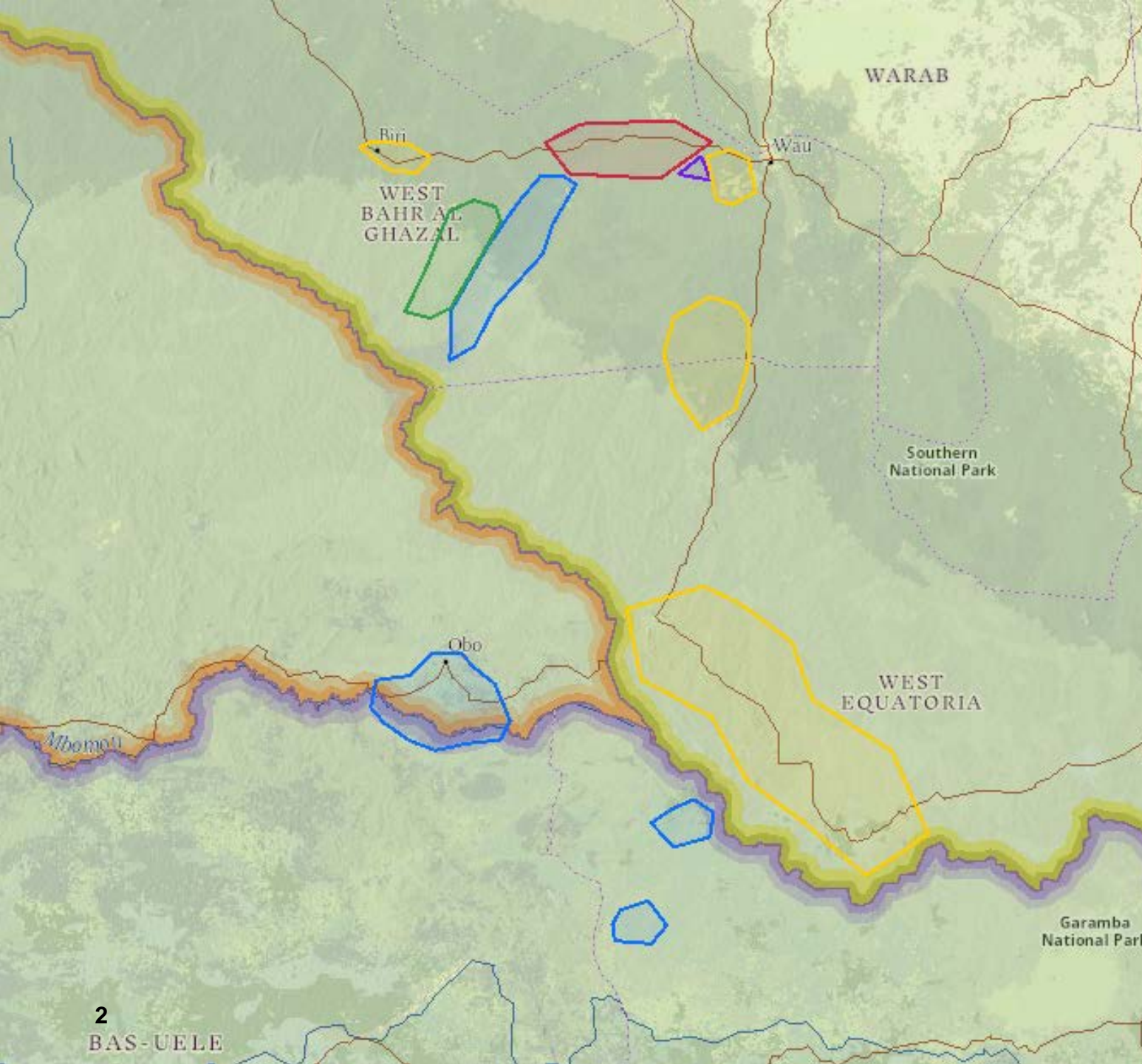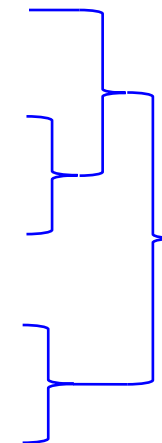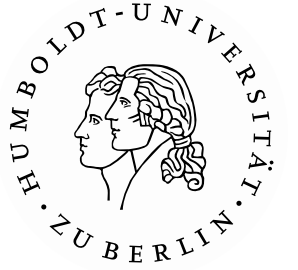Luka Anlauff

Nominal phrases in Ndogoic

Ndogoic Languages

red: Ndogo

blue: Sere

violet: Tagbu
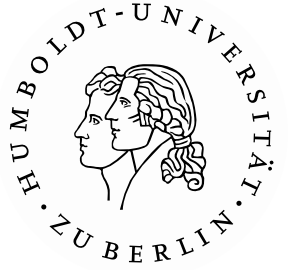
yellow: Viri

green: Bai

Ndogoic typologically

- Syllable structure CV or V; lexical roots probably only (C)V and (C)V (r/l) V

- 5 vowels in Ndogo ATR-contrast and vowel harmony in Viri and probably Sere, Bai ?, Tagbu ?

