A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEIXIS IN CITONGA AND ENGLISH

BY

WEBSTER SIMBELEKO

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DECLARATION

I, Webster Simbeleko, do hereby declare that this dissertation:

(a) represents my own work;
(b) has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university; and
(c) does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of WEBSTER SIMBELEKO is approved as fulfilling in part the requirements of the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science by the University of Zambia.

Signature: [Signature] Date: 05 Aug 2011

Signature: [Signature] Date: 05 Aug 2011

Signature: [Signature] Date: 05 Aug 2011

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ABSTRACT

This study is a comparative analysis of deixis in Citonga and English. Deixis is a Greek word which means “pointing” using language. The exercise was carried out with a view to establishing the similarities and differences between the deictic systems of these two languages. In particular, five major categories of deixis were examined, namely person deixis, spatial (place) deixis, temporal (time) deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis. In the light of this, five specific objectives were set as follows: (i) to identify categories of deixis in Citonga and English; (ii) to examine the referential distinctions of the Citonga and English spatial deictic systems; (iii) to examine the morphological structures and syntactic positions of Citonga deictic expressions in relation to the English ones; (iv) to investigate the gestural and symbolic usages of deixis in the two languages; and (v) to investigate the situational use of Citonga deictic expressions in various speech events.

The study used both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to collect primary and secondary data. However, there was more use of the qualitative paradigm than the quantitative one in both data collection and analysis. The qualitative approach was used to obtain information on how Citonga deictic expressions are used in various communicative events (this was through observation, interviews and video recordings). The quantitative approach was employed to find out the number of demonstratives and locatives that are used in the Citonga deictic system in comparison to those of English (a checklist was used for this purpose). Also this approach was used to indicate whether Citonga shows a three-way referential distinction (i.e. proximal – near the speaker; medial – near the addressee, and distal – far from both) or a four-way referential system in these demonstratives and locatives (i.e. proximate to the speaker; proximate and enveloping the speaker; proximate to the addressee, and remote from both the speaker and the addressee).

This study has shown that the Citonga and English deictic systems are similar in some aspects (e.g. categories of deixis, syntactic positions and gestural and symbolic usages of deixis) and different in others (e.g. referential distinctions, morphological structures and syntactic positions). Although the study has given a comprehensive description of the Citonga deictic system, it has raised some issues which need further exploration by future researchers in this phenomenon, namely (i) to compare the Citonga deictic system with that of any other Zambian language; (ii) to investigate the relevance of deixis to the teaching and learning of Citonga in Zambian schools; (iii) to investigate the extent to which verbal prefixes contribute to the Citonga deictic system; (iv) to investigate whether prominent writers mix temporal discourse deictic expressions with spatial ones or use them separately and consistently in their writings; and (v) to investigate the possible differences between oral and written deictic usages in Citonga.
DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr. Emison Muntanga Simbeleko and Mrs. Agness Maimbo Simbeleko, whose guidance and far-sightedness made me love books as opposed to cattle-herding.
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ABBREVIATIONS

APD augmentative pejorative deictics
AUX.V auxiliary verb
DPD diminutive pejorative deictics
M. V. main verb
N noun
Pred. predicate
SMS short messaging system
S subject
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction
This chapter provides some background information with respect to the study before looking at the specific problem under investigation. Thereafter, it explains the rationale behind this particular task as well as the aim and specific objectives of the study. The chapter equally spells out the significance of the study and the theoretical framework within which the analysis of the findings has been made. Next, it outlines the scope of the study and the structure of the dissertation before stating the limitation of the study. Lastly, the chapter makes a brief summary of the main items under discussion.

1.2 Background to the Study
Citonga is a Bantu language which is classified as M.64 by Guthrie (1971:57). It is spoken more predominantly in the Southern Province of Zambia than in the two areas of Central Province: Kabwe rural and Mumbwa District (See map in Appendix A3). Today the language is used both in the media and in the educational domains. According to Carter (2002:1), “the number of [Ci] tonga speakers is currently estimated at 800,000.”

Within Southern Province, there are several dialects whose exact number is not known. However, the two chief dialects are Valley Citonga and Plateau Citonga. The former is spoken in areas such as Maamba, Sinazongwe, Chipepo, Munyumbwe, Gwembe and Siavonga; the latter in areas which include Mazabuka, Monze, Pemba, Choma and Kalomo. The current study investigated the dialects which are mainly spoken in the Southern and Northern parts of Choma (i.e. the Western Plateau dialects stated in Carter 1962:V1). To a lesser extent, the dialect spoken in Monze (i.e. the Eastern Plateau dialect) was investigated.

English belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family. According to Bauer (2007:259), there are approximately three hundred and fifty million speakers of English in the world. Some of these are found in the United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria and Zambia, to name but a few. Banda (1995:82) points out that “what constitutes … Zambian English… can only be described in very general terms.” He further argues that “one can talk about Citonga English,
Silozi English, Chibemba English [and] Chinyanja English” (Banda, 1995:82). Therefore, it is in the contexts of these two languages (Citonga and English) that the study investigates the use of words and expressions which can only be understood if the physical context (particularly the time and place) of the speaker and addressee is known. Such words and expressions are known as deictic expressions, from the Greek word deixis, which means “pointing” using language (Yule, 1996). In English, pronouns such as I and you identify the speaker and addressee respectively while demonstratives like this and that identify persons as well as things. Also, locatives like here and there identify the place while temporals like now, then, yesterday and others identify the time. In the light of this, it is important that every language should have a detailed description of its own deictic system in order to assist language learners.

Although the study of deixis has widened our understanding of how it operates in the English language, very little work has been done to establish how it operates in other languages.

It is not crystal clear, for instance, how the Citonga deictic system operates in certain aspects. Past studies only give some little information on the pronouns, demonstratives and locatives. While it is true that these elements are associated with deictic categories, it would be unreasonable to claim that they constitute the entire subject matter. This study, therefore, sought to investigate how the Citonga deictic system works in comparison with the English one. In making this contrastive analysis, the following categories of deixis were examined: person, place, time, discourse and social deixis.

1.3 Statement of the Problem
There has been a sharp rise of scholarly interest in the study of how deixis works in English as evidenced by the works of scholars such as Lyons (1981, 1994), Levinson (1983), Cruse (2000) and Bennett (2004). However, despite this increased interest, little has been done to analyse how it operates in Citonga in relation to the way it does in English. Stated as a question, the problem under investigation is: To what extent does the Citonga deictic system resemble or differ from that of English? Unless a study is carried out to investigate how this phenomenon works, it will be difficult to know and appreciate how it contributes to effective and efficient communication in Citonga.
1.4 Rationale
There is a great lack of research on the topic of deixis in Citonga (but not in English). The present study therefore intends to fill this gap. It is based on the meagre existing literature in Citonga, but more importantly on field investigation which includes gathering recorded material as well as actual visits to the research sites.

1.5 Aim of the Study
The aim of the study was to investigate how the Citonga deictic system operates in comparison with that of English.

1.6 Specific Objectives
The specific objectives of the study were:
(i) To identify categories of deixis in English and Citonga;
(ii) To examine the referential distinctions of the English and Citonga spatial deictic systems;
(iii) To examine the morphological structures and syntactic positions of Citonga deictic expressions in relation to the English ones;
(iv) To investigate the gestural and symbolic usages of deixis in the two languages; and
(v) To investigate the situational use of Citonga deictic expressions in various speech events.

1.7 Significance of the Study
This study is important in two main ways. The first one is that it provides some useful and insightful information on the operations of the Citonga deictic system; and the second is that it acts as a future reference point from which comparative work on deixis with respect to Citonga and other Zambian languages can be undertaken.
1.8 Theoretical Framework

In view of the fact that the study mainly approached deixis from the perspective of semantics and pragmatics, the account of the morphological structures and syntactic positions of Citonga deictic expressions in relation to the English ones was not framed by morphological or syntactic theories. In the light of this, however, the account of the gestural and situational use of Citonga deictic expressions as stated in sections 4.7.3 and 4.8 of this dissertation was guided by the Truth-Conditional Theory in semantics. According to Goddard (2007:7), this theory states that “meaning is a relationship between an expression and a state of affairs in the world ....” Thus for an expression to be true, certain conditions in the world have to be met. Levinson (1983:55) strongly agrees with Goddard’s assertion and states that “the topic of deixis ... may be usefully approached by considering how truth – conditional semantics deals with certain natural language expressions.” To illustrate this, he states that the truth of a sentence such as “I am the mother of Napoleon” can only be assessed by “taking into account who the speaker is [whom is being spoken to, when, where, and why]” (Levinson, 1983:56). Thus the truth and falsity of any given utterance depends on the physical context of the speaker, addressee, indicated object, time, place and others.

The study thus attempted to find out the extent to which the Truth – Conditional Theory was applicable to Citonga deictic expressions in various speech events. It was hoped that a contrastive analysis could be made to discover whether or not Citonga deictic words were encoded in the same way as English ones in any given language event. And ultimately, a conclusion could be drawn on how meaning and truth were conveyed using the deictic expressions of these two languages.

1.9 Scope of the Study

This study is restricted to the comparative analysis of deixis in Citonga and English and confines itself to the five specific objectives which are outlined in section 1.6 of this dissertation.

1.10 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation comprises five chapters. The first one gives an introduction to the study. The second and third examine the relevant literature and methodology respectively. The
fourth chapter discusses the research findings while the last one makes the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the investigation.

1.11 Limitation of the Study
The study could not account for all the possible deictic expressions in Citonga because this language has many dialectal variations whose geographical boundaries have not been clearly plotted.

1.12 Summary
This chapter has given a detailed discussion of the introduction to the topic under investigation. It has achieved this through its sections which have already been outlined in 1.1. The next chapter reviews the literature relevant to the study.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This chapter begins by discussing the controversy surrounding the field to which deixis belongs: Does it belong to semantics or pragmatics or both? Thereafter, the chapter outlines various contributions to the description of the English deictic system. Here, the focus is on the major areas examined. Next, the weaknesses pertaining to current descriptions of the Tonga deictic system are pointed out before stating how the present study intends to fill the identified gap. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a short discussion of the major issues.

2.2 Deixis: A Semantic or Pragmatic Phenomenon?
In his book, 'Pragmatics,' Levinson (1983:94) asks this crucial question: Does deixis fall under semantics or pragmatics? There are strong arguments in support of each of these two paradigms (i.e. the semantics paradigm and the pragmatics paradigm). Taking the perspective of the semantics paradigm, Levinson (1983:94-95) argues that:

"...if we allow truth conditions [i.e. the conditions under which a sentence is true] to be relativised to speakers, addressees, times, places, indicated objects, etc., then it looks as if many aspects of deixis can be accommodated within truth conditional semantics."

Here, Levinson's argument in support of the semantics paradigm is conditional. He does not comprehensively state that all categories of deixis fall under semantics. Some do; others do not. Furthermore, he cites discourse deixis and social deixis as some of the categories whose elements do not mostly fall within semantics. This is precisely observed by the website http://www.sil.org/Linguistics/ which notes that "deixis … lacks semantic consistency, since the semantics of a referent differs in different arenas of language use." This inadequacy on the part of semantics to account for all the deictic elements makes Levinson (1983) change his line of argument and state that:

"Deixis belongs within the domain of pragmatics because it directly concerns the relationship between the structure of languages and the contexts in which they are used" (Levinson, 1983:55).
Supporting this view, Montague (1974) quoted in Levinson (1983:94) asserts that “the study of any language containing indexicals [deictic expressions] was ... pragmatics.” Goddard (2007:16) puts it even more clearly and says: “… all aspects of [deictic] meaning which cannot be stated in terms of truth – conditions are regarded as part of ‘pragmatics’, as opposed to truth – conditional semantics.”

However, Fromkin and Rodman (1993:164) take a neutral perspective on the argument and state that deixis is a phenomenon which straddles the semantics – pragmatics dichotomy. Put another way, they argue that some deictic expressions have infinitely variable meanings falling under semantics on the one hand and pragmatics on the other. To illustrate this point, they cite the example of the pronoun I which, they say, has both semantic and pragmatic meanings. Semantically, it points to the speaker, and pragmatically, it shows who the particular speaker is in a given physical context (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993:164).

From these arguments, it is clearly evident that the debate about whether deixis belongs to semantics or pragmatics or both is an unresolved issue. In the words of Goddard (2007:15), semantics and pragmatics are so closely integrated “that it makes no sense to draw a hard and fast distinction between [them].” Therefore, this current study supports the stance taken by Fromkin and Rodman (1993) that this phenomenon [deixis] belongs to both semantics and pragmatics. The principal argument in support of this is that deixis deals with words and expressions which constitute the structure of the language in which linguistic meanings are encoded. Put another way, deixis needs words and sentences to convey linguistic meanings just as semantics and pragmatics do. From this perspective, therefore, it is logical to argue that deixis is a linguistic bridge between semantics and pragmatics.

2.3 The English Deictic System

The available literature has overwhelmingly shown that the operation of the English deictic system is well described by linguists such as Lyons (1981, 1994), Hurford and Heasley (1983), Levinson (1983), Fromkin and Rodman (1993), Yule (1996), Cruse (2000), Leech and Svartvik (2002) and Bennett (2004). These scholars have not only focussed on the definition of deixis but also outlined its major categories. Furthermore, Hurford and Heasley
(1983:74) have stated the importance of a deictic system to any given human language by stressing that:

"[I] ... makes language a much more 'portable' instrument than it would otherwise be: we can use the same words on different occasions, at different times and places."

This means that this phenomenon is able to serve the communicative needs of its users. Another important issue which Hurford and Heasley point out is the CONTEXT of an utterance which, they say, is an elusive situation. Thus, by way of illustration, they firmly remark that:

"The exact context of any utterance can never be specified with complete certainty. [It] ... is very flexible (even somewhat vague). [For instance,] facts about times and places very distant from the time and place of the utterance itself can be part of the context of that utterance, if the topic of conversation happens to be about these distant times and places. Thus, for example, facts about certain people in Egypt could well be part of the context of a conversation in Britain five years later" (Hurford and Heasley, 1983:69).

In line with this remark, Lyons (1994:637) provides a framework within which deixis operates; he calls this 'the canonical situation of utterance' and puts it succinctly:

"[I]... involves one-one, or one-many, signalling in phonic medium along the vocal-auditory channel, with all the participants present in the same actual situation able to see one another and to perceive the associated non-vocal paralinguistic features of their utterances, and each assuming the role of sender and receiver in turn"

[bold – my own emphasis].

This means that the deictic system of a given natural language is designed for communication in an ideal atmosphere of face-to-face interaction. Levinson (1983:63-64) further explains how deixis is anchored to specific points in the communicative event. These anchorage points, constituting the deictic centre, are the central person (the speaker), the central place (the speaker’s location at the utterance time), the central time (the time at which the speaker produces the utterance), the discourse centre (the point which the speaker is currently at in the production of his utterance or the point which the listener / reader is at in his decoding of a given utterance / text respectively), and the social centre (the speaker’s social status and rank in relation to that of the addressee).
Examining two kinds of deictic usage, gestural usage and symbolic usage, Levinson (1985:65), points out that gestural usages require some audio-visual information. For instance, deictic pronouns such as this and that are used to point at and refer to an object. Thus, the researcher can use a video camera to record the sounds and show the gestures that accompany these expressions in a speech event. Symbolic usages, by contrast, require only the basic spatio–temporal parameters (i.e. knowledge of place and time) of the utterance. If the speaker, for example, says, ‘I like this car’, the addressee should see which particular car is being referred to. In a similar vein, if the speaker says, ‘I love this country’, the addressee requires not only knowledge of the presence of the speaker in the particular country being referred to but also the whole communicative situation.

