Functions of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives

Jenneke van der Wal

Abstract

Demonstratives are used very frequently in Makhuwa narratives, especially the distal demonstratives. Although all types of demonstratives can be used for exophoric deixis, referring to an entity in the speech setting, the distal demonstratives are predominantly used for anaphoric reference. They occur in topic shifts, tail-head linking and at episode boundaries, referring to entities that are relatively less accessible at that point in the narrative (which is in line with Accessibility Theory). Demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives are not only used anaphorically for referent identification, but they also indicate importance of a certain referent and drawing attention, and they play an important role in text-structuring.

Résumé

Les démonstratifs, ceux de distance en particulier, sont très fréquemment utilisés dans les récits makhuwa. Même si tous les types de démonstratifs peuvent être utilisés comme déictiques exophoriques, pour se référer à une entité intradiscursive, les démonstratifs de distance sont davantage utilisés comme référence anaphorique. Ils interviennent dans les changements de topique, le lien queue-tête et aux frontières d'épisodes, renvoyant à des entités qui sont relativement moins accessibles à ce stade du récit (ce qui est conforme à la Théorie de l'Accessibilité). Les démonstratifs dans les narrations makhuwa ne sont pas seulement utilisés anaphoriquement pour l'identification du référent, mais ils indiquent également l'importance d'un certain référent et attrait d'attention, et ils jouent un rôle important dans la structuration des textes.

Functions of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives

Jenneke VAN DER WAL

Abstract

Demonstratives are used very frequently in Makhuwa narratives, especially the distal demonstratives. Although all types of demonstratives can be used for exophoric deixis, referring to an entity in the speech setting, the distal demonstratives are predominantly used for anaphoric reference. They occur in topic shifts, tail-head linking and at episode boundaries, referring to entities that are relatively less accessible at that point in the narrative (which is in line with Accessibility Theory). Demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives are not only used anaphorically for referent identification, but they also indicate importance of a certain referent and drawing attention, and they play an important role in text-structuring.

Keywords: demonstratives, Bantu, Accessibility Theory, text structuring, Makhuwa

1. Introduction

Makhuwa is a Bantu language spoken in the north of Mozambique and the south of Tanzania, P.31 in Guthrie's classification. The total number of speakers in Mozambique is estimated at around 5 million (Sebastian Floor, p.c. 2007). There is a large number of variants of Makhuwa (see Kröger 2005), some of which have been studied and described (Esaaka (Katupha 1983, 1992), Imituphi (Stucky 1979, 1985)). The variant used in this research is Enahara, which is spoken on Ilha de Moçambique and the surrounding coastal area (see Van der Wal 2009).

   As in most other Bantu languages, the canonical word order in Makhuwa is Subject-Verb-Object, although the word order is flexible in that it is partly determined by the information structure expressed in a sentence. Within the noun phrase the modifiers follow the noun. The demonstratives, which are the focus of this paper, occur after the noun they modify in their canonical adnominal function, as in (1).[1] See Van de Velde (2005) for an overview of demonstrative-noun ordering in Bantu.

(1)   a.   **mwalápwá olé**   **o-hoó-wa** (K4.6)
           1.dog   1.DEM.III   1SM-PERF.DJ-come
           'the/that dog came'

      b.   **ki-kúm-íh-é-ní**   **nipúró**   **nna**   **vá** (H14.9)
           1SG.OM-exit-CAUS-OPT-PLA   5.place   5.DEM.I   16.DEM.I
           'get me out of this place'

Nouns in Makhuwa are divided into noun classes according to their nominal prefix and the concordance on the nominal modifiers.[2] The first noun classes occur in pairs, where classes 1, 3, 5, 9 are the singular and classes 2 ,4, 6, 10 form the corresponding plural. Class 15 contains mostly infinitives and classes 16, 17, 18 are locative noun classes. As can be seen in (1) and Table 1, the demonstratives agree with the noun in noun class. There are three series of demonstratives, which are distinguished with respect to distance in a person-oriented system: the first series refers to elements (person or object) close to the speaker, the second to elements close to the addressee and the third series refers to elements distant from both speaker and addressee. When indicating something particularly far away, the third series demonstrative is pronounced on a very high pitch, with a possibility of lengthening the last syllable. All demonstratives are glossed as 'DEM' with an indication of the series as I, II or III. The example sentences are translated as is found most natural and hence the translations may sometimes not contain a demonstrative.

---

1. The relevant demonstratives are underlined in all examples.
2. Makhuwa nouns do not have an augment or pre-prefix.

Table 1- Overview simple demonstrative

		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	űwo	űwe	there
18		mú	ḿmo	ḿmwe	in there

The demonstratives also have a reduplicated form, as listed in Table 2. An example of the use of the reduplicated demonstrative in a narrative is provided in (2).

Table 2 - Overview reduplicated demonstratives

class	I	II	III
1	**oloóla**	**oyoóyo**	**oloóle**
2	**alaála**	**ayaáyo**	**alaále**
3	**oloóla**	**oyoóyo**	**oloóle**
4	**iyeíya**	**iyoíyo**	**iyeíye**
5	**nnańna**	**nnońno**	**nneńne**
6	**alaála**	**ayaáyo**	**alaále**
9	**eleéla**	**eyeéyo**	**eleéle**
10	**iyeíya**	**iyoíyo**	**iyeíye**
14	**oloólá**	**oyoóyó**	**oloóle**
16	**vááva**	**váávo**	**váávale**
17	**wóńno**	**wówwo**	**wó(n)we**
18	**móómu**	**móḿmo**	**móḿwe**

(2)   **ni   mwalápw' <u>ool'</u>   <u>oólé</u> oo-lúm-ák-ats-íyá…** (K1.84)
        and 1.dog   1.DEM.III   RED   1SM.PERF.DJ-bite-DUR-PLUR-PASS
        'and that dog was bitten'

The reduplicated form can be distinguished from another series of demonstratives, which I refer to as emphatic demonstratives. These consist of the simple demonstrative and an agreeing prefix (glossed by E), as in (3). This is presumably the confirmative demonstrative discussed by Floor (1998), translated as 'the very (same)'. Katupha (1983) refers to it as the 'long form' of the demonstrative. It is often used pronominally (4).

(3)   **válé   okhúmá   nihúkú   <u>né-ǹné</u>…** (H15.37)
        16.DEM.III   15.exit   5.day   5E-5.DEM.III
        'as of that day/from that day on…'

(4)   **<u>y-oólé</u>   mpákhá   wa-ámútsy' aáwe** (H3.66)
        1E-1.DEM.III   until   16-2.family   2.POSS.1
        'she/the same went to his family's place'

Makhuwa uses the same form of the demonstrative in different syntactic functions. Demonstratives can function as an adnominal modifier, as in (5a) and (6a), or as a pronoun, either fulfilling an argument role (5b), or adverbial, modifying a VP (6b). There is no separate 'identificational form', selecting one referent from a possible set, in copular sentences (Diessel 1999b:9), as shown in (5c,d).[3]

(5) a. **mwalápwá <u>ole</u>   oo-mór-éla   va-thí** (K2.19)
         1.dog   1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-fall-APPL   16-down
         'that dog fell down'

     b. **<u>ólé</u>   oo-vélá-vela** (K1.14)
         1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-get.stuck-RED
         'he got stuck'

     c. **oo-líyála   wiírá   t'   <u>uúlé</u>**
         1SM.PERF.DJ-forget   COMP   COP   1.DEM.III

         a-h-aa-tthúny-ááwé   o-ń-túph-íha (H14.48)
         1-NEG-PAST-want.PERF.REL-POSS.1   15-1OM-jump-CAUS
         'she forgot that she was the one who refused to let him jump'

     d. **totóró   hw-iírá <u>ólé</u>   o-rí   sáana**
         1.doctor   NARR-say   1.DEM.III   1SM-be   well
         'and the doctor said (that) she is fine'

---

3. The vowel quality of the demonstratives starting with /e/ and /o/ can be higher after the copula (**ulé** instead of **olé** in (5c)) and after words ending in a high vowel /i/ or /u/, adapting the vowel hight to that of the preceding vowel.

(6) a. **ni-row-é**   **ná-múmul-ek-e**   **wakisírwá**   <u>**vale**</u> (H15.8)
1PL.SM-go-OPT   1PL.CONS-rest-DUR-OPT   16.island   16.DEM.III
'let's go and rest on that island'

    b. **oo-vényá**   **o-h-ońkóma**   <u>**válé**</u> (K4.97)
1SM.PERF.DJ-wake   1SM-PERF.DJ-sit   16.DEM.III
'he woke up, he sat down there'

There is an extra set of adverbial demonstratives referring to manner. These are **tsiitsa**, **tsiitso** and **tsiitsaale**, respectively for each series. Their use is illustrated in (7).

