

CONCORDIAL AGREEMENT IN THE KARONGA DIALECT OF TUMBUKA

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Introduction

Tumbuka is a Bantu language spoken in northern Malawi. The dialect which this research is based upon is the Karonga dialect. The topic I investigate in this paper is the distinctive patterning of concordial agreements in Tumbuka in relation to the various noun classes. This paper is constructed as follows: Section 2 presents a theoretical background of Tumbuka Noun Classes. Section 3 presents and discusses the data in accord to the individual concord sets observed in each noun class. Section 4 presents a detailed analysis of section 3, and addresses the problems encountered throughout my fieldwork. Section 5 is the conclusion. There is an associated appendix with a table of all concordial agreements observed in all attested nouns with respect to their noun class.

1. Theoretical Background

A large part of this research involved the help of our 404 Field Methods language consultant, Siegfried Mkandawire, and H. Leroy Vail's paper "The Noun Classes of Tumbuka" (1971). According to Vail, there are 20 noun classes in Tumbuka. These nouns are first distinguished based on the singular, plural or neutral prefixes each noun stem takes, and are

further distinguished individually on a syntactic/semantic level by sets of concordial prefixes that control grammatical agreement. Thus prefixes in Tumbuka are essential in classifying nouns. These prefixes usually consist of 1 morpheme and take the canonical CV shape. However, there are a few instances in which they appear as zero prefix (Ø-). These are displayed in classes #1a, #1c, #1d, #5 and #9a.

In listing the noun classes, I pursued in the sequence of classes employed in Vail's paper (which follows the Comparative Bantuist's sequence of classes) with additional classes #1c, #1d, #5a, #14a #15a. Furthermore, classes #5 and #11 are conjoined in this paper since they take the same concordial prefixes (i.e: #11 is omitted). Additionally, I do not include classes #16-18 in this paper, for the reason that these classes indicate the motion and/or the situation of nouns by the superimposition of a secondary prefix, which does not have any significance over the grammatical agreement each noun stem takes. Below I have summarized the prefixal system of nouns each noun class takes.

Class #	Prefix	Example	Gloss
1.	mu-	mu.nthu	person
	m-(syllabic)	m.sepuka	boy
	mw-	mw.imbi	singer
	m-	m.wana	child
1a.	Ø-	Ø.dada	dad
2.	wa-	wa.nthu	people
	w-	w.imbi	singers
	Ø-	Ø.wana	children
2a.	wa-	wa.dada	dads
3.	mu-	mu.tu	head
	m-(syllabic)	m.tima	heart
	mw-	mw.ezi	moon/month
	m-	m.oto	fire
4.	mi-	mi.tu	heads
	my-	my.ezi	moons/months
5.	Ø-	Ø.buku	book
	li-	li.zgo	word

	ji-	ji.so	eye
	j-	j.ino	tooth
6.	ma-	ma.buku	books
	m-	m.ino	teeth
7.	č-	č.alo	country
	či-	či.wanga	bone
8.	vy-	vy.alo	countries
	v-	v.openta	paintings
	vi-	vi.wanga	bones
9.	NC-	ny.umba	house/s
10.	(zi).NC-	(zi)ny.umba	house/s
12.	ka-	ka.lundi	leg
13.	tu-	tu.yuni	little birds (belittling)
14.	u-	u.siku	night
	w-	w.uči	honey
15.	ku-	ku.panikizgika	panic

3. Data

This section presents the various concordial agreements associated with each noun class in Tumbuka.

3.1 Subject Agreement (SA)

Subject Agreement in Tumbuka occur in grammatical relation with noun classes and are indicated (here) before the radical of a verb (Vroot = /-won/). In other words, verbs are inflected for subject agreement in association with each noun class.

Verb Structure: [SA + Vroot + /-a/]

the verb suffix /-a/ indicates mood/aspect (Warren; 2004)

To simplify matter/structure, I employ the verb ‘kuwona’ (to see) in all the examples. The use of different verbs does not present any difference or affect SA. In relation to Warren (2004) the examples I have obtained here, from S. Mkandawire do not contain the present tense agreement /-ku-/ between the SA and the Vroot. I thus, assume

and analyze that tense agreement in the present is optional when the subject of a sentence is nominal, but is called for when the subject is a personal pronoun. Examples are provided below where tense agreement is indicated in caps (the period ./ indicates morpheme boundary) :

- (i.) ti-KU-gon-a (we are sleeping)
- (ii.) o-KU-mw-a (he is drinking)
- (iii.) mu.nthu O-gon-a (the person is sleeping)

It is important to note that there is a singular/plural correlation between class #1 and #2, and between class #1a and #2a. As seen below, SA of class #1/#1a is indicated by the concordial prefix /o-/, and /ôo-/ for class #2/#2a. Exceptions to this pattern are addressed in section 4.