- three tone levels (not written in many sources), lexical and grammatical (at least derivation)

- canonic word order: S-V-O

Sources

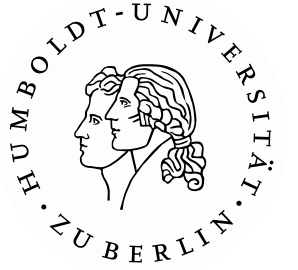|	Ndogo	Sere	Tagbu	Viri	Bai
Westermann (1912) - wordlist	x				
Ribero (1922) - grammar + wordlist + texts	x				
Evans-Pritchard (1931) - wordlist		x		x	
Tucker (195?) - grammar	x	x		x	x
Tucker (195?) - texts	x	x		x	
Santandrea (1961) - grammar + wordlist	x	x	x	x	x
Dijkmans (1974) - wordlist		x			
Bungulu (1974/1991) - texts	x				
Santandrea (1980) - texts	x				
Pozzati (1987) - dictionary	x				
Boyd (n.d.) - elicited sentences		x		x	
Moñino (1988) - wordlist		x		x	
Davies (n.d) - wordlist + sentences	x				
Wau (2020) - description of phonology and noun phrase + wordlist				x	

12.06.2023

Corpus

- Ndogo: 2 stories   632 Tokens

- Sere: 2 stories + survey sentences   1571 Tokens

- Viri: 2 stories + survey sentences   1640 Tokens

- most of the stories only have a problematic glossing/translation

Viri: Tucker (n.d.: 315)

Jopo	ta	Boro	'de	'bi	Utoni	ta	ndere	wei	wila	mina.
Devouring	of	Dog	altogether	by	Hyena	for	reason	true	not	merely.

What is a (lexical) NP?

- "The constructions into which nouns most commonly enter, and of which they are the head word, are generally called noun phrases (NP) or nominal groups. The structure of a noun phrase consists minimally of the noun [...]"

  Crystal (2008:333)

What is a noun?

- No consensus cross-linguistically as to how a word class NOUN is defined

- Semantically: unmarked nouns refer to objects. (Rijkhoff 2002:11)

- Morphosyntactically: cooccurent non-lexical elements define a lexical item as noun (or verb or adjective). (Rijkhoff 2002:11)

Defining NP in Ndogoic

- Santandrea (1961) and Tucker (n.d) speak of nouns, but do not give a definition

- 1. **N can be S of V:** word order is strictly SV(O), so first constituent before V should be NP
  but: adverbials can appear sentence-initially

(1) Viri (Tucker n.d.:312) :

ti	*suku-i*		*de*	*ta*	*be*
on	end-COMP		monkey	PAST	say

”in the end, the monkey said: [...]”

Defining NP in Ndogoic

██   2. **Can be host of possessive clitics**
      but: most prepositions and many deictic elements also
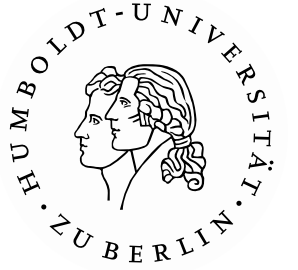
(2)   Ndogo (Tucker n.d.:295) :
       muu-lo   *di*   *gi*
       head- 2S.POSS   pierce PFV
       "your head is cracked"

(3)   Ndogo (Santandrea: 1980:902) :
       nda   *ɗù*   *duru*   *ba*   *cu*   *koɗu*   *meti-ndu*   *la*
       PL   person want   INF   hit   black.magic on-3PL.POSS   NEG
       „People don't want to be hit by black magic"

Defining NP in Ndogoic

3. **Can be plural-marked**
      but: transnumerals

(4)   Sere (Boyd n.d.):
        ndá   sè   gbí   mvû-rɛ̄
        PL   fish   in   fishtrap-2PL.POSS
        „vous avez des poissons dans vos nasses. [you have fish in your fishtrap]"

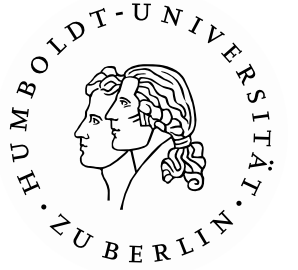# Defining NP in Ndogoic

4. **Can be determined by demonstrative**

   but: demonstratives / deiktic elements often occur in other functions as well

(5)   Ndogo (Tucker n.d.:292):

ɓi	o	gbaanje	tiri	ɗi	co	no	gi
other	time	one	Tiri	hear	word	DEM.PROX	PFV

„One day Tiri heard of this."