(7) a. **okhápá** **t'**   **á-k-íir-ih-ale**   <u>**tsiítsa**</u> (H14.46)
1.tortoise COP   1-1SG.OM-do-CAUS-PERF.REL   like.this
'tortoise is the one who did me like this'

    b. <u>**tsiítsó**</u>   **tsi-ní-ḿwéh-áu** (H2.52)
like.that   10-PRES-1OM-see.REL-POSS.2SG
'just like you see him'

    c. **oo-vírá**   **a-purúléy-aka**   **tsiítsáale** **mpákhá** **owáńny'awe**
1SM.PERF.DJ-pass 1SM-crawl-DUR   like.that   until   14.home 14.POSS.1
'he passed crawling like that until (he reached) his house'(H14.23)

In general the demonstrative follows the other modifiers in the DP. It obligatorily follows the possessive (8), and in (9a) it is also placed after the adjectival expressions and quantifier. If it occurs earlier as in (9b), there is a pause after the demonstrative. However, the rigidity or flexibility of the order of modifiers within the noun phrase remains to be studied more profoundly.[4]

(8) a. **ekaláwá** **ts-ínyú**   <u>**íyé**</u>   **vakhaáni**
10.boats   10-POSS.2PL   10.DEM.III   few
'those few boats of yours'

    b. *** ekaláwá <u>íyé</u> tsínyú vakhaáni**

(9) a. **makhule** **oo-riipa** **ma-nceene** **ma-khaani** <u>**ale**</u>
6.mice   6-black   6-many   6-small   6.DEM.III
'those many small black mice'

    b. **makhule** **oo-riipa** <u>**ale,**</u>   **ma-nceene** **ma-khaani**
6.mice   6-black   6.DEM.III   6-many   6-small

---

4. It is certain, though, that the possessive obligatorily occupies the first position after the noun.

As mentioned, the canonical position of the demonstrative is post-nominally. Indeed, it is highly unusual for the demonstrative to occur before the noun.[5] However, if a post-nominal demonstrative is present, the noun may be preceded by a demonstrative as well. I refer to these as 'doubled demonstrative'. The doubled demonstrative is shown in (10), and its function and interpretation is discussed in section 3.3.

(10)   **masi ólé   mwaár' áw'   oolé**
         but   1.DEM.III 1.wife   1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III

         aá-háaná   mpátthány' áawe (H4.16)
         1SM.IMPF-have   1.friend   1.POSS.1
         'but his wife had a friend'

Although Makhuwa-Enahara has independent personal pronouns for third person singular and plural (that is, the noun classes 1/2), as shown in Table 3 and (11), the demonstratives are very often used as pronouns. Especially the locative demonstratives are used pronominally more often than not, as in (13) and (14). The use and interpretation of the pronominal demonstratives is examined in section 3.2 and the locatives are treated in section 4.

Table 3 - Overview personal pronouns

		short form	long form
SG	1	**mi**	**miyaano**
	2	**we**	**weyaano**
	3	**yena**	
PL	1	**hĩ**	**hiyaano**
	2	**nyu(tse)**	**nyuwaano(tse)**
	3	**ayena(tse)**	

(11)   **o-h-iẃwâ?   yéná   hw-íírá   ko-h-iẃwa** (H3.8)
         1SM-PERF.DJ-hear 1.PRO   NARR-say   1SG.SM-PERF.DJ-hear
         'did you understand? he said: I understood'

(12)   **ólé   hw-íír-aka   tsi-thaacinry-áaka?** (H4.57)
         1.DEM.III   NARR-say-DUR   10-become.rich.PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
         'he said: how I became rich?'

(13)   **ntsúwá ni-nró-khum-aka ńnó   ni-row-ék-é   ńno** (H4.84)
         5.sun5SM-FUT-exit-DUR   17.DEM.I 5SM-go-DUR-OPT 17.DEM.I
         'the sun will come up here and go down there'

---

5. This order occurs sporadically in the Makhuwa narratives. However, it was sometimes corrected to N DEM order and I assume that the prenominal occurrences do not correspond to the general grammatical system.

(14)   **ólé**   **oo-phíyá**   **ű́we** (H4.55)
       1.dem.III   1.perf.dj-arrive   17.dem.III
       'he arrived there'

This section has briefly introduced the Makhuwa language, the form of the demonstratives in Makhuwa (simple, reduplicated and emphatic) and their occurrence (adnominal, doubled, pronominal). The remainder of the paper is focused on the use of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives. Section 2 introduces the narratives and discusses the general occurrence of demonstratives in narratives. Section 3 examines the textual functions of the doubled demonstrative and the pronominally used demonstrative and applies Ariel's (1990, 2001) Accessibility Theory to account for the use of demonstratives in these functions. Since locative demonstratives are somewhat less straightforward in their functions, these are discussed separately in section 4. Section 5 summarises the findings.

2. Makhuwa narratives

Like most African languages, Makhuwa has a rich oral tradition in story telling. Mr. Joaquim Nazário, a primary school teacher on Ilha de Moçambique, knows many of these stories and I recorded some of them during my fieldwork in 2005 and 2006. Nine of the stories were transcribed and checked with two other informants and these transcriptions I used in the study on demonstratives. It is thus a rather small sample (3311 words in total), so the conclusions of this research may not reach far. Nevertheless, the data do allow for certain observations and they point in a certain direction, which can be interesting for further research. In addition to the nine narratives, I used three narratives recorded for the wordless picture book 'Frog, where are you?' (Mayer 1969), as told by Joaquim Nazário, Ali Pwanale and Abdurremane Muzé, in 2006. The findings for these 'frog stories' are a little different as regards the use of demonstratives, but in general they confirm the results for the other Makhuwa narratives. They are mentioned when relevant.

   For comparison with another language, Portuguese was chosen, because the very same type of texts was available in Portuguese, being the national language of Mozambique. In order to compare the use of demonstratives in Makhuwa and in Portuguese, I used the same genre of Makhuwa stories from two sources: three narratives were told in Portuguese by the same speaker (and then transcribed), and six stories are taken from the book *Contos Macuas*, which contains a collection of Makhuwa narratives as told in Makhuwa by several people in a literacy course, and translated into Portuguese (the book only contains the Portuguese).[6] What is immediately striking when looking at these texts is the abundant use of demonstratives in the narratives in Makhuwa. Specifically, when comparing

---

6. For each example in this paper the source is indicated by a code between brackets. This code consists of a letter (H for Makhuwa, K for Makhuwa frog stories, P for Portuguese from the book, and PH for transcribed Portuguese), followed by a number for the individual story and a number for the line in the narrative. For example, (H2.16) refers to the Makhuwa traditional narrative number 2, line 16.

the number of demonstratives in Makhuwa texts with the demonstratives in the
Portuguese texts, the difference is remarkable. On average, demonstratives are used
five times more frequently in Makhuwa than in Portuguese (Table 4 and Table 5).
The data from the frog stories reconfirm the high number of demonstratives found
in the other narratives in Makhuwa. If the number of demonstratives is taken as a
percentage of the total number of words of a story, the frequency of demonstratives
in the Makhuwa stories differs significantly from the frequency of demonstratives
in the Portuguese stories ($p < 0.0001$ for ANOVA). Even when taking into account
that Portuguese may have more words in general due to the less agglutinative nature
of the grammar and orthography (e.g., auxiliaries and articles), this is an important
characteristic. Demonstratives in Makhuwa must thus have more and/or other
functions than in Portuguese (and similar languages).

Table 4 - Total (non-locative) demonstratives in narratives in Makhuwa

	total words	demonstratives
H2	344	32 (9.30%)
H3	526	55 (10.46%)
H4	686	59 (8.60%)
H5	296	33 (11.15%)
H6	270	13 (4.81%)
H7	341	26 (7.62%)
H9	235	10 (4.26%)
H14	414	42 (10.14%)
H15	299	34 (11.37%)
total	3311	304

Table 5 - Total (non-locative) demonstratives in narratives in Portuguese

total	words	demonstratives
P1	459	5 (1.09%)
P2	369	2 (0.54%)
P3	305	3 (0.98%)
P4	408	9 (2.21%)
P5	297	6 (2.02%)
P6	695	7 (1.01%)
PH3	500	20 (4.00%)
PH6	265	1 (0,38%)
PH14	493	10 (2,03%)
total	3791	63

Even more outstanding is the uneven distribution of the Makhuwa demonstratives over the three series. The demonstratives of series III are five times more frequent than those of series I and 13 times more frequent than those of series II. This is represented graphically in Figure 1, where the first column indicates the frequency of series I, II and III for the total number of demonstratives (still excluding locatives). The frog stories show a similar distribution of demonstratives over the three series. The reason for this difference in frequency of the three series of demonstratives is to be found in the exophoric and endophoric use of the demonstratives. In exophoric use (or situational use (Himmelmann 1996)), demonstratives refer to concrete objects or persons in the surrounding situation, which have the speaker as the deictic centre and which can be accompanied by a pointing gesture. Endophoric uses include reference to the propositions themselves (discourse deixis) and anaphoric reference to entities mentioned earlier in the discourse. Although all three series can be used exophorically, as exemplified in (15)-(17), series I and II are used predominantly in that way. This is visible in the relatively high percentage of occurrences of series I and II in direct speech and thoughts, where the participants in the story (indirectly exophorically) refer to their situation: 73% of series I, 88% of series II, and less than 18% of series III.[7] The second column in Figure 1 represents these percentages, as that part of the first column that is used in direct speech.