Class #	Gloss
(1) mu.nthu O-won-a (2) ŵa.nthu ŴO-won-a	(the person/s is/are seeing)
(1) mw.imbi O-won-a (2) ŵ.imbi ŴO-won-a	(the singer/s is/are seeing)
(1) m.wana O-won-a (2) Ø.ŵana ŴO-won-a	(the child/ren is/are seeing)
(1a) Ø.dada O-won-a (2a) ŵa.dada ŴO-won-a	(the dad/s is/are seeing)

Class #3 and #4 are correlated in the same manner as class #1 and #2 above. The SA for class #3 is /wu-/ and for class #4 is /yu-/ as observed below:

Class #	Gloss
(3) mu.tu WU-won-a (4) mi.tu YU-won-a	(the head/s is/are

seeing)

(3) m.tima WU-won-a (4) mi.tima YU-won-a (the heart/s is/are seeing)

(3) mw.ezi WU-won-a (4) my.ezi YU-won-a (the moon/s is/are seeing)

Class # 5 and #6 are correlated in grammatical number. The SA for class #5 is /lu-/ and for class #6 is /yo-/.

Class #	Gloss
(5) Ø.buku LU-won-a (6) ma.buku YO-won-a	(the book/s is/are seeing)
(5) lu.wâ LU-won-a (6) ma.luwâ YO-won-a	(the flower/s is/are seeing)
(5) li.zgo LU-won-a (6) ma.zgo YO-won-a	(the word/s is/are seeing)
(5) ji.so LU-won-a (6) ma.so YO-won-a	(the eye/s is/are seeing)

Class #7 and #8 are correlated in grammatical number. The SA for class #7 is /čû-/ and /vu-/ for class #8.

Class #	Gloss
(7) č.alo ČU-won-a (8) vy.alo VU-won-a	(the country/ies is/are seeing)
(7) č.openta ČU-won-a (8) v.openta VU-won-a	(the painting/s is/are seeing)
(7) či.wanga ČU-won-a (8) vi.wanga VU-won-a	(the bone/s is/are seeing)

seeing)

Additionally, the prefix /č̣i-/ of class #7 can take an augmentative meaning when it is conjoined to another class of nouns.

Class #	Gloss	/č̣i-/ + noun	Gloss
(9) ny.umba	(house/s)	č̣i.nyumba	(1 big house)
(12) ka.yuni	(bird)	č̣i.yuni	(1 big bird)

Nouns of Class #9 and #10 are neutral nouns. In contrast to Vail's sequence of classes, I segregate these neutral nouns which take Nasal-Consonant /NC-/ Cluster prefixes (class#9) from ones which take zero prefixes /Ø-/ (class#9a). Despite the fact that these nouns do not have correlative singular or plural forms (i.e: the prefixal distribution is identical whether they take the singular or plural forms), an additional prefix /zi-/ (class #10 and #10a) may optionally be conjoined to stress plurality. Otherwise, this additional element does not seem to have any semantic significance. Class #9/#9a take the SA /yu-/ and class #10/#10a take the SA /zu-/ presented below:

Class #	Gloss
(9) ny.umba YU-won-a	(10) (zi)ny.umba ZU-won-a (the house/s is/are seeing)
(9) mb.uzi YU-won-a	(10) (zi)mb.uzi ZU-won-a (the goat/s is/are seeing)
(9a) Ø.tč̣eŵe YU-won-a	(10a) (zi)tč̣eŵe ZU-won-a (the dog/s is/are seeing)
(9a) Ø.somba YU-won-a	(10a) (zi)somba ZU-won-a (the fish/es is/are seeing)

In Vail's sequence of classes, class #11 takes the prefix /lu-/ (e.g: lu.ŵa (flower) and lu.so (skill/talent)). However, I have omitted this class in this paper since their prefixal distribution is identical to that of class #5, and similarly take the correlative plural form in class #6.

I have, therefore, conjoined this class with class #5.

Class #12 takes the singular prefix /ka-/ and take the correlative plural form in classes #6 and #8. The SA for class #12 is /ko-/ indicated below:

Class #	Gloss
(12) ka.yuni KO-won-a	(8) vi.yuni VU-won-a (the bird is/are seeing)
(12) ka.lundi KO-won-a	(6) ma.lundi YO-won-a (the leg/s is/are seeing)
(12) ka.woko KO-won-a	(6) ma.woko YO-won-a (the arm/hand/wrist/s is/are seeing)

Class #13 takes the plural prefix /tu-/. I was unable to encounter any correlative singular forms of this class, and I am unsure if they exist in the manner Vail describes in his paper (p.51). The SA for class #13 is /tu-/. Additionally, Vail's nouns of this class take the diminutive meaning, which I was only able to encounter once, in the word below:

Class #	Gloss
(13) tu.yuni TU-won-a	(the little birds are seeing)

Class #14 is generally singular, but can also take the neutral form. Additionally, the prefixal distribution /w-/ occurs before vowel commencing stems, and /u-/ before consonants (Vail; 1971). It is important to note that the correlative plural form is rarely used, and takes the form in class #6. The SA for class #14 is /wu-/.

