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**ПРОБЛЕМЫ ОБЩЕЙ
И ВОСТОКОВЕДНОЙ
ЛИНГВИСТИКИ**

**Сочетаемость языковых единиц
и языковые модели.**

Памяти З. М. Шалапиной (1946–2020)

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The volume is based on the proceedings of the conference on the languages of Asia and Africa held at the Institute of Oriental Studies on 14-15.04.2021, dedicated to the memory of Z. Shalyapina (1946-2020). Discussing various languages of Asia and Africa, it covers a broad range of topics from definition of word, morphological and syntactic word classes to phraseology lexical semantics.

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Cigogo Nominal Demonstratives: Morphology and Semantics

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Abstract. This paper presents the system of nominal demonstratives in Cigogo language spoken in Tanzania. The system includes 4 sets of forms built by reduplication of the pronominal prefix that is further suffixed with formants *no*, *o*, *lya*. Besides the special deictic (proximal, medial, distant to/from speaker/hearer) and anaphoric functions, they fulfill a wide range of discourse functions: anaphoric, cataphoric, recognitional, transposed.

Keywords: Cigogo, demonstrative, deixis, anaphora, word-formation

Аннотация. В статье представлена система указательных местоимений языка того (Танзания). Система включает в себя 4 серии форм, образованных путем редупликации прономинального префикса, с последующей суффиксацией формантами *no*, *o*, *lya*. Помимо пространственно-дейктических (близость к говорящему/слушающему, удаление от говорящего/слушающего) и анафорических функций указательные местоимения выполняют ряд дискурсивных функций: анафора и катафора в нарративе, введение новой информации, метарепрезентация и др.

Ключевые слова: язык того, указательные местоимения, дейксис, анафора, словообразование

1. Introduction

Gogo (sw. Kigogo, autonym: Cigogo) is a Bantu language classified as G11 by both Guthrie [Guthrie 1971] and Maho [Maho 2009] and as ‘gog’ by ISO 639-3 [Ethnologue]. The language is spoken by 1,080,000 speakers who live in Central Tanzania in Dodoma Region and the neighboring districts of Iringa, Manyara and Singida regions [Atlas ya lugha za Tanzania 2009]. The language consists of six dialects spoken in different parts of *Ugogo* (Gogo land): Cinyamasya (north), Cinyambwa (west), Citumba (east), Cinyatakama, Kozisamba (south), Cinyaugo/Ngogo (core), the latter is being considered the superior dialect (‘pure’ Cigogo) as the Bible was translated into it. Speakers of all dialects have mutual understanding as the varieties differ mainly in tonal representations and vocabulary [Balisidya 1977].

Cigogo possesses 5 contrastive vowels: [i, e, a, o, u] and two tones (high and low).

The Cigogo consonant inventory includes voiced and voiceless plosives: [p/b, t/d, c/g, k/g], voiced and voiceless fricatives: [f/v, s/z, h], voiced and voiceless nasals: [m/n, n̄/n̄, ɲ/ɲ̄, ɳ/ɳ̄], and approximants [l, j, w]. In writing, the voiceless nasals are represented with *di-* and trigraphs <mh, nh, nyh, ng’h>.

The preferred syllable type is CV. The collision of vowels on morphemic boundaries is resolved by a number of assimilatory strategies (gliding, merger, deletion, lengthening) which are summarized in the Table 1 below.

$V1 \backslash V2$	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>i</i>	iyi	ye	ya	yo	yu
<i>a</i>	e	e	a(a)	ao	au
<i>o</i>	wi	we	wa	o(w)	o(w)
<i>u</i>	wi	we	wa	wo	wu

Table 1. Vowel Assimilation in Cigogo
(modified from [Großerhede 1997: 21])

The assimilatory processes observed among consonants are:

- palatalization of the velars: $g + i = ji$; $k + i = ci$, except of the reflexive infix *-ki-*;
- destopping of the voiceless stops after a nasal that results into voiceless (aspirated) nasals: $N + t = nh$, $N + p = mh$, $N + c = nyh$, $N + k = ng'h$;
- full spirantization after the super high *i and *u.

