

DAPHINE DOREEN TAYEBWA

DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS IN RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA

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Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Language and Literature

I dedicate this work to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Agaba, and my daughter Desire

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSING TAGS

ADD	Addressee
ADJ	Adjective
CL	Class
COP	Copular verb
DEM	Demonstrative
DemN	Demonstrative determiner followed by Noun
FV	Final vowel
IV	Initial vowel
N	Noun
NDem	Noun followed by demonstrative
OBJ	Object
PAST	Past tense
S	Speaker
SG	Singular
V	Verb

ABSTRACT

This study examines Runyankore-Rukiga demonstrative determiners. Runyankore-Rukiga is a language spoken in the west and south western parts of Uganda.

The main focus of my study is on the semantic representation of demonstrative determiners in relation to distance (distance between the referent and the deictic center), visibility (whether the referent is visible or invisible) and location of speaker vs. addressee. I investigate the possible number of demonstrative forms that exist in Runyankore-Rukiga.

My research is carried out using Wilkins (1999) questionnaire on demonstratives ‘this’ and ‘that’ in comparative perspective. In this questionnaire he presents 25 scenes which can be used to test out the demonstrative system in a language. I have added four more scenes to capture distinctions that are not captured by the 25 scenes.

A general background about Runyankore-Rukiga and its structure is presented in chapter 2. Here, I look briefly at the formation of words and, tone, whereas more attention is given to the noun class system and the demonstrative determiners.

In chapter 3, the semantic meaning of demonstratives across languages is looked at. In this chapter my main focus is on how Diessel (1999) describes the semantic meaning of demonstratives. I then connect his analysis with Runyankore-Rukiga demonstratives to see if the semantic features he mentions are relevant also in Runyankore-Rukiga. In addition to this, I present the various accounts on semantic meaning of demonstratives basing on what other authors say.

I give a detailed description of the scenes in Wilkins (1999) questionnaire and explain how I carried out my interviews with my informants. Data from each informant is presented and this involves all the additional constraints involved in the interview guide.

Last is the summary and discussion of the results. Here I relate my findings to what other authors have written about Runyankore-Rukiga demonstratives then conclude with chapter 7 where I present the research questions and briefly show how they were answered in the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Topic and Main Goal

The topic of this work is demonstrative determiners in Runyankore-Rukiga. My goal will be to describe these linguistic items and how they are used semantically and pragmatically. To achieve this goal, I will do my research using Wilkins (1999) questionnaire which deals with demonstratives in comparative perspective.

1.2 About the Language

Runyankore-Rukiga is a Bantu language spoken in Uganda, in the southwestern region. It is one of the clusters of Bantu languages. According to Ethnologue which is a web-based publication that contains language statistics, Runyankore is spoken by 2,330,000 people¹, while Rukiga is spoken by 1,580,000 people.² This is further confirmed by the National Population Census of 2002 conducted by the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics.³ This makes it one of the top 5 most widely spoken languages in Uganda. Runyankore-Rukiga is closely related to Ruhaya and Kerewa; both found in north western Tanzania.

Runyankore-Rukiga is a combination of two languages, namely; Runyankore and Rukiga. Runyankore is spoken by the Banyankore people from Mbarara, Bushenyi, Ntugamo, Isingiro, Kiruhura and Ibanda districts, whereas Rukiga is spoken by the Bakiga from Kabale, Kanungu, Kisoro and Kibaale.⁴

Existing literature about Runyankore-Rukiga treats Runyankore and Rukiga as one language (see Taylor 1985, Morris & Kirwan 1972). This is because the two languages or dialects are mutually intelligible. That is, the grammatical similarity is thought to be more than 85%.

¹ Nyankole. Ethnologue Languages of the World (2014). Online Publication. Available from https://www.ethnologue.com/language/nyn/****EDITION****. [10 April 2014].

² Chiga. Ethnologue Languages of the World (2014). Online Publication. Available from https://www.ethnologue.com/language/cgg/****EDITION****. [10 April 2014].

³ Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2014). Online Publication. Available from <http://www.ubos.org>. [01 April 2014]. Since 2002, there has not been another population census conducted in Uganda. This explains why the reference appears a bit outdated.

⁴ According to Taylor (1985), Guthrie places Runyankore-Rukiga under group E.13 (P.42ff).

Since Runyankore-Rukiga is a language that is spoken by a big population, one would expect a lot of data from researchers and scholars on this language. However, little has been written on Runyankore-Rukiga compared to other Ugandan languages that have been widely investigated, e.g. Swahili and Luganda. This makes the language one of the vulnerable languages that require more research.

1.3 Research Questions

As stated earlier, my main goal is to investigate how Runyankore-Rukiga (RR) demonstrative determiners are used. Demonstratives are deictic expressions such as English *this* and *that*. They indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation vis-à-vis the deictic center of the utterance (Diessel, 1999).

My focus will be to analyze the semantic of demonstrative determiners in RR to see if there are similarities or differences between these demonstratives and the ones described in Diessel (1999). This will involve answering the questions below:

1. What are the constraints associated with the various classes of demonstrative determiners in RR?
2. To what extent is Wilkins (1999) questionnaire able to capture all the demonstrative determiners in RR?

1.4 The Motivation for the Topic

What motivated me to choose demonstratives in RR as the topic for this study is the fact that not much has been covered in the linguistic literature in as far as demonstratives are concerned in this language. Diessel (1999) discusses demonstratives in a cross-linguistic perspective and there turns out to be a discrepancy between his generalizations and the facts concerning demonstratives in RR, although there are also similarities.

Whereas English has a two-term deictic system with proximal and distal demonstratives ('this' and 'that'), RR has a much richer demonstrative system, which has not previously been thoroughly described in publically available sources.

Wilkins (1999) provides a questionnaire as an elicitation tool. This questionnaire is not designed to cover all the relevant distinctions that are known to exist within the demonstrative system of the world's languages but it concentrates on those parameters which cross-linguistically appear

to be the most common. This has motivated me to test this questionnaire and use it as my research manual to determine the constraints associated with various demonstrative determiners in RR.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: In chapter 2, I present some basic properties of RR. In chapter 3, I discuss the semantics of demonstrative determiners cross-linguistically. Chapter 4 presents the empirical investigation on how I carried out my research .Chapter 5 will present the data results, chapter 6 will present the discussion of the results along with a summary, whereas Chapter 7 provides some conclusive remarks about the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Grammatical Properties of Runyankore-Rukiga

This chapter aims at presenting the basic grammatical properties of RR. Here, I briefly talk about the general structure of the language, the noun class system, and then present the different deictic expressions that will be the focus of my study.

2.1 General Structure of the Language

According to Taylor (1985) Runyankore-Rukiga, which he calls Nkore-Kiga, is an agglutinative language. By ‘agglutinative’ Taylor means that the formation of words involves adding affixes to the base of the word where each affix carries a unit of meaning such as tense, aspect and so on.

Example (1) below illustrates this:

1) **omukazi atekire ebitakuri** “*The woman cooked potatoes*”
omukazi atekire ebitakuri
o mu kazi a teek ire e bi takuri
IV CL1 *woman* 3SG *cook* PAST IV CL8 *sweet-potatoes*
N V N

The above sentence consists of various affixes and each affix has a separate meaning. Consider the verb form ‘atekire’, (he/she is cooking). This verb consists of the 3rd person affix ‘a’, the verb stem ‘teek’ (cook) and tense marker ‘ire’ which expresses past tense. All these morphological items are combined together into one unit.

RR is a language that involves reduplication. That is, the stem or the root of a word can be repeated to convey a different meaning than the meaning of the initial word alone. A whole word may also be reduplicated for similar reasons. An example which illustrates reduplication is given in (2) below:

(2) Word after reduplication

 kute:ra (beat) **kute:ra te:ra** (beat frequently or repeatedly)

In example (2), the verb root ‘kute:ra’ (beat) is reduplicated to give a different meaning, i.e. (beat repeatedly). In addition, according to Zerbian and Krifka (2008), reduplication of verb stems often expresses that the action is carried out frequently or that it is repetitive.

One thing which should be mentioned here is that RR has by some authors been claimed to be a tonal language. According to Esau (2008), intonation or accent may produce a difference in meaning for RR words when their segmental content is the same. Taylor (1985), however, claims that RR cannot be called a tonal language. According to Taylor, RR has a lexical-grammatical tone, but the distinctions are minimal in terms of word recognition, so it cannot be called a tonal language in the accepted sense. In my view, tones do distinguish different lexical items in RR. Below is an example of two words differentiated by tone in RR:

- (3) a. ‘**omugôngo**’ (with a rising and falling tone on the third syllable, meaning ‘back of the body’)
b. ‘**omugongo**’ (with level tone throughout meaning ‘village’).

Even though tones do play a role in RR, I will not mark tones in this thesis. This is because the words used in my data create no ambiguity whether marked or not marked with tone.

2.2 The Runyankore-Rukiga Noun Class System

The noun class system in RR affects almost all items in the noun phrase as well as the prefixes in the verb phrase. That is, a noun belongs to a given class depending on various ontological features of its denotation such as sex, animacy and shape. According to Taylor (1985:123), RR nouns are divided into 17 classes, most of which can be paired into plural and singular. A few classes however, operate with no number distinction. For instance, Class 13 refers to small entities that are in most cases uncountable or hard to count. An example of such an entity is ‘oturo’ (sleep). Ndoleriire & Orikiriza (1990) give a description of twenty noun classes in Runyakitara (a name given to the four dialects found in Western Uganda) out of which RR is a dialect.

Katshemererwe & Hanneforth (2010) borrow a lot from Katamba (2003) and Taylor (1985) to come up with a detailed comparative analysis of different noun classes in Runyakitara. That is to say they include the numbering system and a detailed description of Runyakitara noun class system.

Katshemererwe & Hanneforth present the noun classification system of Runyakitara in Table 1 below. I have realized that all the classifications are similar to those used in RR hence I use the

same table to present the RR noun classification system. However, I have added some additional explanations on the noun classifications in a few footnotes.

Table 1: Noun class System in Runyankore-Rukiga

Class	Singular	Plural	Semantics	Example	Gloss	Usage
1/2	o-mu-	a-ba	human	o-mu-kazi a-ba-kazi	woman women	takes on both singular and plural
1a	o-mu-	-	name referring to deity	o-mu-hangi	creator	only singular
1b/2b ⁵	-	baa-	human, kinship	shwento baa-shwento	uncle uncles	takes on singular and plural but no prefix for singular
2b ⁶		a-ba	human, group	a-ba-ryakamwe	group name	only plural
3/4	o-mu-	e-mi-	plants, fruits	o-mu-ti e-mi-ti	tree(s)	singular and plural
4a	-	e-mi-	abstract names	e-mi-gyendere	way of walking	only plural
5/6	e-ri-	a-ma-	some parts of the body	e-ri-sho/amaisho	eye(s)	Singular and plural
5a	ei	a-ma	miscellaneous	ei-teeka/amateeka	policies	singular and plural
5b	ei	-	abstract names	ei-tetsi	pampered	only singular
6a	-	a-ma-	mass nouns	a-ma-te	milk	only plural
7/8	e-ki	e-bi-	objects	e-ki-ti/e-bi-ti	tree(s)	Singular and plural
7	e-ki-	-	abstract	e-ki-niga	anger	only singular
8	-	e-bi-	mass nouns	e-bi-bembe	leprosy	plural only
9/10 ⁷	en-	en-	animals and	e-nte	cow(s)	singular and plural

⁵ Any group of human beings take 'ba:-' as the plural and the singular is identified by a noun without an initial vowel or any prefix.