Class #	Gloss
(14) u.ta WU-won-a	(6) ma.uta YO-won-a (the bow/s is/are seeing)
(14) w.uči WU-won-a	----- (the honey is/are seeing)

It is also interesting to note that nouns of this class, which take the /w-/

prefix seem to take the neutral form, and those which take the /u-/ prefix seem to have a correlative plural form in class #6.

In Vail's sequence of classes, nouns of class #15 are all verbal infinitives (p.52-53). The SA of this class is /ku-/.

Class #

(15) ku.nyuma KU-won-a (15a) ku.ma.nyuma KU-won-a (the back/s is/are seeing)

(15) ku.thukila KU-won-a (the warmth/s is/are seeing)

(15) ku.panikizgika KU-won-a (the panic/s is/are seeing)

(15) ku.pambano KU-won-a (the disagreement/s is/are seeing)

However, not all verbal infinitives of this class can also take the form of a noun. The following are words which fall under class #15 according to Vail.

/k-/ >/_o
k.otča (to burn)
k.opa (to fear)
k.opsya (to terrify) [kofiya]

/kw-/ >/_[i,e,a]
kw.iza (to come)
kw.antha (to scratch/itch)
kw.imba (to sing)
kw.imilira (to stand)
kw.iba (to steal)
kw.enda (to walk)

/ku-/ >/_C

3.2 Adjective Agreement (AA)

Adjective Agreement in Tumbuka occurs according to noun classes and is indicated (here) before the radical of an adjective: (AdjRoot = /-čoko/).

The general structure is: [AA + AdjRoot]

Class #	Gloss
(1) mu.nthu MU-čoko (2) ŵa.nthu ŴA-čoko	(small person/people)
(1a) Ø.dada MU-čoko (2a) ŵa.dada ŴA-čoko	(small dad/s)
(3) mu.tu WU-čoko (4) mi.tu YI-čoko	(small head/s)
(5) Ø.buku LI-čoko (6) ma.buku LA-čoko	(small book/s)
(7) či.wanga ČI-čoko (8) vi.wanga VI-čoko	(small bone/s)
(9) ny.umba YI-čoko (10) (zi)ny.umba ZI-čoko	(small house/s)
(9a) Ø.tčēwē YI-čoko (10a) (zi).tčēwē ZI-čoko	(small dog/s)
(12) ka.lundi KA-čoko	(small leg)
(13) tu.yuni TU-čoko	(small little birds)
(14) u.ta WU-čoko	(small bow/s)
(14) w.uči WU-čoko	(small honey)
(15) ku.nyuma KU-čoko (15a) ku.ma.nyuma KU-čoko	(small back/s)
(15) ku.panikizgika KU-čoko	(small panic)

3.3 Possessive Agreement ‘of’ (PA)

Possessive Agreement in Tumbuka occurs according to noun classes and is indicated (here) before the suffixal morpheme /-a/. It is important to note that the number of the possessor and other aspects of the possessor do not have any significant effect on the distribution of PA. In other words, Possessor Agreements are not inflected for agreement with possessors but are inflected for agreement with the possessed nouns, in terms of its noun class. Thus, for example, Ø.buka L-a m.limi (book of farmer) and Ø.buka L-a čĩ.wuta (book of god) the PA /l-/ is not inflected for the possessor but rather in accordance to the class. Additionally, the suffixal morpheme /-a/ indicates possessive (here), and changes depending on the context, but the prefixal distribution of PA or the noun, never alternates. Thus, skill of painting would be ‘lu.so Lo penta’ and beauty of painting would be ‘ntowa Yo penta’, where the suffix /-o/ indicates the feature/quality of something rather than indicating that something belongs to someone or is part of someone.

Class #	Gloss
(1) mu.nthu Wa m.limi (person/people of farmer)	(2) w̃a.nthu W̃a m.limi
(1a) Ø.dada Wa m.limi farmer)	(2a) w̃a.dada W̃a m.limi (dad/s of
(3) mu.tu Wa m.limi farmer)	(4) mi.tu Ya m.limi (head/s of
(5) Ø.buku La m.limi farmer)	(6) ma.buku Ya m.limi (book/s of
(5) lu.w̃a La m.limi of farmer)	(6) ma.lu.w̃a Ya m.limi (flower/s

(7) č̣i.wanga Č̣a m.limi of farmer)	(8) vi.wanga Va m.limi	(bone/s
(9) ny.umba Ya m.limi farmer)	(10) (zi)ny.umba Za m.limi	(house/s of
(9a) Ø.tč̣eŵe Ya m.limi farmer)	(10a) (zi).tč̣eŵe Za m.limi	(dog/s of
(12) ka.lundi Ka m.limi		(leg of farmer)
(13) tu.yuni TWa m.limi farmer)		(little birds of
(14) u.ta Wa m.limi farmer)		(bow/s of
(14) w.uči Wa m.limi		(honey of farmer)
(15) ku.thukila KWa m.limi farmer)		(warmth of

3.4 Number Agreement (#A)

Number Agreement in Tumbuka occurs with noun classes and is indicated (here) before the radical of an enumerative:

(#Root (1) = /-moza/ (3)= /-tatu/).