Figure 1 - Distribution of Makhuwa non-locative demonstratives over series I, II and III
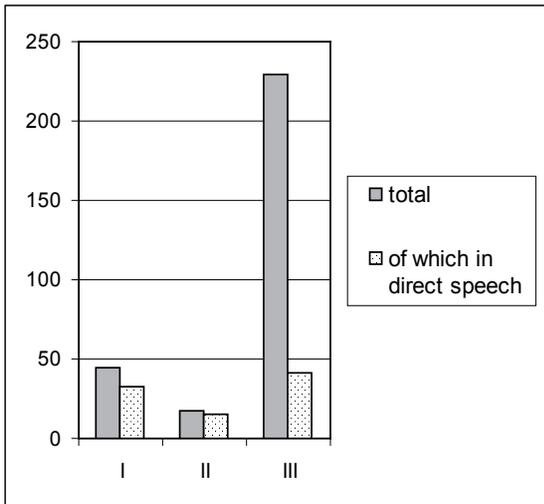
(15)   **hw-ír-aka**   <u>**ólá**</u>   **o-kí-kányári** (H4.66)
         NARR-say-DUR   1.DEM.I   1SM.PERF.DJ-1SG.OM-win
         'that one has won from me'

---

7. The remaining non-exophoric occurrences of series I and II are too few and too diverse to draw any conclusions on their use and the relation to series III.

(16) **óyo**   **mwan'**   **aka**   **míí,**
      1.DEM.II   1.child.PL 1.POSS.1SG   1SG.PRO

      mwan' áká   **ólé**   **o-n-aátsím-íyá**   **Maríámu** (H2.37)
      1.child   1.POSS.1SG   1.DEM.III   1SM-PRES.CJ-call-PASS   Mariamu
      'that one is my child, my child is called Mariamu'

(17) **wé,**   **mí**   **ki-n-aátsím-íyá**   **fulánó**   **fuláno** (H15.19)
      2SG.VOC   1SG.PRO   1SG.SM-PRES.CJ-call-PASS   so-and-so   RED

      ólé   **o-n-aátsím-íyá**   **fulánó**   **fuláno** (H15.20)
      1.DEM.III   1SM-PRES.CJ-call-PASS   so-and-so   RED
      'hey you, I am called so-and-so, he is called so-and-so'

A logical conclusion is that the demonstratives in series III are used predominantly endophorically,[8] and the converse is also true: anaphoric deixis is (almost always?) indicated by demonstratives of series III. But how exactly are these demonstratives used? The next section examines the functions of demonstratives in the narratives in Makhuwa, focussing on the pronominal use and the doubled demonstratives.

3. Textual functions of demonstratives

3.1. Accessibility of referents

Diessel (1999b) mentions three types of endophoric uses: anaphoric, discourse deictic and recognitional (partly following Himmelmann 1996). In recognitional use, the speaker makes a suggestion to the hearer to identify a specific referent in their shared knowledge, which was not mentioned before. Since the recorded stories are not interactive, this use is not encountered. In discourse deixis, a demonstrative refers to a proposition, as in (18). In this example, the reason for prohibiting someone from entering a certain area has just been explained and the demonstrative **íyo** refers to the whole explanation.

(18) **e-n-kóttíh-er-ak-áaká**   **t'**   **iíyo** (H4.49)
      9-PRES-deny-APPL-DUR.REL-POSS.1SG   COP   9.DEM.II
      'I used to prohibit (it) because of this' (lit. 'what I prohibited for is this')

As the recognitional use and discourse deixis are sparse in Makhuwa narratives, and as these pragmatic uses are not marked by formally different demonstratives, this section focuses on the anaphoric use of demonstratives.[9] In their anaphoric

---

8. The Bantu language Kirundi seems to have special categories of demonstratives for anaphoric mention. These are categories C6 and C7 in Njejimana's (1990) study of demonstratives, where C6 is the most frequent as in series III in Makhuwa, and it is only used anaphorically. However, the overall frequency of demonstratives is lower in Kirundi (6.3% of the total number of words).
9. I use the term 'anaphoric' for the use of a demonstrative as referring to a text-internal

use, demonstratives refer to an entity mentioned in the preceding discourse (or, in narratives, the preceding episodes).[10] This is illustrated for an adnominal demonstrative in (19): the owl (**etsíítsí**) is referred to in sentence 6 of the story, again four sentences later and again two sentences later, when it is referred to with a noun modified by a demonstrative.

(19)   **hw-íira   mí   etsíítsí, ki-náá-várá,   ki-náá-khúura** (H9.6)
        NARR-say   1SG.PRO   9.owl   1SG.SM-PRES.DJ-grab   1SG.SM-PRES.DJ-chew
        'and he said: the owl, I will catch him and eat him'
        […]
        hatá nihúkú ni-motsá, ólé   khweelí o-ḿ-phwány'   etsíítsí
        until 5.day   5-one   1.DEM.III   certainly   1.PERF.DJ-1OM-meet   9.owl
        'until one day he found the owl'(H9.10)
        […]
        oo-phíyá   válé,   oo-túphá,
        1.PERF.DJ-arrive   16.DEM.III   1.PERF.DJ-jump

        oo-várá   etsííts'   íile (H9.11b)
        1.PERF.DJ-grab   9.owl   9.DEM.III
        'he arrived there, he jumped and he caught that owl'

When demonstratives are used like this to keep track of a referent, there is of course an interaction with 3rd person personal pronouns and subject agreement markers on the verb.[11] Makhuwa is a PRO-drop language, which can simply leave out a lexical expression for subject or object. The subject is always marked on the verb (whether the full NP is present or not) by an agreement prefix, which agrees in noun class with the subject it refers to. In (20a) the prefix **a-** agrees in class with the subject **ámwáńn'áká** 'my husband' (both are in class 2), but (20b) shows that the lexical subject can also be left out, leaving the subject marker as an anaphoric prefix. The object is obligatorily marked on the verb only if it is in class 1 or 2; otherwise it can simply be omitted if the speaker assumes it familiar. In (21a) the object of the first verb **ookúsh'** is simply left out, the indirect object of the verb **ohaáphwányá** is marked (**-aá-**), and in (21b) one object is marked and one omitted.

(20) a.   **hw-íira   íi,   ámwáńn' áká   owáání   a-h-iv́va** (H3.63)
           NARR-say   ii   2.husband   2.POSS.1SG   17.home   2SM-PERF.DJ-kill
           'and she said: ii, my husband at home has committed a murder'

---

entity. As such, I do not make a contrast 'deictic' vs. 'anaphoric' (see Cornish (1999:22-32) on the contrastive use of these terms). All demonstratives are deictic elements, because their interpretation is dependent on the (intra- or extralinguistic) context or co-text, and the term 'anaphoric' then specifies what type of deixis is at hand for a specific use of a demonstrative, i.e., referring to an earlier mentioned entity (or later, taking into account cataphoric reference).
10. Nicolle (2007b) notes the use of demonstrative for the first introduction of a referent in the discourse in Digo narratives, what he calls 'presentational' use. In Makhuwa, it hardly ever happens that a referent is introduced with a demonstrative.
11. In other languages there may also be an interaction with definite articles and nouns.

   b. **a-h-iV́va?**   **hw-íira**   **aá** (H3.64)
      2SM-PERF.DJ-kill   NARR-say   yes
      'did he kill (someone)? and she said: yes'

(21) a. **oo-kúsh'**   **óólé**   **oo-rówa**   **o-h-aá-phwányá**
        1SM.PERF.DJ-carry   1.DEM.III   1SM-PERF.DJ-go   1SM-PERF.DJ-2OM-meet

        áháalw'   **aáwé**   **ni**   **ámáathy'**   **áawe** (H5.42)
        2.father.in.law   2.POSS.1   and   2.mother.in.law   2.POSS.1
        'he picked them up, he went, he met his father and mother in law'

   b. **o-h-aá-váha** (H5.43)
      1SM-PERF.DJ-2OM-give
      'he gave them (the oranges) to them (the parents in law)'

The function of referential expressions is to help the listener identify the intended referent. If there is the possibility to encode a referent by means of a full NP, a personal pronoun or just an agreement marker on the verb, why would an anaphoric demonstrative be used to refer to an entity? Diessel (1999a:99) makes the following observation:

> What all anaphoric demonstratives have in common is that they do not just continue the focus of attention, rather, they indicate that the antecedent is not the referent that the hearer would expect in this context (i.e. the most topical NP). Anaphoric demonstratives are used when reference tracking is somewhat problematic, or as Himmelmann puts it: "demonstratives are used for tracking only if other tracking devices fail" (Himmelmann 1996:227).[12]

Himmelmann (1996:226) actually discusses another proposal to determine the specific role of demonstratives with respect to other tracking devices. This does more justice to the frequency of demonstratives found in Makhuwa, which suggests that the demonstrative is one of the normal ways to track a referent, and not a 'last resort':

> It has been proposed that demonstratives are used for tracking referents whose topicality (Brown 1983), accessibility (Ariel 1990:73) or activation state (Gundel *et al.* 1993:275) is intermediate between that for personal pronouns and that for definite full NPs.

