The proximate demonstrative pronoun in Ndebele

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Abstract
The studies on proximate demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele solely focus on the morphophonology of proximate demonstrative pronouns. As a result, the morphosyntax of proximate demonstrative pronouns is not explored. The paper examines the morphology and syntax of first position demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele. Most of the data used in this study are generated by the researcher and a handful of examples are drawn from written sources. The data is analysed within the parameters of the grammaticalisation theory. The paper proposes a typology that categorises demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele based on their morpho-syntax. There are three types of proximate demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele: the autonomous demonstrative pronoun, the proclitic demonstrative pronoun and the enclitic demonstrative pronoun. Each type has an eccentric structure: Type 1 usually has a complete demonstrative pronoun consisting of the demonstrative marker and the class agreement marker except in nasal classes where at times the class agreement marker is covert, and Type 2 has the commencing consonant of the marker only in nasal classes while in non-nasal we have a full form, Type 3 appears without a commencing consonant. The study concludes that the internal structure of proximate demonstrative pronouns is determined by the typology and the syntax of given proximate pronouns. The study recommends that the teaching and the study of the internal structure of Ndebele proximate demonstrative pronouns be done in the context of proposed typologies and the syntactic distribution of proximate demonstrative pronouns.

Keywords: *grammaticalisation, clitic, Type 1 demonstratives, Type 2 demonstratives and Type 3 demonstratives*

Introduction
Zimbabwean Ndebele is a Nguni language together with Zulu, Xhosa, Transvaal Ndebele (Northern and Southern Transvaal Ndebele) spoken in South Africa and Swati spoken in South Africa and Swaziland (Hadebe, 2006). In this paper, the term Ndebele is used to refer to the Nguni variety spoken in Zimbabwe. In Ndebele, the nominal modifiers (demonstrative pronouns, absolute pronouns, quantitative pronouns and possessives) usually express agreement with the noun that they modify. The nominal modifiers are typically autonomous word forms and they usually consist of prefixes, roots and category markers. This paper focuses on proximal demonstrative pronouns also known as the first position deictic pronouns or pointing pronouns (Poulos, 1990). In Ndebele, proximate demonstrative pronouns have the structure root *la-* + agreement marker and these pronouns are autonomous word forms.
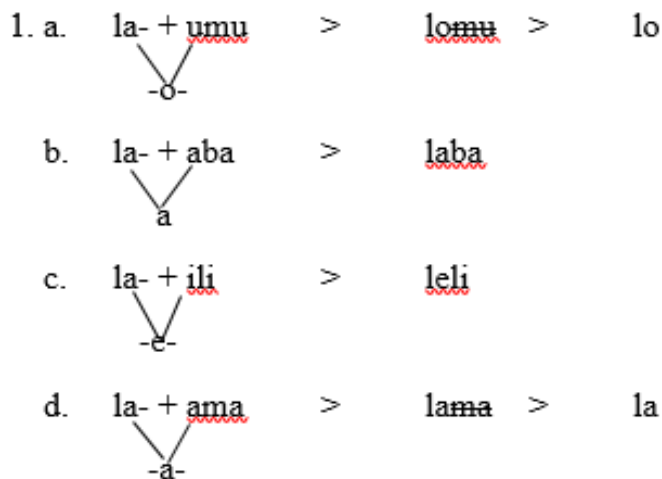
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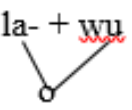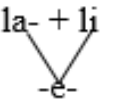
However, there are two more types of demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele; demonstratives that are affixed to nouns and some that are affixed to absolute pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns which are affixed to nouns surface as *l-* and they do not express class agreement. In contrast, the demonstrative pronouns that are affixed to absolute pronouns express class agreement but the demonstrative pronouns appear without the consonant element *l-.* This paper discusses three ways of forming proximate demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele.

Literature Review

Ndebele is one of the most understudied Nguni dialects (Hachipola 1998; Hadebe 2006; Khumalo 2007). The available literature on Ndebele grammar is predominantly descriptive and is based on Doke's (1927; 1954; 1965) works on Zulu. The first position proximate demonstrative pronoun is made up of the demonstrative base *la-* and the noun class prefix (Ndebele 1987; 2004; Hadebe 2001; Khumalo 2003; Mawadza 2009 Mabuza 2012). The augment coalescences with the vowel element of the demonstrative base to derive the vowels *a-*, *-e* and *-o* when the augment is *a-*, *i* and *-u* respectively. Crucially, this school of thought holds that the noun classifier is deleted in the formation of the proximate demonstrative pronouns of the nasal classes:

1. a. la- + umu   >   lomu >   lo
              _/
               -o-

   b. la- + aba   >   laba
              _/
               a

   c. la- + ili   >   leli
              _/
              -e-

   d. la- + ama   >   lama >   la
              _/
              -a-

Dube and Ndebele (2014) depart from the traditional analysis of proximate demonstrative pronouns by arguing that the proximate demonstrative pronoun consists of the demonstrative root and the subject agreement marker and that the vowel element of the root adjusts to the height of the vowel element of the subject agreement marker. In this analysis, vowel coalescence is not involved in the formation of demonstrative pronouns. Rather, vowel raising adjusts the vowel element of the root after which the subject agreement marker is deleted (in the formation of the proximate demonstrative pronouns of the nasal classes). The following examples illustrate the formation of proximate demonstrative pronouns according to Dube and Ndebele's (2014) analysis:

2. a. la- + wu   >   lo(wu)   >   lo

   b. la- + ba   >   laba

   c. la- + li   >   leli
        -e-

   d. la- + wa   >   la(wa)

Dube and Ndebele (2014) contend that the vocalic agreement markers developed from the glide commencing subject agreement markers and that the latter participate in the formation of proximate demonstrative pronouns. The brackets in (2a) and (2d) indicate that the agreement marker can either be overt or covert.

However, both analyses do not explore the relation between the morphology and the syntax of proximate demonstrative pronouns. The present study primarily focuses on the morpho-sytnax of the Ndebele proximate demonstrative pronoun.

