-1SG-give-PERF.REL-POSS.1 1.Alex
 'a pen is what Alex gave me'

When the predicate is locative, the copula or PL may only be used if the referential part of the copular construction is also locative, such as *oparásá* 'at the fortress' in (459a), or *owány' áká* '(at) my home' in (460a), so that two locative phrases are equated. When the first part is an object, such as *enúpa* 'house' in (460b), the predicate indicates the location of that object, and it is not equated to it. Hence, the verb *ori* 'to be' must be used and PL is ungrammatical (460c).

- (459) a. oparásá ti váyi?
 17.fortress COP where
 'where is the fortress?'
 b. * oparásá orí váyi?
 17.fortress 17-be where
 c. eparásá e-rí váyi?
 9.fortress 9-be where?
 'where is the fortress?'
 (460) a. owány' áká olaantá
 17.home 17.POSS.1SG 17.Holland.PL
 'my home is Holland'
 b. enúp' ááká erí oláanta
 9.house 9.POSS.1SG 9-be 17.Holland
 'my house is in Holland'
 c. * enúp' ááká olaantá
 9.house 9.POSS.1SG 17.Holland.PL

In clefts and pseudoclefts either the copula or PL can be used with proper names.

- (461) a. o-kush-alé Nsaci
 1-carry-PERF.REL 1.Nsaci.PL
 'the one who carried (it) is Nsaci'
 b. o-kush-alé ti Nsaci
 1-carry-PERF.REL COP 1.Nsaci
 'the one who carried (it) is Nsaci'

The copula is used as an intensifier in the more or less fixed expression at the end of a story, as in (462), and in a concluding relative form, as in (463).

- (462) khú-khál-aká t' ihántisí yoo-mála (K4.123)
 NARR-stay-DUR COP 9.story 9.PERF.DJ-finish
 ‘and thus the story is finished’ (“the end”)

- (463) tí-n-khal-ááyá echantísí yoo-mála (H13.33)
 COP-PRES-stay-POSS.2 9.story 9.PERF.DJ-finish
 ‘like this the story ends’

Verb “to be”

For a nominal or adjectival predication in the past tense or in a relative clause the verb *ori* ‘to be’ has to be used. The past tense is underspecified, and the predicate can be a noun (464), infinitive (465) or adjective (465). The verb is also used in the situative (467). PL still applies to the non-verbal predicate after “to be”.

- (464) ólé nlópwána aa-rí namatothá (H8.2)¹⁶
 1.DEM.III 1.man 1.PAST-be 1.hunter.PL
 ‘that man was a hunter’
- (465) Mariámú etthw’ ááwé y-aa-rí w-aa-khottá alópwána (H2.38)
 1.Mariamú 9.thing 9.POSS.1 9-PAST-be 15-2-deny.PL 2.men
 ‘Mariamu, her habit was to refuse men’
- (466) múrú w-aa-rí m-úulupálé ekaráfá éélé y-aa-rí y-ánkhaání
 3.head 3-PAST-be 3-big.PL 9.jar 9.DEM.III 9-past-be 9-small
 ‘the head was big and that jar was small’ (K4.27)
- (467) olúmwénkú o-ná-rí mwáli (H5.1)
 14.world 14-SIT-be 1.virgin
 ‘when the world was still unspoilt’

The verb is also used with *saána* ‘well’, which otherwise functions as an adverb.

- (468) ki-rí saána
 1SG-be well
 ‘I am well’

¹⁶ The demonstrative is expected to follow the noun. This would probably come out in double-checking the transcription of the story.

- (469) perofesóri iir-alé murw' áwé o-rí sáána
 1.teacher 1.do-PERF.CJ 3.head 3.POSS.1 3-be well
 'the teacher says her head is good (i.e. she is smart)'

To indicate presence in a location it is obligatory to use the verb *ori*, as shown in (470) and (471); a copula would be ungrammatical here (see also the short discussion about (459) and (460)).