Cruse (2000: 324) examines the use of spatial deixis. He says that it can be used psychologically to create an abstract space as a way of organising the discourse. He exemplifies this by such usages as: ‘Here the argument runs into difficulties, what do you think of this idea of mine / that idea of George’s?’ He explains that ideas and arguments do not occupy space in the literal sense but they are viewed as if they did. Another psychological use of spatial deixis, he says, is to indicate emotional distance or closeness. For example, the demonstrative pronoun that can be used to indicate the speaker’s emotional distance (e.g. I can’t stand that woman). Similarly, the deictic expression this can be used to indicate the speaker’s empathy (closeness). For example, he can say to his listener, ‘I share this tragic loss with you.’ Furthermore, Hurford and Heasley (1983: 64-65) state that spatial deixis can be psychologically used to ‘shift’ the viewpoint of the speaker. A case in point is where the speaker says, ‘come to my home over there!’ while pointing at it from a far distance. It is easy to infer that the speaker intends to move to that particular house from the spot where s/he and the addressee are located. Thus, the use of verbs such as come and go can give this deictic projection.

Within the category of spatial deixis, Bennett (2004:73) examines how a certain entity (which he calls the target) can be located in relation to another object (which he calls the landmark). If one, for example, says, ‘The goat is near the house,’ ‘goat’ is the target and ‘house’ is the landmark. Furthermore, Yule (1996) and Leech and Svartvik (2002) explain the difference between proximal and distal deixis under the traditional category of spatial
deixis. Proximal deictic expressions mark what is close to the speaker (this, here, now) while distal deictic elements mark what is far from the speaker (that, there, then). Yule (1996:130) further notes that “it is also possible to mark whether movement is happening towards the speaker’s location (come) or away from the speaker’s location (go).”

2.4 The Citonga Deictic System

Unlike the English deictic system which is clearly described, the Citonga one is not. Collins (1984), Hopgood (1992), O’Brien (1992) and Carter (2002) view deixis from two perspectives. One is that of pronouns (such as ime, mebo ‘I’, iwe, webo ‘you’) and the other is that of demonstratives (such as aka, eci, obu, oyu, aya ‘this’ and ako, eco, obo, oyo, ayo ‘that’). Collins (1984:82) and Hopgood (1992:108-109) further point out that there are four kinds of demonstratives in Citonga: Proximate to the speaker (i.e. forms denoting something near the speaker but not necessarily near the person spoken to); proximate and enveloping the speaker (i.e. forms denoting something near the speaker and possibly covering him/her up completely; proximate to the person spoken to (i.e. forms denoting something at a distance from the speaker but possibly near the person spoken to); and remote from both the speaker and the person spoken to. These, they say, vary according to the thing which is being pointed at. O’Brien (1992:58-60) and Carter (2002:38-43) look at the classes of Citonga pronouns and demonstratives. Carter (2002:42) further puts these elements, in a table form which shows all the 18 classes (i.e. from class 1 to 18). Thompson (1989:15) presents some adverbs of time (temporal deictics) such as sunu ‘today’, ijuunza, cifumo ‘tomorrow’ and jjilo ‘yesterday’ in both phrasal and list forms. Admittedly, these elements are associated with deixis but they do not represent the entire Citonga deictic system. In other words, these scholars are conspicuously silent on how the categories of deixis (such as person, place, time, discourse and social deixis) are encoded in speech events in Citonga. Thus, it is crystal clear that the study of deixis in Citonga is virtually inadequate. This demonstrates an imbalance in the description of deixis in Citonga and English.

As a response to this, the current study, using a set of research instruments, investigates how the Citonga deictic system works in comparison with the way that of English does (as indicated in the specific objectives of section 1.6 of this dissertation).
2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed three major issues in the literature. The first one has raised the question about the field to which deixis belongs (i.e. is it under semantics or pragmatics?). Here, it has pointed out the stance taken by the present study (i.e. deixis straddles the semantics-pragmatics border). The second concerns the English deictic system which is well described by several scholars, while the third one concludes that research on the Citonga deictic system is completely inadequate. The next chapter examines the methodology which was applied to conduct this research.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This chapter commences with a description of the research design before examining the
features of the qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thereafter, it explains how these two
paradigms were applied in the current study. Next, the chapter highlights the research areas,
the sample size, the sampling techniques, the pilot study and the research instruments which
were administered. This series of sections is then followed by two parts. The first one
explains how data was analysed while the second makes a brief conclusion of the whole
chapter.

3.2 Research Design
A research design is a basic plan of how a research activity is to be conducted using two
major paradigms: the research method and the research approach (White, 2005:80). The
research method refers to techniques (such as experimental, descriptive and other methods)
used to carry out a particular piece of research. In this study, the type of research method
which was employed was the descriptive survey. It involved fact findings, classification,
analysis, comparison and interpretation of data. In addition, it was used to collect information
by interviewing a sample of informants. The research approach, by contrast, is either a
qualitative or quantitative paradigm (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 below).

3.2.1 Features of the Qualitative Approach
Merriman (1998:8) quoted in White (2005:86) points out that the qualitative approach is
descriptive because it uses words (e.g. from interviews) and pictures (e.g. from videos)
"to convey what a researcher has learnt about a phenomenon." He further explains that
excerpts of videotapes, direct citations from documents and the informants' own words
can be part of the data which supports the findings of the study. Photos and objects (such
as artifacts) can equally be included in the research activity. Furthermore, this paradigm
is subjective because the researcher, according to White (2005:81), relies "on voices and
interpretations as obtained from informants." Another important feature of this approach
is that it uses an inductive form of reasoning. According to the website
http://ed.isu.edu/SSPE/reading_qualitative_research.pdf, inductive reasoning generates ideas from within the data which the qualitative researcher collects. The same website observes that the strength of the qualitative paradigm “lies in [its] validity (closeness to the truth)... [through]... a combination of research methods, a process known as triangulation.” Kirk and Miller (1986) quoted in Johnstone (2000:61) call it a “diversity of method.” In other words, triangulation is the process by which data is collected using different procedures (e.g. the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to conduct research).

Kombo and Tromp (2006:9) further observe that the qualitative approach is quite flexible because it gives room for a researcher to make decisions about the data collection strategies (such as interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires) during the study. White (2005:85) notes that qualitative research involves fieldwork. Thus, the researcher must go to the research site and “observe behaviour in the natural setting.” It is here where s/he gets to know his/her informants very well and experiences their way of life. Furthermore, White (2005:83-84) asserts that a qualitative researcher “develops context-bound generalizations.” By way of illustration, he says that “the survival skills of a street kid in Pretoria may differ totally from that (sic) [those] of street kids in New York ....” Thus, human actions are strongly influenced by the setting in which they happen. In the light of this, a qualitative researcher must understand the setting (research site) in which his/her informants express their thoughts, feelings and actions. Only then can s/he understand their behaviour.

3.2.2 **Features of the Quantitative Approach**

Unlike the qualitative research which is descriptive, the quantitative approach deals with numerical data whereby the information gathered is based on numbers and statistics. As Johnstone (2000:35-36) puts it, a quantitative researcher asks questions about ‘how much’ and ‘how often’ things happen. Furthermore, White (2005:205) points out that the quantitative approach is objective because the researcher does not influence the outcomes of the study but rather remains neutral. Another noticeable feature of this paradigm is that it “uses a deductive form of reasoning” (White, 2005:84). Clarifying this point, the website http://ed.isu.edu/SSPE/reading_qualitative_research.pdf stresses that deductive
reasoning "begin[s] with an idea ... which then ... generates data and ... allows a conclusion to be drawn." The website further observes that the strength of the quantitative approach lies in its reliability (repeatability). Thus, "the same measurements should yield the same results time after time."

While the qualitative research paradigm is flexible, the quantitative approach is rigid because it is guided by a set of established procedures and steps. Putting it more precisely, White (2005:82) stresses that a quantitative researcher "begin[s] with a hypothesis and then seek[s] to verify it through empirical [scientific] testing." This entails that the quantitative research requires an artificial setting such as a laboratory (Kombo and Tromp, 2006:11). In such a setting, a quantitative researcher, as White 2005: 83) points out, "establishes context-free generalizations." This means that research findings should be valid irrespective of the time and place in which the experimental research was conducted. He illustrates his point by stating that if a certain approach "leads to better results in mathematics in Pretoria, then the same success should be attained in London when the same approach is applied" (2005:83).

3.2.3 **Qualitative and Quantitative Paradigms: Applicability**

The current study used both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to collect primary and secondary data. Pointing out the advantages of combining the two paradigms, Kombo and Tromp (2006:11) stress that the strengths are maximized and the limitations of each other are minimized. Ultimately, this enriches the research findings. Although both approaches were employed, the study used the qualitative paradigm more than the quantitative one in both data collection and analysis. The qualitative approach was used to collect a corpus of spoken and written Citonga deictic expressions (e.g. clan names in section 4.5.6.5, gestural and symbolic usages of deixis as illustrated using video pictures in section 4.7.3 and the situational use of Citonga deictic expressions as shown in section 4.8). The researcher collected this data through observation, document analysis, interviews and video recordings. The quantitative approach was employed to find out the number of demonstratives and locatives that are used in the Citonga deictic system in comparison to those of English (a checklist was used for this purpose – see section 3.3.4.1). Also this approach was used to indicate whether Citonga shows a three-way
referential distinction (i.e. proximal – near the speaker; medial – near the addressee, and distal – far from both) or a four-way referential system (i.e. proximate to the speaker; proximate and enveloping the speaker (i.e. near and possibly covering or wrapping the speaker up completely); proximate to the addressee, and remote from both the speaker and the addressee).

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Research Areas and Sample Size

The study was carried out in Choma and Monze Districts where the researcher collected primary data (i.e. in spoken form) from a sample of sixty informants.

3.3.2 Sampling Techniques

Two purposive sampling techniques, Extreme Case Sampling and Snowball or Chain Sampling, were used. Extreme Case Sampling, according to Kombo and Tromp (2006:83), “focuses on cases that are rich in information because they are... special in some way ....” Therefore, this technique focused on the Lwiindi- Gonde Ceremony which is rich in deictic information. Snowball or Chain Sampling, by contrast, “begins with a few people... and then gradually increases the sample size as new contacts are mentioned by the people you started out with” (Kombo and Tromp, 2006: 83). Using these two techniques (i.e. Extreme Case Sampling and Chain Sampling), the researcher purposely selected some subjects from the population. Two major categories of subjects were selected. The first involved those who had attained either college or university levels of education and were competent users of Citonga and English. These counterchecked the deictic items on the checklist. The second involved informants of two age groups, namely the young (school pupils) and the old (who provided the richest corpus of deictic expressions in Citonga).

3.3.3 Pilot Testing

A pilot study was conducted in Choma Urban and its outskirts where twenty informants (who met the criteria stated in 3.3.2) counterchecked the authenticity of the items on the checklist and made some valuable changes. The researcher then made some readjustments of the items as suggested by the informants. For example, the deictic items
pertaining to dialect variations (i.e. in such areas as Monze and Choma south and north) were included in the corrected version of the checklist. Pilot testing helped the researcher in three main ways: First, he was able to assess the clarity of the instructions to the informants. Second, he was able to monitor the topic areas which were addressed. And third, he was able to gain new insights into the use of Citonga deictic expressions.

3.3.4 Research Instruments

The study employed six research instruments, namely a checklist, an unstructured interview guide, unstructured observation (where data was collected in the form of descriptive accounts), document analysis, introspection and a video camera.

3.3.4.1 Checklist

The checklist was composed of five major categories of deixis: person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis (see Appendix A1). Each category contained some glossed Citonga deictic expressions which needed to be counterchecked by the informants according to the instructions given (i.e. putting a tick for ‘YES’ to indicate that some given Citonga deictic items were correct; or marking X for ‘NO’ to show that the deictics were incorrect). In addition, there was a third box marked ‘ALTERNATIVE’ in which the informant had to slot a deictic item which s/he thought was appropriate. The researcher administered this instrument to thirty (30) informants who met the criteria stated in 3.3.2 (most of them were teachers of Citonga at upper basic and high school levels).

3.3.4.2 Unstructured Interview Guide

Like the checklist, the unstructured interview guide (see Appendix A2) had some glossed Citonga deictic expressions under each category of deixis. Using these deictic elements, the researcher was able to ask questions to the old people who were equally thirty (30) in total (i.e. these questions were not pre-defined but were asked as the conversation progressed in a relaxed atmosphere). The responses were jotted down in the spaces provided.
3.3.4.3 Unstructured Observation

The researcher observed instances in which Citonga deictic expressions were used during family discussions, market transactions, farming activities and some traditional court sessions. In the court, for example, the researcher used his note book to describe how the complainant (the accuser) and the defendant (the accused) brought out some psychological deictic expressions (i.e. distal deixis for things they dismissed and proximal deixis for those they accepted).

3.3.4.4 Document Analysis

This involved the collection and analysis of published Citonga materials (such as novels, short story books, past examination papers, textbooks and the English-Tonga Pocket Dictionary). This desk research helped the researcher to extract a corpus of written Tonga deictic expressions.

3.3.4.5 Introspection

Johnstone (2000:73) points out that introspection is a process in which a researcher examines his/her own thoughts and feelings which are then reported in detail. In this study, the researcher used this technique to validate the Citonga data in line with Radford’s (2001:4) assertion that “… native speakers have the ability … to judge whether particular expressions [words, phrases and sentences] are grammatical or ungrammatical within their native language.” The phrase ‘grammatical or ungrammatical’ in this context means being appropriate or inappropriate respectively in accordance with the linguistic conventions agreed upon by members of a given homogeneous speech community. Thus, the intuitions of such speakers enable them to detect some errors in the use of their language by learners from within or outside their linguistic arena. Being a competent user of Citonga, the researcher was thus aware of most of the ambiguities in the use of some Citonga deictic expressions in certain speech events (Chalker and Weimer, 1998:76).

3.3.4.6 Video Camera

This instrument proved to be a very useful research tool. With it, the researcher first recorded the use of honorific expressions at the traditional Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony in Monze. Next, he used it to collect data on discourse deictic terms during the traditional
story telling lessons at Njase and Choma Secondary Schools. Then, he recorded the use of spatial deictic terms during the construction of a teacher’s house at Kabanze Basic School, and also during some farming activities involving the use of oxen. Lastly, the researcher used the video camera to record face-to-face interviews with some key informants.

3.4 Data Analysis

In this study, the data analysis coincided with the research process. Kombo and Tromp (2006:119) point out that qualitative data can be analysed using the Thematic Analytic Technique. They stress that this technique enables the researcher to analyse data according to themes (i.e. topics that come up in discussions). Using this technique, the researcher identified information which was relevant to the research objectives and classified it into major categories (themes) and sub-categories. For instance, the following six (6) major themes were identified: Categories of deixis in English and Citonga (section 4.3), referential distinctions in demonstratives and locatives (section 4.4 where tables and key quotations are presented), morphological structures of deictic expressions (section 4.5 where tables are equally indicated), syntactic positions of deictic expressions (section 4.6 where relevant sentences are presented), gestural and symbolic usages of deixis (section 4.7 where the English data is presented in key sentences only while the Citonga one is in both key sentences and still video pictures), and situational use of Citonga deictic expressions (section 4.8 where samples of oral situations are indicated).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the methodology which was applied in this study. It has done so through its outline of sections (see 3.0). The subsequent chapter gives an analysis and discussion of the research findings.
CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction
The chapter interprets and discusses the research findings in line with the specific study objectives. It begins by examining deixis in the context of speech and writing before identifying some categories of deixis in English and Citonga. Thereafter, it looks at referential distinctions (i.e. a two-way referential distinction in the case of English and a four-way referential system in the case of Citonga) and the number of demonstratives and locatives which are used in the deictic systems of the two languages. The chapter proceeds by carefully examining the morphological structures and syntactic positions of Citonga deictic expressions in relation to the English ones. Next, the chapter distinguishes the gestural and symbolic usages of deixis before highlighting the situational use of Citonga deictic expressions. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a short discussion of the main issues in the research findings. (Note: In this chapter, the quoted Citonga examples are all from the data which the researcher collected from the field).

