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For Bantu 6, Helsinki, 20.-23.06.2016

Verbal plurality – not so common extensions in Mozambican Ngoni

1. Pluractionals
2. Verbal Plurality affecting verb valency

1. Pluractionals

-anil-	'many do'	= plural of subject
-ang-	'do to many'	= plural of object
reduplication	'do many times'	= plural of action

1. Pluractionals

	intransitive:	transitive:
	'to come'	'to kill'
do:	*kuhika*	*ukoma*
many do:	*kuhikanila*	*ukomanila*
do to many:		*ukomanga*
do many times:	*kuhika-hika*	*ukoma-koma*

1. Pluractionals

combination of *-anil-* and *-ang-* possible:

ukom-*ang*-*anil*-*a*   'many kill many'

*ukom-*anil*-*ang*-*a*

$$SBJ - OBJ - V - PL/O - PL/S$$

1. Pluractionals

Xi-pexa a-pêta kw-a-kem-ang-a   aka-ganja-mundu.
7-hare   1/2-pass INF-2-CALL-PL/O-FV   2a-friend-his

A-hik-anil-a v-oha.
1/2-come-PL/S   2-all

Hare went to call his friends [one by one, like going from door to door]. They all came [one by one].

H2.66f

1. Pluractionals

Angôta vêna' va-jangatila'   muni ma-hengo ga
they   2PLOM-help.IPFV much 6-work   6.of

pa-kaya   ni   a-let-ita'-let-ita'   y-akulya.
16-14.house and   2-bring-IPFV-bring-IPFV 8-food

They helped them a lot with the work at home and
brought food [many times].   K14

1. Pluractionals: origin

-ang-   as plural of object

other Bantu languages:
Tumbuka (Odden 2003: 538)
Nen (Mous 2003: 289)

-a(n)g- repetitive (Schadeberg 2003: 72).

1. Pluractionals: origin

-anil-   as plural of subject

Newman (2012: 193) observes that the relationship between pluractional verbs and nominal arguments "tends to be ergative-like".

Ngoni has developed a plural of subject and a plural of object instead.

1. Pluractionals: origin

-anil-

-an- plus *-il-*   =   REC plus APL ?

normal order: *-il-* plus *-an-:* APL plus REC

a-pwat-il-an-a   = 'they talked to each other;
                  they quarrelled'

1. Pluractionals

Possible reason:
Loss of SG/PL distinctions in subject & object prefixes

person	subject SG	subject PL	object SG	object PL
1st	ni-	ti-	ni-	ti-
2nd	mu-		mu-	
3rd	a-		mu-	(v)a-

1. Pluractionals

Possible reason:
Loss of SG/PL distinctions in personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1st	*ne(nga)*	*twe(nga)*
2nd		*mwe(nga)*
cl1/2	*jôno(jo)*	*vêna(va)*

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	[vêna(va)]	

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Possible reason:
Loss of SG/PL distinctions in personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1st	*ne(nga)*	*twe(nga)*
2nd	*mwe(nga)*	*mangôta mweng-apa*
cl1/2	*jôno(jo)*	*angôta vênava*

1. Pluractionals

Mmoki! = 'Leave!' (SG/PL)
Ahikite. = 'S/he, they have come.'

➤ Plural of subject can be indicated by *-anil-* suffix:

Mmokanili! = 'Leave!' (PL)
Ahikanile. = 'They have come.'

1. Pluractionals

Mbala kunkoma! = 'I will kill you (SG/PL)!'

➢ Plural of object can be indicated by *-ang-* suffix:

Mbala kunkomanga! = 'I will kill you (PL)!'

1. Pluractionals

Hi-juni y-oha hi-tela'   ku-jau-jaul-a ku-til-anil-a,
8.bird   8-all   8-be.IPFV   INF-go-go-FV   INF-flee-PL/S-FV

ku-pwiling-an-a, aka-pony-ang-a'   ma-ndopi...
INF-spread-REC-FV   1/2.SIM-throw-PL/O-SIM 6-dirt

'All the birds were leaving again and again, fleeing one after another, spreading each other out, while he was throwing pieces of dirt at them one after another...'

H9.18

1. Pluractionals

»*Mmok-i   kulôngy-ôko*!«
 2SG/PL.leave-SUBJ in front-17.DEM.M
»Go away!«   → said to a single person

»*Mmok-anil-i   kukujômbihana!*«
  2SG/PL.leave-PL/S-SUBJ   quickly
»Leave quickly!« → said to 2 individuals independently

»*Mmok-i-wok-i   kukujômbihana!*«
  2SG/PL.leave-SUBJ-leave-SUBJ   quickly
»Leave quickly!« → said to a group   G19.9,14,15

1. Pluractionals

- The use of pluractional extensions allows Ngoni to make up for the loss of plural distinctions of verbal prefixes if deemed necessary.