- (470) mí ki-rí va I am here
 wé o-rí va you are here
 yéná o-rí va he/she is here
 ni-rí mparása we are in the fortress
 n-rí nkaáróni you (plural) are in the car
 a-ri-tsí mpaáre they are in a restaurant
- (471) ettonttówá tsi-rí otsulú
 10.stars 10-be 17.up
 'the stars are in the sky'

Negation

Non-verbal predicates are negated by means of the negative copula *kahí* (472) and its variants *kahiyó* (473) and *kahiyéna* (cf. *yéna* 'he/she/it') (474). The precise distribution of these forms is unclear. There is no PL on the predicate after a negative copula.

- (472) ólá kahí ntthu (H3.91)
 1.DEM.I NEG.COP 1.human
 'that is/was not a human'
- (473) mí kahiyó mmákhúwa
 1SG.PRO NEG.COP 1.Makhuwa
 'I am not (a) Makhuwa'
- (474) kahiyéná y-oóttéelá ti y-oópípila
 NEG.COP 9-white COP 9-blue
 'it isn't (the) white (one), it is (the) blue (one)'

The negative copula can negate a state of affairs, when preceding a sentence.

- (475) kahí wiirá atthw' ootééné a-n-tsúwélá orámpeléla
 NEG.COP COMP 2.people.PL 2.all 2-PRES-know.REL 15.swim
 'it isn't (the case) that it is all people who know how to swim'

The negative copula *kahiyó* is also used as a tag question.

- (476) nthíyáná o-hoó-cá nráma kahiyó?
 1.woman 1-PERF.DJ-eat 3.rice NEG.COP
 ‘the woman ate the rice, isn’t it?’

2.6.5 Conjoint and disjoint verb forms

The inflection of Makhuwa verbs has pairs of conjugational categories which are equivalent in terms of their TAM semantics, but differ in their “linkage” with what follows the verb. These verb forms are referred to as conjoint (CJ) and disjoint (DJ). The CJ/DJ pairs are found in the affirmative and negative present, present perfective, past imperfective and past perfective. All other conjugation do not have the alternation, although the optative can behave as if it did. The marking of the CJ/DJ form is different for each pair of conjugations (see the overview in chapter 5, section 5.2.1), but in general the form which has more morphological material in pre-stem position is the DJ form. The form of the verb is glossed for each verb form which is in a CJ/DJ conjugation. When no such marking is present, the verb is in a conjugation which does not make the distinction, or the verb is interpreted as relative. In the affirmative conjugations CJ and DJ are glossed with the TAM morpheme, in the negative ones at the end of the verb, as illustrated in (477)–(479).

The CJ and DJ verb form can be recognised by their segmental morphology, the tone pattern on the element following the verb, and the sentence-final distribution. First, the CJ and DJ verb forms have different TAM prefixes and suffixes, varying per conjugation. In the present conjugation, the prefixes *-n-* and *-náá-* are quite similar (477), whereas in the present perfect the prefixes and suffixes are not alike at all (478).

- (477) CJ o-n-thípá nlittí
 1-PRES.CJ-dig 5.hole
 ‘she digs a hole’
- DJ o-náá-thípá
 1-PRES.DJ-dig
 ‘she is digging’
- (478) CJ ki-som-alé eliivurú
 1SG-read-PERF.CJ 9.book
 ‘I read a book’
- DJ koo-sóma
 1SG.PERF.DJ-read
 ‘I was reading’

- (479) CJ o-hi-thum-álé ekafé
 1-NEG-buy-PERF.CJ 9.coffee
 ‘she didn’t buy coffee’
- DJ kha-thum-ále
 NEG.1-buy-PERF.DJ
 ‘she didn’t buy (it)’

Second, the forms are marked by a tonal difference on the following element, which is the same for each (affirmative and negative) CJ/DJ pair. The object of a DJ verb form has the same tone pattern as in citation form (480a), whereas the object of a CJ verb form undergoes predicative lowering (PL, Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000): the first underlying H is removed and a H boundary tone can be added (480b). To avoid confusion in the different meanings of PL, only the nouns which function as predicates are glossed with PL, not the nouns following a CJ verb form. See for more information section 2.2.1, Stucky (1979), Katupha (1983) and Van der Wal (2006b).