4.2 Deixis in Speech and Writing
Natural languages use speech and writing as productive modes of linguistic communication. Stressing this point, Robins (1964:114) states that speech uses “air disturbed by the movements of articulation.” Through this medium, deictic expressions are conveyed from the speaker to the addressee in face-to-face interaction, telephone conversation and many other forms of verbal communication. In oral activities the speaker is able to get some immediate feedback from the addressee (i.e. this response may take either seconds or minutes). With respect to written activities, the writer uses some “marks made on a flat surface by chisel, writing brush, pen [and] pencil, [to name but a few]” (Robins loc.cit.). Using the medium of writing, the writer manages to send information in the form of the Short Messaging System (SMS) on a mobile phone, e-mail, informal letter and in other ways. However, the response from the reader is usually delayed. For instance, an informal letter or e-mail may be received after hours, days, weeks or even months while the SMS may ideally take minutes and hours. In the light of this, the physical context, (particularly the time and place), the subject matter and the speaker-addressee relationship or the writer-reader relationship will determine the choice of deictic expressions.
4.3 Categories of Deixis in English and Citonga

The study noted that both English and Citonga have five major categories of deixis: person deixis, spatial (place) deixis, temporal (time) deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis.

4.4 Referential Distinctions in Demonstratives and Locatives

4.4.1 English

Cruse (2000:320) stresses that “English has a relatively impoverished spatial deictic system, with only two terms, usually labelled proximal [near the speaker] and distal [far from the speaker].” Put another way, English shows a two-way referential distinction in its deictic system. For example, the following pairs of deictics: here and there (two locatives); this and that; these and those (four demonstratives) fall under proximal and distal deixis respectively (see section 2.3). This two-way referential system is shown in table 1 below:

Table 1: Two-way referential distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 this</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 these</td>
<td>those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 here</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.2 Citonga

Collins (1984:82) observes that in contrast to English, the Citonga deictic system shows a four-way referential distinction, namely proximate to the speaker; proximate and enveloping the speaker; proximate to the person spoken to; and remote from both speaker and person spoken to. Here, the study noted that Citonga uses 48 demonstratives and 12 locatives in its deictic system. Table 2 below shows these demonstratives and locatives within the context of the four-way referential distinction:
Table 2: Four-way referential distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PROXIMATE TO THE SPEAKER</th>
<th>PROXIMATE AND ENVELOPING THE SPEAKER</th>
<th>PROXIMATE TO THE PERSON SPOKEN TO</th>
<th>REMOTE FROM BOTH SPEAKER AND PERSON SPOKEN TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(o)oyu ‘this’</td>
<td>(u)uno ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)oyo ‘that’</td>
<td>(u)(l)ya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a)aba ‘these’</td>
<td>(a)bano ‘these’</td>
<td>(a)abo ‘those’</td>
<td>(a)baya ‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(o)oyu ‘this’</td>
<td>(u)uno ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)oyo ‘that’</td>
<td>(u)(l)ya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(e)eyi ‘this’</td>
<td>(i)ino ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)eyo ‘that’</td>
<td>(i)(l)ya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(e)eli ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)lino ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)elyo ‘that’</td>
<td>(e)liya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(a)aya ‘these’</td>
<td>(a)ano ‘these’</td>
<td>(a)ayo ‘those’</td>
<td>(a)alya ‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(e)eci ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)cono ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)eco ‘that’</td>
<td>(e)ciya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(e)ez(y)i ‘these’</td>
<td>(e)zyino ‘these’</td>
<td>(e)zyo ‘those’</td>
<td>(e)ziya ‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(e)eyi ‘this’</td>
<td>(i)ino ‘this’</td>
<td>(e)eyo ‘that’</td>
<td>(i)(l)ya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(e)ez(y)i ‘these’</td>
<td>(e)zyino ‘these’</td>
<td>((e)zyo ‘those’</td>
<td>(e)ziya ‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(o)olu ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)luno ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)olo ‘that’</td>
<td>(o)ulya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(a)aka ‘this’</td>
<td>(a)kano ‘this’</td>
<td>(a)ako ‘that’</td>
<td>(a)kaya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(o)otu ‘these’</td>
<td>(o)tuno ‘these’</td>
<td>(o)oto ‘those’</td>
<td>(o)tuya ‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(o)obu ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)buno ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)obo ‘that’</td>
<td>(o)buya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(o)oku ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)kuno ‘this’</td>
<td>(o)oko ‘that’</td>
<td>(o)kuya ‘that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LOCATIVES</th>
<th>LOCATIVES</th>
<th>LOCATIVES</th>
<th>LOCATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(a)awa ‘here’</td>
<td>(a)ano ‘here’</td>
<td>(a)awo ‘there’</td>
<td>(a)alya ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>(o)oku ‘here’</td>
<td>(o)kuno ‘here’</td>
<td>(o)oko ‘there’</td>
<td>(o)kuya ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>(o)omu ‘here’</td>
<td>(o)muno ‘here’</td>
<td>(o)omo ‘there’</td>
<td>(o) muya ‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The deictic class numbers given above are illustrated in Carter (2002:27-43).

pg. 21
Although spatial deictics in Citonga fall within a four-way referential distinction, temporal deictics follow a two-way referential system just as the English ones do. This is illustrated in table 3 below:

**Table 3: Two-way referential distinction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eno ‘now’</td>
<td>REFERENCE TO PAST TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE TO FUTURE TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variants include:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ono</td>
<td>(e)liya ‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• (l)ino</td>
<td>(e)ciya ciindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e)elyo ‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Variant includes:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e)eco ciindi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the table above, the variants ono ‘now’ and lino ‘now’ (under proximal deictics) are used in the dialects spoken in Monze and in the Southern part of Choma. The table also shows the variants eciva ciindi and eco ciindi in phrasal form.

**4.5 Morphological Structures of Deictic Expressions**

**4.5.1 Person Deictics in English**

Baruah (2005:80) observes that the English personal deictics such as I, me, my, mine, you and yours cannot be morphologically analysed into their respective bases and suffixes. However, he notes that only the reflexive deictics, including myself, yourself, ourselves and yourselves have an easily distinguishable morphological structure as illustrated in table 4 below:

**Table 4: Morphological structure of reflexive deictics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>SUFFIX</th>
<th>REFLEXIVE DEICTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>my-</td>
<td>myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>your-</td>
<td>yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>our-</td>
<td>ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>your-</td>
<td>yourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above indicates that English reflexive deictics can be morphologically analysed into two parts: a stem which is a possessive adjective (i.e. my-, your-, our- and your-) and a suffix which takes either the singular form -self or the plural form -selves.
4.5.2 Person Deictics in Citonga

The Citonga person deictics, unlike the English ones, can be analysed into various morphological forms. Some such as mebo, ‘I / me’; yebo, ‘you’ (singular); swebo, ‘we/us’ and nywebo, ‘you’ (plural) have a prefix and a stem (i.e. one-prefix structure). Others, as is the case with ndemwini, ‘myself’; onwini, ‘yourself’; tobeni, ‘ourselves’ and nobeni, ‘yourselves,’ have two prefixes and a stem (i.e. two-prefix structure). Table 5 below shows a one-prefix structure while table 6 illustrates the two-prefix one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS NO.</th>
<th>PREFIX + INFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 1st sg</td>
<td>ma- -e- -bo</td>
<td>mebo</td>
<td>‘I / me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 2nd sg</td>
<td>i- -e- -bo</td>
<td>yebo</td>
<td>‘you’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 1st pl</td>
<td>su- -e- -bo</td>
<td>swebo</td>
<td>‘we / us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 2nd pl</td>
<td>ni -u- -bo</td>
<td>nywebo</td>
<td>‘you’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 1st sg</td>
<td>ba- -a- -ngu</td>
<td>bangu</td>
<td>‘my / mine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 2nd pl</td>
<td>ba- -a- -ko</td>
<td>bako</td>
<td>‘your/yours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 1st pl</td>
<td>ba- -e- -su</td>
<td>bęsu</td>
<td>‘our / ours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 2nd pl</td>
<td>ba- -e- -nu</td>
<td>bęnu</td>
<td>‘your / yours’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Citonga person deictics (pronouns) in the above table belong to class 1 and 2. Morphologically, they can be analysed into three parts: a prefix, an infix and a stem. Furthermore, to realize these person deictics, either the process of coalescence or that of deletion is applied. It should also be noted that personal pronouns (e.g. mebo ‘I / me’) and possessive pronouns (e.g. bako ‘your/yours’) are presented together in this table.
Table 6: Two-prefix structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>VOCATIVE +PREFIX +STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANT</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; sg</td>
<td>nde- -mu- -ini</td>
<td>ndemwini</td>
<td>ndemukamwini</td>
<td>‘myself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 1 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; sg</td>
<td>o- -mu- -ini</td>
<td>omwini</td>
<td>omukamwini</td>
<td>‘yourself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; pl</td>
<td>to- -ba- -ini</td>
<td>tobeni</td>
<td>tobamukamwini</td>
<td>‘ourselves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class: 2 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; pl</td>
<td>no- -ba- -ini</td>
<td>nobeni</td>
<td>nobamukamwini</td>
<td>‘yourselves’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 above shows the Citonga person deictics (pronouns) which are in class 1 and 2. Their morphological form consists of a vocative prefix, a prefix and a stem.

4.5.3 Spatial Deictics in English

Spatial deictics (such as this and that, these and those, here and there) cannot be morphologically analysed into their respective structures because they are a closed class. In other words, they do not take any new functional morphemes either before or after them.

4.5.4 Spatial Deictics in Citonga

4.5.4.1 Demonstratives

The morphological analysis of Citonga demonstratives is illustrated in tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 below:
Table 7: Proximal demonstratives with a two-prefix structure (near the speaker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREPREFIX + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>o- -u- -yu</td>
<td>ooyu</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- -a- -ba</td>
<td>aaba</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o- -u- -yu</td>
<td>ooyu</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e- -i- -yi</td>
<td>eeyi</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e- -e- -li</td>
<td>eeli</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a- -a- -ya</td>
<td>aaya</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e- -e- -ci</td>
<td>eeci</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>e- -i- -zyi</td>
<td>eezyi</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e- -i- -yi</td>
<td>eeyi</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e- -i- -zyi</td>
<td>eezyi</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o- -u- -lu</td>
<td>oolu</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a- -a- -ka</td>
<td>aaka</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>o- -u- -tu</td>
<td>ootu</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o- -u- -bu</td>
<td>oobu</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o- -u- -ku</td>
<td>ooku</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 above shows some proximal demonstratives from class 1 to class 15. These classes depend on the Citonga noun class system. The table also shows that these demonstratives are formed with a preprefix then a prefix and then a stem. The structure of the stem is dependent on the structure of the prefix of its referent (i.e. the noun). In the morphological view of Guthrie (1967) quoted in Chanda (2007:71), a stem is “that part... [which]... remains after the removal of any concord prefix.” For example, ci in ciintu (noun) eeci (demonstrative) is a concord prefix.
Table 8: Proximal demonstratives with a one-prefix structure (close and enveloping the speaker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u- -u- -no</td>
<td>uuno</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- -ba- -no</td>
<td>abano</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u- -u- -no</td>
<td>uuno</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i- -i- -no</td>
<td>iino</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e- -li- -no</td>
<td>elino</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a- -a- -no</td>
<td>aano</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e- -ci- -no</td>
<td>ecino</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -no</td>
<td>ezyino</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i- -i- -no</td>
<td>iino</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -no</td>
<td>ezyino</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o- -lu- -no</td>
<td>oluno</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a- -ka- -no</td>
<td>akano</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>o- -tu- -no</td>
<td>otuno</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o- -bu- -no</td>
<td>obuno</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o- -ku- -no</td>
<td>okuno</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphological structure of the proximal demonstratives in table 8 above is formed with a prefix then a stem and then a suffix. The structure of the stem is derived from the prefix of a noun it refers to (i.e. its referent). The suffix ‘-no’ is attached to the end of a stem. Supporting this view, Doke (1935:206) defines a suffix as “an affix attached to the end of a word or stem.” Pragmatically, the suffix ‘-no’ indicates that the speaker is actually “on the spot.” In other words, ‘-no’ indicates time and space.
Table 9: Distal demonstratives with a two-prefix structure (near the addressee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREPREFIX + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>o- -u- -yo</td>
<td>ooyo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- -a- -bo</td>
<td>aabo</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o- -u- -yo</td>
<td>ooyo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e- -i- -yo</td>
<td>eeyo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e- -e- -lyo</td>
<td>eelyo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a- -a- -yo</td>
<td>aayo</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e- -e- -co</td>
<td>eeco</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>e- -i- -zyo</td>
<td>eezyo</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e- -i- -yo</td>
<td>eeyo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e- -i- -zyo</td>
<td>eezyo</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o- -u- -lo</td>
<td>oolo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a- -a- -ko</td>
<td>aako</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>o- -u- -to</td>
<td>ooto</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o- -u- -bo</td>
<td>oobo</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o- -u- -ko</td>
<td>ooko</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distal demonstratives in table 9 above are formed with a preprefix then a prefix and then a stem which ends with a vowel ‘o’.
Table 10: Distal demonstratives with a one-prefix structure (far from both the speaker and addressee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u- -u- -(l)ya</td>
<td>uu(l)ya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- -ba- -ya</td>
<td>abaya</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u- -u- -(l)ya</td>
<td>uu(l)ya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i- -i- -(l)ya</td>
<td>iilya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e- -li- -ya</td>
<td>eliya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a- -a- -lya</td>
<td>aalya</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e- -ci- -ya</td>
<td>eciya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -ya</td>
<td>eziya</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i- -i- -(l)ya</td>
<td>iilya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -ya</td>
<td>eziya</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o- -lu- -ya</td>
<td>oluya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a- -ka- -ya</td>
<td>akaya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>o- -tu- -ya</td>
<td>otuya</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o- -bu- -ya</td>
<td>obuya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o- -ku- -ya</td>
<td>okuya</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 above shows the distal demonstratives which are formed with a prefix then a stem and then a suffix. The suffix ‘-(l)ya’ indicates space. In other words, it shows that something is far from both the speaker and the person spoken to.

4.5.4.2 Locatives

The morphological analysis of Citonga locatives is shown in tables 11, 12, 13 and 14 below:
Table 10: Distal demonstratives with a one-prefix structure (far from both the speaker and addressee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u- -u- -(l)ya</td>
<td>uu(l)ya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- -ba- -ya</td>
<td>abaya</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u- -u- -(l)ya</td>
<td>uu(l)ya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i- -i- -(l)ya</td>
<td>iilya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e- -li- -ya</td>
<td>eliya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a- -a- -lya</td>
<td>aalya</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>e- -ci- -ya</td>
<td>eciya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -ya</td>
<td>eziyiya</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i- -i- -(l)ya</td>
<td>iilya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e- -zyi- -ya</td>
<td>eziyiya</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>o- -lu- -ya</td>
<td>oluva</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a- -ka- -ya</td>
<td>akaya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>o- -tu- -ya</td>
<td>otuya</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o- -bu- -ya</td>
<td>obuya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o- -ku- -ya</td>
<td>okuya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 above shows the distal demonstratives which are formed with a prefix then a stem and then a suffix. The suffix ‘-(l)ya’ indicates space. In other words, it shows that something is far from both the speaker and the person spoken to.

