

*Deixis and demonstratives in
Oceanic languages*

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Deixis and demonstratives in Oceanic languages

edited by
Gunter Senft



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G.S.

1 *Introduction*

GUNTER SENFT

Demonstrare necesse est
Karl Bühler

When we communicate we communicate in a certain context, and this context shapes our utterances. Natural languages are context-bound — and it is deixis that ‘concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalise features of the **context of utterance** or **speech event**, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance’ (Levinson 1983:54). In this introduction I shall first define and discuss the phenomenon of deixis, especially of spatial deixis in language in general, and present the means languages offer their speakers for spatial deictic reference. Then I will make a few remarks on why I think this volume is an important contribution to linguistic research on deixis and demonstratives in Oceanic languages, and briefly summarise the papers presented in this book.

The term ‘deixis’ is borrowed from the Greek word for pointing or indicating (Bühler 1934:36ff., 1990:44ff.). The term was first used in the second century AD by Apollonios Dyskolos, the ‘*princeps grammaticorum*’, in his œuvre on Greek grammar (Ehrlich 1993:124). Fillmore defines it as follows:

Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientation in space, whatever on-going indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the items is produced. (Fillmore 1982:35)

Ever since Karl Bühler’s (1934, 1990) classic work *Sprachtheorie: die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*, the study of deixis has been an important subfield within (psycho-) linguistics, because, as Levinson (1997:219) points out, ‘most sentences in most natural languages are deictically anchored, that is, they contain linguistic expressions with inbuilt contextual parameters whose interpretation is relative to the context of utterance’. Thus, as Bohnemeyer (2001:3371) emphasises, ‘to know what exactly is meant by *She brought this flower for me yesterday* and whether this statement is true, one first needs to know who uttered it, on what day, and where’.¹ Ehrlich (1992) understands ‘deixis’ as the

¹ For ‘unanchored’ sentences see Fillmore (1975:39): ‘The worst possible case I can imagine for a totally unanchored occasion-sentence is that of finding afloat in the ocean a bottle with a note which reads, ‘Meet me here at noon tomorrow with a stick about this big’’.

general term for Bühler's various '*Zeigarten*' or 'kinds of pointing' (Bühler 1934:83, 1990:97), and '*Zeigmodi*' or 'modi of pointing' (Bühler 1934:80, 1990:94). The following kinds of pointing (Bühler's '*Zeigarten*') can be differentiated:

- Personal deixis allows distinctions among the speaker, the addressee and everyone else.
- Social deixis encodes 'the speaker's social relationship to another party, frequently but not always the addressee, on a dimension of rank' (Levinson 1997:218).
- Temporal deixis 'allows the speaker to point in time' (Trask 1999:68).
- Spatial deixis allows the speaker to point to spatial locations.

The following modi of pointing ('*Zeigmodi*') are differentiated:

- In the situative *modus*, situative deictic reference is made to referents within the perceived space of speaker and hearer (i.e. reference 'ad oculos' in Bühler's terms).
- Anaphoric deixis refers to a referent or segment mentioned earlier in an utterance, discourse, or text (see Dixon 2003:111ff.).
- Cataphoric deixis refers to a forthcoming referent or segment that will be explicitly introduced in an utterance, discourse or text (see Dixon 2003:111ff.).
- And imaginative deixis or transposed deixis (Bühler's '*Deixis am Phantasma*') refers to an imagined situation.

Ehrich refers to anaphoric, cataphoric and imaginative deixis as 'discourse deixis'. Moreover, with situative deixis she distinguishes between the positional system of reference — *here* and *there* in English, *hier*, *da*, *dort* in German — and the dimensional system of reference — *before* (*in front of*)/*behind*, *left/right*, *above*, *below* in English. In what follows I will concentrate on spatial deixis,² because the contributions to this book focus on this kind of pointing.³

The positional system of reference localises areas in space in relation to, and dependent on, the speaker's or the hearer's position. The dimensional system of reference defines relations in space dependent on the speaker's or hearer's position and orientation. Discussing these two systems, the difference between primary deixis, i.e. the primary '*hic et nunc*' of actual speech — or, if you like, the primary '*origo*' (Bühler 1934:102, 1990:117) on which speaker and hearer must have agreed, however — and of secondary deixis, or secondary '*origines*' that are displaced, shifted or additional points of reference in the three dimensions of space — and thus presuppose primary deixis — becomes extremely important. For in secondary deixis, the positional and the dimensional system of reference are used differently. With respect to discourse deixis (i.e. anaphoric, cataphoric, and imaginative deixis), the positional system disregards the speaker's/hearer's actual position in secondary deixis. With respect to the situation-independent or 'intrinsic' use of deixis, the dimensional system of reference disregards the speaker's/hearer's actual orientation in secondary deixis. Here the differentiation between deictic and intrinsic orientation or

² In what follows I heavily draw on Senft (1997:6–9).

³ With respect to the problem of space and time and personal/social deixis I refer the interested reader to the literature: see, for example Anderson, Keenan (1985); Clark (1973:48–50); Ehrich (1992); Fillmore (1975:28); Lyons (1982:114ff., 121); Weissenborn, Klein (1982).

perspective comes in. The following example from Clark (1973:46) illustrates this distinction: consider a speaker standing not far from the side of the car saying, 'There is a ball in front of the car'. In deictic, i.e. observer/speaker-dependent orientation or perspective, we understand this utterance as 'the ball is between the car and the speaker'. In intrinsic, i.e. observer/speaker-independent orientation or perspective, we understand this utterance as 'the ball is near the front bumper of the car' (see also Levelt 1986). However, Ehrich (1992:19) notes that we have to subcategorise the deictic perspective further into a speaker-oriented, a hearer-oriented and a third person-oriented perspective. This differentiation reminds of Bühler's differentiation of the four '*Zeigarten*' or 'kinds of demonstration' he calls 'der-deixis [this-deixis] ... Ort des Ich [place of the I] ... Ort des Du [place of the thou] ... and ... jener-Deixis [yonder-deixis]' on the basis of Brugmann's and Wackernagel's differentiation of '*hic-*, *iste-*, and *ille-*deixis' (Bühler 1934:83–86, 1990:97–100).⁴

Finally we also have to mention that there is a difference between positional and dimensional deixis when used in indirect, reported speech. In reported speech, expressions of positional deixis must be translated from the perspective of the speaker quoted into the perspective of the person who quotes. Again, Ehrich (1992:21) clarifies this observation with the following examples: assuming that the person who quotes and the person who is quoted are not at the same place, a speaker's utterance like 'It is cold here' must be translated in reported speech into: 'He said it was cold there'. With expressions of dimensional deixis this translation is not possible. Anderson and Keenan refer to these phenomena with the technical term 'relativized deixis' and emphasise that the 'nature of this process of relativisation, and the syntactic and discourse contexts which condition it, are highly complex and poorly understood' (Anderson, Keenan 1985:301).

Having mentioned most of the relevant concepts with respect to the phenomenon of deixis, especially of spatial deixis, I would like to deal now with the actual means languages offer their speakers for spatial deictic reference.⁵ In many languages the repertoire of elementary linguistic means for spatial deictic reference encompasses

- prepositions or postpositions (e.g. *at*, *on*, *in* [topological prepositions], *in front of*, *behind*, *to the right* [projective prepositions]),
- locatives, i.e. local or place adverbs (e.g. *here*, *there*) and local nouns (referring to regions or areas),
- directionals (e.g. *to*, *into*),
- positional and motion verbs or verbal roots (e.g. *to stand*, *to come*, *to go*, *to bring*, *to take*),
- presentatives (e.g. *voici*, *voilà*, *ecce*, *there is ...*), and
- demonstratives (e.g. *this*, *that*).

⁴ With dimensional deixis we should also consider the ambiguity caused by different points of view from which spatial configurations can be seen. Hill (1982; see also 1978) differentiates between the mode he calls 'facing' which is similar to the observation of one's own mirror image and the mode he calls 'aligning' which is similar to a tandem configuration. Hill claims that Indo-European languages describe static configurations using the facing mode and dynamic configurations using the aligning mode (for criticism see Levelt 1986:198–200).

⁵ Note that Anderson and Keenan (1985:277) emphasise that the 'elements most commonly cited as "deictics" are those designating spatial location relative to that of the speech event'.

Moreover, we also find deictic gestures in all speech communities. People may point to something or someone with their index finger, with their eyes, with puckered lips, etc. Dixon even notes

that some languages have different deictic gestures for relating to varying distances and visibility. In the Tucano and Arawak languages of the Vaupes River basin (spanning the border between Brazil and Colombia), for instance, we find (i) pointing with the lips for “visible and near”; (ii) pointing with the lips plus a backwards tilt of the head for “visible and not near”; (iii) pointing with the index finger for “not visible” (if the direction in which the object lies is known). (Dixon 2003:87)

The function of all these means is to localise (see Wunderlich 1986:227), to inform about, and to identify objects in space (see Fillmore 1982:45; Bühler 1934:146ff. (=1990:163–165)). However, we have to keep in mind that with verbal deictic expressions we must differentiate between deictic and non-deictic usages. As Levinson (1983:65–68) nicely illustrates, we have to distinguish two kinds of deictic usage, namely gestural and symbolic usage. Within non-deictic usages, we also have to distinguish anaphoric from non-anaphoric usages. To give examples:

‘This bush-knife is sharp’ (deictic, gestural usage)

‘This village stinks’ (deictic, symbolic usage)

‘I drove the car to the parking lot and left it there’ (anaphoric usage).

‘There we go’ (non-anaphoric usage).

Levinson (1983:67) also gives an example where a deictic term (*there*) is used both anaphorically and deictically, namely in the sentence:

‘I was born in London and lived there ever since’.

In the languages of the world we find different systems of demonstrative elements. In their survey on deixis in various languages Anderson and Keenan (1985; for criticism see Hanks 1987) present systems of spatial deictics that consist of two terms (e.g. English *this*, *that/these*, *those*, *here*, *there*), three terms (e.g. Latin *hic*, *iste*, *ille*), and more than three terms — such as Sre (spoken in Vietnam — 4 terms), Daga (spoken in Papua New Guinea (Milne Bay Province) — 14 terms), and Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo (over 30 terms). Denny (1985:113, 117–120; revised version of Denny 1978) mentions even 88 terms in East-Eskimo that is spoken in the Western Hudson Bay and on Baffin Island. Anderson and Keenan (1985:308) draw the conclusion that ‘a minimal person/number system and at least a two-term spatial demonstrative system seem to be universal’.⁶

With respect to the development of these systems Heeschen — in connection with his research on the Mek languages of Irian Jaya — presents the following interesting hypothesis:

At the origin we have a pure deictic system... These deictics can be substituted, or accompanied ... by a pointing gesture. The more the ... formations assume discourse functions — i.e. the more they refer not to points in concrete space but to items previously mentioned in the linguistic context — the more they lose their potential for pointing to those things which are truly “up there” or “down there”. (Heeschen 1982:92)

Denny attempts to explain the differences between deictic systems for spatial reference as follows:

⁶ See also van den Berg's (1997) detailed description of the seven-term system in Muna (Sulawesi).

In a natural environment of non-human spaces one way to relate space to human activity is to use deictic spatial concepts, to center space on the speaker (or other participant). In a man-made environment this is less necessary — non-deictic locatives such as *down the road*, *through the door* and *around the corner* will relate space to human acts quite directly since the places mentioned are all artifacts designed to aid such acts ... as the degree to which the spatial environment is man-made increases, the size of the spatial deictic system decreases. (Denny 1978:80; see also 1985:123–125)

However, I would like to point out that this hypothesis is not undisputed.⁷

Of all these various means languages offer their speakers for spatial deictic reference demonstratives seem to have attracted special attention in linguistics: Green (1995:15), for example, states that ‘for many philosophers and linguists, demonstratives lie at the heart of deictic issues’, and Hyslop (1993:1) claims that ‘the best way of studying the expression of spatial deixis in language is via the system of demonstratives’. And this special interest is very well documented in the literature. Anderson and Keenan (1985), for example, provide the by now classic overview of deixis with an extensive part on demonstratives. Himmelfmann (1996) — on the basis of discourse data from only five languages — presents a taxonomy of what he claims to be universal uses of demonstratives in narrative discourse. He summarises the result of his research as follows: ‘Demonstratives are used either in establishing a referent in the universe of discourse for the first time (situational and discourse deictic uses) or to single out a certain referent among already established referents (tracking and recognitional use)’. As already mentioned, he claims (Himmelfmann 1996:240, 242) that ‘all of these four major uses and only these four major uses ... are universally attested in natural languages’. Diessel (1999:1) ‘provides the first large-scale analysis of demonstratives from a crosslinguistic and diachronic perspective’, defining demonstratives and discussing their morphology, their semantics, their syntax, their pragmatic use and their grammaticalisation.⁸ Dixon (2003) presents a typology of parameters of variation associated with nominal, local, adverbial and verbal demonstratives, surveying their basic characteristics, forms, functions and types of reference. And Enfield (2003) and Ozyürek (1998) discuss the use of demonstratives in interaction.

Of the many observations made, and insights gained, in these publications I will mention just a few that are relevant for understanding the systems of demonstratives presented in this volume.

Discussing the pragmatics of demonstratives Diessel (1999) points out that we have to differentiate between exophoric and endophoric uses of demonstratives (see also Burenhult 2003): ‘Exophoric demonstratives focus the hearer’s attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors’ (Diessel 1999:94). ‘The endophoric use is ... subdivided into the *anaphoric*, *discourse deictic* and *recognitional* uses. Anaphoric and discourse deictic demonstratives refer to elements of the ongoing discourse ... Recognitional demonstratives

⁷ For a more modified version of this hypothesis see Ebert (1985:266ff.): ‘In lokalen Sprachen werden Ausdrücke räumlicher Orientierung in der Regel spezifizierter und häufiger verwendet als in großen Sprachgemeinschaften mit einer langen Schrifttradition ... Ich vermute, daß auch in der deutschen Umgangssprache, und besonders in Dialekten, räumliche Orientierung eine sehr viel größere Rolle spielt als in der Hochsprache’. [‘Local languages usually use expressions of spatial orientation more specifically and more frequently than big speech communities with a long writing tradition ... I assume that spatial orientation is much more important in colloquial German and especially in dialects than it is in educated standard German’]. See also Dixon (2003:106ff., footnote 10). For a rejection of Denny’s hypothesis and for a completely different position see Fillmore (1982:40–41).

⁸ For critical discussions of Diessel’s findings and claims see Dixon (2003:106ff., footnotes 2, 4, 5, 8–10, and 12) and Enfield (2003:40–42).

... are used to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on specific shared knowledge (1999:91).

Himmelfmann (1996:243) and Dixon (2003:93ff.) address the question of formal and functional markedness distinctions within demonstrative systems: 'which term from a spatially-determined system will be used in neutral circumstances, if spatial location is not relevant?' (Dixon 2003:93). Contrary to Lyons (1977:647) who claims that *that* is the unmarked term in English, Dixon (2003:93) — on the basis of his exploration of the deictic reference of *this* and *that* — concludes that *this* is the unmarked term in deictic use. However, he concedes that 'the question of markedness is a difficult one' (Dixon 2003:93). Himmelfmann (1996:243) even questions 'whether it is possible (and useful) to determine the respective markedness of demonstratives'.

Enfield (2003:108) points out that some demonstrative systems are 'person-oriented'. Diessel (1999:50) characterises these systems as systems where 'the location of the hearer serves as a reference point' for 'the location of the referent' (see also Anderson and Keenan 1985:284). In his analyses of the interactional use of demonstratives in Lao Enfield (2003:108) points out that 'speakers frame their linguistic choices under the assumption of a maxim of recipient design (Sacks & Schegloff 1979)'. He convincingly shows that

speakers tailor their utterance so that addressees are not required to make reference to information that the speaker knows or assumes they do not have access to. In turn, addressees EXPECT speakers' utterances to be tailored so as not to depend on information that is not assumed by speakers to be already shared with addressees ...

... addressee location plays a crucial role in the selection of demonstratives, not only due to addressees' part in affecting the status of shared space ..., but also due to their part in determining how speakers' messages are designed (Enfield 2003:109).

Finally, I would like to mention here that some systems also have forms that encode the non-attention of the addressee to the referent. Ozyürek (1998) and Ozyürek and Kita (2001), for example, redefine the Turkish demonstrative *su*, traditionally referred to as encoding medial distance in opposition to proximal *bu* and distal *o*, as such a form. In their analyses it is evident that the referent of *su* is 'something you (the addressee) are not attending to now' (see also Enfield 2003:109).

The last studies mentioned here have clearly shown that 'reference is a collaborative task' (de León 1990:13) — an aspect that so far has been neglected in most studies on verbal reference in general. Despite the huge literature on the topic of deixis and demonstration a closer inspection of the literature (Senft 1997) reveals that we must know much more about this topic to reach a description and analysis of the semantics of space and spatial reference.

Some years ago Ebert (1985) compared the group of researchers dealing with deixis to hunter-gatherers — and I think she is still right. This anthology provides Ebert's hunter-gatherers with some further data and insights into the phenomenon that Enfield (2003:82) so aptly described as 'one of the great puzzles of linguistic science'. The contributions to this book focus on spatial deixis, especially on demonstratives and their spatial deictic use in Oceanic languages. The reason for this focus is the fact that up till now information on deixis, and especially on spatial deixis in these languages, has been rather difficult to obtain. It is scattered over a number of scientific journals and books or hidden in grammars. This anthology presents, as far as I know, the first collection of papers on deixis and demonstratives in the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages. The papers in the collection reveal the great variety and the complexity of (spatial) deictic systems in Oceanic

languages, and it is hoped that they stimulate further research in this highly interesting field of linguistics.

Seven papers discuss the topic of this anthology in Oceanic languages that are spread geographically between Papua New Guinea and Samoa. The anthology ends with Malcolm Ross's summarising overview of the presented systems of deixis and demonstratives from the diachronic point of view (moreover, he provides further typological and geographical information on the languages in focus).

Malcolm Ross also opens the discussion of deixis and demonstratives in Oceanic languages with his paper 'Aspects of deixis in Takia'. Takia is a papuanised Oceanic language of the Bel family. The majority of its speakers live on the oval volcanic island of Karkar in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. After a brief description of characteristic features of this rather uncommon Oceanic language the deictic system is presented. As Ross points out, 'Takia has a number of morphologically related sets of deictic morphemes. Each set has three non-interrogative members, distinguished from each other by their stem vowel ... Some sets also have an interrogative member'. Ross first examines the deictic differences among the three sets. The morphemes of two of these series are speaker-oriented spatial/temporal deictics differentiating between locations and times near versus distant from speaker. The morphemes belonging to the third series are used anaphorically; with their pragmatic-definite use they have a rather high functional load and thus occur more often than the morphemes constituting the other two sets of deictics. Ross then describes the morphosyntactic differences between the morphemes constituting this system of deictics. Takia has three different series of demonstrative morphemes that are used both adnominally and pronominally, but fulfil different syntactic functions. One of these sets and two other sets of morphemes are used as locative adverbials. A last set of deictic morphemes constitute manner adverbials. Ross then discusses locative and deictic expressions and directional and positional verbs with respect to functions that are related to spatial deixis. A brief excursus on compass points is followed by a summarising discussion of the data and analyses presented. This discussion points out that Takia speakers expend considerably more of their morphosyntactic resources on discourse deixis than on spatial deixis.

In her paper 'Spatial deictics in Saliba' Anna Margetts describes the system of demonstratives and place adverbs of Saliba in terms of the semantic distinctions involved and the morphosyntactic behaviour of the relevant word classes. Saliba is an Austronesian language of the 'Papuan Tip cluster' group; it is spoken on Saliba Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. After a brief characterisation of the language Margetts describes its three-way distinction of spatially deictic terms which distinguishes a speaker-based versus an addressee-based proximal form and a distal one. The relation between the two proximal terms is not symmetrical, the speaker-based form is obviously the unmarked member of the pair. The three-way contrast between the Saliba spatial deictic terms is consistent across the four form classes of spatial deictics in Saliba: free demonstratives, clause-final demonstratives, place adverbs, and determiner clitics and demonstrative particles. Discussing the semantics of this three-way distinction in situational use Margetts observes the following: spatial distance and the presence or absence of touching, finger points, head nods or eye gaze are the most relevant criteria for the three-way choice within the demonstrative form classes. However, visibility, discourse status and ownership of the referent object also influence the choice of demonstrative terms. In contrastive use Margetts found that 'a demonstrative's spatially deictic meaning can be neutralised in favor of establishing a contrast'. Margetts also observes and describes certain contexts in which

all three forms may overlap with each other in terms of the spatial domain to which they can refer. The author describes and illustrates comprehensively the morphosyntax and the use and function of the four form classes of spatial deictics in Saliba.