- (480) meéle ‘maize’ (citation, LHL)
- a. CJ ki-n-thítá meelé (LLH)
 1SG-PRES.CJ-pound 6.fine.maize
 ‘I pound maize’
- b. DJ ki-náá-thítá meéle (LHL)
 1SG-PRES.DJ-pound 6.fine.maize
 ‘I pound maize’

One major difference between the verb forms is their sentence-final distribution. The CJ form can never appear sentence-finally (481b); i.e., some object or adjunct has to follow (481c,d). The DJ form, on the other hand, may occur sentence-finally (481a), but does not need to, i.e., something can still follow the DJ verb form, as shown in (481e).

- (481) a. DJ enyómpé tsi-náá-khúura
 10.cows 10-PRES.DJ-chew
 ‘the cows are eating’
- b. CJ *enyómpé tsi-n-khúura
 10.cows 10-PRES.CJ-chew

- | | | | | |
|----|----|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| c. | CJ | enyómpé | tsi-n-khúúrá | malashí |
| | | 10.cows | 10-PRES.CJ-chew | 6.grass |
| | | ‘the cows eat grass’ | | |
| | | | | |
| d. | CJ | enyómpé | tsi-n-khúúrá | orattá-ni |
| | | 10.cows | 10-PRES.CJ-chew | 17.lagoon-LOC |
| | | ‘the cows eat at the lake’ | | |
| | | | | |
| e. | DJ | enyómpé | tsi-náá-khúúrá | maláshi |
| | | 10.cows | 10-PRES.DJ-chew | 6.grass |
| | | ‘the cows eat grass’ | | |

Chapter 5 further discusses the properties of the two verb forms in Makhuwa-Enahara, as well as the differences in interpretation.

2.6.6 *Relative clauses*

Relative verb forms only occur in a subset of the conjugations, namely the basic conjugations, which form conjoint/disjoint pairs in the non-relative: present, present perfective, past imperfective and past perfective. However, there is no CJ/DJ alternation in the relative conjugations. The relative verb forms, both in the affirmative and negative conjugations, are formally identical to the CJ verb form, the negative using the prefix *-hi-*. In this section the relative clauses are described according to the function of the antecedent: subject or non-subject (object or adjunct). The relative verb forms are glossed with REL at the end of the verb, since there is no particular relative morpheme.

The description of the general properties of the relatives in this section is from Van der Wal (to appear), where I analyse the relative clause in Makhuwa as a participial modifier. This is different from the relativising strategies of other familiar Bantu languages. The general construction described here works for all the conjugations mentioned.

Subject relative

The subject relative in Makhuwa is not marked segmentally, meaning that there is neither a relative complementiser, nor a relative marker on the verb, nor a different extra subject agreement prefix. When the verb is sentence-final (with an intransitive verb, for example), the difference between relative and non-relative verbs resembles the distinction between the CJ and DJ verb form. However, the CJ/DJ distinction is absent in the relative. There is only one form in the relative, which happens to be identical to the non-relative conjoint form, as can be seen in (482b,c). Since the CJ form (i.e., non-relative) cannot occur in sentence-final position, there is never ambiguity between the relative and non-relative form in sentence-final position.

- (482) a. DJ nlópwána o-náá-thíkíla
1.man 1-PRES.DJ-cut
'the man is cutting'
- b. CJ nlópwána o-n-thíkíla nthali
1.man 1-PRES.CJ-cut 3.tree
'the man cuts the tree'
- c. REL nlópwána o-n-thíkíla
1.man 1-PRES-cut.REL
'the man who is cutting'

The relative and non-relative forms of a transitive verb can be distinguished by the tone pattern of the object following the verb. After a CJ non-relative form the object undergoes Predicative Lowering, as illustrated in (483b). After a relative verb the object appears in citation form (483a,c).

