Shona Nominalization Strategies

Rose-Marie Déchaine
dechaine@mail.ubc.ca

Shona (S10 Southern Bantu) nominalizations are formed via a combination of prefixation and suffixation. The examples in Table 1 illustrate the infinitive (a verbo-nominal form), as well as agentive, instrumental, and event Ns. **Semantically**, these N forms fall into two classes according to whether they're event-denoting (infinitives, event Ns) or entity-denoting (agentive & instrumental Ns). **Phonologically**, prefixes are CV- and Low tone; suffixes are –V and carry the tone of the stem they attach to (Low after L-tone stem; High after H-tone stem). **Morphologically**, prefixes are N-class prefixes that normally appear on N-stems: they mark a combination of number (singular/plural) and N-class features (human, inanimate, abstract, etc.). As for the suffixes, they are "final vowels" that occur after V-stems. (V-stems are always C-final.) The most productive final vowels are *–a*, *–i* and *–o*. **Syntactically**, the prefix selects the form of the suffix (Fortune 1984b), indicating they are sisters. Following Déchaine et al. (2012), the prefix is a nominal Functional head (F), and the final vowel is a categorizing head (K), (1a). The stem raises to a position between the N-class prefix and the suffixal vowel, (1b). Shona nominalizations show a mixture of V and N properties: prefixal morphology is from the N-domain; suffixal morphology is from the V-domain. In addition to simplex bases, nominalizations of extended stems as well as entire VPs are possible. Extended stems are formed with valency-marking "extensional suffixes", which are either valency-reducing (passive *–iw*, reciprocal *–an*) or valency-increasing (applicative *–ir*, causative *–is*). Notably, the interpretation of the extensional suffix is sensitive to nominalization type. For example,*–ir* is construed as applicative with infinitives (2a), but as a manner modifier with instrument nouns, (2b). This difference reflects the convergence of three factors: (i) extensional suffixes are bound roots of –VC shape (Déchaine, Mudzingwa et al. 2012); (ii) affixes attach as heads or adjuncts (Wiltschko 2008); (iii) the head/adjunct contrast is conditioned by the categorizing (K) head. Finally, although infinitives parallel other nominalizations in many respects, their internal syntax is more "verby": they are compatible with object marking (OM), reflexive marking (RM), negation (NEG), and adverbial modification (ADV). This indicates that the stem-domain of infinitives includes more V structure than does the stem-domain of other nominalized forms. Thus, at least four sub-structures are involved in the formation of Shona nominalizations, namely nominalization of: (3a) a simplex C-final stem; (3b) an extended stem; (3c) a VP, i.e. V plus object or VP-internal adjunct; (3d) a *vP* shell. The latter is restricted to infinitives.

infinitive	*kù-*	cl15	INFINITIVE	***kù**-gàr-**à***	'to sit'
agentive	*mù-*	cl1	SG, HUMAN	***mù**-gàr-**ì***	'one who sits'
instrumental/result	*mù-*	cl3	SG, INANIMATE	***mù**-rìdz-**ò***	'whistle' F48
instrumental	[VOICE]-	cl5	SG, MISC.	***dè**m-**ò***	'axe' F52
instrumental	*chì-*	cl7	SG, INANIMATE	***chì**-gàr-**ò***	'chair'
instrumental	N-	cl9	SG	***m**-bát-**ó***	'pincer' F64
eventive	*rù-*	cl11	SG, ABSTRACT	***rù**-gár-**ò***	'habit of sitting'
characteristics	*ù-*	cl14	ABSTRACT	***ù**-fár-**ó***	'width' F77

TABLE 1: EXAMPLES OF SHONA DERIVED VERBO-NOMINALS AND NOMINALIZATIONS

(1) a. [$_F$ **CV**– [$_K$ **–V**] [$_{STEM}$ …C] b. [$_F$ **CV**– [$_{STEM}$ …C] [$_K$ **–V**]

(2) a. *kù-túm-**ír**-á*
CL15-send-APPL-FV
'to send for'

b. *mù-túm-**ír**-ó*
CL3-send-MANN-FV
'way of sending' (F27)

(3) a. [$_F$ CV– [$_K$ –V*a/i/o*] [$_{VB.STEM}$ **…C**]

b. [$_F$ CV– [$_K$ –V*a/o*] [$_{VB.STEM}$ **…C-VC***]

c. [$_F$ CV– [$_K$ –V*a/i/o*] [$_{VP}$ [$_{VB.STEM}$ **CVC**] [**XP**]]

d. [$_F$ kù– [$_K$ –V*a* [$_{vP}$ OM/RM/NEG/ADV [$_{VP}$ [$_{VB.STEM}$ **CVC**] [**XP**]]

Déchaine, R.-M., C. Mudzingwa, et al. (2012). Shona Prefix/Suffix Asymmetry. International Morphology Meeting 15 (11 February 2012). Vienna, Austria.

Fortune, G. (1984b). Shona Grammatical Constructions, Volume 2 (3rd Edition). Harare, Zimbabwe, Mercury Press.

Wiltschko, M. (2008). "The Syntax of Non-inflectional Plural Marking." Natural Language and Linguistic Theory **26**: 639-694.