

Textual Functions of Chidigo Demonstratives*

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1. Introduction

Eastern Bantu languages typically have sets of at least three demonstratives, often with variant (both emphatic/reduplicated and phonologically reduced) forms. Many descriptive accounts focus on the spatial relations which demonstratives express, and this is reflected in the terms used to describe them: *proximal* (near to the speaker), *distal* (distant from the speaker or addressee), and *non-proximal* (near to the addressee). However, demonstratives do more than merely express spatial relations; they may also play an important role at the textual (that is, discourse) level, and not just as means of distinguishing participant reference. These discourse functions have received less attention, perhaps because to study them a large corpus of naturally occurring texts is required, and this is simply not available in many Bantu languages.

In this paper I will present an analysis, based on a corpus of approximately 14,000 words, of the textual functions of demonstratives in Chidigo (Digo: E.73; North-East Coast, Sabaki). Four types of demonstratives are distinguished, three of which have both a basic form and at least one variant form. In addition to spatial-deictic and textual uses, class 8 demonstratives are used to express time and manner; I will suggest correspondences between the functions of class 8 demonstratives when referring to entities and when referring to abstract qualities such as time and manner.

2. Chidigo demonstratives

Eastern Bantu languages typically have at least three types of demonstratives, which are often described as ‘proximal’ (near to the speaker, e.g. Swahili *huyu*), ‘distal’ (far from the speaker or the addressee, e.g. Swahili *yule*) and ‘non-proximal’ (near to the addressee, e.g. Swahili *huyo*, but also used when the speaker can’t identify the referent specifically). Often each type of demonstrative has a variant form which differs from the ‘basic’ form distributionally as well as structurally. These three types of demonstratives, with variant forms, are found in Chidigo (Digo: E.73; North-East Coast, Sabaki), although the use of the non-proximal form is not as clear-cut as the definition above suggests. In addition, Chidigo has a further type of demonstrative (with no variant form) which consists of a noun class prefix and the invariable ending *-no*. The *-no* ending also occurs in variant forms of some independent personal pronouns which have a similar distribution to the demonstratives.

The complete list of all four types of demonstrative, together with both long and short variant forms, are given in the table below.¹ Type 1 demonstratives are

* The analysis presented in this paper is a development of work by my predecessor in the Digo Translation Project, Maarten de Groot. I am grateful to Alison Nicolle for classifying much of the data and for stimulating discussions of what it might mean. Both contributed valuable insights but responsibility for any errors remains entirely with the author. Research into Chidigo was conducted in Kenya under Research Permit No. OP.13/001/17 C 180/20 issued by the Government of Kenya to BTL (Bible Translation and Literacy). For an overview of Chidigo grammar see Nicolle (2004).

¹ The numbers in the first column are the established way of labelling Bantu noun classes. They refer to the reconstructed noun class system in Proto-Bantu, which has not been retained in its entirety in Chidigo, hence the gaps in the table (noun classes 12 and 13 are no longer productive, class 14 has merged with class 11, and class 15 is used for non-finite verb forms and does not have demonstrative

“proximal”, type 2 demonstratives are “distal”, type 3 demonstratives are “non-proximal” or “developmental”, and type 4 demonstratives are “metarepresentational” (the labels “developmental” and “metarepresentational” are explained below). The lack of variant forms of type 1 demonstratives in noun classes 3, 4, 9 and 11 appears to be phonologically motivated.