Which reference tracking device is most helpful in identifying the intended referent is thus dependent on the mental status of that referent. If it is the most topical element at a certain point in the discourse, it will be referred to by a different expression than when it is newly introduced into the discourse. Thus demonstratives can be placed on a hierarchy with the other types of referential expressions (like full NPs or prefixes), for example in Gundel *et al.*'s (1993) Givenness Hierarchy (22). Referents that are relatively less easily traced in the previous discourse and in the

---

12. Himmelmann sees as a possible exception languages that do not have articles and/or 3rd person pronouns.

hearer's conscience are less likely to be coded by a zero anaphor or just a prefix, but will more probably be referred to with an indefinite noun. The demonstratives are somewhere in between the extremes of this continuum.

(22)   Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993)
          in conscience (it) > activated (that) > familiar (that N) > uniquely identifiable
          (the N) > referential (indef. this N) > type identifiable (a N)

The ease of tracking a referent can be expressed by the parameter Accessibility, which is the basis of Accessibility Theory (Ariel 1990, 2001). Accessibility Theory hypothesises that the choice of a referential expression depends on the accessibility of the mental referent. Where the Givenness Hierarchy lists the possible (cognitive) states of a referent and gives an English expression as an example, the Accessibility Hierarchy ranks the referential expressions, taking into account not only the morphological but also the phonological properties (23).[13]

(23)   Accessibility Hierarchy (Ariel 1990)
          full name > long definite description > short definite description > last name >
          first name
          > distal demonstrative + modifier > proximate demonstrative + modifier
          > distal demonstrative + NP > proximate demonstrative + NP
          > distal demonstrative > proximate demonstrative > stressed pronoun
          > unstressed pronoun > cliticized pronoun > verbal person inflections > zero

The match of a certain level of accessibility of a referent to a referential expression is dependent on three parameters (Ariel 2001):

   1. Informativity (the amount of lexical information an expression contains);
   2. Rigidity (the ability to pick a unique referent based on form);
   3. Attenuation (the reduction in phonological size).

The more informative, rigid and unattenuated a form is, the lower the degree of accessibility of the referent, and vice versa. For example, a definite descriptive noun phrase like 'the pancake that the cat just stole' is more informative than a pronoun 'it', gives a higher probability to pick out the intended referent, and has more phonological material than a pronoun. The full noun phrase is thus expected to be used when referring to entities that are not very accessible, whereas the pronoun, which is less informative, less rigid and more attenuated, is expected to be used to refer to highly accessible (topical) entities. For Makhuwa, the accessibility hierarchy of referential expressions is proposed as in (24):

(24)   N+modifier > N > N + DEM > DEM N DEM > DEM/pronoun > prefix

Based on their form, the hypothesis for the use and function of demonstratives in Makhuwa is that demonstratives occur when the referent is less accessible but not

---

13. Another difference between the two hierarchies is that the Givenness Hierarchy is implicational (when one level holds, all the lower statuses also hold), whereas the Accessibility Hierarchy is not implicational, as noticed by Cornish (1999).

completely inaccessible or new, or, phrased differently, that demonstratives help to identify less accessible referents.

The accessibility of a (mental) referent is influenced by a number of factors (Ariel 2001). These include whether the referent has recently been mentioned, the number of times a referent has been mentioned before, the inherent importance of the referent (whether the referent is a participant in the discourse, for example), the number of referents mentioned between two expressions for the same referent, the cohesion of a paragraph, paragraph boundaries, the grammatical role (subject, object), etc. All these influences (and most probably more) affect the accessibility of the referent and hence the choice of the referential expression. For example, a referent that has been introduced in the discourse in the first sentence and is only brought up again after three paragraphs while four other referents have been mentioned in between will be less accessible than a referent that is referred to in three subsequent sentences after its first mention.

Since the use of anaphoric demonstratives is dependent on the accessibility of referents, and the accessibility is influenced by these factors, the logical prediction is that there is a relation between the occurrence of demonstratives and the mentioned influences on accessibility. This prediction is tested for the pronominal demonstrative and the doubled demonstrative in Makhuwa narratives. The results allow us to draw conclusions about the hypothesis that the demonstratives are used to identify less accessible referents.

3.2. Pronominal demonstratives

In their endophoric use pronominal demonstratives are predominantly found in two environments: first, when there is a shift of topic, and second, after an episode boundary. For the topic shift, the demonstrative shows exactly the function of retrieving a less accessible referent. It indicates to the hearer: retrieve the referent that is not the most accessible at the moment. In the fragment of one of the narratives in (25), the topic of the sentence changes from one referent to another: in (25b) and (25c) the topic is the so-called friend of the protagonist, once referred to by a demonstrative and (when the topic stays the same) simply not expressed overtly at all, but in (25d) the topic is the protagonist and a pronominal demonstrative **ólé** is used. When the topic changes again (back to the friend), the demonstrative is used again, clarifying that the subject does not have the same referent as in the previous sentence. However, this generalisation seems to hold only in one direction: it is often the case that when a pronominal demonstrative is used, there is a topic shift, but it is not the case that every time a topic shift occurs, a demonstrative is used. This can be seen in (25f), where the topic is not the same as in the previous sentence, and yet there is no independent referential expression.[14]

_____

14. Ariel (1994:38) also notes that there is some free variation among referring expressions, depending on how a speaker assesses the Accessibility (a graded notion) of an entity in the addressee's mind.

(25) a. **yoo-phíyá   ecuúma** (H4.54)
          9.PERF.DJ-arrive   9.Friday
          'then it was Friday'

  b. **ólé   oo-phíyá   űwe** (H4.55)
      1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-arrive   17.DEM.III
      'he_i arrived there'

  c. **hw-ír-aka   wiírá   nyú   mpattháni**
      NARR-do-DUR   COMP   2PL.VOC   1.friend

      ki-náá-phéélá   ki-tsuwél-é   tsi-thaacinr-ínyu (H4.56)
      1SG.SM-PRES.DJ-want 1SG-know-OPT   10-be.rich.PERF.REL-POSS.2PL
      'and he_i said: hey, my friend, I want to know how you became rich.'

  d. <u>**ólé**</u>   **hw-íír-aka: tsi-thaacinry-áaka?** (H4.57)
      1.DEM.III   NARR-say-DUR   10-be.rich.PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
      'he_k said: how I became rich?'

  e. <u>**ólé**</u>   **hw-íír-aka: aá** (H4.58)
      1.DEM.III   NARR-say-DUR   yes
      'he_i said: yes'

  f. **hw-íír-aka   mí   nki-n-úú-him-eéryá …** (H4.59)
      NARR-do-DUR   1SG.PRO   NEG.1SG.SM-PRES-2SG.OM-say-APPL
      'he_k said: I won't tell you…'

In (26a) the topic and subject is the Portuguese ('they'). The just-introduced
fisherman is the topic of the next sentence in (26b), where the demonstrative **ole**
is used. The fisherman is still the topic in (26c), but in (26d) the topic shifts to the
Portuguese again, and the demonstrative **ale** occurs.

(26) a. **a-ḿ-phwányá   nlópwáná   m-motsá** (H15.9)
          2SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-meet   1.man   1-one
          'they met a man'

  b. <u>**ólé**</u>   **aa-rí   nákhavokó** (H15.10)
      1.DEM.III   1SM.PAST-be   1.fisherman.PL
      'he was a fisherman'

  c. **aa-ríná   ekalawa   ts-áwé   ts-a   khavóko** (H15.11)
      1SM.PAST-have   10.boats   10-POSS.1   10-CONN   fishing
      'he had his fishing boats'

  d. <u>**álé**</u>   **a-ḿ-wéh-átsa** (H15.12)
      2.DEM.III   2SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-see-PLUR
      'they looked at him'

In some topic shifts the contrast between the two referents seems to be highlighted, as for example in (27), where the Hare is on the one side of the river and he (**ólé**) is contrasted with the people on the other side of the river (**álé**). For this contrastive use, personal pronouns can also be used, as is very often remarked for the use of independent personal pronouns in other Bantu languages. Nevertheless, personal pronouns hardly occur in the Makhuwa narratives: we found only 5 instances in all nine texts.[15]

(27) **ólé**   **a-ruwan-áká**   **álé**   **a-m-pwésh-ák-ats-aká**
      1.DEM.III   1SM-insult-DUR   2.DEM.III   2SM-1OM-hit-DUR-PLUR-DUR

      a-ttiká-ttík-ats-aká   **erráncá**   **ts-ińcééne** (H5.38)
      2SM-throw-RED-PLUR-DUR   10.oranges   10-many
      'he was insulting and they were hitting him, throwing many oranges'

The second environment where pronominal demonstratives are found is after an episode boundary. One often finds a locative or temporal demonstrative (**vale** or **vano**, respectively) at the episode boundary as well, as is also discussed in section 4.2 on locative demonstratives. In (28a) and (28d) two beginnings of new episodes are shown, which both display the locative demonstrative and the encoding of the topic by a pronominal demonstrative.