My contribution is entitled 'Aspects of spatial deixis in Kilivila'. This Western Melanesian Oceanic language of the Austronesian family also — like Saliba — belongs to the Papuan Tip cluster group. Kilivila is spoken on the Trobriand Islands in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. After a brief description of basic characteristics of the language, I first discuss the system of demonstratives. Kilivila has two basic sets of demonstratives, one that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one that does not require such gestures. The forms within these two sets can take over the function of demonstrative pronouns, of demonstratives that are used attributively, and of place adverbs. Both sets constitute a speaker-centred three-term system with respect to distances distinguished. The demonstratives that do not require an accompanying deictic gesture have to infix into their word gestalt a classifier which provides additional information with respect to the quality of the referent and thus helps the addressee to narrow down the search domain for the referent of the respective demonstrative. The use of all these demonstrative forms for spatial deictic reference is illustrated both in 'table-top' space and in space beyond it. Moreover, it is pointed out that speakers can also shift their basic reference point, that they use the distance-based system on the away or sagittal axis as well as on the across or left/right axis and that in the vertical dimension the Kilivila system is organised around the speaker's torso. Besides spatial demonstrative pronouns Kilivila speakers also use a number of other forms to come up with as unequivocal as possible deictic references. Among these forms are locatives and directionals. The use of these forms is illustrated. Moreover it is shown that in spatial deictic reference positionals, motion verbs, local landmarks and other environmental features are often produced to make it easier for the addressee to identify the object the speaker is pointing at. A brief excursus illustrates the use of demonstratives in discourse deixis (for anaphoric reference). The paper ends with a list of open questions with respect to spatial deixis in Kilivila.

Åshild Næss's 'Spatial deixis in Pileni' presents the very first study on this topic. Pileni is a Polynesian Outlier language of the Samoic-Outlier branch. It is spoken on the small coral islands of Pileni, Nifiloli, Matema, Nukapu and Nupani and in a few settlements on the island of Santa Cruz in the eastern Solomon Islands. After a brief characterisation of the language and its linguistic situation Næss describes the geographic environment of the islands where Pileni is spoken. She emphasises that 'the physical space that the speakers live in is small and lacks naturally defined reference points, which may mean that the necessary reference points for the subdivision and structuring of physical and social space are primarily taken from social relations and the immediate speech situation, to which many of the most common spatial-deictic forms refer'. After this important observation Næss first describes the Pileni three-term system of demonstratives. The system refers to the participants of the immediate speech situation. It seems to distinguish a speaker-based versus an addressee-based proximal form and a distal or 'third person' form which refers either to objects away from both speaker and addressee or to objects close to a third person. Interestingly enough, the addressee-based proximal form is obviously the unmarked form of the paradigm. Discourse uses of the demonstrative suggest that the Pileni system of demonstratives may 'be in the process of shifting from speaker-based to distance-based'. The author describes and discusses the uses and functions of demonstratives in noun phrases, in verb phrases, in relative clauses, and in discourse. She then describes the probably unique system of seven directional particles 'which describe the direction,

physical or social/metaphorical, of the action described by the verb they modify'. Three of these particles relate to the participants in the speech situation, three describe vertical direction, and one particle denotes movement away from a point of reference. Besides these extremely frequently used demonstratives and directional particles Pileni has a few other spatial-deictic forms, such as local nouns (which are usually preceded by one of the prepositions). The contribution shows that spatial deixis is an integral part of Pileni grammar: space is a very strongly grammaticalised category in this interesting Polynesian Outlier language.

Nêlêmwa is one of the twenty-eight Kanak languages spoken in the far North of New Caledonia. In her contribution 'Deixis in Nêlêmwa' Isabelle Bril presents a comprehensive overview of deictic, anaphoric and directional markers in this Oceanic language. Apart from a number of lexical items which constitute temporal or locative landmarks, the core system of spatiotemporal reference consists of three deictic and three anaphoric markers and five directionals which may be suffixed to a number of nominal or pronominal roots, to demonstratives, adjectives, presentative pronouns and to locative and temporal adverbs. The deictics constitute a speaker-centred three-term system with respect to distances distinguished. The anaphoric markers distinguish between discursive reference to something previously mentioned, to facts known to both speaker and addressee, and to something unknown or unreferenced. The directionals distinguish centripetal, centrifugal, transverse, upward or downward direction; they may also refer to static location. They are used for topographic reference, for cardinal directions and geographic reference, for deictic, speaker-centred reference, for endophoric deixis and for aspectotemporal reference. All these deictic, anaphoric and directional markers may have spatial, temporal and sometimes also aspectual reference. The author points out that deixis may have exophoric or endophoric reference. Moreover, she also briefly describes the role of body parts and locational nouns, especially the fairly restricted spatial usage of 'left' and 'right'. Bril amply illustrates all functions of all these means for deictic reference — even with an annotated text of Nêlêmwa oral history in an appendix to the paper. In her conclusion she emphasises that redundancy is a very characteristic feature of the system, as various 'markers belonging to different paradigms ... may co-occur in a sentence or paragraph ... to specify spatiotemporal location or direction'. She also points out that the use of the system sometimes also creates 'intricate spatiotemporal reference points which may be difficult to interpret when one is not familiar with the topography of the story or with the social context and hierarchy of the group'.

In her contribution 'Spatial deixis in Iaai' Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre first provides a general introduction to the phenomenon of different spatial deictic systems in various languages of the world, and a brief description of the linguistic and geographical situation of Uvea. She then describes and analyses the organisation of spatial deixis in Iaai, an Oceanic language of the New Caledonian group spoken on Uvea, the northernmost of the Loyalty Islands, a dependency of the Territory of New Caledonia. The rich system of spatial deictic locatives in Iaai distinguishes a speaker-based versus an addressee-based proximal form and a distal one; it distinguishes four locatives referring to verticality and topography ('down and towards the sea, down near speaker, up and inland', and 'beside at the same level'); it has two forms for referring to the geographical environment that, on a large scale (with fixed points), refer to 'sunset, west, west coast' and 'sunrise, east, east coast', and, in a limited setting (with relative points), refer to 'towards the sea, down below' and 'inland, on a high ground'; finally, Iaai has one form for anaphoric reference to items (persons, objects or places) previously mentioned. These deictic locatives can be

used as expansions of independent personal forms, of a presentative, and of a similitive predicate; they can also function as determiners and as adjuncts in noun and verb phrases. These forms are often followed by place names, autonomous locatives or by a prepositional noun group that further specify the place referred to. In post-noun or post-verb position, however, they are always combined with prefixes that indicate either a location or a source or goal. Thus the system differentiates also between static, specified and unspecified location and dynamic source and goal. Moreover, the Iaai deictic system also comprises a set of centrifugal and centripetal directional forms expressing the idea of a goal. After this description of the system and its functions the author discusses the spatial and temporal value of certain of these locative deictics (one of the interesting observations here is that Iaai associates the past with the notion of 'down'). Ozanne-Rivierre then looks in some detail at the two forms used in large-scale references to the geographical environment. She finishes her presentation with a discussion of the observed and — at least at first sight — problematic overlap of the 'west-sea-down' and the 'east-land-up' locatives. However, this overlap is easy to account for when the Iaai spatial deictic system is linked with information on the local geography and ecology. Like Bril, Ozanne-Rivierre illustrates her analyses of this interesting spatial deictic system with a traditional Iaai text.

Ulrike Mosel's comprehensive contribution 'Demonstratives in Samoan' investigates the morphosyntax and the semantics of demonstratives from a holistic perspective, trying both to describe all kinds of uses of demonstratives and to explain how the meaning demonstratives have in actual speech situation is transferred to their other functions. Samoan belongs to the Samoic-Outlier group of Nuclear Polynesian. After a short introduction and a brief description of characteristic features of the language Mosel provides us with a definition of demonstratives and a morphological description of the Samoan forms. She then discusses deictic local nouns and deictic verbs, illustrates the syntactic functions of pronominal demonstratives, analyses the morphosyntax of adnominal demonstratives, and discusses the demonstrative in its function of an adverbial modifier. The second part of her paper is devoted to the analysis of the meanings of demonstratives. Samoan has seven demonstratives. In the actual speech situation they differentiate between objects or persons referred to that are:

- (a) together with the speaker (here we have two forms that differentiate between formal₁ and informal₂ speech),
- (b) within reach of the speaker,
- (c) together with the addressee,
- (d) within reach of the addressee,
- (e) not too far away but not in reach of speaker and addressee, and
- (f) far away from both speaker and addressee.

Four of these demonstratives are used in situational and non-situational deixis (a_{1/2}, c, f) — one of them being a default demonstrative which is used wherever the speaker/addressee distinction is irrelevant. The other three demonstratives (b, d, e) occur only in face-to-face interaction and obligatorily require deictic gestures. In anaphoric and cataphoric text deixis and in reference tracking the parameter of speaker/addressee orientation is relevant for the distribution of demonstratives: the speaker-centred demonstrative expresses cataphora, while the addressee-centered demonstrative expresses anaphora. Mosel explains this transfer of meanings from situational to non-situational contexts in terms of 'a metaphor of passing information ... from the speaker to the addressee'. She argues that cataphora

implies that the speaker still has the information he wants to give to the addressee, whereas anaphora refers to information the addressee has already received.

This volume ends with Malcolm Ross's chapter 'Demonstratives, local nouns and directionals in Oceanic languages: a diachronic perspective'. He presents the available reconstructed data on the demonstrative system, on the morphosyntax of local nouns, and on the directional verbs for the ancestor language Proto Oceanic and discusses the changes that have led to the systems of demonstratives, directional particles and relational nouns described in the preceding chapters. Ross's analyses show that the changes that have occurred since Proto Oceanic times are complex, indeed. However, he concludes the following:

- (a) the semantic organisation and the constructional organisation of these systems remain relatively stable;
- (b) grammaticalisation may result in the rise of new constructions; however, constructions may also be lost because two constructions can merge into one;
- (c) changes in form within small paradigms can be radical, but these changes mirror the changes in the social conditions of the speakers of the respective languages.

As editor, I have to concede that, given the vast number of Oceanic languages, this anthology must face possible criticism for arbitrary and eclectic selection of the papers. However, I am convinced that the systems of deixis and demonstratives in the few Oceanic languages presented here illustrate the fascinating complexity of the study of spatial reference in these languages. Some of the studies presented here highlight social aspects of deictic reference — illustrating de León's point already quoted above that 'reference is a collaborative task' (de León 1990:13). It is hoped that this anthology will contribute to a better understanding of this area and provoke further studies in this extremely interesting, though still rather underdeveloped, research topic — studies that hopefully may put more emphasis on such social functions of deictic reference and thus may open up new and more interdisciplinarily oriented directions in the research of deixis and contribute to refine the theory of indexicals.

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2 *Aspects of deixis in Takia*

MALCOLM D. ROSS

1 Introduction

Most speakers of Takia live on the oval volcanic island of Karkar, which measures about twenty-five kilometres from north to south, twenty from west to east. Their villages are distributed along the south coast of the island and on the lower slopes of the volcano, and one might expect that, like speakers of other Oceanic languages, e.g. Tolai (Mosel 1982), their language would reflect a detailed concern with position and direction not only in terms of distance from a deictic centre but also in terms of height and in relation to the mountain, the beach, and positions along the beach. As this short article will indicate, this expectation is not fulfilled to the degree one might expect. Instead, certain morphemes which probably once had a place in the system of spatial deixis are used almost exclusively for discourse deixis, and Takia speakers expend considerably more of their morpho-syntactic resources on this than on spatial deixis.

This account of Takia deixis is based on my fieldnotes and on the analysis of texts, most of them narratives, which I recorded at Rigen village, two kilometres inland from the southernmost point of Karkar Island, in 1987–88 and checked during more recent visits.¹ I have also drawn on a draft grammar by Bruce Waters (Waters, Tuominen and Rehburg 1993), cited here as ‘Waters’.² Examples are from my materials except where indicated. In §6 I have made use of examples from drafts of a Takia New Testament translation kindly provided by Bruce Waters. There is considerable dialect variation in Takia, and on occasion this also affects the demonstrative system. The description here refers to Rigen Takia, unless otherwise noted.

I set out here to describe the aspects of Takia deixis that are reflected in these materials. Certain aspects of spatial deixis in Takia are not covered here, as I did not have the

¹ I am very grateful to Mait Kilil of Rigen for spending so much time helping me with transcription and answering my questions.

² Salme Tuominen and Judy Rehburg also appear as authors of this work because Waters draws in turn on Rehburg and Tuominen (1978), a much short preliminary sketch, and on Rehburg’s and Tuominen’s extensive text concordance. A number of the examples cited here as ‘Waters’ are in fact from Rehburg and Tuominen’s text corpus.

appropriate research instruments available to me when my Takia data were collected. Specifically, only after my last field trip did I see the materials developed by members of the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics and I am thus unable to give an account of, e.g., deixis in relation to table-top space.

2 Takia, a papuanised Oceanic language

Takia is spoken by about 25,000 people in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. As noted above, most of them live on Karkar Island, located twenty kilometres off the north coast of the mainland. Karkar has a population of about 40,000, just over half of whom are Takia speakers. Minorities of Takia speakers live on Bagabag Island (to the east of Karkar) and in two nearby mainland coastal villages, Megiar and Serang.

The rest of the Karkar population are speakers of Waskia, a Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) language. Takia speakers occupy the southern half of the island, Waskia speakers the northern half. Despite this linguistic difference between the two groups, however, there are no other discernible cultural differences between them (McSwain 1977). Linguistic and cultural evidence suggests that many Takia speakers were once bilingual in Waskia, but intercommunication today takes place in Tok Pisin.

Takia belongs to the Bel family of Oceanic languages (Ross 1988:160–164), whose most well-known member is Gedaged (or Graged), used as a *lingua franca* by the Lutheran Mission in the Madang Province (Ross 1996b) and described in a manuscript grammar by Dempwolff (n.d.) and a dictionary by Mager (1952) which also includes Takia cognates. Ross (2002) is a more general short description of Takia grammar.

The languages of the Bel family are of interest because their grammars have undergone significant contact-induced restructuring, evidently as a result of their speakers' bilingualism in one or more Papuan languages at an earlier stage in their history (Ross 1996a). Thus in Gedaged and Takia there are postpositions but no prepositions, the basic constituent order is subject–object–verb (or subject–predicate in verbless clauses), most of the aspect/mood morphology follows the predicate, and clauses form chains linked by special sentence-medial verb forms. The probable history of these forms and their development on Papuan models is described briefly in Ross (1987), and Ross (1994) provides a sketch of Takia interclausal relationships, including clause-chaining. Takia is thus grammatically quite unlike most Oceanic languages and typologically more similar to its Papuan neighbours.

In order to help the reader interpret the examples below, a few details of morphosyntax which are not covered elsewhere in this article are given here. Like many Oceanic languages, Takia has four sets of pronominals:

- (a) independent (= free = disjunctive) pronouns: these are noun-phrase heads and occur mostly as subject, object or possessor;
- (b) subject prefixes on verbs: the prefix coreferences the person and number of the subject referent;
- (c) object suffixes on one class of transitive verbs: the suffix coreferences the person and number of the object referent;
- (d) possessor suffixes on inalienably possessed nouns and on possessive 'classifiers': the suffix coreferences the person and number of the possessor referent.

I refer deliberately in (b), (c) and (d) to a referent, not to a noun phrase, since these pronominal affixes sometimes do not coreference a noun phrase. In (1), for example, the subject prefix *ŋu-* coreferences the independent pronoun *ŋai* 'I, me' and the object suffix *-o* coreferences the independent pronoun *oŋ* 'you (S)'. Both *ŋai* and *oŋ* are noun phrases. However, *ŋai* and/or *oŋ* are omissible (particularly if the immediately previous clause also had a first person singular subject and/or a second singular object) and in such a case *ŋu-* and *-o* can only be said to coreference a referent, not a noun phrase.³

- (1) *ŋai oŋ ŋu-fun-o ya*
 D:1S D:2S S:1S-hit-O:2S R
 'I hit you'

Possessive phrases in Takia, as in many Oceanic languages, have one structure if the possessed noun is inalienable and another if it is not. In both structures the possessor noun phrase (if there is one) is preposed. With an inalienably possessed noun, the possessor suffix is added directly to the noun:

- (2) *ŋai tini-g*
 D:1S skin-P:1S
 'my skin/body'

³ Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are listed below. An equals sign (=) marks an enclitic boundary.

B	boundary marker
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONT	continuative
D	dependent
D: <i>n</i>	independent (= disjunctive) pronoun, where <i>n</i> indicates person
DEF	(pragmatic-) definite enclitic
DEM	demonstrative
DUR	durative
EP	exclusive plural
IMPF	imperfective
INDEF	indefinite quantifier
INST	instrumental
INT	intention/obligation
IP	inclusive plural
IRR	irrealis
L	loose (dependent marker)
LOC	locative proform, locative postposition
MNR	proclausal/manner proform
NEG	negative
O: <i>n</i>	object pronominal suffix, where <i>n</i> indicates person
P, PL	plural
P: <i>n</i>	possessor pronominal suffix, where <i>n</i> indicates person
POSS	possessive 'classifier'
PP:	postposition
Q	question tag
R	realis
RECIP	reciprocal
REP	repetitive
S, SG	singular
S: <i>n</i>	subject pronominal prefix, where <i>n</i> indicates person
TPC	topic marker

With possessed nouns that are not inalienable, the possessor suffix is attached to a 'classifier' which precedes the noun. I place 'classifier' in inverted commas because, although the morphemes which occupy the corresponding slot in other Oceanic languages classify the relationship between the possessor and the possessed, in Takia this classification has been all but lost. The classifiers are *sa-* and *ane-* (with an alternant form *a-*). The latter corresponds formally to the food classifier in other Oceanic languages, but is used in the same slot as *sa-* in Rigen Takia.⁴ Thus in the latter we find both

- (3) a. *ŋai sa-g ab*
D:1S POSS-P:1S house

and

- b. *ŋai a-g ab*
D:1S POSS-P:1S house

with no difference in meaning. Sometimes, as in (10) below, we find a suffixed classifier also used with an inalienable noun.

The forms of the four sets of pronominals are set out in (4). For an explanation of the alternant forms the reader is referred to Ross (2002). Note that there is only one third person independent pronoun, *iŋ*; number is differentiated by coreference with a member of one of the other pronoun sets.

(4)	1INC	1EXC	2	3
Independent (= free = disjunctive; D:)				
SG	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>oŋ</i>	<i>iŋ</i>	
PL	<i>id</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>iŋ</i>
Subject prefix (S:)				
SG		<i>ŋa-, ŋi-, iŋu-</i>	<i>u-, w-, Ø-</i>	<i>i-, y-</i>
PL	<i>ta-, ti-, tu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>di-, du-</i>
Object suffix (O:)				
SG		<i>-ag</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-i, -Ø</i>
PL	<i>-ad</i>	<i>-m(a), -am(a)</i>	<i>-aŋ</i>	<i>-ai (/ay/)</i>
Possessor suffix (P:)				
SG		<i>-g</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-n</i>
PL	<i>-d</i>	<i>-ma, -mama</i>	<i>-m, -mi</i>	<i>-d, -di</i>

Takia clauses fall into two major categories, independent and dependent. The division of labour between the two is one which is common in Papuan (but not Oceanic) languages. In narrative and procedural discourse, at least, we find long clause chains.⁵ All clauses in the chain except the last are what we here call dependent, whilst the last is independent. Embedded clauses, however, are formally independent (but sometimes marked as embedded by the addition of a special enclitic), as we see from the clause *aŋ a-sel* 'you laugh' in (24) and in relative clauses (§3.2). Quite different enclitic sets occur on the ends of independent and dependent clauses (for a more detailed account of these, see Ross 1994).

⁴ In some Takia dialects, *ane-/a-* marks more intimate possession than *sa-* (Bruce Waters, pers. comm.).

⁵ On clause chaining in Papuan languages, see Foley (1986:175–205).

The (optional) predicate enclitics include *se* = 'repetitive' (REP), *na* 'durative' (DUR) and *o/wo* 'intention/obligation' (INT). They follow the last word of the predicate and almost only occur in independent clauses.

There are two orders of clausal enclitics, occurring immediately after the predicate enclitic(s) (if any), which mark their clause as independent. The first includes the following aspect/mood markers:

(5)	A	B	C	D	
	<i>i</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>a</i>	\emptyset	realis (R)
	<i>u</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	—	irrealis (IRR)
	—	<i>da</i>	—	—	imperfective (IMPF)

A and B are alternants and occur after a vowel, C after a consonant. The zero realisation of the realis is an unconditioned alternant.

The realis marks a current state, an event before the present, or less frequently a timeless event.⁶ The irrealis marks a state or event as future or hypothetical, and thereby also marks polite requests and hortatives, or as timeless or normative. Imperfective *da* marks an inchoative state, an event which is not yet complete at the time of speaking or at some other contextually specified point of time, or a habitual event. A basic paradigm of these enclitics with a state and an event is as follows:

(6)	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>ŋ-ani</i>	<i>ya</i>		<i>ŋai</i>	<i>uya-g</i>	(<i>a</i>)
	D:1S	S:1S-eat	R		D:1S	good-P:1S	R
			'I ate/have eaten'				'I am well'
	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>ŋ-ani</i>	<i>wa</i>		<i>ŋai</i>	<i>uya-g</i>	<i>a</i>
	D:1S	S:1S-eat	IRR		D:1S	good-P:1S	IRR
			'I shall eat'				'I will be well'
	<i>ŋai</i>	<i>ŋ-ani</i>	<i>da</i>		<i>ŋai</i>	<i>uya-g</i>	<i>da</i>
	D:1S	S:1S-eat	IMPF		D:1S	good-P:1S	IMPF
			'I am eating'				'I am getting well'

The second order of independent clausal enclitics consists of the definite enclitic =*n* and the boundary marker enclitic (*y*)*ak*, or =*k* after the vowel of a preceding enclitic. The enclitic =*n* marks relative clauses in definite noun phrases (§3.2) and the clausal complements of certain verbs. The boundary marker enclitic simply marks the end of a constituent. It may occur at the end of a noun phrase or, as in (7), after a first order clausal enclitic.