I have employed the numbers ‘1’ for singular and ‘3’ for plural in order to avoid any instances of countable nouns such as “a pair of...”; “a dozen of...”, etc. The general structure is as follows:

[Noun + (#A + #Root)].

Class #(sg)	Gloss	Class #(pl)	Gloss
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- (1) mu.nthu YU-moza (1 person) (2) ŵa.nthu ŴA-tatu (3 people)
- (1a) Ø.dada YU-moza (1 dad) (2a) ŵa.dada ŴA-tatu (3 dads)
- (3) mu.tu WU-moza (1 head) (4) mi.tu YI-tatu (3 heads)
- (5) Ø.buku LI-moza (1 book) (6) ma.buku YA-tatu (3 books)
- (5) lu.ŵa LI-moza (1 flower) (6) ma.luŵa YA-tatu (3 flowers)
- (7) či.wanga ČI-moza (1 bone) (8) vi.wanga VI-tatu (3 bones)
- (9) ny.umba YI-moza (1 house) (10) (zi)ny.umba ZI-tatu (3 houses)
- (9a) Ø.tčēŵe YI-moza (1 dog) (10a) (zi).tčēŵe ZI-tatu (3 dogs)
- (12) ka.lundi KA-moza (1 leg) (13) tu.yuni TU-tatu (3 little birds)
- (14) u.ta WU-moza (1 bow)
- (14) w.uči WU-moza (1 honey)
- (15) ku.nyuma KU-moza (1 back) (15a) ku.ma.nyuma KU-tatu (3 backs)

In comparison to results from Evans (2004) for number agreement in Tumbuka, the results I obtained from S.Mkandawire display more resemblance to the dialect of Henga. The prefixal distribution /wu-/ or /u-/ in classes #3 and #14 seems to have no significance, that is, /wu-/ and /u-/ seem to occur randomly in these two classes. Class #6 has the prefix /ya-/ instead of /gha-/ in the Henga dialect. I did not find the prefix /lu-/ in class #11. Instead, I obtained /li-/ as shown in class #5. Evans (2004) categorizes /li.lime/ (tongue/s) into class #11, with no

correlative plural. However, according to my results, this noun falls under class #5, with its correlative plural in class #6 /ma.lilime/. I thus, have omitted class #11 for reasons that they take the identical concordial pattern distributed in class #5, and additionally, take the correlative plural prefix in class #6.

3.4 Quantifier Agreement (QA)

Quantifier Agreement in Tumbuka occurs according to noun classes and is indicated (here) after the presence of a noun. The QA (quantifier agreement) I use here is ‘every’ for nouns indicating singularity (right column), and ‘all/many’ for plurality (left column). The QA’s are indicated in caps.

The general structure is as follows: [Noun + QA]

Cl.#	Singular	Gloss	Cl.#	Plural	Gloss
(1)	mu.nthu ALIYESE	EVERY person	(2)	ŵa.nthu WOSE	ALL people
(1a)	Ø.dada ALIYESE	EVERY dad	(2a)	ŵa.dada WOSE	ALL dads
(3)	mu.tu WULIWOSE	EVERY head	(4)	mi.tu YOSE	ALL heads
(5)	Ø.buku LILILOSE	EVERY book	(6)	ma.buku YOSE	ALL books
(5)	lu.ŵa LILILOSE	EVERY flower	(6)	ma.luŵa YOSE	ALL flowers
(7)	či.wanga ČILIČOSE	EVERY bone	(8)	vi.wanga VYOSE	ALL bones
(9)	ny.umba YILIYOSE	EVERY house	(10)	(zi)ny.umba ZOSE	ALL houses
(9a)	Ø.tčewē YILIYOSE	EVERY dog	(10a)	(zi).tčewē ZOSE	ALL dogs
(12)	ka.lundi KALIKOSE	EVERY leg	(13)	tu.yuni TOSE	ALL little birds
(14)	u.ta WULIWOSE	EVERY bow			
(14)	w.uči WULIWOSE	EVERY honey			
(15)	ku.nyuma KULIKOSE	EVERY back	(15a)	ku.ma.nyuma KOSE	ALL backs
(15)	ku.thukila KULIKOSE	EVERY warmth	(15a)	ku.thukila KOSE	ALL warmths

4. Analysis

This section of the paper provides a detailed analysis of the 5 concord sets observed in each noun class, in section 3 (3.1-3.5). In the table provided in the appendix, I have included all the nouns collected so far,

and distinguished them accordingly to each class they fall into. However, I have not been able to attest all these nouns to the concord sets due to time constraint, and therefore, there may be exceptions to some of these unattested nouns as I have encountered with during my field work. Such nouns take an ambiguous patterning of concordial agreements and it maybe the case where a few of these unclassified nouns belong to a new class of nouns which have not yet been proposed/identified. The unclassified nouns are as follow:

4.1 Class #1a

Few nouns of this class have correlative plurals in both class #2a and class #6.