- (483) a. ntháli tree citation, LHL
- b. CJ nlópwána o-n-thíkíla nthali LLH
1.man 1-PRES.CJ-cut 3.tree
'the man cuts the tree'
- c. REL nlópwána o-n-thíkíla ntháli LHL
1.man 1-PRES-cut.REL 3.tree
'the man who cuts the tree'

Non-subject relative

Objects and adjuncts can also be relativised. These non-subject relatives have no special relative morphology either (484a), and on the surface they resemble the subject relative (484b), at least when the subject is a full noun. Example (484c) shows the non-relative counterpart. In the present perfect there may be a tonal difference between the relative and non-relative form: in the non-relative the H on the ultimate syllable is obligatory (484c), whereas in the relative it can disappear (probably depending on speech rate) (484a,b). The details of this tonal change remain for further investigation.

- (484) a. e-núpa e-tek-ale Hasááni (yuulupále)
9-house 9-build-PERF.REL 1.Hasan (9.big.PL)
'the house that Hasan has built (is big)'

- b. Hasáání o-tek-ale enúpa (t' oóréera)
 1.Hasan 1-build-PERF.REL 9.house (COP 1.be.good)
 'Hasan who built a house (is well/beautiful)'
- c. Hasáání o-tek-alé e-nupá
 1.Hasan 1-build-PERF.CJ 9-house
 'Hasan has built a house'

The first prefix on the non-subject relative verb agrees with the head noun in noun class. In (484a) above the head noun *enupa* 'house' and the prefix on the verb are in class 9; in (485) the head noun and prefix are in class 5.

- (485) ólé kha-tsuwe'l-lé nipúró ni-ra-alé naphúlu (K4.14)
 1.DEM.III NEG-know-PERF.CJ 5.place 5-go-PERF.REL 1.frog
 'he didn't know the place where the frog went'

Since the subject and object relative look identical, ambiguities can arise when the subject and object are in the same noun class and the verb is "symmetric", as in (486). The most natural reading is when the cat caught the chicken, but in case the chicken is a very big one and the cat is only a small kitten, the opposite reading is also possible.

- (486) ki-n-ró-ñ-khúúrá mwalákhú a-m-vár-ále kwaátu
 1SG-PRES.CJ-go-1-chew 1.chicken 1.PAST-1-grab-PERF.REL 1.cat
 a. 'I am going to eat the chicken that the cat had caught'
 b. 'I am going to eat the chicken that had caught the cat'

When there is no lexical subject in a non-subject relative, the surface form looks different. The subject is now expressed by a suffix on the verb, which is formally equal to the possessive pronoun, as is clear from the following paradigm and examples. The possessive pronoun in (488) is merged to the end of the verb and is interpreted as the subject of the clause. Unlike the possessive pronoun, the suffix on the relative verb is cliticised to it without an intervening agreeing prefix (488c).

- (487) ehópá ts-áka 'my fish'
 ekaáró ts-áu 'your cars'
 ekofiyó ts-áwe 'his hats'
 eraáshtáká ts-ihũ 'our sandals'
 enúpá ts-ínyu 'your houses'
 ekaláwá ts-áya 'their boats'

- (488) a. ki-m-phéélá ekamisá e-pasar-aly-áaka
 1SG-PRES.CJ-want 9.shirt 9-iron-PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
 'I want the shirt that I ironed'
- b. ki-m-phéélá ekanetá tsi-ki-vah-aly-ááwé
 1SG-PRES.CJ-want 10.pens 10.1SG-give-PERF.REL-POSS.1
 'I want the pens that he gave me'
- * ekaneta tsi-ki-vah-ale-ts-awe
 10.pens 10-1SG-give-PERF.REL-10-POSS.1

In addition to the possessive subject pronoun, a lexical "subject" may also be present, which is flexible with respect to position. In the object relative without the possessive subject pronoun, the subject always follows the verb, and is not allowed to precede it (489). When the subject is expressed in the possessive pronoun, the full noun may either follow or precede the relative verb, like *Ali* in (490). The presence of the possessive pronoun also disambiguates the relative with a symmetric verb: example (491) can only be an object relative, with the agent *kwaatu* 'cat' as the subject marked pronominally on the verb.