(7)	<i>Mao</i>	<i>mi-sapal</i>	<i>da=k</i>	<i>fud</i>	<i>mi-sapal</i>	<i>da</i> .
	taro	S:1EP-mix	IMPF=B	banana	S:1EP-mix	IMPF
						'We mix taro or we mix bananas.'

Example (7) illustrates one kind of coordination. This is effectively parataxis, the ends of the clauses simply being marked by the boundary marker.

The other major kind of coordination (it could be argued that this is not the appropriate expression) is clause chaining (see, for example, (9), (13), (21), (27), and (29)). (As noted above, a clause chain consists of one or more dependent clauses terminated by an

⁶ In Ross (1994) *ya* was labelled 'perfective', but noting that it is semantically the unmarked in contrast to both *wa* and *da* I follow Waters in labelling it as realis here because some of his data show it in a timeless context where 'perfective' is clearly an inappropriate label.

independent clause, and chains may be of considerable length.) A dependent clausal enclitic signals that another clause will follow it. Dependent enclitics fall into three orders. The members of the first two indicate the semantic relations between their clause and the following clause, and the members of the last may indicate the mood of their clause. The last-order enclitics are:

<i>go</i>	realis dependent (R:D)
<i>pe</i>	irrealis dependent (IRR:D)
<i>de</i>	loose dependent (L:D)

After a vowel these optionally become =*g*, =*p* and =*d*. The presence of a first- or second-order clausal enclitic in a dependent clause is optional, of a last-order enclitic in most cases obligatory.

The first- and second-order enclitics are listed below together with an approximate definition in terms of the events whose semantic relations they indicate. 'E1' is the event of the clause to which the enclitic is attached, and 'E2' the event of the following (non-subordinate) clause. There is one first-order enclitic:

<i>do</i>	continuative (CONT)	E1 is continued for an indefinite time-span
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A second-order enclitics is:

<i>gu</i>	completive (COMPL)	E1 is completed before or at the occurrence or onset of E2
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The sequences of first- and second-order enclitics are:

<i>dugu</i> (<i>ido</i> + <i>gu</i>)	E1 continues for an indefinite time-span, but is completed before or at the occurrence or onset of E2
<i>do</i> + <i>ta</i>	E1 continues for an indefinite time-span, and is a reason for the occurrence of E2 (rare)

Do 'continuative' assumes the form *du* before either *gu* 'completive' or *go* 'realis dependent'.⁷

The Takia orthography used here that adopted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in consultation with Takia speakers. It is by no means strictly phonemic. More details may be found in Ross (2002).

3 The deictic system

Takia has a number of morphologically related sets of deictic morphemes which make a three-way formal distinction. Each set has three non-interrogative members, distinguished from each other by their stem vowel, which is one of *e*, *a* or *o*. In two sets *e* is replaced by *i*, and in one *o* is replaced by *u*, but for mnemonic convenience I refer to the three series as the *e*-series, the *a*-series and the *o*-series. Some sets also have an interrogative member. The forms which make up these sets are tabulated in (8). Those labelled 'demonstrative' are used both adnominally and pronominally, those labelled 'locative' and 'manner' adverbially. Forms separated by commas are idiolectal and dialectal alternants.

⁷ Typically, E1 marked with *do* 'continuative' (but not *do* + *gu* 'continuative' + 'completive') overlaps with E2 by default, but this is by default: *do* simply expresses the fact that E1 lasts for a period of time.

(8)	<i>e</i> -series	<i>a</i> -series	<i>o</i> -series	
	proximal	anaphoric	distal	interrogative
demonstrative	(y)en, ene	an, ane	on, one	dugon
demonstrative, locative	e	a	o	dugo
demonstrative	ema	ama	oma	—
locative	(y)ete, ente, it	ate, ante	ote	dugote
locative	ebo	abo	obo	—
manner	igo	ago	ugo	dugog

I first examine the deictic differences among the three series (the columns), before describing the morphosyntactic differences among the six sets (the rows).

3.1 The deictic parameter

The *e*-series and *o*-series morphemes are speaker-oriented spatial/temporal deictics. The *e*-series refers to locations and times near the speaker, the *o*-series to locations and times distant from speaker. The *e*-series is also used anaphorically and cataphorically. From other Oceanic languages we know that the *a*-series probably once referred to locations near the hearer, but in present-day Takia it apparently always has what Löbner (1985) and Himmelmann (1996) call pragmatic-definite use. *A*-series forms, especially *an*, thus have a very high functional load and occur significantly more often than *e*-series forms, whilst *e*-series forms appear more often than *o*-series.

The spatial distinction between the proximal *e*-series and the distal *o*-series is evident in (9):

- (9) *Pat en man muluan du go on man tia ya.*
 stone DEM TPC heavy CONT R:D DEM TPC NEG R
 'This stone is heavy and that one is not.' (Waters)

Further examples where a member of the *e*-series indicates spatial closeness to the deictic centre are given below. In (10), the speaker is referring to his own (spatially close and paraplegic) body:

- (10) ... *ago aossik an lo dokta nai sa-g tini-g en i-kubune=g* ...
 MNR hospital DEM PP:in doctor D:IS POSS-P:IS skin-P:IS DEM S:3S-fix=R:D
 '... thus at the hospital the doctors patched up this body of mine, and ...'

In (11) the speakers are referring to the *Canarium* nut pudding which they are eating:

- (11) '*Furon en nek bor naenta*', *ago du-bol da.*
 pudding DEM thus pig other.one MNR S:3P-speak IMPF
 '“This pudding is as good as pork”, they say.'

In (12) the patrol officer introduces his servant (the narrator) to his colleagues. Here *en* 'this' is used pronominally:

- (12) *En in sip sa-n tamol.*
 DEM D:3S ship POSS-P:3S man
 'This (fellow), he is a sailor.'

The speaker in (13) had come from a distant village to see the writer, so the locative *e* 'here' refers to the village where the recording was being made:

- (13) ... *a nek e ɲu-palu=g ɲu-lasa ya.*
 DEM thus LOC S:IS-come=RD S:IS-go.out PF
 '[I decided that I wanted to come and to see with my own eyes,] and so
 I came and arrived here.'

Ete 'here' in (14) refers to the speaker's home village: the recording was being made in one of its hamlets.

- (14) *Ŋai ete ɲu-masa man skul lo ɲa-sol a.*
 D:IS LOC S:IS-get.up TPC school PP:in S:IS-flee R
 'I left here and I ran away from school.'

In the next set of examples a member of the *o*-series indicates spatial distance from the deictic centre. Both are from a narrative in which the speaker tells of the establishment of early mission stations. Since the villages are named, we can be sure that *obo* 'there' in (15) and *o* 'there' in (16) both refer to places far away both from where the recording is being made and from the other potential deictic centre, the main mission station at Kurum from which the evangelists were being dispatched.

- (15) *Mite=g Baŋmei na obo ab y-en du gu=g ...*
 later=R:D Bangmei PP:at LOC house S:3S-sleep CONT COMPL=RD
 'Later there was a house over at Bangmei ...'
- (16) *Ago de, Rom a Kurum na i-ma ya=n i-masa=g,*
 MNR L:D Rom LOC Kurum PP:at S:3S-stay R=DEM S:3S-get.up=R:D
o Buson na Waskia na i-ma ya.
 LOC Buson PP:at Waskia PP:at S:3S-stay R
 'Thus Rom who had been at Kurum left and settled over at Buson in Waskia.'

An interesting feature in (16) is the presence of *a* 'there', a member of the *a*-series, in a syntactic setting apparently identical to that of *o* 'there' in the main clause. This might suggest that *a* is also being used spatially. However, if it were, it would be the only example in the data of a spatial use of a member of the *a*-series. What is significant here is that *a* occurs in a relative clause which expresses a presupposition: the fact that Rom had stayed at Kurum has already been conveyed to the hearers, and the function of *a* is anaphoric ('there = the place I have referred to'), not spatial.

The reference of *ote* '(over) there' is unambiguous, as the narrator, who is sitting in a Karkar village, has explained that he and his wife were living in the town of Madang, over on the mainland, when their first child was born:

- (17) *An Willi nambawan. An ote=m mu-ga-si ...*
 DEM Willi first DEM LOC=only S:IEP-do-downward
 'Willi was the first one. We gave birth to him over there ...'

Temporal uses of both the *e*-series and the *o*-series are quite common in my texts. The *e*-series expresses temporal proximity. The set phrase *gamu (y)en* 'now + this' with the sense 'nowadays, today' is common:

- (18) *Ŋai gamu en man panu na ɲai urat tia=i.*
 D:IS now DEM TPC village PP:at D:IS work not.exist=R
 As for me, nowadays I have no work in the village.

Another such phrase is *krismas en* 'this year' (*krismas* < English 'Christmas' via Tok Pisin). There are occasions where it is impossible to distinguish between spatial and temporal deixis. In (19) *yen* in the phrase *gamu (y)en* is presumably temporal, but it is not clear whether by *tamol e*, which refers to Europeans, the speaker means 'the people (who have come) now' or 'the people (who are) here' with reference to myself (the speaker was explaining traditional Takia marriage customs to me):

- (19) *Tamol e in gamu yen malkouk adi in rin mug di-pani da ...*
 man DEM D:3 now DEM white PL D:3 ring RECIP S:3P-give IMPF
 'These people here now, the whites give rings to each other ...'

Members of the *o*-series usually refer to times in the past, as in the phrase in (20), which refers back to the first World War:

- (20) *yu o imug an sa-n biouŋ*
 war DEM formerly DEM POSS-P:3S clothes
 'the things from the first war'
- (21) *Ago=g nal o peidei nal ago=g mu-palu=g moni*
 MNR=R:D time DEM payday time MNR=R:D S:1EP-come=R:D money
mu-ŋane=g ...
 S:1EP-take=R:D
 'Thus (it was) that day, payday, and we came and got our money ...'

The phrase *pein on* in (22) illustrates the fact that *o*-series deictics may also refer to the future (as well as to the past). Here the speaker is explaining how traditional marriages were arranged, and no interpretation of *pein o* and *pein on* is possible other than '(your nephew's) future bride':

- (22) *Maŋ aŋ a-m nigai an sa-n pein o. pein on*
 D:1EP D:2P POSS-P:2P nephew DEM POSS-P:3S woman DEM woman DEM
mi-le ya.
 S:1EP-see R
 'We have seen your nephew's future bride.'

As well as its spatial/temporal function, the *e*-series has three discourse-deictic uses: (i) cataphoric, (ii) to introduce a new referent, (iii) to contrast a referent with other (sometimes unmentioned) referents. Cataphoric use is illustrated in the examples below:

- (23) *Maŋ sa-ma ru en a-loŋ siŋaok-an.*
 D:1EP POSS-P:1EP talk DEM D:1EP-hear pleasant-very
 'Listen very well to this talk of ours.' (Waters)
- (24) *Bai e ŋa-bol de=n man aŋ a-sel sa-n niŋe-n*
 father DEM S:1S-say L:D=DEF TPC D:2P S:2P-laugh POSS-P:3S matter-P:3S
o tita ŋa-bol na da=k.
 PP:about NEG S:1S-say DUR IMPF=B
 'Father, as for this which I am saying, I am not saying it for you (people) to joke about it.' (Waters)
- (25) *Igo i-bol ...*
 MNR S:3S-speak
 'He spoke like this ...'

- (26) *Yan̩a-di igo ...*
 name-P:3P MNR
 'Their names are thus ...'

In (27), *wilwil* 'bicycle', a referent of some importance in the ensuing narrative, is introduced for the first time. The *e*-series, like colloquial English *this* (Lambrecht 1994:83), indicates that the speaker intends to say more about this referent:

- (27) *An wilwil e i-ŋa go \ Muloi wilwil nam i-du=g ...*
 DEM bicycle DEM S:3S-take R:D \ Muloi bicycle PP:INST S:3S-descend=R:D
 'Then he (Muloi) took this bicycle and ... Muloi came down on the bicycle ...'

In the next example, the (bracketed) relative clause makes the contrastive function of *e* explicit:

- (28) ... *an sip a [niŋe-d ŋa-l da=n] sip e yu sa-n ...*
 DEM ship DEM matter-P:3P S:1S-speak IMPF=DEF ship DEM war POSS-P:3S
 '... then the ships I'm talking about, these ships from the war ...'

As noted above, the *a*-series appear to have only pragmatic-definite function; that is, they mark the referent as identifiable via factors in the context of utterance, perhaps because the referent is visible, perhaps because it has been referred to earlier in discourse, perhaps because it is introduced with an establishing relative clause (as with *sip* in (28)). The *a*-series does not appear to have semantic-definite use, i.e. to mark a referent that belongs to the speaker's and hearer's general knowledge of the world (*the moon, the council president*).⁸ Example (29) contains three cases of pragmatic-definite use of a member of the *a*-series:

- (29) *Nine-g malkouk an ŋu-bisei=g ŋ-au=g katolik sa-d*
 D:1S:POSS-P:1S white DEM S:1S-depart=R:D S:1S-go=R:D Catholic POSS-P:3P
sip Stella Maris \ an i-palu=g a foun ŋai sip an lo
 ship Stella Maris DEM S:3S-come=R:D DEM again D:1S ship DEM PP:in
ŋu-mado.
 S:1S-stay
 'I left my white master and went and the Catholics' ship *Stella Maris*, it arrived and instead I stayed with that ship.'

The two noun phrases with adnominal *an* here refer to already introduced referents, whilst pronominal *an* refers to the immediately preceding phrase *katolik sa-d sip Stella Maris* 'the Catholics' ship *Stella Maris*'.

The *a*-series locative morpheme *ate* is similarly anaphoric (rather than spatial). In (30) *ate* refers back to *Mapor*, the village mentioned in the previous clause. This kind of use is common.

- (30) *Asafo Mapor na. Ate du-ma ya.*
 Asafo Mapor PP:at LOC S:3P-stay PF
 'Asafo was at Mapor. That's where they stayed.'

⁸ According to Himmelmann (1996, 1997:41) semantic-definite use is a defining function of a definite article. By this criterion, an adnominal member of the *a*-series is therefore not a definite article.

The *a*-series manner morpheme *ago* also has a high token frequency, as it is used to refer to events already mentioned in discourse. In (10) it refers to the event of the previous clause (the speaker had been brought to the hospital); in (11) it refers to the proposition in the immediately preceding piece of direct speech. Because it refers to the event of the previous clause, *ago* is often used as a kind of 'pro-clausal', standing in for that clause and having attached to it an enclitic which relates that clause to the next in the chain. This occurs in (16) and (21).

3.2 The morphosyntactic parameter

I turn now to the morphosyntactic features of the sets above, some of which are already evident in the examples so far.

The difference between *(y)en/an/on* and the demonstrative use of *e/a/o* is syntactic. Both sets are used both ad- and pronominally (although pronominal uses of *e/a/o* are rare), but *(y)en/an/on* signals the final boundary of a definite noun phrase, whereas when *e/a/o* is used, one or more modifying constituents follow. An apparent exception to the generalisation that *(y)en/an/on* is phrase-final occurs in examples like (31):

- (31) *in a-n gai a niganagsi an ta*
 3 POSS-P3:S uncle DEM mother's.brother DEM INDEF
 'one of his uncles, [his] mother's brothers'

Here the quantifier has the whole of the preceding noun phrase in its scope. Indeed, one can argue that the constituent ending in *an* is a noun phrase in its own right, which is then combined with *ta* to form a higher-order noun phrase. Phrase-final adnominal *(y)en/an/on* is also exemplified by *en* in (9), (10), (11), (18), (19), and (23); by *an* in (10), (20) and twice in (29); and by *on* in (22), whilst pronominal *(y)en/an/on* is illustrated by *en* in (12), by *an* in (29), and by *on* in (9).

The most common use of a member of the *e/a/o* set is when the following modifying constituent is a relative clause. The relative clause is an independent clause terminated by the definite enclitic *=n* or, less commonly, by the boundary marker *ak/=k*. The enclitic *=n* marks as definite the noun phrase within which the relative clause occurs, whereas the boundary marker simply signals the end of a constituent (in this case the noun phrase to which the relative clause belongs). In fact *e* and *o* rarely occur before a relative clause, because the function of a relative clause is to establish a fresh referent in discourse, and the appropriate demonstrative is therefore pragmatic-definite *a* (§3.1), as in (28). Further examples, with the relative clause in brackets, are:

- (32) *An misin a [du-palu ya=n] in urat nek ago fu-n*
 DEM mission DEM S:3P-come R=DEF D:3 work thus MNR base-P:3S

du-ga ya.

S:3P-do R

'So the missionaries who came, they started their work in this way.'

- (33) *Saen a [mamai i-nili-o ya=n] in da urat a-ga*
 time DEM Dad S:3S-get-O:2S R:D=DEF D:3S PP:COM work S:2P-do

se i=k, bala?

REP PF=B Q

'At the time Dad adopted you you were working with him, weren't you?'

- (34) ... *ab saek ate na galip a [y-en a=n] lo i-ga*
 house bad LOC PP:LOC shelter DEM S:3S-sleep R=DEF PP:in S:3S-do
y-en.
 S:3S-sleep
 '... he put it [his bicycle] in a poor building there, into the shelter which was located there.'

- (35) ... *sip a [gamu fou-n a=k] i-palu i.*
 ship DEM now new-P:3S R=B P:3S-come R
 '... now the ship of a new kind has come.'

Example (24) above contains a relative clause and is unusual in two respects. First, *e* occurs with a relative clause (because the demonstrative here is cataphoric). Secondly, in this example *e* is used pronominally, not adnominally.

The use of the *e/a/o* set before other modifying constituents is seen with *e* in (19) and (28), with *a* in (31), and with *o* in (20) and (21). Note that in none of these cases is the modifying constituent an adjective or adjectival phrase. If it were, then the appropriate construction would be NOUN + ADJECTIVAL PHRASE + *en/an/on*, as in, for example:

- (36) *ab fou-n en*
 house new-P:3S DEM
 'this new house'

We can thus make the negative generalisation that the modifying constituent following *e/a/o* is not an adjectival phrase. Making a positive generalisation about the modifying constituent is harder, as the structure of the Takia noun phrase needs more research. In (19), for example, repeated here for convenience, the modifying constituent is *in gamu yen* 'they nowadays':

Tamol e in gamu yen malkouk adi in rin nug di-pani da ...
 man DEM D:3 now DEM white P D:3 ring RECIP S:3P-give IMPF
 'These people here now, the whites give rings to each other ...'

The noun phrase *yu o inug an* 'that war, the (one) formerly' in (20) also includes a temporal in the modifier. In the phrase *sip e yu sa-n* 'these ships from the war' in (28), the modifying constituent is a possessor which in Takia would usually precede the possessed:

- (37) *yu sa-n sip en*
 war POSS-P:3S ship DEM
 'these ships of the war'

Example (38) from one of Waters' texts also contains a postposed possessor:

- (38) *Go ab a balag sa-n an mutunuk tia geig nuon.*
 R:D house DEM spirit POSS-P:3S DEM spyhole NEG extremely really
 'And the house which pertains to a balag spirit has absolutely no spyholes
 (i.e. gaps in the walls) whatsoever.' (Waters)

In the phrase *nal o peidei nal* 'that time, payday time' in (21) the modifying phrase *peidei nal* is itself a noun phrase. The same is true of the complicated noun phrase in (31), repeated here:

in a-n gai a niganagsi an ta
 D:3 POSS-P3:S uncle DEM mother's.brother DEM INDEF
 'one of his uncles, [his] mother's brothers'

It is tempting to attribute these structures to apposition, saying that *peidei nal* in (21) is simply in apposition to *nal o*, and that *niganagsi an* in (31) is simply in apposition to *a-n gai a*. What appear to be apposition structures are common in Takia discourse; for example:

- (39) *maŋ iŋ sa-n mala-n aenta*
 D:1EP D:3S POSS-P:3S eye-P:3S some
 'we some of his kinsmen'

But apposition as a structural description does not work well in (31) since, as I observed above, *ta* appears to have the whole construction in its scope, implying that it is more tightly integrated than an appositional construction. Furthermore, if the presence of *e/a/o* signals that a modifying constituent follows, then we have to accept that *peidei nal* and *niganagsi an* are noun phrases which each serve as a modifier of their respective heads, *nal* and *gai*.

This account still leaves oddities like *pein o*, *pein on* in (22). However, this is from a spoken text, with a slight hesitation after *pein o* 'that woman', and it seems that the speaker intended to add a modifying constituent after *pein o*, changed his mind, and repeated it in its complete-phrase form *pein on*. The phrase *wilwil e* in (27) also lacks the expected modifier, and I have no explanation for this other than that again the speaker changed his mind.