4.5.4.2 Locatives

The morphological analysis of Citonga locatives is shown in tables 11, 12, 13 and 14 below:
Table 11: Proximal locatives with a two-prefix structure (near the speaker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREPREFIX + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a- -a- -wa</td>
<td>aawa</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o- -u- -ku</td>
<td>ooku</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>o- -u- -mu</td>
<td>oomu</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 above shows some proximal locatives from class 16 to 18. These deictic classes, like those of demonstratives, depend on the Citonga noun class system. The table also indicates that the proximal locatives are formed with a preprefix then a prefix, and finally a stem.

Table 12: Proximal locatives with a one-prefix structure (close and enveloping the speaker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a- -a- -no</td>
<td>aano</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>o- -ku- -no</td>
<td>okuno</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>o- -mu- -no</td>
<td>omuno</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proximal locatives in table 12 above are formed with a prefix, a stem and a suffix. The suffix, ‘-no’, just like that of the demonstratives, pragmatically indicates that the speaker is “on the spot” (i.e. it shows space).

Table 13: Distal locatives with a two-prefix structure (near the addressee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREPREFIX + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a- -a- -wo</td>
<td>aawo</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o- -u- -ko</td>
<td>ooko</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>o- -u- -mo</td>
<td>oomo</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distal locatives in the above table are formed with a preprefix, a prefix and then a stem. The stem ends with a vowel ‘o’.
Table 14: Distal locatives with a one-prefix structure (far from both the speaker and addressee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a- -a- -lya</td>
<td>aalya</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o- -ku- -ya</td>
<td>okuya</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>o- -mu- -ya</td>
<td>omuya</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 14 above, distal locatives are formed with a prefix, a stem and a suffix. The suffix indicates that a thing being pointed at is far from both the speaker and the person spoken to.

4.5.5 Temporal Deictics in Citonga

4.5.5.1 Individual Deictics

Individual deictics, including eno ‘now’; (e)elvo ‘then’ – future time; (e)liya ‘then’ – past time; (i)jilo ‘yesterday’ and (i)juunza ‘tomorrow’ can be morphologically analysed except the deictic sunu ‘today,’ which does not have an initial vowel. This finding is illustrated in the following tables below: 15, 16 and 17.

Table 15: Proximal temporal deictics with an initial vowel and a stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL + STEM VOWEL</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e- -no</td>
<td>eno</td>
<td>ono,</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 above shows a proximal temporal deictic eno ‘now’ formed with an initial vowel and a stem. Note that the variants ono and ino have the same morphological structure as eno.

Table 16: Distal temporal deictics with an initial vowel, a prefix and a stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL + PREFIX + STEM VOWEL</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e- -li- -o</td>
<td>eelyo</td>
<td>‘then’ – future time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- -li- -a</td>
<td>eliya</td>
<td>‘then’ – past time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distal temporal deictics in the above table are formed with an initial vowel, a prefix and a stem.

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### Table 17: Distal temporal deictics with stemless nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL + NOMINAL VOWEL</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANT</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i-) -jilo</td>
<td>(i)jilo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i-) -juunza</td>
<td>(i)juunza</td>
<td>cifumo</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø - -sunu</td>
<td>sunu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 17 above, the distal temporal deictics with stemless nominals are formed with an initial vowel and a nominal. Note that the deictic **sunu** does not have an initial vowel. Thus, the symbol Ø indicates the absence of an initial vowel.

#### 4.5.5.2 Deictic Phrases

These have some elements which can be analysed morphologically and others which cannot. For example, in the proximal temporal phrase ‘**nsondo ino**’ ‘this week’, the noun **nsondo** cannot be analysed while the demonstrative pronoun **ino** can be analysed into two parts: the initial vowel ‘i-’ and the stem ‘-no’. In addition, some phrases include a predicate in their structure as is the case with **nsondo eyi yamana** ‘this last week’; **nsondo yamana** ‘last week’; **nsondo eyi italika** ‘this next week’ and **nsondo italika** ‘next week’. Thus, the demonstrative **eyi** ‘this’ and the predicates **yamana** ‘last one’ and **italika** ‘one starting’ can easily be analysed. Table 18 below shows the morphological analysis of these expressions in their syntactical arrangement:

### Table 18: Distal temporal deictic phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL + INITIAL + DEMONSTRATIVE + SUBJECT + TENSE + VERBAL + VOWEL MARKER</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nsondo</strong> e- -eyi- -i- -a- -man- -a</td>
<td>nsondo eeyi yamana</td>
<td>‘this last week’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nsondo</strong> -i+a- -ka- -man- -a</td>
<td>nsondo yakamana</td>
<td>‘last week’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nsondo</strong> e- -eyi- -i- -talik- -a</td>
<td>nsondo eeyi italika</td>
<td>‘this next week’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nsondo</strong> -i- -talik- -a</td>
<td>nsondo italika</td>
<td>‘next week’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 above shows the distal temporal deictic phrases in their syntactical arrangement. This arrangement starts with a nominal which is followed by an initial vowel, a demonstrative, a subject marker, a tense marker, a verbal root and then a vowel suffix ‘-a’.
4.5.6 **Social Deictics in Citonga**

The data from this study demonstrates five subcategories of social deictics, namely equal status, unequal status, familiarity, pejorative expressions and clan membership.

4.5.6.1 **Equal Status**

The study noted that in Citonga, the social deictics, including the pronoun *yebo* ‘you’, the forename (e.g. Cheelo) and the surname (e.g. Hanyama), are used by the speaker to address the listener with a social status equal to that of the speaker. The morphological analysis of the pronoun *yebo* ‘you’ has already been illustrated in table 5 section 4.5.2.

4.5.6.2 **Unequal Status**

This social relationship is encoded from two perspectives: LOWER to HIGHER and HIGHER to LOWER. The former is encoded by the speaker with a lower social status, addressing the listener with a higher status. For instance, a young girl, Miyanda, may address her mother in this way: “*Nywebo* baama tamundiyandi!” ‘You don’t love me, mother!’ Another example is where, say, the subject addresses a chief as follows: “Nobamwami Monze, amutwaambile Lwiindi-Gonde mbolwakatalika.” ‘Your Royal Highness, Chief Monze, could you tell us how the Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony started.’ The latter (i.e. HIGHER to LOWER) is encoded by the speaker with a higher social status addressing the listener with a lower status. For instance, a father may address his son, Haamakala as follows: “*Yebo*, Haamakala, koboola kuno!” ‘You, Haamakala, come here!’ In the investigation of this social relationship, the study noted that only the speaker with a higher social status has the socio-cultural authority to address the listener without putting the honorific prefix ‘ba-’ before the forename or surname.

4.5.6.2.1 **LOWER to HIGHER: Morphological Analysis**

The social deictics in this subcategory are in two sets. The first one has the following morphological structure: ‘PREFIX + STEM.’ The deictic *nywebo* ‘you’ falls in this group (see table 5 section 4.5.2). The second consists of the structure ‘VOCATIVE PREFIX + HONORIFIC PREFIX + PREFIX + STEM.’ This is illustrated in table 19 below:

---

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Table 19: The structure ‘vocative prefix + honorific prefix + prefix + stem’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOCATIVE + HONORIFIC + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -mu- -ami</td>
<td>nobamwami</td>
<td>bamwami, baleli</td>
<td>‘Your Royal Highness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -si- -lutwe</td>
<td>nobasilutwe</td>
<td>basilutwe, basololi</td>
<td>‘the leader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -si- -cuuno</td>
<td>nobasicuuno</td>
<td>sicuuno</td>
<td>‘the chairperson’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table, the vocative prefix is followed by an honorific prefix, a prefix and then a stem.

NOTE: The prefix ‘-ba-’ in this context is an indicator of respect. It is commonly referred to as ‘the honorific prefix ‘ba’. In other context, it is a plural prefix.

4.5.6.2.2 HIGHER to LOWER: Morphological Analysis

The morphological structure of this subcategory is shown in table 20 below:

Table 20: The structure ‘prefix + infix + stem’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + INFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>i- -e- -bo</td>
<td>yebo</td>
<td>‘you’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ni- -u- -bo</td>
<td>nywebo</td>
<td>‘you’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ba- -a- -ko</td>
<td>bako</td>
<td>‘your/yours’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba- -e- -nu</td>
<td>benu</td>
<td>‘your/yours’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 above shows that the social deictics indicating higher to lower morphological analysis have a prefix which is followed by an infix and then a stem (see table 5 section 4.5.2).

4.5.6.3 Familiarity

The deictics in this subcategory indicate that the speaker and the addressee are familiar with each other. These deictics normally take the form ‘VOCATIVE PREFIX + PREFIX + STEM’ as illustrated in table 20 below:
Table 21: The structure ‘vocative prefix + prefix + stem’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOCATIVE + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mu- -enzuma</td>
<td>omweenzuma</td>
<td>mwana, syacilongwe,</td>
<td>‘my friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muyandwa, mulongwaangu,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mwana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -daala</td>
<td>nobadaala</td>
<td>nobanene, banene, omunene</td>
<td>‘old man’ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -cembele</td>
<td>nobacembele</td>
<td>mucembele, omucembele</td>
<td>‘old lady’ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mu- -selama</td>
<td>omuselama</td>
<td>omunenema, mukulana</td>
<td>‘age mate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mo- -oye</td>
<td>omooye</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘young lady’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the deictics that are formed with a vocative prefix, a prefix and a stem.

4.5.6.4 Pejorative Deictics

These deictics show that the speaker disapproves of the behaviour and character of the addressee. They are marked by two types of prefixes: the diminutive and augmentative prefixes. The diminutive prefixes primarily indicate small size as is the case with ‘ka-’ in kana. The augmentative ones basically indicate large size as is the case with ‘ca-’ in cana; ‘dy-a-’ in dyana or ‘lya-’ in lyana. Table 21 below shows diminutive pejorative deictics (DPD) while table 22 indicates augmentative pejorative deictics (APD):

Table 22: Diminutive pejorative deictics (DPD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMINUTIVE + INFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka- -a- -na</td>
<td>kana</td>
<td>‘small useless child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka- -i- -anga</td>
<td>kayanga</td>
<td>‘foolish person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 above shows the diminutive pejorative deictics which are formed with a diminutive prefix which is followed by an infix and then a stem.
Table 21: The structure ‘vocative prefix + prefix + stem’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOCATIVE + PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mu- -enzuma</td>
<td>omweenzuma</td>
<td>mwana, syacilongwe, muyandwa, mulongwaangu,</td>
<td>‘my friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mwana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -daala</td>
<td>nobadaala</td>
<td>nobanene, banene, omunene</td>
<td>‘old man’ – honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no-) -ba- -cembele</td>
<td>nobacembele</td>
<td>mucembele, omucembele</td>
<td>‘old lady’ – honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mu- -selama</td>
<td>omuselama</td>
<td>omunenema, mukulana</td>
<td>‘age mate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o-) -mo- -oye</td>
<td>omooye</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘young lady’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the deictics that are formed with a vocative prefix, a prefix and a stem.

4.5.6.4 Pejorative Deictics

These deictics show that the speaker disapproves of the behaviour and character of the addressee. They are marked by two types of prefixes: the diminutive and augmentative prefixes. The diminutive prefixes primarily indicate small size as is the case with ‘ka-’ in kana. The augmentative ones basically indicate large size as is the case with ‘ca-’ in cana; ‘dyा-’ in dyana or ‘lya-’ in lyana. Table 21 below shows diminutive pejorative deictics (DPD) while table 22 indicates augmentative pejorative deictics (APD):

Table 22: Diminutive pejorative deictics (DPD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMINUTIVE + INFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka- -a- -na</td>
<td>kana</td>
<td>‘small useless child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka- -i- -anga</td>
<td>kayanga</td>
<td>‘foolish person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 above shows the diminutive pejorative deictics which are formed with a diminutive prefix which is followed by an infix and then a stem.
Table 23: Augmentative pejorative deictics (APD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUGMENTATIVE + INFIX + STEM PREFIX</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANT(S)</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-na cana</td>
<td>dyana, lyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-ang liyanga</td>
<td>dyanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23 above shows the augmentative pejorative deictics formed with an augmentative prefix which is followed by an infix and then a stem.

4.5.6.5 Clan Membership

In the citonga social deictic system, there are twelve clan names (which originally came from birds, animals, insects and mushrooms to name but a few) used as social deictic expressions. These are Muleya, Muloongo, Mucindu, Munsanje, Mudenda, Munsaka, Mukonka, Muyuni, Muzyamba, Mwiinde, Mweetwa and Muntanga. According to cultural conventions, the real clan name of a Tonga person is the matrilineal rather than the patrilineal one. The latter is reserved for praise by parents, grandparents and other elderly members of the clan. In a face-to-face speech situation, for example, a mother may address a boy child in this way: “Fwambaana, Mudenda, omunasyaalyoonda!” which can be literally glossed as ‘Hurry up, Mudenda – you from the elephant clan!’ By calling and praising the boy child using his clan name (which is also the clan name of his father), the mother wants to show respect to her husband in an indirect way (Chiiilauka, 1989:1-3). Thus, when a Citonga clan name identifies the speaker or the addressee as belonging to a particular clan, it is said to be socially deictic.
### Table 24: Clan names as social deictics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC CLASS No.</th>
<th>PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANT(S)</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -leya</td>
<td>Muleya</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘goat /duiker/vulture/black ant/termite clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -loonga</td>
<td>Muloonga</td>
<td>Mucimba</td>
<td>‘monkey/bush baby clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -cindu</td>
<td>Mucindu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘lion/green or black mamba/chicken/rain clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -nsanje</td>
<td>Munsanje</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘hare/honey bird clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -denda</td>
<td>Mudenda</td>
<td>Mukkuli</td>
<td>‘elephant/rhino/ant/chameleon /pig/tortoise clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -nsaka</td>
<td>Munsaka</td>
<td>Munkombwe, Mwaanga</td>
<td>‘dog(one with long fur) /cat/bee/wasp/beer clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -konka</td>
<td>Mukonka</td>
<td>Moono, Munacoonga</td>
<td>‘cattle/buffalo/puff adder clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -yuni</td>
<td>Muyuni</td>
<td>Mucanga, Mupande</td>
<td>‘bird/sorghum clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -zyamba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Muzyamba</td>
<td>‘hyena/springhare clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -inde</td>
<td>Mwiinde</td>
<td>Mugande</td>
<td>‘pigeon/dove/sheep clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -etwa</td>
<td>Mweetwa</td>
<td>Mutale, Muvwandu</td>
<td>‘frog/crocodile/fish/hippo/ water monitor/turtle clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Mu- -ntanga</td>
<td>Muntanga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘dog (one with short fur) / zebra / donkey / jackal / mushroom clan’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clan names in the above table have the following morphological structure: a **prefix** and a **stem**.

