

The Morphosyntactic Distribution and Functions of Demonstratives in Shinyiha

*Devet Goodness**

Abstract

This paper examines the morphosyntactic distribution and functions of demonstratives in Shinyiha [M23]. Specifically, the paper examines the forms, distribution and use of demonstratives in Shinyiha. The data were collected through elicitation. The findings indicate that demonstratives in this language constitute a class that is complex in terms of form, function and distribution. The findings also indicate that there is no single rule governing the distribution of demonstratives in this language. The study reveals that, in most cases, the form of the demonstrative in Shinyiha depends on the form of the noun class prefix, preprefix or the root of the head noun. As regards the functions, the study shows that demonstratives in Shinyiha perform various functions ranging from sentential to the discourse level. The findings also show that, in an unmarked order, the demonstrative occurs postnominally (N DEM) to perform deictic function while, in a marked order, the demonstrative occurs prenominally (DEM N) to express definiteness, specificity and focus.

Key words: *Morphosyntactic, Shinyiha, form, distribution, function, noun class prefix, preprefix, root of the head noun*

Introduction

There exist several studies on demonstratives in the world languages (e.g. Ashton, 1944; Carstens, 1993, 2008; Diessel, 1999; Cinque, 2005; Guardiano, 2012). Unlike adjectives whose universal presence is debatable, demonstratives seem to be present in nearly all languages of the world. As regards their classification, Radford (2004) classifies demonstratives in a class of determiners together with possessives and articles. Determiners fall under a class of words called 'functors'/ functional categories together with complementizers, infinitival to, pronouns and auxiliaries. Demonstratives may co-occur with other elements in a determiner phrase, in a particular order. It is argued that numerals, adjectives and demonstratives are noun modifiers which reveal hierarchical ordering (Givon, 2001:2). In most Indo-European and Asian languages, demonstratives precede nouns. In some languages, however, demonstratives either precede or follow the nouns. In the latter, either of the two orders is optional. Since Bantu languages

* Senior Lecturer, Department of Languages and Literature, Dar es Salaam University College of Education, P.O. Box 2329, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, E-mail: devetgoodness@yahoo.co.uk

have a head-before-dependent basic word order, almost all adnominal modifiers follow their head nouns as in the following Kiswahili examples.

1. (a) Watoto wale wawili wazuri

wa-toto wale wa-wili wa-zuri

2- child those 2- two 2- good

'Those two good children'

- (b) Mtoto wangu mweusi

m-toto wa-ngu mw-eusi

1-child 2-my 1-black

'my black child'

In the examples above, the head nouns occur before their dependents. In Kiswahili, the demonstrative may be preposed in order to express definiteness, specificity or focus. Therefore, the Kiswahili phrase *Wale watoto wawili* 'Those two children' is acceptable but marked. Cross linguistically, a demonstrative may appear at the prenominal position <DEM N> in some languages or at the post-nominal position <N DEM> in other languages. However, there are languages in which a demonstrative may appear both prenominally and postnominally. In Kiswahili, the marked order <DEM N> seems to be widely used to the extent that the difference between the prenominal demonstrative and the post nominal one becomes obscure. With regard to the distribution of demonstratives in relation to other items in the nounphrase, Greenberg (1963:86-87) came up with the universal 20 which states as follows.

When any or all of the items: demonstratives, numeral, descriptive adjective precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite (Greenberg (1963:86-87)).

In other words, to the left of the N, only one ordering is possible, but when these items appear to the right of the noun, either the same ordering is retained or its mirror image appears. Thus, the following orders are attested in the world languages.

- a. Demonstrative > Numeral > Adjective > Noun

b. Noun>Demonstrative>Numeral>Adjective

c. Noun>Adjective>Numeral>Demonstrative

Eastern Bantu languages typically have sets of at least 3 demonstratives often with variants (both emphatic/reduplicated and phonologically reduced forms). Most studies on demonstratives focus on the spatial relations. Spatial demonstratives express distance or proximity like the Kiswahili examples *huyu* ‘this’ (for humans)’ and *yule* ‘that (for humans)’. However, demonstratives perform more than that function. For instance, they may function at the discourse level to express coreferentiality (Nicolle 2007). As regards their classification, most traditional grammarians classify demonstratives as pronouns, if they occur in the place of nouns, or as demonstrative adjectives, if they occur with nouns in order to modify those nouns (Frank 1972; Shobirin 2008; Murphy 2009 and Puturusi 2016) and as local adverbials, if they refer to location as reported in the Moloko language (Dianne et al., 2017).