I cannot write with certainty about the morphosyntax of the third set of demonstratives in (8), *ema/ama/oma*, as these hardly occur in my data and are apparently not used at Rigen. For this reason my analysis is tentative and relies on Waters' text material. He glosses them as 'this particular (one)' etc. Syntactically, *ema/ama/oma* resemble *en/an/on*. They are used pro- and adnominally, and as adnominals they signal the final boundary of a definite noun phrase. However, their morphological behaviour differs from that of *en/an/on*. Whereas the latter are morphologically invariant and unsuffixed, *ema/ama/oma* are always followed by *yak*, a form of the boundary marking enclitic (marking the end of the noun phrase), when they serve as pronominals:

- (40) ... *sa-n dar urat i-ge de, tia e, ama yak ŋa-loŋ o*.
 POSS-P:3S blood work S:3S-put L:D NEG EMPH DEM B S:1S-know INT
 '... was his heart beating, or not?, that's what I wanted to know.' (Waters)

When they are adnominal, *ema/ama/oma* are either followed by *yak* or by a third person possessor pronominal suffix agreeing in number with the head noun:

- (41) *E tamol aiauman ema yak i-palu ak i-tor du go ...*
 hey man leader DEM B S:3S-come B S:3S-walk.about CONT R:D
 'Hey, this particular headman is coming here (lit. coming walking) ...' (Waters)
- (42) *Maŋ abe-n ama yak lo ma-mul ma-au ya*.
 D:1EP place-P:3S DEM B PP:in S:1EP-return S:1EP-go R
 'We went back to that particular place.' (Waters)
- (43) *Mel ama-di man ta yaŋa-n dided*
 thing DEM-P:3P TPC INDEF name-P:3S butterfly
 'Some of those particular things are named 'butterfly', ...' (Waters)

- (44) *Ao, ru katuk ama-n nek ago ya.*
 yes word short DEM-P:3S just MNR R
 '[When will you tell us your reply to this message?] Yes, that particular brief message is just like that.' (Waters)

The use of the deictic *ama* in possessive predicates is discussed in §7.1.

Three sets in (8) are used as locative adverbials: *e/a/o*, *ete/ate/ote* (and variants) and *ebo/abo/obo*. Again the sets are differentiated morphosyntactically: *e/a/o* are usually followed by a non-deictic locative phrase, whereas the forms which end in *-te* and *-bo* function as free-standing locatives. The form *te* is a locative postposition (see §4) and *bo* is an emphasis marker, but the forms *ete/ate/ote* and *ebo/abo/obo* appear no longer to be segmentable. (The *-te* forms also have emphatic variants with an added *-ke*, e.g. *eteke* 'here'.) Members of the set *ebo/abo/obo* occur very rarely in my texts (but see (15) above), and I will have no more to say about them.

Locative *e* occurs in (13), and *a* and *o* in (16). The uses of *a* and *o* in (16) — repeated here for convenience — are typical in that each is followed by a postpositional phrase:

Ago de, Rom a Kurum na i-ma ya=n i-masa=g,
 MNR L:D Rom LOC Kurum PP:at S:3S-stay R=DEM S:3S-get.up=R:D

o Buson na Waskia na i-ma ya.
 LOC Buson PP:at Waskia PP:at S:3S-stay R

'Thus Rom who had been at Kurum left and settled over at Buson in Waskia.'

The free-standing locatives *ete*, *ate* and *ote* are illustrated in (14), (30), and (17) respectively. Occasionally one of *ete/ate/ote* is followed by the locative postposition *na* (confirming that the postposition *te* is not segmentable). This apparently happens when the verb entails movement towards the location. For example:

- (45) *Yete na tita ŋu-palu da.*
 LOC PP:at NEG S:1S-come IMPF
 'I have not been coming here.'

The syntactic behaviour of the bottom row of (8), the *igo/ago/ugo* set of manner adverbials, was briefly described in §3.1.

4 Locative and directional expressions

A postposition is cliticised to the noun phrase it governs. Locative postpositions are, with examples:

<i>na</i>	locative	<i>panu na</i>	'at the village'
<i>te</i>	locative	<i>mala-n te</i>	'at its front, foremost' (lit. 'at its eye')
<i>lo</i>	locative, temporal: 'in'	<i>abi lo</i>	'in the garden'
<i>fo, fofo</i>	locative: 'on'	<i>did fofo</i>	'on the hill'
<i>im</i>	direction: 'along'	<i>dal im</i>	'along the path'

The forms *lo* and *da* (other dialects *ida*) without a preceding noun or pronoun mean 'in it' and 'with it/her/him' respectively. The form *dadi* (other dialects, *dida*) is 'with them'. At Rigen only a limited set of items with the postposition *te* occur: these include *ete/ate/ote*, described in §3.1, and *kuai* 'outside', *mala-n* 'its eye' and *nao-n* 'its face' (both in the sense 'its front'). Waters, writing about a different dialect, comments that *te* occurs more often as a locative, *na* as an allative or ablative, but that this difference is disappearing.

As in many Oceanic languages, locative part nouns are used to specify locations, e.g. *ilo*- 'inside', *pae*- 'underside', *patu*- 'back', *nao*- 'face, front', *mala*- 'eye, front', *garaje*- 'side':

- (46) *Tamol ab patu-n fo i-ma da.*
 man house back-P:3S PP:on S:3S-stay IMPF
 'The man is behind the house.'

An interesting feature of certain Takia locative expressions is that, like *Daup na* 'at Daup village' in (47), they may occur before another clause but with clause-final enclitics of their own. Syntactically this appears to be a verbless clause with an ellipted subject, but this analysis is suspect, as subjects are not otherwise ellipted in verbless clauses.

- (47) *Daup na i=k i-so da.*
 Daup PP:LOC R=B S:3S-come.to.speaker IMPF
 'He's been at Daup (village) and he's coming back.'

5 Directional and positional verbs

Takia has a number of directional and positional verbs which serve functions related to spatial deixis. These verbs are listed below, some of them in semantic pairs:

- (48)
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>-au</i> | 'go (from the speaker)' |
| <i>-palu</i> | 'come (to the speaker)' |
| <i>-so</i> | 'move towards speaker', 'come towards' |
| <i>-la</i> | 'move away from speaker', 'go round the island' |
| <i>-du</i> | 'go down' |
| <i>-suda/-sida</i> | 'move up', 'be high', 'be full', 'go up, rise'; 'board (a canoe)' |
| <i>-sala</i> | 'go inland', 'move uphill' (i.e. towards the volcano), 'depart (by boat)' |
| <i>-sila</i> | 'go seawards', 'move downhill' (i.e. towards the beach),
'land, arrive (of a boat)' |
| <i>-lasa</i> | 'come out' |
| <i>-sadu/-ladu/-saladu</i> | 'go into' |
| <i>-tor</i> | 'walk about, go from place to place' |
| <i>-mul</i> | 'go back' |
| <i>-tur</i> | 'stand' |
| <i>-en</i> | 'lie, sleep' |

Historically, some of these verbs are clearly compounds, e.g. *-sala* 'move uphill' and *-sila* 'move downhill' are transparently derived from the combination of *-sa* 'rise, grow' and **-si* 'descend'⁹ with *-la* 'move away from speaker'. It is perhaps this history that accounts for what otherwise seems to be a semantic anomaly, namely that *-sala* means both 'go inland' and 'depart by boat', whilst *-sila* has the converse meanings. This seems curious, given that departure by boat entails movement in the opposite direction from going inland. However, *-sa* and **-si* are reflexes of Proto Oceanic **sake* 'ascend' and **sipo*

⁹ I have starred **-si* here because today it occurs only in compounds, usually as the second element with the meaning 'downwards'.

'descend'. The application of these on a volcanic island to movement inland and movement seawards is obvious. What is less obvious is that departure by sea from the beach may also be viewed by seafaring people as movement upwards, since movement towards the horizon is visually comparable to movement towards the brow of a hill.

Each of the verbs in (48) occurs as an independent predicate: *-au* 'go' is found, for example, in (29), *-palu* 'come' in (13), (41) and (45), *-so* 'move towards speaker' in (47), *-la* 'move away from speaker' in (51), *-lasa* 'come out' in (13), *-mul* 'go back' in (48) and (50).

More importantly for our present purposes, the verbs in (48) provide a deictic element as the second verb in certain classes of serial-verb construction. Serialisation occurs when two verbs which share an argument form a single predicate (enclitics are attached only to the second verb).

In one type of serialisation the first verb expresses movement or contains a semantic component of movement, whilst the second, one of those in (48), indicates the direction of that movement or the position resulting from that movement. Where the first verb is intransitive, the two verbs have the same subject:

- (49) *Du-masa di-au, pastor urat du-ga na ya.*

S:3P-get.up S:3P-go pastor work S:3P-do DUR R
'They would leave to do pastors' work.'

- (50) *U-mul Ø-palu!*

S:2S-return S:2S-come
'Come back!'

- (51) *Daup na ŋa-la _____ ŋ-au da.*

Daup PP:LOC S:1S-move.away S:1G-go IMPF
'I am going over to Daup (village).'

In many Oceanic languages, if the first verb in a directional/positional serialisation is transitive, the subject of the second verb is the object of the first. There are occasional examples of this kind in the Takia data:

- (52) *Oŋ sa-Ø leta ŋu-suti-g ago ŋi-gan-si y-en du go ...*

D:2S POSS-P:2S letter S:1S-read-R:D thus S:1S-put-down S:3S-lie CONT R:D
'I read your letter and I put it down ...' (Waters)

However, in most instances, the subject of both verbs is the same:

- (53) *Ago=g ŋai sa-g urat man sip mi ŋu-ŋa ŋa-tor*

MNR=R:D D:1S POSS-P:1S work TPC ship only S:1S-take S:1S-go.about
se ya.

REP R

'Then my work was just that I used to drive the ship around.'

- (54) *... mel an di-abi di-tur da an i-masa=p y-au=p*

thing DEM S:3P-hold S:3P-stand IMPF DEM S:3S-get.up=IRR:D S:3S-go=IRR:D

i-ŋa na ya.

S:3S-take DUR R

'... they [the missionaries] would stand holding the thing and he would get up and go and get it.'

- (55) *Yeb ta iŋ sa-n na Ø-sini w-au!*
 betelnut INDEF 3 POSS-P:3S PP:LOC P:2S-carry P:2S-go
 'Take him some betenut!'

If both the subject and the object of the first (movement) verb participate in the movement or posture of the second, then the second verb agrees with the subject of the first. But if the subject of the first verb does not thus participate (in (52) it is the letter which 'lies', not the speaker), then agreement is with the object.

Occasionally we find two directional verbs after a movement verb:

- (56) *Wilwil fo ya i-sin-ag y-au i-mul se i.*
 bicycle PP:on R S:3S-carry-1SG S:3S-go S:3S-return REP R
 'He would carry me backwards and forwards on a bicycle.'

Another construction involving the verbs in (48) has been recorded by Water. At first sight, this also seems to be a serial construction, but careful inspection suggests that it is not. The function of the construction is to communicate where the subject is situated directionally in relation to a deictic centre. The crucial elements of this construction are:

- (57) SUBJ NP + *e/a/o* + DIRECTIONAL VERB + MAIN VERB: *-en* 'lie'

The subject is followed by one of *e/a/o*, indicating that a further modifying constituent follows. The modifying constituent is one of the directional verbs in (48). However, although these verbs normally express movement, here they express stationary spatial relationship. Furthermore, the presence of the subject marker is optional (it is missing in (58)). One would expect a modifying constituent containing a verb to have the structure of a relative clause, but the expected definite marker *=n* is missing here. The main verb is always *-en* 'lie', which is the default verb of location.

- (58) *Gumoi sa-n ab e sila y-en da.*
 Gumoi POSS-P:3S house DEM go.seawards S:3S-lie IMPF
 'This (nearby) house belonging to Gumoi is situated lower down.' (Waters)

In (59), the whole construction occurs within a relative clause:

- (59) *Ab e i-sida y-en da=n uya-n.*
 house DEM S:3S-go.up S:3S-lie IMPF=DEF good-P:3S
 This nearby house which is higher up is a good one. (Waters)

In (60), the directional verb *-du* itself participates in a serial construction of the kind described above.

- (60) *Kurum o i-du y-au geig loŋ na y-en da.*
 Kurum DEM S:3S-go.down S:3S-go very beach PP:LOC S:3S-lie IMPF
 'Kurum is very far down there on the coast.' (Waters)

In the few available examples of the construction in (57), the direction entails the vertical dimension. Whether a verb of horizontal movement may also occur in this context needs to be checked.

6 Compass points

My own texts contain no reference to anything which I could construe as points of the compass and so I resorted to looking for references to them in the draft New Testament

translation prepared by native speakers.¹⁰ Interestingly, for ‘north’ and ‘south’ the translators consistently use the Tok Pisin terms *not* and *saut*, themselves of English origin. They never use the corresponding Tok Pisin terms for ‘east’ or ‘west’, however. Instead, circumlocutions referring to the rising and setting of the sun are used. It is reasonable to infer that before the arrival of Tok Pisin, Takia had no compass point terms, referring only to the rising and setting of the sun.

In (61), the clause *ad i-lasa* ‘the sun rises’ is embedded as possessor of the noun *baje* ‘direction’, to give a circumlocution ‘the direction of the sun’s rising’.

- (61) *Ago man ad i-lasa sa-n baje-n lo ejel ta*
 MNR TPC sun S:3S-rise POSS-P:3S direction-P:3S PP:in angel INDEF
i-lasa=g i-palu du go y-ile ya.
 S:3S-rise=R S:3S-come CONT R:D S:3S-see R
 ‘I saw another angel from the east (= the direction of the sun’s rising) arise and come.’ (Revelation 7:2)

In the next example, we find double embedding. The clause *ad i-lasa da=k* ‘the sun rises’ is referred to anaphorically by the locative postposition *lo*, here ‘in it’, and the postpositional phrase is in its turn the predicate of the verbless relative clause *ad i-lasa da=k lo yak* ‘who (were) from where the sun rises’.¹¹

- (62) ... *maṇṇau tamol adi ad i-lasa da=k lo yak Jerusalem*
 wisdom man PL sun S:3S-rise IMPF=B 3:PP:in B Jerusalem
na du-palu=g ...
 PP:LOC S:3P-come=R:D
 ‘... wise men who were from the east (= from where the sun rises) came to Jerusalem and ...’ (Matthew 2:1)

In (63) are a pair of clauses (‘from where the sun rises/sets’) each referred to anaphorically by the locative *ate* (cf. (8)):

- (63) ... *tamolpein wei mi ad i-lasa da=k ate, ago=d ad*
 people many only sun S:3S-rise IMPF=B LOC MNR=L:D sun
i-du y-au da=k ate dam an du-palu=p ...
 S:3S-go.down S:3S-go IMPF=B LOC also DEM S:3P-come=IRR:D
 ‘... many people from the east (= from where the sun rises) and also from the west (= from where the sun sets) will come and ...’ (Matthew 8:11)

7 Other uses of deictics

7.1 Possessive predicates

It was noted above (§3.2) that the deictic *ama* may occur with a possessor suffix agreeing with the noun it modifies. The form *ama* also occurs with a possessor suffix in

¹⁰ Using translated text is often rightly frowned upon by linguists, but in the present case I am familiar with the way the translation was conducted and am convinced that the texts represent as natural an expression of the meaning by native speakers as a written text can represent. The result reported here speaks for itself.

¹¹ Both this example and the next raise issues in the grammar of Takia interclausal relations which lie beyond the scope of this paper.

clauses translating English *have*. However, it seems no longer to be a demonstrative and I gloss it HAVE:

- (64) *Nai gown ta ama-g da ya.*
 D:1S dog INDEF HAVE-P:1S PP:COM R
 'I have a dog.'

At Rigen, *ama-* is usually replaced by *a-*:

- (65) *Nai yeb a-g da ya.*
 D:1S areca.nut HAVE-P:1S PP:COM R
 'I have some betelnut.'
- (66) *Gu go=g sip a masin a-d da go ...*
 now COMPL=R:D ship DEM engine HAVE-P:3P PP:COM R:D
 'Nowadays ships have engines ...'

The morpheme *da* is apparently the comitative preposition or a grammaticised variant of it. The structure of these clauses is puzzling. Since the examples above each have two distinct and complete noun phrases before *a-/ama-* (*sip a, masin* and *nai, gown ta*), I interpret these as subject and object in keeping with Takia SOV order. This means that *a-/ama- da* must be interpreted as a predicate in a class of its own, with subject agreement in the form of the possessor suffix on *a-/ama-*.

In the corresponding negative construction, the comitative postposition *da* is replaced by the negative verb *tia*:

- (67) *Nai yeb a-g tia ya.*
 D:1S areca.nut HAVE-P:1S not.exist R
 'I have no betelnut.'

This construction, incidentally, casts some light on the origin of the deictics *en/an/on*. In the possessive predicate construction, the forms *ama-* and *a-* are alternants. Where the possessor is third singular, the forms are *ama-n* and *a-n*. We have seen that, as deictics, *ema/ama/oma* are always followed either by the boundary marker or a possessive suffix (§3.2), so that, with a third singular head, their forms may be *ema-n/ama-n/oma-n*. Since the latter have similar functions to *en/an/on*, it is a reasonable inference that the *-n* of *en/an/on* is a fossilised reflex of the third singular possessor suffix *-n*, i.e. that these are suffixed forms of the deictics *e/a/o*. In the possessive predicate construction, fossilisation has not occurred, and *a* (like *ama*) occurs with the full range of possessor suffixes.¹²

7.2 Use of *an* with topic constituents

It is a common feature of Takia discourse for a clause to begin with one or more topic-announcing phrases. Such a phrase is often followed by the topic marker *man*, as in (9), (18), (24), (43), and (53). The topic-announcing phrase may be a noun phrase or a

¹² This hypothesis receives further support from two other facts. One is the existence of a plural morpheme *adi*, which may terminate noun phrases denoting human plural referents. Although *adi* is neither segmentable, nor a deictic, it is probably derived from deictic *a* and the third plural possessor suffix *-di*. The other fact is that many Takia adjectives take a possessor suffix agreeing with the noun to which they attribute a property, but this suffix shows a strong tendency to be neutralised as *-n*, especially when the adjective serves as a modifier (rather than as a predicate). In other words, the neutralisation of *-n* on *en/an/on* has simply proceeded one step further than it has on adjectives.

temporal or locative phrase. There is usually no intonation break between this phrase and the clause it precedes, but it is not integrated syntactically into that clause. A topic-announcing noun phrase is used to switch between topical referents which have already been introduced (cf. Lambrecht 1994:182–183, 188):

- (68) [*Nai sa-g boi*] *an/man* *iŋ e sip sa-n tamol*.
 1SG POSS-1SG servant DEM/TPC 3SG DEM ship POSS-3SG man
 'My servant, he's a sailor.'

As in this example, a topic-announcing phrase often ends with the adnominal demonstrative *an* rather than with *man*. However, their functions differ. *An* is simply anaphoric, whereas *man* occurs only with a topic-announcing phrase. Sometimes we find a sequence of anaphoric *an* and topic marker *man*:

- (69) *Ago i=k man [stori an] man Meit se-n i-bol du=go*
 thus R=B TPC story DEM TPC Mait self-P:3S S:3S-say COMPL=R:D
a-loŋ a.
 S:2P-hear IRR
 'But that story Mait will tell you himself.'

The referent of a topic-announcing phrase is often referred to again anaphorically in the following clause. Such an anaphor is more common with a human topic, where the third person free pronoun *iŋ* is used, as in (68), but sometimes an anaphor is used with a non-human topic. In this case it is likely to be *an*.

It is not only phrasal constituents which occur as topics, however. A boundary-marked independent clause with the boundary marker *ak/=k* or a dependent clause within a clause chain may also be followed by *man* or by anaphoric *an*, whose referent is then the proposition expressed by the preceding clause. The clause thus topicalised becomes background for the clause which follows. *Man* and *an* have different functions here. *Man* marks the first clause as backgrounded and its event as known to the hearer, as in (70), whilst *an* is integrated into the second clause and makes anaphoric reference back to the first. In (71) both occur, and *an* is a peripheral argument ('then') of the second clause:

- (70) [*Ui i-si=p i-tout gu=p*] *man* *m-au wa*.
 rain S:3S-go=IRR S:3S-finish COMPL=IRR TPC S:IEP-go IRR
 'The rain will stop, then we will go.' (= 'When the rain stops, we will go.')
- (71) [*Ta i-win na i=k*] *man an* *dal na i-mul do=p*
 NEG S:3S-win DUR R=B TPC DEM path LOC S:3S-return CONT=IRR:D
iŋ leit na.
 D:3S late DUR
 'When he doesn't win [the race], then he turns back and is late [doesn't reach the finishing line].'