- Being derivative in nature and not inflectional, their usage is optional, gives descriptive value to a story and is able to make subtle differences.

2. Plurality affecting verb valency

2. Plurality affecting verb valency

-an-   reciprocal: 'doing to each other'

-naku / -nau   collective*:   'doing together with'

*collective: Kemmer 2009

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

The reciprocal:
- a plural or a coordinated subject
- participants = agent / patient
- only subject slot
- detransitivizes

Itikamile ni Lauma a-lol-an-a ni kuxunga.
Itikamile and Lauma 1/2-see-REC with surprise

I. and L. looked at each other with surprise.

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

- The less prominent participant may appear in a comitative phrase, but not as an object.

   A-lang-an-a   *n-a-lômbo-mundu.*
   1/2-say goodbye-REC   with-1a-sister-her

   She said goodbye to her sister.

   *A-lang-an-a   *a-lômbo-mundu.*

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

plurality of event:

kupênda lihamba   'fold a paper once'
kupêndana lihamba   'fold a paper several times'

xivega xakuhotoka   'pot with a hole or pierced pot'
xivega xakuhotokana   'pot with many holes'

< kuhotoka = 'to pierce'

plurality of event:

kumwaga   'to spill (once)'
kumwagana   'to spill many times or in various directions'

ageleka   'to put on something else (once)'
agelekana   'to heap on to'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

plurality of event:

kupakaha   'to smear once'
kupakahana   'to smear many times'

A-pakah-an-a   u-lêmbo pa-hêga ja   li-xinamu pala.
1/2-smear-REC-FV 14-glue   16-9.body 9.of 5-doll   15.DEM.D

'…he smeared glue all over the body of the doll.'   H1.11

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

plural of subject:

ukotoka   ' to be quiet'

»Nkotoki!«   »Be quiet!« (SG)
»Nkotokani!«   »Be quiet!« (PL)

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

plural of subject:

kuhambula 'to take off'

SG: *Njau'   makahambu'   nyumba.*
PL: *Njau'   makahambulani   nyumba.*

   N-jau'   m-aka-hambul-an-i   nyumba.
   2SG/PL-go 2SG/PL-ITI-take_off-REC-SUBJ 9.house

'Go and take the grass off the house.'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

objects in relation to one another:

kung'eng'ena	'to cut'
kung'eng'enana	'to cut in half'

Hi-juni yêla   naku'   pa-ka-ng'eng'en-an-a.
8-bird   8.DEM.D   NEG.be   16.REL-PST-cut-REC-FV

'The birds he had not cut in half.'   G15.10

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

kuxonga = 'to put in order'
kuxongana = 'to put in relation to one another'

kunyambata = 'to stick: ex. sugar on hands'
kunyambatana = 'to glue something onto something'

kutopola = 'to cut, mutilate'
kutopolana = 'to cut to pieces'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

kujita = 'throw away something without value'
kujitana = 'throw away something valuable without necessity'

»*Mwe' n-jit-i ma-xy-aga*.«
  you   2.SG-throw away -SUBJ 6-water-this

»Throw this water away!«

»*Mwe' mu-na-jit-an-i ma-xy-aga*.«
  you   2.SG-NEG-throw away-REC-SUBJ 6-water-this

»Don't throw this water away!«

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

middle:

"...a semantic area comprising events in which
(a) the Initiator is also the Endpoint, or affected entitiy ..
(b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration."

(Kemmer 1993 via Bostoen et el. 2015: 755)

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

Nyumba ji-lêngine.
9.house   9-be_complete.REC.PFV
'The house is complete.'

kulênga   = *'to try, experiment'*
kulêngana   = *'to be complete, to be equal'*
kulênganiha = *'to compare'*

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

Ma-yahi   *ga-mmêla* *u-ng'onyok-an-a.*

6-grass   6-not_yet   INF-break-REC-FV

'The grass is not yet broken.'   H3.40

ung'onyoka   = 'to break, tr.'
ung'onyokana   = 'to break, intr.'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

kuhova   = 'to lack'
kuhoveka   = 'to be rare'
kuhovekana   = 'to become rare, disappear'

"*Ti-pa'*   *ku-jandika*   *Xi-ngoni*   *xi-na-hov-ek-an-i.*"
1.PL-want   INF-write   7-Ngoni   7-NEG-be_rare-STAT-REC-SUBJ

"We want to write Ngoni, that it does not disappear."
DM.23

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

antipassive ?   (Bostoen, Dom & Segerer 2015:735)

Kirundi:

a-ba-nyéshuúle   ba-a-tuk-an-ye

AUG2-NP2-student   SC2-PST-insult-REC/ANTIP-PRF

(1) 'Students insulted each other.'
(2) 'Students insulted (people).'