⁶ According to my intuition, this class is under class 1/2 since it is attributed to human beings and since it appears as a group name then it is in its plural form. However, it can be presented in its singular form as 'o-mu'. For instance 'o-mu-ryakamwe' that is a person that belongs to the group 'a-ba-ryakamwe'.

⁷ Some nouns in this class where 'n' is followed by b, change to m. For instance en-ba:ta=emba:ta (duck).

			borrowed words			
9 ⁸	e-	-	borrowed words, derived words	e-bahaasa	envelop(s)	singular and plural no morphological analysis for plural
10	-	-	borrowed words	bwino	ink	singular and plural no morphological analysis for this word
11/10	o-ru-	en-	insects, plants miscellaneous	o-ru-shozi	mountain(s)	singular and plural
12/14	a-ka-	o-bu-	small items miscellaneous	a-ka-buuza	question mark (?)	singular and plural
12	-aka-	-	abstract nouns	a-ka-bi	danger	abstract
14	-	o-bu-	abstract noun	o-bu-cureezi	to be humble	abstract
13	-	o-tu	abstract and diminutives	o-tu-ro	sleep	abstract
15/6	o-ku-	a-ma-	some body parts	o-ku-guru/amaguru	leg(s)	singular and plural
16	aha-	-	location	aha-kaanyima	behind the house	singular
17	oku-	-	location	oku-zimu	underground	singular
18	omu	-	location	omu-nda	in the stomach	singular
20/21	o-gu-	a-ga-	derogatory	o-gu-kazi/a-ga-kazi	bad/ugly woman	singular and plural

⁸According to Taylor(1985), class 9 includes singulars which never have an initial vowel and refer to non- human entities.Their plural is formed by pre-fixing 'zaa-' as in 'zaabaasi', (buses).

Table 1 shows 20 noun classes in Runyakitara. Most of these classes are paired in singular and plural while those that are not presented in pairs represent classes either in plural or singular only. If it's either singular or plural only, the empty slot is presented as (-) in the table.

Classes 16 to 18 are for 'place' and contain no noun.

According to Katushemererwe & Hanneforth (2010), some Runyakitara nouns do not take affixes, but still belong to a certain noun class. For example, 'ta:ta' 'dad' in class 1 and 'eba:fu' (basin) in class 9 do not combine with prefixes or suffixes. The class where such nouns belong can be detected by considering the concordial agreement markers on the constituents such as verbs and adjectives. Taylor (1985:124), gives a clear description of all the noun classes and how the various prefixes change as a result of phonological interferences.

2.3 Demonstrative Determiners

As previously stated, my main focus will be on demonstrative determiners in RR. Demonstrative determiners form a noun phrase together with a noun and this noun phrase is used to refer to entities in the world. The demonstrative determiner will often contribute various kinds of information that enable the addressee to pick out the referent, for instance by indicating the distance to it. Below is an example with a demonstrative determiner:

(4) **nkagura ogu mupi:ra** "*I bought this ball*"

n	ka	gur	a	ogu	mupiira
1SG	PAST	buy	FV	this	ball
V				DEM	N

In the above sentence, 'ogu' is a demonstrative determiner that points at the referent object together with the noun 'omupi:ra', (ball).According to Morris & Kirwan (1972), the first demonstrative determiner in RR consists of the initial vowel plus the object prefix. (In table 2 below I will call this DEM 1), According to the same authors, the second demonstrative determiner consists of the subject prefix plus *riya* (DEM 4 in Table 2), the third consists of separate personal pronoun preceded by the initial vowel (DEM 2 in Table 2), whereas the fourth (DEM 3 in Table 2) is the same as the second except that its final syllable is omitted.

Table 2, presents the various demonstrative forms that result from the noun class system. I have used my intuition as an RR speaker to fill in the demonstratives in correspondence with the noun

classifications borrowed from Katshemererwe & Hanneforth (2010), though I have considered only 17 noun classes.

Table 2: Various Demonstrative Forms in Runyankore-Rukiga

Class	Number	Prefix	Example	Meaning	Dem 1	Dem 2	Dem 3	Dem 4	Other Examples
1/2 ⁹	sg pl	o-mu a-βa	o-mu-kazi a-βa-kazi	woman women	ogu aβa	ogwoaβ o	... bari	orija barija	omuhiidzi(hunter) omwaana(child)
3/4	sg pl	o-mu e-mi	o-mu-ti e-mi-ti	tree trees	ogu edzi	ogwo/e dzo	guri ...	guriya erija	omutfeeka(mat) omushego(pillow)
5/6	sg pl	e-ri a-mi	eriino amiino	tooth teeth	eri aga	eryo ago	riri gari	ririya gariya	eriisho(eye)
7/8	sg pl	e-ki e-bi	eβikopo eβikopo	cup cups	eβi eβi	eβo eβo	βiri βiri	βirija birija	ekishengye(wall) ekinaabiro(bathroom)
9/10	sg pl	e-n e-n	embeba embeβa	rat rats	edziezi	edzoezo	... ziri	erija zirija	embuzi(goat) embaata(duck) emboga(sauce)
9/6	sg pl	e-n a-ma	eka amaka	home homes	edzi aga	edzoago	... gari	erija gariya	enju(house) ebaara (bar)
11/6	sg pl	o-ru a-ma	orura amara	intestine intestines	oru aga	orwoag o	ruri gari	ruriya gariya	
11/10	sg pl	o-ru e-n	orurimi endimi	tongue tongues	oru ezi	orwoez o	ruri ziri	ruriya zirija	orushenda(pepper)
11/14	sg pl	o-ru o-βu	orufaza oβufaza	peas peas	oru oβu	orwoβ wo	ruri buri	ruriya burija	oruro (millet)
12/13	sg pl	a-ka o-bu	akanyafu obunyafu	small stick small sticks	aka oβu	ako oβwo	kari ako	kariya burija	akaara(small finger)
13	sg	o-tu	otwiizi	little water	otu	otwo	turi	turiya	oturo (sleep)
14/6	sg pl	o-bu a-ma	obuta amata	bow bows	oβu aga	oβwo ago	βuri gari	burija gariya	
15/6	sg pl	o-ku a-ma	kwahwa amahwa	armpit armpits	oku aga	okwo ago	kuri gari	kuriya gariya	
15	sg	o-ku	oku	near	oku	okwo	kuri	kuriya	
16	sg	a-ha	ahantu	place	aha	aho	hari	hariya	
17	sg	o-mu	omu	inside	omu	omwo	muri	muriya	

⁹ Noun classes marked with two numbers represent the singular and plural nouns while a few of these marked with one number operate with no number distinction.

According to Van de Velde (2005), there are languages that are said to have a semantic/pragmatic difference between preposed and postposed demonstratives (without formal differences other than position), and RR is such a language. For instance one can say ‘o-gu mu-kazi’, or ‘o-mu-kazi o-gu’ (this woman). However, I prefer using examples in which the demonstrative determiner occurs before the noun in my research to easily identify demonstrative determiners, though there may be instances where the alternative ordering is possible.

The demonstrative forms presented in Table 2, Dem 1, Dem 2, Dem 3 and Dem 4 are distinguished from each other by various conditions. Nicolle(2007), mentions conditions like person, number and gender as those encoded on the referent by the English pronoun and connects his claim to demonstratives in Digo which encode information about the noun class of the referent which is also relevant in RR. From Table 2, one can assign conditions on the referent using demonstratives in RR to encode information about the noun class of the intended referent and it is through these conditions that one realizes that the four forms are semantically and pragmatically distinct as will be presented in the next chapters. As will be discussed later, these demonstratives have been investigated by other researchers considering various conditions like distance between the speaker and the referent and visibility of the object. I will focus on these conditions and those presented by Wilkins (1999) as I investigate this topic and the differences among the four demonstrative forms in Table 2 in more depth, then I investigate on the semantic differences among the four demonstrative forms that I present.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Deixis, indexicals and demonstratives

According to Fillmore (1966) deixis is the name given to those aspects of a language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance; to the time of utterance and to the times before and after the time of utterance and to the identity of the speaker and the intended audience. In a similar vein, Levinson (1983) says that deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or the speech event.

Whereas some authors argue that demonstratives are deictic expressions, others argue that they are not. According to Braun (1996), for example, true demonstratives are indexicals, i.e. expressions whose reference varies from utterance to utterance. In contrast to deictic expressions, such as 'I', 'you', 'now', and 'here' indexicals require something more than a mere utterance in order to acquire a referent. Demonstratives in RR are context based and require more contextual support than a mere utterance, and are thus indexicals in this sense.

Diessel (1999), on the other hand, regards demonstratives as deictic expressions, i.e. expressions whose interpretation makes crucial reference to some aspect of the speech situation. Diessel further argues that all languages have at least two different expressions that make reference to points on a distance scale: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic center and a distal indicating a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center. RR is one of the languages in which demonstrative expressions make reference to more than two points on a distance scale. This will be presented in more detail in chapter 5.

Diessel with reference to Bühler (1934:102) presents three subgroups of deictic expressions that is, person, place and time deixis. Person deixis comprises of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you', which denote speech participants; place deictic expression refer to objects, locations or persons but not speech participants; and time deictic expression indicate a temporal reference point relative to the time of speech event. In this dichotomy, the demonstratives I will study are place deictic expressions.

According to Hanks (1992), there is a widespread agreement in the literature that deixis and the linguistic forms that serve this function play a central role in the routine use and understanding of language.

He refers to Levinson (1983:54), who describes this as the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structure of languages themselves. The central domain of pragmatics is the interaction between the context of an utterance and the interpretation of elements within that expression; thus, the interpretation of demonstratives is a central topic in pragmatics.

In the next sections, I will present the work of Diessel (1999) in more detail. In his work he focuses on the semantic components of demonstratives, i.e. their qualitative and deictic features.

3.1 The Semantics of Demonstrative Determiners across Languages

This chapter aims at presenting the semantic meaning of demonstrative determiners across languages. Diessel's (1999) work provides what he calls the first large-scale analysis of demonstratives by examining a sample of 85 languages; That is; Diessel has investigated their morphological structure, semantic features, syntactic functions and pragmatic uses of demonstratives in these languages. In this chapter I focus on the semantic features of demonstrative determiners and present what Diessel and other authors have written about the phenomenon.

According to Diessel (1999), the meaning of demonstratives comprises two kinds of features: *deictic features* which indicate the location of the referent relative to the deictic center, and the *qualitative features* which characterize the referent, i.e. , they indicate, for instance whether the referent is animate or inanimate, female or male, human or non-human. Below I will present these features in more detail.

3.2 Qualitative features

Table 3 provides an overview of the qualitative features encoded by demonstratives according to Diessel (1999).¹⁰

¹⁰ These tables are extracted from Table 36 presented by Diessel (1999:51) showing an overview of all the features encoded by demonstratives. In Table 31, I have chosen the semantic features since that is my point of focus.

Table 3: Various Qualitative Features

Ontology	Animacy	Humaness	Sex	Number	Boundedness
location	animate	human	female	singular	bound ¹¹
object/person	inanimate	nonhuman	male	plural	unbound

The qualitative features of demonstratives mentioned in table 3 are mostly expressed by noun class markers in RR. For instance, ‘o-gu’, (this) belongs to noun class 1. This shows that the referent has the qualitative feature ‘human’ (which entails animacy and the ontological category ‘person’) and that it has the number specification ‘singular’; on the other hand, is not expressed in RRR demonstratives because the referent can be female or male and boundedness will usually be determined by how the speaker sees the object.