Methodology
The study adopts a qualitative methodology in the analysis of data. Most of the linguistic data that was used in the study was generated by the researcher. It is worth noting that Ndebele is the mother tongue of this researcher. Consequently, the primary reference was the native speaker's linguistic competence or intuition. Speaker's competence gives one a ready access to linguistic data. Devitt (2006, p. 482) notes that 'linguistic intuitions' refer to fairly immediate unreflective judgments about syntactic and semantic properties of linguistic expressions, meta-linguistic judgments about acceptability, grammaticality, ambiguity, coreference/ binding and the like. The culture of generative linguists, as noted by Newmeyer (1983, p. 48), is to make use of themselves as informants in collecting data about the acceptability and the interpretation of grammatical constructions.

Data were also drawn from written sources. These include articles, textbooks and the African Languages Lexical Project (ALLEX) Ndebele corpus. The ALLEX Ndebele corpus is a systematic, well-designed and selective collection of written and transcribed speech (Hadebe, 2006). The corpus "... can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description" (Kennedy, 1998: 1). The method of using corpus data to explore a theory, hypothesis or a description with an aim of refuting it, endorsing it or refining it is known as a corpus-based approach. In a corpus-based approach, appropriate data is drawn from the corpora to explain or test a linguistic theory, hypothesis and description (Tognini-Boneli, 2001, p. 84). This method reduces speculation, subjectivity, and it enables one to verify research hypotheses systematically based on more extensive linguistic material (Biel, 2010, p. 2). Moreover, the Ndebele corpus represents a wide cross-section of native speakers' intuitions and can reveal new insights about the occurrence and frequency of word types and phrase types under study.

Data presentation

Nguni languages exhibit three deictic positional types namely position 1, position 2 and position 3 (Doke, 1954; Talaard et al. 1991; Khumalo, 2003; Miti, 2006). Basically, demonstrative pronouns have the structure *la-*, class agreement marker and a positional marker (Zeller, 2003; Taraldson, 2010; Sibanda, 2009; 2011; Dube & Ndebele, 2014; Teubl, 2014). The vowel element of the *la-* stem adjusts to the height the vowel of the class agreement marker and, where there is a vowel positional marker -*o*, the positional marker replaces the vowel of the class agreement marker as shown below:

Table 1
The structure of demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele

Position 1	Position 2	Position 3
la-ba	la-b-o	la-ba-ya(na)
DEM-2AGR	DEM-2AGR-MED	DEM-2AGR-DIS
'these'	'those'	'those over there'
le-si	le-s-o	le-si-ya(na)
DEM-7AGR	DEM-7AGR-MED	DEM-7AGR-DIS
'this'	'those'	'those over there'
lo-lu	lo-l-o	lo-lu-ya(na)
DEM-11AGR	DEM-11AGR-MED	DEM-11AGR-DIS
'this'	'those'	'those over there'

The position 1 demonstrative pronouns have a bimorphemic structure while Position 2 and Position 3 demonstratives have a trimorphemic structure as shown in Table 1. Position 1 demonstratives do not have an overt Positional marker while Position 2 is marked by a medial position marker (MED) -*o* and position 3 is marked by a distal position marker (DIS) –*ya*(*na*).

This paper focuses on the morphology and syntax of position 1 demonstratives which is referred to as proximate demonstratives (Diessel, 1999; 2006; 2012; 2014; Mata, 2015). As stated prior, proximate demonstrative pronouns ideally have a *la-* root and a class agreement morpheme and the vowel element –*a*- of the root adjusts to the height and frontness/ backness of vowel the agreement marker as shown in Table 1. The vowel element of the demonstrative adjusts to -*e*- and –*o*- when the class agreement marker vowel is –*i*- (a) and –*o*- (b) respectively. However, the vowel element of the demonstrative does not change when the class agreement vowel is –*a*- (1).

The proximate demonstrative pronoun *laba* 'these' can either precede the noun *abafana* 'boys' (3a) or follow the noun *abafana* 'boys' (3b):

3. a. la-ba   a-ba-fana
        DEM-2AGR   AUG-2-boy
        'these boys'
    b. a-ba-fana   la-ba
        AUG-2-boy   DEM-2AGR
        'these boys'

The examples in (3) show that the demonstrative pronoun – noun word order is not fixed. The demonstrative pronoun – noun word order (3a) can be inverted to produce the word order noun – demonstrative pronoun (3b).

However, in noun-possessive constructions, the demonstrative pronouns either precedes the noun – possessive construction (4a) or comes after the noun – possessive construction (4b):

5. a.   lo-lu   u-lu-thi   lu-ka-X
       DEM-11AGR   AUG-11-stick   11AGR-POS-X
       'this stick of Mr X'
   b.   i-li-hlo   li-ka-X   le-li
       AUG-5-eye   5AGR-POS-X DEM-5AGR
       'this eye of Mr X'
   c.   *i-li-hlo   le-li   li-ka-X
       AUG-5-eye   DEM-5AGR   5AGR-POS-X
       Intended: 'this eye of Mr X'

As shown in (5a) and (5b), demonstrative pronouns may occur either before the noun – possessive construction (5a) or after the noun – possessive construction (5b) in Ndebele. Crucially, a demonstrative pronoun never intervenes between a noun and a possessive (5c). This is because Ndebele has a fixed noun-possessive word order thus the violation of the word order generates an ungrammatical construction in (5c).