Cl. #	'doctor/s'	SA	AA	PA	#A	QA
(1a)	Ø.dokotala	O-won-a	MU-čoko	Wa mlimi	YU-moz a	ALIYESE
(2a)	ŵa.dokotala	ŴO-won-a	ŴA-čoko	Ŵa mlimi	ŴA-tatu	WOSE
(6)	ma.dokotala	YO-won-a	LA-čoko	Ya mlimi	YA-tatu	YOSE

Furthermore, the following nouns of this class additionally have correlative singular forms in class #9a, as well as correlative plural forms in class #10a.

Cl.#	'king/s'	SA	AA	PA	#A	QA
(1a)	Ø.fumu	O-won-a	MU-čoko	Wa mlimi	YU-moza	ALIYESE
(9a)	Ø.fumu	YU-won-a	YI-čoko	Ya mlimi	YI-moza	YILIOS E
(2a)	ŵa.fumu	ŴO-won-a	ŴA-čoko	Ŵa mlimi	ŴA-tatu	WOSE
(10a)	(zi).fumu	ZU-won-a	ZI-čoko	Za mlimi	ZI-tatu	ZOSE
(6)	ma.fumu	YO-won-a	LA-čoko	Ya mlimi	YA-tatu	YOSE

My question here is whether or not there is any semantic significance between the singular noun classes #1a and #9a, and among the plural forms #2a, #6, and #10a. Another noun that acts like 'king/s' is the noun 'witness/es.' However, the plural form for 'witness' does not appear to have any correlative plural form in class #6. It is also interesting to note that this noun takes the prefixal distribution /ŵaka-/

(see appendix). I am not sure as to whether this /-ka-/ is an infix or a superimposed secondary prefix having some sort of diminutive, augmentative and/or insulting significance. This similarly applies to the noun /ku.ma.nyuma/ (backs) discussed in section 3.5.

4.2 /Ø.ayisi/ (ice) and /w.ogha/ (mushroom/s)

These two nouns are nouns which I had the most difficulty in classifying. First of all, ‘ayisi’ in principal, should not fall under classes #1a, #3 nor #14 since it is neither a person, or take the typical prefixal distribution /w-/, /u-/, or /mu-, m-, mw-/ of classes #3 and #14. Nevertheless, this noun randomly follows the concordial pattern of these classes (mainly class #1a) with its’ correlative plural form in class #6. However, this plural form /ma.ayisi/ is only used when there is necessity to indicate plurality. Otherwise this form is rarely used.

Cl.#	‘ice/s’	SA	AA	PA	#A	QA
(1a)	Ø.ayisi	O-won-a	MU-čoko	Wa mlimi	YU-moza	ALIYESE
(3)	Ø.ayisi	----- -	----- --	Wa mlimi	----- -	----- --
(14)	Ø.ayisi	----- -	----- --	Wa mlimi	----- -	----- --
(6)	ma.ayisi	YO-won-a	LA-čoko	Ya mlimi	YA-tatu	YOSE

Similarly, the noun /w.ogha/ (mushroom/s) in principal should follow the concordial pattern of class #14, occasionally displays concordial agreements of classes #1a, #3, #14, as well as an unknown class with its’ correlative plural forms in classes #4 and/or #6 listed below as (4/6).

Cl.#	‘mushroom/s’	SA	AA	PA	#A	QA
(1a)	w.ogha	-----	-----	Wa mlimi	YU-moza	ALIYESE
(3)	w.ogha	WU-won-a	WU-čoko	Wa mlimi	----- -	----- -
(14)	w.ogha	WU-won-a	WU-čoko	Wa mlimi	----- -	----- -
(4/6)	w.ogha	-----	-----	-----	----- -	YOSE
(?)	w.ogha	-----	-----	-----	MU-tatu	----- -

Regarding the observation presented above, I can only speculate that these two nouns ‘ayisi’ and ‘w.ogha’ belong to a new noun class. Furthermore, I note that the concordial patterning of class #14 is identical to that of class #3 and thus, I am unsure as to whether class #14 exists, and if not, whether some form of a subcategory exists in class #3. Additionally, it is worthy to note that nouns of class #14 which take the /w-/ prefix are typically neutral in accord to grammatical number, and singular when its’ prefix is /u-/ with a correlative plural form in class #6.