3.3 Deictic Features

Table 4: Various Deictic Features

Distance	Visibility	Elevation	Geography	Movement
neutral	visible	up	uphill	towards S
proximal	invisible	down	downhill	away from S
medial etc			upriver downriver	across the visual field of S

Table 4 shows the features that are deictically attributed to the referent of demonstratives across languages. The question to be answered in the next chapter will be which of these features and possibly others are relevant in RR?

3.3.1 Distance

Diessel (1999) talks about all languages having at least two demonstratives locating the referent at two different points on a distance scale: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near

¹¹ The bounded referent is termed as ‘restricted’ and the unbounded is termed as ‘extended’. With reference to Denny (1982:360), Diessel (1999), defines a bounded referent as that object whose entire extent is comprehensible to the eye in a single glance and the unbounded is the opposite.

the deictic center, and a distal demonstrative indicating a referent that is located at some distance from the deictic center. According to my intuition such terms exist in RR but one has to know how far the referent object is from the deictic center before the speaker can determine which demonstrative form to use. Another point to note is that a particular demonstrative form in RR can present more than one distance scale. Example 5 illustrates the various distances that may be associated with a demonstrative form.

5) **reeba ekyo kimuri nikirungi.** “look at that flower, it is beautiful”.

reeba ekyo kimuri ni kirungi
 look that flower is beautiful
 V DEM N COP ADJ

Example 5 can carry more than one meaning when considering distance. For instance;

- (i) The referent object which is a flower can be between the speaker and the addressee at equidistant that is 10meters from each (between the speaker and the addressee).
- (ii) It can be 5meters away from the speaker but very close to addressee or on the addressee’s body part
- (iii) It can be 10meters away from the speaker and the addressee. That is when the speaker is close to the addressee.

All these distances to the referent are compatible with the use of demonstrative determiner ‘ekyo’, ‘that’. Wilkins (1999) in his questionnaire estimates various distances to capture the meaning of demonstratives based on interviews. This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Some languages have a third deictic term. The third term is placed in the middle of proximal and distal and thus refers to the location in medial distance relative to the deictic center. Hence these terms chieve the term ‘medial’ in Diessel (1999). RR has the medial demonsratives but they carry several meanings depending on the context in which it is used. Example 5 illustrates a medial demonstrative in RR. Luganda (a language spoken in the central part of Uganda) is one of the Bantu languages with a three deictic system distinguished by tone depending on how far the referent is from the deictic center. Diessel (1999:39) provides other examples of languages with three deictic terms. These include the distance –oriented language *Yimas* and person- oriented language *Pangasinan*. In addition to Diessel’s illustrations, According to Nicolle (2007), Bantu languages typically have atleast three types of demonstrative which he gives the terms proximal,

distal and non-proximal. These three demonstrative terms are relevant in RR and have different functions in terms of deixis and anaphora or discourse.

Anderson & Keenan (1985) claim that in both distance oriented and person oriented systems the middle term is often the preferred form for anaphoric reference. According to Huang (2007), the distance-oriented system points to the location relative to the deictic centre, typically the speaker, whereas the person-oriented system points to the location that is close to the addressee.

According to my intuition, Anderson & Keenan's view does not apply in RR because the medial demonstratives are applicable both anaphorically and deictically depending on the context in which a particular demonstrative determiner is used. It is not only the middle term that can be used for anaphoric reference in RR but even the proximal and distal. This is a point of investigation in Chapter 6.

With reference to Anderson & Keenan (1985:286-295), Diessel claims that some languages may have four, five or even more demonstratives distinguished by pure distance but such systems do not occur in Diessel's (1999) data. Diessel sticks to the point that there are never really more than three [distance categories]. According to my intuition I believe there are more than three deictic terms in RR distinguished by pure distance and this will be tested further in chapter 5.

Diessel (1999:41) presents four referent points that result into a three deictic system in Quileute.¹² Diessel focuses on the referent being near the speaker, near the hearer, near the speaker and the hearer or away from the speaker and the hearer. The same referent points are applicable in RR but they yield more than three deictic terms. As previously pointed out, Diessel does not consider how far the referent is from the speaker and the hearer in terms of meters or kilometers to give a required demonstrative determiner.

3.3.2 Visibility

Chung (2011) with reference to Diessel (1999) considers Visibility as a well-known distance parameter of deixis and as an interesting deictic element which is commonly seen in American languages. Visibility is very important in demonstrative use across languages because in some languages, the demonstrative forms differ depending on whether the referent object is visible or invisible to the addressee, the speaker or both. Wilkins (1999) considers this as a relevant feature

¹² One of the language samples used by Diessel

and it is used in almost all the scenes in his questionnaire. According to Diessel (1999), most languages in which visibility is a feature of the deictic system have a single deictic term to indicate a referent out of sight. According to my intuition RR has more than one deictic term that can be used when the referent is invisible, but these terms may be used depending on context. Consider the following example;

6) oriya musheija nimurungi ‘*that man is nice*’
 oriya musheija ni murungi
 that man is nice
 DEM N V ADJ

In example 6, the referent object can be visible or invisible. The demonstrative determiner ‘oriya’ (that), may refer to an object which the speaker and the addressee have knowledge about and is present at the time of the utterance but invisible to either the speaker or the addressee or both. The same demonstrative form can be used when the referent object is visible to either the speaker or both the speaker and the addressee.

3.3.3 Elevation

This feature applies to expressions that signal that the referents are above or below the deictic center. Deissel (1999) mentions nine languages in his sample that have demonstratives that indicate whether the referent is at a higher elevation or a lower elevation to the deictic center. According to my intuition such a feature is not considered relevant in RR and it was not tested through the questionnaire that I will present in the next section.

3.3.4 Geography

Some languages have a series of bound forms that indicate whether the referent is uphill or downhill from the perspective of the speaker. Diessel with reference to Dixon (1972: 42) presents these forms in Dyrbal which encode the geographical features ‘uphill’ and ‘downhill’. This feature is investigated in the questionnaire. RR does not have demonstrative forms that are specifically meant to encode such geographical features but instead uses the distal forms with the noun ‘uphill’ or ‘downhill’ included.

3.3.5 Movement

Diessel (1999) argues that in some languages demonstratives are also used to indicate that the referent is moving in a certain direction relative to the deictic center. In RR such forms may exist. This was however, not tested in the questionnaire presented in the next section and thus has to be postponed to further research on demonstratives in RR.

Table 5 below is a summary of the semantic features of demonstratives described by Diessel (1999). The tags show which features are hypothesized to be relevant in RR based on my intuitions. This will, however, be investigated further in chapter 5.

Table 5: Presentation of the Relevant Semantic Features of Demonstratives

(I) Deixis	Relevance	(Ii) Quality	Relevance
Distance	✓	Ontology	✓
Visibility	✓	Animacy	✓
Elevation		Humanness	✓
Geography		Sex	
Movement		Number	✓
		Boundedness	

Whereas Diessel (1999) describes a variety of qualitative and the deictic features of demonstratives, my investigation will be more focused on the location of the referent relative to the deictic center. Based on the questionnaire proposed by Wilkins (1999), my main focus will be on the distance, visibility, speaker vs. addressee location and the use of indexical gestures like pointing. Wilkins' questionnaire will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Research Method

As part of my investigation, I have used Wilkins' (1999) questionnaire on demonstratives: *'this'* and *'that'* in comparative perspective. According to Wilkins' field manual, I go through twenty five scenes with 4 informants to help me identify the range of use of the basic spatial demonstrative terms in RR.

The scenes in this questionnaire have been arranged to simplify my research work. Basically they vary physically and socially. That is, the scenes move from personal space through interactional space, through home range space and through large-scale (geographic) space.

According to Wilkins (1999), this questionnaire is designed to help differentiate and compare the following dichotomies:

- (i) Speaker-anchored vs. addressee-anchored vs. speaker & addressee-anchored vs other anchored terms
- (ii) Distance distinctions (up to at least four degrees of distance distinction from speaker)
- (iii) Distinction of visibility versus non-visibility

4.1 The Scenes in the Questionnaire

Below is a presentation of the 25 scenes as they appear in Wilkins' questionnaire. I have also included 3 additional scenes that I introduced in order to test the semantic distinctions that were not part of Wilkins' questionnaire.

- In scene 1 the referent is very close to speaker or even part of his body. Scene 1 involves an alienable referent and scene 3, 7 and 19 involve an inalienable referent but they are all visible to speaker and addressee. Still in scene 1 the referent object which is a body part is on the speaker while scene 2 the referent object is on the addressee. The speaker's utterance is; *'.....tooth hurts'*. Here, the informant has to fill in the blank space with an appropriate demonstrative.
- In scene 1 and 2 the referent is a body part that is not on its own but is among other parts and that is the tooth. For easy identification, the speaker has to point or touch that particular tooth which hurts. The utterance in scene 2 is; *'.....tooth hurts'*

- The referent object in scene 3 is on the speaker while in scene 4 the referent object is on the addressee and the utterance in scene 3 is; “*Did you know.... tooth is chipped?*”
- In scene 4 and 5, the referent is on the shoulder of the addressee but in 4 the speaker is pointing at the referent while in 5 the speaker is not pointing. ‘*Look atbug on your shoulder*’. This utterance is in scene 4 and 5.
- In scene 6, the referent is besides the speaker and within easy reach. It is difficult for the speaker to see the object. In Scene 7 the object is in front of the speaker and visible to addressee but not within addressee’s reach. The utterance in these two scenes is ‘*I have just finished readingbook*’.
- In scene 7, the referent is just in front of the speaker and visible to addressee but not within addressee’s reach .This is almost the same as 19 except that here the speaker is looking at the referent through the window.
- In scene 8 the referent is in between speaker and addressee and equidistant from both (within arm’s reach of both). The referent object in scene 9 is just in front of the addressee and visible to speaker but not within speaker’s reach. The utterance is; ‘*Is.... book yours?*’.
- In scene 10, the speaker is unable to see the referent object which is beside the addressee (within easy reach), but on side away from the speaker yet the speaker knows where the object is.This is different from scene 11 where the referent object is behind the speaker while the addressee is at some distance away but can readily see the object although it is out of arm’s reach. Speaker knows where the object is even if he/she cannot see it and never turns to look at it. “*Is book yours?*”

- In scene 12, the referent object is equidistant from speaker and addressee, in front of (and between) them. It is easily visible to both. To get the object each would have to walk five steps. *“I like.....book”*.
- In scene 13 the speaker and addressee are next to each other at one end of a large cleared space. There is another person at the other end of the space and the referent object is in front of this person, visible to both speaker and addressee. The speaker utters; *“.....ball is a good one”*.
- The speaker and addressee in scene 14 are sitting next to each other at one end of a cleared space and the referent object is visible to both of them. The referent is at equidistant and between speaker and addressee with another person while in scene 15, the referent is in front of the other person and visible to him/her. *“....ball is a good one”*.
- In scene 16 and 17, the speaker is sitting at one end of a large cleared space and addressee is sitting at the other end. The space is about the size of a football field. In 16, the referent is in front of the addressee and visible to speaker while in 17, the referent is at equidistant from speaker and addressee. *“Is.....ball yours?”*
- In scene 18, the speaker is sitting at one end of a large cleared space and addressee at the other end. The referent is in front of the addressee facing away from the speaker. The referent is invisible to speaker but he/she knows about it and its location. In scene 19 on the other hand, the referent is visible to the speaker through the window and is nearer to the speaker compared to the addressee. The utterance in scene 18 and 19 is; *“Is..... book yours?”*
- In scene 20, the referent is just outside of the door (near it). The speaker and the addressee are inside a house looking at the referent which is easily reached by both speaker and addressee while in scene 21 the speaker and the addressee are inside the house near the door looking at the referent object which is a few meters away. The utterance is; *“I like....book”*.