A topicalised clause can also occur without *man*, however (the same is true of phrasal topics), and in this case the only signal that the clause is topicalised is the presence of *an* making anaphoric reference to it in the following clause (see also (54)):

- (72) [*Iŋ pein nao-n nao-n mug di-pan-i u=k do=p*]
 3 woman face-P:3S face-P:3S REC P:3P-give-O:3S IRR=B CONT=IRR:D

an dam saen an lo di-kibi-ai da.
 DEM also time DEM LOC:in S:3P-speak-O:3P IMPF

'They are to exchange women for each other, this they will also talk about at that time.'

A further extension of the clause-topicalising construction is that *man* or *an* may occur clause-initially, as proforms referring to the proposition expressed in the previous clause. In this context *an* is far more common. It occurs in this use in (17), (28) and (32) above.

The use of *ago* as another proform with clause-linking functions was referred to briefly in §3.1. This is described by Ross (1994:53–54).

8 Conclusion

What was once perhaps a three-term system of spatial deixis has in Takia become a two-term system consisting of the proximal *e*-series and the distal *o*-series. The *a*-series has lost any spatial function it once had and now has a pragmatic-definite function (as well as a lexicalised use in possessive predicates). In many cases, this means that its members have anaphoric use. Members of the *e*-series, meanwhile, may be used cataphorically.

Whilst the *e*- and *o*-series deictics are used for horizontal (or perhaps we should say 'vertically unmarked') spatial relationships, the verbs listed in (48) bear a considerable functional load in expressing directions to and from the speaker and in relation to the the geography of a volcanic island.

One result of the functional change undergone by the *a*-series is that its members have a range of discourse functions which have been described briefly in this article and are to be found scattered liberally throughout almost any text. I finish with a brief illustration, a small portion of a clause chain. The speaker is describing traditional marriage, and has explained how a proper marriage should be performed. This, he says, will have a positive effect on the couple's relationship, and it is to this proposition in the previous clause that initial *Ago* refers, and in doing so serves as a base for the addition of the enclitic sequence *do=p* which expresses the nature of the temporal link (continuity) between this and the preceding clause. The bracketed portion of the example is a pair of clauses, each terminated with the boundary marker *=k*, which serves as the topic for the last clause. Topicalisation is marked here by anaphoric *an*, translated 'this' in the free translation below. Within the bracketed portion, moreover, the pair of clauses shares the common topic *pein tamol an* 'the couple', marked as a topic here by the fact that the independent pronoun *in* refers to it anaphorically.

- (73) *Ago do=p [pein tamol an in pempem nug ta di-ripeu*
 PRO CONT=IRR:D woman man DEM D:3 always REC NEG S:3P-argue
na wa=k nug ta di-fini u na wa=k] an in kuai te=m
 DUR IRR=B REC NEG S:3P-hit IRR DUR IRR=B DEM D:3 outside LOC=only
nug di-ηane=g ...
 REC 3PL-take=R:D

'And so the couple never argue, never quarrel, this because they married openly ...'

The density of *a*-series morphemes in (73) is certainly not above average for Takia discourse.

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3 *Spatial deictics in Saliba*

ANNA MARGETTS

1 Introduction

In this paper¹ I present a description and analysis of the uses of spatially deictic words, which covers demonstratives and place adverbs, in Saliba, a Western Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. The language has a three-way distinction for spatially deictic terms, distinguishing two proximal forms (one speaker-based and one addressee-based) and a distal one. This three-way distinction holds across four form classes: free emphatic demonstratives, clause-final demonstratives, place deictics, and demonstrative clitics/particles.

Diessel (1999) describes four syntactic contexts in which spatially deictic forms are attested in the languages of the world: (i) they can occur as independent pronouns in argument position, (ii) they may modify a noun, (iii) they may modify a verb, and (iv) they may occur in copular and non-verbal clauses.² As Diessel describes, many languages have deictic forms which can occur in more than one of these contexts. Saliba demonstratives and place adverbs can occur in the four syntactic contexts listed by Diessel, but we find that not only several syntactic functions can be performed by a single form class but also more than one form class may occur in the same syntactic function.

Besides the occurrence in different syntactic contexts, a prominent distinction in the discussion of demonstratives is that between situational spatial deixis and discourse or text deixis. In this paper, I discuss the semantics of the three-way deictic distinction of the

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² Note that Diessel's use of the term 'demonstrative' includes 'adverbial demonstrative', while I use the term 'place adverbs' for these forms.

Saliba system in situational use and the syntactic behaviour of the different form classes, including their role in marking discourse deixis in Saliba texts.³

2 Language background

The Saliba language belongs to the dialect chain of the Papuan Tip cluster (Ross 1988) and is spoken on Saliba Island, parts of adjacent islands and the adjacent mainland in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. On neighbouring Logea Island a closely related dialect is spoken, and together the number of speakers of Saliba and Logea is estimated at about 2500. Saliba is a nominative-accusative and a head-marking language in which every inflected verb constitutes a potentially complete clause. Subjects are marked by an obligatory prefix on the verb stem, objects may be cross-referenced by a suffix.⁴ The constituent order is object-verb. Adjuncts can occur before and/or after the verb and are generally marked by postpositions.

In the Saliba NP, adjectives, quantifiers and numerals follow the noun as in the examples in (1) to (4).⁵

- (1) *tobwa duba-duba-na*
bag RED-black-3SG.P
'black bag'
- (2) *kai namwa-namwa-di*
food RED-good-3PL.P
'good food'

³ The discussion is based on data collected during fieldwork between 1995 and 2000. The data include a collection of about six hours of recorded texts of different types as well as detailed notes on natural occurrences of demonstratives in conversation with information on the position of the referent object relative to speaker and addressee. In addition I used a research tool for the analysis of demonstratives in situational use developed in the Language and Cognition Group at the MPI for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen (Wilkins 1999a, b) in interviews with four Saliba speakers, Maria Meina, Leah Benjamin, and Goi and Nora Oibi, in 2000.

⁴ The subject prefix is written separately in the Saliba trial orthography (Oetzel & Oetzel 1998) which I follow here.

⁵ The following abbreviations are used in the Saliba examples:

ADDR	addressee	O	object
CL	possessive classifier	P	possessive
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
DIST	distal	PP	postposition
DUR	duration	PROX	proximal
EMPH	free emphatic pronoun	PRSUP	presupposition
EX	exclusive	RED	reduplication
GIVEN	given, previously mentioned	SG	singular
INC	inclusive	SPEC	specificity marker
LOC	locative	SPKR	speaker
NEG	negative	TAM	tense/aspect/mode

- (3) *wawaya-o maudo-di*
 children-PL all-3PL.P
 'all children'
- (4) *waiwai hayona*
 mango three
 'three mangos'

Adjectives are derived from stative verbs by reduplication and by a third person possessive suffix indicating the number of the nominal referent as in (1) and (2) above.

Bare nouns can be interpreted as definite or indefinite. Notions such as specificity or givenness can be explicitly marked on the noun by determiner enclitics (§4.4.1).

- (5) *numa ne*
 house SPEC/DIST
 'that/the house'
- (6) *sinebada wa*
 old.woman GIVEN
 'the old lady (mentioned before)'

Specificity and definiteness may be marked additionally by free demonstrative forms. For object nouns, specificity, definiteness and other properties relating to object individuation are also indicated by the presence or absence of transitive morphology on the verb. Specific/individuated objects tend to be cross-referenced by an object suffix on the verb (in this case the verb is morphologically transitive) while non-specific/non-individuated objects are not cross-referenced (and the verb is morphologically intransitive), as discussed in Margetts (1999).

3 Deictic distinctions

The Saliba system of spatial deictics makes a three-way deictic distinction. It is a person-oriented system (Kemmerer 1999) in which the three terms differentiate position near speaker or near addressee from distal location. In Saliba this three-way distinction is composed of two binary contrasts: the basic division is that between proximal and distal, the proximal category being further divided into near speaker vs near addressee.

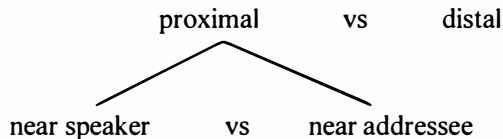


Figure 1: Contrasts within the Saliba demonstrative system

As I discuss below, the relation between the two proximal terms is not symmetrical and the speaker-based form constitutes the unmarked member of the pair. As mentioned, the three-way contrast between the terms is consistent across four form classes:

- free demonstratives
- clause-final demonstratives
- place adverbs
- demonstrative clitics and particles

Table 1 gives an overview of the three-way distinction across the four form classes.

Table 1: Three-way contrast across four form classes

	Near speaker	Near addressee	Distal
free demonstrative	<i>teina</i>	<i>temeta</i>	<i>tenem</i> (also <i>tem</i>)
clause-final demonstrative	<i>ina</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>nem</i>
place adverb	<i>(te)ina-i</i>	<i>(te)meta-i</i>	<i>(te)mena-i</i>
demonstrative clitic/particle	<i>te</i> (also <i>ta</i>)	<i>me</i>	<i>ne</i>

In the following sections, I discuss the semantics of the three-way distinction of demonstratives and place adverbs in situational use. The main criterion for the choice between the speaker-based, the addressee-based and the distal terms is the spatial distance between the referent object and the speaker and/or addressee. But as discussed below, other criteria, in particular the occurrence of finger pointing or touching of the referent object, also prove to be relevant.

3.1 Speaker-based series

The domain of use for the near-speaker series of demonstrative forms covers the speaker's personal space but also parts of the interactional space of speaker and addressee (as described by Wilkins 1999a:17ff.). Body parts or things in contact with the speaker's body, as well as referents a few metres away, are generally referred to by demonstratives of the near-speaker series, independent of whether the object referent is visible to the speaker. If the referent object is within the interactional space and equidistant from speaker and addressee the near-speaker forms will be used rather than forms of the near-addressee series. This means that speaker and addressee are construed as a unit if possible and are covered by the speaker-based demonstrative series. This causes an asymmetry in the extension of the speaker-based and the addressee-based terms which is discussed below. Finger pointing, head nods, eye gaze or touching of the object seems to be required with the near-speaker forms. Touching of the referent object (vs mere pointing) can trigger the use of the near-speaker series where otherwise the near-addressee series would be used. So there is an overlap in the use of the forms of the speaker-based and the addressee-based series in that an object in the same location can be referred to by either series depending on whether or not the speaker is touching the object. Examples of this are presented in (7) and (8) below. There is also an overlap with the distal series of spatial deictics in cases where the referent object is out of the speaker's reach but within a few metres distance. Speakers use both near-speaker and distal forms in such contexts and the choice tends to be determined by the presence or absence of finger pointing. The proximal form tends to be used if there is a finger point to the referent object, while the distal form is more likely accompanied by mere eye gaze or head nods (cf. examples (10) and (11) below).

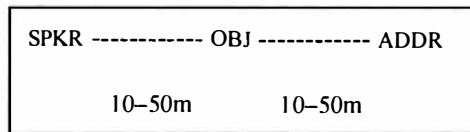
3.2 Addressee-based series

The near-addressee series of deictic terms is used for objects within the personal space of the addressee and more generally for objects which are nearer to the addressee than to the speaker. As mentioned above, objects which are within interactional space and equidistant from speaker and addressee are typically referred to by the near-speaker forms. Besides this, there is a preference for the near-speaker series in cases where the speaker touches the referent object — even if the referent is a body part of the addressee. The utterances (7) and (8) both refer to the addressee's finger. In (8) the finger is being touched by the speaker, in (7) it is not.

- (7) *Temeta nima-m gibu-na me ye kamkamna?*
 NEAR.ADDR hand-2SG.P finger-3SG.P NEAR.ADDR 3SG hurt
 'That finger of yours (near you), does it hurt?' (without touching of finger)
- (8) *Teina nima-m gibu-na te ye kamkamna?*
 NEAR.SPKR hand-2SG.P finger-3SG.P NEAR.SPKR 3SG hurt
 'This finger of yours (near me), does it hurt?' (with touching of finger)

The addressee-based forms may be used even if they are outside of the addressee's personal space in cases where the object is closer to the addressee than to the speaker. This creates an asymmetry in the use of the speaker-based and the addressee-based terms, the latter covering a wider space, extending beyond the addressee's personal space. The example in (9) occurred in a situation where the referent was located at about the same distance from both speaker and addressee but outside the personal space of either (e.g. between ten and fifty metres of each). Speakers seemed to prefer the near-addressee form over the distal one.

- (9) *ginauli me*
 thing NEAR.ADDR
 'that thing (near you)'

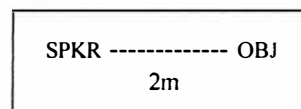


Pointing (finger point, eye gaze or head nod) is natural and common with the forms of the addressee-based series.

3.3 Distal series

The distal series of deictic forms is generally used for referent objects outside the social space of conversation, i.e. within medium-scale (home range) or large-scale (geographic) space (Wilkins 1999a:17ff.). Again, pointing is natural and common with the distal forms of the demonstratives. Outside the speaker's reach but only a few metres away, the occurrence of finger points versus eye gaze or head nods can influence the choice between the distal and the speaker-based proximal forms. The finger point will typically accompany a demonstrative of the near-speaker series, basically as if the act of pointing extends the speaker's personal space beyond the boundaries of what can be reached by hand.

- (10) *ginauli te*
 thing NEAR.SPKR
 'this thing (near me)' (with finger point)



- (11) *ginauli ne*
 thing DIST
 'that thing (distal)' (without finger point)

3.4 Criteria other than spatial deixis

I already discussed spatial distance and the presence or absence of finger points as the most relevant criteria for the choice between the three-way distinction within the demonstrative form classes. This factor can determine whether a speaker-based, a addressee-based, or a distal term will be used. There are other criteria which can influence the choice between demonstrative terms (form classes one, two and four) versus other form classes. Among these criteria are visibility, discourse status and (assumed) ownership of the referent object. Non-visibility may affect the choice between demonstratives on the one hand, and place adverbs (from class three) on the other. A referent object which is invisible, because it is too distant or because the view is obstructed by another object, is typically referred to by a place adverb (e.g. *temenai* 'there') rather than a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *tenem* 'that one'). Also, if an object has already been introduced into the discourse or is assumed by the speaker to be shared knowledge, a givenness marker, the clitic *wa* in (12), is generally preferred over demonstrative terms such as in (13).

- (12) *Tobwa wa kaiteya ye halusi?*
 bag GIVEN who 3SG weave
 'Who wove the bag (the one already mentioned, you know which one)?'
- (13) *Tobwa me kaiteya ye halusi?*
 bag NEAR-ADDR who 3SG weave
 'Who wove that bag (close to you)?'

Finally, the deictic terms compete with possessive constructions which are very frequently used in Saliba (as well as other Oceanic languages). Whenever a relation of ownership or control between a participant (e.g. the addressee or a third person) and the referent object is known or assumed, speakers tend to prefer possessive classifiers as modifiers of the referent object, as in (14), over demonstratives, such as in (13) above.

- (14) *Yo-m tobwa kaiteya ye halusi?*
 CL-2SG.P bag who 3SG weave
 'Who wove your bag?'

Saliba possessive constructions are used not only to indicate ownership in a narrow sense but they more generally express an association of what is grammatically the 'possessor' with the referent object.⁶

⁶ This tendency can also be observed in the use of possessive constructions to express the notion of benefaction (often but not exclusively construed as 'future possession'). See Song (1997, 1998, to appear) and Margetts (1999, 2002, in prep.).

3.5 Contrastive use

The use of demonstratives in contrastive contexts differs from their non-contrastive use. In contrastive use, a demonstrative's spatially deictic meaning can be neutralised in favour of establishing a contrast. It is therefore necessary to distinguish the contrastive from the non-contrastive use of these terms.⁷ To contrast two objects located at more or less the same distance from the speaker and within easy reach, one object is typically referred to by the near-speaker form, the other by the distal form, even though in a non-contrastive situation both objects would have to be referred to by the near-speaker forms. Similarly, to contrast two objects which are spatially distal, a proximal and a distal form may be used in order to establish contrastive reference. An example from spontaneous speech is given in (15), where the speaker refers to raking two parts of a lawn in ca. 15 metres distance. In the example, one side of the lawn is referred to by the distal demonstrative, the other side (which is in fact closer to the speaker) is referred to by the proximal demonstrative. Here the relative distance to the speaker is used to express a contrast between the two referents, even though in a non-contrastive context the distal demonstrative would have to be used in both cases.⁸

- (15) *Tenem teha ne ku ginauli na teina te sola.*
 DIST side DIST 2SG do CONJ NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR still
 'You did that side but this one not yet.'

4 Form classes of spatial deixis

There are four form classes of spatial deictics in Saliba, free demonstratives, clause-final demonstratives, place adverbs and a class of demonstrative clitics and particles which I discuss in turn below.

4.1 Form class 1: Free demonstratives

Saliba free demonstratives can function as pronominal or adnominal forms but also as what Diessel (1999) terms identificational demonstratives. They are defined as a form class by their position in the NP: free demonstratives precede the noun, while adjectives, quantifiers, and numerals follow, as shown in examples (1) to (4) above. In both pronominal and adnominal function, the free forms tend to appear in the clause-initial topic position, as in (16) and (17) respectively.

⁷ Wilkins (1999a, b) discusses the need for distinguishing between contrastive and non-contrastive use of demonstratives and provides some research tools to explore both uses. This distinction seems to have been neglected in some of the recent work on demonstratives (cf. Kemmerer 1999:52).

⁸ The absolute selection restrictions of the non-contrastive use are translated into relative selection restrictions in contrastive use. If the two contrasted objects are not equidistant from the speaker but one is closer than the other, the proximal form may refer only to the closer of the two objects and the distal form may refer only to the one which is further away. So, in non-contrastive use the near-speaker form refers to an object which is near speaker but in contrastive use it refers to an object which is equidistant or nearer to the speaker than other objects with which it is in contrast. The reverse holds for the distal forms.

- (16) *Teina kaiteya yo-na tobwa?*
 NEAR.SPKR WHO CL-3SG.P bag
 'Whose bag is this (close to me)?'
- (17) *Teina tobwa te kaiteya yo-na?*
 NEAR.SPKR bag NEAR.SPKR who CL-3SG.P
 'This bag (close to me) whose is it?'

In their pronominal use, the free demonstratives may take a corresponding demonstrative enclitic (§4.4), as in (18) to (20).⁹

- (18) *teina te*
 NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR
 'this one (here)'
- (19) *temeta me*
 NEAR.ADDR NEAR.ADDR
 'this one (near you)'
- (20) *tenem ne*
 DIST DIST
 'that one (there)'

There is no categorial difference between the pronominal and the identificational use and in both cases the forms can be considered demonstrative pronouns. In equational clauses with non-verbal predicates they do not behave differently from pronouns or from full NPs. Compare (21) and (22) with the clause in (23).¹⁰

- (21) *teina hewa-hewali-mo.*
 NEAR.SPKR RED-young.man-only
 'This one is only a young man.'
- (22) *tenem waga.*
 DIST boat
 'That's a boat.'
- (23) *hesa-na Martha.*
 name-3SG:P name
 'Her name is Martha.'

⁹ The distal form *tenem* of the free demonstrative is often shortened to *tem* in fast speech.

¹⁰ In equational clauses, the particle *meta* may occur between the first and the second NP. While the particle is reminiscent of a copular when it occurs with non-verbal predicates, it is not obligatory in these constructions. *Meta* is homophonous with the base form of the near-addressee demonstrative. Its discourse use seems parallel to that of the addressee-based form *mate* in Buhutu, a related language within the Suaui dialect chain, as described by Cooper (1992). He presents an analysis of the discourse uses of the Buhutu form as marking topic-comment structure (1992:98). This is in line with the discourse occurrence of the Saliba form where it does not function as a spatial deictic, as in (i).

(i) *ena ... ka kita-di meta kabo hinage ka lao ...*
 if IEX see-3PL.O/P PARTICLE TAM also IEX go
 'If ... we see them we will go ...'

When the free demonstratives occur as adnominal modifiers, the modified noun typically carries the corresponding adnominal clitic, *te*, *me* or *ne*, as in (25) to (26).

- (24) *tenem sinebada ne hinage ye kita*
 DIST old.woman DIST also 3SG see
 'That old lady also saw it.'
- (25) *teina yo-da yanua te*
 NEAR.SPKR CL-IINC place NEAR.SPKR
 'this place of ours'
- (26) *temeta ginauli me hesa-na saha?*
 NEAR.ADDR thing NEAR.ADDR name-3SG.P what
 'That thing (close to you), what's it called?'

But there are also text examples in which the free demonstratives occur as modifiers and where the noun is not accompanied by a demonstrative clitic, as in (27) and (28).

- (27) *teina sinebada yo-na taubada, Samarai unai ye lao-ma ...*
 NEAR.SPKR old.woman CL-3SG.P old.man place.name PP.SG 3SG come
 'This woman's husband, when he comes back from Samarai ...'
- (28) *teina isi mulita nige se kita*
 NEAR.ADDR generation last NEG 3PL see
 'This young generation, they didn't see it.'

The free forms are morphologically composed of a prefix *te-* and the demonstrative base *ina*, *meta* or *nem* (speaker-based, addressee-based, distal). The prefix is phonologically identical to the near-speaker form of the demonstrative clitic/particle and it appears to be responsible for the emphatic character of the free forms as it also features in the emphatic forms of the place adverbs. While there is a separate paradigm of place adverbs, the free demonstratives sometimes also seem to perform the function of place adverbs, as in (29) and (30).