- (489) a. e-núpá e-tek-ale Hasáání (yuulupále)
 9-house 9-build-PERF.REL 1.Hasan (9.big.PL)
 'the house that Hasan has built (is big)'
- b. * e-núpá Hasáání e-tek-ale (yuulupále)
 9-house 1.Hasan 9-build-PERF.REL (9.big.PL)
 int. 'the house that Hasan has built (is big)'
- (490) a. Mariá oo-wúryá eleetí e-mwarish-aly-ááwe Alí
 1.Maria 1.PERF.DJ-drink 9.milk 9-pour-PERF.REL-POSS.1 1.Ali
 'Maria drank the milk which Ali poured'
- b. Mariá oowúryá eleetí Alí emwarishalyáawe
 Maria drank milk Ali poured
- (491) ki-n-ró-ń-khúúra mwalákhú a-m-vár-ály-áawe kwaátu
 1SG-PRES.CJ-go-1-chew 1.chicken 1.PAST-1-grab-PERF.REL-POSS.1 1.cat
 'I am going to eat the chicken that the cat had caught'

The non-subject relative can also have an adjunct as the head noun, such as a locative or manner adverb. Very often the head noun is left out and the headless relative functions as an adverbial clause. The prefix on the verb is in class 10 with manner adverbs (492)

and (usually) in class 16 with locatives (493). The headless adverbial relative in class 16 often gets a temporal meaning, as in (494).

- (492) (tsiítsó) tsi-ní-ní-wéh-áu (H2.52)
 (that.way) 10-PRES-1-look.REL-POSS.2SG
 ‘exactly the way that/how you see him’
- (493) (wa-tsulú) wa-m-vár-íya ntékó woo-nyákúlihan-íya
 (16-up) 16-PRES-touch-PASS.REL 3.work 16.PERF.DJ-discuss-PASS
 ‘(upstairs) where work is done, there is discussion’
- (494) wa-veny-aly-ááwé mwanámwáne olé
 16-wake.up-PERF.REL-POSS.1 1.child 1.DEM.III
 nhiná moókáfilikha (K4.19)
 18.inside admiration
 ‘when he woke up, the child was very surprised’

Negative relative

The negative relative verb forms are marked by the post-initial negative morpheme *-hi-* (not the pre-initial *kha-*); otherwise they do not differ from the non-relative counterparts. The examples in (495) and (496) show a subject relative in the present, and an object relative in the past perfective conjugation.

- (495) ńtthú m-mots’ oólé o-hi-ń-tsúwelá
 1.person 1-one 1.DEM.III 1-NEG-PRES-know.REL
 orámpelélé mmaátsi-ni (H5.46)
 15.swim 18.water-LOC
 ‘as a person who doesn’t know how to swim in the water’
- (496) mikhóvá ashínámwane tsa-haa-weh-ály-ááya
 4.beads 2.DIM.children 4.PAST-NEG-look-PERF.REL-POSS.2
 ‘the beads which the children had not seen’

The periphrastic negative counterexpectational situative is also used in the relative (497). The auxiliary verb *otthi* (not translatable separate from the conjugation) is inflected as a relative, followed by the infinitive (*owéhíya* ‘to be seen’ in this example).

- (497) ekhómpé tsi-hi-ná-tthi owéh-íya tsi-vith-iny-é vá
 10.shells 10-NEG-yet-do.REL 15.look-PASS 10-hide-PASS-PERF.CJ 16.PRO
 ‘the shells which were not seen yet are hidden here’

Conclusion

This concludes the basic description of the phonology, prosody, nominal and verbal morphology, conjugations and syntactic issues of Makhuwa-Enahara. The next chapters examine the word order and the conjoint/disjoint verb forms in more detail, considering the information structure and discussing possible models to account for the generalisations found.