- The addressee is inside the house looking out through an open door in scene 23, whereas the speaker is sitting outside at a distance (a few meters away). The referent is outside the door but physically closer to the addressee. In scene 24, the object is up in the hills, visible to both speaker and addressee. The utterance in scene 23 is; *“Is..... book yours?”*
- In scene 25 the speaker and the addressee are next to one another looking out across a river into some hills just like scene 24 but the referent in 25 is invisible because it is on the other side of the hill. The utterance in these two scenes is; *“I have climbed to.....hill”*.
- In scene 26 which was created by me, the speaker and the addressee are up on a tower, they are able to see a wider geographical area of a place. There is a road several kilometers away from the tower and this road is visible to both speaker and addressee. *“...road is the one that leads to Moholt”*.
- In scene 27, the speaker and the addressee are up on a tower, the speaker is not looking at the road, knows about it but the addressee is looking at it.

The road is near the tower, to get to it these two have to just move down the tower.

“...road is the one that leads to Moholt”.

- In scene 28, there are two holes on the road side; the speaker and the addressee are on the other side of the road like 20metres away. Of the two holes, speaker wants to specify the hole that he/she fell into. These two holes are visible to both speaker and addressee. *“I fell inhole”*.

While eliciting, I covered all the scenes exactly as they are illustrated in the questionnaire. Some scenes for instance the ones involving the hills and the invisible rocks were not easily accessible. I therefore created context for such scenes and gave the appropriate sentences as stated in the questionnaire.

With the help of the twenty five scenes, I was able to organize my own tasks and keep track of all the parameters to see if the RR demonstratives were applicable in all these scenes.

I followed the setting in each scene and made a clear description of the scene for the informant. I also used the guiding sentences for the speaker to follow while giving the appropriate demonstrative for that particular scene. To guarantee comparability, I was consistent with the reference that is; using the same sentences to interview all the informants and I focused on a single unique object in the scenes. I took notes of the informant's use of gestures like pointing with a finger and the chin.

The interviews were recorded by audio. With the help of my 4 informants; I was able to gather 100 sentences with demonstratives from each of them. The interview was carried out in RR and English to ensure that the informants understood the sentences in the scenes. The informants spoke both languages fluently. I read the sentences in English, and the informant would give an RR translation of the sentence and explain where necessary using his/her intuitions.

When interviewing the informants, I would describe a scene and ask the informant how he or she would express certain content. For instance, I would ask an informant to give a translation of the sentence: "I like... book" filling in the blank space with a demonstrative, and he/she would give a full sentence in RR with a demonstrative.

I transferred all the recorded data to Praat¹³, did a transcription of the RR sentences and then transferred the sentences to an Excel document where I did all the translations and comments. The relevant features of each scene were represented in the Excel document for easy access and count.

¹³ <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/> Accessed 03.03.2014

CHAPTER 5

5.0 Results

This chapter presents information about each informant, and the results of the information gathered from interviews with 4 informants concerning the use of RR demonstrative determiners. It illustrates the possible uses of various demonstrative determiners. I have distributed all the 28 questionnaire scenes that were described in chapter 4 among all the possible demonstratives. I have also included contexts added by the informants and I have kept track of whether the informants added more words to the target utterance in order to capture the addressee's attention and pick out the referent, among other things. The Tasks were presented to the informants as they are used within each of the sentences in the manual without the demonstrative form.

5.1. Informant 1

Informant 1 is female and is 30 years old. She is from the western part of Uganda and speaks Runyankore-Rukiga, Luganda (ganda), English and Kinyarwanda. Table 5 illustrates all the scenes and the demonstrative forms used by this informant. All the possible distinctions as used by the informant and the comments expressed are included in this table:

Table 6: Various Uses of Demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga (1st Interview)

Demonstrative Category	Dem 1	Dem 2	Dem 4
Scenes from Wilkins (1999) questionnaire	1	2 10 16	10 17
	2	4 15 11	12 18
	3	5 12	13 20
	6	8 13	14 22
	7	9 14	15 21
	11	17 18	24 26
	27	19 20	25 28
		21 22	7
	23 24		
Demonstrative forms	efi (CL7) eri (CL5) ogu (CL3)	efo (CL7) eryo (CL5) ogwo (CL3)	firiija (CL7) guriija (CL3) ruriija (CL11)

Additional constraints	+pointing +touching +visible to S & ADD +/-ADD attention -ADD attention Obj near or part of the S's body +obj location when its invisible	+/-pointing +- touching -+ADD attention +Object location if invisible Object is not near or part of the S	-touching -pointing +context -ADD attention + tone -+visible Context is created when obj is invisible Object must be kilometers away
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Table 5 includes the number of the scenes from the questionnaire and which demonstratives can be used with these. Table 5 also includes other conditions having to do with pointing, touching, visibility and attention. The overview in (1) below gives a brief explanation of these.

5.1.1 A Brief Explanation of the Conditions in Table 6

- +/-pointing: speaker may decide to point at the referent object or not.
- +pointing: pointing is included.
- -pointing: pointing is not included.
- +/-touching: speaker may decide to touch on the referent object or not.
- +touching: all the scenes in this category involve touching on the referent object.
- -touching: speaker does not touch the referent object.
- +/- ADD attention: whether or not the addressee is paying attention to the referent object in the physical surrounding.
- -ADD attention: addressee is not paying attention to the referent object in the physical surrounding.
- +ADD attention: addressee is paying attention to the object in the physical surrounding.
- +/-visible: object may be visible or invisible to speaker.
- +visible to S &ADD: referent object is visible to speaker and addressee.

- -visible: referent object is not visible to speaker but is in the physical surrounding.
- +object location if invisible: speaker has to include the location of the object in the noun phrase if addressee can't see it.

5.1.2 A Description of the Results from Informant 1

In scene 1, the speaker uses 'eri rino', (this tooth) in the sentence 'eri rino riranshaasha' referring to her own tooth. Pointing is necessary because there are several teeth. The speaker can as well use 'eri rino' to refer to addressee's tooth while pointing or touching on that particular tooth. If the speaker doesn't use any of the two gestures then 'eryo riino', (that tooth) can be used in the sentence.

If the referent object is on the speaker, 'efji' (this) is the appropriate demonstrative to use to refer to that object. In scene 3, speaker uses 'efji kitangura', (this spider) because it is very close and visible to her.

The form 'efji' can also be used when addressee's attention is drawn away from the referent object that is in the physical surrounding. For instance take the sentence 'efji kitangura kiri kuntabura', (this spider is bothering me) this sentence can be used in situations where the addressee is looking at the spider on speaker's shoulder or anywhere very close to the speaker. The same sentence can be used also when addressee is not looking at the referent object. The difference here is that, in a situation where the addressee is not looking at the object, the speaker has to provide the location of the object within the sentence for the addressee to easily understand where the object is even if he/she cannot see it. For instance, the speaker can say: 'efji kitangura ekiri ahibega ryangye kiri kuntabura', (this spider which is on my shoulder is bothering me).

In scene 4, the speaker uses 'efjo kitangura', (that spider) because it is on addressee's shoulder. Here the degree of closeness to the referent matters. The speaker can choose to use 'efji' or 'efjo' because speaker is very close to the object and can decide to touch or point to the object. When the speaker touches the object, then 'efji' can be used and when the speaker is not touching or pointing then 'efjo' is used.

If attention is drawn away from the referent object, the form ‘eʃo’ can be used and pointing or touching is not a must since the addressee’s attention is being drawn away from the object.

For instance, the form ‘eʃo’ can be used in situations where the object is in the physical surrounding but outside the addressee’s sight. The speaker has to add the location of the object for the addressee to understand what exactly the speaker is talking about. For instance he may utter that ‘reeba eʃo kitangura ahibega ryaawe’’, (look at that spider on your shoulder).

In scene 6 the object is next to the speaker within easy reach but impossible for addressee to see. The invisibility of the object in Scene 6 does not change the form of demonstrative determiner used. If the object is practically next to the speaker and is within easy reach, then ‘eʃi’ can be used.

If the referent object is in between the speaker and the addressee or near the addressee, the form ‘eʃo’ is used regardless of the distance between these two (speaker and addressee). The same applies to an object that is in front of speaker and addressee at a distance of about 5 meters.

In scene 10, the object is next to the addressee and here two forms ‘eʃo’ and ‘ʃiriya’ can be used. Speaker uses ‘kirija’ in scene 10 to refer to an object that was talked about before by speaker and addressee this object is invisible to both of them. Context must be created to use this form otherwise the addressee may fail to understand which referent object is being talked about. For instance ‘ʃiriya ekitabo ekitubeire twine nyomwazyo n’ekyawe?’ (is the book we had yesterday yours).

When the referent object is behind and close to the speaker, ‘eʃi’ is used without pointing because this object is visible to the addressee. If the speaker is pointing to the same object behind her then ‘eʃo’ is used.

The speaker also uses ‘ʃiriya’ in sentence ‘ʃiriya kitabo ne kyawe?’ (is that book yours?) to refer to an object that is at the opposite end of a large clear space when the speaker and the addressee are at the other end. The introduction of a third person near the referent object in this scene does not change the form.

In scene 14, the speaker uses ‘eʃo’ and ‘kirija’ because the referent is far from the speaker and the addressee though equidistance from them and the other person. The same applies to scenes 15, 16, 17 and 18. These two forms are a result of visibility and distance. The speaker uses ‘eʃo’ in scene 19 because the referent object is not close enough to speaker, though it is viewed as physically closer to her than the addressee. The speaker is seeing the object through the window and this means it is not too close to her.

In scene 24 and 25, speaker uses the form ‘gurija’ referring to a hill that is kilometers away. The visibility of this object does not change the demonstrative form used. The speaker has to give more explanation on the location of the invisible object to enable the addressee to identify it. The same form ‘gurija’ is also used in scenes 26 and 28 to refer to an object that is far from both speaker and addressee.

Informant 1 uses only three demonstrative forms in all the 28 scenes and below is a table that summarizes how and when these forms are used according to her intuitions:

Table 7: A Summary of the Results from Informant 1

Demonstrative	Close/part of speaker	Close/part of addressee	Equidistance between addressee & speaker	20/10 meters away from speaker	20/10 away from speaker and addressee	Several Kilometers Away from speaker and addressee	Invisible to speaker / addressee
DEM 1	+	*/+	*	*	*	*	+ ¹⁴
DEM 2	*	+	+	+	+	*	+
DEM 4	*	*	+	+	+	+	+ ¹⁵

¹⁴ Demonstrative 1 can be used deictically. That is, when the object is in the physical surrounding but invisible to the speaker or the addressee.

¹⁵ Demonstrative 4 under this category, illustrates its anaphoric use. That is, it can be used on objects that were talked about before by the speaker and the addressee but are present though invisible to the speaker.

Table 6 shows when the three demonstrative classes given by the informant are supposed to be used according to the informant.