Table 1: Chidigo demonstratives

Noun class	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
1	hiye	yuya, huya	hiyu	yuno
variant	ye	yuyatu	yuyu, yu	
2	hinya	hara (hawa)	hinyo	hano
variant	aha	(h)aratu	nyo, o	
3	hinyu	hura	hinyo	huno
variant		(h)uratu	nyo	
4	hii	hira	hiyo	hino
variant		(h)iratu	yo	
5	hiri	rira	hiro	rino
variant	riri	riratu	riro, ro	
6	higa	gara	higo	gano
variant	gaga	garatu	gago, go	
7	hichi	chira	hicho	chino
variant	chichi, chi	chiratu	chicho, cho	
8	hivi	vira	hivyo	vino
variant	vivi, vi	viratu	vivyo, vyo	
9	hii	hira	hiyo	hino
variant		(h)iratu	yo	
10	hizi	zira	hizo	zino
variant	zizi	ziratu	zizo, zo	
11	hinyu	hura	hinyo	huno
variant		(h)uratu	nyo, o	
16	hipha	phara	hipho	phano
variant	phapha, pha	pharatu	phapho, pho	
17	hiku	kura	hiko	kuno
variant	kuku, ku	kuratu	kuko, ko	
18	himu	mura	himo	muno
variant	mumu, mu	muratu	mumo, mo	

When an entity which is being referred to with a demonstrative is physically co-present with the speaker and the hearer, the factors which influence the speaker’s choice of a particular type of demonstrative in preference to the others are primarily concerned with physical proximity, as mentioned above. That is, it is the physical

forms). Classes 1 and 2 indicate singular and plural human referents respectively, and classes 16, 17 and 18 indicate precise, approximate and interior locations, respectively. Class 11 includes elongated objects and qualities, but the semantic basis of other noun classes is often less obvious: classes 3 to 10 include various kinds of objects, with the odd number noun classes usually indicating singular and the even number noun classes usually indicating plural or mass nouns.

location of the entity relative to the interlocutors which influences which demonstrative is appropriate. The exception is type 4 demonstratives which profile the psychological salience of a mental representation of the entity being referred to rather than spatial deixis. Type 4 demonstratives will be described in greater detail below.

It is a more challenging matter to account for the choices that speakers make in situations in which the entities referred to using demonstratives are not physically co-present with the interlocutors. I will discuss two kinds of situation in which physical proximity to the interlocutors is not the primary factor influencing the speaker's choice of demonstrative. First, in narratives demonstratives may be used presentationally (or 'discourse-deictically') to introduce or reintroduce an entity into a discourse, or anaphorically to maintain the addressee's attention on an already salient entity. Second, in both conversations and narratives demonstratives can be used to refer to abstract qualities such as time and manner; in Chidigo this primarily involves demonstratives in noun class 8.

The following paragraph from part way through a Chidigo narrative text illustrates the variety of different demonstratives which can occur in a short fragment of text. There are five distinct 3rd person singular (noun class 1) demonstratives referring to three referents: an antelope (*kulungu*), a corpse (*maiti*) also referred to as 'the woman' (*mchetu*) in the last clause, and a (live) woman (*mchetu*). The noun class 1 demonstratives and coreferential NPs have been highlighted. There are also three noun class 16 (locative) demonstratives (in italics). Prior to the events described in the example below, the hyena and the man had met each other by the man's trap in the forest; the hyena was dragging the corpse of a woman who had been buried at the man's village the day before and was sure that the man would tell the other villagers about this.

- (1) Phahi, fisi rauka fuli richendahala **yuya kulungu** richiricha **yuya maiti** *pharatu*. Kikiri kikiri ya madzi kuhekpwa hata kuganya miyo yao, ndipho "Haya huphiye," anafika *hipho* kulungu taphana, ariyepho ni **yuyatu maiti**. **Yuyu mchetu** ndipho anauza, "Amba we ukaamba kala **yuno maiti** ukamuona na fisi, nawe ukagbwira kulungu, mbona **ye mchetu** ndiye ariye *phapha* na **ye kulungu** kapho?"

Free translation:

So, the hyena left quickly and went and fetched **the antelope** leaving **the corpse** *right there* (i.e. in its place). By the time water had been fetched and they (the man and his wife) had decided who would carry what, then "Okay, let's go," but when they arrived *there* (where the antelope was) there was no antelope, what was there was **the corpse**. **The woman** asked, "I thought you told me that **this corpse**, you saw it with the hyena, whilst you had caught an antelope, so why is it **the woman** who is *here* and **the antelope** is not here?"