(28) a. **válé**   **ólé**   **o-mw-iww-el-aly-ááwé**
          16.DEM.III   1.DEM.III   17-1OM.hear-APPL-PERF.REL-POSS.1

          nthíyán' owooth' oolé (H3.33)
          1.woman   1.lying   1.DEM.III
          'now when he heard of this lying woman'

      b. **hw-íira**   **paáhi**   **ki-ni-ń-théla**   **yóoyo** (H3.34)
          NARR-dsay   enough   1SG.SM-PRES.CJ-1OM-marry   1.EDEM.II
          'he said: okay, I'll marry this one'

      c. **khú-ń-thela** (H3.35)
          NARR-1OM-marry
          'and he married her'
          […]

      d. **válé**   **ólé**   **oo-khúma** (H3.38)
          16.DEM.III   1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-exit
          'then he went out'

      e. **oorów'**   **ó-sitáti** (H3.39)
          1SM.PERF.DJ-go   17-city
          'he went to the city'

---

15. This is 0.15% of the total number of words, whereas in the Portuguese texts there are 110 instances of (both subject and object) personal pronouns, which is 2.9%.

Example (29) shows the last sentence of a certain episode and the first two of the next episode. In the previous episode, Hare had been told his impossible task to get oranges from the other side of the river, and he makes preparations and finally arrives at the riverbank. In all preceding five sentences Hare was the topic (and subject), just as in the last sentence of the episode, which is (29a). Once in those preceding sentences is he referred to by his name, and the other times only by the subject agreement on the verb. With (29b) a new episode starts, about how Hare actually gets the oranges. The topic is still Hare, and yet a pronominal demonstrative is used.

(29) a. **o-n-aá-wéha**   **atthú**
           1SM-PRES.CJ-2OM-see   2.people

           a-n-ttótt-átsá   **errańcá**   **iye**
           2-PRES-pick-PLUR.REL   10.oranges   10.DEM.III
           'he sees people picking those oranges'(H5.27)

      b. **ólé**   **oo-pácérá**   **w-aá-rúwána** (H5.28)
           1.DEM.III   1SM-PERF.DJ-begin   15-2OM-insult
           'then he began to insult them'

      c. **o-h-aá-rúwána**   **o-h-aá-rúwána…** (H5.29)
           1SM-PERF.DJ-2OM-insult   1SM-PERF.DJ-2OM-insult
           'he insulted and insulted them'

This use of the pronominal demonstrative can be explained in Accessibility Theory by the cohesive linking in a paragraph and the presence of paragraph boundaries. One could look at this from two slightly different perspectives. On the one hand, if a paragraph or larger episode is closed, it becomes more difficult to retrieve the referent, which results in a lower accessibility and hence a lower referential marker (i.e., a demonstrative and not just the subject marker). On the other hand, more from the perspective of the listener, if a lower referential marker is used for a referent with a higher accessibility, then the conclusion must be drawn that this is the start of a new paragraph or episode. By playing with the different referential expressions for different values of accessibility, the text structure is encoded as well. Demonstratives thus not only help to track the referent, but also structure the narrative.[16]

   One question that remains for Makhuwa is which expression marks the episode and (smaller) paragraph boundaries: the anaphoric demonstrative referring to a participant in the story, the locative demonstrative **vano** or **vale**, or maybe both? The locatives are discussed in section 4.2.

   There are of course occurrences of demonstratives in the narratives that cannot be said to have one of these functions. An example is given in (30). The episodes preceding this example told about two servants failing in the task to carry a box to their master's. In sentence 39 of the story a new episode about the third servant has

---

16. This is true more generally. For example, Grenoble (1998) notices for Russian that deictic elements are essential for the structure and the information flow of the discourse.

started, and in sentence 42 (30b) he is the subject of the sentence (topic shift, but no demonstrative). Although there is no contrast and no topic shift in (30c), and it is hard to claim that there is an episode boundary between (30b) and (30c), a pronominal demonstrative is used nevertheless.

(30) a. **só**   **mw-ii-caw-ih-é**   **ntokó**
     just   2PL.SM-NEG-flee-CAUS-OPT   like

     tsi-n-iír-íh-ák-ááyá   **akhw-íinyu** (H7.42)
     10-PRES-do-CAUS-DUR.REL-POSS.2   2.counterpart-POSS.2PL
     'just don't let him escape like your colleagues did'

  b. **hw-íira**   **naáta** (H7.43)
     NARR-say   no
     'and he said: no'

  c. <u>**ólé**</u>   **oo-líp-íha**   **nrímá,**   **oo-kúshá**,
     1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-make.strong-CAUS   3.heart   1SM.PERF.DJ-carry

     oo-píiha (H7.44)
     1SM.PERF.DJ-arrive.CAUS
     'he heartened himself, he carried it, he made it arrive'

In summary, pronominal demonstratives are used for exophoric and endophoric (anaphoric) deixis. In anaphoric deixis they are often found in topic shifts and after an episode boundary. These are environments in which the referent is less accessible and must hence be encoded by a referential marker that is lower in the accessibility hierarchy. The exceptions to these generalisations show that it is not obligatory to mark a topic shift morphologically, and that the relative accessibility may not be the only factor involved. The use of demonstratives at episode boundaries shows that the demonstratives have a function in text structuring as well.

3.3. Doubled (adnominal) demonstrative

Based on the hierarchy of referential expressions in Makhuwa (24), it can be predicted that the doubled demonstrative is used for referents that are even less accessible than the ones referred to by a pronominal demonstrative. This is true to a certain extent. The doubled demonstrative occurs predominantly in three contexts: first, when reactivating a referent that has not been mentioned for some time; second, in tail-head linking; and third, at episode boundaries. The first use, in reactivation, was also noticed by Lichtenberk (1988) for To'aba'ita. When the last occurrence of a referent is at some distance in the preceding discourse, it is more likely to be referred to by an anaphoric demonstrative.

    This is exemplified for Makhuwa in (31). The last mention of the subject of the first sentence in (31), was in sentence 70. After an episode speaking solely about the man whose wife was taken from him, the story comes back to the one who took the wife, which is sentence 98 of the story. The narrator starts by referring to him with a pronominal demonstrative **ólé**, but realises that the referent is not sufficiently

accessible to be identified directly. In an epenthetic clause (who answered was the/that man who…), he adds information so as to make sure that the listeners pick the right referent, and uses the doubled demonstrative to refer to the less accessible referent.

(31) **ólé**   **khw-íira** (H4.98)
      1.DEM.III   NARR-say
      'and he said,'

      aakhul-le   **t'**   **uúlé**   **nlópwán'**   **oolé**
      1SM.PAST.answer-PERF.REL COP   1.DEM.III   1.man   1.DEM.III

      aa-mw-aákh-álé   **mwaár'**   **áw'**   **oole**
      1SM.PAST-1OM-pull-PERF.REL 1.woman   1.POSS.1   1.DEM.III
      '(the one) who answered was that man who had snatched his wife away,'

      hwíra   **mpattháni…**
      NARR-say   1.friend
      'he said: my friend…'

Another example of reactivation is given in (32). The last sentence where Leopard is mentioned is (32a), after which some sentences are used to let Tortoise explain about the different types of paint he has. After this explanation, Tortoise calls Leopard (32b), and the narrator clarifies that it is Leopard he calls, using the doubled demonstrative (32c). The preceding part of the narrative is thus not very coherent (jumping from the main story line of Leopard's arrival to the explanation about the types of paint), which does not contribute to the accessibility of the intended referent. As predicted by the hierarchy in Accessibility Theory, the doubled demonstrative is used to identify a referent that has been mentioned before in the discourse/narrative, but one that is not very accessible and hence needs some extra effort to be identified.

(32) a. **havárá**   **ole**   **oo-rówá**   **wa-khápá**   **óle** (H14.25)
         1.leopard   1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-go   16-tortoise   1.DEM.III
         'Leopard went to Tortoise's place'
         […]

      b. **vánó** **hw-íír-ááwe**   **nyúwó**   **nka-waá-ní**   **ńno** (H14.29)
         now   NARR-say-POSS.1   2PL.VOC   HORT-come-PLA   17.DEM.I
         'then he said: you, come here!'

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

The second use of the doubled demonstrative is in tail-head linking. In tail-head linking, some part (usually the last – the tail) of the previous sentence is repeated in the immediately following sentence. In (33a) a woman is introduced into the story,

and she is referred to in the next sentence (33b). In fact, she is the topic of that
sentence, and the doubled demonstrative is used to refer to this newly established
topic. A similar case is presented in (34).

