

Demonstratives in Mozambican Ngoni

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1. Introduction 1.1. Language and people



1. Introduction 1.1. Language and people

- Bantu N10:
agglutinative, noun class system, “verby”
- around 50 000 speakers in Mozambique

1. Introduction 1.2. Orthography

- vowels:
 \hat{o}, \hat{e} = closed mid vowels
 o, e = open mid vowels
- consonants:
 $x = [ʃ]$
 $ny = [ɲ]$
 $ng' = [ŋ]$

2. Demonstratives

“Demonstratives function to establish joint attention.”
Diessel 2012: 1

- exophoric
- endophoric

2. Ngoni demonstratives

Demonstrative forms found in class 1:

*jônojo, jônajola, jôla, jôni, jô, jônijola, ajô, jôjo, =ôjo,
jônijo, jôjojo, jônijoni, jônjo, jôno, =ô, jwa jô, jônajo,
ajôjo, jôlajola, jônjoni, jôlajo, jwa jôla, jônnojola,*

2. Ngoni demonstratives

Basic forms:

jôni, jônjoni, jônojo, =ôjo, jôla, jwa jôla

2. Ngoni demonstratives

Diessel 1999:

- Morphology
- Semantics
- Syntax
- Pragmatic use
- Grammaticalization

2.1. Morphology

cl.1 (ju-) <i>jôla</i>	cl.2 (va-) <i>vala</i>	
cl.3 (u-) <i>wôla</i>	cl.3 (i-) <i>yêla</i>	
cl.5 (li-) <i>lêla</i>	cl.6 (ga-) <i>gala</i>	
cl.7 (xi-) <i>xêla</i>	cl.8 (hi-) <i>hêla</i>	
cl.9 (ji-) <i>jêla</i>	cl.10 (i-) <i>yêla</i>	
cl.11 (lu-) <i>lôla</i>		cl.16 (pa-) <i>pala</i>
cl.14 (u-) <i>wôla</i>		cl.17 (ku-) <i>kôla</i>
cl.15 (ku-) <i>kôla</i>		cl.18 (mu-) <i>môla</i>

2.2. Semantics

exophoric use of demonstratives

- proximal I: *jôni*
- proximal II: *jônjoni*
- medial: *jônojo, =ôjo,*
- distal I: *jôla*
- distal II: *jwa jôla*

2.2. Semantics

- Proximal 1: near speaker with physical contact
xitabu xêni this book (in my hand)
- Proximal 2: general near speaker
xitabu xênjeni this book (on the table in front
of me)

2.2. Semantics

- Medial: near hearer
xitabu xênexe that book (near you)
or:
xitabw=êxe

2.2. Semantics

- Distal 1: far
mikongo yêla those trees

- Distal 2: far, but in view
mikongo ya yêla those trees over there

2.3. Syntax

- Syntactical function
- Word order

2.3. Syntax

- pronominally and adnominally - same form
- except medial: pronominally always *jônojo*
 =ôjo used only adnominally

2.3. Syntax

- Cl.1/2 independent medial demonstratives used as third person pronouns:

	SG	SG short	PL	PL short
1st	<i>nenga</i>	<i>ne'</i>	<i>twenga</i>	<i>twe'</i>
2nd	<i>mwenga</i>	<i>mwe'</i>	<i>mwenga</i>	<i>mwe'</i>
3rd	<i>jônojo</i>	<i>jôno'</i>	<i>vênavá</i>	<i>vêna'</i>

2.3. Syntax

Aka-ve' mu-nalôme, n-nupata-ji ...
 1.PST-be 1-man 1-hunt-1.NMLZ
 There was a man, a hunter ...

Jôno' aka-ve' na-hana=mundu va w-ivo.
 he/1.DEM.M 1.PST-be with.1a-wife=his 2.of 14-jealousy
 He had a jealous wife.

H2.1-2

2.3. Syntax

A-tati=mundu naku' pa-ka-hi-manyá
 1a-father=her NEG 16.REL.1-PST-8-know
 Her father did not know

kutenda vêna' a-vi' ni u-kimwi.
 that 2.DEM.M 1-be.PFV with 14-HIV
 that **she** had AIDS.

K.15

2.3. Syntax

A-tati=mundu naku' pa-ka-hi-manya
1a-father=her NEG 16.REL.1-PST-8-know
Her father did not know

kutenda vena' a-vi' ni u-kimwi.
that 2.DEM.M 1-be.PFV with 14-HIV
that he had AIDS.

K.15

2.3. Syntax

word order in the noun phrase

X-akandavi xênexê ... u-jomok-i' papa' pêna'.
7-story 7.DEM.M 14-end-APL.PFV 16.very 16.DEM.M
This story ends really here.

H6.55

2.3. Syntax

circum demonstratives

Xêne' x-akandav=êxe, ne' xi-jomwike.
7.DEM.M 7-story=7.DEM.M I 7-finish.PFV
This story, I have finished.

2.3. Syntax

Xênje' x-akandavi x-a n-zee Kavanga...
7.DEM.P1 7-story 7-of 1-old man K.
This is the story of old Kavanga ...

H5.1

2.3. Syntax

phrase finally

...ngati hi-ndu [y-a nga-li y-amboni]
like 8-thing 8-of NEG-be 8-good

[y-a-memina' va-ndw]=êhe.
8.REL-2-eat.IPFV 2-people=8.DEM.M

...like those bad things that people were eating.