There are full proximate demonstrative pronoun forms (6a-c) and contracted forms (7a-c). A contracted proximate demonstrative form occurs in nasal classes (classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9). For example:

6. a.   u-mu-ntu   lo-wu
       AUG-1-person   DEM-1AGR
       'this person'
   b.   i-mi-thi   le-yi
       AUG-3-medicine   DEM-3AGR
       'this medicine'
   c.   a-ma-nzi   la-wa
       AUG-6-water   DEM-6AGR
       'this water'
7. a.   u-mu-ntu   lo
       AUG-1-person   DEM-[1AGR]
       'this person'
   b.   i-mi-thi   le
       AUG-3-medicine   DEM-[3AGR]
       'this medicine'
   c.   a-ma-nzi   la
       AUG-6-water   DEM-[6AGR]
       'this water'

A contracted demonstrative pronoun does not have an overt class agreement though there are traces of the class agreement adjusting the vowel element of the root also in contracted proximate demonstrative pronouns (7a-c). The contracted proximate demonstrative pronouns *lo*, *la* and *le* occur more frequently than the long forms *lowu*, *lawa* and *leyi* in the Ndebele corpus. According to the ALLEX Ndebele corpus (n.d.), the frequency of *lo/ lowu*, *le/ leyi* and *la/ lawa* gives the following results:

Table 2
Occurrence of demonstrative pronouns in the corpus

Demonstrative 'this'/'these'	Number of occurrences out of a possible 1000 contexts	Percentage
lo DEM-[1AGR] 'this'	1000 /1000	100%
lo-wu DEM-1AGR 'this'	25 /1000	2.5%
le DEM-[4AGR] 'these'	1000 /1000	100%
le-yi DEM-4AGR 'these'	29 /1000	2.9%
la DEM-[6AGR] 'these'	507 /1000	50.7%
la-wa DEM-6AGR 'these'	24 /1000	2.4%

The first column presents the full demonstrative pronouns and the contracted demonstrative pronouns. The second column presents the number of sentences containing a given first position demonstrative pronoun out of a possible 1000 sentences that can be shown by the concordance. The third column presents the percentage of the frequency of a given demonstrative pronoun. The frequency of complete demonstrative pronouns in the online ALLEX Ndebele corpus ranges from 2.4% to 2.9% compared to 50.7% to 100% of the contracted forms. It is therefore unsurprising that most speakers regard the long proximate demonstrative pronoun form as ungrammatical. In fact, this indicates that the proximate demonstrative pronoun is grammaticalising.

In contrast to the demonstratives of the nasal classes, those of the non-nasal classes never contract. For example, *laba* and *leli* are class 2 and class 5 demonstrative pronouns. These pronouns never appear as **la* and **le* regardless of whether they precede the noun or follow the noun as illustrated in the examples in (8) and (9):

8. a.　*a-ba-ntu　　　　la
　　　　AUG-2-person　　　DEM-[2AGR]
　　　　Intended: 'these people'
　　b.　*la　　　　　　a-ba-ntu
　　　　DEM-[2AGR]　　　AUG-2-person
　　　　 Intended: 'these people'
9. a.　*i-li-zwe　　　　le
　　　　AUG-5-country　　DEM-[5AGR]
　　　　Intended: 'this country'

b.   *le   i-li-zwe
     DEM-[5AGR]   AUG-5-country
     Intended: 'this country'

The question that may arise at the moment is: Why does contraction affect nasal proximate demonstratives and never affect non-nasal proximate demonstrative pronouns?

There are instances where demonstratives lose their autonomy and are cliticised to an adjacent host. For instance, proximate demonstrative pronouns of the strong classes tend to be clitised to absolute pronouns and form a complex word form, absolute pronoun-proximate demonstrative pronoun (10a-c). Importantly, the merging of an absolute pronoun and a proximate demonstrative pronoun of the nasal classes in not attested in Ndebele as illustrated by the examples in (11a-c):

10. a. l-on-e-li   i-li-zwe
        5AGR-it-DEM-5AGR   AUG-5-country
        (lit. it this country)
        'this particular country'
    b. kh-o-n-o-khu   u-ku-dla
        15AGR-it-DEM-15AGR   AUG-15-food
        (lit. it this food)
        'this particular food'
    c. b-on-a-ba   a-ba-ntu
        2AGR-it-DEM-2AGR   AUG-2-person
         (lit. them these people)
        'these people'

11. a. *w-o-n-a-wa   a-ma-zwe
        6AGR-it-DEM-6AGR   AUG-6-country
        Intended: 'these countries'
    b. *y-e-n-o-wu   u-mu-ntu
        1AGR-it-DEM-1AGR   AUG-1-person
        Intended: 'this person'
    c. *y-o-n-e-yi   i-n-ja
        9AGR-it-DEM-9AGR   AUG-9-dog
        Intended: 'this dog'

The affixation of demonstrative pronouns to the absolute pronoun contracts both the absolute pronoun and the demonstrative pronoun. The absolute pronoun drops its final vowel –*a* while the demonstrative pronoun drops the consonant element *l-* of the demonstrative root. However, the cliticisation of the demonstrative pronouns of the nasal classes is not borne out (11). The question that may arise here is why the compounding of the absolute pronoun and the proximate demonstrative pronoun acceptable in non-nasal classes and unacceptable in nasal classes?

There are instances where proximate demonstrative pronouns morphologically merge with nouns. When a demonstrative pronoun morphologically merges with a noun, the demonstrative pronoun root loses its vowel element and does not take the class agreement marker as follows:

12. a. l-u-m-fana   ka-Ncube
        DEM-AUG-1-boy   [1AGR]-POS-Ncube
        'this boy of Mr Ncube'

b. l-a-ma-qanda   ka-Ncube
    DEM-AUG-6-egg   [6AGR]-POS-Ncube
    'these eggs of Mr Ncube'
c. l-i-n-ja   ka-Thabi
    DEM-AUG-9-dog   [9AGR]-POS-Thabi
    'this dog of Thabi'

13. a. *l-a-ba-fana   ba-ka-Ncube
    DEM- AUG-2-boy   2AGR-POS-Ncube
    Intended: 'these boys of Mr Ncube'
  b. *l-i-li-tshe   li-ka-baba
    DEM- AUG-5-stone   5AGR-POS-father
    Intended: 'this stone of my father'
  c. *l-u-ku-dla   ku-ka-Mac
    DEM- AUG-15-food   15AGR-POS-Mac
    Intended: 'this food of Mac'

In (12a-c), the demonstrative pronoun is expressed by the consonant *l-*. The vowel element of the root and the class agreement marker are all lost in the process of morphologically merging the demonstrative pronoun of the nasal classes and the noun. In contrast, the examples in (13a-c) indicate that the morphological merger of the demonstrative pronouns of the strong classes and the noun is not borne out in Ndebele.