5.2 Informant 2

This Informant is female and 42 years old. She comes from the south western part of Uganda. She speaks Runyankore-Rukiga, English and Luganda (ganda). This informant uses four demonstrative forms in the questionnaire sentences and below is the results of the data gathered from this interview:

Table 8: Various Uses of Demonstratives in RR (2nd Interview)

Demonstrative Category	Dem 1	Dem 2	Dem 3	Dem 4
Scenes from Wilkins (1999) questionnaire	1 7 2 11 3 19 4 22 5 27 6	2 4 14 5 13 8 16 9 17 10 18 23	12 14 15 20 21 24 25	6 28 12 13 14 15 21 26
Demonstrative forms	efi (CL7) eri (CL5) ogu (CL3)	efo (CL7) erjo (CL5) ogwo (CL3)	firi (CL7) guri (CL3) riri (CL5)	firija (CL7) gurija (CL3) erija (CL4)
Additional constraints	+pointing Pointing a must for 2 and 4 +- ADD attention +-visible + near speaker	+ADD attention +pointing +-visible to S Near ADD or between ADD&S	-near S&ADD +-visible to S +Few meters away +-ADD attention	If object is invisible, then context is created. Object must be km or some meters away. -touching +pointing +-ADD attention

Table 7 illustrates the various demonstrative forms uttered by informant 2 in the interview. For the explanation of the conditions in the table, see (1)

5.2.1 A Description of the Results from Informant 2

According to informant 1, scene 4 involves the use of ‘eʃo’ to refer to an object that is on the addressee’s shoulder. Whether the speaker is pointing or not, the form remains the same.

Informant 2, on the other hand, uses both ‘eʃo’ and ‘eʃi’ to refer to an object on the addressee’s shoulder. Informant 2 responds that if the speaker is very close to addressee and able to touch the object, then the form ‘eʃi’ or ‘eʃo’ can be used.

The form ‘eʃi’, according to informant 2, is used to refer to an object that is physically close to speaker even if it is not on the speaker’s body. In scenes 22 and 19, informant 1 uses the form ‘eʃi’ to refer to such an object while informant 2 uses ‘eʃo’ because the object is not very close to the speaker.

In scene 10, the form ‘eʃo’ is used regardless of whether the object is visible or invisible to the speaker. This form is used because speaker knows about the object and its location at that particular time. According to informant 2, when an object is a few meters away from speaker and addressee, the form ‘ʃiri’ is used and if it is invisible to the addressee then ‘ʃiriʒa’ is the appropriate form.

Scene 14 involves the use of the three forms ‘ogwo’, (that), ‘guri’, (that) and ‘guriʒa’, (that). The first two forms both refer to an object that is about 10meters away from the speaker and the addressee while the form ‘guriʒa’ is refers to an object that is invisible to the addressee.

For an object that is about 20meters away from speaker and addressee, informant 2 uses the form ‘guri’, whereas informant 1, uses the form ‘ogwo’ to refer to such an object. According to informant 1, in scenes 24 and 25, an object that is several kilometers away is referred to using the form ‘guri’ because it is far from speaker and addressee.

Table 9, summarizes the results on how and when the above demonstrative forms are used by informant 2.

Table 9: A Summary of the Results from Informant 2

Demonstrative	Close/part of speaker	Close/part of addressee	Equidistant between addressee & speaker	20/10 meters away from speaker	20/10 away from speaker and addressee	Several kilometers away from speaker and addressee	Invisible to speaker / addressee
DEM 1	+	* ¹⁶	*	*	*	*	+
DEM 2	*	+	+	+	+	*	+
DEM 3	*	*	*	+	+	+	*
DEM 4	*	*	*	+	+	+	+ ¹⁷

The above table shows results of when the four demonstrative forms are supposed to be used according to informant 2. We realize that informant 1 used 3 demonstrative forms to express all the sentences in the 28 scenes. That is, demonstrative 1, 2 and 4. On the other hand, informant 2 uses four demonstrative forms in the 28 scenes. That is, 1, 2, 3 and 4.

5.3 Informant 3

Informant 3 is male and 30 years old. He comes from the eastern part of Uganda. He speaks Runyakore-Rukiga, Luganda (ganda) and English. Below are the results of the data gathered from this informant:

Table 10: Various Uses of Demonstratives in RR (3rd Interview)

Demonstrative Category	Dem 1	Dem 2	Dem 3	Dem 4
Scenes from Wilkins (1999)	1 27	2 14	6 15	6
	2	4 16	25	24

¹⁶ Demonstrative 1 can only be used when speaker is very close and can touch the object that is on the addressee's body part.

¹⁷ Demonstrative 4 can be used when the referent object is invisible but described with additional descriptive content to easily identify the object and its location.

questionnaire	3 7 11 22	5 17 8 20 9 23 12 19	7 16 26 9 17 28 10 18 13 21 14 24	25
Demonstrative forms	ʃi (CL7) eri (CL5) ogu (CL3)	eʃo (CL7) eryo (CL5) ogwo (CL3)	ʃiri (CL7) riri (CL5) guri (CL3)	ʃirija (CL7) gurija (CL3) erija (CL4)
Additional constraints	+pointing +- ADD attention +-alienable +-visible + near speaker	+ADD attention +-pointing +-visible to S Near ADD or between ADD&S	-+ADD attention -near S and ADD +-visible to S +-pointing	+visible Invisible=context +-ADD attention Object is several kilometers away

Table 10 shows the results of the demonstrative forms gathered from informant 3. The results in this table are used to compare with those in Table 5 and 7.

5.3.1 A Description of the Results from Informant 3

The results from informant 3 are almost the same as those from informant 1 and 2, except a few differences mentioned below:

According to informant 3, when an object is next to the addressee but invisible to the speaker, the form ‘ʃiri’ is used because the speaker is not seeing the object even though he/she has knowledge about it and knows where it is.

When an object is several kilometers away and visible to the speaker and the addressee, informant 3 can use any of the two forms ‘ʃiri’ or ‘ʃirija’ to refer to that object.

In scene 13, informant 3 uses ‘guri’ to refer to an object that is at the end of a football field when the speaker and addressee are at the other end. The object is visible to speaker and addressee.

Table 11: A Summary of the Results from Informant 3

Demonstrative	Close/part of speaker	Close/part of addressee	Equidistant between addressee & speaker	20/10 meters away from speaker	20/10 away from speaker and addressee	Several kilometers away from speaker and addressee	Invisible to speaker / addressee
DEM 1	+	* ¹⁸	*	*	*	*	+
DEM 2	*	+	+	+	+	*	+
DEM 3	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
DEM 4	*	*	*	+	+	+	+ ¹⁹

5.4 Informant 4

This informant is male and 28 years old. He is from the central part of Uganda and speaks Runyankore-Rukiga, Luganda (ganda) and English. Below are the results of the data given by informant 4 in the interview:

Table 12: Various Uses of Demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga (4th Interview)

Demonstrative Category	Dem 1	Dem 2	Dem 3	Dem 4	
Scenes from Wilkins (1999) questionnaire	1 3 6 7 19 22	2 4 5 8 9 11	17 23 21 24 26	15 20 21 24 26	7 8 10 12 13 16
				18 19 20 21 23 24	

¹⁸ Demonstrative 1 can only be used when speaker is too close and can touch the object that is on addressee’s body part.

¹⁹ Demonstrative 4 can be used when the referent object is invisible but with additional context to easily identify the object and its location.

	27	16		17 25 28
Demonstrative forms	efi (CL7) eri (CL5) ogu (CL3)	efo (CL7) ogwo (CL3) eryo (CL5)	ɸiri (CL7) guri (CL3)	ɸirija (CL7) gurija (CL3) erija (CL4)
Additional conditions	+ - pointing +-ADD attention +Visible to S Obj near or on the speaker's body	+ -ADD attention +-pointing +-visible to S Near ADD or between ADD&S	+ -pointing +-ADD attention +-visible to S Quite far from S&ADD	+ -pointing +-visible to ADD Kilometers away from S&ADD +-ADD attention

Table 11, represents the results gathered from informant 4.

5.4.1 A Description of the Results from Informant 4

According to informant 4, the if addressee's attention is drawn away from the referent object, the speaker uses the forms 'ɸirija', 'gurija', 'erija'. That is why almost all the scenes appear in the last column in the table. One example is the sentence 'guri mupiira ni murungi', (that ball is good). This sentence is used in scenes where the ball is visible to speaker and addressee but a few meters away. When the ball is in the same location but invisible to either speaker or addressee the form 'gurija' in sentence 'gurija mupiira nimurungi', (that ball is good) can be used anaphorically.

When the referent object is on the addressee's body part, the form 'eryo' is used. For example in scene 2, speaker uses 'eryo rino', (that tooth) referring to the addressee's tooth. Pointing or touching is not a must when using this demonstrative form.

Table 13: A Summary of the Results from Informant 4

Demonstrative	Close/part of speaker	Close/part of addressee	Equidistant between addressee & speaker	20/10 meters away from speaker	20/10 away from speaker and addressee	Several Kilometers Away from speaker and addressee	Invisible to speaker / addressee
DEM 1	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
DEM 2	*	+	+	*	*	*	+
DEM 3	*	*	*	+	+	+	*
DEM 4	*	*	*	*	*	+	+

According to the above table, informant 4 differs from other informants in the way he uses the form ‘gurija’. According to informant 4, when an object is invisible or not seen by the speaker or the addressee the form ‘gurija’ used irrespective of the distance between the speaker and the referent. If the speaker and the addressee know about the referent object but are not seeing it then demonstrative 4 can be used according to this informant.

5.5 Summary

The previous sections outline the results of the data gathered from the 4 informants. I have given a description of how these informants use the four demonstrative classes, how they agree and how they differ from each other.

According to the results, the differences among the informants are fewer than the similarities. As we read through the explanation for each informant, we realize that the differences can be explained keep reducing. Apart from informant 1, all the informants use 4 demonstrative forms. The use of gestures like pointing or touching do not affect the form used unlike in scene 2 where the first three informants consider pointing and touching as a gesture that changes the form from ‘eryo’, (that) to ‘eri’, (this).

This does not mean, though, that there are certain demonstratives in RR that require pointing or gesture. It merely means that in the given context, pointing or touching is necessary to identify the referent.

From the results, the four demonstrative classes are used in the following ways:

5.5.1 Demonstrative 1

- i. Is used when the object is very near or on the speaker's body.
- ii. Is used when the referent object is on the addressee. The speaker must be able to point or touch on the object to use this form.
- iii. The same demonstrative determiner can be used to refer to an object that is invisible to addressee at that particular time especially when addressee knows where the object is located. Meeuwis & Stroeken(2012) call it 'the non-situational use of demonstrative' that is; referring to all usage types not involving referents that are visibly present in the physical surroundings of the speech event. That is, the object must be in the physical surrounding.

5.5.2 Demonstrative 2

- i. Is used when the referent object is on the addressee or very close to the addressee compared to the speaker.
- ii. Is used when the object is equidistant between speaker and addressee.
- iii. Demonstrative 2 can also be used when the referent object is invisible to speaker but visible to addressee in a physical surrounding. Speaker must know the location of the object though it is invisible to him or her.

5.5.3 Demonstrative 3

- i. Is used when the referent object is a few meters away from the speaker and the addressee. The speaker has to be close to addressee or the two have to be at the same end of a given place.
- ii. Can be used to refer to objects that are several kilometers away but vowel lengthening must be included to indicate that the object is far away.
- iii. Is also used anaphorically to refer to an object that is not in the physical surrounding but the speaker and the addressee have some knowledge about it.

- iv. This demonstrative can be used deictically to refer to an object in the physical surrounding but invisible to addressee. The addressee must have knowledge about the location of the object.

