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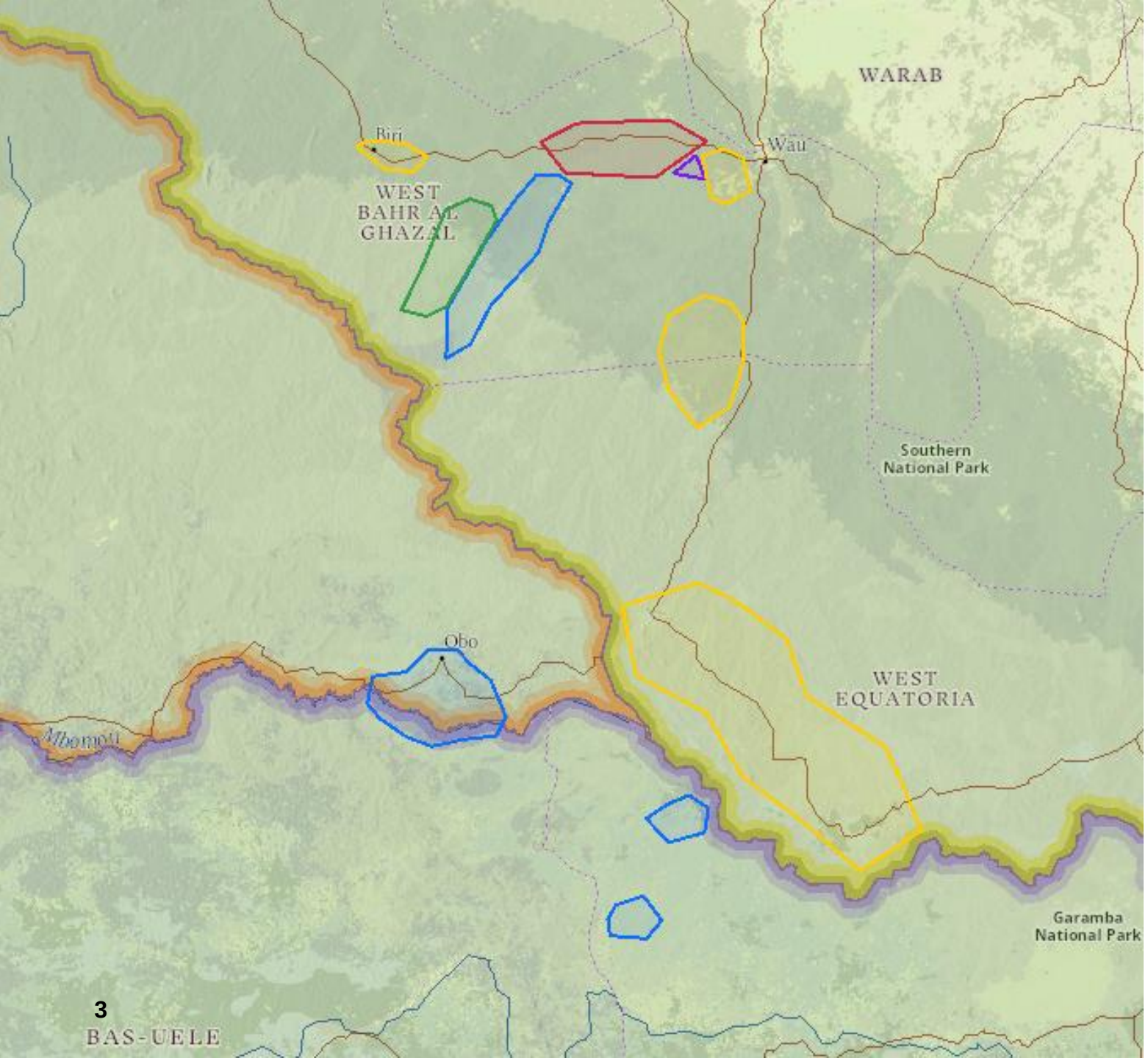
Pronouns in Ndogoic

Structure

1. Profile: Ndogoic
2. Personal pronouns as comparative concept
3. Personal pronouns in Ndogoic
4. Reconstruction of the proto-Ndogoic personal pronoun paradigm
5. Logophorics & Demonstratives