(33) a. **o-ḿ-phwánya**   **nthíyáná**   **m-motsá** (H3.31)
         1SM.PERF.DJ-1-meet   1.woman   1-one
         'he met a woman'

      b. <u>**ólé**</u>   **nthíyán'**   <u>**uule**</u>   **kh-oóthá**
         1.DEM.III   1.woman   1.DEM.III   NEG.1SM.IMPF-lie

         aa-páh'   **ólumweńku** (H3.32)
         1SM.IMPF-light   14.world
         'this woman didn't just lie, she set the world on fire!'

(34) a. **o-ń-thélá**   **mwaár'**   **áwe** (H4.16)
         1SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-marry   1.wife   1.POSS.1
         'he married his wife'

      b. **masi** <u>**ólé**</u>   **mwaár'**   **áw'**   <u>**oolé**</u>
         but   1.DEM.III   1.wife   1.POSS.1   1.DEM.III

         aá-háaná   **mpátthány'**   **áawe**
         1SM.IMPF-have   1.friend   1.POSS.1
         'but his wife had a friend'

In terms of accessibility, a newly introduced referent is not very accessible yet. It
has not been mentioned previously and has not been the topic of the discourse yet.
According to such considerations, when referring to it after the first mention, a
referential expression could be expected that is neither highest nor lowest on the
accessibility scale, such as an expression with a demonstrative. However, a simple
adnominal or a pronominal demonstrative would also do in that case. And, in fact,
these are found in this environment as well. Nicolle (2007a,b) provides an account
of the use of tail-head linking constructions, which are also an environment for
demonstratives in the Bantu language Digo. According to him, the tail-head linking
serves to "indicate a conceptual boundary between the two clauses, indicating a
new development in the narrative" (Nicolle 2007a:129). The linking of the next
phrase to the previous bridges this boundary and creates more coherence. Although
in Makhuwa there is often a new development in the story at the point where a
tail-head link occurs, this does not explain why the doubled demonstrative is used
sometimes but not always. Diessel (1999b:98) reports that the use of demonstratives
is cross-linguistically very common to refer to an entity right after introduction,
to shift the attention to the new referent. It serves "to establish major discourse
participants in the universe of discourse". Although at first sight the doubled
demonstratives in Makhuwa are used for both major and minor participants, upon
closer inspection the referents of the doubled demonstratives in tail-head linking
turn out all to play an important role in the rest of the story. The tail-head linking

is not necessarily after the first introduction of a referent, nor is it always used for major discourse participants, but nevertheless the referent is brought more to the attention of the addressee.

For example, in (35a) a new referent is introduced in the story (**nlópwána** 'a man'). In the next sentence he is referred to with the doubled demonstrative (tail-head link), in a preposed topic position (35b). This referent does not play any role in the next paragraphs and is never the topic. That is, until near the end of the narrative, when he suddenly turns out to be very important for the conclusion of the story line. It is in the last sentences of the story that he is referred to again, using the doubled demonstrative for reactivation (35c).

(35)　a.　**vá,**　　**o-háá-vo**　　**nlópwána**　　**aa-vírá**　　**mú**
　　　　　16.DEM.I　　1SM-stay-LOC　　1.man　　　1.IMPF-pass.REL　　18.DEM.I

　　　　　ni　　**nrúp'**　　**ááwé**　　**m-uúlúpalé**　　**ni**　　**ntsúrúkhu** (H3.55)
　　　　　with　　3.bag　　3.POSS.1　　3-big　　　with　　3.money
　　　　　'there was a man who passed by here with a big bag with money'

　　　b.　**masi**　**válé,**　　**ólé**　　**nlópwán'**　**oolé,**　　**ko-ḿ-várá,**
　　　　　but　　16.DEM.III　　1.DEM.III　　1.man　　1.DEM.III　　1SG.SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-grab

　　　　　koo-mw-ív–vá,　　　**ko-ń-thíp-élá**　　　　**vathí** (H3.56)
　　　　　1SG.SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-kill　　1SG.SM.PERF.DJ-1OM-dig-APPL　　16-down
　　　　　'but that man now, I seized him, I killed him, I buried him'

　　　c.　**vánó** **ólé**　　**ntth'**　**úule,**　　**o-mw-ivv-el-l'**　　**éshéenî?**
　　　　　now　1.DEM.III　　1.person　1.DEM.III　　1SM.-1OM-kill-APPL.PERF.CJ　9.what
　　　　　'now as for that man, why did you kill him?' (H3.90)

In summary, in tail-head linking the doubled demonstrative not only reflects the accessibility of the referent, but also indicates the importance of the referent for future reference. It can in that way be said to boost the accessibility of the referent for following discourse or episodes. Gernsbacher (1989) also notes this function. She says that the lower the accessibility is of the referential expression used, the more enhanced the referent will become. These expressions thus encode the current degree of accessibility (at that point in the discourse/narrative where they are used), but also contribute to the future accessibility status.

A third use of the doubled demonstrative is after an episode boundary, as with the pronominal demonstrative. In (36) the previous episode is about the mother of the protagonist and the advice she gives him. The episode ends with her death (36a). The new episode starts with the protagonist as the (shifted) topic, and he is referred to by the doubled demonstrative.

(36)　(Now his mother became ill. She called her son and said: "[…] Do you remember?" He said "I remember". "That's what I am telling you")

　　　a.　**ólé**　　**khú-khwa** (H3.20)
　　　　　1.DEM.III　　NARR-die
　　　　　'and then she died'

b. **ólé   rapásy' úúlé   oo-khálá   oo-khálá   oo-khálá**
   1.DEM.III   boy   1.DEM.III   1SM.PERF.DJ-stay   id.   id.
   'the boy stayed and stayed and stayed'

c. **oo-phíyá   okáthí   w'   oóthéla**
   1SM.PERF.DJ-arrive   14.time   14.CONN   15.marry
   '(until) it was time to get married'

Again, the accessibility of the referent is reduced, since there is an episode (or paragraph) boundary in between the references. Nevertheless, this is never a particularly heavy boundary, the referents mentioned after the boundary have not been out of conscience very long, and the referents are not necessarily major participants or ones that play an important role (although some indeed are). That is to say, I cannot find much difference between the episode boundary contexts in which a pronominal demonstrative is used and those in which the doubled demonstrative is found.

There remain other uses of the doubled demonstrative that do not fit straightforwardly in one of these categories (reactivation, tail-head linking and episode boundary), and that do not find an easy explanation in the accessibility or textual coherence either. The doubled demonstrative in (37b) may be claimed to occur after a paragraph boundary, since it is one of the two concluding sentences of the narrative. It could possibly be analysed as an aid in identification of the intended referent, which is in this case the previous proposition (hence a discourse deictic use), but at least it shows that the doubled demonstrative is not always associated with enhancement of future accessibility, since that would serve no purpose at the very end of a narrative.

(37) a. **a-khal-áká   múrú   vathí,**
         1SM-stay-DUR   3.head   16-down

         a-kush-áká   mwéttó   a-weh-íh-áka   otsulú (H6.49)
         1SM-carry-DUR   4.feet   1SM-see-CAUS-DUR   17-up
         'staying head down, putting his legs to look up'

      b. **tí-ń-khal-áyá   wiírá**
         COP-PRES-stay.REL-POSS.2   COMP

         pí-tsáa-pańc-áyá   álé   makhálélw'   aalé
         COP-10.PAST-begin.PERF.REL-POSS.2   6.DEM.III   6.living   6.DEM.III
         'it is therefore that he started this way of living' (H6.50)

3.4. Conclusion

The Makhuwa demonstratives of series III are mainly used for anaphoric deixis. The demonstratives help to identify the indicated referent, and Accessibility Theory explains that the entities referred to by the pronominal or doubled demonstrative are the referents that have been mentioned before, but that are not the most accessible at that point in the narrative. The use of the doubled demonstrative may also enhance

accessibility for future reference, which is something that goes beyond Accessibility Theory. In their use at paragraph and episode boundaries, the demonstratives have a text-structuring function. The fact that not all instances fit in, could point to an even wider pragmatic use.

A similar conclusion is reached by Mithun (1987). Studying the use of demonstratives in Tuscarora (Iroquian), she observes that demonstratives are not required for grammaticality, but they are used in the organisation of the discourse "in establishing orientation, in tracking entities, and in controlling the flow of information" (p.194). Gough (1992) and De Vries (1995) also discuss the pragmatic functions of demonstratives, and conclude that they can be used as (shift) topic markers in Xhosa (Bantu) and Wambon (Papuan), respectively.

4. Locative demonstratives

There are two reasons to treat the locative demonstratives separately. The first is that they display more variety in their pragmatic use and the second is that locatives are always a tricky category in Bantu languages. Locative expressions can be an NP argument or an adverb, and so the locative demonstrative can be used adnominally, adverbially and pronominally. These uses are discussed in the next subsections, but first the general numbers of locative demonstratives in Makhuwa (and Portuguese) stories are presented.