Lastly, a noun may arguably drop its augment when the noun follows a demonstrative pronoun in a phrase. For example:

14. a. lo   baba
    DEM-[1AGR] [1]-father
    'this father'
  b. la-ba   ba-ntu
    DEM-2AGR   2-person
    'these people'
  c. le-zi-zin-to   (Ibhayibhili Elingcwele, 2012, p. 1257)
    DEM-10AGR-10-thing
    'these things'
15. a. *baba   lo
    [1]-father   DEM-[1AGR]
    'Intended. this father'
  b. *ma-doda   lo
    6-man   DEM-[6AGR]
    Intended: 'these men'
  c. zin-to-le-zi
    10-thing-DEM-10AGR
    Intended: 'these things'

The omission of the augment is ungrammatical when a noun precedes the demonstrative pronoun (14b). It should be noted that the omission of the augment usually happens in fast speech in Zulu (Zeller, 2006).

Theoretical Framework
The researcher adopts the grammaticalisation approach (Bybee et.al., 1994) in the analysis of the proximate demonstrative pronouns. The grammaticalisation theory is also known as, reanalysis (Lord, 1976), syntacticisation (Givon, 1971), reduction (Langacker, 1977) among other names. For the purposes of this study, the terms 'grammaticalisation' and 'reanalysis' are used interchangeably. The process of grammaticalisation affects the phonology, morphology, syntax or semantics of a given linguistic item. Heine and Song (2011, p. 593) state that grammaticalisation involves the following changes:

- Loss of the ability to be inflected.
- Loss of the ability to take on derivational morphology.
- Loss of independence as an autonomous form, increasing dependence on some other form.
- Loss of syntactic freedom, e.g. of the ability to be moved around in the sentence in ways that are characteristic of the non-grammaticalised source item.

These changes convert words into clitics and clitics into affixes in the history of a given language. In fact, there are two types of words, namely, content words and grammatical words. Content words have meaning and allow new words to be added in their respective class via derivation, compounding, borrowing, adaptation, adoption or neologism (Carlson, 1981). Thus content words are said to be members of an open class because new words can be added into the class. In contrast to content words that permit expansion, grammatical words do not permit additional members – thus grammatical words belong to a closed class. The former identifies with nouns, adverbs and verbs while the latter corresponds to absolute pronouns and demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele.

Commenting on the development of affixes from words, Hopper and Traugott (1993) say that the grammaticalising linguistic items can be put on an imaginary scale with the content words in the starting point and the affix on the finishing point. The following example illustrates the development of an inflectional affix from content words:

16. Content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

The scale implies that content words are likely to change into grammatical words, grammatical words into clitics and clitics into affixes. It is contended that there are overt inflectional affixes and null affixes. This analysis assumes that on the final end of grammaticalisation scale there is a null affix rather than an overt affix. Thus, it could be assumed that overt affixes may grammaticalise into null morphemes as follows:

17. Lexical words   > grammatical words > clitics   > affixes   > zero affixes

This is not a far-fetched analysis. Mberi (2002) referring to the grammaticalisation of lexical-to-grammatical morphemes, argues that this involves the development where the content of lexical morphemes is reduced until we end up with abstract grammatical morphemes. This shows that it is possible for a word to change and become a clitic/ affix and further lose its phonetic form to become a null morpheme as illustrated in (17).

In line with the grammaticalisation hypothesis, it is argued that demonstrative pronouns are grammatical words that may grammaticalise into either clitics or affixes. It is predicted that proximate demonstrative pronouns are most likely to lose phonetic form in future in Ndebele.

Data Analysis

There are three types of proximate demonstrate pronouns in Ndebele; Type 1 (the independent demonstrative pronoun), Type 2 (enclitic demonstrative pronoun) and Type 3 (proclitic demonstrative pronoun).
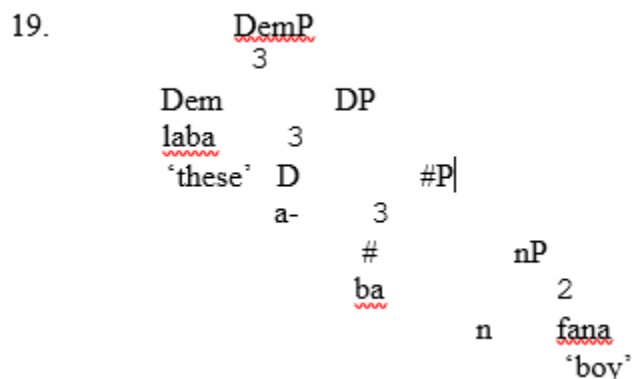
Type 1 Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns

Type 1 demonstratives are the most common in Ndebele. They are autonomous and retain their autonomy throughout the derivation:

18. a. <u>la-ba</u>　　　　a-ba-fana　　ba-de
　　　　DEM-2AGR　　AUG-2-boy　　2AM-tall
　　　　'these boys are tall'
　b. a-ba-fana　　<u>la-ba</u>　　　　　　　ba-de
　　　　AUG-2-boy　　DEM-2AGR　　　　　2AM-tall
　　　　'these boys are tall'
　c. <u>la-ba</u>　　　　　　　ba-de
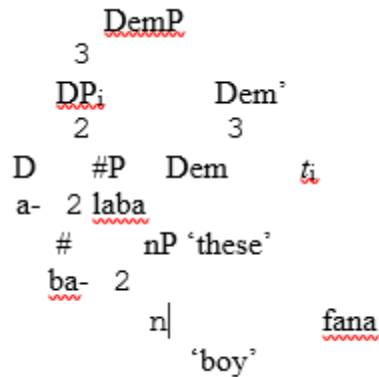　　　　DEM-2AGR　　　　2AM-tall
　　　　'these ones are tall'

The demonstrative pronouns can be prenominal (18a), post-nominal (18b) or they can be the only overt element of the whole DP (18c). Regardless of its placement in a DP, the type 1 demonstrative pronoun always expresses agreement with the noun. Importantly, an independent prenominal demonstrative pronoun (Dem) retains its penultimate syllable throughout the derivation which aptly explains why the Dem co-occurs with an augment in (18a). It is held that a prenominal demonstrative like the one in (18a) expresses contrastive focus (Malinga, 1980).