This paragraph raises a number of questions concerning the narrator's motivation for his choice of demonstratives. Why does the first mention of the antelope and the corpse in this text fragment use the type 2 (distal) demonstrative *yuya* whilst the first mention of the woman uses the variant type 3 (non-proximal) demonstrative *yuyu*? Why does the second mention of the antelope have no demonstrative while the second mention of the corpse uses the variant type 2 (distal) demonstrative *yuyatu*? Why does

the woman's speech contain different demonstratives: *yuno maiti* (type 4) and *ye mchetu* (variant type 1), both referring to the same entity?

In the rest of this paper I will attempt to begin to provide answers to questions such as these. Section 2 discusses all four types of demonstrative with noun class 16, a locative noun class referring to specific locations (in contrast to noun class 17 which refers to more general locations and noun class 18 which refers to enclosed locations). The aim of this section is to describe the relations between the four types of demonstratives and spatial deixis. In section 3 I look at the functions of type 1 and type 2 demonstratives in a narrative text, and attempt to relate these functions to the spatial deictic uses. In sections 4 and 5 I do the same for type 3 demonstratives and type 4 demonstratives respectively. Most of the demonstratives in sections 3, 4 and 5 are in noun class 1, referring to individual animate entities (a person or animal). Finally in section 6 I discuss the use of demonstratives in noun class 8 to refer to time and manner.

3. Deictic uses of noun class 16 demonstratives

Spatial deictic uses of Chidigo demonstratives can be clearly seen in the use of the locative noun classes. The following examples provide representative illustrations of spatial deixis involving noun class 16 (specific location) demonstratives.²

3.1 Type 1: Proximal (close to speaker)

Hipha occurs frequently either alone (most commonly) or preceding an NP or PP; the long variant form *phapha* expresses a precise location 'right here' and does not co-occur with an NP or PP.

- (2) Nátazamia atu agbwirane **hipha** kaya.
I expected people to stick together **here** at home.
- (3) Nigodzani **phapha**.
Wait for me **right here**.

3.2 Type 2: Distal (far from speaker and hearer)

Phara usually occurs alone or preceding an NP or PP to indicate a specific location at a distance (usually out of sight of both interlocutors). The variant form *pharatu* indicates a specific place which has usually just been mentioned or is otherwise accessible to the listener (for example by identification with an already known location). Locations referred to using *pharatu* can be proximal or distal (more commonly distal), the main emphasis being on the 'sameness' of the place.

- (4) Machero phiya **phara** phako mndani phana mkuyu.³
Tomorrow go **there** to your field where there is a fig tree.
- (5) Kumbavi **pharatu** phana mamba.
Well, at that very place (where the man was standing) there was a crocodile.

² In order to keep this paper concise, and given that the focus of this paper is the demonstratives, I have deliberately not given morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of the Chidigo examples.

³ In (4) the class 16 subject concord *pha-* occurs in *phako* ('your') agreeing with the locative suffix *-ni* in *mnda-ni* 'field-LOC', and *phana* ('there is') where it is prefixed to the commitative particle *na*.

3.3 Type 3: Non-proximal (referring to a place or thing just mentioned)

Type 3 demonstratives in Chidigo referring to entities rather than locations appear to be used exclusively to refer to previously mentioned entities, both in conversations and in narratives. This is also the most common use of type 3 demonstratives referring to locations, although *hipho* rarely is used to refer to a location close to the addressee or which the speaker cannot identify with precision, as in (6).

- (6) We, phiya **hipho**, phana mbuzi zikaangamika.
You, go to **a certain place**, there are goats which are lost.

The variant forms *phapho* and *pho* are far more frequent in narrative texts than *hipho*, always referring to a previously mentioned location. In these instances the place in question is a long way from the speaker, or is out of sight.

- (7) **Phapho** uripho mwandzo...
There where you were at first...
- (8) ...akanigbwarura akaniricha **phapho** au akanirya.
... [the lion] could have mauled me and left me **there** or he could have eaten me.
- (9) Huphiyeni naro hata **pho** phakpwe...
Let's go with [the box] **there** to his place...