In most Bantu languages, demonstratives match the nominal classes of the nouns they modify. However, demonstratives are heterogeneous because of their irregularity in morphology, and this makes it difficult to describe their morphology, since not all demonstratives have the same structure. Demonstratives in Bantu languages can be divided into two classes: those which appear with primary nouns (that is, nouns which consist of their inherent class) and those which occur with nouns in their secondary classification (i.e locative demonstratives). The latter are those occurring with locative nouns (noun class 16, 17 and 18). These two classes of demonstratives display different morphosyntactic properties. The focus of this paper is narrowed down to demonstratives that occur with primary nouns. Locative demonstratives are thus beyond the scope of this paper. With regards to the morphosyntactic distribution of demonstratives in Bantu languages, the study seeks to answer the following questions: what exactly is the position of the demonstrative in Shinyiha? What is the morphology of this class of words? What are the functions of demonstratives? These questions underlie the writing of this paper.

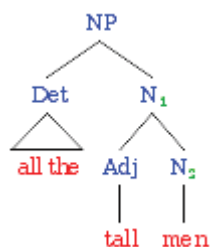
Precisely speaking, this paper examines the co-occurrence of the demonstrative with other elements in the determiner phrase, and specifies its functions. Before examining the morphosyntactic distribution and the use of demonstratives in Shinyiha, one has to come to grips with the DP Hypothesis specifically on the issues of

External and Internal Approaches. The following section is illustrative:

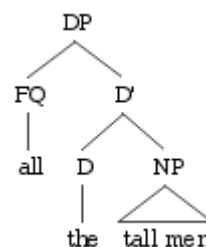
DP External and DP Internal Approaches

It has been argued with reasonable force that nouns are not heads of noun phrases. Consequently, the functional category D was proposed as a head of what came to be known as the Determiner phrase (DP). The DP was handled by DP hypothesis which was introduced within the framework of mentalist syntax by Noam Chomsky. The hypothesis is assumed to be standard in the syntactic analysis. According to this hypothesis, what was considered a noun phrase (NP) in the early Generative syntax is a determiner phrase with either an overt or covert head. NPs are considered to be extended projections into which various functional heads project a complex structure above the lexical NP level (Abney, 1987; Valois, 1991). The hypothesis assumes that all nominals are DPs with the exception of non-canonical ones, which occur as vocatives, predicatives and interjections (Radford, 2004). The traditional NP is no longer preferred by modern syntacticians. Sideeg (2016) provides examples of the traditional NP and the proposed DP.

2. (a)



(b)



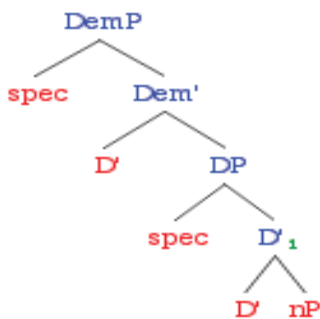
The P-marker in 2(a) above illustrates an example of the traditional analysis by which only lexical categories headed the phrases. Example 2(b) represents the earlier Abney's (1987) syntactic analysis by which functional categories (determiners, auxiliary, quantifiers, demonstratives, expletives etc) may head a phrase. It is worth noting that there are variations on how the DP may be represented diagrammatically in individual languages. What is regarded as a specifier within the DP by one scholar may not be the same to another scholar. The evidence available for postulating functional projections is semantic, morphological and syntactic/distributional. Example 2(b) conforms to headedness principle, which states that all syntactic structures are projections of headwords.

Radford (2004) categorically regards a demonstrative in English as a determiner because it determines specific semantic properties of the

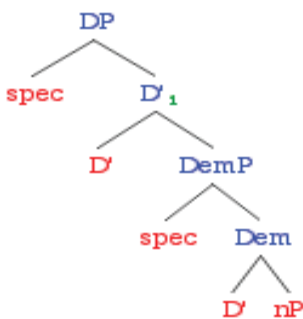
noun expression that it introduces, thus making it a definite referring expression. What is debatable is whether to apply the determiner phrase in Bantu languages since Bantu languages do not have articles like those of Indo-European languages. Those who opt to use 'determiner phrase' have the following proposal: to assign a determiner to any morpheme that performs the function of specificity and definiteness in a specific language. In most Bantu languages, demonstratives are related to issues of definiteness and specificity, the same as what is expressed by the English determiners. However, in most Bantu languages, expression of definiteness and specificity by demonstratives is possible in an unmarked order. There is no consensus among scholars over whether Bantu languages have determiners or not. Some Linguists (e.g. Johnston, 1919; Hyman & Katamba, 1993) subscribe to the view that Bantu languages have determiners. Since determiners are related to definiteness and specificity, demonstratives which seem to cover this gap in Bantu languages are assigned the function of encoding definiteness. Definiteness is also equated to the function of the preprefix (also known as initial vowel or augment) in Bantu languages (Johnston 1919; Batibo 1985). On the one hand, some scholars (e.g. Johnston, 1919; Batibo 1985) equate the preprefix in Bantu to the English definite article. Johnston (1919:31) argues that the preprefix is virtually identical with the article of Aryan and Semitic languages. Batibo (1985) equates it to a definite article, thus call it a vowel of definiteness. On the other hand, Mkude (1974) regards it as a specifier. In some languages, for example, Greek, Irish and Romanian, demonstratives and determiners can co-occur and, therefore, have different distributions (Giusti 1994; Alexidou et al., 2007). According to Alexidou et al. (2007), determiners are obligatory and prenominal in Greek while demonstratives are not obligatory. In Greek, demonstratives may either precede the determiner or follow the noun while demonstratives directly follow a determiner.