The construction in (18a) disproves the claim that prenominal proximate demonstrative pronouns are instances of a determiner element (D-element) which serve the same function as the augment vowel (De Dreu, 2008; Malinga, 1980; Visser, 2002). In the said constructions, for example, prenominal proximate demonstratives co-occur with the augment. It is proposed that prenominal demonstratives are a demonstrative phrase (DemP) and the noun is a determiner phrase (DP):

19.
```
              DemP
               3
   Dem          DP
   laba         3
   'these'   D        #P
        a-         3
                #          nP
                ba          2
                     n    fana
                          'boy'
```

For post-nominal demonstratives, it is assumed that the complement DP moves to spec DemP as follows:

20.

```
                    DemP
                 3
              DP_i          Dem'
                 2           3
           D    #P    Dem      t_i
          a-  2 laba
              #      nP 'these'
             ba-  2
                    n|           fana
                      'boy'
```

The assumption that demonstrative pronouns are a DemP is in line with the co-occurrence of the DEM and the augment in Ndebele and helps explain why the Type 1 demonstratives have maintained their phonological, morphological and syntactic autonomy in Type 1 demonstrative pronouns.

Type 2 Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns

In contrast to independent demonstrative pronouns that can post-modify a noun or represent the whole DP, proclitic demonstrative pronouns always require the noun, their host, to be overt. A proclitic demonstrative pronoun prefixes to the noun to derive a compound word form as follows:

21. a. <u>l-u-mu-ntu</u>
       DEM-AUG-1-person
       'this person'
   b. <u>l-i-mi-thi</u>
       DEM-AUG-3-medicine
       'these medicines'
   c. <u>l-a-ma-qanda</u>
       DEM-AUG-6-egg
       'these eggs'
   d. <u>l-i-n-ja</u>
       DEM-AUG-9-dog
       'this dog'

Type 2 proximate demonstrative pronouns strictly occur in nasal classes. The demonstrative pronoun prefixes to the noun to form a proximate demonstrative-noun compound. In the formation of the underlined word forms in (21), the demonstrative pronoun morphologically merges with the noun. The demonstrative pronouns of this nature do not express agreement and lose the vowel element of the demonstrative base. The consonant element *l-* is the only surviving component of the demonstrative in the above constructions.

The non-agreement of the demonstrative that incorporates into the noun is expected when a demonstrative pronoun is prefixed to the noun (21). The fact that an incorporated demonstrative pronoun becomes a component of the noun renders agreement marking to be superfluous. It appears that when a noun modifier incorporates into the noun the modifier does not take an agreement marker. Consider the possessives that have incorporated into the noun:
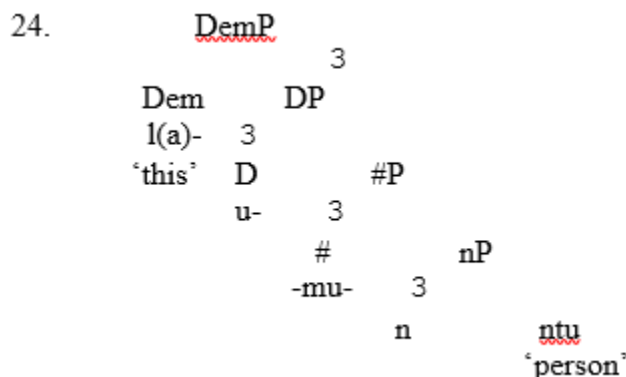
22. a. u-bab-a-kho
        1-father-POS-your

'your father'
b. u-malum-a-khe
    1-uncle-POS-her
    'her/his uncle'
c. u-mam-a-mi
    1-uncle-POS-uncle-POS-my
    'my uncle'

23. a. *o-bab-e-thu
        2-father-POS-our
        Intended: 'our fathers'
    b. *o-malum-e-thu
        2-uncle-POS-our
        Intended: 'our uncles'
    c. *o-mam-e-thu
        2-uncle-POS-our
        Intended: 'our mother'

Like the proclitic demonstrative pronouns in (21), the possessives do not express agreement with the noun with which they are incorporated into in (23). This is to say that the morphologically incorporated demonstrative pronouns do not express agreement.

The other characteristic of the Type 2 demonstratives discussed above is the co-occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun element *l-* and the augment. The prenominal demonstrative pronoun is said to be a determiner like the augment (De Blois, 1970: Du Plessis and Visser, 1992: de Dreu; 2008). De Blois (1970, p. 150) says "the augment and the demonstrative are thus seen to be in complementary distribution as constituting conjointly one grammatical phenomenon." If De Blois' (1970) analysis is anything to go by, a prenominal proximate demonstrative *l-* cannot co-occur with an augment in a Dem + noun construction in (21) because both are D-elements.

Pertaining to prenominal demonstratives, Du Plessis and Visser (1992) argue that there are normal and emphatic prenominal demonstrative pronouns. The former strictly precedes the noun and replaces the augment while the latter can either precede or follow the noun. It is assumed that the demonstratives in (20) are emphatic demonstratives which select the whole DP. In proposed analysis, the co-occurrence of the Dem and the augment in (20) is unsurprising because the Dem is a DemP rather than a D-element. This implies that Dem cliticises to a full DP rather than to an NP. I assume that the Dem-noun constructions in (21a) have the following syntactic structure:

24.   DemP
               3
        Dem   DP
        1(a)-   3
        'this'   D   #P
                 u-   3
                      #   nP
                     -mu-   3
                           n   ntu
                                  'person'

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The synchronic Type 2 demonstrative pronoun no longer inflects for class agreement and it has lost its syntactic independency to the noun. The demonstrative pronoun further loses its vowel element and the penultimate stress to the augment and the noun respectively. As a result, the grammaticalised demonstrative surfaces as an affix *l-* in (21). It is, therefore, maintained that a proclitic emphatic demonstrative pronoun *l-* has developed from a free demonstrative pronoun by losing syntactic, morphological and phonetic independence to the noun as follows:

25. Stage 1   >   Stage 2   >   Stage 3
     Free demonstrative >   clitic demonstrative >   affixal demonstrative
     lowu   >   *lowu*   >   *l-*

It is therefore argued that the *l-* proximate demonstrative pronouns are in stage three in the grammaticalisation scale. The demonstrative element *l-* in the Dem-noun compound is a demonstrative pronoun proclitic that affixes to the DP. The demonstrative pronoun loses its ability to take class agreement markers and its syntactic autonomy in the process of becoming an affix *l-*.