3.4 Type 4

The referent of a type 4 demonstrative may or may not be within sight of the speaker and the addressee; the one necessary condition for it to be used is that its referent must be accessible to the hearer (that is, the hearer must be capable of accessing a mental representation of the entity). Example (10) was addressed to the author by a Digo man after the author had asked him what had caused a power cut. The utterance was accompanied by the speaker looking in the direction of an electrical transformer about ten metres away, on which was the smouldering body of a colobus monkey.

- (10) Lola mbega **phano**.
Look at the colobus monkey **there**.

The location was neither very distant nor very close to the interlocutors, nor had it been previously mentioned, but it was accessible in that the speaker believed that the addressee should have been able to identify it. Type 4 demonstratives do not exclusively refer to entities or locations which are physically present, however, as the following example illustrates.

- (11) Unatanbukira **hino** kofiya? N'chere nayo.
Do you remember **that** hat? I still have it.

The context was a conversation about the Christmas party that the addressee had hosted the previous year during which he had given the speaker a hat. The hat, along with everything else associated with the previous year's Christmas party, was therefore accessible to the addressee, even if only weakly, and so the speaker was able to refer to the hat for the first time using the type 4 demonstrative *hino*. The

conditions under which type 4 demonstratives are used depend on the speaker's assessment that a mental representation of an entity or location is accessible to the addressee, rather than on physical proximity or previous mention, as is the case with the other three types of demonstratives.

4. Narrative uses of Type 1 and 2 demonstratives

In addition to the spatial deictic uses described above, demonstratives in Chidigo exhibit a range of narrative or discourse-related uses. The following example is taken from the beginning of a fictional narrative. The first paragraph constitutes the orientation section and introduces a boy called Mwiya (the 'antagonist' in the story), his father, Mwazewe (who is a minor participant in the story), the father's second wife (who is a very minor participant, as she dies in the first clause of the third paragraph), and the second wife's son, also called Mwiya (who becomes a major participant, albeit less important than his older half-brother).⁴ The second paragraph explicitly mentions the senior wife for the first time (she becomes the 'protagonist' in the story). She is not formally introduced because her existence can be inferred from the fact that for Mwiya's father to have married a second wife he must have already had a first wife. Also mentioned is the family's wealth; again, this has not previously been mentioned using this term, but it obviously refers to the father's cattle and crops which are mentioned in the first paragraph. In this passage, only demonstratives of type 1 (proximal) and type 2 (distal) are used. These demonstratives and their coreferential NPs have been highlighted in the text and in the following free translation, and will be discussed below.

- (12) Zamani za kare kpwakala na mvulana mmwenga yeihwa Mwiya. Mwiya wavyalwa ni ise tajiri, na ambaye kala ana ng'ombe nyinji sana, na kala achirima kpwakpwe mindani kala achitsenga vyakurya vinji: matsere, muhama, ngano, mphunga, na vyakurya vyanjina vinji. Kama vyokala desturi ya atu hipho kare, mutu ka achikala tajiri ka n'lazima alole achetu anji. Phahi, mzee Mwazewe, ambaye kala ni ise wa Mwiya, naye piya walola mchetu wa phiri. **Huya mchetu** ariphogbwira mimba, wavyala mwana wa chilume achimuiha Mwiya.

Hiye mchetu mvyere ariphoona mchetu myawe naye akavyala mwana wa chilume, wamanya **hira mali** indaganywa, kpwa hivyo achiona baha amuolage **yuya mchetu mdide** phamwenga na **hiye mwanawe** na utsai.

Free translation:

Long ago there lived a boy who was called Mwiya. Mwiya was born to a rich father, who had very many cattle, and when he cultivated his fields he used to harvest a lot of food: maize, millet, wheat, rice, and many other foods. As was the custom of people long ago, if a person was rich he had to marry many wives. So, elder Mwazewe, who was the father of Mwiya, he too married a second wife. **That woman** [type 2] when she became pregnant, she gave birth to a boy and called him Mwiya.