There are two approaches to the representation of demonstratives when regarded as determiners: the DP internal approach and DP external approach. The DP internal approach considers internal agreement between the head with its modification. The DP external approach accounts for all of the DEM data. Based on DP internal and external approaches as reported by Roberts (2011), the following demonstrative orders are observed.

3. (a) DP-External



(b) DP -Internal



Based on Roberts (2011), the DemP is generated in a low position below numbers in the spec of NP which is an unattested base order. As in (b), a DP -internal account involves NP movement to spec NP2, Dem movement to spec NumP and the NP movement to spec DP (Roberts 2011:19). In (a) the noun >Dem >num order can be achieved by raising the NP genitive constructions. Here it seems reasonable to assume (b) to be a more representative example than (a). I will not spend much time here as this is not the focus of my paper.

The Distribution of the Demonstratives in Shinyiha

Shinyiha exhibits two types of orders in which the demonstrative can appear; it may appear prenominally or postnominally. When given English and Kiswahili phrases to find their equivalence in Shinyiha, the respondents provided both orders. However, the post-nominal position (ND) is the unmarked one since it has a wide distribution, and when the respondents were presented with the prenominal order, they explicitly stated that the order was not common, and associated such order with focus and specificity, which implies that the order is marked in Shinyiha. Example 4 below illustrates the postnominal occurrence of the demonstrative.

(4) (a) ishitengo shila

i -shi -tengo shi-la
 ppf-7 chair 7 DEM
 ‘that chair’

(b). *umuntu bula*
u -mu-ntu bu-la
 ppf.-1 -person 1-DEM
 ‘that person’

The prenominal order is illustrated below:

(5) (a). *shila ishitengo*
shi-la i -shi -tengo
 7 DEM ppf-7 chair
 ‘that chair’

(b). *bula u muntu*
bu-la u -mu -ntu
 1-DEM ppf-1 -person
 ‘that person’

As noted before, the prenominal demonstrative in Shinyiha is not common. However, it may occur when a speaker seeks to fulfil a certain communicative purpose. Of concern here is whether or not to assign both the pre-nominal and postnominal demonstratives to the same class. Rugemalira (2007) holds that demonstratives are determiners when found in a pre-nominal position but they retain their identity as demonstratives when they occur post-nominally. In Shinyiha, evidence shows that the postnominal demonstratives and the prenominal demonstrative perform different roles. This observation seems to coincide with Rugemalira’s argument. In the classification of demonstratives in Shinyiha, we adopt Dixon’s (2003) and Diessel’s (1999) classification of demonstratives into two classes depending on the syntactic contexts. We treat a demonstrative that occurs in the prenominal position as in *shilashitabu* ‘that book’ as a determiner demonstrative, and the one that substitutes a noun/ noun phrase as in *bula amilemußi* ‘that was a sinner’ as a demonstrative pronoun. In a marked order, when the demonstrative appears in the

prenominal position in Shinyiha, it expresses definiteness, specificity and focus as in the following example:

(6) (a). Nakazile ishitabu

Na-kaz-ile i-shi-tabu

I-buy-PST ppf-7-book

'I bought a book'

(b) Shila ishitabu she uhampa shitezile

Shila i-shi-tabu she u-ha-m-pa shi-tez-ile

that ppf-7-book that you-PST-OBJ 7-lose-PST

'That book that you gave me is lost'

In 6(a) above, the speaker introduces *ishitabu* 'book'. In this context, the object *ishitabu* is not known to the hearer. Thus, it is indefinite and non-specific. As example 6 (b) reintroduces *ishitabu*, the addressee does not need extra information about the book because it is now definite and specific. The hearer is not obliged to ask about the book to which the speaker is referring. In this example, the noun that occurs with the demonstrative is not seen by the addressee. This is an example of psychological referent. The findings indicate that the prenominal demonstrative is used in rare cases and it sounds abnormal to the speakers' ears. However, the prenominal demonstrative occurs in daily conversation. In Shinyiha, the prenominal demonstrative does not guarantee omission of the preprefix. This is different from some Bantu languages in which the occurrence of the demonstrative prenominally leads to deletion of the preprefix (Ndomba, 2017). However, in rapid speech, it was revealed that the demonstrative in the prenominal position causes the preprefix to drop as in *bula mwana* 'that child'. Observation reveals that this is a case of simplification.