5.5.4 Demonstrative 4

- i. Is used to refer to an object that is several kilometers away from the speaker and the addressee. When the object is very far, this demonstrative can be accompanied by pointing to show the location of this object to the addressee. Vowel lengthening can also be used on the last vowel – [a] in ‘rija’ to show that the object is very far from both the speaker and addressee.
- ii. This demonstrative can also be used on objects that are several kilometers and invisible to the speaker and addressee but they must have knowledge about the object.
- iii. When an object is invisible to addressee, close to speaker and was talked about or the two parties have knowledge about it, demonstrative 4 can be used to refer to such an object.

When the addressee is not paying attention to the referent object at that particular time (i.e. the referent is not available in the physical surrounding), any of the four forms can be used depending on the location of the referent object. In such a case it is necessary that the addressee has some knowledge about the referent in his or her memory.

For instance, if the referent object was talked about the previous day or some time back and is invisible to speaker or addressee, the demonstrative forms 3 or 4 can be used, but with additional information about the referent object so that the addressee will be able to identify it.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Summary and Discussion

The aim of this chapter is to give a summary of the final results gathered from all the four informants and to discuss the results with regards to what Wilkins (1999) mentions as a crucial point concerning the use of demonstrative determiners.

I will use my intuition to give a conclusion on the general results from the information gathered from the four informants, and then briefly compare my data with what other scholars have written on the same topic.

6.1 Summary

In the previous section I outlined the properties of the four main demonstrative categories in RR. This yields the following brief classification:

Table 14: A Summary of How the Four Demonstratives Are Used

Demonstrative category	DEM 1: Proximal to the speaker Defined in (5.5.1)	DEM 2: Middle of the speaker and the addressee Defined in (5.5.2)	DEM 3: A distance away from the speaker and the addressee Defined in (5.5.3)	DEM 4: Very big distance away from the speaker and the addressee Defined in (5.5.4)
Forms for class 3	o-gu	o-gwo/o-gwe	gu-ri	gu-rija

Table 14 shows a summary of when the four demonstrative categories are supposed to be used. In this section I will discuss to what extent this table and the description of various demonstrative classes defined in chapter 5, adds new knowledge to the field.

From the above, it can be noticed that indexical acts do not cause various changes on demonstratives used in a sentence or an utterance.

According to Wilkins (1999), the choice of demonstrative may be dependent on the choice of accompanying indexical act. It often happens that in the same physical context, referring to the same object (at the same “proximity” and “scale”), different non-linguistic indexical acts correspond systematically with differences in the choice of demonstratives. However, from Table 14, the indexical acts such as pointing do not cause changes on demonstratives used in a sentence or an utterance in RR.

According to the results from the informants, paying attention to all the indicative acts like pointing, touching, using the chin or stretching one’s head towards the referent object to accompany the demonstrative determiner, does not systematically correspond with various demonstrative forms in RR. Rather, it adds cues about what is referred to and thus enhances reference identification. For example, in the scenes where the addressee is not attentive or is not seeing the object, the speaker has to point or use some of the earlier mentioned indexical acts, but this does not change the form of demonstrative determiner used. Instead it is the addition of more information about the invisible object that brings about such changes on the demonstrative determiner used. When the object is visible to the speaker and near him; he can use the form ‘eji’ whereas when the object is invisible he can use ‘firija’.

6.2 Comparison with Previous Descriptions of the Runyankore-Rukiga Demonstratives

A few scholars have written about demonstratives in RR and how they are used and I have used the information gathered from the informants to throw more light on what they say in their works. Morris & Kirwan (1972:58) show how the forms of the first three noun classes are used.

6.2.1 Morris & Kirwan (1972)

This is illustrated in table 15:

Table 15: Demonstrative Forms in Runyankore-Rukiga

	<i>Near</i>	<i>Far</i>	<i>Just over there or</i>	<i>Not present</i>
	<i>already referred to</i>			
Omuntu	ogu	oriya	ogwo	ori
Abantu	aba	bariya	abo	bari
Ekintu	eki	kiriya	ekyo	kiri
Ebintu	ebi	biriya	ebyo	biri
Ente	egi	eriya	egyo	eri
Ente	ezi	ziriya	ezo	ziri

In table 14, Morris & Kirwan show when demonstratives 1, 2, 3 and 4 are used. They focus on demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives which they argue are the same. According to the data gathered and my intuition, I would like to supplement this.

The use of the demonstrative ‘eki’ to refer to an object that is *near* as it is indicated by Morris & Kirwan does clearly indicate how close the object has to be located because it can be near the speaker or the addressee. If the object is near the addressee for example, the speaker cannot use ‘eki’ to refer to that object unless the form is accompanied by touching or close pointing. In such a situation, if pointing is not used or if the speaker decides not to point, then, ‘ekyo’ can be used.

If an object is already referred to, any of the forms mention by Morris & Kirwan can be used according to my investigation. For instance the speaker can say ‘eki kitabo nikirungi’, ‘this book is good’ referring to a book that has already been referred to. This insight is new compared to Morris & Kirwan’s overview since they suggest that only the demonstratives in the third column in table 10 can be used anaphorically.

The forms used for referent objects that are not present as Morris & Kirwan puts it, can also be used to refer to objects that are present, a few meters away from the speaker and addressee and visible to them. For instance one may say ‘guri mupiira nimurungi’, (that ball is good). When the object is invisible to the addressee, the same forms can still be used but the addressee must have the object and its location in mind.

According to Morris & Kirwan, the second demonstrative (i.e. the category ‘far ‘in Table 10) consists of the subject prefix plus *-riya* and they claim that this demonstrative is used to refer to objects that are far away. The same demonstrative, according to my intuition and the information gathered from the informants, can be used to refer to objects that are near the speaker as long as it is invisible to the addressee.

For these demonstratives, the addressee must have knowledge about the referent object or the speaker has to include additional information about the object for the addressee to identify it. For instance the speaker can utter ‘‘naheza kushoma kiriya kitabo’’, ‘I have finished reading the other book’. This sentence can be used to refer to a book that is very close to the speaker.

6.2.2 Taylor (1985)

Taylor (1985:136) presents a list of pronominal and adjectival forms of demonstratives in RR indicating three degrees of distance. According to him, these forms can be used when the object is visible to speaker or deemed to be visible to hearer. Taylor explains further that the forms ending in *-riya*, are for objects removed from speaker and the hearer but not really far away. For very distant objects the final vowel-[a] may be lengthened according to Taylor.

According to my intuition and my investigation, this does not only apply to demonstrative forms of category 4, but also forms that belong to category 3, 2 and 1, respectively. The final vowel can be lengthened to refer to an object that is further away from the speaker and addressee than the demonstrative would normally signal. For instance, if the speaker says ‘guri mupi:ra nimurungi’, ‘that ball is a good one’, this may give a different meaning compared to ‘guri: mupiira nimurungi’ with vowel lengthening on the demonstrative form. Similarly, the use of *-riya* without vowel lengthening expresses that the object is far from the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand *-riya:* with vowel lengthening expresses that the object is extremely far from the speaker and the addressee. Another difference between the two sentences is that the one without vowel lengthening can be used to either refer to objects in the physical surrounding (deictically), or to refer to objects that have previously been mentioned but are presently invisible to the speaker and the addressee. Vowel lengthening can be used to emphasize how far the object is from the speaker and the addressee and can only be used in reference to objects that are extremely far from the speaker and the addressee.

Vowel lengthening is mainly applied on final vowels of demonstrative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. When using demonstrative determiners, vowel lengthening cannot be applied on the demonstrative but is included on the last vowel of the noun that comes after the demonstrative determiner. For example ‘reeba guri mushozi.’ (see that hill). Vowel lengthening is applied on the final vowel of the object ‘mushozi’, ‘hill’ in this sentence, not on the demonstrative determiner ‘guri’, (that).

The information gathered from informants contains a few utterances with vowel lengthening, but only to a small extent because the sentences in Wilkins (1999) questionnaire mainly focus on demonstrative determiners and most of the scenes do not point at referents that are extremely far.

To collect more data on vowel lengthening, I believe the various scenes in the questionnaire have to include more than one object in the physical setting and more scenes that show objects that are several kilometers away from the speaker and the addressee. A context in which vowel lengthening would be natural according to my intuition would be:

Imagine four objects for example trees. One tree is 10 meters away from the speaker and addressee the second is 20meters away, the third about 1 kilometer away, then the fourth is several kilometers away. These trees must be visible to both speaker and addressee. The utterance is made referring to the fourth tree. ‘ninyenda ogyende otembe omuti guriya.’, (i want you to go and climb that tree).

These kinds of scenes are not included in Wilkins (1999) questionnaire, but should be included in order to capture the distinction imposed by vowel lengthening in RR.

A further investigation of vowel lengthening in RR is interesting also in the light of revealing universal properties of demonstratives. Diessel (1999), who have investigated different languages with respect to their demonstrative systems, claim that languages may only have up to four different deictic terms, signaling different distances from the deictic center (Diessel 1999:50). The fact that RR has four lexical demonstrative categories, and in addition can have vowel lengthening, questions this generalization and calls for more investigations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Summary

In this thesis I have investigated demonstrative determiners in Runyankore-Rukiga based on interviews with native speakers. In these interviews I have used Wilkins' (1999) questionnaire. The research questions that I started out with were:

1. What are the constraints associated with the various classes of demonstrative determiners in RR?
2. To what extent is Wilkins' (1999) questionnaire able to capture all the various semantic nuances of the demonstrative determiners in RR?

As for question 1, I have identified four demonstrative classes. These are listed below:

- (i) Proximal; used to refer to objects that are very close or part of the speaker. For instance the speaker's body part,
- (ii) Medial; used when the referent is close or part of the addressee, this class is also used when the referent is equidistant between the speaker and the addressee and when the referent object is invisible to the speaker and the addressee but when the two know about its whereabouts.
- (iii) Distal; used when the referent is a few meters (about 10 meters) away from the speaker and the addressee. It can also be used to refer to objects that are not in the physical surrounding if the speaker and the addressee know about it.
- (iv) Very distal; used when the referent is several kilometers away from the speaker and the addressee. It can also be used to refer to objects that are invisible if the speaker and the addressee know about them.

As for question 2, to a big extent, Wilkins' questionnaire is able to capture some semantic nuances of the demonstrative determiners in RR. Semantic features like visibility and distance are extensively captured.

However, the qualitative features described by Diessel (1999) are not captured in Wilkins questionnaire. Therefore, the questionnaire needs to consider such features for further research, including other deictic features like elevation and movement discussed by Diessel (1999).

Three more scenes were added in the questionnaire to capture more distances in RR because some of these distances could not be captured by the scenes in the questionnaire.

From the interviews, I also realized that some demonstratives can be used to refer to entities that were mentioned in the past.

All in all, this thesis has contributed to the relatively restricted literature on the Runyankore-Rukiga language, in particular demonstrative determiners.