That senior wife [type 1] when she saw that her co-wife had also given birth to a son, she knew that **that wealth** [type 2] would be divided,

⁴ The 'antagonist' is the primary character who reacts to the 'protagonist', the character who initiates the main chain of events.

therefore she thought it better to kill **that junior wife** [type 2] together with **that child of hers** [type 1] by witchcraft.

In Chidigo narratives, the first time a participant is mentioned after the introduction it is usually referred to by a NP followed by a type 1 (proximal) demonstrative. This is often the ‘point of departure’ of that participant on the event line of the story. **Huya mchetu** (that woman) uses a type 2 (distal) demonstrative rather than a type 1 (proximal) demonstrative because the participant is being referred to as part of the orientation section; the event in which the participant is involved (becoming pregnant) is expressed in a subordinate clause and does not form part of the main event line (that is, it is background rather than foreground information). The same applies to **hira mali** (that wealth) which uses a noun class 9 type 2 demonstrative. *Huya* is fairly rare; the form *yuya* is far more common, being the default way of referring to major and minor participants after they have been introduced until the ‘peak’ is reached, as in **yuya mchetu mdide** (that junior wife) in the second paragraph.

The first explicit mention of the protagonist is **Hiye mchetu mvyere** (that senior wife) using a type 1 (proximal) demonstrative. This is also the point of departure for this participant (the point at which she ‘enters’ the main event line of the story) and so we would expect *hiye* to follow the NP; however it precedes the NP, perhaps because the NP consists of two words. All subsequent references to the senior wife, and to both Mwiya and their father, use the type 2 demonstrative *yuya*. **Hiye + NP** only occurs again near the end of the story to refer to the senior wife when she is discovered and punished:

- (13) **Hiye mchetu** ariyemtiya yuya mwanache dibwani, wagbwirwa ni mchecheta achigbwa.

The woman who had put the small child in the pit was gripped by panic and fell down.

Finally, the junior wife’s child is referred to as **hiye mwanawe** (that child of hers) using a type 1 (proximal) demonstrative. Again the order is <dem NP> (literally ‘that her child’). Although the NP is a single word, this is not a point of departure; he is still passive and has not yet joined the main event line as an active participant.

In this short section from the beginning of a narrative text, the major participants are referred to using type 1 (proximal) demonstratives up to and including the point of departure, where they are introduced onto the main event line. The usual order at the point of departure is <NP dem>, but in the example above type 1 demonstratives were used to refer to major participants for the first time in a narrative with the order <dem NP>. Minor participants in this example were referred to using type 2 demonstratives. The default demonstrative with which to refer to all participants, both major and minor, on the event line is the type 2 (distal) demonstrative *yuya*.

5. Narrative uses of Type 3 demonstratives

In narratives, type 3 (non-proximal) demonstratives are used primarily to refer to people, objects or places which have already been mentioned. This contributes to the coherence of a text, by indicating that the referent has been recently activated, and so the label ‘developmental’ is used (see Nicolle 2007 for a discussion).

- (14) Nyuma simba wafwa **phapho**.
Behind them the lion died **in that place** (where the previous action had occurred).

In the following example, a developmental demonstrative and coreferential NP is used to refer to an already salient referent, even when there has been no change of subject. Only noun class 1 demonstratives have been highlighted.

- (15) Waphiya **yuya bwana** hiko tsakani, akafika waona nyama akavyoga-vyoga, anaamba, “Nchihega phano nyama achedza mino ni nimgbwire kare.” Lakini achidzikanya **yuyu bwana**, achiamba, “Ko kuhega n’kpweli, ela amba mumu tsakani muna mwenye...”

Free translation:

That man [type 2] went into the forest, and when he arrived he saw animals wandering around, [so] he said, “If I set traps here animals will come along and I will catch them easily.” But he warned himself **that man** [type 3, variant], saying, “Setting traps is all very well, but surely here in the forest there is an owner...”