Cigogo shows a typical for Bantu languages of the zone G system of nominal classes that is summarized in the Table 2 below.

Nominal prefix in both nouns and adjectives can be augmented by preprefix *u-*, if the prefix contains this vowel; otherwise it is augmented by preprefix *i-*.

Concord Class	Nominal prefix	Subject marker	Object marker	Pronominal prefix	Possessive
1	mu	a	mu	yu	-a
2	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa
3	mu	u	u	u	wa
4	mi	i	i	i	ya
5	(l)j	li	li	li	lya
6	ma	ga	ga	ga	ga
7	ci	ci	ci	ci	ca
8	vi	vi	vi	vi	vya
9	N	i	i	i	ya
10	N/zi	zi	zi	zi	za
11	(l)u	lu	lu	lu	lwa
12	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
14	(w)u	u	u	wu	wa
15	ku	ku	ku	ku	kwa
16	ha	ha	ha	ha	ha
17	ku	ku	ku	ku	kwa
18	mu	mu	mu	mu	mwa

Table 2. Cigogo Nominal ConCORDS
(modified from [Rugemalira 2013:29] and [Großerhede 1997: 26])

2. Research Background

According to the “Electronic Bibliography for African Languages and Linguistics” [Maho 2009], Cigogo has gained considerable attention from scientists. The bibliography includes 45 publications dedicated to both linguistic (grammar descriptions, vocabulary lists and dictionaries, an exercise book, a collection of fairy tales, the Bible) and non-linguistic topics (lists of animals, birds and plants; publications about culture and history). However, there are only two grammars of Cigogo – a prescriptive [Cordell 1941] and a descriptive [Rugemalira 2013]. The most considerable difference between them consists in the representation of the system of demonstratives. Let us compare the models suggested by the two authors.

Cordell distinguishes 4 sets of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. The set 1 consists of the forms resulting from the reduplication of the pronominal prefix in all nominal classes. The general semantics of the set is proximity to the speaker. The set 2 is derived from the set 1 by suffixing *-hya* in all classes with the general meaning of remoteness from the speaker. The set 3 is made from set 1 by changing the final vowel to *-o* expressing the idea of referring to something before mentioned. Set 4 is made from set 1 by suffixing *-no*. “These are used e.g. to announce the reappearance of something that has been lost” [Cordell 1941: 57]. All demonstratives can be shortened by replacing the first syllable with *a-*. “The short form tends to be used when the Demonstrative is used as a pronoun (by itself) <...>” [Cordell 1941: 25].

Rugemalira goes further in classifying Cigogo demonstratives into 5 types based on their ability to show different levels of nearness / remoteness [Rugemalira 2013: 35-36]. Type 1 is morphologically equal to set 1 by Cordell and is used by the speaker to refer to something that s/he can touch. Type 2 is morphologically equal to set 4 and is used by the speaker to refer to something that is close to him/her but out of reach. Type 3 is morphologically equal to full forms of set 3 and is used by the speaker to refer to something that is far from him/her but close to the hearer or to refer to something before mentioned. Type 4 is morphologically equal to short forms of set 3 and is used by the speaker to refer to something that is far from both him/her and the hearer but is in view to both of them. Type 5 is morphologically equal to set 2 and is used by the speaker to refer to something that is far from both him/her and the hearer and is not in view to neither of them. Further he notes that it is common for native speakers to merge semantically types 1 and 2, and 3 and 4.

The overview shows that both systems describe the basic uses of Cigogo demonstratives (special-deictic) and do not cover extended uses. Moreover, splitting the demonstratives with *-o* into two semantically different types by Rugemalira suggests the need for thorough investigation of the semantic differences among full and short forms. Furthermore, both systems are not situated into the broader typological contexts – the general theory of demonstratives and demonstratives in Bantu languages. The present paper aims at filling in these gaps.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Cross-linguistic overview of Demonstratives

Cross-linguistically a demonstrative is defined as “any item, other than 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which can have pointing (or deictic) reference” (Dixon 2003: 61-

62). Demonstratives build a closed grammatical system and overlap in their functions with other systems (articles, personal pronouns, interrogatives, etc.). There are four frequent types of demonstratives: nominal, local adverbial, verbal, manner adverbial.