Ndogoic Languages

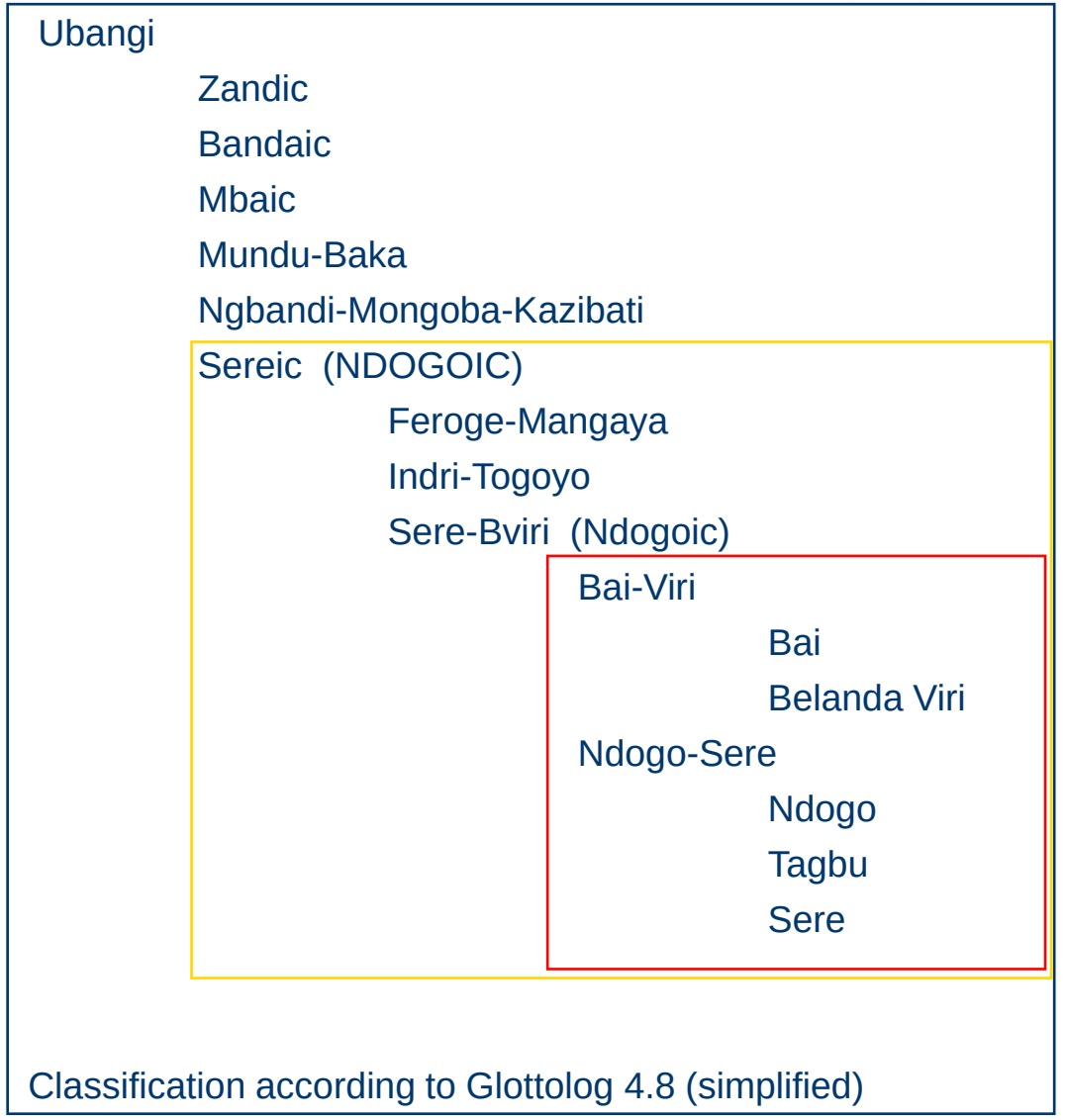
- red: Ndogo
- blue: Sere
- violet: Tagbu
- yellow: Viri
- green: Bai

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 maybe Sere,
- three tone levels, lexical and grammatical
- canonical word order: S-V-O
- very little morphology

Classification

- Ndogoic language family, subdivided in Bai-Viri and Ndogo-Sere-Tagbu since Santandrea 1934
- NDOGOIC as a label for an geographical pool of languages including Ndogoic among others (Güldemann 2018)



Classification according to Glottolog 4.8 (simplified)

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/Davies (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	