The Order of Demonstrative, Adjective and Numeral

Following Greenberg's universal 20, the demonstrative, adjective and numeral seem to appear in certain orders. The demonstrative may co-occur with an adjective, a numeral and other members of the closed system in the determiner phrase. It sounds more plausible to consider that APs are adjuncts to NP, the nominal counterpart to VP, while numerals are universally adjuncts to num(ber)P. An adjunct is a part of a sentence that is used to elaborate on or modify

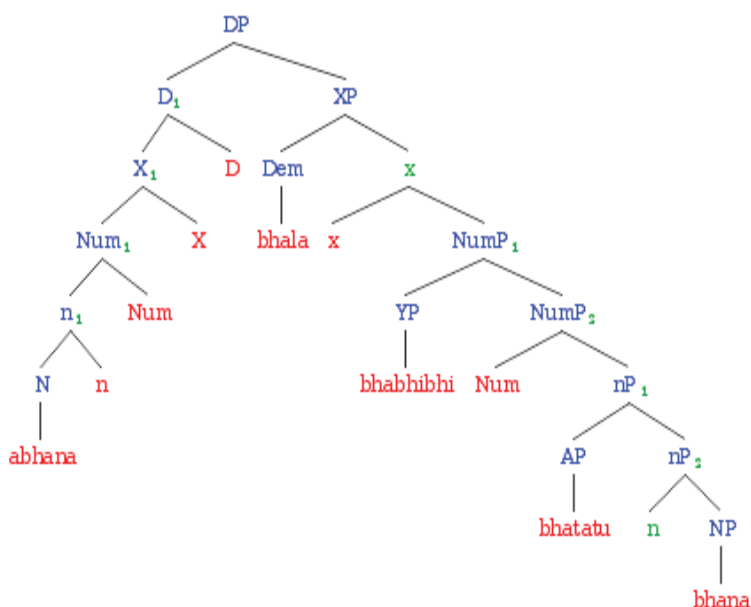
other words or phrases in a sentence. Adjectives are adjuncts to nouns since they modify them. In Shinyiha, these adjuncts may be adjoined either to the right or to the left of the head noun. Head movement applies cyclically to move the noun to the left edge of the DP. Following Carstens (1991) approach, I display two orders of demonstratives, numerals and adjectives in relation to the head noun in Shinyiha.

(a) Noun - Demonstrative-Adjective-Numeral

7. *abhana bhala bhabhibhi bhatatu*

'children those bad three'

'those three bad children'

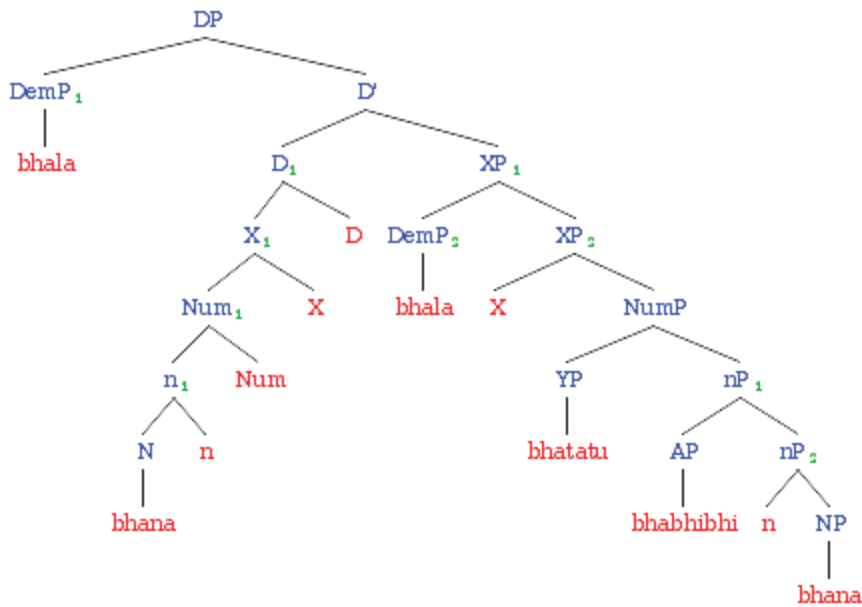


(b) Dem-Noun-Numeral-Adjective

bhala bhana bhatatu bhabhibhi

'those children three bad'

'those three bad children'



Following Carstens (1991), diagrams 7(a) and (b) show the position of the demonstrative in Shinyiha. However, the diagrammatic representation of the DP in Bantu is not uniform among syntacticians as it can be expected in English. The following order seemed to be preferred as the unmarked form by most respondents.