General structure of NP in Ndogoic

(PL)   (ADJ)   N   (POSS)   (NUM)   (DEM)   (Rel)
(PP)

- Structure of the noun phrase as described by Santandrea (1961), Tucker (n.d.) and Wau (2020)

Possession

- There are two possessive constructions, both are head-initial:

- juxtaposition for inalienable nouns: N-N

(6) a. Ndogo: Tucker (n.d.:116)   b.   Sere:Santandrea (1961:55)

ʻdɛ̀   lámbva   joki   a   bu-toro
horn   gazelle   god   COP   father-1+2PL.POSS
„horn of gazelle"   „God is the father of us all"

- linker constructions for alienable: N-GEN-N

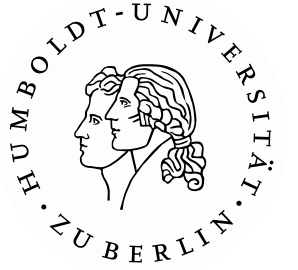(7) a. Viri: Tucker (n.d.:117)   b.   Viri: Tucker (n.d. 121)

tarabeza   ndi   ka   abuna   ɓá   ndɛ
table   GEN   PL   missionary   house   GEN:1S.POSS
„the table of the missionaries."   „my house"

unmarked possession

- some nouns are inherently inalienable like bodyparts, family terms (Santandrea 1961:59)

- Compound nouns can be analysed as cases of alienable nouns in the construction for unalienable, rendering them inseparable (Tucker n.d.:115)

(8)   a.   Sere: Tucker (n.d.:116)   b.   Sere: Boyd (n.d.)

kècè	lɪ		vē̌rě̌	ɓè
donkey	iron		goat	GEN:1S.POSS

„bicycle"   „my goat"

unmarked possession

▬ examples for unmarked possession are found in all three languages

() a. Sere (Boyd n.d.)
ní   dā   nvūrū   kpɔ̄rɔ̄
3S   cut   head   snake
„ il a coupé la tête du serpent. [He cut the head of the snake.]"

b. má   bà-lō   má   wō   dù   ī   lá
?   father-2S.POSS   say   2S   dance   thing   NEG
„ton père a dit : ne chassez pas [your father said: don't hunt]"

Compounds

- many nominal compounds found in all languages

    - Nd: doŋga „kitchen", yú-có „truth" (?-word) ...

    - Sere: ngbìtā „lance", mbutu „dry season" ...

    - Viri: ŋgúrū-ẅí „smoke" (?-fire) ..

- If the constituents of a compound are unknown they could be lexicalized Verb+Object
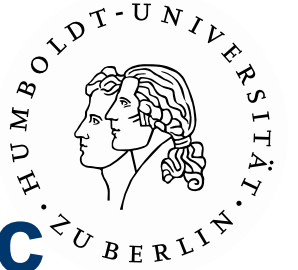
Possession marked by linker

- Santandrea: Linker is *mi* in Ndogo and Tagbu, *ɓi* in Sere and Bai and *ndi* in Viri. Optional in Sere (Santandrea 1961:59)

	house GEN-2S.POSS
Ndogo	*ɓá mi-ló*
Tagbu	*ɓá mo-ló*
Sere	*ɓá ɓi-ló*
Bai	*ɓá ɓo-ŋo*
Viri	*ɓá ndo-ŋ(o)*

- Tucker: Linker is *mi* in Ndogo, *ɓi* in Bai, *ndi* in Sere and Viri (Tucker n.d.:115)

	wife GEN brother:1S.POSS
Ndogo	*ni mì návindɛ*
Sere	*nì ndi lenaà*
Bai	*nì 'ɓì wanaa*
Viri	*nì ndí wànaa*

Genitive constructions with linker in Ndogoic

- only one linker-construction in the stories!