My other hypothesis for the noun ‘w.ogha’ is that it belongs to the class which ‘watčito’, ‘wogwiliša’ and ‘wovina’ (worker/s, user/s, and dancer/s) belong to (see appendix). However, further research on the concordial patterning of these three nouns needs to be done in order to clarify whether they would take the same patterns as displayed with ‘wogha’.

4.3 Uncountable Nouns: Oil, Vegetable/s, Water, and Medicine/Medication

The nouns ‘ma.futa, ma.samba, ma.ji, and ma.nkhwala’ are neutral nouns of class #6.

Cl.#	Nouns		AA	#A (1 of..)	#A (3 of..)	QA ‘every’	QA ‘all’
(5)	Ø.futa	(oil)	LI-čoko	LI-moza	----- -	LILIOSE	----- -
(6)	ma.futa	(oil/s)	YA-čoko	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOS E	YOSE
(6)	ma.samba	(vegetable/s)	YA-čoko	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOS E	YOSE
(6)	ma.ji	(water/s)	YA-čoko	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOS E	YOSE
(6)	ma.nkhwal a	(medicine/s)	YA-čoko	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOS E	YOSE

In English, these nouns are for the most part are uncountable. However, in Tumbuka of the Karonga dialect, the noun for ‘oil’ [ma.futa], can also take the rare singular form /Ø.futa/ which falls under class #5. Furthermore, the neutral nouns ‘ma.samba’ (vegetable/s), ‘ma.ji’ (water), and ‘ma.nkhwala’ (medicine/medication), seem to take some sort of subclass where the Qualifier Agreement ‘every’ takes the form

‘yaliyose’ instead of ‘lililose’ or other forms of the neutral classes ‘yiliyose’ (#9) and ‘wuliwose’ (#14). This also seems to apply in the singular Number Agreement, where ‘1 vegetable’ is ‘masamba YA-moza’ instead of ‘masamba LI-moza.’ However, it may be the case that the concordial prefix /ya-/ comes from the plural Number Agreement ‘masamba YA-tatu’ (3 vegetables). In other words, my guess is that these neutral nouns of class #6 contrive a revised concordial form in order to resolve the problem when singularity is called for/indicated. This is to say that, the concordial prefix of class #6 is superimposed on to the concordial prefix of class #5, and thus ‘YA-moza’ instead of ‘LI-moza’. However, the Qualifier Agreement, ‘yaliyose’ still remains unresolved, since it takes none of the concordial patterns of any class observed.

4.4 ‘Medicine/Medication’

The noun for ‘medicine/medication’ can take 3 various forms presented in the table below:

Cl.#	‘medicine’	SA	AA	PA	#A (1of..) (3 of..)	QA ‘every’	‘all’
(*3)	mu.nkhwal a	N/A	WU-čok o	Wa mlimi	WU-moza *WO-tat u	WULIWOS E	*YOS E
(4)	mi.nkhwal a	YU-won- a	YI-čoko	Ya mlimi	----- YI-tatu	----- --	YOSE
(6)	ma.nkhwal a	YO-won- a	YA-čoko	Ya mlimi	*YA-moz YA-tatu a	*YALIYOS E	YOSE

The problem I encountered here is that, /mu.nkhwala/ in the singular noun class #3 can also take a correlative plural form besides class #4. This ambiguous form is indicated in asterisks (*) above in the columns for Number Agreement (#A) and Qualifier Agreement (QA). Initially I thought that these data were incorrect, but apparently when I checked with Siegfried, these concords displayed above are all possible forms. Therefore I am guessing that /mu.nkhwala/ takes the neutral form in grammatical number of noun, and possibly belongs to some sort of subclass of class #3. It will also be interesting to question whether there is any semantic difference among the 3 various forms of ‘medicine’.

4.5 /Ø.galimoto/ ‘car’ and /Ø.sisi/ ‘hair’

In contrast to English, where ‘hair’ is (for the most part) an uncountable noun, in Tumbuka, ‘sisi’ falls under the singular form in class #5 and oddly takes the correlative plural form in the neutral noun class #10a instead of class #6. The confusion here with this noun is that it does not have the prefixal distribution of the neutral class #9a, but instead in class #5, and yet its correlative plural form is in the neutral class #10a ‘(zi).sisi.’ It is the only noun of this class (#5), which behaves this way (see appendix), and all other nouns of this class take the correlative plural in class #6. Furthermore, there is an interesting encounter in the distribution of QA (Qualifier Agreement) where ‘all hairs’ can take the form ‘sisi ZOSE’ (class #10a) and ‘sisi LOSE’, which belongs to none of the concordial pattern of any class observed. Again, I am wandering if there is any semantic difference whether one uses ‘sisi LOSE’ or ‘sisi ZOSE’, and whether ‘LOSE’ is a qualifier agreement of another new class. However, it is also possible to speculate that ‘LOSE’ (all) may be a superimposition of the concordial prefix /l-/ of class #5 onto the correlative plural prefix of class #6 /Y-ose/ becoming /L-ose/. (This concept is similar to the #A that occurs in the uncountable nouns of class #6, where ‘ma.samba YA-moza’ (1 vegetable) does not take the hypothetical form ‘ma.samba LI-moza’ described in 4.3).