A typical construction in which to find developmental demonstratives is tail-head linkage, where the information in one clause is repeated, using a different construction, in the immediately following clause. In the following example, tail-head linkage creates continuity despite a change of location in the narrative. All of the demonstratives in this example have been highlighted. Most are of type 2 (distal): *yuya* in noun class 1 is the default reference on the event line for participants which are already salient, *phara* is a type 2 noun class 16 demonstrative which indicates that the location was far away from the deictic centre of the narrative, and *kuratu* and *pharatu* are variant type 2 demonstratives in noun classes 17 and 16 respectively which identify the locations referred to as being the same as some known locations. The function in this text fragment of the variant type 1 demonstrative *ye* without an accompanying NP is unclear, however, the type 3 developmental demonstrative *hipho* is used to refer to the location mentioned in the previous clause, thereby helping to create coherence between the events at the two different locations.

- (16) Wauya kaya **yuya mutu**, akafika **phara kaya** wasagala **ye** hata saa mbiri, achiuka achiphiya **kuratu pangoni**. Ariphofika **hipho**, wakpwera dzulu ya muhi kulola **pharatu** phatulukirapho fisi.

Free translation:

He returned home **that man** (type 2), he arrived **there** (type 2) at home he remained **this one** (type 1, variant) until eight o’clock, then he left and went to **those same caves** (type 2, variant). When he arrived **there** (type 3), he climbed to the top of a tree to observe **that same place** (type 2, variant) from which the hyena had emerged.

6. Narrative uses of Type 4 demonstratives

As noted above, Type 4 demonstratives in conversational use profile the accessibility of mental representations of their referents, rather than properties pertaining to spatial

deixis. In narratives, metarepresentational demonstratives most frequently occur in direct speech and thoughts, often in information questions, commands, exhortations, and exclamations. The following example illustrates some of these uses as well as various forms already discussed; it is a continuation of example (1).

- (17) **Yuya mutu** waangalala sana mwakpwe rohani, “Nimuambedze **yuno mkipwazangu**? Na mino che n’namanya kala kulungu ndiye wangu na ndiye chemreha **hipha** nkamuika **hipha**; nkalunga mkipwazangu, ela **vino** kulungu kapho, **ye maiti** nchiyemuona na fisi ndiye achiyeikpwa **hipha**! **Yu kulungu** akahalwa ni **yuyu fisi**, lakini taphana neno.”

Free translation:

The man [type 2] was amazed. “What can I say to **that wife of mine** [type 4]? Now I know that the antelope was mine and it was me who brought it **here** [type 1] and I put it **here** [type 1]; I fetched my wife, but **now** the antelope is not here, **the corpse** [type 1, variant] which I saw with the hyena has been put **here** instead! **That antelope** [type 3, variant, short form] has been taken by **that hyena** [type 3, variant], but there is nothing I can say [lit. there is no word].”

The first demonstrative *yuya* is the default type 2 demonstrative used to refer to participants on the main event line. The type 4 demonstrative *yuno* occurs in an interrogative clause; rather than being a genuine information question, this has the force of a rhetorical question, “What can I say to my wife?” The speaker is representing the thought ‘I can say something to my wife’ to himself for the purpose of considering and rejecting it. In Relevance Theory terms this is a case of meta-representation, that is, the representation of a representation. For this reason, in Nicolle (2007) type 4 demonstratives were described as ‘metarepresentational demonstratives’. The three occurrences of the noun class 16 type 1 demonstrative *hipha* are straightforward proximal demonstratives referring to a location very near to the speaker. The noun class 8 metarepresentational demonstrative *vino* functions as a time adverbial ‘now’. The use of noun class 8 to describe time and manner adverbials will be discussed below, but for the moment it suffices to note that the speaker (or rather, the narrator through the speaker) has chosen to use *vino* in this exclamative context rather than any of the alternative expressions indicating ‘now’ (*hivi*, *vivi*, *vi*, *sambi* and combinations of these). The short form of the type 1 proximal demonstrative *ye* has been used to refer to the corpse, which is physically present at the same location as the speaker. Finally *Yu kulungu* and *yuyu fisi* contain type 3 developmental demonstratives. The entities to which these expressions refer, the antelope and the hyena, are both highly salient, having been mentioned in the previous sentence.