ʊ-mu-nyéshuúle a-a-tuk-an-ye

AUG1-NP1-student   SC1-PST-insult-ANTIP-PRF

'A student insulted (people).'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

kupwata	'to speak'
kupwatila	'to say to'
kupwatilana	'to speak to each other, to quarrel'

➤ 'Pedro quarrels a lot.'

Petulu kunnong'a kupwatilana.
'Pedro likes   to quarrel.'

*Petulu apwatilana muni.

Petulu apwatilana muni   ni vandu.
'Pedro quarrels   a lot   with people.'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

Petulu kunnong'a kupwatilana.
'Pedro likes   to quarrel.'

Ahikite   kubomolana.
'They came to destroy.'

Hibidi   kumanya kuvagana.
'It is necessary to know   to share.'   H13.25

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

class 15

kuhagulana	'election'	< *kuhagula* 'to choose'
kujandikana	'census'	< *kujandika* 'to write'
kulombana	'marriage'	< *kulombela* 'to marry'
kulekana	'divorce'	< *kuleka* 'to leave'
kulekengana	'separation'	< *kuleka* 'to leave'

< *ku-lek-ek-an-a*

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

nominalizations:

uvelekani	'decendency'	<	*kuveleka*	'bear/beget'
uhelewanu	'contract'	<	*kuhelewa*	'understand'
uvêngani	'enmity'	<	*kuvênga*	'expel'
malekanu	'crossroad'	<	*kuleka*	'leave'
maxindanu	'contest'	<	*kuxinda*	'win'
malanganu	'alliance'	<	*kulanga*	'shake hand'
vavandikani	'neighbours'	<	*kuvandi*	'be close'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

qualificatives:

hitamwa yakujambuana = 'infectious diseases'
< *kujambua* 'to infect'

malombe gakuhinyikana = 'densely planted maize plants'
< *kuhinya* = 'to tighten', *kuhinyika* = 'to be tight'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

nyama jakulêngana   = 'complete meat'
nyama jangalêngana   = 'incomplete meat'

< *kulênga*   = 'to try, experience'
< *kulêngana*   = 'to be complete, to be alike'

yangalôndana   = 'something not comparable'

< *kulônda*   = 'to point'
< *kulôndana*   = 'to point at each other, to compare'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

»Ndenda kuheme' ngoho.«
»I am buying a capulana.« [in the process]

»Ndenda kuhemelana ngoho.«
»I am going shopping for capulana.« [intention]

»Ndenda kuhemelana.«
»I am going shopping.« [intention]

* *»Ndenda kuhemela.«*

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

➢ The reciprocal detransitivizes by incorporating the object into the subject.

The reciprocal shows a whole kaleidoscope of usages:

- o from reciprocality or plurality of participants
- o to plurality of event,
- o to plural of subject in commands,
- o objects in relation to one another,
- o to middle situations ,
- o to antipassive?

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

the collective adds an argument to the verb:

kuvenaku	'to be with, have'	< *kuvela*
kuhikanau	'to come with'	< *kuhika*
kupehekanaku	'to arrive with'	< *kupeheka*
kulyenaku	'to eat with'	< *kulyela*

origin of *-naku / -nau*

ni + *-aku* SG / *-au* PL (polite SG) = 3rd POSS

-naku   *Va-pwata-naku ni   ku-xaxa.*
               2OM-talk-COL   with 15-be_angry
               'He talked angrily with them.'

-nau   *…ni   naku' pa-m-pwata-niwa'   maha.*
               and NEG.be 16.1/2-1OM-talk-COL.IPFV well
               '…and they did not speak well with him.'

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

The collective is an extension in the making:

Anjombavau Itikamile ahigala ni   nyumba.
Anjombavau Itikamile ahigalanaku nyumba.

Itikamile's uncle stayed with (= got) the house.

K32

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

imbrication:

kuvenaku   'to be with, have'

a-vi-naku   *a-vi-nikwe*

1/2-be.PFV-with   1/2 be.PFV-with.PFV

kupwatanaku 'to talk with'

a-pwata-nikwaye   *a-pwat-ita-nakwaye*

1/2-talk-with.IPFV   1/2-talk-IPFV-with.IPFV

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

combination of reciprocal and collective:

… *ti-ti-va'*   *na-kw-a-won-an-a-naku* …
    FUT-1PL-be.SBJ   NEG-INF-2OM-see-REC-FV-COL

… we will not see each other with him …   G44.26

2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

- The reciprocal detransitivizes by incorporating the object into the subject,

- the collective transitivizes by adding an object.

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