- (29) *Sinebada i wane 'Yau ede teina'.*
 old.woman 3SG say 1SG PRSUP NEAR.SPKR
 'The old woman said "I am here".'
- (30) *Ye lao-ee temeta ye sae.*
 3SG go-DUR NEAR.ADDR 3SG go.up
 'She went and went and went up there.'
- (31) *Ta sae ta lao tenem.*
 IINC go.up IINC GO DIST
 'We go up there.'

In a few instances the free demonstratives seem to have temporal reference, as in (32).

- (32) *Teina kabo ya lage.*
 NEAR.SPKR TAM 3SG arrive
 'I just arrived.'

In most text examples, the free demonstratives refer to an object present in the speech situation or they occur in direct speech within a story, again referring to a present referent object. There are some instances, however, where they are used for discourse deixis. In the

utterance in (33), the speaker uses the addressee-based demonstrative *temeta* to refer to a previous utterance by the addressee.

- (33) *Yau hinage yo-gu hineli doha temeta.*
 ISG.EMPH also CL-ISG.P idea like NEAR.ADDR
 'My idea is also like that (like what you just said).'

Very commonly, the distal free demonstrative *tenem* is accompanied by *doha* 'like' (which mostly precedes but can also follow the demonstrative) and anaphorically refers to what was said in the previous discourse, as in (34), where in the previous sentences the speaker describes an old custom that is no longer practiced.

- (34) *doha tenem*
 like DIST
 'like that'
- Doha tenem dohagi se gina-ginauli.*
 like DIST how 3PL RED-do
 'They did it like that.'/'That's what they were doing.'

At the end of a traditional narrative, the speaker typically refers back to the last line of the story or to the story as a whole, as in (35) to (38).

- (35) *Tenem Taubinawaya Tautolowaya siya pilipilidai-di.*
 DIST name name 3PL.EMPH legend-3PL.P
 'That was the story of Taubinawaya and Tautolowaya.'
- (36) *Tem pilpilidai-na ede.*
 DIST legend-3SG.P PRSUP
 'That is its story.'
- (37) *OK tem iya ede.*
 OK DIST 3PL.EMPH PRSUP
 'OK, that's it.'
- (38) *Ah tenem gehe-na ede.*
 filler DIST end-3SG.P PRSUP
 'That is the end.'

One speaker consistently uses the addressee-based free demonstrative in this context, as in (39) and (40).

- (39) *Temeta ah Captain Torres wasa-na.*
 NEAR.ADDR filler captain name news-3SG.P
 'That was the story of Captain Torres.'
- (40) *Unai temeta pilipilidai ne gehe-na ede.*
 PP.SG NEAR.ADDR legend DIST end-3SG.P PRSUP
 'So that is the end of the story.'

For cataphoric discourse deixis, the speaker-based free demonstrative *teina* is used in a number of examples. In (41) and (42) from a letter, *teina* refers ahead to information in the following text.

- (41) *Siba, yo-m wasa teina: ...*
 name CL-2SG.P news NEAR.SPKR
 'Siba, this is your news: ...'

- (42) *Yo-m wasa hesau ede teina: ...*
 CL-2SG.P news other PRSUP NEAR.SPKR
 'The other news for you is this: ...'

More commonly, the free demonstrative is combined with the speaker-based demonstrative clitic for cataphoric reference, as in the examples below from spoken language, which all occur at the beginning of a text.

- (43) *Teina te stori-na wa hinage udoi.*
 NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR story-3SG.P given also different
 '[There is the same character but] ... the story of this one is different.'
 (from retelling a series of short video clips)

- (44) *Na teina te hesau unai na hauhau-na.*
 CONJ NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR other PP.SG CONJ new-3SG.P
 'This is another one, a new one.' (from retelling a series of short video clips)

- (45) *Teina te ka taitolo-na ne ka 'bosa halusi-na'.*
 NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR TAM title-3SG.P SPEC/DIST TAM basket weave-3SG.P
 'The title of this will be 'basket weaving' (about a procedural text which is about to be told).'

4.2 Form class 2: Clause-final demonstratives

The clause-final demonstratives constitute the morphological base forms from which the free emphatic demonstratives as well as the place adverbs are derived. The morphemes *ina*, *meta*, and *nem* (without the emphatic prefix *te-* that occurs in the free demonstratives) are defined as a form class by their clause-final position. Like the free demonstratives discussed above, they function as demonstrative pronouns, referring to an object which is present in the speech situation. They commonly occur in non-verbal clauses, as in (46) to (49).

- (46) *Yo-na tobwa ina.*
 CL2-3SG.P bag NEAR.SPKR
 'This (close to me) is her bag.'
- (47) *Kaiteya yo-na tobwa meta?*
 who CL-3SG.P bag NEAR.ADDR
 'Whose bag is that (close to you)?'
- (48) *Kaiteya natu-na nem?*
 who child-3SG.P DIST
 'Whose child is that (distal)?'
- (49) *Kaiteya nem?*
 who DIST
 'Who is that (distal)?'

Occasionally, they occur in contexts which suggest a place adverb reading, as in (50).

- (50) *Sawasawaga nige yama ina.*
 place.name NEG fish NEAR.SPKR
 'There are no fish here in Sawasawaga.'

In (51) and (52) the addressee-based form appears in a question which also commonly serves as a greeting.

- (51) *Haedi meta?*
 where NEAR.ADDR
 'Where are you going?'
 (52) *Haedi ku lao-lao meta?*
 where 2SG RED-go NEAR.ADDR
 'Where are you going?'

The functional differences between the clause-final forms and the free demonstratives are still unclear. Both form classes seem to function as demonstrative pro-forms but only the free forms also occur as adnominal modifiers. While functionally similar, the clause-final forms appear clitic-like in that they are bound to the end of the clause. In contrast to the free demonstratives, they may not occur as independent words. While free demonstratives can feature in single-word utterances the clause-final forms are not allowed in this context. As a one-word answer to a question with *sahasahana* 'which one', the free form *teina* 'this one' may occur but not a clause-final form *ina*, as shown in (53). As a one-word answer to a question with *haedi* 'where', a place adverb, such as *inai* 'here' may occur but again the clause-final demonstrative is not permitted, as shown in (54).

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(53) A. <i>Sahasahana wa ku henuwa?</i>
 which.one given 2SG want
 'Which one do you want?'</p> | <p>B. <i>Teina (*ina)</i>
 NEAR.SPKR NEAR.SPKR
 'This one.'</p> |
| <p>(54) A. <i>Haedi ku tole?</i>
 where 2SG put
 'Where did you put it?'</p> | <p>B. <i>Ina-i (*ina)</i>
 NEAR.SPKR-LOC NEAR.SPKR
 'Here.'</p> |

Another difference between the two form classes is that the free forms are more emphatic, but there are further factors involved as well. While the free demonstratives generally refer to nominal entities, the clause-final forms at times appear to make reference to a whole situation, an activity or an event. Consider the minimal pair in (55). Both utterances were set in a context where the addressee is carrying a sago palm leaf back to the village in preparation for a feast.

- (55) a. *Nabada meta!*
 enough NEAR.ADDR
 'That's enough!'
 (You've cut enough leafs, you can stop. We'll use that one but we don't need any more leaves than that.)
 b. *Temeta nabada!*
 NEAR.ADDR enough
 'That's enough!'
 (Never mind that leaf you are carrying. We won't bother with that one.)

But speakers generally see no semantic difference between example (47) above, with the clause-final clitic and the clause in (56) with the free demonstrative.

- (56) *Temeta kaiteya yo-na tobwa?*
 NEAR.ADDR who CL-3SG.P bag
 'Whose bag is this (close to you)?'

We also find minimal pairs of clause-final demonstratives and adnominal clitics. A noun followed by a clause-final clitic will have a predicative reading, as in (57), while a noun with an adnominal clitic simply constitutes a noun phrase, as in (58).

- (57) *Moni ina.*
 money NEAR.SPKR
 'This is money.'
 (As in 'Sorry, I have only small coins' – 'No worries, this is also money')

- (58) *moni te*
 money NEAR.SPKR
 'this money'

There are examples from spontaneous speech where a free demonstrative and a corresponding clause-final form co-occur in the same clause, under a coherent intonation contour (which indicates that the initial free form is not a false start). Consider (59) and (60):¹¹

- (59) *Tenem udoi nem.*
 DIST different DIST
 'That's a different one.'
- (60) *Tem ye hedede-gaibu nem.*
 DIST 3SG tell-just.like.that DIST
 'She said that just like that (she didn't mean it).'

Example (60) shows that the clause-final forms can be used for discourse deixis, at least in combination with the corresponding free form. But more commonly they are used to refer to objects which are present in the speech situation as in the examples discussed above.

The clause-final demonstrative forms and their possible status as clitics clearly constitute one of the most challenging aspects of the Saliba demonstrative system. Despite

¹¹ The distal form *nem* is the most common of the three forms in the data and of its eight occurrences it co-occurs with the preceding free form *te(ne)m* in five cases. Nevertheless not all speakers seem to allow clauses with both a free form and a clause-final demonstrative. In elicitations, text examples like those in (59) and (60) above and also elicited examples like (i) and (ii) below were considered grammatical and 'good Saliba' by some speakers, but other speakers reject these constructions and consider them 'doubled' because of the two demonstrative forms.

- (i) *Teina kowa ina.*
 NEAR.SPKR 2SG.EMPH NEAR.SPKR
 'This is you (on the photo).'
- (ii) *Temeta kaiteya yo-na tobwa meta?*
 NEAR.ADDR who CL-3SG.P bag NEAR.ADDR
 'Whose bag is this (close to you)?'

discussions and elicitations with speakers, the analysis of the clause-final paradigm remains vague and will require further study.

4.3 Form class 3: Place adverbs

Place adverbs with the meaning ‘here’ and ‘there’ (or more precisely: ‘here, near me’, ‘here/there, near you’, and ‘there, not close to either of us’) are derived from the demonstrative base forms by a locative suffix *-i* (or *-ai* in case of the distal form).¹² They may carry the emphatic prefix *te-*, which also occurs on the free demonstratives .

- (61) *(te-)ina-i*
NEAR.SPKR-LOC
‘here (near me)’
- (62) *(te-)meta-i*
NEAR.ADDR-LOC
‘there (near you)’
- (63) *(te-)men-ai*
DIST-LOC
‘there’

The distal place deictic *menai* presumably evolved through metathesis of the distal demonstrative *nem* (Malcolm Ross, pers. comm.). The form **nemai*, without metathesis, is not attested.

The basic locative construction in Saliba (Dunn et al. in preparation) does not involve the locative suffix but consists of a noun plus postposition, as in (64).

- (64) *Koya unai ka paisowa.*
garden PP.SG IEX work
‘We worked in the garden.’

Besides the place adverbs *ina-i*, *meta-i* and *menai*, the locative ending *-i* is, in Saliba only, preserved with the nouns *numa* ‘house’ and *koya* ‘garden’, as in (65) and (66).

- (65) *Se lau numa-i.*
3PL go house-LOC
‘They are going home.’
- (66) *Se lau koya-i.*
3PL go garden-LOC
‘They are going to the garden.’

In contrast to the demonstrative particles *te*, *me* and *ne*, discussed in §4.4.1, which can express location only in non-verbal predicates, the place adverbs *ina-i*, *meta-i* and *menai* may occur in verbal clauses to express stative location or the goal of motion verbs, as in (67) to (71).

¹² The locative suffix **-i* reflects the early Papuan Tip postposition clitic **ai*. The reduction is due to the fact that the form often occurred after nouns ending in **-a* (Malcolm Ross, pers. comm.).

- (67) *Anna, nigwa meta-i?*
 name knife NEAR.ADD-LOC
 'Anna, do you have a knife (with/near you)?'
- (68) *Kabo temena-i se bawa-bawa.*
 TAM DIST-LOC 3PL RED-stay
 'They stayed there.'
- (69) *Ye laoma ina-i na ye lobai-gau.*
 3SG come NEAR.SPKR-LOC CONJ 3SG find-1SG.O
 'He came here and found me.'

Besides its situational use, the distal form *temenai* is also used to refer back to locations which were mentioned in the preceding discourse, as in (70) and (71).

- (70) *Ka sae Naura. Temena-i mayadai hayona ka bawa-i-di.*
 1EX go.up Naura DIST-LOC day three 1EX stay-APP-3PL.O
 'We went up to Naura. There we stayed for three days.'
- (71) *Pilipino unai kabo se gabae-uyoi Buka. Mena-i se keno.*
 Philippines PP.SG TAM 3PL leave-again Buka DIST-LOC 3PL sleep
 'They left the Philippines for Buka. That's where they slept.'

The speaker-based and the addressee-based place adverbs are not attested as discourse deictics.

4.4 Form class 4: Determiner clitics and demonstrative particles

The last form class consists of monosyllabic morphemes which occur either as unstressed determiner clitics following the noun or as stress-bearing demonstrative particles. As clitics, the forms function as adnominal modifiers, as particles, they modify non-verbal predicates or stand alone as exclamations. The clitics and particles are considered as separate subclasses as they occur in distinct syntactic contexts and differ in their paradigmatic relations.

4.4.1 Determiner clitics

The Saliba determiner enclitics are defined as a distinct subclass by their position cliticised to the NP. Besides the spatially deictic forms *te/ta*, *me*, and *ne*, presented in Table 1 above, this form class has a fifth member, the clitic *wa*, which is not a spatial deictic, but marks the discourse status of a noun as given. As mentioned above, when referring to an object which has already been established in the discourse, the clitic *wa* is generally preferred over the spatially deictic demonstrative terms.

- (72) *numa te/ta*
 house NEAR.SPKER
 'this house (close to me)'
- (73) *numa me*
 house NEAR.ADDR
 'that house (close to you)'

- (74) *numa ne*
house SPEC/DIST
'the/that house (distal)'

- (75) *numa wa*
house GIVEN
'the house (previously mentioned)'

The forms *te* and *ta* are not semantically distinct. While some speakers only use *te* but not *ta*, for those speakers who allow both versions they are interchangeable. The latter form appears to be a loan from Kwato Suau, a local mission language from which Saliba has borrowed extensively.¹³

That the bound forms are clitics rather than suffixes can be seen in examples such as (76), where the clitic attaches to the end of a noun phrase with two conjoined nouns.

- (76) *Teina stori o pilipildai te ah yo-ma kastom*
NEAR.SPKR story CONJ legend NEAR.SPKR FILLER CL-1EX custom
unai ye laoma.
PP.SG 3SG come
'This story or legend comes from our custom.'

The distal clitic *ne* is in the process of grammaticalising into an article marking specificity. It has fewer selection restrictions than the other demonstrative enclitics. The form may be used independent of the location of the referent object and may refer even to body parts of the speaker or addressee, as in (77), where, on a distance scale, the speaker-based or addressee-based forms would be required:

- (77) *beya-gu ne unai*
ear-1SG.P SPEC/DIST PP.SG
'on my ear'

In addition, the clitic *ne* can combine with all three forms of the free demonstrative series, the speaker-based form, the addressee-based form and the distal one. Consider example (78):

- (78) *Teina buse ne ... ku usa-i ... (walata unai).*
NEAR.SPKR shit SPEC/DIST 2SG INSERT-APP clay.pot PP.SG
'Insert ... this shit ... (into the clay pot).'

In contrast, the other deictic clitics may combine only with their corresponding deictic forms of the free demonstrative paradigm: *te/ta* with speaker-based form *teina*, and *me* with the addressee-based form *temeta*.

The distal/specific clitic is often found to mark kin terms, body parts and other parts of entities that have already been introduced into the discourse.

¹³ The Kwato Suau bible and hymn book is used in Saliba communities and it is in church contexts that Saliba is most influenced by Kwato Suau. About 80–90% of the text occurrences of the clitic *ta* in the database come from recorded Saliba church sermons.

- (79) *Ku le-ya-ma natu-da ne ye kai.*
 2SG give-3SG.O-HITHER child-1INC.P SPEC/DIST 3SG eat
 'Give it to me for our child to eat.'
- (80) *Bea-m ne duha-di ne se laki kalili.*
 ear-2SG.P SPEC/DIST hole-3PL.P SPEC/DIST 3PL big very
 'The holes in your ears are really big.'

Also very commonly the nouns modified by *ne* are followed by a preposition and mark locations, as in (81) to (83).

- (81) *Kaiwa mo se yuhi numa ne unai.*
 fire just 3PL blow house SPEC/DIST PP.SG
 'They just lit a fire in the house.'
- (82) *Hesau-na ye beku-dobi bwatano ne unai.*
 other-3SG.P 3SGL fall-down ground SPEC/DIST PP.SG
 'One fell down on the ground.'
- (83) *Kabo mahana ne udiedi ka tole-di,*
 TAM sun SPEC/DIST PP.PL 1EX put-3PL.O
 'And then we put then in the sun,
sakali ne udiedi ka tole-di ... kabo ye pitali.
 gravel SPEC/DIST PP.PL 1EX put-3PL.O TAM 3SG dry
 we put them on the gravel ... and it will dry.'

Despite its grammaticalisation, the clitic *ne* appears to satisfy both of Himmelmann's (1996) identifying characteristics of 'true' demonstratives: the clitic is part of a paradigm which, in situational use, locates the referent object on a distance scale and it seems to qualify neither for 'larger situation' use nor for 'associative-anaphoric' reference (Himmelmann 1996:210–211).

The determiner clitic *wa*, which marks given information, is the most common tool for reference tracking in Saliba texts. A participant tends to be introduced into the discourse by an unmarked noun and later reference to the same participant is typically marked by *wa*. Example (84) shows the beginning of a story where a crow is introduced into the discourse by an unmarked noun. In the second mention the crow is marked as given by the clitic *wa*.

- (84) *Bwanabwanaluwa hesau unai manuwa ao'ao ye kabi-noi ye miya.*
 island other PP.SG bird crow 3SG make-nest 3SG stay
 'On a certain island a black crow made a nest and stayed there.'
- Huya hesau kabo ao'ao wa ye-diyaka.*
 time other TAM crow given 3SG-pregnant
 One day the black crow became pregnant.' (Mosel 1994:42)

The text excerpt in (85) also shows a passage from the beginning of a story where the participants, including a boat, are introduced by name. Several sentences later, the boat is referred to again and it is marked by the givenness marker.

- (85) *Taubada-na hesa-na Tau Mekemekea, mwane-na hesa-na.*
 old.man-3SG.P name-3SG.P Tau Mekemekea spouse-3SG.P name-3SG.P
 'The man was called Tau Mekemekea, his wife was called

Sine Mwesomwesoya. Tau-di labui yo-di waga se hai.
 Sine Mwesomwesoya person-3PL.P two CL-3PL.P boat 3PL get
 Sine Mwesomwesoya. The two of them got their boat.

Waga hesa-na Kemuyuwa.
 boat name-3SG.P Kemuyuwa
 The boat was called Kemuyuwa.

... yo-di waga wa ye saema
 CL-3PL.p boat given 3SG come.up
 ... their boat was coming up

benā Wakowakoko gadogadoa ye naba-utusi.
 OBLIG Wakowakoko bay 3SG cut-break
 and was trying to cut through the island at Wakowakoko bay.'

While the givenness marker *wa* is much more common for reference tracking, the specific/distal clitic *ne* can also be used in this way and in at least one story the two forms alternate. In this narrative, a participant is introduced as being a mother and then it is consistently referred to by the clitic *wa*, as in (86).

- (86) *Ye labalaba meta natu-na waihiu ... ye lakilaki kabo*
 3SG give.birth PARTICLE child-3SG.P girl 3SG grow.up TAM
 'She gave birth to a human girl ... when she grew up
wawayā wa ye hedede-lao sina-na wa unai i wane
 child given 3SG say-go mother-3SG.P given PP.SG 3SG say
 'sina-gu ...'
 mother-1SG.P
 the child said to her mother "Mother ...".'

Reference to the mother is marked by *wa* throughout the text until around the middle of the story the speaker switches for no clear reason to track the reference to this character by *ne* instead of *wa* over several paragraphs, as in (87), then switches back to using *wa* until the end of the narrative.

- (87) *Sina-na ne ka-na kai ne ye suasua.*
 mother-3SG.P SPEC/DIST CL-3SG.P food SPEC/DIST 3SG serve
 'She was serving her mother's food.'

The nature and degree of the overlap between *wa* and *ne* in this function will require further investigation.

The speaker-based form *te* of the clitic paradigm is also used to establish discourse reference, namely to express cataphoric reference in combination with the free form *teina*, as shown in (43) to (45) and also (76) above. The addressee-based clitic is not attested to mark discourse reference.

4.4.2 Demonstrative particles

The demonstrative particles are defined as a distinct form class by their ability to bear stress and to occur in the non-verbal constructions *iya ede x* 'it is at location X' or as one-

word answers to where-questions (which they share with the place adverbs discussed above). The givenness marker *wa* and the variant *ta* of the near-speaker form of the clitic paradigm are not part of this paradigm. Furthermore, as a particle, the distal form *ne* can have only a spatially deictic reading, in contrast to the corresponding clitic, which may function as a general marker of specificity. In (88) and (89), the stress-bearing forms *te*, *me*, and *ne* function as place adverbs in clauses with non-verbal predicates.