A nominal demonstrative refers to an object and can form a NP with a noun or pronoun (*this stone is hot*) or a complete NP (*this is hot*). Nominal demonstratives may interact with the system of personal pronouns substituting or co-occurring with 3rd person. In some languages nominal demonstratives may be connected with definite articles synchronically and diachronically like it is the case with German forms *die* (F and PL), *der* (M), *das* (N) which express definiteness when unstressed and reference when stressed. In languages with noun classes nominal demonstratives are often marked with class concords.

Local adverbial demonstratives point to a place and occur alone (*put it there*) or with a noun taking a local marking (sw. *nyumbani kule* ‘there at home’). Universally languages possess at least two forms of local adverbials contrasting special relations (here/there) or visibility.

Verbal demonstratives are subclass of verbs deictically referring to an action. They can occur as a self-standing predicates or in combination with a lexical verb (‘do it like this’).

Manner adverbial demonstratives are derived from nominal demonstratives and function as modifiers to verbs (‘do in this way’).

The most frequent functions of demonstratives include deictic reference, syntactic function, anaphora and cataphora, identification, new information and discourse organization.

Deictic reference can be speaker-anchored or addressee-anchored and encode radial spatial categories (proximal (here), medial (there), distal (over there)), height and stance (close/far to/from speaker and on the same level, higher or lower than the speaker), visibility (visible, near me; visible, near him; invisible, near me, etc.).

Syntactic functions of demonstratives may vary from language to language allowing them to appear in any core or peripheral function in a clause.

Anaphora is a reference to something earlier in the discourse. Cataphora is a reference to something later in the discourse.

Demonstratives used for identification or recognition are usually accompanied with a relative clause (*It was that sort of gluggy rice which the Japanese go in for*).

Demonstratives also can mark new information in discourse (*There’s this new girl at school today*) and organize it.

Using slightly different terminology, Levinson suggest the following taxonomy of different uses of demonstratives (see Figure 1).

Exophoric uses can be accompanied with gestures (gestural use) or used without gestural component (symbolic use). Gestural use can be contrastive (comparing two items) and non-contrastive. A special type of exophoric use of demonstratives is their transposed use when the deictic ground (origo) is transposed from the moment of speech to other time or place (in a narrative context) or another perspective – to the addressee.

Discourse deictic use is the use of demonstrative to refer to a chunk of discourse itself (*Bloop! It sounded like that*).

Non-deictic uses include anaphora and cataphora as references to something mentioned or projected in discourse, empathetic (*That goddamn son of a bitch*) and recognitional (*Do you remember that wonderful day in Morocco?*).

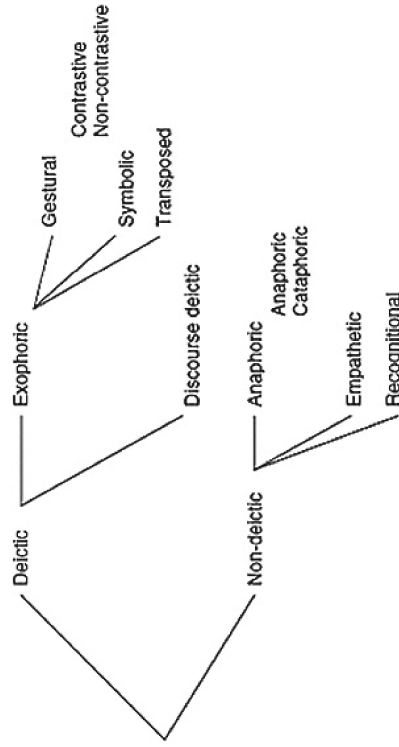


Figure 1. The Distinct Uses of Demonstratives [Levinson 2018: 10]