There are, however, proclitic demonstrative pronouns that arguably incorporate phonologically into the noun only. The demonstrative pronouns of this nature appear to be independent word forms in the sense that they are written as two orthographic words:
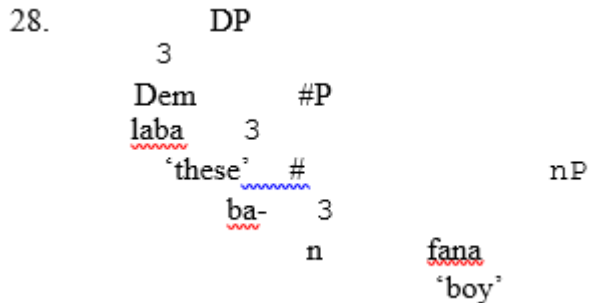
26. la-ba   ba-fana
     DEM-2AGR   2-boy
     'these boys'

Using the orthographic definition of a word that considers a word to be a "physically definable units that one encounters in a stretch of writing, bounded by spaces" (Crystal, 1980, p. 400), the demonstrative pronoun in (26) qualifies to be regarded as an independent noun. However, phonologically, the construction in (27a) is a single word form while the one in (27b) is made up of two word forms. Doke (1927) posits that the final syllable of a Zulu word is marked by a penultimate length. Basing on Doke's (1927) definition, the above construction (repeated below as 27a) is one-word form because the penultimate stress (marked by the colon in the following examples) is only on the final syllable of the noun rather than on the final syllable of a demonstrative pronoun.

27. a. la-ba   ba-fa:na
        DEM-2AGR   2-boy
        'these boys'
    b. a-ba-fa:na   la-:ba
        aug-2-boy   DEM-2AGR
        'these boys'

The non-occurrence of the augment in (27a) could be an indication that the demonstrative in such structures is a D-element rather than a DemP element. A demonstrative pronoun that is a D-element replaces the augment of the noun (Dryer 1992; Du Plessis & Visser, 1992; Visser, 2002; 2008; Zeller, 2006; De Dreu, 2008). As highlighted in (27b), the penultimate syllable of a bimorphemic demonstrative pronoun contains main stress. Referring to the bimorphemic demonstrative pronoun, Zeller (2006) notes that the first syllable has high tone while the last syllable has a low tone. When the demonstrative pronoun precedes the noun, the tone of the penultimate syllable is raised as a result of incorporation of the demonstrative into the noun (Cope, 1984; Louw, 1984; Zeller, 2006). The loss of the low tone/ penultimate stress is directly related to
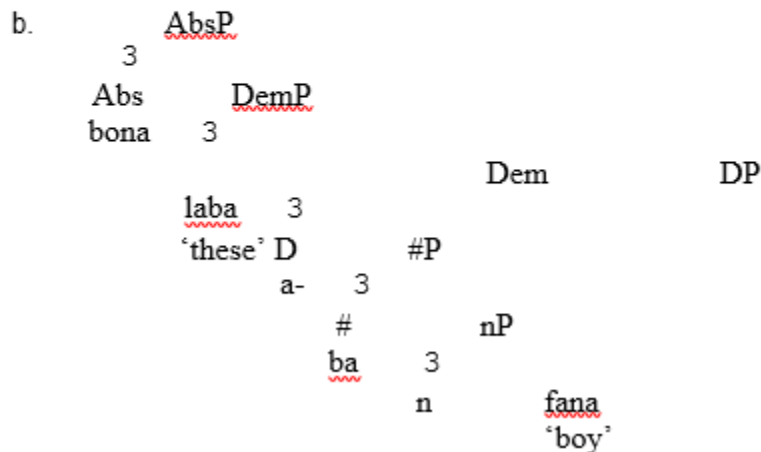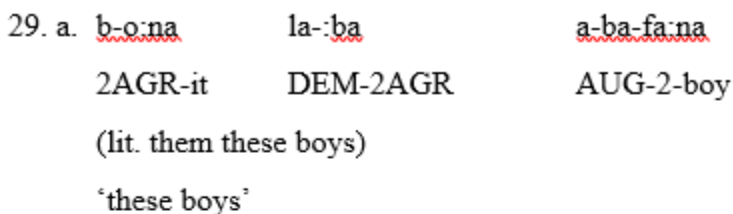
the grammaticalisation of a demonstrative pronoun because every fully-fledged word in Nguni has a penultimate stress. It is assumed in this study that a phonologically incorporated demonstrative pronoun changes from being a fully-fledged word into a phonological clitic and that the noun becomes the complement of the demonstrative as follows:

28.
```
              DP
           3
        Dem        #P
        laba     3
          'these'    #                        nP
                   ba-    3
                       n           fana
                                   'boy'
```

In contrast to the first type of Type 2 demonstrative pronoun which selects the whole DP as its complement, the second type selects an NP as its complement. The former co-occurs with the augment while latter replaces the augment. The phonological cliticisation of demonstrative pronouns alter the phonology of the demonstrative (demonstratives lose their main stress) and the structure of nouns (nouns appear without augments) whereas the morphological cliticisation of the demonstrative pronouns alter the structure of demonstratives (the demonstrative pronoun loses the vowel element of its base and agreement markers).