(8) *abhana bhala bhatatu bhabhibhi*

a-ba-na bala ba-tatu ba-bibi

ppf-2-child those 2-three 2-bad

lit. children those three bad

‘Those three bad children’

In the example above, the demonstrative is placed after the noun. According to this paper’s findings, an order such as the one in the expression, *bhala abhana bhatatu bhabhibhi* is uncommon in Shinyiha, although the respondents admitted that it is sometimes used. It was revealed that the prenominal demonstrative is related to definiteness and focus while the post-nominal one has a deictic function. In other words, the definite demonstrative can be moved to the spec position of DP to correlate with a definite interpretation. Precisely speaking, the ordering pattern in which the demonstrative is positioned postnominally is the canonical order in Shinyiha. I justify that the postnominal demonstrative in Shinyiha moves from its prenominal position to fill the spec DP. The findings indicate that

the demonstrative is in the process of change from its basic function to the expression of definiteness, focus and specificity. Ashton (1944) notes that in Kiswahili, the prenominal demonstrative is semantically different from the postnominal one and is close to the interpretation of definite determiners or picking something aforementioned. However, unlike Kiswahili, the findings revealed that in Shinyiha the prenominal demonstrative is seldomly used.

Series of Demonstratives and their Uses

There are three basic series of demonstratives in Shinyiha: series I-proximal (this series i.e. near to the speaker eg. *aβa* 'these'); series II-distal (ie. far from the speaker *aβo* 'those'), and series III-non-proximal (i.e. near to the addressee, remote demonstratives eg. *βala* 'those'). In Shinyiha, demonstratives consist of two parts: one part is a prefix that agrees with the head noun and the other part is a root. In most cases, the root for series I demonstratives is a copy of the class prefix (i-vi as in *ivintu ivi* 'these things'), the prefix and its preprefix, for example, *ulu* as in *ulukusa ulu* 'this rope' or *aβa as in aβantu aβa* 'these people'. There is no general rule governing the formation of series I demonstrative roots. The root for distal demonstrative consists of a consonant or consonant cluster ending with the mid back vowel 'o' consistently throughout. The root for a non-proximal demonstrative is *la*. Table 1 below shows agreement for demonstratives and their co-occurrence with the noun class prefix.

Table 1: Agreement for Demonstratives and their Co-occurrence with the Noun Prefix

N. class	ppf	NCP	Example	Proximal dem 'this'	Distal dem.II 'that'	Non-proximal dem.III 'that' (far away)
1	u	Mu	umuntu 'person'	u-no	u-yo	wu-la
2	a	βa	aβantu 'people'	a-βa	a-βo	βa-la
3	u	Mu	umukati 'bread'	u-no	u-yo	u-la
4	i	Mi	imiji 'unusually big eggs'	i-no	i-yo	i-la
5	i	li/θ	iji 'egg'	i-li	i-lyo	li-la
6	a	Ma	amaji 'eggs'	a-ga	a-go	ga-la
7	i	Shi	ishitengo 'chair'	i-shi	i-sho	shi-la
8	i	Vi	ivitengo 'chairs'	i-vi	i-vwo	vi-la
9	i	N	injoka 'snake'	i-no	i-yo	i-la

N. class	ppf	NCP	Example	Proximal dem 'this'	Distal dem.II 'that'	Non-proximal dem.III 'that' (far away)
10	i	N	injoka 'snakes'	i-zi	i-zyo	zi-la
11	u	Lu	ulukusa 'rope'	u-lu	u-lwo	lu-la
12	a	Ha	ahana'small child'	a-ha	a-ho	ha-la
13	u	Tu	utuhana'small children'	u-tu	u-to	tu-la
14	u	βu	uβutali 'tallness'	u-βu	u-βwo	u-la
15	u	Ku	ukujenda 'walking'	u-ku	u-ko	ku-la
16		Pa	panyumba 'at the house'		pala
17		Ku	kunyumba'at the house'		...	kula
18		Mu	munyumba 'in the house'	mula

Table 1 above clearly indicates that the structure of the demonstrative in most cases depends on the morphology of the noun. Part of their structure is taken from the prefixes and pre-prefixes of the head nouns.