Cl.#	‘hair’	SA	AA	PA	#A	QA ‘every’	‘all’
(5)	Ø.sisi	LU-won-a	LI-čoko	La mlimi	LI-moza	LILILOSE	*LOSE
(10a)	(zi).sisi	ZU-won-a	ZI-čoko	Za mlimi	ZI-tatu	----- -	ZOSE

Similarly, ‘galimoto’ takes the plural prefixal distribution in class #6, yet its’ correlative singular form is in the neutral class #9a, not class #5. Again this is unexpected because nouns of this class (#9a) are typically neutral in distribution of grammatical number, and only take the correlative prefix /zi-/ when stressing plurality of a noun in an ambiguous/doubtful context (class #10a). Instead this noun ‘galimoto’ takes its’ correlative plural in class #6 ‘ma.galimoto’ not ‘zi.galimoto’ in class #10a.

4.6 Class #15

This neutral noun class is not very clear in general, partly because

there is not enough data. Nevertheless, I discuss the problems encountered in this class. In section 3.1 I addressed the issue of the infix /-ma-/ which appears in the plural form of the noun for ‘back’ /ku.ma.nyuma/. A similar issue appears with the plural noun /w̄a.ka.boni/ (witnesses), and /ku.panikizg.ik.a/ (panic/s). My guess is that these ‘infixations’ are superimposed secondary prefixes, which have an augmentative significance. The main problem with class #15 is that depending on the concord set, some of these nouns are able to take /ku-/ or /Ø-/ or both, as its’ basic prefix. Such are nouns for ‘panic’ and ‘warmth’. However, this sort of prefixal distribution does not seem to apply to other nouns of this class. For example, /ku.nyuma/ (back) requires the basic prefix /ku-/ throughout all concord sets, and never appears as ‘Ø.nyuma kulikose’ (*every back). Furthermore, it seems like neither ‘ku.nyuma KOSE’ nor ‘ku.ma.nyuma KULIKOSE’ are possible forms in Tumbuka. In other words, one can say ‘ku.thukila KULIKOSE’ or ‘Ø.thukila KULIKOSE’ meaning ‘every warmth’ and similarly say ‘ku.thukila KOSE’ or ‘Ø.thukila KOSE’ to mean ‘all warmth/s’ but this pattern is not observed in the noun for ‘back/s’. It thus seems like /ku.ma.nyuma/ only appears when the plurality of a noun is indicated, and /ku.nyuma/ does not have the same neutral significance as other nouns of this class, listed below:

Cl.#	Nouns		SA	AA	PA	#A	QA ‘every’	‘all
(15)	ku.nyuma	(back)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	-----
(15a)	ku.ma.nyum a	(backs)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-tatu	----- --	KOSE
(15)	ku.thukila	(warmth)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	KOSE
(15)	Ø.thukila	(“)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o *PA-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	KOSE
(15)	ku.panikizgi ka	(panic/s)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	KOSE
(15)	Ø.panikizga	(“)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	KOSE
(15)	ku.pambano	(disagreement /s)	KU-won- a	KU-čok o	KW a	KU-moz a	KULIKOS E	KOSE
(4)	mi.pambano	(“)	YU-won- a	YI-čoko	Ya	YI-tatu	----- --	YOSE
(9a)	Ø.phambano	(“)	YU-won- a	YI-čoko	Ya	YI-moz a	YILIOS E	----- -
(10a)	(zi).phamba no	(“)	ZU-won- a	ZI-čoko	Za	ZI-tatu	----- --	ZOSE

The noun ‘Ø.thukila’ (warmth) can take the either prefix /KU-čoko/ or /PA-čoko/. I do not have any idea as to why /PA-čoko/ appears, nor what concordial class it falls under. The noun ‘disagreement/s’ takes the basic prefix /ku-/ as well as the zero prefix /Ø-/ in classes #9a and #10a. This pattern seems a little odd considering that the nouns ‘panic/s’ and ‘warmth/s’ also take the basic zero prefix but can both fall under class #15.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, I have observed the following patterns of concordial agreements in relation to the various noun classes in Tumbuka of the Karonga dialect (indicated **(k)** in bold). Additionally, I compare my results to the Henga dialect (Vail; 1971; sec.3.4.0 pg.56 ‘Chart of Concords’) indicated **(h)**. Asterisks (*) indicate difference.