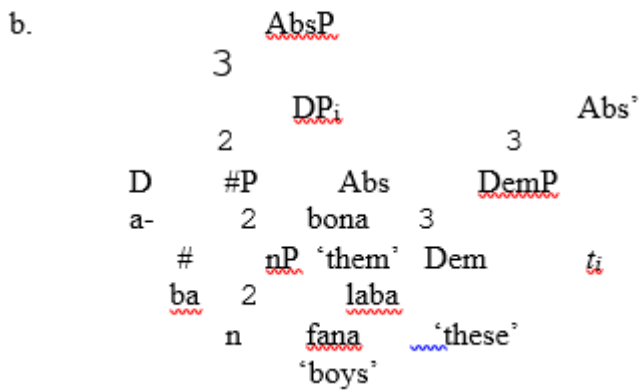### Type 3 Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns
The enclitic demonstratives are the third type of demonstratives found in Ndebele. Canonically, absolute pronouns precede demonstrative pronouns in a Ndebele DP although this word order is not fixed.

29. a. b-oːna   la-ːba   a-ba-faːna

      2AGR-it   DEM-2AGR   AUG-2-boy

      (lit. them these boys)

      'these boys'

b.
```
            AbsP
         3
      Abs        DemP
      bona     3
                                Dem                DP
              laba     3
              'these' D           #P
                    a-     3
                         #           nP
                       ba     3
                            n          fana
                                       'boy'
```

30. a. a-ba-faːna   b-oːna   la-ːba
     AUG-2-boy   2AGR-it   DEM-2AGR

    (these them boys)

    'these boys'

  b.

```
                        AbsP
                         3
                 DP_i                    Abs'
                  2                       3
            D      #P      Abs       DemP
            a-      2      bona       3
               #        nP 'them'  Dem        t_i
              ba   2       laba
                   n     fana      'these'
                        'boys'
```
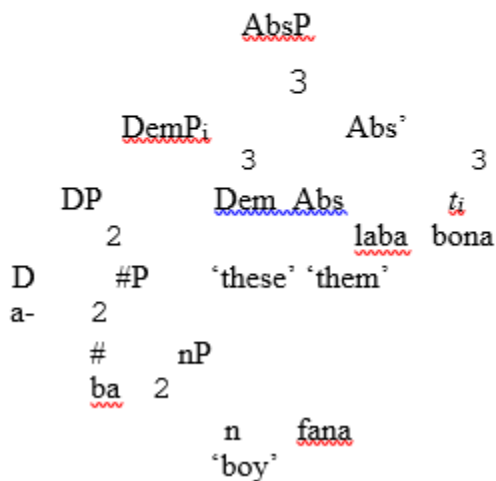
31. c. a-ba-faːna   la-ːba   b-oːna
    AUG-2-boy   DEM-2AGR   2AGR-it

    (boys these them)

    'these boys'

```
                        AbsP
                         3
              DemP_i              Abs'
                3                  3
          DP          Dem  Abs       t_i
           2                laba bona
        D      #P      'these' 'them'
        a-      2
           #      nP
          ba   2
                 n      fana
                'boy'
```

The construction in (29a) and (29b) show the canonical word order while (30a) and (30b) and (31a) and (31b) show derived word order. Interestingly, Type 3 demonstratives only occur in a structure that has a canonical word order where the demonstrative pronouns cliticises to the absolute pronoun. Consider the following examples:

32. a. b-o-n-a-ːba   a-ba-faːna
     2AGR-it-DEM-2AGR   AUG-2-boy
     'these particular boys'

  b. a-ba-faːna   b-o-n-a-ːba

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AUG-2-boy   2AGR-it-DEM-2AGR
'these boys
c. <u>s-o-n-e-:si</u>   i-si-:nkwa
7AGR-it-DEM-7AGR AUG-7-bread
'this particular bread'
d. i-si-:nkwa   <u>s-o-n-e-:si</u>
AUG-7-bread   7AGR-it-DEM-7AGR
'this particular bread'

In the absolute pronoun-demonstrative pronoun compound word forms above: (i) the demonstrative pronoun is always the terminal member of the compound, (ii) the demonstrative pronoun always loses the consonant element *l-* of the base *la-* and (iii) the derived vowel element of the demonstrative base always replaces the final vowel of the absolute pronoun. The question that may arise is: Which is the host and which is the clitic between the absolute and the demonstrative pronoun? This question arises mainly because the absolute pronoun loses its penultimate stress to the demonstrative pronoun in the compound which could be taken to mean that the latter cliticises to the latter.

However, the loss of main stress is expected when a certain construction encliticises to the host. For example, the morphological incorporation of possessives in nouns discussed in (22) is a typical case where we find the host losing main stress to a clitic element:

33. a. u-malu:me   w-a:kho
        1-uncle   1AGR-POS-your
        'your uncle'
    b. u-malum-a-:kho
        1-uncle-POS-your
        'your uncle'

The noun in (33b) loses its main stress and its terminal vowel while the possessive loses the commencing consonant. The vowel of the possessive replaces the terminal vowel of the noun. Interestingly, similar changes take place in the formation of the absolute-demonstrative pronoun compounds in (34b):

34. a. b-o-:na   la-:ba
        2AGR-it   DEM-2AGR
        (them these)
        'these ones'
    b. b-o-n-a-:ba
        2AGR-it-DEM-2AGR
        'these ones'

The morphological incorporation of the demonstrative in (34b) extends the phonological word thereby leading to the following changes:

1. the low tone of the last syllable of the absolute pronoun raises
2. the demonstrative loses the consonant element *l-* which results in the concatenation of the terminal vowel of the absolute pronoun and that of the root
3. the vowel element of the demonstrative root replaces the vowel of the absolute pronoun suffix -*a*
4. both pronouns lose their syntactic and morphological independence.