- (88) Q: *Kowa haedi?*
 bag where
 'Where are you?'
 A: *Yau ede te!*
 1SG.EMPH PRSP NEAR.SPKR
 'I am here!'
- (89) Q: *Tobwa wa haedi?*
 bag given where
 'Where is the bag?'
 A: (a) *(Iya ede) me!*
 3SG.EMPH PRSP NEAR.ADDR
 'It is there (close to you)!'
 (b) *(Iya ede) ne!*
 3SG.EMPH PRSP DIST
 'It is there (distal)!'

They can also occur as attention-drawing exclamations, as in examples (90) to (93).

- (90) *Te! lya tautau wa ye tole na ya kita ...*
NEAR.SPKR 3SG.EMP picture given 3SG put CONJ 1SG see
'Here/like this! She puts in the picture/tape and I see it ...'
- (91) *Yauwedo me!*
hello/thanks NEAR.ADDR
'Hello there!'
- (92) *Me! sikwahela u kita?*
NEAR.ADDR gecko 2SG see
'There, did you see the gecko?'
- (93) *Ne! ne! ne!*
DIST DIST DIST
'There, there, there!' (mother pointing to a white person at a few metres distance to scare her child and make it behave)

In contrast to the place adverbs, the demonstrative particles may not appear in verbal clauses and they would be ungrammatical in the contexts of examples (67) to (69) above.

5 Summary

In this paper I described the Saliba system of demonstratives and place adverbs in terms of the semantic distinctions involved and the morphosyntactic behaviour of the relevant word classes. The language has four form classes of spatially deictic words which occur as independent pronouns, as modifiers of nouns, predicates and clauses, or as exclamations. Semantically, each of these four form classes shows a three-way contrast between near-speaker, near addressee and distal. This three-way deictic contrast is based on two binary oppositions: a primary one between proximal and distal location, and a secondary opposition between a speaker-based and an addressee-based form within proximal space. The two proximal forms are asymmetrical in their use and in the spatial domain that they

cover, and the speaker-based form can be considered the unmarked member of the opposition. Spatial distance is the most relevant criterion for the choice between the three demonstrative terms. Other features which were shown to be relevant include touching vs. not touching of the object and the use of finger points vs. head nods or eye gaze. All three forms overlap with each other in terms of the spatial domain to which they can refer. Contexts of overlap between the speaker and the addressee-based form are the addressee's body and objects in contact with it. If, in this context, the referent object is touched by the speaker it is referred to by the speaker-based form; if it is not touched, the addressee-based form is required. Contexts of overlap between the speaker-based and the distal form are situations where the referent object is within a few metres distance of the speaker but out of arm's reach. In this case the speaker-based form will co-occur with a finger point (as if the pointing gesture in fact extends the speaker's domain of reach) while the distal form is preferred when there is no finger point. Finally, contexts of overlap between the addressee-based and the distal form are situations where the referent object is located between and equidistant from speaker and addressee but outside the personal space of either.

The choice between the place adverbs and the other deictic form classes was shown to be influenced by visibility conditions. Invisible objects tend to be referred to by place deictics rather than pronominal or adnominal demonstratives. In certain contexts the demonstratives compete with other markers such as the clitic *wa*, indicating the discourse status of an object, or, with possessive classifiers, indicating a relationship between the referent object and a human participant.

All four form classes can occur in situational use, referring to an object which is present in the speech situation, and most examples were of this type. The givenness clitic *wa* is the most common means to track discourse reference but several of the spatially deictic paradigms can also be used in this way. The free demonstratives, either alone or in combination with a clause-final form or a demonstrative clitic, can be used to mark anaphoric or cataphoric reference. The distal form *tenem* and the addressee-based form *temeta* are attested to mark anaphoric reference while the speaker-based form *teina* was shown to establish cataphoric reference in a number of examples. The distal form *nem* of the clause-final demonstrative paradigm can occur in contexts where it makes anaphoric reference, but only in combination with the free demonstrative *tenem*. For the place adverbs, it is again the distal form *(te)metai* which can be used anaphorically, while the two proximal forms *(te)inai* and *(te)metai* are not attested as discourse deictics. Finally, of the demonstrative clitics, the distal form *ne* can mark anaphoric discourse reference, and it overlaps in this function with the givenness marker *wa*. The speaker-based clitic *te* occurs in examples with cataphoric reference, but only in combination with the corresponding free demonstrative form *teina*.

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4 *Aspects of spatial deixis in Kilivila*

GUNTER SENFT

1 Introduction¹

One of the many games children on the Trobriand Islands play with the members of their peer groups or with their parents is called *nene'i nene'i kora*. The name of this game can be glossed as 'find, find the hidden' (its English equivalent is 'I spy with my little eye'). It is usually played by two children. One child chooses an object in their joint environment and then tells her or his partner, for example:

- (1) a. *Kwe-tala vavagi ma-kwe-na kwe-bweyani.*
CP.thing-one thing Dem-CP.thing-Dem CP.thing-red
'A thing here (this) red (one).'²

The partner in the game then looks around and comes up with guesses like

¹ This paper is based on 31 months of field research on the Trobriand Islands in 1982–83, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998. I want to thank the German Research Society and especially the Max Planck Society for their support in realising my field research. I also want to thank all the (short-term, visiting, and long-term) members of the 'space project' of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for the enthusiasm with which we started the project and with which we have been conducting the research so far. I also thank the participants of the Second European Meeting on Oceanic Linguistics in Nijmegen for helpful comments on a first version of this paper. I thank the National and Provincial Governments in Papua New Guinea, the Institute for PNG Studies, and the National Research Institute for their assistance with, and permission for, my research projects. Last but not least I express my great gratitude to the people of the Trobriand Islands, especially to the inhabitants of Tauwema; I thank them for their hospitality, friendship, and patient cooperation.

² In this paper the following abbreviations are used:

CP	classificatory particle, classifier
Dem	Demonstrative (proximal form)
Dir	Directional
dist	distal form of the demonstrative
excl	exclusive
Fut	Future
Loc	Locative
med	medial form of the demonstrative
Pl	Plural
prox.	proximal form of the demonstrative
1/2/3	Person

- (1) b. *O bogwa la-bani ma-kwe-na boli.*
 oh already I.Past-find Dem-CP.thing-Dem ball
 'Oh, I have already found (it), this ball (here)'.

If this guess is right and the second child has found the object the other child had chosen, it is his or her turn now to choose an object in their environment and ask the other child to identify an object which is only characterised as a 'thing' with a certain colour or as being close to a certain object or place. This game certainly helps children to learn the means their mother tongue offers them for referring to objects in space.³

The Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea may point at something or someone with their index finger, with their eyes, with a lifted chin or with puckered lips. However, like most of us, they usually use language — more often than not together with pointing gestures — for such acts of spatial reference. Like all natural languages their language — which is called Kilivila — provides a number of means for its speakers to refer to the location of animate or inanimate referents relative to the participants of the speech act. Philosophers refer to these means and expressions as 'indexical expressions' or just 'indexicals' (Levinson 1983:55). In linguistics, however, most of these means are categorised under the general heading of 'deixis'.⁴ Linguists generally differentiate between person deixis, time deixis, space deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis (Levinson 1994; see also Senft 1997).⁵ This paper focuses on aspects of spatial (or local) deixis in Kilivila. After a brief characterisation of this language I will discuss central aspects of the system of Kilivila spatial deixis and illustrate its usage. This system includes all forms that have the — deictic — function to indicate the location of a referent with respect to the participants of a speech act. Moreover, in a brief excursus I will also illustrate how Kilivila demonstratives are used in discourse deixis.

2 Kilivila – the language of the Trobriand Islanders

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinative language and its general word-order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986, 1996c). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labelled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers), Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4000 speakers) and Kilivila (or Kiriwina, Boyowa, with about 25,000 speakers); Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata and Simsim. The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the Papuan Tip cluster group (Capell 1976:6, 9; Ross 1988:25, 190ff.; Senft 1986:6).

The Trobriand Islanders have become famous, even outside of anthropology, because of the ethnographic masterpieces on their culture published by the anthropologist Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski, who did field research there between 1916 and 1920 (see Senft 1999a).

³ In Germany we have exactly the same game. It is called 'Ich seh' etwas, was du nicht siehst' (I see something which you do not see) and follows the same rules as the Kilivila game just described.

⁴ Remember that the term 'deixis' is borrowed from the Greek word for pointing or indicating (see Bühler 1934:36–37 (=1990:44–45)).

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the concept of deixis I refer the reader to the introduction of this volume.

The Trobrianders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim'. They are gardeners, doing slash-and-burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualised 'Kula' trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922; Leach & Leach 1983). The society is matrilineal but virilocal (see also Weiner 1976, 1988).

Kilivila is of special interest to linguists for various reasons (see Senft 1998): It is a language with VOS word order as its unmarked word-order pattern, it is a language with rather complex serial verb constructions (see Senft 1986:39–42), its marking of tense/aspect/mood is rather complex and difficult to describe without access to detailed contextual information (see Senft 1994a), and it seems that the technical terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' are basically inadequate for describing the verbal expression and the argument structure of Kilivila (see Senft 1996c, see also Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:720ff.).

Moreover, Kilivila has a fourfold series of possessive pronouns, partly realised as free possessive-pronominal pronouns, partly realised as possessive-pronominal affixes. One of these series is produced only in a specific semantic context, referring to food only, the other three series are used to distinguish different degrees of possession; one series marks inalienable possession, two series mark alienable possession of inedible things (Senft 1986:47–54). These possessive-pronominal forms classify the Kilivila noun.

Finally, Kilivila is probably most interesting for linguists because it is a classifier language with a complex system of nominal classification that consists of quantifiers, repeaters⁶ and noun classifiers proper (Senft 1996a). I refer to all these formatives within this sophisticated system with the general term Classificatory Particles (CP), which Malinowski (1920) coined for them.

The Kilivila system of CPs encompasses at least 177 formatives. I assume that with all the subtle and very specific differentiations possible, there are probably more than 200 CPs in Kilivila. Moreover, if we keep in mind all the pragmatic functions CPs can serve, the Kilivila CP system can even be regarded as a basically open system. The system of noun classification is an important means of word formation with all but one of the demonstrative pronouns (see below), with one form of (numerical) interrogative pronouns/adverbs, with two classes of adjectives and with numerals. These word classes require concord with the class of the noun they refer to. This concord is secured by the CPs that are infixed or prefixed to the respective word frame or word stem. I have described the morphology of this system of nominal classification, the functions of the classifier system, its acquisition, its inventory (produced in actual speech), the processes of language change that affect the system, and the semantics of the Kilivila classifier system in detail elsewhere

⁶ A repeater is a noun that serves as its own classifier. Here are a few examples. In the expression

bogi-tala bogi
CP.night-one night
'one night'

the classifier *bogi* is identical with the noun *bogi*. Other noun phrases with repeaters (underlined in adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives) are, for example:

<i>dobamanabweta doba</i>	'beautiful grass-skirt'
<i>makedana keda</i>	'this road'
<i>kovalima kova</i>	'five fireplaces'

(Senft 1996a); for the sake of illustration I will present just two sentences containing all four word classes involved in the Kilivila system of noun classification (Senft 1996a:17ff.):

- (2) a. *Ke-vila* *waga le-kota-si?*
 CP.wooden-how many canoe 3.Past-arrive-Pl
 'How many canoes arrived?'
 b. *Ke-yu* *waga ma-ke-si-na* *ke-manabweta*
 CP.wooden-two canoe Dem-CP.wooden-Pl-Dem CP.wooden-beautiful
 (*le-kota-si*).
 (3.Past-arrive-Pl)
 'These two beautiful canoes (arrived).'

Here the speakers of these sentences refer to 'canoes'; they have to indicate the noun class of canoe with the CP for 'wooden things' — (-)ke(-) — in the interrogative pronoun, in the numeral, in the demonstrative pronoun, and in the adjective.

These few remarks suffice for this brief sketch of characteristic features of the Kilivila language. In one of the examples just presented we notice the use of demonstrative pronouns that refer to objects in space. This brings us back to the central topic of this paper, the description of the Kilivila system of spatial deixis.

3 Spatial deixis in Kilivila

In what follows I will first discuss the system of demonstratives (in their function as demonstrative pronouns and as demonstratives used attributively) and then I briefly discuss locatives and directionals used in spatial deictic reference.

3.1 Demonstratives

First of all, Kilivila has a kind of 'general', 'basic' or 'simple' system of demonstrative pronouns (that also take over the function of local or place adverbs) that are obligatorily accompanied by a deictic gesture. As mentioned above, the Trobriand Islanders may point at something or someone with their index finger, with their eyes, with a lifted chin or with puckered lips. This basic system is speaker-based and consists of three forms that express proximal, medial and distal distinctions. In these forms the meanings of 'THIS' and 'HERE' are conflated:

Besa or *beya* is used to point to a referent close to the speaker and can be glossed as 'this/these' or 'here'.⁷ *Besa* is most often used in the question

- (3) *Avaka besa?*
 What this
 'What is this?'

⁷ *Besa* or *beya* are also used as presentatives that can be glossed as 'That's it here!' or as 'There you are'. Moreover, the use of the two variants differentiates the dialect *Biga besagala* (which is spoken on Kiriwina Island but not in the village Kavataria) from the dialect *Biga galawala* (which is spoken on Kaile'una Island but not in the village Kaduwaga). See Senft (1986:6–10).

Here speakers (such as children learning the language) cannot specify the referent more precisely and thus cannot use the more specific demonstrative pronoun that requires a CP for its word formation. An answer to such a question (in a given context, of course) may run:

- (4) *Besa budubadu gwadina.*
This many nut
'These are many nuts.'

The sentence

- (5) *Ku-sili beya beya bwena yagila.*
2-sit down here here good wind

can be glossed as:

'Sit down here, here's a cool breeze'.

The demonstrative *beyo* is used (together with a deictic gesture) to point to a referent that is further away from the speaker; it can be glossed as 'that/those' or 'there', as illustrated in the following examples:

- (6) *Beyo simla Bulivada.*
that island Bulivada
'That's Bulivada island.'
- (7) *Beyo Dukuboi budubadu kwau.*
There Dukuboi many shark
'There at Dukuboi point are many sharks.'

The demonstrative *beyuuu* is produced with a lengthened final vowel; it points (together with a deictic gesture) to a referent that is far away from the speaker (see sentence (8)) and that even may be invisible in the actual speech situation (see sentence (9)); it may be glossed as 'that/those over there' or with the archaic English expression 'yonder'. The following two examples illustrate the use of this form. Sentence (8) was produced by Katubai, the chief of Kaduwaga. I was sitting together with him on his veranda and he pointed and referred to three groups of visitors who were sitting and eating together, being guests of his village. The Tauwema people were sitting close to us, the Koma people were further away, and the Simsim people were sitting just in sight. One of my informants produced sentence (9) when he talked with me in Tauwema. The distance between Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province, and the Trobriand Islands is more than 200 km.

- (8) *Kumwedona tommota e-kamkwam-si o baku. Beya mina*
all people 3-eat-Pl Loc village.ground this people.from
Tauwema beyo mina Koma beyuuu mina Simsim.
Tauwema that people.from Koma those.yonder people.from Simsim
'All the people eat (together) at the village ground. These are the people from Tauwema, those are the people from Koma, and those over there are the people from Simsim.'

- (9) *Tetu e-mwa la-paisewa beyuuu Alotau.*
 year 3-come.to 1.Past-work yonder Alotau
 'Last year⁸ I worked in Alotau yonder.'

All other demonstrative pronouns consist of a fixed morphological frame, formed by the word-initial morpheme *ma-*, or according to phonological rules, also *m-* or *mi-*, and the word-final morpheme *-na*, and an infix morpheme, which is the CP; to distinguish between singular and plural, there is also a plural marking morpheme *-si-*, which is infix between the CP and the word-final morpheme *-na*. Demonstrative pronouns formed in this way express the concept of *this/these here*. To express the deictic concept of *that/those there*, the morpheme *-we-* is infix either in singular forms between CP and word-final *-na* or in plural forms between the plural-marker *-si-* and word-final *-na*. To express the kind of deictic concept that comes close to the English demonstrative *yonder*, the Kilivila speaker takes the forms of the demonstrative pronouns expressing the concept of *that/those there* and changes the final vowel /a/ of the word-final morpheme *-na* to an /e/ that is lengthened and that gets a minor accent. These demonstrative pronouns constitute the second, more complex speaker-based system of demonstratives in Kilivila. The following examples illustrate the rather complex word-formation processes of these demonstratives (see also Senft 1986:64–66):

- (10) *m-to-na tau*
 Dem-CP.male-Dem man
 'this man'
m-to-si-na tauwau
 Dem-CP.male-Pl-Dem men
 'these men'
- (11) *mi-na-we-na vivila*
 Dem-CP.female-med-Dem girl
 'that girl'
mi-na-si-we-na vivila
 Dem-CP.female-Pl-med-Dem girl
 'those girls'
- (12) *ma-ke-we-neee waga*
 Dem-CP.wooden-med-Dem.dist canoe
 'the canoe yonder'
ma-ke-si-we-neee waga
 Dem-CP.wooden-Pl-med-Dem.dist canoe
 'these canoes yonder'
- (13) *Mi-na-na vivila Gerubara latu-la m-to-na*
 Dem-CP.female-Dem girl Gerubara child-his Dem-CP.male-Dem
Kwelava latu-la.
 Kwelava child-his
 'This girl is Gerubara's child, this boy is Kwelava's child.'

⁸ For an overview on the expression of time concepts in Kilivila see Senft (1996b).

At this point of our discussion of Kilivila demonstratives we can summarise the following characteristics of the deictic system they constitute: we have two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. The examples above illustrate that demonstratives within these two sets can take over the functions of demonstrative pronouns, of demonstratives that are used attributively, and of place adverbs (see also §3.3 below). These two basic sets of Kilivila demonstratives constitute a three-term system with respect to the distances they distinguish. The system with its proximal, medial, and distal forms is speaker-centred, but the deictic reference can be modified by additional morphemes that add additional distinctions to this 'default' understanding of demonstratives (see below). A specific characteristic of the second set of demonstratives is that they need the incorporation of CPs in their word formation. These CPs play an important role for the deictic function of these demonstratives. They provide the addressee with additional information that contributes to narrow down, and further specify, the search domain for the referent to which these deictic forms point. In what follows I will briefly elaborate on this characteristic feature of Kilivila.

The semantic analyses of the Kilivila CP systems reveal that its inventory of CP types can be grouped into twenty semantic domains that cover the following concepts:

Person and Body Parts / Animal / Quantity (living beings and things) / General CPs (unmarked forms for inanimates) / Measure / Time / Place / Quality / Shape / Tree, Wood, Wooden Things / Utensils / Yam / Part of a Foodhouse, a Canoe, a Creel / Door, Entrance, Window / Fire, Oven / Road, Journey / Text / Ritual Item / Dress, Adornment / Name.

The order in which these domains are listed here is completely arbitrary.⁹ However, it is obvious that such a categorisation of referents in the real world codified by the CPs heavily supports the deictic functions of the demonstratives that must incorporate these formatives within their word formation. These CPs are infixes in the morphological frame of the demonstratives (as illustrated in the examples (10)–(13) above). They provide the addressee with additional information with respect to the quality of the referent the speaker refers to in his or her deictic utterance. These qualities encompass many parameters, such as those of height, state, etc. I do not want to discuss this specific feature in more detail here.¹⁰ but will just give the following two examples to briefly illustrate this point once more:

- (14) *Ku-lilei ma-pwa-si-na tetu olopolo bwalita.*
 2-throw away Dem-CP.rotten-Pl-Dem yams into sea
 'Throw these rotten yams into the sea.'

This deictic reference is unequivocal for addressees - no matter how big a pile of yams they are confronted with.

- (15) *Wei ma-nunu-na bagula va keda bi-la Kaduwaga*
 look.out Dem-CP.garden.corner-Dem garden Dir path 3-Fut Kaduwaga

⁹ I want to note here that Kilivila native speakers completely accept the semantic domains proposed in the semantic analyses. Thus, this categorisation represents the native speakers' own intuitions and their metalinguistic knowledge with respect to this complex system (for details see Senft 1996a).

¹⁰ For such details I have to refer the interested reader once more to Senft (1996a).

mwata na-veaka e-sisu!
 snake CP.animal-big 3-be

'Look out, at this corner of the garden at the path to Kaduwaga there is a big snake!'

Here the CP *-nunu-* within the demonstratives clearly indicates the area in which the speaker saw a snake. This deictic reference is unequivocal for the addressee.

Thus, to summarise once more: we have two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. Each set constitutes (by default) a speaker-centred three-term system with respect to distances distinguished. The Kilivila demonstratives which do not obligatorily require an accompanying deictic gesture convey with the CPs infixed in their word gestalt additional information that helps the addressee to narrow down the search domain for the referent of the respective demonstrative.

As to the actual usage of the Kilivila demonstratives in 'table-top' space and in the space beyond it we observe the following:¹¹

In general, both sets of demonstratives can be used for spatial deictic reference both in 'table-top' space and in the space beyond it.

