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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action Type</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single do</td>
<td>‘to come’</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many do</td>
<td>kuhikaanila</td>
<td>ukomanila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do to many</td>
<td></td>
<td>ukomanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do many times</td>
<td>kuhika-hika</td>
<td>ukoma-koma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The image contains a table listing different action types and their corresponding intransitive and transitive forms. The intransitive forms include single do, many do, do to many, and do many times, with the corresponding transitive forms indicating actions such as ‘to come’ and ‘to kill.’
combination of *-anil- and *-ang- possible:

*ukom-ang-anil-a  ‘many kill many’

*ukom-anil-ang-a

SBJ — OBJ — V — PL/O — PL/S
Hare went to call his friends [one by one, like going from door to door]. They all came [one by one].
They helped them a lot with the work at home and brought food [many times].
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

-ani\textit{l}-

-\textit{an}- plus -\textit{il}- = REC plus APL ?

normal order: -\textit{il}- plus -\textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td><em>ni-</em></td>
<td><em>ni-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td><em>mu-</em></td>
<td><em>mu-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td><em>a-</em></td>
<td><em>mu-</em>  (v)a-*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Possible reason:
Loss of SG/PL distinctions in personal pronouns

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
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<td>twe(nga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mwe(nga)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl1/2</td>
<td>jôno(jo)</td>
<td>vêna(va)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[vêna(va)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Plurauctionals

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mwe(nga)</td>
<td>mangôta mweng-apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl1/2</td>
<td>jôno(jo)</td>
<td>angôta vênava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)!’
‘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. Plurauctionals

- 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

-\textit{an-} \hspace{1cm} \text{reciprocal:} \hspace{0.5cm} ‘doing to each other’
-\textit{naku / -nau} \hspace{1cm} \text{collective*}: \hspace{0.5cm} ‘doing together with’

*\text{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 kuxungu.*

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.

\[ A-lang-an-a \quad n-a-lômbo-mundu. \]
\[ 1/2-say \text{ goodbye-REC} \quad \text{with-1a-sister-her} \]

She said goodbye to her sister.

\[ *A-lang-an-a \quad a-lômbo-mundu. \]
2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.1 Reciprocal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plurality of Event:</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kupênda lihamba</td>
<td>‘fold a paper once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupêndana lihamba</td>
<td>‘fold a paper several times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xivega xakuhotoka</td>
<td>‘pot with a hole or pierced pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xivega xakuhotokana</td>
<td>‘pot with many holes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; kuhotoka</td>
<td>‘to pierce’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Plurality affecting verb valency

2.1 Reciprocal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plurality of Event:</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kumwaga</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to spill (once)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kumwagana</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to spill many times or in various directions’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ageleka</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to put on something else (once)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>agelekana</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to heap on to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\textit{kung'eng'ena} \quad ‘to cut’
\textit{kung'eng'enana} \quad ‘to cut in half’

\textit{Hi-juni yêla} \quad \textit{naku'} \quad \textit{pa-ka-ng'eng'en-an-a}.
8-bird \quad 8.DEM.D \quad NEG.be \quad 16.REL-PST-CUT-REC-FV

‘The birds he had not cut in half.’ \quad G15.10
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuxonga</td>
<td>‘to put in order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuxongana</td>
<td>‘to put in relation to one another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyambata</td>
<td>‘to stick: ex. sugar on hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyambatana</td>
<td>‘to glue something onto something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutopola</td>
<td>‘to cut, mutilate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutopolana</td>
<td>‘to cut to pieces’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 entityy ..
(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).’

u-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.’
### 2. Plurality affecting verb valency

#### 2.1 Reciprocal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 15</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuhagulana</strong></td>
<td>‘election’</td>
<td>&lt; <strong>kuhagula</strong> ‘to choose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kujandikana</strong></td>
<td>‘census’</td>
<td>&lt; <strong>kujandika</strong> ‘to write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kulombana</strong></td>
<td>‘marriage’</td>
<td>&lt; <strong>kulombela</strong> ‘to marry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kulekana</strong></td>
<td>‘divorce’</td>
<td>&lt; <strong>kuleka</strong> ‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kulekengana</strong></td>
<td>‘separation’</td>
<td>&lt; <strong>kuleka</strong> ‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; <strong>ku-lek-ek-an-a</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Plurality affecting verb valency

2.1 Reciprocal

nominalizations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uvelekani</td>
<td>‘decendency’</td>
<td>kuveleka</td>
<td>‘bear/beget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhelewanu</td>
<td>‘contract’</td>
<td>kuhelewa</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvêngani</td>
<td>‘enmity’</td>
<td>kuvênga</td>
<td>‘expel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malekanu</td>
<td>‘crossroad’</td>
<td>kuleka</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxindanu</td>
<td>‘contest’</td>
<td>kuxinda</td>
<td>‘win’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malanganganu</td>
<td>‘alliance’</td>
<td>kulanga</td>
<td>‘shake hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vavandikani</td>
<td>‘neighbours’</td>
<td>kuvandi</td>
<td>‘be close’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’

< kulônđa = ‘to point’
< kulônđana = ‘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:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translated Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuvenaku</td>
<td>‘to be with, have’</td>
<td>&lt; kuvela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhikanau</td>
<td>‘to come with’</td>
<td>&lt; kuhika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupehekanaku</td>
<td>‘to arrive with’</td>
<td>&lt; kupeheka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulyenaku</td>
<td>‘to eat with’</td>
<td>&lt; kulyela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Plurality affecting verb valency
2.2 Collective

origin of \(-naku/-nau\)

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

\(-naku\) \(\text{Va-pwata-naku ni ku-xaxa}\).
\(20\text{M-talk-COL} \text{ with } 15\text{-be_angry}\)
‘He talked angrily with them.’

\(-nau\) \(\ldots ni naku' pa-m-pwata-niwa' maha\).
\(\text{and } 16.1/2\text{-be_1OM-talk-COL.IPfv well}\)
‘...and they did not speak well with him.’
The collective is an extension in the making:

Anjombavau Itikamile ahigala ni nyumba.
Anjombavau Itikamile ahigalana\textit{k}u nyumba.

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

K$3_2$
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
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.
Bibliography