Spatial Uses of Demonstratives

Demonstratives that fall in this category are used to refer to geographical location or space. In canonical speech, spatial demonstratives are used for referring to entities or locations in real space. When the speaker utters *shila shintu* 'that thing' he refers to an object which is found in real space. In addition to expressing things in real space, the cognitive basis of spatial demonstratives shows that such demonstratives also occur pervasively in displaced contexts in both spoken and written discourse. In such contexts, these demonstratives are used to point to entities in the relevant text or entities as they are located in memory as discourse representations. However, their basic usage is that of situational deictics. As Table 1 shows, they are divided into three series: proximal, distal and non-proximal.

Proximal (this series) Demonstratives

Proximal demonstratives show proximity. In addition, they denote a sense of being within the boundary and, therefore, being in the sight of the speaker. They also denote a sense of being within the focus and control of the speaker. When a speaker says *ishitengo ishi* 'this chair' he/she simply refers to the chair which is located within his/her boundary and, therefore, the chair that the speaker is talking

about is his/her focus. The speaker can use his/her hand to point at the chair so as to show the addressee the chair he is referring to. The proximal demonstratives show a higher degree of specificity which acts as a facilitating factor in locating the referent. Morphologically, series I demonstratives can be divided into 3 types: those consisting of the *preprefix + the roots* such as *ishi*, *ivi* and *aβa* as in the following examples.

- (9) (a). *i -shi-tengo* *ishi*
 ppf-7 -chair this
 ‘this chair’
- (b). *i -vi-tengo* *ivi*
 ppf-8 -chair these
 ‘these chairs’
- (c). *i -li-βwe* *ili*
 ppf-5-stone this
 ‘this stone’

The examples in (9) above show that the demonstratives in question take the form of the preprefix and the class prefix of the head noun. The second group of series I demonstratives involve those consisting of the preprefix of the head noun and a root whose form is different from the noun class prefix. Examples of these demonstratives are: *uno* and *ino*. The third group of series I demonstratives consists of demonstratives made up of a preprefix which agrees with the preprefix of the head noun, and a root which takes the form of the agreement marker, for example, *aga* as in *aga minzi gasila* ‘this water is finished’.

Distal (series 2 demonstratives) Demonstratives

Demonstratives in this series point to entities which are far from the speaker but the speaker and the addressee can see them. When a speaker says *umuntu bula* ‘that person’, he refers to a person who is far from both the speaker and the addressee. The use of these demonstratives is usually accompanied by paralinguistic features such as pointing a finger at the referent. Like proximal demonstratives, distal demonstratives are made up of a prefix (which

is a copy of the preprefix of the head noun) and a root. The root of the demonstrative in this series ends in vowel *-o* consistently. The roots are: *yo*, *-bo*, *-lwo*, *-sho*. *go*, *zyo*, *-to*, *-vyo* and *-βwo*. Series 2 demonstrative roots contain different consonants which end in vowel *-o*. When carefully examining series II demonstratives, one notes that most demonstratives in this series allow two agreements. First, the demonstrative prefix agrees with the preprefix of the head noun; second, the root partially agrees with the consonant of the noun class prefix of the head noun. Examine the following examples:

- (10) (a) *abantu abo*
 a-βa-ntu a-βo
 ppf-2-person ppf that
 'those people'
- (b) *ulukusa ulwo*
 u-lu-kusa u-l-wo
 ppf-11-rope ppf-11-that
 'that rope'
- (c) *Ishitabu isho*
 i-shi-tabu i-sho
 ppf-7-book ppf-that
 'that book'

Examples (10) above show that the root of the demonstrative copies the consonant of the noun class prefix. A few demonstratives in this series have a different root. Examples are *uyo* (which may have been borrowed from *huyo* 'that' for noun class 1 in Kiswahili) and *ago* whose consonant *g* is a copy of the first consonant of the verb *gasile* which agrees with the subject as in this example, *aminzi ago gasila* 'that water is finished.'

It is then convincing to argue that it is the vowel *-o* that makes series II demonstratives different from other forms of demonstratives. In Kiswahili, as well, this kind of demonstratives exists. Examples are *huyo* (noun class 1 singular, *hao* (noun class 1 plural, *hicho* (noun class 7 singular, *hivyo* (noun class 8 singular).