3.2. Demonstratives in Bantu Languages

Bantu languages show nominal demonstrative systems with up to 5 morphologically and semantically differing sets. Accordingly, the typology of these forms is based on the assumption that the Proto Bantu possessed up to 5 sets of nominal demonstratives which were preserved or blurred in modern-day Bantu languages. Weier (1995: 22) refers to Meeussen (1967), among other authors, to exemplify the hypothetical sets of Bantu nominal demonstratives:

- [1] ‘PP ‘that, the’ (a weak anaphoric)
- [2] V-PP (LL?) ‘this’ (as opposed to PP-dia)
- [3] PP-nóo ‘this (near me)’ (as opposed to V-PP-o)
- [4] V-PP-o (LLL?) ‘that (near you)’; ‘that (mentioned)’
- [5] PP-dia ‘that (over there)’.”

Further, Weier agrees with de Blois (1970) about the nature and functions of the augment (V). It must have developed from the weak anaphoric demonstrative; synchronically it stays in complementary distribution with nominal demonstratives: if a demonstrative is used before the noun the augment is omitted, but if it used after the noun the augment reappears.

Based on this assumption, Weier models the development of the demonstrative forms in the following way: the initial weak form [1] was reduplicated to generate speaker-anchored proximal forms [2], reduplicated and suffixed with -nóo, -o, -dia to generate speaker-anchored medial forms [3], addressee-anchored proximal/medial and discourse anaphoric forms [4], as well as distal forms [5].

The augment in its development underwent several stages and formed systems of 5 types:

- 1) closed symmetrical 3-item system, in which the augment is equal to PP, thus possesses the CV-structure;
- 2) open asymmetrical 3-item system, in which the augment loses the first consonant and lowers one or more of its high vowels (e-a-u, e-a-o, i-a-o);
- 3) 2-item system, where the system of type (2) erodes further while substituting a lower vowel with a higher one (i-i-u, e-o-o, i-a-i, e-a-e);
- 4) ‘stark’ 1-item system, where the system of type (3) is reduced to the predominant vowel;
- 5) latent (absent) augment.

4. Data Collection and Analyses

This research is based on the collection of mixed types of data:

- 1) 12 questionnaires about morpho-syntactic properties of Bantu languages [Batibo 1990];
- 2) 50 traditional narratives (fairy tales) collected throughout 2015–2020 in Dodo-*ma* region;
- 3) 9 focus-group discussions about the use of medical plants recorded and transcribed in 2019;
- 4) published data [Cordell 1941; Rugemalira 2013].

All pieces of data were migrated to SIL FieldWorks Explorer for annotation and creation of corpus. The corpus consists of 7040 nominal tokens. The annotated corpus was used to generate concordances of all types of demonstratives which were analyzed in terms of both morphology and semantics.

5. Results

The data shows that Cigogo possesses 4 morphologically and semantically contrastive types of nominal demonstratives, including local adverbials and manner adverbials that fulfill a wide range of deictic and non-deictic functions. However the data does not attest verbal demonstratives which are rare cross-linguistically.

Cigogo possess a complex system of noun classes, and nominal demonstratives obligatorily mark classes of the nouns they refer to through the use of pronominal prefixes. The overview of all attested forms is given in the Table 3 below. It should be noted that the table includes surface realizations of deep structures which are governed by the phonetic processes described in the Introduction and by pragmatic context.

Class	PP	DEMI	DEM2	DEM3	DEM4
1	<i>yu</i>	yuyu ayu	yuyuno ayuno	yuyo ayo	yuyulya (a)yulya
2	<i>wa</i>	wawa awa	wawano awano	wao	wawalya (a)walya
3	<i>u</i>	wuwu au	wuwuno auno	(w)uwo ao	wuwulya (a)wulya
4	<i>i</i>	yiyi ai	yiyino aino	(y)iyi ayo	yiyilya (a)yilya