2.3. Syntax

- main position: phrase finally
- up to 3 DEMs in one NP:
pre-nominally, post-nominally, phrase finally

Jôno' mw-an=ô' [jw-a-pala ku-pwag]=ô',...
1.DEM.M child=1.DEM.M 1-REL-1-want INF-be born=1.DEM.M

»The child that is about to be born, ...« K.7

2.4. Pragmatics

Use of adnominal demonstratives in narrative texts

	Prox. I	Prox. II	Med.	Dist. I	Dist. II
Dialogue	11	1	64	5	
Text			22	127	

2.4.2. Distal I: anaphoric reference

A-xokola mw-ana=mundu li-koxi jôla.
1-start 1-child=his 5-chief 1.DEM.D1
The child of the chief started. H10.53

Mw-ana jô' a-jomboka ,...
1-child 1.DEM.D1 1-cross over
The child crossed over,... H10.59

2.4.2. Distal I: anaphoric reference

»*Xi-lau x-aka-himingan-i ku-ndagala...*«
7-tomorrow 1PL-ITI-meet-SBJ 17-9.initiation rite
»Tomorrow we'll meet at the place of initiation rites...«

...*ni ku-jau' kônoko' ku-ndagala kôla...*
and 15-go 17.DEM.D1 17-9.initiation rite 17.DEM.D1
...and going to the very place of initiation rites,...
H10.11-13

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts - associative anaphora

A-hamua ku-jingi'-jingi' n-nyumba môla.
1/2-decide 15-enter-enter 18-9.house 18.DEM.D
They decided to go into the house.

Mw-eny=ôjo a-wôk-ite ku-pêta ku-jenda.
1-owner=1.DEM.M 1/2-go out-PFV 15-pass INF-walk
The owner had gone for a walk. H4.11

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts - associative anaphora

A-hamua ku-jingi'-jingi' n-nyumba môla.
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The owner had gone for a walk. H4.11

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts - metonymic anaphora

Ngôko jêla ji-pelek-eka ...
9.chicken 9.DEM.D 19-deliver-STAT
That chicken was delivered...

A-ngôta vênava a-tola gaga' ma-hondw=aga,
1a-group 2.DEM.M 2-take 6.DEM.E 6-thigh=6.DEM.M
They took the very legs,

hi-daly=ê' yoha ku-jomola.
8-breast=8.DEM.M 8.all INF-finish
the whole breast, and finished it. H5.40-42

Comparison Distal I - Medial

Distal I	Medial
anaphoric reference / coreferential anaphora	associative anaphora / non-coreferential anaphora
referring back to an already introduced referent	introducing a new referent as identifiable because implicitly present in the mental representation of an aforementioned referent
scope: far reaching	scope: immediate discourse only

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts
 - grammaticalization

exophoric DEMs → grammatical markers

	<u>medial</u>	<u>distal</u>
<u>distance:</u>	near	far
<u>reference:</u>	associative anaphora (in immediate discourse)	anaphoric reference

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts
 – restrictive relative clause

Li-himba jô' naku' pa-ka-hi-manya
 5-lion 1.DEM.D NEG 16.1-PST-8-know
 The lion did not know

kutenda jônojo [jw-a-gwily]=ôjo
 that 1.DEM.M 1.REL-1-fall.PFV=1.DEM.M
 that the (man) [who fell]

2.4.3. Medial in narrative texts
 – restrictive relative clause

Li-himba jô' naku' pa-ka-hi-manya
 5-lion 1.DEM.D NEG 16.1-PST-8-know
 The lion did not know

kutenda jônojo [jw-a-gwily]=ôjo
 that 1.DEM.M 1.REL-1-fall.PFV=1.DEM.M
 that the (man) [who fell]

ni jôlajo' [jw-a-n-nendalilay]=ôjo,...
 COP 1.DEM.D1 1.REL-1-1OM-wait.IPFV=1.DEM.M
 was that (man) [for whom he was waiting]...

2.4.4. Medial in narrative texts
 – restrictive relative clause

...[jw-a-ka-ve' n-nani]
 1.REL-1-PST-be 18-top
 ... [who was up (in the tree)]

jôla [jw-a-gwile].
 1.DEM.D1 1.REL-1-fall.PFV
 was that (man) [who fell down].

H12.46-48

2.4.4. Medial in dialogue

"A-ikêgy=ava a-tama ni nenga...!"
 1a-woman=2.DEM.M 2-stay with me

"The woman stays with me...!"

H2.62

2.4.4. Medial in dialogue

“Mwe’, a-bambu, mu-n-nek-i

you 1a-mister 2SG-1-leave-SBJ

“You, Mister, let

li-himba va-taun-i a-hana=vinu=ava.

5-lion 2.OM-eat-SBJ 1a-wife=your=2.DEM.M

the lion eat your wife.

2.4.4. Medial in dialogue

Mwe’ n-tol-i nyama i-nu=êye,

you 2SG-take-SBJ 10-meat 10-your=10.DEM.M

You take your meat,

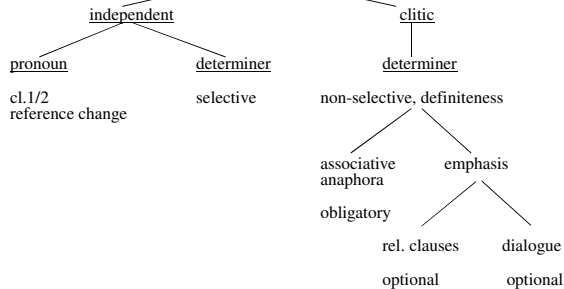
twenga ti-pala ku-n-tauna jôno’ li-himb=ôjo.”

we 1PL-want INF-1-eat 1.DEM.M 5-lion=1.DEM.M

we want to eat that lion.”

H2.68-69

Ngoni Medial



6. Bibliography

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