APPENDIX

RESULTS OF THE RECORDINGS

Informant 1

SCENE	SENTENCE	DISTINCTIONS	RR	COMMENTS	DEM
	x tooth is chipped		erino eri rihendekyire		p
2			erino eryo rihendekyire	referring to the addressee's tooth	m
	yo right x tooth is yellow		ohikyire erino eryo riri yellow		m
	did you know x tooth is chipped	pointing	wanokyimanya ngu erino eryo rihendekyire		m
		touching	wanokyimanya ngu erino eryo rihendekyire	touching may involve the use of any of the two dems	m
		touching	erino eri		p
	yo right x tooth is yellow	no add attn	ohikyire erino eri riri yellow		p
3	x spider is bothering me		ekyi ekitangura nikinteganisa		p
		touching	ekyi ekitangura nikyinteganisa	if the referent is on the speaker's body or too close then touching can be a must	p
		no add attn	ekyi ekitangura kyindi ahibega nikyinteganisa	speaker has to mention where the object is if add is not attentive	p
		no add attn	ekyi kitangura nikinteganisa		p
4	look at x spider on your shoulder		reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryaawe		m
	what kind of spider is x		ekyo kitangura ni ki	same question 3 different ways of expressing it	m
			ekyo kitangura nikyiiha		m

			ekyo nikyitangura ki		m
		no add attn	ekyo nikyitangura ki ekikuri ahibega	speaker has to mention where the object is if add is not attentive	m
5	look at x spider on your shoulder		reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryaawe		m
	what kind of spider is x		ekyo nikyitangura ki beitu ekyiri ahibega ryaawe		m
	look at x spider on your shoulder	no add attn	reeba ekyitangura ekyo ahibega ryaawe	two ways of expressing it	m
			reeba ekyitangura ahibega ryaawe		x
6	i have just finished reading x book		naheza kushoma ekyi ekitabo		p
		no add attn	naheza kushoma ekyi ekitabo ekyindiharubaju	speaker has to mention where the object is if add is not attentive	p
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekyi ekitabo	touching is not a must especially when the object is visible to addressee	p
7	i have just finished reading x book		naheza kushoma ekyi ekitabo		p
	do you want to borrow x book	no add attn	noyenda kutiiza ekyi ekitabo		p
			noyenda kutiiza kiriya ekitabo	this can be used for a referent that is invisible to both S & ADD but saw it the previous day	d
		invisible	noyenda kutiiza kiriya ekitabo ekyimbeire nyine nyomwebazo		d
8	is x your book		ekyo ekitabo nekyawe		m

		pointing	ekyo ekitabo nekyawe		m
	have you read x book		washomire ekyi kitabo		m
	is x your book	no add attn	ekyo ekitabo nekyawe	S has to point at the object for Add to see it	m
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekyi kitabo		p
	is x your book		ekyo ekitabo nekyawe	if add is not looking at the object then S has to point at the object to capture Add attention	m
9			ekyo nekitabo kyawe		m
	i like x book		ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		m
	is x your book	no add attn	ekyo nekitabo kyaawe	the phrase remains the same. speaker has to find a way of capturing Add attention	m
	i like x book	no add attn	ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
10	is x your book	Invisible	kiriya ekitabo	if the object is invisible then context must be created of how S and Add got to knw of it	d
			kiriya ekitabo ekyitubeire twine nyomwazyo nekyawe		d
			ninkunda ekyo kitabo ekyitubeire twine nyomwazyo	the object is invisible to both S and ADD	m
		no add attn	ninkunda kiriya ekitabo ekitubeire twiine nyomwazo		d
		no add attn	ninkunda ekyo kitabo	speaker is looking at the object but Add is not ,S	m

				has to mention where the object is	
11	is x your book	no add attn	ekyi kitabo nekyawe	when obj is behind S, he has to look there while talking to Add	p
		no add attn	ekyi kitabo ekyindi enyima nekyawe	if S is not looking at the obj then she has to include where the object is place.(behind her)	p
		no add attn	ninkunda ekyi kitabo ekyindi enyima		p
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza eki kitabo ekyindi enyima		p
	is x your book	pointing	ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
			ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
			noyenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		m
		no add attn	ekyo kitabo nekyawe	using a high tone	m
12			ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
	i like x book		ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		m
	is x your book	no add attn	kiriya ekitabo nekyawe		d
	i like x book		ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo	the tone expresses the fact that Add is not attentive and S wants his attention towards the obj	m
13	x book is a good one		kiriya ekitabo nikirungi		d
	i wonder if x book is his		tinkumanya ahiyayihire ekyo kitabo		m
	x book is a	no add attn	kiriya ekitabo		d

	good one		nikyirungi		
	i wonder if x book is his	no add attn	tinkumanya ahiyehire ekyo kitabo		m
14	x book is a good one		kiriya ekitabo nikyirungyi	you can use any of the expressions with 'kiriya' and 'ekyo	d
			ekyo kitabo nikyirungi		m
	i wonder if x book is his		tinkumanya oba ekyo kitabo nekye		m
		no add attn	tinkumanya oba kiriya ekitabo nekye	Speaker must further explain more about the referent for the Add to clearly understand.	d
15	x book is a good one		kiriya ekitabo nikirungi	if the object is invisible then context must be created of how S and Add got to knw of it	d
	i wonder if x book is his		tinkumanya oba kiriya kitabo nekye	you can use any of the expressions with 'kiriya' and 'ekyo	d
			tinkumanya oba ekyo kitabo nekye		m
	have you seen x book		oreebire kiriya kitabo	you can use any of the expressions with 'kiriya' and 'kya' 'the other'	d
			oreebire kya kitabo		x
16	x book is a good one	pointing	ekyo kitabo nikyirungi	as long as S is not near the book, she has to point at it.	m
	is x your book		ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
17	x book is a good one		kiriya kitabo nikyirungi	you can use any of the expressions with 'kiriya' or 'ekyo'	d
			ekyo kitabo nikyirungi		m
	is x your book	pointing	ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
			kiriya ekitabo nekyawe		d
18			kiriya kitabo		d

			nekyawe		
			ekyo kitabo nekyaaawe	if S is not looking at the obj then she has to include where the object is place.(behind her)	m
19		pointing	ekyo kitabo nekyawe	S has to point at the object for Add to see it much as it is visible to both.	m
	i like x book	pointing	ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
20			ninkunda ekyo kitabo	S has to point	m
	whose book is x		ekyo kitabo nekyoha		m
	i like x book	no add attn	ninkunda ekyo kitabo	you can use any of the two expressions with the help of tone to express how far the obj is	m
			ninkunda kiriya ekitabo	the use of 'kiriya' entails further explanatin on the object referent	m
21			ninkunda ekyo kitabo	S has to point	d
	whose book is x		ekyo kitabo nekyoha	you can use 'ekyo' or 'kiriya' to express the same sentence meaning	m
			kiriya ekitabo nekyoha		d
	is x your book		ekyi kitabo nekyawe		p
	i like x book		ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
22	is x your book	pointing	kiriya kitabo nekyawe	you can use any of the two expressions	d
		pointing	ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
	i like x book	pointing	ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
		pointing	ninkunda kiriya kitabo		d
	is x your book	no add attn	kiriya kitabo nekyawe	the tone expresses the fact that Add is not attentive and S wants his attention towards the obj	d
			ninkunda kiriya		d

			ekitabo		
23			ekyo kitabo nekyawe		m
			ninkunda ekyo kitabo		m
24	i have climbed x rock		natemba orwo rushozi		m
			natemba ruriya rushozi	with a higher tone because the referent is very far across the river	d
	have you been to x rock		oragiire aha rushozi ruriya		d
	look at x rock		reeba orwo rushozi		m
	i have climbed x rock	no add attn	natemba ha rushozi ruriya		d
	have you been to x rock	no add attn	woragiire aha rushozi ruriya		d
	look at x rock	no add attn	reeba ruriya orushozi		d
25	i have climbed x rock	invisible	natembera enyuma ya guriya omushozi		d
	have you been to x rock	invisible	oragiire enyuma ya ruriya orushozi		d
	look at x bicycle	invisible	reeba eriya ggaali	you must explain where the referent object is	d
26	x is the road which leads to moholt		guriya nigwo muhanda gurikututwaara moholt		d
27			ogu nigw'omuhanda guri kututwara moholt		d
28	i fell into x hole		nkagwa omu kyiina kiriya		d

Informant 2

SCENE	SENTENCE	DISTINCTIONS	RR	COMMENT	DEMONSTRATIVE
1			eri rino riranshaasha		
			omupiira gukantera aha rino eri		
2		pointing	oramanya ngu eri rino rihendekyire	you can use eri or eryo when you are touching on the addressee's tooth	
			waba oramanya ngu eryo rino rihendekyire		
3			ekyi kitangura kiri kunteganisa		
		no ADD attention	ekyi kitangura kiri kunteganisa		
4			reeba ekitangura ahibega ryaawe		
			reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryawe		
			ekitangura ekyo nikyiiha		
			reeba ekitangura ahibega ryawe		
			nikitangura ki ekiri ahibega ryawe		
5		pointing	reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryawe		
			ekyo nikitangura ki		
			reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryawe		
			ekyo nikitangura ki		
6		no ADD attention	mazire kushoma kiriya kitabo	the referent was talked about the previous day and is invisible toADD	
			orenda kutiiza kiri kitabo	the referent was talked about the	

				previous day and is invisible toADD	
7			namara kushoma ekyi kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza eki kitabo		
			washomire ekyi kitabo		
		no ADD attention	namara kushoma kiri kitabo		
			washomire kiri kitabo		
			noyenda kutiiza kiri kitabo		
8			ekyi nekitabo kyawe	error	
			ekyo ne kitabo kyawe	you can either point or not	
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo kyawe		
			orenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		
9			ekyo kitabo nekyawe		
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		
		no ADD attention	kiri ne kitabo kyawe	the referent was talked about the previous day and is invisible toADD	
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo	the referent is invisible but ADD knows where it is	
			ndakunda kiri kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza kiri kitabo		
10			kiri ne kitabo kyawe		

			ndakunda kiri kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza kiri kitabo		
11			ekyi ne kitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyi kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza ekyi kitabo		
			ekyi nekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyi kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza ekyi kitabo		
12			ekyo nekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo		
			orenda kutiiza ekyo kitabo		
13			guri mupiira nimurungi		
			ndebuuza ahu yayihire guri mupiira		
14			ogwo mupiira nimurungi		
			ndebuuza ogwo mupiira gwaba guri ogweye		
		no ADD attention	guri mupiira nimurungi		
			ndebuuza guri omupiira gwa guri ogweye		
15			guri mupiira nimurungi		
			ndebuuza guriya omupiira gwa guri ogweye		
		no ADD attention	guri mupiira nimurungi		
			ndebuuza oba guri mupiira		

			n'ogweye		
16			ogwo mupiira nimurungi		
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		
		no ADD attention	guri mupiira nimurungi		
			guri mupiira n'ogwawe		
17			ogwo mupiira nimurungi		
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		
		no ADD attention	guri mupiira nimurungi		
			guri mupiira n'ogwawe		
18			guri mupiira nimurungi		
			guri mupiira n'ogwawe		
19			ekyo n'ekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo kyawe		
20			ndakunda ekyo kitabo		
			ekyo kitabo nekyoha		
21			ndakunda kiri kitabo		
			kiri kitabo nekyoha		
		no ADD attention	ndakunda kiri kitabo		
			kiri kitabo nekyoha		
22			eki n'ekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda eki kitabo		
		no ADD attention	eki n'ekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda eki kitabo		

23			ekyo n'ekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo		
		no ADD attention	ekyo n'ekitabo kyawe		
			ndakunda ekyo kitabo kyawe		
24			ntembire guri mugongo		
			waragyire ahari guri mugongo		
			reeba eriya ggari		
		no ADD attention	ntembire ahari guri mugongo		
			mbeire ndi hari guri mugongo		
			reeba eriya ggaali		
25			ntembire guriya mugongo		
			waragyiire ahari guri mugongo		
26		no ADD attention	ogwe nigwo muhanda guraza moholt		
		ADD attention	guri nigwo muhanda guraza moholt		
27			ogu nigwo muhanda guratutwaara moholt		
28			kiri nikyo kyiina ekyinagwiiremu		
			biri biina bibiri kiri nikyo nagwiiremu		