5.1 Summary of Concordial Patterns in Tumbuka of the Karonga dialect in comparison to the Henga dialect (Vail; 1971)

Cl.#	SA (k)	SA (h)	AA (k)	AA(h)	PA (k)	PA (h)	#A (k)	#A (h)	QA(k)
1	O-	*wa-	MU-	mu-	W-	w-	YU-	yu-	ALIYESE
1a	O-	*wa-	MU-	mu-	W-	w-	YU-	yu-	ALIYESE
2	ŴO-	*ŵa-	ŴA-	ŵa-	Ŵ-	ŵ-	ŴA-	ŵa-	WOSE
2a	ŴO-	*ŵa-	ŴA-	ŵa-	Ŵ-	ŵ-	ŴA-	ŵa-	WOSE
3	WU-	wu-	WU-	wu-	W-	w-	WU-	wu-	WULIWOS E
4	YU-	*yi-	YI-	yi-	Y-	y-	YI-	yi-	YOSE
5	LU-	*li-	LI-	li-	L-	l-	LI-	li-	LILILOSE
6	YO-	*gha-	LA-	*gha-	Y-	y-	YA-	*gha-	YOSE
7	ČU-	*či-	ČI-	či-	Č-	č-	ČI-	či-	ČILICŎSE
8	VU-	*vi-	VI-	vi-	VY-/V-	*vy-	VI-	vi-	VYOSE
9/9a	YU-	*yi-	YI-	yi-	Y-	y-	YI-	yi-	YILIOSE
10/10a	ZU-	*zi-	ZI-	zi-	Z-	z-	ZI-	zi-	ZOSE
12	KO-	*ka-	KA-	ka-	K-	k-	KA-	ka-	KALIKOSE
13	TU-	tu-	TU-	tu-	TW-	tw-	TU-	tu-	TOSE
14	WU-	wu-	WU-	wu-	W-	w-	WU-	wu-	WULIWOS E
15	KU-	ku-	KU-	ku-	KW-	kw-	KU-	ku-	KULIKOSE
15a	KU-	ku-	KU-	ku-	KW-	kw-	KU-	ku-	KOSE

I omit class #11 since nouns of this class follow the same concordial pattern as class #5 as well as correlative plurals in class #6. The same behavior appears in classes #3 and #14. However, I distinguish these two classes because class #3 have correlative plural forms in class #4 but nouns of class #14 are either neutral in grammatical number or have correlative plurals in class #6. Exceptions to the above nouns are summarized in the table below.

Cl.#	Nouns		SA	AA	PA	#A (1of...)	(3 of...)	QA
1a	Ø.dada	(dad)	O-	MU-	W-	YU-	-----	ALIYESE
1?	Ø.ayisi	(ice)	O-	MU-	W-	YU-	-----	ALIYESE
14	w.uči	(honey)	WU-	WU-	W-	WU-	-----	WULIWOSE
14	w.ogha (neutral)	(mushroom/s)	WU-	WU-	W-	*YU-moz a	*MU-tat u	*ALIYESE
4	mi.nkhwala	(medicines)	YU-	YI-	Y-	----- -	YI-tatu	YOSE
?	mu.nkhwala (sg)	(medicine)	WU-	WU-	W-	WU-moza	-----	WULIWOSE
?	mu.nkhwala (pl)	(medicines)	-----	-----	---	----- -	*WO-tat u	YOSE
6	ma.buku	(books)	YO-	LA-	Y-	----- -	YA-tatu	YOSE
6	ma.nkhwala	(medicine/s)	YO-	*YA -	Y-	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOSE/YOSE
6	ma.samba	(vegetable/s)	YO-	*YA -	Y-	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOSE/YOSE
6	ma.futa	(oil/s)	YO-	*YA -	Y-	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOSE/YOSE
6	ma.ji	(water/s)	YO-	*YA -	Y-	*YA-moz a	YA-tatu	*YALIYOSE/YOSE
10a	(zi).sumu	(song/s)	ZU-	ZI-	Z-	----- -	ZI-tatu	ZOSE
10a	(zi).sisi	(hair/s)	ZU-	ZI-	Z-	----- -	ZI-tatu	*LOSE/ZOSE
15	ku.nyuma	(back)	KU-	KU-	KW-	KU-moza	----- -	KULIKOSE
15a	*ku.ma.nyuma	(backs)	KU-	KU-	KW-	----- -	KU-tatu	KOSE
15	ku.towa	(beauty/ies)	KU-	KU-	KW-	KU-moza	KU-tatu	KULIKOSE/KOSE

Further research on these nouns, as well as other unattested nouns, will probably be helpful in clarifying these strange concordial patterns. My speculation is that /ayisi/ belongs to some unidentified noun class which takes vowel commencing prefixes, and /w.ogha/ is in some way correlated in this class as well as in class #14. As discussed in section

4, I also hypothesize that there are subclasses in classes #6 and #15. Finally, the existence of 'LOSE' is unclear. It would be interesting to investigate whether there are other nouns that can take this form, and whether there is any semantic significance between 'sisi LOSE' and 'sisi ZOSE'.

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