Most of the remaining type 4 metarepresentational demonstratives involve emphasis or culmination (for example at the peak or conclusion of a story) as in the final example which is the final sentence of a story about how the sea became salty.

- (18) **Chino chuma** chinataka mutu chiambirwe chiriche kusaga, na **higa madzi** galago mihoni na ga mvula ichinya, **gano madzi ga bahari** ganaweza kukala ga pepho.

Free translation:

That iron [type 4] wants to be told by someone to stop grinding, and (when) **the water** [type 1] that comes from the rivers and the rain comes, **that sea water** [type 4] will be able to become fresh.

7. The expression of time and manner using noun class 8 demonstratives

Noun class 8 demonstratives can refer to entities in that noun class in the same way as all other noun classes. Thus, in the following example, the developmental demonstrative *hivyo* refers to a kind of food (*vyakurya*) mentioned in the previous clause. The demonstrative and the coreferential referent have both been highlighted.

- (19) **hivyo** ndivyo **vyakurya** vyomuenjereza mamba.
this is the food that I have provided [lit. added] for the crocodile.

However, noun class 8 demonstratives also function as time and manner adverbials, with different meanings being encoded by the four types of demonstrative and the variant forms.

7.1 Type 1 ('proximal') – manner and time

The noun class 8 type 1 demonstrative *hivi* is used as a manner adverbial referring to actions which are about to happen (example (20)), whilst the variant form *vivi* refers to actions which are ongoing (examples (21) and (22)).

- (20) Phahi yuya bwana wahenda **hivi**: ...
 So the man did **this**: (a description of the action follows)
- (21) Unakosa miko **vivi**.
 You are breaking with custom by doing **this**.
- (22) Phahi, yuya bwana wakala na yuya mjeniwe **vivi** hata achiikwa.
 So, the man remained with his guest **in this way** until they were called.

Both *hivi* and *vivi* can function as adverbials of time indicating simultaneity with a temporal reference point; *hivi* is used to refer to a time given by the context which need not be coreferential with the speech time (example (23)), whilst *vivi* is used to refer to the speech time itself (example (24)), and hence is more frequent in conversations.

- (23) dza **hivi** náona dzinyama dzikulu sana.
 right **then** I saw a huge animal.
- (24) hata **vivi** rero
 even to this day (lit: even now today)

7.2 Type 2 ('distal') – manner

The noun class 8 type 2 demonstratives can be used as manner adverbials only. In contrast to type 1 demonstratives which refer to events which are ongoing or about to occur, the type 2 demonstrative *vira* refers to events which have already occurred or which have been occurring for an extended period of time, usually followed by a

verbal complex containing the noun class 8 relative marker *-vyo*. It also occurs in the expression *kpwa vira* ‘since, because’ (referring to an established or inferable fact).

- (25) Yuya mwanache waeleza **vira** arivyotiwa mura dibwani.
The woman explained **how** she had been put into the pit.
- (26) Lakini sielewa **vira** azilavyavyo.
But I don’t understand **how** he has been spending it (referring to money).
- (27) ...**kpwa vira** phana lichigo likulu sana
...because there was a very big fence

The variant Type 2 demonstrative *viratu* occurs in the construction *dza viratu* which indicates that two qualities or actions are comparable or of equal value.

- (28) mkpwulu **dza viratu** Mambasa
just as big as Mombasa
- (29) Waphiya hiku na hiku **dza viratu** dzinare kala ndiye Njira Nyinji.
He went this way and that way **just as** his name was Many Paths.

7.3 Type 3 (‘developmental’) – action

The Type 3 demonstrative *hivyo* refers to an action or event which occurred previously. Whereas the Type 2 demonstrative *vira* refers to the manner in which an action occurred, *hivyo* refers back to the action itself.

- (30) Bada ya kuhenda **hivyo** achiyaya.
After doing **that** she disappeared.
- (31) Yuya Mwiya mvyere ariphosikira **hivyo** ...
When the elder Mwiya heard **this** ...
- (32) Phahi **hivyo** ndivyo safari yangu vyokala.
So **that** was how my journey was.

