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Grammaticalisation of the Kimakunduchi demonstrative into a pronominal topic marker

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Introduction

(1) *uyo*   mwanaṃke ka-na-chesa=***yo***
DEM.MED.1   1.woman   SM1-IPFV-laugh.CAUS=DEM.MED.1
'That lady makes (us) laugh.' (cf. Racine-Issa 2002)

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Proposals

1. The contracted demonstrative is related to topic-marking.

2. The contracted demonstrative is in the process of grammaticalisation into an **anaphoric bound pronoun**.
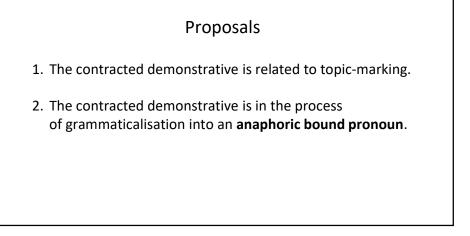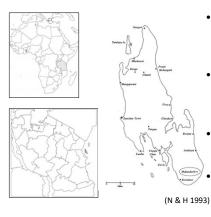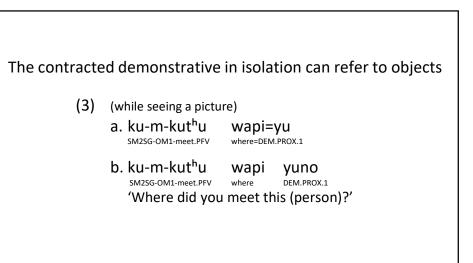
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Overview of Kimakunduchi (Kikae/Kihadimu)

(N & H 1993)

- The basic word order: SVO. (with scrambling reflecting **information structure**)

- Verbs are marked with prefixes referring to person/noun class of subject and object nouns

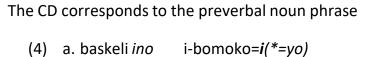- Modifiers follow the head in NPs. (with the exception of demonstrative)

- Form of modifiers differs depending on the noun class of the head noun

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Overview of the Kimakunduchi demonstrative

	BF (PROX)	CF (PROX)	BF (MED)	CF (MED)	BF (DIST)
cl1	yuno (huyu)	=yu	uyo (huyo)	=yo	yulya (yule)
cl2	wano (hawa)	=wa	wao (hao)	=o	walya (wale)
cl3/11	uno (huu)	=u	uo (huo)	=o	ulya (ule)
cl4/9	ino (hii)	=i	iyo (hiyo)	=yo	ilya (ile)
cl5	lino (hili)	=li	ilyo (hilo)	=lyo	lilya (hile)
cl6	yano (haya)	=ya	yayo (hayo)	=yo	yalya (yale)
cl7	kino (hiki ~ hichi)	=ki	icho (hicho)	=cho	kilya (kile)
cl8	vino (hivi)	=vi	ivyo (hivyo)	=vyo	vilya (vile)
cl10	zino (hizi)	=zi	izo (hizo)	=zo	zilya (zile)
cl15/17	kuno (huku)	=ku	uko (huko)	=ko	kulya (kule)
cl16	vano (hapa)	=va	avo (hapo)	=vo	valya (pale)
cl18	muno (humu)	=mu	umo (humo)	=mo	m̩lya (mle)

(R-I 2002)

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The contracted demonstrative cannot modify nouns

(2) a. m̩-m-ono   mwalimu   *yuno*
    SM1SG-OM1-see.PFV   1.teacher   DEM.PROX.1

   b. *m̩-m-ono   mwalimu=**yu**
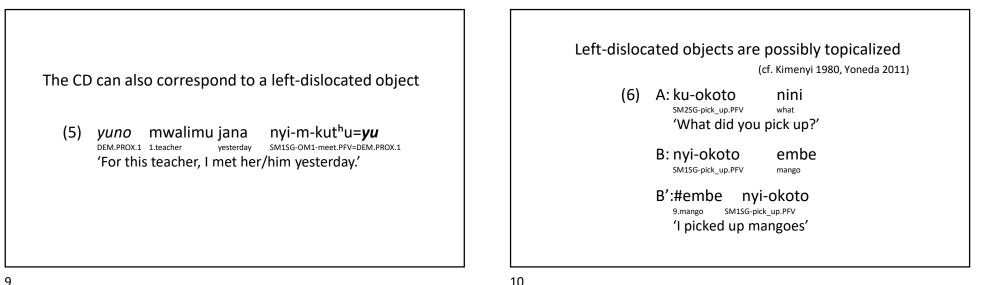   SM1SG-OM1-see.PFV   1.teacher=DEM.PROX.1
    'I saw this teacher.'