Non-proximal Demonstratives

Non-proximal demonstratives denote a sense of being beyond the boundary (the immediate focus), specification and control of the speaker. In other words, non-proximal demonstratives in Shinyiha indicate a lesser degree of specificity. This kind of demonstratives greatly requires the use of a paralinguistic gesture for the addressee to achieve the same purpose. All demonstratives in this series are heterogeneous in form but end in the vowel *-a* consistently. They can be divided into the following groups:

- (i) Those which copy the shape of the preprefix of the head noun as in the following examples: *ula* and *ila*. Examine their use in context in the following examples:

- (11) (a) umuntu ula
 u-mu-ntu *ula*
 ppf-1-person that
 'that person'

- (b) imiji ila
 i-mi-ji *ila*
 ppf-4-egg those
 'those unusually big eggs'

- (ii) Those which begin with a copy of the noun class prefix as in the following examples:

- (12) (a). *aβantu βala*
 a-βa-ntu *βa-la*
 ppf-2-person 2-those
 'those people'

- (b) ishintu shila
 i-shi-ntu *shi-la*
 ppf-7-thing 7-that
 'that thing'

- (c) ivitengo vila

i-vi-tengo vi-la

ppf-8-chair 8-those

'those chairs'

- (iii) Demonstratives that begin with the subject concord as in the following examples:

(13)(a) *amino gala gatezile*

a-m-ino gala ga-tez-ile

ppf-6-tooth those SM6-get lost-T/A

'those teeth are lost'

(b) *amakwi gala gatezile*

a-ma-kwi gala ga-tez-ile

ppf-6-tree those SM6-get lost-T/A

'Those trees are lost'

(c) *ing'ombe zila zitezile*

i-ng'ombe zi-la zi- tez-ile

ppf-cow SM10-get lost-T/A

'those cows are lost'.

- (iii). Those which begin with a prefix that is different from the noun class prefix, for example, *wula* 'that', as in *umuntu wula* 'that person.'

Simply put, the literal meaning of non-proximal demonstratives is 'away from both of us, that is, away from both the speaker and the addressee'. The phrase *amakwi gala* 'Those trees' may be literally translated as 'those trees over there'. Non-proximal demonstratives may encode a psychological referent. For example, when a speaker says, *Nakazile ing'ombe, ing'ombe zila zitezile* 'I bought cows; **those** cows are lost. The demonstrative *zila* 'those' refers to the cows that have been mentioned in the discourse. Here the speaker and the hearer do not see the cows physically but they can see them through their minds. This is also an example of a psychological referent.

Non-proximal demonstrative indicating remote distance

Shinyiha does not have a distinct way for expressing remote distance. However, if a speaker wants to express something that is in a remote distance, the last syllable of the demonstrative is pronounced with a higher tone and prolonged.

- (14) (a) *umuntuβulaaaaaaaaaaaaaa*
u-mu-ntuβuláaaaaaaaaaaaaa
 ppf-7-person 7-that
 lit. 'that person there.....(far away)
- (d) *u-mwana βulaaaaaaaaaaaa*
u-mw-ana βu-láaaaaaaaa
 ppf-1-child 2-that
 'that child there, very far from here'.

Examples in (14) above indicate that in some contexts, prosody plays a significant role in the interpretation of non-proximal demonstratives in Shinyiha. An example of this kind can be found in Kiswahili, which does not have a demonstrative for indicating remote distance. The remote demonstrative expressed through prosody is used for referents that are not visible in the speech situation. It marks referents that may be dead, non-actual or somehow distanced.

Discourse use of Demonstratives

In narratives, demonstratives may be used presentationally (or discourse-deictically) to introduce or reintroduce an entity in discourse or anaphorically to maintain the addressee's attention to an already salient entity. Being a language that lacks articles, Shinyihamakes use of demonstratives to fulfil the role of anaphors as exemplified below.

- (15) (a). *Nkahomana nu muntu*
N-ka-homana nu mu-ntu.
 I-PST-meet with 1-person
 'I met with a person.

- (b) *U-mu-ntu uyo a-mali mu-nyela*

ppf-1-person that SC1-be 1-thin

‘That person was thin’

- (c) *Nkakala ishitabu*

N-ka-kala i-shi-tabu.

I-PST-buy ppf-7-book ppf

‘I bought a book’

- (d). *Ishitabu isho shali shipiti*

I-shi-tabu *isho* sha-li shi-piti

ppf-7-book that be-PST 7-big

‘That book was big.’

In the examples above, the demonstratives *uyo* and *isho* point back to the already mentioned nouns, *umuntu* and *ishitabu* respectively. Here the nouns that occur with the demonstratives *uyo* and *isho* are in direct coreferentiality with the antecedent. The noun determined by the demonstrative in the NP is lexically identical with the antecedent of the indirect coreferential anaphora. Other examples are as follows:

- (16) (a). *Ahasenda ishiyama ishinsi. Izina Upusi uyo amali mwilu*

‘He took a young animal. **That** cat was black.’