The expression *kpwa hivyo* ‘therefore’ refers back to what has happened before.

- (33) ...kumbavi nao akazireha **kpwa hivyo** nahurye pesa phahi.
...amazingly they have brought it (the money) **therefore** let us spend [lit: eat] money then.

The variant type 3 demonstrative *vivyo* refers more generically to a kind of action or situation which must have already been explicitly mentioned.

- (34) ...chisha we undahenda pesa **vivyo**.
...then you will make money **thus**.
- (35) Anaamba, “Ni **vivyo**.”
He said, “It is **so**.”

The short form *vyo* can refer to either time or manner. Like *vira* it often co-occurs with the noun class 8 relative marker *-vyo*.

- (36) Lakini **vyo** ambavyo analumbana pho chiphephi ka phana tsungula.
But **as/whilst** they were arguing there nearby was a hare.
- (37) We simba nionyesa **vyo** achivyo**gbwirwa** hiyu mchetu.
You lion show me **how** this woman was caught.

7.4 Type 4 ('metarepresentational')

The noun class 8 type 4 demonstrative *vino* indicates time 'now', but always with an implied comment on the proposition (e.g. surprise, disapproval) or with emphatic usage, in line with the metarepresentational characterisation discussed above, and often in combination with other type 4 demonstratives as in (40).

- (38) ... haya **vino** mbona unanichenga?
... but **now** why are you deceiving me?
- (39) Atu alala na ndzala na **vino** andasinda nayo!
People slept with hunger and **now** they will spend the day with it!
- (40) **Yuno** bwana námtiya chisimani, **vino** wazembula utajiri!
That man I put him in the well, and **now** he has suddenly become rich!

One other use of *vino* (shared with class 17 *kuno*) is to indicate simultaneity with other events.

- (41) Akakala akavuka rira lichigo **vino** anaphiya.
She had crossed that trap **while** she was walking

8. Conclusion

In this paper, four basic types of Chidigo demonstratives have been identified, along with variant forms, and some of the functions of these demonstratives have been described. The ways in which different noun class 8 demonstratives express time and manner corresponds to some extent to the functions of those demonstratives when referring to entities in narratives and as indicators of spatial deixis. To conclude I will summarise our findings for each type of demonstrative.

Type 1 demonstratives which indicate spatial proximity also function in narratives to introduce participants onto the main event line and to refer to them at dramatic peaks. Type 1 demonstratives in noun class 8 function as manner adverbials referring to actions which are about to happen and as time adverbials indicating simultaneity with a temporal reference point. In all these uses the demonstrative serves to increase the conceptual salience of the coreferential entity, and in both narrative and adverbial uses, this involves the anticipation of what is about to occur.

Type 2 demonstratives which indicate spatial distance are used in narratives to refer to minor participants and as the default means of identifying all participants whose salience has already been established (i.e. those which are continuing to feature on the main event line). Type 2 demonstratives in noun class 8 function as manner adverbials referring to events which have already occurred or which have been

occurring for an extended period of time. In both the narrative and the adverbial uses, the salience of the referent is either already established or is not important, and the demonstrative helps to maintain continuity. The variant form indicates the sameness of its referent (e.g. ‘those same caves’, ‘that same place’) and the corresponding noun class 8 adverbial indicates that two qualities or actions are comparable or of equal value.

Type 3 developmental demonstratives refer to entities which are already highly salient by virtue of having been recently mentioned, and maintain a high level of salience. As noun class 8 adverbials *hivyo* refers to actions and events which have already occurred and *vivyo* refers generically to kinds of actions or situations which have already been described.

Finally, type 4 metarepresentational demonstratives are used in contexts in which a speaker expresses a thought in order to question it, challenge it, draw attention to it, or otherwise comment on it. The noun class 8 temporal adverbial *vino* ‘now’ occurs in many of the same contexts as the other metarepresentational demonstratives, such as questions and reported thoughts.

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