4.1. Locative demonstratives in narratives

The relative number of locative demonstratives used in narratives in Makhuwa differs significantly from the relative number of locative demonstratives in the narratives in Portuguese (p<0.0001 for ANOVA). The difference has more or less the same ratio as that of the non-locative demonstratives (Table 6 and Table 7). The frog stories showed a particularly high number of locative demonstratives, as shown in Table 8, which could be due to the task of telling the story while describing the pictures. In this descriptive task the need to indicate the location of the referents seems to be higher than in 'normal' story telling. However, the distribution over the series is more equal, and hence it differs from that of the non-locative demonstratives, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Table 6 - Total locative demonstratives in narratives in Makhuwa

	total words	loc. dems
H2	344	9 (2.62%)
H3	526	26 (4.94%)
H4	686	30 (4.37%)
H5	296	10 (3.38%)
H6	270	8 (2.96%)
H7	341	18 (5.28%)
H9	235	7 (2.98%)
H14	414	17 (4.11%)
H15	299	11 (3.68%)
total	3311	136

Table 7 - Total locative demonstratives in narratives in Portuguese

	total words	loc. dems
P1	459	1 (0.22%)
P2	369	1 (0.27%)
P3	305	1 (0.33%)
P4	408	2 (0.49%)
P5	297	4 (1.35%)
P6	695	4 (0.58%)
PH3	500	6 (1.20%)
PH6	265	4 (1.51%)
PH14	493	9 (1.83%)
total	3791	32

Table 8 - Locative demonstratives in frog stories

	total words	loc. dems
K1	577	41 (7.11%)
K2	300	12 (4%)
K4	561	39 (7%)
total	1438	92

Figure 2 - Distribution of Makhuwa locative demonstratives over series I, II and III
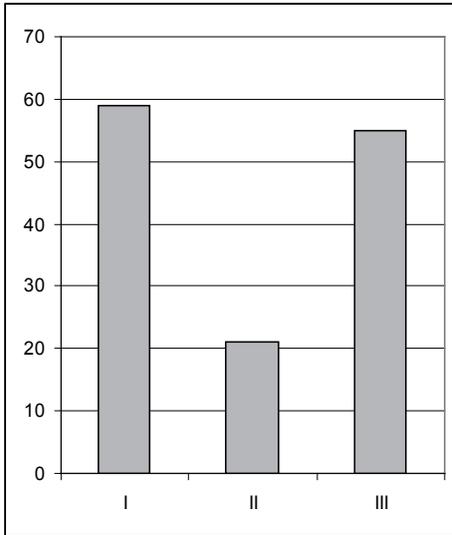
4.2. Textual functions of locative demonstratives

As already mentioned, the functions of locative demonstratives in narratives are more diverse than those of the non-locative demonstratives. Five different uses are discussed in this section: adnominal, adverbial, pronominal, at paragraph boundaries and sentence-initial for increasing attention. Notably, for the last two uses the demonstratives of class 16 are used.

In their adnominal use, locative demonstratives modify a locative noun. In Makhuwa, as in many Bantu languages, there are three locative noun classes (16,17,18), which indicate respectively a location at or nearby (something/someone), a general location, and a location inside (something/someone). Some nouns are always in a locative class, while others that normally belong to another noun class can be made locative by adding the prefix of class 16, 17 or 18 and sometimes also a locative suffix **-ni** (e.g., **wa-nthálí-ni** in (38)). The modified noun can be an argument of the verb, as in (38) and (39),[17] or an adjunct as in (40) and (41). These demonstratives function just like their non-locative counterparts and can be translated by the non-locative demonstratives (i.e., 'this' and 'that' instead of 'here' and 'there'). Like the non-locative demonstratives, they can be used exophorically and anaphorically.

(38) **yéná oo-túph-élá**   **wa-nthálí-ni valé,**   **oo-phítéérya**
      1.PRO 1SM.PERF.DJ-jump-APPL   16-3.tree-LOC 16.DEM.III 1SM.PERF.DJ-lean
      'he jumped to that tree, he leant against it' (K4.105)

---

17. The fact that the verb in (38) has an applicative extension, which increases the valency of the verb, points to the status of the locative as a true argument of the verb.

(39)   **oo-kélá**   **mpoótíli**   **mwe** (K1.28)
       1SM.PERF.DJ-enter   18.bottle   18.DEM.III
       'he entered (into) that bottle'

(40)   **masi vâá,**   **nyú**   **n-háána**   **efaítá**   **muulúmwéǹkú-ní**   **mu**
       but   16.DEM.I   2PL.PRO   2PL.SM-have   9.value   18.world-LOC   18.DEM.I
       'but you now, you have value in this world'(H9.15)

(41)   **hí**   **ni-ńní-tsúwélá**   **wiírá**   **onhípíti**   **ńnó**
       1PL.PRO   1PL.SM-HAB-know   COMP   17.Ilha   17.DEM.I

       etiíní   **e-n-tthár-íyá**   **oisilámu** (H4.1)
       9.religion   9-PRES-follow-PASS   14.islam.PL
       'we know that here on Ilha/on this Ilha the religion that is followed is Islam'

The locative demonstratives can in their adnominal use also be doubled, as in the
tail-head link in (42).

(42)   **ni**   **űwé**   **o-háá-vó**   **ntháli** (K4.100)
       and   17.DEM.III   3SM-stay-LOC   3.tree
       'and over there, there is a tree'

       válé   **wa-nthálí-ni**   **valé**
       16.DEM.III   16-3.tree-LOC   16.DEM.III

       o-ni-ḿ-wéha   **mwalápw'**   **ááw'**   **óole** (K4.101)
       1SM-PRES.CJ-1OM-see   1.dog   1.POSS.1   1.DEM.III
       'on this tree he sees his dog'

As independent morphemes, the locative demonstratives can function as modifiers
of a verb (adjuncts, not required in the theta structure of the verb), as illustrated in
(43) and (44), or as pronominal arguments of the verb, as in examples (45) and (46).
Both are used exophorically and anaphorically.

(43)   **nyû,**   **n-náá-lávúl-átsá**   **paáhí**   **ńmo** (H9.5)
       2PL.VOC   2PL-PRES.DJ-talk-PLUR   only   18.DEM.II
       'you, you are just talking here'

(44)   **ólé**   **o-h-iẃwá**   **onyákúl-íyá**   **űwé** (K2.42)
       1.DEM.III   1SM-PERF.DJ-hear   15.shout-PASS   17.DEM.III
       'he heard shouting there'

(45)   **khw-áá-himeéry' ámwáár' áwé**   **wiíra**   **n-kí-hél-e**   **mú**
       NARR-2OM-tell   2.wife   2.POSS.1   COMP   2PL.SM-1OM-put-OPT   18.DEM.I
       'and he said to his wife: put me in here' (H7.9)

(46) **oo-hél-íya**   **ḿmwé**,   **oo-tthúk-él-íya** (H7.10)
      1SM.PERF.DJ-put-PASS   18.DEM.III   1SM-close-APPL-PASS
      'he was put in there, he was closed up'

There is another adverbial demonstrative, which seems to be locative but can be often used with a more temporal sense: **vano**. It is translated as **agora** 'now' in Portuguese, but it is hardly used as a true temporal adverbial. Like the locative demonstrative **vale** it is used to pick up a line in a story and hence begin a new paragraph. The demonstratives **vano** and **vale** may indicate an episode boundary, or merely the beginning of what Ariel (1990) refers to as a pragmatic paragraph. Such a boundary may indicate a change in perspective or location, while not starting a completely new episode in the story. Like this, the demonstratives also have the effect of temporally ordering the story, as in English 'and then…, and then…'. In this function, **vano** and **vale** occur most often sentence-initially, as in (28a,d) and (35c) above and in (47) below. Since they occur at episode boundaries, they often combine with pronominal demonstratives and doubled ones, like **válé ólé** in (48).

(47) (There came Tortoise. [...] He went and failed. There came Hyena. He went and failed. There came Leopard. He went and failed.)

      vánó **o-hoó-wá**   **kharámu** (H5.12)
      now   1SM-PERF.DJ-come 1.lion
      'then there came Lion'

(48) **hw-ír-áka** **válé**   **ólé**
      NARR-say-DUR   16.DEM.III   1.DEM.III

      aá **válé**   **piípi**   **o-nró-mal-ela**   **tsayí?** (H2.45)
      aa   16.DEM.III   grandma   1SM-FUT-finish-APPL   how
      'and she then said: well, grandma, how will she end up?'

Example (48) also illustrates the fifth typical use of the locative demonstratives, which is that of drawing attention. In this use it occurs most frequently in direct speech and is often just the series I demonstrative of class 16 **va**, or sometimes series III **vale**. In (48) the locative demonstrative is followed by a vocative, also drawing the attention: **válé piípi** 'well, grandma'. Typically there is some kind of conclusion in the phrase marked by **va** or **vale**, as in (49) and (50), and most often the demonstrative occurs phrase-initially.