- (b). *Ahamuenya Unamusongole. Umwantanda uyo amali ni njele nkani*

‘He saw *Namusongole*. That woman was very intelligent’.

In examples (16) above, the demonstrative *uyo* is in co-reference with the previously mentioned noun *ishiyama*. In this context, the co-reference is indirect. In 16(a) the aforementioned *upusi* ‘cat’ reprises the same lexical noun as used in the antecedent *ishiyama ishinsi* ‘a young animal’. The referents of both the NP and the antecedent are presented as fully coinciding. Within the discourse, non-coreferential expressions may occur. In this case, referent coincidence is absent or imperfect. Example (17) below is illustrative:

- (17) (a). *Imanyile amali uβwo*

‘I know he was in *that* way’

In example (17) above, *uβwo* refers to a state or idea previously expressed by a non-nominal antecedent. This is an example of discourse deixis (Cornish 1999; Levinson 2004) also called abstract anaphora (Navarretta 2004) or impure textual deixis (Lyons 1977). When the speaker wishes to focus on specific information, the demonstrative may be preposed as in the following example:

- (18) (a) *βula umwana*
βula u-mw-ana
 That ppf-1-child
 'That child'
- (b) *Shila ishitabu*
Shila i-shi-tabu
 that ppf-7-book
 'that book'

As already mentioned earlier, in examples (18) above, the demonstrative is preposed to show that the nouns in question are specific and definite as both the speaker and the hearer already have knowledge of what is being referred to. According to Huang (2000:255), languages that lack definiteness markers like the Slavonic ones are expected to resort to demonstratives more freely. Here is another example of occurrence of the demonstrative in the discourse:

Kwali nu umwantanda umo we atali nu mwana. Umwantanda uyo ahamula kuβala kwa muganga. Ahamuβuzya umwantanda uwamwaho intamwe yakwe. Umwantanda uno ahamubhuzya umama wula pakuti kuli nu muganga we angamwavwa. Ahamula kuβala kwa muganga uyo. Umuganga uyo ahamuβuzya pakuti agombe insonta zitatu. Umwantanda wula ahaβomba inza vwe ahamuβuzya ahazigubishishila. Lyezyashila insiku zitatu baħaβoneha aħana batatu munsonta zila.

Translation: There was a woman who had no child. That woman decided to go to a witch doctor. She told another woman about her problem. That woman told the woman that there was a witch doctor who could help her. She decided to go to that witch doctor

proposed. That witch doctor told her to make three pots. That woman did as she was told. After three days there appeared three children from those three pots.

The above narration illustrates the discourse use of demonstratives in Shinyiha. The demonstrative that appears first is a proximal demonstrative. For example, in the first line *uyo* in the phrase *umwantanda uyo* is the point of departure. It sets the context of the narration. It points back to the already mentioned noun (back pointing). After establishing the context, the narrator can move on with other types of demonstratives. Here the addressee has to make connections. The context and the addresser's and addressee's knowledge of the context in which the demonstrative occurs enable them to have mutual understanding. The demonstrative *uno* in *umwantanda uno* 'that woman' in the second line is a distal demonstrative. It refers to an entity that is visible (in this case mentally visible) to him/her. The addressee does not struggle with understanding the context. In narratives, non-proximal demonstratives are used primarily to refer to people, objects or places which have already been mentioned.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to describe the demonstratives of Shinyiha. I have paid special attention to their distribution and functions. I have discussed demonstratives that co-occur with nouns in their primary classification. The findings have indicated that demonstratives constitute a complex class which performs a variety of functions; apart from merely indicating geographical location; for instance, they can be used in a discourse to indicate temporal location. With regard to their forms, the study has indicated that demonstratives are heterogeneous such that it is somehow hard to determine their form. Their class displays different agreement behaviours unlike those of adjectives and other elements that co-occur with the head noun. For example, it has been noted that for certain kinds of demonstratives, the root may take the form of the noun class prefix. As regards their distribution, demonstratives follow the head noun in the unmarked order of the Shinyiha DP. When the demonstrative occurs prenominal, it expresses definiteness and focus, which are related to the functions performed by the determiner in English.

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Abbreviations

Adj	Adjective
N	Noun
DEM/dem	Demonstrative
NP	Noun phrase
Num	Numeral
NumP	Numeral phrase
OBJ	Object
PPf	Preprefix
PST	Past
SC	Subject concord
T/A	Tense/aspect