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It is maintained that the absolute-demonstrative constructions above are a result of the demonstrative encliticising to the absolute pronoun. However, it is worth noting that the cliticisation of the demonstrative pronoun to the absolute pronoun only applies to the demonstratives of the non-nasal classes in Ndebele. Compounding the absolute pronoun and the demonstrative pronoun of the weak classes generates ungrammatical constructions as follows:

35. a.   *u-m-fana   y-e-n-o-wu
         AUG-1-boy   1AGR-it-DEM-1AGR
         Intended: 'this boy'
    b.   *i-mi-thi   y-o-n-e-yi
         AUG-4-medicine   4AGR-it-DEM-4AGR
         Intended: 'this medicine'
    c.   *a-ma-tshe   w-o-n-a-wa
         AUG-6-stone   6AGR-it-6AGR
         Intended: 'this medicine'

The nasal class demonstrative pronouns do not cliticise to absolute pronouns. The question then arises: Why do demonstrative pronouns cliticise to absolute pronouns in non-nasal classes and never in nasal classes? Possibly, the answer partly relates to agreement marking in demonstratives. Agreement markers are optional in nasal classes which explains why we have contracted demonstrative pronouns *lo* (class 1 and 3), *le* (class 4 and 9) and *la* (class 6) in Type 1 demonstratives which appear as *l-* in Type 2 demonstratives. If one assumes for a moment that contracted demonstratives of the nasal classes cliticised to the absolute pronoun: in Type 1 contracted demonstratives, for example, only the derived vowel element of the demonstrative base will survive in Type 1 demonstratives while no trace of a demonstrative will remain in Type 2 demonstratives:

36. a.   *u-m-fana   y-e-n-o
         AUG-1-boy   1AGR-it-[1AGR]
         Intended: 'this boy'
    b.   *i-mi-thi   y-o-n-e
         AUG-4-medicine   4AGR-it-DEM-[4AGR]
         Intended: 'this boy'
    c.   *a-ma-tshe   w-o-n-a
         AUG-6-stone   6AGR-it-DEM-[6AGR]
         Intended: 'this stone'

It is therefore proposed that Type 3 is only found in strong classes because overt agreement marking is mandatory in strong classes. Crucially, the consonant element of the demonstrative pronoun is lost in autonomous demonstrative pronouns in Xhosa non-nasal classes while their nasal counterparts have returned the full demonstrative base but dropped overt agreement (38).

Lastly, the status of *l-* in demonstratives in general is not uncontroversial. There is a school of thought that holds that *l-* is the demonstrative base for all demonstratives in Nguni (Poulos, 1982; Jones, 2018). The vowel element of what is traditionally known as part of the demonstrative pronoun is considered to be a functional head that occurs in complex DPs. This linker, according to this analysis, occurs in DPs that have multiple elements. This analysis wrongly predicts that the demonstrative marker can be absent in the construction of absolute-demonstrative compound. Also, the linker analysis of the *–a-* element that is traditionally treated as a part of the root, rules out the constructions in (21) here repeated as (37) from being considered as complex DPs:

37. a. l-u-m-fana
      DEM-AUG-boy
      'this boy'
  b. l-i-mi-thi
      DEM-AUG-4-medicine
      'this medicine'

The preceding examples are demonstrative-noun compounds and thus qualify to be considered as complex DPs but the so-called linker *–a-* does not occur in the said constructions. The study adopts the traditional view which holds that the demonstrative base is *la-* (Canonici, 1995; Khumalo, 2003; Zeller, 2006; Taraldson, 2010; Sibanda, 2009; 2011) And further argues that the demonstrative can either drop the *l-* component or the *–a* component of the root. Thus the former occurs in absolute-demonstrative pronoun compounds while the latter occurs in the Type 2 demonstrative-noun compounds. The dropping of the *l-* component of the demonstrative pronoun is not unique to Ndebele. In Xhosa, for example, the *l-* element is dropped in the formation of demonstratives (of the strong classes) but the *l-* element is always retained in nasal classes:

38. a. e-si   si-tya   (De Dreu, 2008, p. 43)
      DEM-7AGR   7-plate
      'this plate'
  b. a-ba   ba-ntu   (Poulos, 1982, p. 88)
      DEM-2AGR   2-person
      'these people'
  c. lo   n-ja   (Poulos, 1982, p. 88)
      DEM-[9AGR]   9-dog
      'this dog'

The treatment of the *l-* element as the demonstrative marker is tantamount to claiming that Xhosa has dropped the demonstrative marker in strong classes. I maintain that the demonstrative marker has two elements, the consonant element and the vowel element, and that either of the two can mark a word form as a demonstrative if the demonstrative is contracted. Going by the changes that have occurred in Xhosa, Ndebele is likely to drop the *l-* element of the demonstrative pronoun in strong classes.

Conclusion
The article has discussed the morphological and syntactic properties of the proximate demonstrative pronouns. The study identified three types of proximate demonstrative pronouns in Ndebele: Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3. Type 1 demonstratives can either precede or come after the noun and all Type 1 demonstratives are emphatic (they don't replace the augment of the noun). Morphologically, Type 1 demonstratives differ depending on whether they occur in the nasal classes or in the non-nasal classes. The class agreement markers are mandatory in non-nasal classes and optional in nasal classes. In fact, data from the Ndebele corpora show that contracted demonstratives are preferred to the long form. Type 2 demonstratives contrast to the Type 1 in that the Type 2 demonstratives depend on and are incorporated into the nouns while the Type 1 demonstratives are independent. In Type 2 demonstratives, the demonstrative can either incorporate into the noun morphologically or phonologically. In the former case, the demonstrative is represented by a contracted form *l-* as the demonstrative loses its vowel element and the ability to express agreement and the demonstrative loses main stress. In the latter case, like in the former case, the demonstrative loses its main stress (the penultimate stress). In contrast to a morphologically incorporated demonstrative that is emphatic, the phonologically incorporated demonstrative is a D-element and as expected, it replaces the augment of the noun. The

morphological incorporation of the demonstrative strictly occurs in nasal classes while the phonological incorporation can occur in either classes. Lastly, the Type 3 demonstratives cliticise to absolute pronouns to derive absolute-demonstrative pronoun compounds. In the process of morphologically merging the two constructions, the demonstrative pronoun loses the *I-* element and the vowel element of the demonstrative replaces the terminal vowel of the absolute pronoun suffix. The typology advocated in this article is based on dependency (demonstratives that are independent, those that depend on the noun and those that depend on the absolute pronoun). The study recommends that the teaching of the internal structure of Ndebele proximate demonstrative pronouns at Ordinary level, Advanced level and at tertiary level in particular and the internal structure of Ndebele word forms in general, must be informed by the syntax and the syntactic distribution of the word class understudy.

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