(49) **vá**   **k-iir-é**   **tsayi?** (H9.12)
      16.DEM.I   1SG.SM-do-OPT   how
      'now what do I do?'

(50) **vá**   **opátthání**   **woo-mála** (H6.46)
      16.DEM.I   14.friendship   14.PERF.DJ-finish
      'and so the friendship ended'

4.3. Conclusion

Locative demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives are used adnominally and pronominally like the non-locative demonstratives, but they also occur adverbially, at episode boundaries and as markers in drawing attention. For the last two uses the locatives of class 16 are used. The use at episode boundaries does not seem to have any deictic function (anymore) and can be seen as a pure text-structuring device. The last function, which I describe as drawing attention, remains a bit vague. It can draw the attention of the listener to the narrative, or of some participant within the story, it is not always vocative, not always phrase-initial, but yet it occurs several times in every story.

5. Summary and conclusion

The number of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives is significantly higher than that in Portuguese versions of similar narratives. Moreover, the number of demonstratives is unequally distributed over the three series of demonstratives in Makhuwa: those of series III, the distal demonstrative, are used much more frequently. These are thus expected to serve more and/or different functions than exophoric deixis, and they do.

The pronominal non-locative demonstratives are used anaphorically to refer to entities that are not the most topical and hence less accessible. This is particularly clear in topic shifts and after episode boundaries. The doubled demonstrative is used to reactivate referents that have not been mentioned for some time, they are used in tail-head linking, and they are also found after episode boundaries. In the tail-head linking, the doubled demonstratives not only function anaphorically to track referents, thus encoding the current accessibility status, but they also enhance the referent, thereby contributing to future accessibility.

In their anaphoric (referent tracking) function, the use of the demonstratives can in the majority of cases be explained by Accessibility Theory. Demonstratives can be placed in a hierarchy of referential expressions. The least accessible referents are encoded by a full indefinite noun, with possibly more description (e.g., in the form of a relative clause), whereas the most accessible referent is encoded only by the subject marker on the verb (or a zero pronoun, depending on theoretical view). Referents that are somewhere in between these cognitive states with respect to accessibility can be referred to by an adnominal (doubled) demonstrative or a pronominal demonstrative. Since the doubled demonstrative has more phonological content, it is predicted to be used for referents that are less accessible than the ones referred to by a pronominal demonstrative, which is at least true in the reactivation case.

The locative demonstratives are also used anaphorically, but they serve at least two other functions: phrase-initially they can mark a paragraph boundary and draw attention. If at paragraph boundaries the locatives have really lost their locative deictic force and are now used only as boundary markers, this presents a case of grammaticalisation/ pragmaticalisation of the demonstrative. However, not every boundary seems to be marked by a locative demonstrative, and some

boundaries are (also) marked by an anaphoric non-locative demonstrative. The indication of boundaries is thus not uniform, but it is certain that demonstratives play a principle role in the structuring of Makhuwa narratives. In conclusion, the role of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives is broader than exophoric and endophoric deixis. Demonstratives help the listener not only to identify the intended referent, but also to structure the text, and demonstratives are also used to focus the attention of the reader without necessarily being referential. Since the distribution suggests an ongoing process of replacing the pronoun by the demonstrative, more diachronic research may further reveal the relation between this broader use of the demonstrative and the use of the personal pronoun and the subject and object markers.

Abbreviations and symbols

High tones are indicated by an acute accent, low tones are unmarked (or marked by a grave accent when made explicit). Commas in examples indicate a pause. Numbers refer to noun classes, or to persons when followed by SG or PL.

K	kikker (Makhuwa frog story)	OM	object marker
H	história (Makhuwa trad. story)	OPT	optative
P	Portuguese story from 'Contos Macuas'	PASS	passive
PH	Portuguese as told by Joaquim Nazário	PAST	past
APPL	applicative	PERF	perfective
ASSO	associative	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	PL	predicative lowering
CJ	conjoint verb form	PLUR	plurative
COMP	complementiser	PLA	plural addressee
CONN	connective	POSS	possessive
CONS	consecutive	PRES	present
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	pronominal/pronoun
DJ	disjoint verb form	RED	reduplication
DUR	durative	REL	relative
HAB	habitual	SG	singular
HORT	hortative	SIT	situative
IMPF	imperfective	SM	subject marker
LOC	locative	SUBS	subsecutive
NARR	narrative	<tt>	retroflex voiceless stop
NEG	negation	VOC	vocative

Acknowledgements

References

Contos Macuas. 1992. Associação dos Amigos da Ilha de Moçambique.

Ariel, M. 1990. *Accessing noun phrase antecedents*. London: Routledge.

— 1994. 'Interpreting anaphoric expressions', *Journal of Linguistics* 30, 3-42.

— 2001. 'Accessibility theory: an overview'. In T. Sanders, J. Schilperoord & W. Spooren (eds), *Text representation: linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects*, 29-88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cornish, F. 1999. *Anaphora, discourse, and understanding. Evidence from English and French*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Vries, L. 1995. 'Demonstratives, referent identification and topicality in Wambon and some other Papuan languages', *Journal of Pragmatics* 24, 513-533.

Diessel, H. 1999a. *Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

— 1999b. 'The morphosyntax of demonstratives in synchrony and diachrony', *Linguistic Typology* 3:1-49.

Floor, S. 1998. Confirmative demonstratives. Ms., SIL Nampula.

Gernsbacher, M. A. 1989. 'Mechanisms that improve referential access', *Cognition* 32:99-156.

Gough, D. H. 1992. 'Demonstratives and word order: aspects of discourse reference in Xhosa narrative', *South African Journal of African Languages* 12 (1), 1-4.

Gundel, J., N. Hedberg and R. Zacharsky. 1993. 'Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse', *Language* 69:274-307.

Himmelmann, N. P. 1996. 'Demonstratives in narrative discourse: a taxonomy of universal uses'. In B. Fox (ed.), *Studies in anaphora*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grenoble, L. A. 1998. *Deixis and information packaging in Russian discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Katamba, F. 2003. 'Bantu nominal morphology'. In D. Nurse & G. Philippson (eds), *The Bantu languages*, 103-120. London: Routledge.

Katupha, J. M. M. 1983. *A preliminary description of sentence structure in the e-Sáaka dialect of e-Mákhuwa*. MPhil thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

— 1991. *The grammar of Emakhuwa verbal extensions*. PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Kröger, O. 2005. *Report on a survey of coastal Makua dialects*. Nampula: SIL.

Lichtenberk, F. 1988. 'The Cristobal-Malaitan subgroup of Southeast Solomonic', *Oceanic Linguistics* 27:24-62.

Mayer, M. 1969. *Frog, where are you?* New York: Dial Books for Young Readers.

Mithun, M. 1987. 'The grammatical nature and discourse power of demonstratives'. In J. Aske, N. Beery, L. Michaelis and H. Filip, *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 13, 184-194.

Nicolle, S. 2007a. 'Metarepresentational demonstratives in Chidigo'. In R. A. Nilsen, N. N. A. Amfo & K. Borthen (eds), *Interpreting utterances: pragmatics and its interfaces*, 127-146. Oslo: Novus.

— 2007b. 'Textual functions of Chidigo demonstratives'. In N. C. Kula and L. Marten, *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 15: Bantu in Bloomsbury, 159-171.

Njejimana, G. 1990. *Discourse deixis in Kirundi folktales*. UMI Dissertation Services.

Stucky, S. 1979. 'The interaction of tone and focus in Makua'. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 1 (2):189-198.

Stucky, S. 1985. *Order in Makua syntax*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Van de Velde, M. 2005. 'The order of noun and demonstrative in Bantu'. In K. Bostoen & J. Maniacky, *Studies in African comparative linguistics: with a focus on Bantu and Mande*, 425-442. Tervuren: RMCA.

van der Wal, G. J. 2009. *Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara*. PhD dissertation, Leiden University. Utrecht: LOT.

Author's address

Jenneke van der Wal
Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale
chaussée de Louvain 13
3080 Tervuren
Belgique
jennekevanderwal@gmail.com

Résumé

Les démonstratifs, ceux de distance en particulier, sont très fréquemment utilisés dans les récits makhuwa. Même si tous les types de démonstratifs peuvent être utilisés comme déictiques exophoriques, pour se référer à une entité intradiscursive, les démonstratifs de distance sont davantage utilisés comme référence anaphorique. Ils interviennent dans les changements de topique, le lien queue-tête et aux frontières d'épisodes, renvoyant à des entités qui sont relativement moins accessibles à ce stade du récit (ce qui est conforme à la Théorie de l'Accessibilité). Les démonstratifs dans les narrations makhuwa ne sont pas seulement utilisés anaphoriquement pour l'identification du référent, mais ils indiquent également l'importance d'un certain référent et attrait d'attention, et ils jouent un rôle important dans la structuration des textes.