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The contracted demonstrative in isolation can refer to objects

(3) (while seeing a picture)
   a. ku-m-kutʰu   wapi=yu
    SM2SG-OM1-meet.PFV   where=DEM.PROX.1

   b. ku-m-kutʰu   wapi   yuno
    SM2SG-OM1-meet.PFV   where   DEM.PROX.1
    'Where did you meet this (person)?'

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The CD corresponds to the preverbal noun phrase

(4) a. baskeli *ino*   i-bomoko=***i(*=yo)***
    9.bicycle   DEM.PROX.9   SM9-be_broken.PFV=DEM.PROX.9
    'This bicycle is broken.

   b. baskeli *iyo*   i-bomoko=***yo(*=i)***
    9.bicycle   DEM.MED.9   SM9-be_broken.PFV=DEM.MED.9
    'That bicycle is broken.'

   c. *baskeli   *iyo*   i-bomoko   *iyo*
    9.bicycle   DEM.MED.9   SM9-be_broken.PFV   DEM.PROX.9
    (cf. Racine-Issa 2002)

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The CD can also correspond to a left-dislocated object

(5) *yuno* mwalimu jana nyi-m-kutʰu=*yu*
DEM.PROX.1 1.teacher yesterday SM1SG-OM1-meet.PFV=DEM.PROX.1
'For this teacher, I met her/him yesterday.'

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Left-dislocated objects are possibly topicalized
(cf. Kimenyi 1980, Yoneda 2011)

(6) A: ku-okoto nini
SM2SG-pick_up.PFV what
'What did you pick up?'

B: nyi-okoto embe
SM1SG-pick_up.PFV mango

B':#embe nyi-okoto
9.mango SM1SG-pick_up.PFV
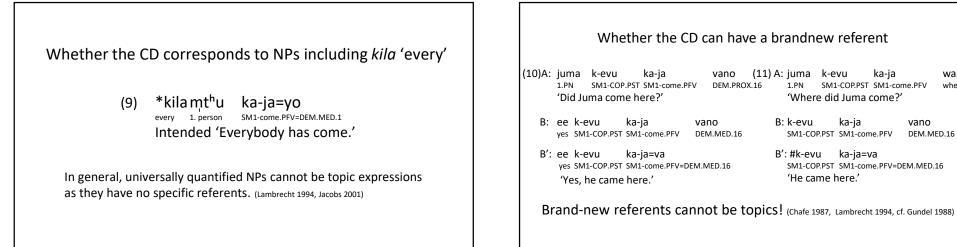'I picked up mangoes'

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Four tests for topic-hood

- Whether the CD can correspond to the subject when the entire clause is focused.

- Whether the CD corresponds to NPs including kila 'every'.

- Whether the CD can have a brand-new referent.

- Whether the CD corresponds to any one syntactic relation or semantic role.

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Whether the CD corresponds to the subject when the entire clause is focused

(7) A: va-na nini mbona watʰu wengi
SM16-have what why 2.people many.2
'What happened over there? Why are there many people there?'

B: m̩zungu ka-na-cheza ngoma
1.white_person SM1-IPFV-play dance

B': #m̩zungu ka-na-cheza ngoma=*yo*
1.white_person SM1-IPFV-play dance=DEM.MED.1
'A white person is dancing.'

(8) A: What happened? B: The children went school. (Lambrecht 1994)

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Whether the CD corresponds to NPs including *kila* 'every'

(9) *kila m̩tʰu   ka-ja=yo
     every 1. person   SM1-come.PFV=DEM.MED.1
Intended 'Everybody has come.'

In general, universally quantified NPs cannot be topic expressions
as they have no specific referents. (Lambrecht 1994, Jacobs 2001)

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Whether the CD can have a brandnew referent

(10)A: juma   k-evu   ka-ja   vano   (11) A: juma   k-evu   ka-ja   wapi
      1.PN   SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV DEM.PROX.16   1.PN   SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV   where
      'Did Juma come here?'   'Where did Juma come?'

B: ee k-evu   ka-ja   vano   B: k-evu   ka-ja   vano
    yes SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV DEM.MED.16   SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV   DEM.MED.16

B': ee k-evu   ka-ja=va   B': #k-evu   ka-ja=va
    yes SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV=DEM.MED.16   SM1-COP.PST SM1-come.PFV=DEM.MED.16
    'Yes, he came here.'   'He came here.'