5	<i>li</i>	<i>lili</i> ali	<i>lilino</i> alino	<i>lilyo</i> alyo	<i>lilyiya</i> (a)lilya
6	<i>ga</i>	<i>gaga</i> aga	<i>gagano</i> agano	<i>gago</i> ago	<i>gagalya</i> (a)galya
7	<i>ci</i>	<i>cici</i> aci	<i>cicino</i> acino	<i>cico</i> aco	<i>cicilya</i> (a)cilya
8	<i>vi</i>	<i>vivi</i> avi	<i>vivino</i> avino	<i>vivyo</i> avyo	<i>vivilya</i> (a)vilya
9	<i>i</i>	<i>yiyi</i> ai	<i>yiyino</i> aino	<i>iyoy</i> ayo	<i>yiyilya</i> (a)yilya
10	<i>zi</i>	<i>zizi</i> azi	<i>zizino</i> azino	<i>zizo</i> azo	<i>zizilya</i> (a)zilya
11	<i>lu</i>	<i>lulu</i> a(l)u	<i>luluno</i> a(l)uno	<i>lu(l)oy</i> a(l)o	<i>lululya</i> (a)lulya
14	<i>u</i>	<i>wuwu</i> a(w)u	<i>wuwuno</i> awuno	<i>wuwoy</i> ao	<i>wuwulya</i> (a)ulya
15	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuku</i> aku	<i>kukuno</i> akuno	<i>kukoy</i> ako	<i>kukulya</i> (a)kulya
16	<i>ha</i>	<i>baha</i> aha	<i>bahano</i> ahano	<i>bahoy</i> aho	<i>bahalya</i> (a)halya
17	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuku</i> aku	<i>kukuno</i> (a)kuno	<i>kukoy</i> ako	<i>kukulya</i> (a)kulya
18	<i>mu</i>	<i>mumu</i> amu	<i>mumuno</i> (a)muno/munu	<i>mumoy</i> amo	<i>mumulya</i> (a)mulya

Table 3. Overview of Cigogo Nominal Demonstrative Forms

The demonstratives of locative classes 16, 17, 18 are locative adverbials (here, there, over there, inside, etc.). The demonstratives of classes 7 and 8 can be used as manner adverbs (this/tha way). In this paper, we do not analyze adverbials because these subtypes require a separate piece of research.

5.1. Morphology of Cigogo Nominal Demonstratives

According to their morphology and deictic uses, nominal demonstratives in Cigogo can be divided into 4 distinct types which reflect the hypothetical Proto Bantu system. The Meeussen’s *weak anaphora* type (bare PP) is not included in the Table 4 because in our data it functions as existential (copula).

Type	Deixis Structure	Proximal	Medial	Distal
DEM1	PP+PP	speaker-anchored	-	-
DEM2	PP+PP+no	-	speaker-anchored	-
DEM3	PP+PP+o	addressee-anchored	-	visible
DEM4	PP+PP+Iya	-	-	invisible

Table 4. Types of Nominal Demonstratives in Cigogo

Table 4 shows structures underlying the 4 sets of nominal demonstratives as well as their basic semantics consisting of deictic use and parameters governing it.

Nominal demonstratives of all morphological types possess full and short forms. The short forms employ augment (pre-prefix) *a* instead of the first PP. Based on Weier’s assumptions, we can assume that Cigogo shows all phases of augment reduction. If we consider the first PP to be an augment, then Cigogo possesses closed symmetrical 3-item pre-prefix system where augment is equal to PP (i-a-u). When the first PP loses the consonant the high vowels are lowered to *a* (i/e/a, u/o/a), thus producing ‘stark’ 1-item system. In case of DEM4 the initial *a* may be lost completely (latent augment).

In some contexts short and full forms can be used interchangeably but their distribution seems to be governed by pragmatic parameters and shall be discussed in the next section.

5.2. Distinct Uses of Cigogo Nominal Demonstratives

The attested uses of nominal demonstratives in Cigogo include the following: gestural non-contrastive, gestural contrastive, symbolic, transposed, discourse deictic, anaphoric, cataphoric, and recognitional. Below we shall exemplify them.

5.2.1. Gestural non-contrastive use

Gestural non-contrastive use employs DEM1 and DEM2 in both short and full forms. Short forms are characteristic for spoken data (1, 2) while full forms are found in texts (3). In examples 1 and 2 the informant is identifying plants on pictures. In (1) DEM1 functions as proximal form, in (2b) – as recognitional (to initiate new piece of discourse) while DEM2 functions as a medial form.