Informant 3

SC EN E	SENTENCE	DISTI NCTI ON	RR	COMMENTS	DE M
1	x tooth hurts		eri rino rirashaasha		P
	the ball hit me on x tooth		omupiira gunteire aha rino eri		P
		pointin g	erino eri rirashaasha		P
			omupiira gunteire aha rino eri mpaha		P
	x tooth hurts	no ADD attenti on	eri rino riranshaasha	eri' can be used at that particular time	P
	the ball hit me on x tooth	no ADD attenti on	omupiira gunteire aha rino eri	when the ADD has knowledge abt the obj	P
2	did you know x tooth is chipped		oramanya ngu erino eryo rihendekyire		M
	yo right x tooth is white		ohikyire eryo rino nerya mutare		M
	did you know x tooth is chipped	pointin g	oramanya erino eri rihendekyire	referring to ADD's tooth	P
			oramanya erino eryo ngu rihendekyire	this is used when yo not pointing at the obj	M
	yo right x tooth is white		ohikyire eryo rino ne ryamutare	you can also use 'eri' when pointing	
			oramanya ngu erino ryawe rihendekyire		*
	did you know x tooth is chipped		oramanya ngu erino ryawe eri rihendekyire	S uses ryawe to indicate where the obj is	P
	yo right x tooth is white		ohikyire erino ryawe ne ryamutare	in this case ADD's body part	*
3	x spider is bothering me		ekyi kitangura kiranteganisa		P
			eki kitangura eki kiranteganisa	S uses the dem twice to make ADD undestand	P

		no ADD attenti on	ekitangura kiri kunteganisa		*
			eki kitangura kiri kunteganisa		P
4	look x spider on your shoulder	pointin g	reeba ekitangura ahibega ryawe		*
			reeba ekyi kitangura ahibega ryawe	S can use eki or ekyo if the object is on ADD and	P
			reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryawe	when S and ADD are too close to each other	M
			ekyi ne kitangura ki	while pointing or touching eki and ekyo can be used	P
		no ADD attenti on	reeba ekyitangura ekyo ahibega ryawe		M
	x spider is bothering me		ekyo ni kyitangura ki		M
5	look x spider on your shoulder		reeba ekyitangura ekyo ahibega ryawe	if S is not pointing only ekyo can be used	M
			reeba ekyitangura ekyo ahibega ryawe		M
			ekyo ne kyitangura ki		M
		no ADD attenti on	reeba ekitangura ekyo ahibega ryawe		M
	what kind of spider is x		ekyo ne kyitangura ki		M
6	i have just finished reading x book	invisib le to ADD	nibwo namara kushoma ekitabo ekyo	ekyi' can be used at that particular time when obj is invisible	M
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	kiriya can be used if the obj was talked abt some time back	D
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi		P
7	i have just finished		naheza kushoma ekitabo ekyi		P

	reading x book				
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi		P
	have you read x book		washomire ekitabo ekyi		P
	i have just finished reading x book	no ADD attention	niho namara kushoma ekitabo ekyi		P
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi		P
	have you read x book		washomire ekitabo ekyi		P
8	is x book yours		ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
	i like x book		ndenda ekitabo ekyo		M
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo		M
	is x book yours	no ADD attention	ekyo nekitabo kyawe	ekyo' can be used at that particular time when add is not attentive	M
	i like x book		ndenda ekitabo ekyo	but knows about the obj and its location	M
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo		M
9	is x book yours		ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyo		M
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo		M
	is x book yours	no ADD attention	ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyo		M
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo		M
10	is x book yours	invisible to S	ekyo ne kitabo kyawe	s uses ekyo because he knows that the object exists and is there	M
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyo		M

	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo		M
11	is x book yours	invisible to S	ekyo ne kitabo kyawe	*	M
		pointing	ekyi ne kitabo kyawe	Invisible to S but close to him	P
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyi		P
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi		P
	is x book yours	no pointing	ekyi ne kitabo kyawe		P
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyi		P
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi		P
12	is x book yours		ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
	is x book yours		kiriya ne kitabo kyawe	Both kiri and kiriya can be used if the object is abit far from both S&ADD	D
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo kiriya		D
	do you want to borrow x book		orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiri		D
	is x book yours	no ADD attention	kiriya nekitabo kyawe		D
	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo kiri		D
	do you want to borrow x book		noyenda kutiiza ekitabo kiri		D
13	x ball is a good one		omupiira guriya nimurungi		D
			guriya n'omupiira murungi		D
	i wonder if x ball is his		akiha nkahe ogwo mupiira	ogwo' can also be used refering to the obj that is too far but has been talked about	M
14	x ball is a good one		ogwo mupiira nimurungi		M
			guri mupiira nimurungi	*	D
	i wonder if x		oba guri mupiira		D

	ball is his		n'ogweye		
	x ball is a good one		guriya mupiira ni murungi		D
	i wonder if x ball is his		oba guriya mupiira n'ogweye		D
	x ball is a good one	no ADD attention	guri mupiira nimurungi		D
	i wonder if x ball is his		oba guri mupiira n'ogweye		D
15	x ball is a good one		guriya mupiira ni murungi	guriya is used because S&ADD have previous knowledge about the obj	D
			ogwo mupiira ni murungi	*	M
	i wonder if x ball is his		oba guri mupiira n'ogweye		D
			oba guriya mupiira n'ogweye		D
16	x ball is a good one		ogwo mupiira nimurungi		M
	is x ball yours		ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		M
		no ADD attention	ogwo mupiira nimurungi		M
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		M
17			ogwo mupiira nimurungi		M
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		M
		no ADD attention	ogwo mupiira ni murungi		M
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		M
18			ogwo mupiira ni murungi		M
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe		M
19	is x book yours		ekyi ne kitabo kyawe		M

	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo ekyi		P
	is x book yours	pointin g	eki ne kitabo kyawe		P
	i like x book		ndenda ekitabo ekyi		P
	is x book yours	no ADD attenti on	ekyi ne kitabo kyawe		P
			ndenda ekitabo ekyi		P
20	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo kiri		D
	whose book is x		kiri kitabo nekyoha		D
		no ADD attenti on	ndakunda ekitabo kiri		D
			ekitabo kiri ne kyoha		D
21	i like x book		ndakunda ekitabo kiryaa		D
	whose book is x		ekitabo ekyo nekyoha	*	M
			kiri kitabo ne kyoha		P
22	i like x book		ndenda ekitabo ekyi		P
	is x book yours	no ADD attenti on	ekyi ne kitabo kyawe		P
	i like x book		ndenda ekitabo ekyi		P
23	is x book yours		ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
	is x book yours		ndenda ekitabo ekyo		M
		no ADD attenti on	ekyo ne kitabo kyawe		M
			ndenda ekitabo ekyo		M

24	i climbed x hill		nkatemba omushozi gurii		D
	have you been to x hill		wagyireho hamushozi guri		D
			woragireho ha mushozi guriii		D
	see x bicycle		reeba eriya ggaali		D
25			nkatemba ha shozi ziri	*	D
	i climbed x hill		nkatemba hamushozi guri	the last vowel 'i' is lengthened to imply that the obj is further away	D
			woragyiire ha mushozi guri		D
26	x is the road that leads to moholt		guriya nigwo muhanda gukuza moholt		D
27			ogu n'omuhanda gukuza moholt		P
28	i fell in x hole		nkagwa omu kyiina kiriya		D

Informant 4

SCE NE	SENTE NCE	DISTINCT ION	RR	COMMENT
1			eri erino nirinshaasha	
			omupiira gunteire aha rino eri	
		pointing	eri erino nirinshaasha	
			omupira gunteire aha rino eri	
			nomanya ngu eri rino nirinshaasha	
		no ADD attention	konka iwe nomanya ngu omupiira gunteire aha rino eri	S has to call for attention before speaking
			konka iwe nomanya ngu erino ryawe rihendekyire	forexample 'konka iwe', 'but you'
2			nomanya erino ryawe eryo rihendekyire	
			ohikyire erino ryawe eryo rihendekyire	
			ohikyire erino ryawe eryo ne rya white	
		no ADD attention	nomanya erino ryawe eryo ngu rihendekyire	

			ohikyire erino ryaawe eryo ni rya white	
3			eki kitangura nikinteganisa	
		pointing	ekyi ekitangura kiranteganisa	
		no ADD attention	ekyi ekitangura nikinteganisa	
4		pointing	reeba ekyo kitangura ahibega ryawe	
			ekyo ne kitangura kya muringo ki	
			iwe reeba ekitangura ahibega ryawe	
			konka iwe ekyo ne kitangura kya muringo ki	
5		no pointing	reeba ekitangura ekyo ahibega ryawe	
			ekyo nekitangura kya muringo ki	
6			niho namara kushoma ekitabo ekyi	OBJ is beside S and invisible to ADD
			noyenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi	
7			niho namara kushoma ekitabo ekyi	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyi	
			washoma ekitabo ekyi	
			namara kushoma ekitabo ekyo	
		no ADD attention	noyenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
			washoma ekitabo kiriya	
8			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	
			ninkunda ekitabo ekyo	
			noyenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo	
		no ADD attention	ekitabo kiriya nekyawe	
			ninkunda ekitabo kiriya	
			noyenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
9			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	
			ninkunda ekitabo ekyo	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo	
			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	
10		invisible to S	ekitabo kiriya nekyawe	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
11			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	

			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	
			ekyo kitabo ninkyikunda	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo ekyo	
12			ekitabo kiriya nekyawe	The obj is abit far from S&ADD
			ekitabo kiriya ninkikunda	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
		no ADD attention	ekitabo kiriya nekyawe	
			ninkunda ekitabo kiriya	
			orenda kutiiza ekitabo kiriya	
13			omupiira guriya nimurungi	
			oba omupiira guriya akagwiiha nkahi	
			omupiira guriya nimurungi	
			oba omupiira guriya akagwiiha nkahi	
14			omupiira guriya nimurungi	
			oba omupiira guriya n'ogweye	
15			omupiira guri nimurungi	
			oba omupiira guri n'ogweye	
			omupiira guri gwayine ogureebire	
16			omupiira ogwo nimurungi	
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe	
		no ADD attention	guriya omupiira nimurungi	
			guriya omupiira n'ogwawe	
17			ogwo mupiira ni murungi	
			ogwo mupiira n'ogwawe	
			guriya omupiira nimurungi	
			guriya omupiira n'ogwawe	
18			guriya omuppira nimurungi	
			guriya omupiira n'ogwawe	
19			ekyi kitabo nekyawe	
			ekyi kitabo ninkikunda	
		no ADD attention	kiriya kitabo nekyawe	
			kiriya ekitabo ninkikunda	
20			kiriya ekitabo ninkikunda	
			kiri ekitabo ninkikunda	
			kiri ekitabo nekyoha	

		no ADD attention	ekitabo kiriya nekyoha	
			ekitabo kiriya ninkukunda	
21			kiri ekitabo ninkikunda	
			ekitabo kiri nekyoha	
		no ADD attention	kiriya ekitabo ninkikunda	
			ekitabo kiriya nekyoha	
22			ekitabo ekyi nekyawe	
			ekitabo ekyi ninkikunda	
23			ekyo kitabo nekyawe	
			ekitabo ekyo ninkikunda	
		no ADD attention	ekitabo kiriya nekyawe	
			ekitabo kiriya ninkikunda	
24			natemba akasozi kari	
			orabeireho ha kashozi kari	
			reeba eriya ggaali	
25			natemba akasozi kariya	
			orabeireho ha kasozi kariya	
26			guri muhanda nigwo gukutora moholt	
27			ogu muhanda nigwo gurikukutwara moholt	
28			nkagwa omukiina kiriya	

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