#### 4.5.7 Discourse Deictics in Citonga

Two subcategories of discourse deictics were noted: temporal and spatial discourse deictics. These often overlap especially in school examination instructions. For example, instruction number 5 from the 2008 School Certificate and General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level Examination paper was as follows: Langa mukozyangyo uupedwe **munselelo** omu. Lino ayebo kocita mbubwena kumabala **saccilia**, ‘Look at an example given here **below**. Now do the **next** activity after the example.’

pg. 36
4.5.7.1 Temporal Discourse Deictics

These deictics, including *ciboola* ‘next one’ and *cayinda* ‘last one’, take the following morphological structure: VERBAL SUBJECT PREFIX + VERBAL ROOT + SUFFIX ‘-a’. Table 24 below gives an illustration of this:

**Table 25: Temporal discourse deictics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL + INFIX + VERBAL + VOWEL</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td>SUFFIX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci-</td>
<td>- Ø-</td>
<td>-bool-</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-ind-</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ci-                             | - Ø-       | -bool-  | -a            | ciboola      |
| ciccilila, citobela,            |            |         |               |
| cizya                           |            |         |               |
| ca-                             | -a-        | -ind-   | -a            | cayinda      |
| camama, cagola, casimpa         |            |         |               |

The temporal discourse deictics in table 25 above are formed with a verbal subject prefix which is followed by an infix (or zero infix) then a verbal root, and finally the suffix ‘-a’.

4.5.7.2 Spatial Discourse Deictics

The vowel ‘a-’ (i.e. the prefix) added to a stem constitutes the morphological structure of these deictics such as *atala* ‘above’ and *ansi* ‘below’. This analysis is shown in table 26 below:

**Table 26: Spatial discourse deictics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFIX + STEM</th>
<th>REALISATION</th>
<th>VARIANT</th>
<th>ENGLISH GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a- -tala</td>
<td>atala</td>
<td>ajulu</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- -nsi</td>
<td>ansi</td>
<td>anselelo</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 26 above, the spatial discourse deictics are formed with a prefix and a stem.
4.6 Syntactic Positions of Deictic Expressions

4.6.1 Person Deictics in English

The study noted that personal deictics such as I and we occupy the subject position while me and us are placed in the object position. Notably, the deictic you occupies both positions. Consider the following examples:

(1) **Subject position**

   a. I planted maize last season.
   b. We are going to Livingstone tomorrow.
   c. You need to see the doctor today.

(2) **Object position**

   a. Mutinta met me in Choma.
   b. The chief wants to talk to us.
   c. Choolwe will pay you a visit next month.

   The deictics my, our and your occupy the prenominal position. In other words, they are placed before a noun. By contrast, mine, ours and yours are placed in the prenominal position (i.e. where a noun is inferred). The following examples illustrate this:

(3) **Prenominal position**

   a. The floods destroyed my house.
   b. We have freedom of speech in our country.
   c. Michelo is working in your garden.

   Radford (2001:269) defines a prenominal expression as “one which is positioned in front of a nominal (i.e. a noun expression).” He further states that “a and red are prenominal in an expression such as ‘a red car,’ because they precede the noun car” (Radford, 2001:269).

(4) **Prenominal position**

   a. These goats are mine.
   b. These gifts are ours.
c. The food in the pot is yours.

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:104) observe that reflexive deictics (reflexives) “occur in apposition, with positional mobility.” For instance, the reflexives ‘myself,’ ‘ourselves’ and ‘yourself’ occupy the medial and final positions as presented in (5) and (6):

(5) **Medial position**
   a. I *myself* have never been there.
   b. We *ourselves* have never been to the Kafue National Park.
   c. You *yourself* must see the chief.

(6) **Final position**
   a. I have never been there *myself*.
   b. We have never been to the Kafue National Park *ourselves*.
   c. You must see the chief *yourself*.

4.6.2 **Person Deictics in Citonga**

O’Brien (1992:25) notes that “in Tonga the order of appearance of items realizing subject and predicate is not as important as in English.” Thus, the person deictics such as mebo ‘I / me,’ swebo ‘we/us’ and yebo ‘you’ can appear in the pre-predicate and post-predicate positions. Equally, reflexives such as ndemukamwini ‘myself’ and omukamwini ‘yourself’ occupy these positions. (7) and (8) illustrate this:

(7) **Pre-predicate position**
   a. **Mebo** ndilaboola (Pred.). ‘I will come.’
   b. **Swebo** tulayinka (Pred.). ‘We are going.’
   c. **Yebo** koboola (Pred.) ‘(You) come!’
   d. **Ndemukamwini** ndilayinka (Pred.) ‘I myself will go.’
   e. **Omukamwini** ulajika (Pred.). ‘You yourself will cook.’

(8) **Post – predicate position**
   a. Ndilaboola (Pred.) **mebo**. ‘I will come.’
   b. Tulayinka (Pred.) **swebo**. ‘We are going.’
c. Koboola (Pred.) vebo. ‘(You) come!’

d. Ndilayinka (Pred.) ndemekamwini. ‘I will do the cooking myself.’

e. Ulajika (Pred.) omukanwini. ‘You will do the cooking yourself.’

Similarly, the possessive stems (equivalent of English pronouns) such as –ngu ‘my,’ –ko ‘your,’ –isu ‘our’ and –inu ‘your’ assume two syntactic positions (i.e. before or after a noun (N). These are exemplified below:

(9) **Before a noun**

a. Iyangu ng’anda (N) ilasweka.
   ‘My house has a leaky roof.’

b. Iwako mwana (N) wasika.
   ‘Your child has come.’

c. Iyesu ng’ombe (N) yafwa.
   ‘Our cow has died.’

d. Ivenu nchinga (N) iladula.
   ‘Your bicycle is expensive.’

(10) **After a noun**

a. Ng’anda (N) yangu ilasweka.

b. Mwana (N) wako wasika.

c. Ng’ombe (N) yesu yafwa.

d. Nchinga (N) yenu iladula.

4.6.3 **Spatial Deictics in English**

4.6.3.1 **Demonstratives**

Demonstratives in English occupy either a prenominal or pronominal position (See section 4.6.1 number (2) as shown in the examples below:

(11) **Prenominal position**

a. I don’t like this pen (N).

b. She wants these bananas (N).

c. That house (N) is big.

d. Those cars (N) are new.
(12) **Pronominal position**
   a. I don’t like **this**.
   b. She wants **these**.
   c. **That** is big.
   d. **Those** are new.

4.6.3.2 **Locatives**

The English locatives **here** and **there** do not have a fixed position. They can occur in the initial, medial and final positions of the sentence as presented in (13), (14) and (15) below:

(13) **Initial position**
   a. **Here** comes Moonga!
   b. **There** goes a very worried man!

(14) **Medial position**
   a. My friend **here** will show you the way.
   b. The switch over **there** controls the lights.

(15) **Final position**
   a. Cheelo lives **here**.
   b. Mweemba met me **there**.

4.6.4 **Spatial Deictics in Citonga**

4.6.4.1 **Demonstratives**

It was observed that Tonga demonstratives occur before or after a noun (N) as presented in the examples below:

(16) **Before a noun**
   a. **Aka** kasankwa (N) nkayumu.
      ‘This small boy is strong.’
   b. **Aba** bana (N) baya kumunzi.
‘These children are going to the village.’

c. **Ezvino** mpongo (N) nzizyengu.
   ‘These goats are mine.’

d. **Ako** kasimbi (N) mukatambule.
   ‘You welcome that small girl.’

e. **Alva** meenda (N) mabotu.
   ‘That water is clean.’

(17) **After a noun**

a. Kasankwa **aka** nkayumu.
   ‘This small boy is strong.’

b. Bana **aba** baya kumunzi.
   ‘These children are going to the village.’

c. Mpongo **ezvino** nzizyengu.
   ‘These goats are mine.’

d. Kasimbi **ako** mukatambule.
   ‘You welcome that small girl.’

e. Meenda **alva** mabotu.
   ‘That water is clean.’

Note that other Citonga demonstratives are shown in table 2 of section 4.4.2

4.6.4.2 **Locatives**

Citonga locatives, like the English ones, assume the initial, medial and final positions in a simple sentence as illustrated in (18), (19) and (20):

(18) **Initial position**

a. **Awa** mpaakafwida (Pred.) Mweemma (N).
   ‘Here is where Mweemma died.’

b. **Oku** kusyule (N) kwangu (Pron.) kulacisa (Pred.).
   ‘My back is aching.’

c. **Omu** mwaakafwida (Pred.) Mweemma (N).
   ‘Herein is where Mweemma died.’
(19) **Medial position**

a. Mpaakafwida (Pred.) *awa* Mweemba (N).
   ‘Mweemba died here.’

b. Kusyule (N) kwangu (Pron.) *oku* kulacisa (Pred.)
   ‘I have a pain here on my back.’

c. Mwaakafwida (Pred.) *omu* Mweemba (N).
   ‘Mweemba died herein.’

(20) **Final position**

a. Mweemba (N) mpaakafwida (Pred.) *awa*.
   ‘Mweemba died here.’

b. Kulacisa (Pred.) kusyule (N) kwangu (Pron.) *oku*.
   ‘There is a pain here on my back.’

c. Mweemba (N) mwaakafwida (Pred.) *omu*.
   ‘Mweemba died herein.’

Other locatives which equally assume these three syntactic positions are *ano, awo, alva, okuno, oko, okuya, omuno, omo* and *omuya* (see tables 11, 12, 13 and 14 in section 4.5.4.2).

4.6.5 **Temporal Deictics in English**

Some English temporal deictics such as *now* and *then* easily assume the initial, medial and final syntactic positions in a simple sentence. Others, including *yesterday, today, tomorrow, last/next week* and *this next / last week* usually occupy the initial and final positions. Rarely do they assume the medial position. (21), (22) and (23) illustrate this:

(21) **Initial position**

a. *Now* I am in Lusaka.

b. *Then* I will be in Lusaka.

c. *Yesterday* I was in Lusaka.

d. *Tomorrow* I will be in Lusaka.
(22) **Medial position**
   a. I am **now** in Lusaka.
   b. I will **then** be in Lusaka.

(23) **Final position**
   a. I am in Lusaka **now**.
   b. I will be in Lusaka **then**.
   c. I was in Lusaka **yesterday**.
   d. I will be in Lusaka **tomorrow**.

To a large extent, however, the syntactic positions of the temporal deictics in the above sentences depend on the discourse structure and considerations of cohesion.

4.6.6 **Temporal Deictics in Citonga**

4.6.6.1 **Temporal Deictics: High Positional Mobility**

The study noted that these deictics assume three syntactic positions (i.e. initial, medial and final positions) as exemplified by (24), (25) and (26) below:

(24) **Initial position**
   a. **Eno** ndiya ku Mapanza.
      ‘Now I am going to Mapanza.’
   b. **Juunza** tusekelela mwaka mupya.
      ‘Tomorrow we are celebrating the new year.’
   c. **Jilo** twakali kweembela ng’ombe.
      ‘Yesterday we were herding cattle.’
   d. **Sunu** tuya ku Monze.
      ‘Today we are going to Monze.’

(25) **Medial position**
   a. Ndiya **eno** ku Mapanza.
      ‘I am now going to Mapanza.’
   b. Tusekelela **juunza** mwaka mupya.
‘It is tomorrow when we are celebrating the new year.’
c. Twakali **jilo** ku ng’ombe.
   ‘It was yesterday when we went to herd some cattle.’
d. Tuya **sunu** ku Monze.
   ‘It is today when we are going to Monze.’

(26) **Final position**
a. Ndiya ku Mapanza **eno**.
   ‘I am going to Mapanza now.’
b. Tusekelela mwaka mupya **juunza**.
   ‘We are celebrating the new year tomorrow.’
c. Twakali ku ng’ombe **jilo**.
   ‘We were herding cattle yesterday.’
d. Tuya ku Monze **sunu**.
   ‘We are going to Monze today.’

4.6.6.2 **Temporal Deictics: Low Positional Mobility**

These deictics occupy two syntactic positions, namely initial and final positions. (27) and (28) illustrate this:

(27) **Initial Position**
a. **Eliya** ndakacili mwana.
   ‘Then I was young.’
b. **Elyo** ndinooli mudaala.
   ‘Then I will be an old man.’

(28) **Final position**
a. Ndakacili mwana **eliva**.
   ‘I was young then.’
b. Ndinooli mudaala **elyo**.
   ‘I will be an old man then.’
4.6.7 Social Deictics in Citonga

4.6.7.1 Equal Status

It was observed that the deictics under this sub-section occupy three syntactic positions (i.e. initial, medial and final positions) as shown in (29), (30) and (31) below:

(29) **Initial position**

a. *Yebo* koboola kuno!
   ‘(You) come here!’

b. *Yawe* kojika nsima!
   ‘You cook some nsima!’

c. *Mayaba*, koya ku cikolo!
   ‘Mayaba, go to school!’

(30) **Medial position**

a. Koboola *yebo* kuno!
   ‘Come here!’

b. Kojika *yawe* cakufwambaana!
   ‘Can you cook quickly please?’

c. Koya, *Mayaba*, ku cikolo!
   ‘Go to school, Mayaba!’

(31) **Final position**

a. Koboola kuno *yebo*!
   ‘Come here!’

b. Kojika cakufwambaama *yawe*!
   ‘Can you cook quickly please?’

   ‘Go to school, Mayaba!’

4.6.7.2 Unequal Status

These, too, assume three syntactic positions as exemplified by (32), (33) and (34) below:

(32) **Initial position**

a. *Nywebo* kamuboola kuno!
   ‘(You) come here!’
b. **Nobami** bangu amundijatile.
   ‘Your Royal Highness, forgive me.’

c. **Nobasicuuno**, amubaanziye bantu.
   ‘May the chair greet the gathering?’

(33) **Medial position**

a. Kamuboola **nywebo** kuno!
   ‘Come here!’

b. Amundijatile **nobami** bangu.
   ‘Forgive me, Your Royal Highness.’

c. Amubaanziye, **nobasicuuno**, bantu.
   ‘May the chair greet the gathering.’

(34) **Final position**

a. Kamuboola kuno **nywebo**!
   ‘Come here!’

b. Amundijatile **nobami**.
   ‘Forgive me, Your Royal Highness.’

c. Amubaanziye bantu **nobasicuuno**.
   ‘May the chair greet the gathering.’

4.6.7.3 **Familiarity**

It was also noted that the deictics under this sub-section occupy three positions in a sentence. Consider the following:

(35) **Initial position**

a. **Omunene**, amuboole kuno.
   ‘Old man, come here!’

b. **Mwana**, atweende kumucado.
   ‘My friend, let’s go to the wedding.’

c. **Omucembele** amundijikile nsima.
   ‘Old lady cook nsima for me.’

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(36) **Medial position**
   a. Amuboole **omunene** kuno.
      ‘Come here, old man!’
   b. Atweene, **mwana**, Kumucado.
      ‘Let’s go to the wedding, my friend!’
   c. Amundijikile, **omucembele**, nsima.
      ‘Cook nsima for me, old lady.’

(37) **Final position**
   a. Amuboole kuno **omunene**.
      ‘Come here, old man.’
   b. Atweene kumucado, **mwana**.
      ‘Let’s go to the wedding, my friend.
   c. Amundijikile nsima **omucembele**.
      ‘Cook nsima for me, old lady.’

4.6.7.4 **Pejorative Deictics**

These equally assume three syntactic positions as illustrated in (38), (39) and (40):

(38) **Initial position**
   a. **Cana**, koboola kuno!
      ‘You hopeless person! Come here!’
   b. **Lyana** kolilemeka!
      ‘Behave yourself, hopeless person!’
   c. **Kayanga** yebo koleka kubba!
      ‘Stop stealing! You foolish person!’