- (1) *A-u* *a-ha* *msenha*
 {AUG-CL3}DEM1 {AUG-CL16}DEM1 *Cordia_monoica*
 ‘This here is *Cordia monoica*’.
- (2a) E: *Enghee* *a-u-nooo*
 INTRJ AUG-CL3-DEM2
 ‘Ahaaa... what about that?’
- (2b) Y: *A-u* *ane* *n-ka-u-on-a* *udai*
 {AUG-CL3}DEM1 I ISG-PRST-OM_CL3-call-FV *udai*
 ‘This I call *udai*’.
- (3) *Mw-ana* *y-u-yu* *w-a* *Henhendu*
 CL1-child {CL1-CL1}DEM1 CL1-of *Henhendu*
 ‘This child belongs to *Henhendu*’.

5.2.3. Gestural contrastive use

In (4) the contrast lies between Dar es Salaam where the character of the story went and the place of the main event (village of Hombolo). The contrast is marked by DEM3 and DEM2.

- (4a) *Nh-umbura* *ya-ka-amur-a* *ku-bind-a* *ku-k-o* *D’am*.
 CL9-heart 3SG-PST-decide-FV INF-depart-FV CL17-CL17-DEM3 *D’am*
 ‘Heart decided to depart to Dar es Salam.’

- (4b) *A-ka-no* *ku-nyuma* *Ndevu* *y-a-lil-a*
 AUG-CL17-DEM2 CL17-back beard 3SG-PST-cry-FV
 ‘There back [at Hombolo] Beard cried [when he realized that his friend went to Dar es Salaam].’

5.2.4. Symbolic use

The examples (5) and (6) show that in some contexts (symbolic use) full and short forms (DEMI) are interchangeable.

- (6) *M-simo* *a-u*
 CL3-story {AUG-CL3}DEMI
 ‘This story teaches us.’
- (7) *I-simo* *yi-vi*
 CL9-story {CL9-CL9}DEMI
 ‘This story teaches us.’

5.2.5. Discourse deictic use

The difference in discourse deictic use of DEM2 and DEM4 in (7) and (8) is explained by the parameter ‘visibility’ and ‘proximity’. In (7) the referent is visible and near but is treated as a before-mentioned piece of information; in (8) it is imaginable thus it is far (in the forest) and not visible.

- (7) *Zi: A-u* *mkwata*
 {AUG-CL3}DEMI mkwata
 ‘Z: This *Strychnos innocua*.’
 Y: *Mkwata* *a-u-no*
 Mkwata AUG-CL3-DEM2 2PL-PST-OM_CL3-use-HAB-FV
 ‘Y: This *Strychnos innocua* we use [as food].’

- (8) *Zi-kw-injil-a* *miu-m-hango* *y-a*
 CL10-PRST-enter-FV CL18-CL9-hollow CL9-of *m-pela*
u-laza *bit-a* *ba-ha-dya*
 2SG-need go-FV CL16-CL16-DEM4
 ‘When they [bees] come into the hole in a baobab tree go there [to collect honey].’

5.2.6. Anaphoric use

Anaphoric function is fulfilled by DEM1, DEM3, and DEM4 although only DEM3 (-o) is believed to be a basic device for this function. DEM1 seems to mark transposed use (as if the speaker and the hearer were involved in the story), while DEM4 marks the story as a narrative distant from both the speaker and the hearer. The difference between DEM1 and DEM2 may be explained by the iconicity principle: in (10), DEM1 is used in the immediate context (next sentence), while in (9), DEM3 indicates distance between the referent and the anaphora (the referent is situated in the first sentence and the anaphoric expression is found in the last sentence of the story). The difference in DEM4 structures (latent augment in (11) and closed symmetric in (12)) may be again explained by the iconicity principle – but in terms of the size of the referent: a small chick vs. a large group of 25 people.