(9)   Ndogo (Santandrea 1980:902)
ya   mi   ndai   vi   volo   la
game   GEN   LOG   may   get.spoiled   NEG
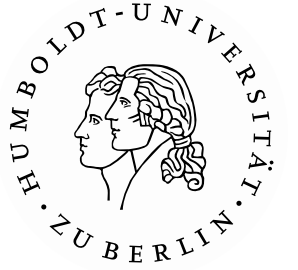"[They do these things so-that]their (pa-)ya may not be-spoilt"

- in elicited sentences 21 linker constructions in Sere, 27 in Viri. Viri employs nd(i) in all cases. Sere uses both *ɓi* and *ndi* depending on +HUM/-HUM of the possessum

(10) Sere (Boyd n.d.)
wí   ndī-rɛ̄   nvàkō   ɓ-ò   vḗrě̌   ɓè
child   GEN-2PL.POSS   knife   GEN-3S.POSS   goat   GEN:1S.POSS
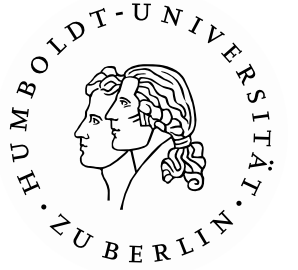„your child"   „his knife"   „my goat"

Adjectives as relational nouns with dependency reversal ?

- Attributive adjectives formally behave the same as inalienable nouns: they are directly preceded by the PL-marker and they require a dependent

- Santandrea (1961:88): „These languages seem to have the ‚horror of the unfinishedness' [...] so when an adjective stands alone (in European diction), various ways are resorted to"

- These ways are: reduplication, dummy-complement <u>or prefix *me*</u>

- Tucker (also: „ There is nothing formal about an adjective to distinguish it from any other part of speech except the optional prefix <u>me</u>- (<u>ma</u>- in Biri)
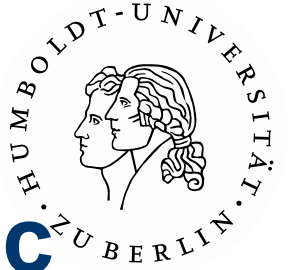
Plural marking in Ndogoic

a) Plural marker precedes noun: *ndá* (Nd.,Se.,Tg, Ba) *ká* (Vi.) (Santandrea 1961:35)

b) Plural marking is obligatory if referent is pluralic. (Tucker n.d.:76)

c) „ Where a noun itself is preceded by a qualifier, the plural particle may precede either the noun or the qualifier or both." (Tucker n.d.:76)

d) Plural marking is absent, when referent is generic (Tucker n.d.:77)

e) For Viri:Some nouns and adjectives have suppletive plural forms (Wau 2020: 27-28)

a) PL-marker precedes the noun

	Ndogo	Sere	Viri
# *ndá/ká*	20	47	48
of those: identifiable as PL	20	40	33
of those preceding referent	20	40	33

- in Sere 3.PL pronoun has an allomorph *ndʌ́,* written as *ndá* by Tucker

- in Viri *ká* can have various other, partly obscure, functions.

b) PL marking obligatory if referent is pluralic

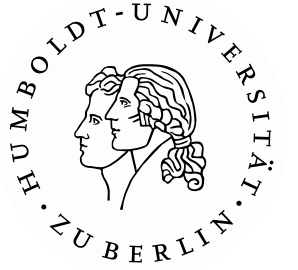- seems not true for body parts

(11)   Sere (Boyd n.d.):
ní   tí   tòrò   rɔ̄
3S   PROG   rub   eye
„ils se frottaient les yeux. [They rub their eyes]"

- not true for inanimate referents, even if countable

(12)   Sere (Boyd n.d.):
yē   tā   ɓɛ̀   fàrà
1S   PAST   count   egg
"j'ai compté les oeufs [I counted the eggs]"

- optional for animals and plants

c) Position of PL in NPs with adjectives

8 instances

PL-A-N: 5 in Ndogo, 1 in Viri
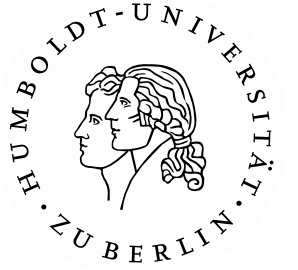
A-PL-N: 1 in Sere

PL-A-PL-N: 1 in Sere

Ndogo:

(13)	piperi	ma	di	ti	nda	gbolo	ndu
	wind	when	arrive	on	PL	big	tree

Sere:

(14)	nda	ɓi	nda	uɗu	ka do	ti	cucu	ti bi	go
	PL	certain	PL	person	there-were	PROG	die	of	hunger

(15)	ɓí	ndá	sérē	rŏ̄ tɔ̄	gbɪ́	rè
	other	PL	person	stand	in	up

„ ils sont debout [they are standing]" (Boyd n.d.)