(39) **Medial position**
   a. Koboola, **cana**, kuno!
      ‘Come here! You hopeless person!’
   b. Kolilemeka, **lyana**, kaka!
      ‘Please, behave yourself. You hopeless person!’
   c. Koleka, **kayanga**, kubba!
      ‘Stop stealing! You foolish person!’
4.6.7.5 Clan Membership

Clan names such as Munsanje, Mudenda and Moono assume the initial, medial and final positions in a simple sentence. For instance, consider:

(41) Initial position

a. Munsanje, komwiita mweenzinyoko.
   ‘Munsanje, call your friend.’

b. Mudenda, katulya cimbwali.
   ‘Mudenda, let’s eat the sweet potatoes.’

c. Moono, leka kuuma mubwa!
   ‘Moono, stop hitting the dog!’

(42) Medial position

a. Komwiita, Munsanje, mweenzinyoko.
   ‘Call your friend, Munsanje!’

b. Katulya, Mudenda, cimbwali.
   ‘Mudenda, let’s eat the sweet potatoes.’

c. Leka, Moono, kuuma mubwa!
   ‘Stop hitting the dog, Moono!’

(43) Final position

a. Komwiita mweenzinyoko, Munsanje.
   ‘Call your friend, Munsanje.’

b. Katulya cimbwali, Mudenda.
'Let’s eat the sweet potatoes, Mudenda.'

c. Leka kuuma mubwa, **Moono**!
   ‘Stop hitting the dog, Moono!’

4.6.8 Discourse Deictics in English

4.6.8.1 Temporal Discourse Deictics: High Positional Mobility

These deictics occupy three syntactic positions as presented in (44), (45) and (46) below:

(44) **Initial position**
   a. **Earlier** the chapter discussed syntactic rules.
   b. **Later** the chapter will discuss syntactic rules.

(45) **Medial position**
   a. The chapter **earlier** discussed syntactic rules.
   b. The chapter will **later** discuss syntactic rules.

(46) **Final position**
   a. The chapter discussed syntactic rules **earlier**.
   b. The chapter will discuss syntactic rules **later**.

4.6.8.2 Temporal Phrasal Discourse Deictics: Low Positional Mobility

These deictics assume only two syntactic positions: the initial and final positions. This is because they are in phrasal form. Thus, they cannot be used in the medial position. Consider the following examples:

(47) **Initial position**
   a. **In the last paragraph**, symbolic deixis was discussed.
   b. **In the next chapter**, modes of communication will be discussed.

(48) **Final position**
   a. Symbolic deixis was discussed **in the last paragraph**.
   b. Modes of communication will be discussed **in the next chapter**.
4.6.8.3 Spatial Discourse Deictics

The English spatial discourse deictics such as this, that, above and below typically assume both the prenominal and pronominal positions as exemplified by (49) and (50) below:

(49) **Prenominal position**
   a. Ceelo told me this story.
   b. For an explanation, see the above section.

(50) **Prenominal position**
   a. That was a great story.
   b. Below are questions for you to answer.
   c. See the details above.

The deictic hereby, however, occurs in a fixed syntactic position between either the subject and the main verb or between the auxiliary and the main verb. It usually occurs in ritual speech acts (declarations) where the utterance changes the state of affairs. This can be seen in the examples below:

(51) a. I (S) hereby pronounce (M.V) you husband and wife.
   b. Notice (S) is (AUX.V) hereby served (M.V) that if payment is delayed, appropriate legal action will be taken.

4.6.9 Discourse Deictics in Citonga

4.6.9.1 Temporal Discourse Deictics

Temporal discourse deictics in Citonga such as cayinda, the equivalent of the English ‘last’ and ciciilila, the equivalent of the English ‘next’ occupy the prenominal and post-nominal positions. For instance, consider (52) and (53) below:

(52) **Prenominal position**
   a. Cayinda cibalo (N) calikukanana twaambyo twacitonga.
      ‘The last chapter discussed citonga proverbs.’
   b. Ciciilila cibalo (N) cikanana twaambyo twacitonga.
      ‘The next chapter discusses citonga proverbs.’
(53) **Post-nominal position**

a. Cibalo (N) *cayinda* calikukanana twaambyo twacitonga.
   ‘The last chapter discussed citonga proverbs.’

b. Cibalo (N) *cicilila* cikanana twaambyo twacitonga.
   ‘The next chapter discusses citonga proverbs.’

4.6.9.2 **Spatial Discourse Deictics**

Spatial discourse deictics in Citonga such as *atala awa*, the equivalent of the English ‘above’ and *ansi awa*, the equivalent of the English ‘below’ assume three syntactic positions. These are illustrated in (54), (55) and (56) below:

(54) **Initial position**

a. *Atala awa* twabala makani aabulimi.
   ‘Above, we have read about farming.’

b. *Ansi awa* alimibuzyo yosanwe.
   ‘Below are five questions for you to answer.’

(55) **Medial position**

   ‘Above, we have read about farming.’

b. Alimibuzyo yosanwe *ansi awa* njotiingule.
   ‘There are five questions below for you to answer.’

(56) **Final position**

a. Twabala makani aabulimi *atala awa*.
   ‘We have read about farming above.’

b. Alimibuzyo yosanwe njotiingule *ansi awa*.
   ‘There are five questions for you to answer below.’

4.7 **Gestural and Symbolic Usages of Deixis**

The study observed that both English and Citonga have two major usages of deixis, namely gestural and symbolic usages.
4.7.1 Gestural Usages of Deixis in English

Cruse (2000:24) observes that gestural deixtics “require for their interpretation continuous monitoring of relevant aspects of the speech situation.” Put another way, gestural usages of deictic terms (such as the English demonstratives ‘this’ and ‘that’) require for their understanding some sort of audio – visual information, direction of gaze, tone of voice and gestures. (57), (58), (59) and (60) below represent this:

(57) I want three pupils to sweep the classroom: you, you and you.
(58) This boy is hopeless, not that one.
(59) Put one stone here and the other one over there.
(60) Press the button when I give the word – now!

4.7.2 Symbolic Usages of Deixis in English

Bennett (2004:66) states that symbolic deixtics “rel[y] on a general knowledge of the speech situation” for their interpretation. In other words, symbolic usages of deictic terms require for their interpretation only basic knowledge of pragmatic indices such as speakers, addressees, places of utterance, times of utterance, discourse and social parameters. Consider the following examples:

(61) What did you say?
(62) I have lived in this country for twenty years.
(63) Hello, is Mutinta there?
(64) Let’s go to Kalomo now rather than tomorrow.

4.7.3 Gestural and Symbolic Usages of Deixis in Citonga

The gestural and symbolic usages of deixis in Citonga can be clearly explained within the contexts of the four major categories of the Citonga demonstratives: Proximate to the speaker, close and enveloping the speaker, proximate to the addressee, and remote from both the speaker, and the addressee.
4.7.3.1 Proximate to the Speaker

This category denotes that something is near the speaker. Figure 1 below illustrates this point:

(65) **Figure 1: Proximate to the Speaker**

In the above figure, Paramount Chief Monze Kapuwe uses the deictic **ovyu** ‘you’ in his utterance: "**Ovyu ngwamukowa wangu; ovyu munasinakooma.**" This is glossed as ‘This one is my clansman; this one is not.’ The truth-conditional meaning of this utterance depends on two deictic usages: gestural and symbolic. The gestural deictic usage depends on the fact that the hand gesture of the chief is low, the tone of his voice is equally low, and his gaze is in the direction of his addressees. The symbolic deictic usage, however, is based on the fact that the speaker is Paramount Chief Monze Kapuwe, the people spoken to are the attendees of the Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony, the place is the Gonde Rain Shrines in Monze, the time is exactly 14:53 hours (i.e. as precisely recorded on the screen of the researcher’s video camera), the date is 5th July, 2010, and the reason for his utterance is to introduce the two men to the listeners (i.e. the man holding a cob of maize is the relative of the chief and the other one behind is the interpreter of the speech of the chief).
4.7.3.2 Close and Enveloping the Speaker

This category indicates that something is near the speaker and is possibly covering him up completely. Figure 2 below illustrates this:

(66) Figure 2: Close and Enveloping the Speaker

In figure 2 above, Chief Monze uses the deictic kuno ‘here’ in his utterance: “Okuya nkuulwiindi; kuno nkuu Gonde.” This is glossed as ‘That place is Lwiindi; this one is Gonde.’ The truth-conditional semantics of this utterance depends on the gestural and symbolic deictic usages. The gestural deictic usage depends on the level of the Chief’s hand gesture which is low (i.e. when he uses the deictic kuno ‘here’) and the low tone of his voice. The symbolic deictic usage, however, depends on the fact that the speaker himself is Chief Monze, the people spoken to are the attendees of the Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony, the place is Gonde Rain Shrines its immediate surroundings, the time is exactly 14:50 hours, the date is 5th July, 2010, and the reason for the utterance is to familiarize the listeners with the Gonde area.
4.7.3.3 **Proximate to the Addressee**

This deictic usage denotes that something is far from the speaker but possibly near the addressee. Figure 3 below gives this illustration:

(67) **Figure 3: Proximate to the Addressee**

In figure 3 above, the builder uses the deictic ako ‘that’ in his utterance: “Leta ako kadina” which is glossed as ‘Bring that small brick.’ The truth-conditional meaning of this utterance depends on the gestural and symbolic deictic usages. The gestural deictic usage depends on the fact that the hand gesture of the builder is low, the tone of his voice is equally low, and his gaze is in the direction of his assistant. The symbolic deictic usage, by contrast, depends on the fact that the speaker is a builder, the addressee is his assistant, the place is Kabanze Basic School in Choma, the time is exactly 10:19 hours (i.e. as recorded on the screen of the researcher’s video camera), the date is 27th September, 2010, and the reason for his utterance is to order his assistant to give him a small brick.

4.7.3.4 **Remote from both the Speaker and the Addressee**

This gestural deictic usage indicates that both the speaker and the addressee are far from something being referred to. Figure 4 below illustrates this point:
In figure 4 above, Chief Monze uses the distal deictic *uulya* ‘that one’ in his utterance: “*Uulya* naakacili muyumu, uno wakali kulelwa kuli *uulya*.” This is glossed as ‘When that one (i.e. shrine of Monze Mayaba) was still alive, this one (i.e. shrine of Monze Nchete Iilya – Mabwe) was kept by that one.’ The truth-conditional meaning of this utterance depends on the gestural and symbolic deictic usages. The gestural deictic usage is based on the fact that the level of the chief’s fly-whisk gesture is high (i.e. when he uses the deictic *uulya* ‘that one’), the tone of his voice is high, and his gaze is directed towards the distant shrine of Monze Mayaba. The symbolic deictic usage, however, depends on the fact that the speaker is Chief Monze, the people spoken to are the attendees of the Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony, the place is the Gonde Rain Shrines, the referents are the two rain shrines (graves) of the departed former chiefs, the time is exactly 14:48 hours (i.e. as recorded on the screen of the researcher’s video camera), the date is 5th July, 2010, and the reason for the utterance is to show the listeners the aforementioned shrines.

4.8 Situational Use of Citonga Deictic Expressions

The study collected a corpus of spoken Citonga deictic expressions as they were used in various natural settings. Some situations such as the Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony, ploughing commentary and narrative provided data through video camera recordings. Others such as the
local court situation, mobile phone conversation, family situation and market situation provided the required data through unstructured observation (See 3.3.4.3).

4.8.1 Lwiindi – Gonde Ceremony

There are two situations below: one is about paramount Chief Monze Kapuwe addressing a gathering at the Gonde Rain Shrines; the other concerns two rain-prophets addressing a gathering at the Lwiindi Harvest Ceremony.

Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony

Mwami Monze Ukananina Bantu
Kumalende ku Gonde – 2010


Chief Monze Addressing a Gathering at the Gonde Rain Shrines – 2010

May I have your attention everyone. Where we are here [makes a sweep of his arm to show the geographical extent of the Gonde Area.], it is Gonde. There, it is Lwiindi [points in the direction of the Lwiindi Area.]. Now, this area is highly venerated. There are iron hoes buried around here [makes another sweep of his arm.]. For your own information, no one can steal these hoes. That cannot happen, you street vendors [steps forward, shaking his head emphatically and disapprovingly.]!

At this place, there are two chiefs who are buried. This chief buried here was Mayaba [points at the grave.]; that one over there was Nhete Lilya Mabwe (stone eater) [points in the direction of the second grave.].

Without wasting time, let’s go to that place [points at the place with his index finger.]. My friends, did you clean there [points at the same place again.]?

Ano abusena kulende bamami bobile. Oyu mwami uulede waawa, wakali kutegwa ngu Mayaba [watondeka cuumbwe.]; uulya ulioko kuya wakali kutegwa ngu Nhete Lilya Mabwe [watondeka kuli cuumbwe.].

Kutasowa ciindi, tulaunka abusena aalya [alimwi watondeka.]. Sena basa mwakakukula alya [watondeka alimwi.]?

Musvinysimi Haampande Ukananina
Bantu ku Lwiindi – 2010


Musvinysimi Jakalasi Ukananina Bantu
ku Lwiindi – 2010


Now, as I said there [points at the earlier spot.], this chief was Nchete lilya Mabwe [points at the grave.]. He used to eat special stones; he was eating while people were watching him. When that one was still alive [points at Mayaba’s grave.], this one [points at the grave of Nchete Ilyya Mabwe.] was kept by that one [points at Mayaba’s grave again.]. These are the chiefs who were highly respected. They performed real wonders. Thank you.

Rain-Prophet Haampande is Addressing a Gathering at Lwiindi Harvest Ceremony – 2010

My name is Haampande. We have just come from the Gonde Rain Shrines. Now, by virtue of the prophetic powers vested in us through the Gonde Rain Shrines, we are here to inform you that in this coming year (i.e. 2011), we shall receive a lot of rains. The maize cobs and pumpkins, such as the ones we have brought to this year’s Lwiindi-Gonde Ceremony, will equally be brought here next year. We believe so through our prophetic prowess. Thank you.

Rain-Prophet Jakalasi is Addressing a Gathering at Lwiindi Harvest Ceremony – 2010

My name is Jakalasi born of the Bakonka clan. I have no fear in prophesying rainfall patterns. Now, the rains of this coming year [points to the ground with his index fingers:] will be good. The maize crop will equally be good. However, let me state here that when the maize crop reaches this level [slightly stoops and makes a mock measurement of the invisible maize crop with his hands.], there will be a prolonged dry spell. Nevertheless, the harvest will be good. If this does not happen, I will give up my rain-prophetic powers! Thank you.
It is noted that in these situations, four major categories of deictic expressions are used, namely person deictics (e.g. mebo ‘I’, swebo ‘we’ and bwesu ‘ours’); the temporal deictic (e.g. ono ‘now’); the social deictic (e.g. basa ‘friends’), and spatial deictics which are subdivided into four referential distinctions: proximate to the speaker (e.g. the demonstrative deictics eecei ‘this’, ava ‘these’, oyu ‘this’, aba ‘these’ and obu ‘this’ and the locative deictic waawa ‘here’); proximate and enveloping the speaker (e.g. the demonstrative deictic uno ‘this’ and the locative deictic kuno ‘here’); proximate to the addressee (e.g. the demonstrative deictics eco ‘that’ and oyo ‘that’), and remote from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g. the demonstrative deictic elvo ‘that’ and uulya ‘that’ and the locative deictics kuya ‘there’ and aalya ‘there’).

4.8.2 Ploughing Commentary

Here the situation is based on the use of deictic expressions within the context of ploughing using two teams of oxen: one in front, the other behind. As the oxen pull the plough, the ploughing commentator runs his commentary.