- (9) *Si-y-a-sum-a* *langa* *ku-lawilila* *Ø-siku* *yi-y-o*
 NEG-3SG-PST-can-FV see CL17-start CL9-day CL9-CL9-DEM3
 ‘It [Snake] couldn’t see starting from that day [when it was invited to a party].’
- (10) *W-a-ka-w-a* *lel-a* *wa-datu* *w-a* *ci-c-ekalu*
 3PL-PST-be-FV give_birth-FV CL2-three CL2-of CL7-CL7-female
W-a-na *wa-wa* *wa-ka-wituk-a*
 CL2-child {CL2-CL2}DEMI CL2-PST-gow-FV
 ‘... and they gave birth to three daughters. These children grew up.’
- (11) *Ny-ina* *I-m-wewe* *y-a-z-a* *mala*
 CL9-mother AUG-CL9-hawk 3SG-PST-come-FV finish
ku-mu-dya *mw-ana* *yi-dya*
 INF-OM CL1-eat-FV CL1-child CL3-DEM4
 ‘[After] Mother Hawk finished eating that child [who was left alone].’
- (12) *W-a-wil-il-a* *ba-ha*
 3PL-PST-come-APL-FV {CL16-CL16}DEMI CL9-PST-be-FV
ku-z-a *wa-funik-a* *wa-nthu*
 INF-come-FV OM_3PL-cover-FV CL2-person
w-ose *wa-wa-hya* *ishirini* *ne* *[na=i]* *Ø-hano*
 CL2-all CL2-CL2-DEM4 twenty and-AUG CL9-five
 ‘When they came down [water] covered all of those 25 people [who were in the cave].’

5.2.7. Cataphoric use

DEMI has the cataphoric function while marking the projected piece of discourse.

- (13) *A-ku* *y-a-ki-tow-a*
 {AUG-CL17}DEMI 3SG-PST-REFL-beat-FV *ma-gulu* *g-akwe*
 ‘Here [when] he stamped his feet down.’

5.2.8. Recognitional use

Under recognitional use we examine two similar functions: introducing new information (14) and refreshing the common knowledge shared by both the speaker and the hearer, also called metarepresentational use (15). New information is introduced with DEM1. Reference to common knowledge is marked by DEM2 and DEM4. In (15) the speaker is starting a story with the well know reference to the remote (magical) time in the past. The full form of DEM4 *vivi/ya* might be used to show the great distance between the present moment and the narrative past.

- (14) *A-di* *i-pela* *i-pela* *a-di-no*
 {AUG-CL5}DEMI CL7-guava CL7-guava AUG-CL7-DEM2
yani *di-ku-tumik-a* *kila* *Ø-sehemu*
 that_is CL7-PRST-use-FV every CL9-part
 ‘This is guava. This guava is used everywhere.’
- (15) *Ba-h-o* *vi-lo* *yi-vi-hya*
 CL16-CL16-DEM2 CL8-night CL8-CL8-DEM4
 ‘There many nights back [Once upon a time].’

6. Conclusion

Cigogo possess a closed system of nominal demonstratives that include four sets of forms distributed across 16 nominal classes. The four types reflect the reconstructed Proto Bantu system and are built with reduplicated pronominal prefixes (DEM1), suffixed by -no (DEM2), -o (DEM3), and -lya (DEM4).

They fulfill a wide range of deictic (primary) and non-deictic (extended) functions. The summary of forms and functions is given in the Table 5.

Type	Deixis Structure	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Extended use
DEM1	<i>PP+PP</i>	speaker-anchored	-	-	symbolic, anaphoric, transposed, recognitional
DEM2	<i>PP+PP+no</i>	-	speaker-anchored	-	discourse deictic, anaphoric, recognitional
DEM3	<i>PP+PP+o</i>	addressee-anchored	-	visible	discourse deictic
DEM4	<i>PP+PP+lya</i>	-	-	invisible	discourse deictic, anaphoric, recognitional

Table 5. Forms and Functions of Cigogo Nominal Demonstratives

Resources

Ethnologue – ISO 639-3. URL: <https://iso639-3.sil.org/>. Retrieved 08.07.2021.

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