d) No PL with generic referents

- optional PL-marking with animals and plants

- for human generic referents see () and ()

e) suppletive plural

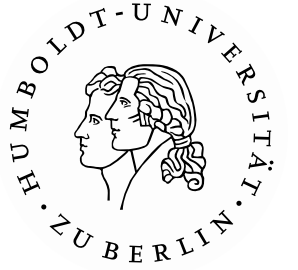- none found. In Wau's examples of suppletive adjctives, all of them are modifying plant- or body-part nouns

Nominal coordination

- Wau describes for Viri that NPs are coordinated by *ta* „and" (Wau 2020:54)

- It seems to be rather a construction: PL _ ta _

  (16)   Viri: Tucker (n.d.:311)
  ka   boro   ta   de
  PL   [dog   with   monkey]
  „The monkey and the dog"

- PL seems to function as the head

- Santandrea describes the same for the other languages but only for people, he describes it as an associative plural

Demonstratives

- two levels of deixis in Ndogoic according to Santandrea (1961:70) and Tucker (n.d.:96).

- Proximal: *nV* (mostly *no*)   Distal: nd.: *zo*, se.: *sa*, tg.: *cìnì*, ba.: *sina*, vi.: *ŋasa*

- these demonstratives directly follow the noun they refer to:

   (17)   Ndogo: Tucker (n.d.:96)
    vi   nò   rɔ́-ɔ́   kpɔlɔ   má
   boy   DEM.PROX   eye-3S.POSS   strong   very
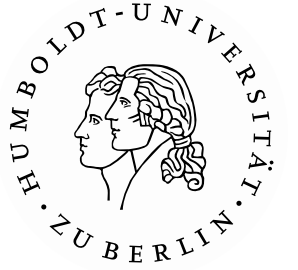   „This boy is very clever"

Demonstratives

- When demonstratives (or possessives) are used pronominal they attach to a pronominal base ŋV-

(18)   Ndogo: Tucker (n.d.:100)
ŋi-nɔ   a   ŋi-nde
PRON-DEM.PROX COP   PRON-GEN:1S.POSS

(19)   ka   ŋi-zɔ   a   ŋi-ndɔ
but   PRON-D.DIST   COP   PRON-GEN:3S.POSS
„This is mine, but that is his"

Demonstratives in Ndogo

- Ndogo data confirms Santandrea and Tucker

- 3 cases of *ti-no*

  (20)   Ndogo: Tucker (n.d.:
  tiri   je   kumgbocu   ti-no
  Tiri   take   stalk.of.durra   (on?-)DEM.PROX
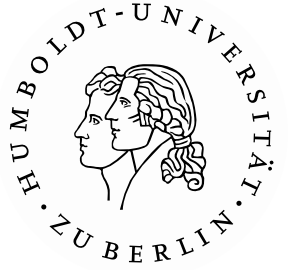 "Tiri took the stalk of durra"

- In all three instances the referent of ti-no was already mentioned before
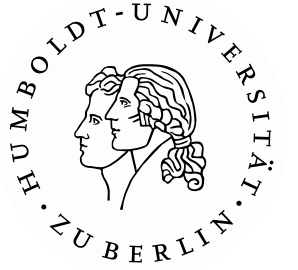
Demonstratives in Viri

- Viri data confirms Santandrea and Tucker

- 26 cases of dem.prox *no*, 3 cases of dem.dist *na*

- 6 cases of reduplicated *no*, that tend to appear in nominal sentences:

(21) Viri: Boyd (n.d.)

nò	nō	nó	tā	gà	ɓí-lì
animal	DEM.PROX	REDUP	with	big	bone

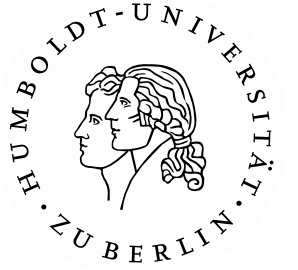„ cet animal-ci a des gros os. [This animal has big bones]"

Demonstratives in Sere

- Boyds Sere data show only one case of no and two cases of *ni*, all the other instances of dem.prox are *lē/lɛ̄*

- *le* is not mentioned by Santandrea or Tucker and does not appear in Tucker's Sere stories (there only *(e)no/(e)ne*)

- possible borrowing from Zande demonstrative *re*? (cf Pasch 2020)

Conclusion

- There are several constructions that are found in phrases referring to persons and objects, which may serve to define a wordclass „noun" and the corresponding NPs:

- $N + N_{poss}$ for inalien. possession $N + GEN + N_{poss}$ for alienable possession

- ndá/ká + N for plural   ndá + N + ta + N for coordination (at least Vi.)

- N + DEM

- A + N?

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