Corpus

- Ndogo: 4 stories — 2198 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

(1)	*jopo*	*ta*	*boro*	*de*	*bi*	*utoni*	*ta*	*ndere*	*wei*	*wila*	*mina*
	devouring	of	dog	altogether	by	Hyena	for	reason	true	not	merely

(Viri: Tucker nd:315)

Person deixis as comparative concept

- speaker and addressee are universally referred to in some way
- 3rd person is only negatively defined as -SP, -AD -> often closer ties to spatial deixis and anaphora (Bhat 2013)
- A 1+2 person (+SP, +AD) is not uncommon cross-linguistically (Cysouw 2003:85-90)

pronouns as stable concepts

- „They do not provide labels for unique referents [...]; they are not associated particularly with certain activity domains, as for instance higher numerals may be; they do not involve any manipulation of the presupposition domain or management of the interaction roles, and do not have the ‘clash’ potential at the interaction level between speaker intentions and hearer expectations; pronouns may be borrowable in principle. But in practice, in deictic and anaphoric function they show very low borrowability due to the absence of any of the functional features that tend to motivate borrowing.“

  Matras (2020:224)

Person-deictic elements in Ndogoic

- occur in place of nouns, in all environments but as possessee
- as personal pronouns in S-position, O-position, with *ta* „with“ and *ji* „to“
- as possessive clitics in possession of N, with all other prepositions

(2)

ní	*tí-*	*èrè*	*kú*	*ŋgbó*
3S	CONT	scratch	skin	leg

« il se gratte la peau des pieds. [He is scratching his foot palms]” (Sere:Boyd field notes)

(3)

nē	*tí-*	*dī*	*dā*	*tā*	*dì*
1S	CONT	hear	2PL	with	laughter

„je vous entends rire. [I hear you laughing]“ (Viri:Boyd field notes)

(4)

tacó	*kìyà*	*dɛ̀*	*có*	*je*	*máa*	*wotí*	*nó*	*teé*	*wálá*
because	hartebeest	say	word	to.1S	QUOT	strength	journey	REL.1S.POSS	NEG.EXIST

“For Hartebeest said to me that I am lacking strength to walk.” (Ndogo: Davies field notes)

Personal pronouns

Num.	MIN				AUG						
Pers.	1	1 + 2	2	3	1	1 + 2	2	3	„mother“	„father“	„child“
Ndogo	*yé*	*nda, ndà*	*wó*	*yí*	*ze*	*ndo*	*yó,*	*ndú*	*na*	*bvu*	*vi*
Sere	*yé, ye*	*nda (S), tá (O)*	*wó, wo*	*ní*	*dɨ, dïi*	*toro*	*re*	*ndɨ́, ndandïi*	*na*	*bvu*	*wi*
Tagbu	*yé*	*nda, ndà*	*wó*	*ni*	*za*	*ro*	*ra*	*ndu*	*na*	*bu*	*mo*
Viri	*ne, né*	*ndà*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*du, dù*	*ɗandà, randà*	*ɗa, ɗá, ra*	*ndí*	*na*	*vu*	*wi*
Bai	*ne, né*	*ndà*	*ŋó*	*ní*	*du, dù*	*(wu) ɗa*	*ya, yá*	*ndí*	*na*	*bu*	*vi*

How to explain the variation?

- Borrowing: engl. *they/them/their* from north germ.
  strong bilingualism + “therapeutic motivation“
  (Durkin 2014:177)

- Grammaticalisation: fr. *on* < lat. *homo*

(5)

avec	*Jean,*	*on*	*ira*	*au*	*théâtre*	*ce*	*soir*
with	Jean	ON	go.FUT.3S	to.DEF.SGM	theater.SG	DEM.SG	evening.SG

„Jean and I will go to the theater tonight“ (Creissels 2008:6)

- Fossilized material: engl. *water* < **watr-* (Nom, Acc)
  swed. *vatten* < **watn-* (Obl)
  (Pfeiffer 1993)