Ploughing Commentary

Lonney Ulacaila

Holo! Holo, Dabbo! Atweende balombwana!
Holo! Holo, Black Bbomba! Atweende nobalombwanama! Boola kuno, Dabbo! Lomu, Black! Amuboole, basa!

Kocaila Choonga yawe! Amuzwe kumbele oko badaala! Amuleke kubasolweda basune. Ooowe! Ooowe! Holo, Black Bbomba!

Twasika awa [watondeka abusena.] ndimuluma kumucila kuti atalali oyu.

Atweende nobalombwanama! Holo, Black Bbomba! Holo!...

Ploughing Commentary by Lonney

Furrow! Furrow, Dabbo! Let’s go men! Furrow, Black Bbomba! Let’s go my fellow men! Come here, Dabbo! Turn round, Black! Come, friends!

Choonga, can you drive the oxen! Stop guiding the oxen there in front, old man! Oooweh! Oooweh! Furrow! Furrow, Black!

Whenever we reach here [points at the spot.], I bite his tail so that he does not lazily drop down onto the furrow.

Let’s go my fellow men! Furrow, Black Bbomba! Furrow!...

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In the above situation, the ploughing commentator addresses the oxen as well as the people he is working with. For instance, he addresses the oxen as balombwana ‘men’ or nobalombwanama ‘my fellow men.’ His choice of such deictic expressions is based on the fact that he and the animals are males. Consequently, he is able to use the social deictic basa ‘friends’ because he sees the oxen as partners in this ploughing activity. In addition, he uses the social deictic badaala ‘old man’ to address the old man guiding the oxen in front. Apart from his competent use of social deictics, the commentator uses three categories of spatial deictics: proximate to the speaker (e.g. oyu ‘this’ and awa ‘here’), proximate and enveloping the speaker (e.g. kuno ‘here’) and proximate to the addressee (e.g. oko ‘there’).

4.8.3 Narrative

This situation presents the use of deictic expressions within the framework of a narrative. The narrative is about how Kalulu (the hare) wanted to outsmart the tortoise but ultimately, the latter outwitted the former.

Narrative

Kaano


Narrative

Kalulu and Tortoise were once great friends. One day Kalulu decided to visit his in-laws. So he asked Tortoise to accompany him on a journey which is likened to that from here (Choma) to Chisekesi. Kalulu knew that ahead of them there were hosts who offered their visitors some groundnuts.

On the roadside, they saw some tufts of dry grass. Tortoise hid some in his shell. They reached their first stopover and their host offered them some groundnuts to roast. At that moment, Kalulu remembered the dry grass which they saw on their way.
“Nondo,” Sulwe wakaamba, “zuza ukalete twizu luva notwabona mumbali anzila!”

“Sulwe, mwana, wabaanzi! Mebo ndabweza twizu galva abusena. Ntootu!”

“Nondo, mwana, wandiinda kumaanu!”


“Nondo, mweenzuma,” Sulwe wakaamba, “koya kuva kumulonga ukalete njili zyobile!”

“Njili zyobile?”

“Inzya!”

“Sulwe wabaanzi. Mebo ndabweza alva njili yomwe. Njeevi!”


“Tortoise,” he ordered, “run to collect some tufts of grass which we saw by the road side!”

“Kalulu, my friend, what is wrong with you? I have collected some grass at that spot. Here it is!”

“Tortoise, you challenge my wisdom!”

This said, Kalulu refused to eat the groundnuts roasted by Tortoise. However, their trip continued afterwards. They reached a certain river crossing and saw some river snail shells. Tortoise hid one in his shell. On arrival at the second village, their host gave them some samp. At that moment, Kalulu remembered the river snail shells which they saw at the river crossing.

“My friend, Tortoise,” he said, “go back to the river crossing and bring two snail shells!”

“Two snail shells?”

“Yes!”

“Kalulu, what is wrong with you? I have collected one snail shell. Here it is!”

Disappointed, Kalulu never ate the meal. Nevertheless, they proceeded with their journey until they finally reached their destination. Everyone was asleep. There was no meal for the night visitors. Someone among them (hosts) woke up and led them to a goat-shelter to spend their night there. Hit by a pang of hunger, Kalulu woke up, slaughtered one goat and roasted the meat. He ate. Afterwards he got some goat-fat, smeared it on Tortoise’s lips and slept soundlessly.
Before dawn, Tortoise woke up and discovered he had some goat-fat on his lips. Quickly, he wiped his lips, got some goat-fat, smeared it on Kalulu’s lips and slept again. As Kalulu woke up in full view of his in-laws, he saw that he had some goat-fat on his lips and spots of blood all over his fingers. Puzzled, his in-laws asked him, “our son-in-law, where has all this blood come from? You have killed the goat! It is you with this kind of behaviour!” One course of action was obvious – killing Kalulu, too. And this was done.

The above narrative contains three major categories of deictic expressions which include person deictics (e.g. mebo ‘I’ and -nywe ‘you’); social deictics (e.g. mwana or mweenzuma ‘my friend’) and spatial deictics which are in four subcategories: proximate to the speaker (e.g. oyu ‘this’, obu ‘this’ and evi ‘this’); proximate and enveloping the speaker (e.g. waano ‘here’); proximate to the addressee (e.g. awo ‘there’) and remote from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g. kuya ‘there’, tuya ‘those’ and aalya ‘there’).

4.8.4 Local Court Situation

This local court situation concerns a case on adultery. Here, the complainant puts up the case against the defendant in the presence of a local court magistrate.

Local Court Situation

Makala: Haamainda, ncinzi cinicini ncoondileta kuno ku nkuta?

Haamainda: Yebo. Makala, ndakakujata bulale amukaintu wangu oyu. [watondeka mukaintu wakwe.]

Makala: Haamainda, mbumboni nzi

Makala: Haamainda, why have you brought me to this court?

Haamainda: Makala, I caught you red-handed committing adultery with my wife. [points at his wife.]

Makala: Haamainda, what real evidence do
bwinibwini mbojisi butondezya kuti yebo wakandijja bulale amukaintu wako oovu? [watondeka mukaintu wa Haamainda.]

Omu mwakali mung’anda iiya iiilaatongo lya Chinkuli. Akali akaandabwe kamasiku.

Mubesi: [wanyamuna kwaanza amane wakuyumbila kuli Makala.] Makala, ngaayo makani omulombwanama. Sena mbwini kuti wakasyanga ‘mbuto’ yako muli mukamuntu?

Magistrate: [with an arm gesture directed at Makala.]
‘Makala, there lies a case before you my fellow man. Did you really sow your ‘seed’ in another man’s wife?’

Haamainda: [points at Haamainda’s wife.]
He is there outside – in that shade! [screws up his face and points in the direction of Moyo Chiefdom.] This one appeared before the
bakamubeteka **oku** kwa Moyo n Kotuzwa. **Omu** mwakali mu ‘faii Sekutemba tweenti teeni.’

village court there at Moyo. This was on 5th September, 2010.

**Mubetesi:** Masinja!

**Magistrate:** Messenger!

**Masinja:** Mwami!

**Messenger:** Your Worship!

**Mubetesi:** Baite banjile **muno basibbuku**
Haagunta!

**Magistrate:** Let Headman Haagunta come in!

**Masinja:** Mbombubo, **Mwami**!

**Messenger:** Yes, Your Worship!

In this situation, the speaker’s choice of deictic expressions to address the listener largely depends on the social status of the latter. This includes equal status, unequal status and level of familiarity. For example, both the complainant and the defendant address each other using the person deictic **yebo** ‘you’ because they stand as equals before the court. The magistrate addresses the defendant using the social deictic **omulombwanama** ‘my fellow man’ on the basis of being both males. Furthermore, the use of the social deictics **mwami** ‘Your Worship’ and **basibbuku** ‘the village headman’ are based on the social rank of the addressee (i.e. the speaker and the addressee have an unequal social status). In addition, the complainant uses the temporal deictic phrase **faii Sekutemba tweenti teeni** ‘5th September, 2010’ to point out the time when the event happened. Finally, the spatial deictics used here operate within the four-way referential system: proximate to the speaker (e.g. **eece** ‘this’ and **omu** ‘here’) or on the speaker (e.g. **oku** ‘here’ as in **kusyule oku** ‘here on my back’); proximate and enveloping the speaker (e.g. **kuno** ‘here’ and **muno** ‘here’); proximate to the addressee (e.g. **ayo** ‘those’ and **ovo** ‘that’) and remote from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g. **iilva** ‘that’, **alva** ‘there’ and **oku** ‘there’ as in **oku kwa Moyo** ‘there at Moyo’).

4.8.5 **Mobile Phone Conversation**

This conversation concerns two brothers. One is in town, the other in the village. After exchanging some greetings, the one in town shows some readiness to assist the other in the village. And during the course of their conversation, deictic expressions are being used.
**Mobile Phone Conversation**

Isaac: Haloo! Halo, *mudaala!*

Lonney: *[wagusya sooni munkomo, wajitata amaanza obile akwiibika kukutwi kwakululyo.]*
Halo! Mwapona *oko* kwa ‘Cooma.’

Isaac: Twapona *mudaala*, Mwapona *oko* abana kumunzi?

Lonney: Twapona.

Isaac: Kamwaamba sensa mulalima *oko* na?

Lonney: Nee, tatulimi. Ndapatila *badaala, Ulya* musune ngundakaula ku Mbeza mwakali …

Isaac: Inzya.

Lonney: …wakufwa denkete *evi nsono* *yamana.*

Isaac: Cabija wee!

Lonney: Yaa, syita naa ndilasyanga buti *uno mwaka!*

Isaac: Atucite so, muboole *kuno* ndiza inga twakapula tungwe twakuti muule umbi musene


Isaac: ‘Hallo! Hallo, ‘old man’!’

Lonney: *[pulls his phone out of his pocket, holds it with both hands and presses it against his right ear.]*
‘Hallo! How’re you there in Choma?’

Isaac: ‘We’re all right. Are you all right with the children there in the village?’

Lonney: ‘We’re all right.’

Isaac: ‘Tell me, are you engaged in farming there?’

Lonney: ‘No, we’re not. I’m in trouble, ‘old man.’ That ox which I bought from Mbeza last year…

Isaac: ‘Yes.’

Lonney: …died of corridor disease this last week.’

Isaac: ‘That’s sad!’

Lonney: ‘Well, I don’t know how I’m going to plant this year!’

Isaac: ‘Let’s do this, you come here. Possibly, we’ll find a little money to enable you to buy another ox?’

Lonney: ‘Thank you, ‘old man’. I’ll board a canter truck tomorrow. The Tonga ancestors once said: “If today you

Lonney: Bbaai!

Isaac: That’s all right. Sorry, I’ve very little air time in my phone. See you when they drop you off. Bye!

Lonney: Bye!

In this conversation, the social relationship between the two brothers is based on almost the same equal social status. The fact that Isaac uses the prefix ‘mu-’ in the slightly less honorific social deictic mudaala ‘old man’ and Lonney uses the prefix ‘ba-’ in the honorific social deictic badaala ‘old man’ is a clear indication that the latter is younger than the former. In addition to social deictics, the participants in this communicative event use the three other categories of deictics, namely person deictics (e.g. vangu ‘mine’); temporal deictics (e.g. juunza ‘yesterday’, uno mwaka ‘this year’ and evi nsondo yamana ‘this last week’), and spatial deictics which are divided into four subcategories: remote from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g. uiva ‘that’); proximate to the addressee (e.g. oko ‘there’); proximate and enveloping the speaker (e.g. kuno ‘here’) and proximate to the speaker (e.g. oму ‘here’).

4.8.6 Family Situation

This situation is about a father (in a village set-up) instilling a sense of responsibility in his son who is supposed to look after the family goats especially the kid.

Family Situation

Usyi: [uлимvwi mune aacaanda campongo akwiita mwana wakwe, Choonga.] Choonga! Choonga! yawe!

Father: [is standing near the goat-shelter and calling his son, Choonga.] ‘Choonga! Choonga!’

Choonga: ‘Father!’

Usyi: [watondeka kung’anda.] Kozwa oму mung’anda!

Father: [points at the house.] ‘Come out of the house!’

Choonga: ‘Father!’

Choonga: [wazwa anze ujisi nkapu yabbwatu.] Ndalikuteka bbwatu munongo.

Choonga: [comes out while holding a cup of sweet beer.]
Usyi: [watondeka nkapu.]
Siya nkapu eeye mung’anda.
Ucita mbulikuti wakalala aanzala jilo.
Koboola kuno kucaanda campongo.
[woobola Choonga.]

‘I was drawing some sweet beer from the earthen pot.’

Father: [points at the cup.]
‘Leave that cup in the house.
You behave as though you slept hungry yesterday.
Come to the goat-shelter.’
[beckons to Choonga.]

Choonga: [comes out and goes to the goat-shelter.]
‘Here I am, father.’

Usyi: [watondeka kana kampongo.]
Sena inga ulakaanga aka kana kampongo lyoonse?

‘Do you usually tether this kid?’

Choonga: ‘No, father. I just leave it like this. It accompanies its mother goat.’


Usyi: Masyikati weelede kuti lyoonse kokaanga alva munsì abutala. [watondeka kubutala.]
Takeelede kwinka okuya kucisaka inga bakajaya babwa ba Benard. [watondeka kucisaka.]

Father: ‘During the day, you should always tether it under the maize barn.’ [points at the maize barn.]
‘It shouldn’t go to that bush because it might be killed by Benard’s dogs.’ [points at the bush.]

In the above conversation, the social relationship is based on an unequal social status. Put another way, the father has a higher social status than the son. Therefore, the choice of deictic expressions depends on this social relationship that exists between the two. In addition, there are six categories of deictics that are used, namely person deictics (e.g. yawe ‘you’ and -me ‘I’); temporal deictic (e.g. jilo ‘yesterday’); deictics indicating proximity to the speaker (e.g. aka ‘this’ and obu ‘this’); deictics indicating the state of proximity and enveloping the speaker (e.g. kuno ‘here’ and ano ‘here’); deictics indicating proximity to the addressee (e.g. omo ‘there’ and eeye ‘that’) and deictics indicating remoteness from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g. alva ‘there’ and okuya ‘there’). It is also noted that some deictic items such as alva, okuya, aka, kuno, omo and eeye are accompanied by an arm gesture.

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4.8.7 **Market Situation**

This situation is about business involving a herbalist, a kapenta seller and a market shopper. They are at Makkala Nguzu Market in Choma.

**Market Situation**

**Musilisi:**  
[Uleendeenda kumwi ujisi  
megafooni kukwaanza  
kwakulumwensyi uloolomoka.  
Kwaanza kwalulyo koobola bantu  
bayanda kuula amusika.  
Mukkona lyomwe lya kanseme  
kamabu weengezyede tubbodela  
tutuba tzuzidze micelo yamaanzi;  
muli limbi ubikkide tukomokomo  
twatupasitiikidze tusidze tucelo  
twabusubusu. Akati kakanseme  
kuli miyanda yamicelo  
iiisyenyesiyan].

Hallo! Hallo! Badokota bameno mbabano kuno! [Amane wayoba  
akaambyo kakwe kampindu.]

"No’ meno. ‘no’ kkisi, ‘no’  
kulya kaboru?"  
[woobola mukaintu uuyinda  
afwaaflw anampulisa.]

Amusike ano baama. Kamuboola  
kuno mucembele.

**Herbalist:**  
[Restlessly, he moves from side to  
side while holding a megaphone  
in his left hand. He is shouting  
through it. His right hand is  
beckoning to the market  
shoppers. On one corner of a  
reed-mat he has displayed a set of  
small white bottles full of liquid  
concoctions; on the other he has  
put small plastic packets with  
some powdery stuff. In the middle  
are an assortment of herbs in root  
form].