Brand-new referents cannot be topics! (Chafe 1987, Lambrecht 1994, cf. Gundel 1988)

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Whether the CD correspond any one syntactic relation or semantic role

(12) a. kajengwa   nyi-okoto   embe=*ko*
         PN (CL17)   SM1SG-pick_up.PFV   mangoe(s)=DEM.MED.17
         'In Kajengwa, I picked up mangoes'(Place)

      b. wakati   a-Ø-o-vyaligwa   mwanangu   ny-evu   m̩ji-ni=*o*
         11time   SM1-PFV-REL11-bear.PASS   child:my   SM1sg-COP.PST   town-LOC=DEM.MED11
         'When my child was born, I was in the town.'(Time)

      c. yuno   mwanakʰele baskeli   yake i-bomoko=*yu*
         DEM.PROX.1 1.child   9.bicycle   his.9 SM9-be_broken.PFV=DEM.PROX.1
         'For this child, his bicycle is broken.' (Possessor)

      cf. Topic markers are typically not restricted to marking any one
      syntactic relation or semantic role (Gundel 1988).

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Three tests for topic-hood

- Whether the CD can correspond to the subject
  when the entire clause is focused ➡ NO

- Whether the CD correspond to NPs ➡ NO
  including kila 'every'

- Whether the CD can have a brand-new referent ➡ NO

- Whether the CD correspond any one syntactic relation or
  semantic role ➡ NO

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Is the CD simply a topic marker?

(13) Usan (Reesink 1984; cited by Diessel & Breunesse 2020)
[munai âib eng] yonoubain mindat-erei
house big this.GIVEN my older.brother build-3SG.PST
'This big house, my older brother built.'

(14) *uyo* mwanaṃke ka-na-chesa=**yo**
DEM.MED.1 1.woman SM1-IPFV-laugh.CAUS=DEM.MED.1
'That lady makes (us) laugh.'

(15) ku-m-kutʰu wapi=yu
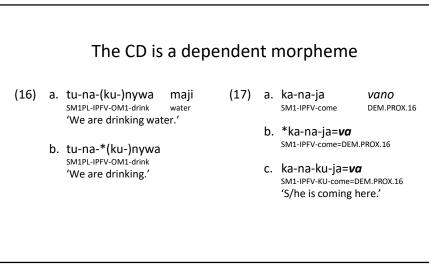SM2SG-OM1-meet.PFV where=DEM.PROX.1
'Where did you meet this (person)?'

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Is the CD simply a topic marker?

- The CD appears to be related to topic marking.

  However,
- The CD does not directly mark a topic expression.

- The CD does not necessarily co-occur with a topic expression.

➡ The CD appears to differ from topic markers in other languages.
(cf. Japanese *wa*)

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The CD is a dependent morpheme

(16) a. tu-na-(ku-)nywa maji
SM1PL-IPFV-OM1-drink water
'We are drinking water.'

b. tu-na-*(ku-)nywa
SM1PL-IPFV-OM1-drink
'We are drinking.'

(17) a. ka-na-ja *vano*
SM1-IPFV-come DEM.PROX.16

b. *ka-na-ja=**va**
SM1-IPFV-come=DEM.PROX.16

c. ka-na-ku-ja=**va**
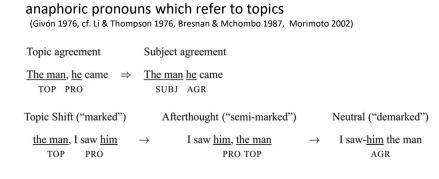SM1-IPFV-KU-come=DEM.PROX.16
'S/he is coming here.'

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The morphosyntactic features of the contracted demonstrative

- The CD has the same referent as a co-occurring NP.

- The CD does not necessarily require the corresponding NP, and it can function in a similar way to pronouns.

- The CD is a dependent morpheme.

➡ The Kimakunduchi CD appears to be similar to the subject and the object markers.

(18) tu-cha-m-ona
SM1PL-FUT-OM1-see
'We will see him.'

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The Kimakunduchi Contracted demonstrative is in the process of grammaticalisation into an anaphoric bound pronoun!

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The subject and the object markers are derived from anaphoric pronouns which refer to topics
(Givón 1976, cf. Li & Thompson 1976, Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, Morimoto 2002)

Topic agreement	Subject agreement
The man, he came ⇒	The man he came
TOP PRO	SUBJ AGR

Topic Shift ("marked")	Afterthought ("semi-marked")	Neutral ("demarked")
the man, I saw him →	I saw him, the man →	I saw-him the man
TOP PRO	PRO TOP	AGR

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Summary

The Kimakunduchi contracted demonstrative is in the process of grammaticalisation into an **anaphoric bound pronoun** which refers to a **topic**.

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References

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