Personal pronouns

Num.	MIN				AUG			
Pers.	1	1 + 2	2	3	1	1 + 2	2	3
Ndogo	*yé*	*nda, ndà*	*wó*	*yí*	*ze*	*ndo*	*yó*	*ndú*
Sere	*yé, ye*	*nda (S), tá (O)*	*wó, wo*	*ní*	*ɗɨ, ɗü*	*toro*	*re*	*ndɨ́, ndandü*
Tagbu	*yé*	*nda, ndà*	*wó*	*ni*	*za*	*ro*	*ra*	*ndu*
Viri	*ne, né*	*ndà*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*ɗu, ɗù*	*ɗandà, randà*	*ɗa, ɗá, ra*	*ndí*
Bai	*ne, né*	*ndà*	*ŋó*	*ní*	*ɗu, ɗù*	*(wu) ɗa*	*ya, yá*	*ndí*

Personal pronouns

Num.	MIN				AUG			
Pers.	1	1 + 2	2	3	1	1 + 2	2	3
Ndogo	*ye*	*nda*	*wo*	*yí*	*ze*	*ndo*	*yo*	*ndú*
Sere	*ye*	*nda (S), ta (O)*	*wo*	*ní*	*ɗɨ, ɗü*	*toro*	*re*	*ndɨ́, ndandü*
Tagbu	*ye*	*nda*	*wo*	*ni*	*za*	*ro*	*ra*	*ndu*
Viri	*ne*	*nda*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*ɗu*	*ɗandà, randà*	*ɗa, ra*	*ndí*
Bai	*ne*	*nda*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*ɗu*	*(wu) ɗa*	*ya*	*ndí*

Personal pronouns

Num.	MIN				AUG			
Pers.	1	1 + 2	2	3	1	1 + 2	2	3
Ndogo	*ye*	*nda*	*wo*	*yí*	*ze*	*ndo*	*yo*	*ndú*
Sere	*ye*	*nda (S), ta (O)*	*wo*	*ní*	*ɗɨ*	*toro*	*re*	*ndɨ́*
Tagbu	*ye*	*nda*	*wo*	*ni*	*za*	*ro*	*ra*	*ndu*
Viri	*ne*	*nda*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*ɗu*	*ɗandà, randà*	*ɗa, ra*	*ndí*
Bai	*ne*	*nda*	*ŋo*	*ní*	*ɗu*	*(wu) ɗa*	*ya*	*ndí*

Possessives

(6) *ba-gi-te* *ku* *ndá-kutuku* *ɓa* *mi=ndu*
to-come-carry corpse PL-hyena house of=3PL
"to come and carry the corpse of the hyenas to their house" (Ndogo: Tucker nd: 310)

Num.	MIN				AUG			
Pers.	1	1+2	2	3	1	1+2	2	3
Ndogo	*-é*	*-nda*	*-lo*	*-o*	*-ze*	*-ndo*	*-yo*	*-ndu*
Sere	*-ye*	*-tá*	*-lo*	*-o*	*-ɗu*	*-toro*	*-re*	*-ndü*
Tagbu	*-ye*	*-(nda)*	*-lo*	*-o*	*-za*	*-ro*	*-ra*	*-andi*
Viri	*-e*	*-(nda)*	*-ŋo*	*-o*	*-ɗù*	*-randà*	*-ɗa*	*-ndi*
Bai	*-e*	*-(nda)*	*-ŋo*	*-o*	*-ɗù*	*-ɗa*	*-ya*	*-ndi*

1+2 Minimal

(7) *à* *máa* *go* *énò* *gì* *gí* *bá* *mèe* *taàbé*
PASS if like thus come LOC house of.1S.POSS tomorrow
wàa ***ndà*** *ví* *njè* *nó* *ta* ***ndà*** *ngaànjé*
and 1+2 may leave journey with 1+2 one
"Therefore, come to my house tomorrow, so that we may start off with each other together." Davies fieldnotes (Ndogo)

(8) ***nda*** *ya* *ta* ***nda***
1+2 go with 1+2
„Let us go away with you"
Santandrea 1980:862 (Ndogo)

(9) ***ndâ*** *kìyà* *ta* *lú*
PL hartebeest with frog
„The hartebeest and the frog"
Davies/Bungulu notes (Ndogo)

(10) ***ndá*** *gbósú* *ta* *nò* ***tá*** ***wo*** (or : ***tá-ta***)
1+2S.SUBJ two PTC go with 2S with-1+2S.OBJ
„we two let us go with you [let us two go together]" Santandrea 1961:49 (Sere)