‘Hallo! Hallo! The ‘dentist’ is  
here!’

[Later he shouts his advertising  
slogan.]

‘No teeth, no kiss, no eating  
well?;  
[beckons to a woman rushing past  
his selling point.]  
‘Come here, ‘mum’. Come here  
‘old lady.’"

**Market shopper:** ‘No, ‘dad.’ I want to buy  
some kapenta from that  
woman.’ [points at the  
kapenta seller.]

**Kapenta seller:** Come here customer! Come  
here!

**Market shopper:** [points at a kapenta  
container.] How much does  
this container of kapenta  
cost?

**Sikuula:** Peepe, taata. Ndiyanda kuula kapenta  
abakaintu baya. [watondeka bakaintu.]

**Musambazi:** Amusike ano bakkasitoma!

**Sikuula:** [watondeka meda ya kapenta.]

Mali nzi meda ya kapenta **eevi?**

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Musambazi: [watondeka kapenta yaku
Siavonga amane watondeka yaku
M pulveru.] Eyi Siavonga ngu
K30,000. Eyi M pulveru ngu
K35,000.

Kapenta seller: [points first at kapenta from
Siavonga and then at one from
M pulveru.]
‘This kapenta from Siavonga is
K30,000. This one from
M pulveru is K35,000.’

Sikuula: Maa! Kapenta muno mu Choma
iladula maningi!

Market shopper: ‘Good heavens! Here in
Choma, kapenta is very
expensive.’

Musambazi: Akwalo oko nkoizwa nkule
baama. Awa ndijana buyo
kapulofeti kasyoontoo.

Kapenta seller: ‘Well, where it comes from is
very far away, ‘mum’. Here, I
only get a little profit.’

Sikuula: [watondeka kapenta yaku Siavonga.]
Amundipimine buyo eyi Siavonga.

Market shopper: [points at kapenta from
Siavonga.]
‘Give me this from Siavonga.’

Musambazi: Inzya, baama.

Kapenta Seller: Alright, ‘mum.’

In the above situation, the deictic expressions kuno ‘here’, ano ‘here’ and muno ‘here’ (i.e.
locative deictics) refer to the location which is proximate and enveloping the speaker; abaya
‘that’ (i.e. honorific demonstrative deictic) and oko ‘there’ (i.e. locative deictic) indicate
remoteness from both the speaker and the addressee, and the demonstrative deictic evi ‘this’
(i.e. pointing at the container of kapenta) and awa ‘here’ (i.e. pointing at the selling point)
refer to the object and place which are proximate to the speaker. Note that the deictic oko
‘there’ has two meanings, namely proximity to the addressee (as is the case in section 4.4.2
table 2) and remote from both the speaker and the addressee (as is the case in this context).
4.9 Summary

This chapter has raised six major issues arising from the research findings. Firstly, it has examined deixis in the context of speech and writing before identifying some categories of deixis in English and Citonga. In addition, it has looked at referential distinctions (i.e. the two-way referential distinction in the case of English and the four-way referential system in the case of Citonga) and the number of demonstratives and locatives which are used in the deictic systems of the two languages. Furthermore, the chapter has examined the morphological and syntactic positions of Citonga deictics in relation to the English ones. Last but not least, it has outlined the gestural and symbolic usages of deixis before highlighting the situational use of Citonga deictic expressions in a variety of contexts. The final chapter gives the summary of the main findings, conclusion and recommendations.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter begins with a summary of the main findings. It provides the conclusion of the study. Here the reaffirmation of the results and the contribution of the study to the body of knowledge are briefly examined. Lastly, the chapter makes some recommendations for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

5.2.1 Categories of Deixis in English and Citonga
The study noted that both the English and Citonga deictic systems have five major categories of deixis, namely person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis.

5.2.2 Referential Distinctions in Demonstratives and Locatives
It was observed that English makes a two-way referential distinction. In other words, its spatial deictic system has only two terms: proximal (near the speaker) and distal (far from the speaker). It was also noted that within this system there are four demonstratives and two locatives. By contrast, Citonga has a four-way referential system, namely proximate to the speaker, proximate and enveloping the speaker, proximate to the person spoken to and remote from both the speaker and the person spoken to. In addition, within this paradigm, there are forty-eight demonstratives and twelve locatives.

5.2.3 Morphological Structures of Deictic Expressions

5.2.3.1 English Reflexive Deictics
Morphologically, English reflexive deictics have a stem and a suffix (see section 4.5.1 table 4).

5.2.3.2 Person Deictics in Citonga
It was noted that person deictics such as mebo ‘I / me’ and yebo ‘you’ have a prefix, an infix and a stem (i.e. PREFIX + INFIX + STEM). Hence, they have been referred to as a
one-prefix structure. By contrast, deictics, including ndemwini ‘myself’ and omwini ‘yourself’ have a vocative prefix followed by a prefix and then a stem (i.e. VOCATIVE PREFIX + PREFIX + STEM). Thus, the study has referred to them as a two-prefix structure (see section 4.5.2 table 6).

5.2.3.3 Spatial Deictics in Citonga

Spatial deictics, which include demonstratives and locatives, have two types of morphological structures: One-prefix structure and two-prefix structure. The one-prefix structure, including akano ‘this’ (i.e. demonstrative) and aalva ‘there’ (i.e. locative) has a prefix, a stem and a suffix (i.e. PREFIX + STEM + SUFFIX). The two-prefix structure such as aka ‘this’ (i.e. demonstrative) and aawa ‘here’ (i.e. locative) has a preprefix, a prefix and a stem (i.e. PREPREFIX + PREFIX + STEM).

5.2.3.4 Temporal Deictics in Citonga

The study put these into two major categories, namely individual deictics and deictic phrases. Individual deictics such as eno ‘now’ has a prefix and a stem (i.e. PREFIX + STEM); eelvo ‘then’ has an initial vowel followed by a prefix and then a stem (i.e. INITIAL VOWEL + PREFIX + STEM); and ijilo ‘yesterday’ has an initial vowel and a nominal (i.e. INITIAL VOWEL + NOMINAL). Deictic phrases, including nsondo evi yamana ‘this last week’ has a nominal followed by an initial vowel, a demonstrative, a subject marker, tense marker and a verbal root followed by a vowel suffix ‘-a’ (i.e. NOMINAL + INITIAL VOWEL + DEMONSTRATIVE + SUBJECT MARKER + TENSE MARKER + VERBAL ROOT + VOWEL SUFFIX ‘-a’); and nsondo italika ‘next week’ has a nominal followed by a tense marker, a verbal root and a vowel suffix ‘-a’ (i.e. NOMINAL + TENSE MARKER + VERBAL ROOT + VOWEL SUFFIX ‘-a’).

5.2.3.5 Social Deictics in Citonga

Social deictics comprise the following subcategories: equal status, unequal status, familiarity, pejorative deictics and clan membership. The pronoun yebo ‘you’ is a good example of the deictic under the subcategory of equal status (see its morphological structure in section 4.5.2 table 5). The deictics such as nywebo ‘you’ and nobamwami ‘Your Royal Highness’ (under the subcategory of unequal status) have two different
morphological structures: The first one, involving nywebo, has a prefix, an infix and a stem (i.e. PREFIX + INFIX + STEM). The second involving nobamwami, has a vocative prefix followed by an honorific prefix then a prefix and a stem (i.e. VOCATIVE PREFIX + HONORIFIC PREFIX + PREFIX + STEM). Under familiarity, the deictics such as omweenzuma ‘my friend’ and nobadaala ‘old man’ have a vocative prefix followed by a prefix and a stem (i.e. VOCATIVE PREFIX + PREFIX + STEM). The pejorative deictic kana ‘small useless child’ has a diminutive prefix, an infix and a stem (i.e. DIMINUTIVE PREFIX + INFIX + STEM) and lyana ‘foolish person’ has an augmentative prefix, an infix and a stem (i.e. AUGMENTATIVE PREFIX + INFIX + STEM). Clan names such as Muleya, Munsaka and Mweetwa have a prefix and a stem (i.e. PREFIX + STEM).

5.2.3.6 Discourse Deictics in Citonga
The study identified two subcategories of discourse deictics, namely temporal and spatial discourse deictics. Temporal discourse deictics such as ciboola ‘next one’ and cavinda ‘last one’ have a verbal subject prefix followed by a verbal root and then a vowel suffix ‘-a’ (i.e. VERBAL SUBJECT PREFIX + VERBAL ROOT + SUFFIX ‘-a’). Spatial discourse deictics, including atala ‘above’ and ansi ‘below’ have a prefix and a stem (i.e. PREFIX + STEM).

5.2.4 Syntactic Position of Deictic Expressions

5.2.4.1 Person Deictics in English
The study noted that some person deictics assume the subject position (as is the case with I, we and you) and the object position (as is the case with me, us and you); others occupy the pronominal position (as is the case with my, our and your) and the pronominal position (as is the case with mine, ours and yours). Furthermore, reflexive deictics such as myself, ourselves and yourself occupy the medial and final positions.

5.2.4.2 Person Deictics in Citonga
Person deictics such as mebo ‘1/ me’, yebo ‘you’ and ndemukamwini ‘myself’ assume both the pre-predicate and post-predicate positions. In addition, possessive stems such as –ngu ‘my’, –ko ‘your’, –isu ‘our’ and –inu ‘your’ can come before or after a noun.
5.2.4.3 **Spatial Deictics in English**

Spatial deictics such as demonstratives (e.g. **this** and **that**) occupy either a prenominal or pronominal position while locatives such as **here** and **there** occur in the initial, medial and final positions.

5.2.4.4 **Spatial Deictics in Citonga**

The study noted that syntactically, demonstratives (e.g. **aka**, **aba** and **ezvino**) appear before or after a noun while locatives (e.g. **awa**, **oku** and **omu**) occupy either the initial, medial or final position in a simple sentence.

5.2.4.5 **Temporal Deictics in English**

Some English temporal deictics (such as **now** and **then**) assume three syntactic positions: initial, medial and final positions; others (including **yesterday**, **today** and **tomorrow**) usually occupy two positions: initial and final positions.

5.2.4.6 **Temporal Deictics in Citonga**

It was observed that one set of temporal deictics has high positional mobility, the other low positional mobility. Deictics with high positional mobility (e.g. **eno**, **juunza**, **jilo** and **sunu**) assume three syntactic positions, namely initial, medial and final positions. By contrast, deictics with low positional mobility (e.g. **eliva** and **elvo**) occupy two syntactic positions: the initial and final positions.

5.2.4.7 **Discourse Deictics in English**

These are in two groups: temporal discourse deictics and spatial discourse deictics. Temporal discourse deictics are further divided into two groups: temporal discourse deictics with high positional mobility such as **earlier** and **later** (which occupy three syntactic positions: initial, medial and final positions) and temporal discourse deictics with low positional mobility such as **in the last paragraph** and **in the next chapter** (which assume two syntactic positions: initial and final positions). Spatial discourse deictics (such as **this**, **that**, **above** and **below**) usually assume both the prenominal and pronominal positions.
5.2.4.8 Discourse Deictics in Citonga

The two subcategories of discourse deictics, temporal and spatial discourse deictics, occupy different syntactic positions. Temporal discourse deictics (e.g. cavinda and ciccilila) assume the prenominal and post-nominal positions whereas spatial discourse deictics appear either in the initial, medial or final position in a simple sentence.

5.2.4.9 Social Deictics in Citonga

The study identified five categories of social deictics: equal status (e.g. yebo ‘you’), unequal status (e.g. nywebo ‘you’ and nobami ‘Your Royal Highness), familiarity (e.g. omunene ‘old man’ and mwana ‘my friend’), pejoratives (e.g. cana ‘hopeless person’) and clan membership (e.g. Munsanje, Mudenda and Moono). These occupy the initial, medial and final positions in a sentence.

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Reaffirmation of Results

The study reaffirms that the Citonga and English deictic systems are similar in some aspects (e.g. categories of deixis, syntactic positions and gestural and symbolic usages of deixis) and different in others (e.g. referential distinctions, morphological structures and syntactic positions).

5.3.2 Contribution to Body of Knowledge

The study contributes to the body of knowledge in two major ways. Firstly, it will act as a future reference point from which comparative work on deixis with respect to Citonga and other Zambian Languages can be undertaken. Secondly, it has given a comprehensive description of the Citonga deictic system with a view to assisting language learners. For instance, it will be extremely useful to scholars, including linguists, undergraduate students and teachers, who are keen on learning how the Citonga deictic system serves the communicative needs of its users.
5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

This study has raised some issues on the operation of the Citonga deictic system in comparison with the English one. However, there are others such as the following which need further exploration by future researchers:

(i) To contrast the Citonga deictic system with that of other Zambian languages;

(ii) To investigate the relevance of deixis to the teaching and learning of Citonga in some Zambian schools;

(iii) To investigate the extent to which verbal prefixes (or subject markers) such as ‘ndi’ in ndilasika ‘I will come’, ‘u’ ujike ‘you cook’, ‘we’ in weelede ‘you are supposed to’ and ‘ko’ in kozuza ‘you run’ contribute to the Citonga deictic system; and

(iv) To investigate whether prominent writers mix temporal discourse deictic expressions with spatial ones or use them separately and consistently in their writings.

(v) To investigate the possible differences between oral and written deictic usages in Citonga.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A1: CHECKLIST

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBA
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE AND LANGUAGES

CHECKLIST FOR SUBJECTS WITH COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

LEVELS OF EDUCATION

This checklist is based on the research topic entitled ‘A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEIXIS IN TONGA AND ENGLISH.’ Deixis is a Greek word which means “pointing” using language. This can be done using words and expressions that are only understood if the physical context (particularly the time and place) of the speaker and addressee is known. Some examples of deictic expressions in English are pronouns, demonstratives and adverbs. Pronouns such as ‘I’ and ‘you’ identify the speaker and addressee respectively while demonstratives like ‘this’ and ‘that’ identify things. Adverbs like ‘here’ and ‘there’ identify the place while ‘now’, ‘then’, ‘yesterday’ and others identify the time.

As a selected competent user of Tonga and English, please put a tick ( √ ) in the box marked ‘YES’ if you think the items given are Tonga deictic expressions. If they are NOT, put X in the box marked ‘NO’ and then write the items that you think are correct in the box marked ‘ALTERNATIVE.’ Also feel free to slot in some additional items in the same box (i.e. the ALTERNATIVE Box). Please gloss your items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonga Deictic Expressions</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Deictic Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Person deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) First person deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Singular pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. me, ime, mebo</td>
<td>‘I/me’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ndemwini, ndemukamwini</td>
<td>‘myself’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lwang</td>
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<th>YES</th>
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<th>YES</th>
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</table>
3. –angu  “my/mine’  1

(b) Plural pronouns
4. swe, iswe, swebo  ‘we/us’  2

5. tobeni, tobamukamwini, ‘ourselves’  2
   lwesu

6. –esu  ‘our/ours’  2

(c) The first person of the verb ‘be’
7. ndi_ , nda_ _________  ’am’  1

(ii) Second person deixis
(a) Singular pronouns
8. iwe, yawe, yebo, webo  ‘you’  1

9. omwini, omukamwini,  ‘yourself’  1
   lwako

10. –ako  ‘your/yours’  1

(b) Plural pronouns
11. (i)nywe, nywebo, yanywe  ‘you’  2

12. nobeni, nobamukamwini, ‘yourselves’  2
   lwenu

13. –enu  ‘your/yours’  2