	MIN
	1+2
Nd	*nda*
Se	*nda (S), ta (O)*
Tg	*nda*
Vi	*nda*
Ba	*nda*

1 Augmented

- Nd. *ze*; Tg. *za* vs. Se. *ɗi*; Vi./Ba. *ɗu*
- Tucker (nd:80): Ndogo/Tagbu-forms „obviously a borrowing from Bongo-Baka“
- Bongo (Central Sudanic) 1PL: *jɛ* (Santandrea 1963:32)
- nothing points to widespread bilingualism of Bongo and Ndogoic (cf. Santandrea 1964)
- likely gapfilling by borrowing
- *ɗi*; *ɗu* strongly resembles Nd.: *ɗú* / Vi.: *wuɗù* „person“ -> salient grammaticalization path (Heine & Song 2011)

	AUG
	1
Nd	*ze*
Se	*ɗi, ɗü*
Tg	*za*
Vi	*ɗu*
Ba	*ɗu*

1+2 Augmented

- Ndogo: *ndo* < *nda ro* (vgl. /mboro/ > [mboo]) 1 + 2 – ro
- Sere: *toro* < *ta ro* (vgl. /ti-lo/ > [tolo]) 1 + 2 – ro
- Tagbu: *ro* ro
- Viri: *ɗandà, randà* < *ɗa-ndà* ɗa – 1 + 2
- Bai: *(wu)ɗa* (?)ɗa
- Combination of 1 + 2 MIN (or just PL) and a root **ɗo/a*
  (a/o split appears also elsewhere cf. root „eat“)

	AUG 1 + 2
Nd	*ndo*
Se	*toro*
Tg	*ro*
Vi	*ɗandà, randà*
Ba	*(wu) ɗa*

2 Augmented

- Ndogo and Bai forms similar (< **yo/a*) but could be due to contact
- Sere, Tagbu and Viri forms < **ɗa/e*
- Ndogo borrowing? Where from?

	AUG
	2
Nd	*yo*
Se	*re*
Tg	*ra*
Vi	*ɗa, ra*
Ba	*ya*

3 Augmented

- all forms < **ndU* ?
- vowel quality not sure, Sere often corresponds to u, but Viri-Bai i remains unexplained
- conservative: Viri-Bai < ** ndí*

	AUG
	3
Nd	*ndú*
Se	*ndɨ*
Tg	*ndu*
Vi	*ndí*
Ba	*ndí*

1, 2, 3 MIN

	1	2	3
Ndogo	yé	wó	yí
Sere	yé, ye	wó, wo	ní
Tagbu	yé	wó	ni
Viri	ne, né	ŋo	ní
Bai	ne, né	ŋó	ní

1, 2, 3 MIN

	1	2	3
Ndogo	yé	wó	yí
Sere	yé, ye	wó, wo	ní
Tagbu	yé	wó	ni
Viri	ne, né	ŋo	ní
Bai	ne, né	ŋó	ní

1, 2, 3 MIN

	1	2	3
Ndogo	yé	wó	yí
Sere	yé, ye	wó, wo	ní
Tagbu	yé	wó	ni
Viri	ne, né	ŋo	ní
Bai	ne, né	ŋó	ní
*proto	N-é	N-ó	N-í

	1	2	3
Ndogo	yé	wó	yí
Sere	yé, ye	wó, wo	ní
Tagbu	yé	wó	ni
Viri	ne, né	ŋo	ní
Bai	ne, né	ŋó	ní
*proto	N-é / yḗ	N-ó / wṓ	N-í / yī́

1, 2, 3 MIN

- sound change: y/wṼ > ɲ/ŋV also described for Biali (Gur) in Dimmendaal 2011:31
- cf. set for „salt“
- other explanations, eg. N- as pronominal base, lost in Nd., borrowing in Ndogo (< Golo: *yi*)

	"salt"
Nd	zi
Se	zī
Ta	zi
Vi	nzī
Ba	nji
Tog	zäŋ

Reconstruction

	Personal pronouns		Possessives	
	MIN	AUG	MIN	AUG
1	yɛ́	ɗU < „person“	-e	-ɗU
1 + 2	(nda)	ɗo/a	(-nda)	-ɗo/a
2	wɔ́	ɗa/e, (yo/a)	-lo	-ɗa/e, (-yo/a)
3	yɪ́	ndU	-o	-ndU

Pronominal Gender

- „neuter“-Pronouns

Subject:	*a* (Ndogo, Bai), *a-yi* (Viri), *ke* (Tagbu), *no/nda* (Sere)
Object:	*ø/i* (Ndogo, Tagbu, Viri, Bai), *ø/no* (Sere)

Santandrea (1961:52)

Pronominal Gender

(11) *kutuku* *ma* *á* *tiri* ***a*** *bu-lo* *ka* *wu* ***i*** ***no*** *j-o.* ***a*** *niki*
hyena QUOT oh spider ID father-2S.POSS there, just bestow thing DEM.PROX to-2S ID good
The hyena said: „Oh Tiri, it was your father, who bestowed this to you. It is good.“ (Tucker nd: 306)

- *a* = ID (used in cleft- or passive-like constructions)
  i = „thing“
  no = DEM.PROX

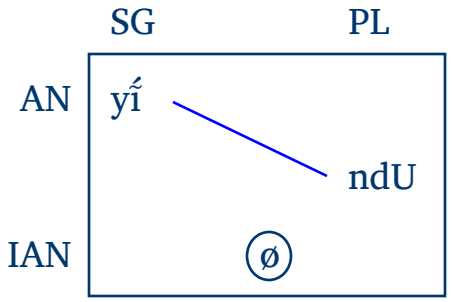
Pronominal Gender

(12)

ka	*ye*	*zò*	*la*	*ná*	*wo*	*má*	*duru*	*wo*	*gi*	*wele*
but	1S	eat	NEG	CONJ.EMPH	2S	if	want	2S	come	take/give

[Tiri said: „fried for me were only these burnt beans, that are in this old bag.]
but I have not eaten (them), hey, if you want, you can take some“ (Tucker nd: 298)

- zero-pronoun for referents low on the nominal hierarchy



Logophoric pronouns

- surprisingly regular across the languages:

LOG.SG	(n)ì=	3S + low tone
LOG.PL	nda(n)i=	PL + 3S

(13)

yí	*gí*	*ve*	*ndú*	*ma*	***ndai***	*ya*	*ta*	*ndu*	*ba*	*nju*	*ŋgo*	*la*	*we*
3S	come	ask	3PL	QUOT	3PL.LOG	go	with	3PL	INF	drink	water	NEG	QM

"He asked them, if they would not go (together) with him to drink water" (Ndogo:Tucker nd:301)

- Viri does not have logophoric pronouns. Loss through contact with Boor?

Logophoric pronouns

- the same forms also used as possessives

(14)

tiri	*gi*	*visi*	*co*	*j-i*	*ma*	***yi***	*ɗo*	*ɓá*	*mì*	*na*	***mí***
spider	come	turn	word	to-3S	QUOT	3S.LOG	from	house	of	sister	of-3S.POSS.LOG

“Tiri answered to him, that he was from the house of his (Tiri’s) sister.“ (Ndogo: Tucker nd:298)

Demonstrative pronouns

Formula:	base	+	demonstrative clitic *–nV/-zo*
	nd.: *ŋi-*	+	*-no*
	se./tg.: *ŋge-*	+	*-ne/i*
	vi./ba. *ŋa-*	+	*-no/u*

(15)

ŋi-nɔ	*a*	*ŋi-nde*	*ka*	*ŋi-zɔ*	*a*	*ŋi-ndɔ*
PRN-PROX	ID	PRN-linker:1S.POSS	but	PRN-DIST	ID	PRN-linker:3S.POSS

“This is mine, but that is his.“ (Ndogo: Tucker nd:100)

Conclusion

- Singular logophoric pronouns reconstructible as 3S + V̀
  Plural log. pr. as PL + [3S + V̀] younger than singular, but older than replacement of plural marker in Viri

  (3S-split (Ndogo vs others) ⇒)3S + V̀ ⇒ PL + [3S + V̀]

- Demonstrative pronoun go back to a construction N-DEM or N-(PREP)-POSS

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grammaticalisation of generic (pro)noun nda

(2)

nda	*ka*	*zi*	*nda*	*uɗu*	*ka*	*no*	*ti*	*yili*
PL (?)	PAST.NAR	kill	PL	person	PAST.NAR	there	PREP	numbers

nda	*ka*	*wici*	*ti-andu*	*kiti*	*ɓi*	*gu*
PL (?)	PAST.NAR	turn	PREP-3PL	upon	other	land

“They were killing men [who] were there in numbers. They turned themselves against other land.“ (Tucker n.d.:319)