The proximal forms of the demonstratives are semantically unmarked, are most often used and thus have the widest spatial distribution.

The following sentences and situations illustrate this feature. Sitting with me in my house, one of my consultants is warning me of a mosquito saying:

- (16) *Ku-gisi mi-na-na nim i-gade-m!*
 2-look Dem-CP.animal-Dem mosquito 3-bite-you
 'Look this mosquito is biting you!'

A few minutes later he points into the direction of the fresh-water grotto (called 'Bugei') 10 minutes walking distance away in the bush, and says:

- (17) *Beya Bugei sena budubadu nim.*
 here (prox + gesture) Bugei very many mosquitoes
 'There at the Bugei are many mosquitoes.'

Gerubara is sitting with me in my house in Tauwema village and explains to a visitor:

- (18) *E-sisu beya Germany.*
 3-be here (+gesture) Germany
 'He lives there in Germany.'

The use of the medial forms is not restricted to situations where there are three referents to distinguish. Speakers may use only the proximal and medial forms to distinguish between referents that are in medial and distal positions. However, if speakers want to refer to something that is really far away or invisible from their present position, and they want to mark this fact, they use the distal forms. If they want to refer to their own body parts contrastively, they may use the proximal and the medial forms (but not the distal forms).

This usage is illustrated by the following sentences and situations: Pulia is pointing to a canoe on a fishing expedition that will first sail to Bwemwaga Island, about 4 km northwest of Tauwema, and then to Tuma Island, which is even further northeast, but still visible from the village and from my house. He says to me:

¹¹ The way I present many of the following arguments was highly influenced by discussions we had within the space project at the MPI.

- (19) *Waga bi-la beya Bwemwaga igau bi-la beyo Tuma.*
 canoe 3.Fut-go here Bwemwaga then 3.Fut-go there Tuma
 'The canoe will go here to Bwemwaga and then there to Tuma.'

Another canoe comes in sight, Pulia knows that it returns from a neighbouring village to Simsim, an island that is about 50 miles away, and he says (with the adequate pointing gesture):

- (20) *E ma-ke-na waga bi-la beyuuu Simsimla.*
 and Dem-CP.wooden-Dem canoe 3.Fut-go yonder Simsim
 'And this canoe will go to Simsim yonder.'

Kwelava comes to me with his little son who has an earache. He is asking me for medical help, pointing to his child's ears saying:

- (21) *Ma-kwaya-na tega-la i-korosim ma-kwaya-we-na bwena.*
 Dem-CP.limb-Dem ear-his 3-itch Dem-CP.limb-med-Dem good
 'This ear is itching, that (one) is fine.'

When there are more than three referents that have to be deictically distinguished, only the ones closer to the speaker will be distinguished as being proximal or medial; the further ones are lumped together as distal and additional modifiers are employed to make the deictic reference as unequivocal as possible.

This is illustrated by the following sentence produced by Vapalaguyau in the following situation: walking to the neighbouring village Kaduwaga to attend a ceremony to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the first missionary setting foot on the Trobriand Islands, we see many canoes sailing to Kaduwaga. Vapalaguyau points to the various groups of canoes and tells me the following:

- (22) *Ma-ke-si-na waga yakidasi ma-ke-we-si-na*
 Dem-CP.wooden-Pl-Dem canoe we Dem-CP.wooden-med-Pl-Dem
waga mina Koma, ma-ke-we-si-neee waga
 canoe people.from Koma Dem-CP.wooden-med-Pl-Dem.dist canoe
o kakata mina Kaibola e ma-ke-we-si-neee
 at right people.from Kaibola and Dem-CP.wooden-med-Pl-Dem.dist
waga o kikivama katitekina Tuma mina Simsim.
 canoe at left near Tuma people.from Simsim
 'These canoes are ours, (in) those canoes are people from Koma, (in) the canoes
 yonder at the right are people from Kaibola, (and in) the canoes yonder at the left
 near Tuma are people from Simsim.'

In their deictic references speakers of Kilivila can take the position of other participants in the speech situation into account. That is to say, speakers can shift their basic reference point, their '*origo*' (Bühler 1934:102 (= 1990:117)).

This is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using a questionnaire developed by Pederson and Wilkins (1996). I put three objects on a table in front of a speaker on the sagittal (away) axis. The spacing of these objects was kept at the same distance. At the right side of the table, from the speaker's point of view, was the addressee, who was facing the table, and opposite the speaker was another person, facing the table and the speaker — as illustrated in Figure 1:

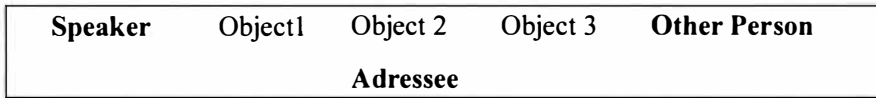


Figure 1

To refer to the three objects, speakers produced utterances like the following ones:

Object 1

- (23) a. *ma-kwe-na omata-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-me
 'this (one) in front of me'

and:

- b. *ma-kwe-na o m kivivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc your left
 'this (one) at your left'

Object 2

- c. *ma-kwe-na oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'

Object 3

- d. *ma-kwe-na o m kakata*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc your right
 'this (one) at your right'

and:

- e. *ma-kwe-na o mata-la*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc eye-his/her
 'this (one) in front of him/her'

In another situation I put three objects on a table in front of a speaker on the transverse (across) axis. The spacing of these objects was kept at the same distance. At the right side of the table, from the speaker's point of view, was the addressee, who was facing the table, and opposite the speaker was another person, facing the table and the speaker — as illustrated in Figure 2:

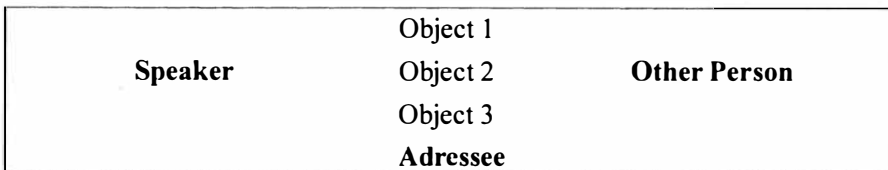


Figure 2

To refer to the three objects, speakers produced utterances like the following:

Object 1

- (24) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kikivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my left
 'this (one) at my left'

and:

- b. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *la* *kakata*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc his right
 'that (one) at his right'

Object 2

- c. *ma-kwe-na* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'

and:

- d. *ma-kwe-na* *omata-ma* *yegu mtona*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-us (Dual excl) I him
 'this (one) in front of us, (in front of) me (and) him'

Object 3

- e. *ma-kwe-na* *omata-m*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-you
 'this (one) in front of you'

Speakers use their distance-based systems not only on the 'away' or sagittal axis, but also on the across or left/right axis. That is to say, the same demonstrative can be used for references to the far left and to the far right.

This is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using the questionnaire mentioned above (Pederson & Wilkins 1996). I put three objects to the left and to the right of the speaker; the spacing between these objects was kept at the same distance. Then I asked the consultants to refer to the objects at their left and and their right. I got answers like the following ones:

- (25) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my right/left
 'this (one) at my right/left'
- b. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my right/left in the middle
 'this (one) at my right/left in the middle'
- c. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama* *alavigimkoila*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc my right/left at the end
 'that (one) at my right/left at the (far) end'

It seems that the spatial distinctions proximal/medial/distal invoke spatial regions. A speaker of Kilivila can refer to a single object' on a table either with the proximal (*beya/makwena* etc.) or with the medial forms (*beyo/makwewena* etc.) of the demonstratives, but he cannot use the distal forms (*beyuuu/makweweneee* etc.) for such a deictic reference. When there are two objects on a table, the speaker can refer to the further

object with the medial or distal forms of the demonstratives. When there are three objects on a table in areas that are proximal, medial, and distal from the speaker's position, speakers can refer to them with the respective proximal, medial, and distal forms of the demonstratives. Alternatively, they can use the proximal form to refer to the object in the proximal area and the medial forms to refer to the other two objects, distinguishing the different areas with an appropriate adverb of place. That is to say, speakers may use the proximal forms of the demonstratives *makwena* ('this thing') or *beya* ('this, here') to refer to the object closest to them, they may use the medial forms of the demonstratives *makwewena* ('that thing') or *beyo* ('that, there') to refer to an object in medial distance, and they may use the distal forms of the demonstratives *makweweneee* ('that thing yonder') or *beyuuu* ('over there yonder') to refer to the object that is farthest away from them. If they do not want to use the distal forms in this situation, they may use an expression like *makwewena omema* ('that one close by') to refer to the object in medial position and an expression like *makwewena oveva* ('that one over there') to refer to the object in distal position with respect to their location. In the latter case the local adverbs *omema* ('close by') and *oveva* ('over there, far off, far away') take over the function of distinguishing the different distances with respect to the position of the objects referred to. Thus it seems that each object introduces a partition of space, so that one object introduces two spaces, two objects introduce three spaces, and so on.

If there is no distance contrast between two referents, but the speaker wants to differentiate these referents, the proximal and medial forms can be used for this purpose and the order in which the forms are used is arbitrary. However, if there is a distance contrast between referents, this contrast is explicitly expressed.

In the vertical dimension, the Kilivila system is organised around the speaker's torso. The proximal forms are used to refer to referents at a 'chest-belly-head' level, the medial forms refer to referents at the speaker's feet and above his or her head. The distal forms are rather rarely used here; however, when used they point to referents that are really deep under or high above a speaker.

This system is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using the questionnaire mentioned above. I put six objects on a wall of my house from the bottom up to the top. Three were below the consultant's head and three above the consultant's head; the spacing between these objects was kept at the same distance. I then asked the consultant to refer to these objects. I got answers like the following ones:

- (26) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *kuku-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc chest-my
 'this (one) at my chest'
- b. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *lopo-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc belly-my
 'this (one) at my belly'
- c. *ma-kwe-we-na* *alavigimkoila* *o* *kaike-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem at the end Loc foot-my
 'that (one) at the end at my foot'

- d. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *kunu-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc hair-my
 'this (one) at (above) my hair'
- e. *ma-kwe-na* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'
- f. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *kunu-gu* *alavigimkoila*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc hair-my at the end
 'that (one) at (above) my hair at the end'

In space beyond table-top space, speakers seem to prefer the use of both sets of demonstratives. The forms from the two sets can, but need not, agree with respect to their position within the proximal-medial-distal series. The first form used is usually a form belonging to the set of demonstratives that require a classifier for their word formation. This form expresses the 'proximal', 'medial', or 'distal' distinction. The second form then can just be the proximal form of the set of demonstratives that requires accompanying gestures. It seems that this second demonstrative form then has the function of keeping the addressee's attention focused on the spatial area marked by the first form. These cases of spatial deictic reference are illustrated by the following utterances I elicited asking my consultants to play the above-mentioned *nene'i nene'i kora* game, the 'find, find the hidden' game:

- (27) a. Sulumada (male consultant):

Ku-ne'i ya-tala *kaliekwa e-sipusi o endini.*
 2-find CP.flexible-one cloth 3-hang Loc engine
 'Find a piece of cloth that is hanging at an outboard motor.'

- b. Tokuyumila (male consultant):

O bogwa la-gisi mi-ya-na *beya Gunter o la waga.*
 oh already 1.Past-see Dem-CP.flexible-Dem here Gunter Loc his dinghy
 'Oh, I already saw it, this one here at Gunter's dinghy.'

- (28) a. Menumla (male consultant):

Wetana ku-ne'i yatala kaliekwa e-sagisi kwe-ta
 Wetana (name) 2-find CP.flexible cloth 3-hang CP.thing-one
kaukweda.
 veranda
 'Wetana find a piece of cloth that is hanging at a veranda.'

- b. Wetana (male consultant):

Bogwa la-bani mi-ya-we-neee *beya Topiesi*
 already 1.Past-find Dem-CP.flexible-med-Dem.dist here Topiesi (name)
o kaukweda ya-bweyani.
 Loc veranda CP.flexible-red
 'I already found it, the (one) yonder, here at Topiesi's veranda, the red (one).'

The examples given in this subsection also illustrate that Kilivila uses besides spatial demonstrative pronouns also a number of other forms (like for example locatives and

adverbial prepositional phrases) to come up with as unequivocal as possible spatial deictic references¹². However, before I discuss some of such other means that are used for spatial deictic references I will describe, in the following brief excursus, non-spatial uses of the Kilivila demonstratives.

3.2 Excursus: Kilivila demonstratives in discourse deixis

Kilivila demonstrative pronouns that are formed with CPs are used in discourse deixis for anaphoric reference. With the CPs incorporated in their word formation the demonstratives perform the important function of securing coherence in discourse because they also secure semantic concord beyond sentence boundaries. I will illustrate this with the following examples (see also Senft 1985:387ff., 1996a:21ff.):

- (29) *A-tatai tataba. Tauwau tabalu m-to-si-na,*
 1-carve tataba.board men Tabalu.subclan Dem-CP.male-Pl-Dem
ma-ke-na si koni.
 Dem-CP.wooden-Dem their sign.of.honour
 'I carve a tataba board. These men belonging to the Tabalu subclan, this is their sign of honour'.

With this sentence the speaker refers to a certain board with carved patterns that marks houses, food houses, and canoes as the personal property of men belonging to the Tabalu-subclan. Despite the fact that in the second sentence the nouns to which the demonstratives refer are omitted, the anaphoric reference of the two demonstrative pronouns produced is unequivocal, because in this context the CP *-to-* can refer only to the noun *tauwau*, and the CP *-ke-* can refer only to the noun *tataba*; the CPs represent the omitted nouns in a quasi-fragmentary way. As a general rule, once a noun has been introduced, as long as it is not reclassified, e.g. for stylistic reasons, the following references to this nominal denotatum may consist of the demonstrative pronouns only. That is, the noun itself is then no longer realised; it is omitted in the noun phrases. However, if the noun is reclassified, then it must be realised again as a constituent of the noun phrase to secure unequivocal and unambiguous reference (see example (31) below). In my sample of transcribed Kilivila speech data I have one — rather extreme — example where a speaker introduces a nominal referent to which he then refers 16 (!) sentences (or: 78 words, 113 morphemes) later with a demonstrative with the appropriate CP; nevertheless, the reference is absolutely unequivocal.

The following examples also illustrate the anaphoric function of demonstrative pronouns and how they perform the function of preserving coherence in discourse:

- (30) *Tauwau pela e-me-si bi-lebu-si. E-kokwa'u-si kebila*
 men for 3-come-Pl 3.Fut.take-Pl 3-weave-Pl stretcher
ma-buda-na-ga e-kugwa-si e-me-si.
 this-group-this-Emphasis 3-first-Pl 3-come-Pl
 'The men have come to take (him with them). They have woven a stretcher, the men belonging to this group who were the first to arrive'.

¹² For other examples of spatial deictic references in Kilivila see Senft (1994b; 2000).

Here the speaker uses the CP *-buda-* with the demonstrative pronoun in the second sentence to refer unequivocally to the noun (*tauwau*) produced in the first sentence.

- (31) *O da-valu-si e-sisu-si tommota to-paisewa. Vivila*
 Loc 1.incl-village-Pl 3-live-Pl people CP.human.beings-work woman
na-salau, tauwau to-bugubagula. Tommota gala
 CP.female-busy men male-work.in.the.garden people not
to-dubakasala, kena kumwedona e-nukwali-si bubune-si bwena.
 CP.human.beings-rude but all 3-know-Pl manners-their good
 'In our village live people taking pleasure in their work. The women are busy, the men are good gardeners. The people are not rude, but all have good manners'.

This example illustrates that, in general, reclassification of a noun does not allow it to be omitted. To emphasise the different characterisation of men and women on the one hand and all villagers on the other hand, the nouns can hardly be omitted. The speaker uses the CP *-to-* to refer to 'human beings' and to 'persons of male sex'. The CP *-na-* is used to refer to 'persons of female sex'. If the speaker did not use the noun *tommota* in the last sentence again, then this sentence would refer to 'persons of male sex' only. Finally I would like to note that so far I have never heard nor documented any instances of cataphoric reference. After this brief excursus I will now discuss some of the other means that are used for spatial deictic reference in Kilivila.

3.3 Locatives and directionals

In his examination of grammaticalisation processes which led to the development of locative expressions (in, on, behind, etc.) in more than 100 Oceanic languages Bowden (1992) shows that expressions which are used to describe spatial relationships derive almost exclusively from body-part nouns or from nouns referring to environmental landmarks such as 'earth' and 'sky' and even parts of the house. Kilivila also grammaticalises body-part terms into locatives that are used for spatial deictic reference (see Senft 1994c). Thus we find, for example, the following expressions:

<i>odabala</i>	'on, on top (of) (Loc+ <i>daba</i> +3.PP IV ¹³ [<i>daba</i> 'head, forehead, brain'])
<i>okopo'ula</i>	'behind, back, behind him/her (Loc+ <i>kapo'u</i> +3.PP IV [<i>kapo'u</i> 'back'])
<i>olopola</i>	'in, inside (of), in the middle (of) (Loc+ <i>lopo</i> +3.PP IV [<i>lopo</i> 'belly, windpipe, innards'])
<i>omatala</i>	'in front (of), before, before him/her (Loc+ <i>mata</i> +3.PP IV [<i>mata</i> 'eye'])

¹³ As mentioned in §2 above, there is a fourfold series of possessive pronouns in Kilivila. I refer to the series of pronouns that mark inalienable possession and are suffixed to most of the body part terms (see Senft 1998) as 'possessive pronouns IV' and abbreviate this expression here for the sake of clarification as 'PP IV'.

- ovadola* 'on, on top (of), on the surface (of), at the mouth/opening (of)'
(Loc+vado+3.PP IV [vado 'mouth'])
- okanivala* 'at the side (of) (a person only)'
(Loc+kaniva+3.PP IV [kaniva 'hip'])
- okepapala* 'near, close by, beside, at the side (of)'
(Loc+kepapa+3.PP IV [kepapa 'side, flank'])

We also find the following grammaticalised forms to express the concepts 'left' and 'right':

- okakata* 'on the left hand side, on the left'
(Loc+kakata 'left, left hand side'),
- okikivama* 'on the right hand side, on the right'
(Loc+kikivama 'right, right hand side').

With these expressions (as well as with some other forms that grammaticalise terms other than body-part terms into locatives) we are confronted with a quite complex problem of syntactic classification: the expressions classified as locatives can also be classified as prepositions, and they can also function as adverbs of place (see Senft 1986:88–91). On the other hand, many Kilivila adverbs of place, like e.g. *olakeva* (= 'on top of, above, up, in the sky, over'), also serve the function of prepositions or locatives, according to their specific function in the sentence.

Moreover, expressions like *omatala* - (= 'in front of (his/her eyes)'), *ovadola* (= 'on, on top of, on the surface of, at the mouth (opening) of (her/him)') and so on can also be classified syntactically as local adverbials consisting of a prepositional phrase with the preposition/locative *o* (= 'in, into, to') and the noun *mata-la* (= 'eye, her/his eye') and *vado-la* (= 'mouth, her/his mouth').

With all these constructions, the form with the suffix *-la* always has beside the expression of third person singular as its referential function also a 'neutral' meaning, i.e. it is unmarked with respect to person and number. Thus, we have for example:

- omatala* 'in front (of), before' ('neutral' meaning)
and
omata-la 'in front of her/him' (referential function)

(compare here:

- omata-gu* 'in front of me'
omata-m 'in front of you', etc.)

There is also the prepositional phrase

- o matala* 'in front of her/his eyes'

(the forms *omatala/o matala* must be parsed as

- o(-)mata-la*
Loc(-)eye-3.PPIV)

Body-part terms like '*mata*-PPIV' can also be used metaphorically, as illustrated in the following question:

- (32) *Mata-la ma-ke-na kai ambeya e-mwa yokwa?*
 eye-his/her Dem-CP.wood/rigid-Dem stick where 3-come.to you?
 'The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?'

In this sentence the consultant asked for some information about a certain direction. To indicate directions and/or locations, Trobriand Islanders have to decide whether

- they want to specify the goal or location with a personal or placename, or whether
- they want to specify the goal or location as a specific place, but without a placename or proper name, or whether
- they want to refer to the goal or location (or to the general direction where this goal or location is) with a general term.

If they can, and want to, refer to the goal or location with a placename or a proper name, they do not use any locative whatsoever:

- (33) *Ba-la Kaduwaga.*
 1.Fut-go Kaduwaga (name of a village)
 'I will go to Kaduwaga.'

If they want to refer to the goal or location with a more specific term or if they want to refer to a specified place at the destination of a motion event, they use the locative *o* — that gets a function that can be compared to that of a definite article, i.e. the locative incorporates a feature of definiteness for the governed noun phrase.

- (34) *Ba-la o buyagu.*
 1.Fut-go to garden
 'I will go to the garden (i.e. my personal, specific garden plot).'

If they want to refer to the goal or location with its most general term, if they want to refer to the general direction in which this goal or location is, and/or if they want to refer to an unspecified place at the destination of a motion event, they use the directional *va*:

- (35) *Ba-la va bagula.*
 1.Fut-go to garden
 'I will go to the garden (general, unspecified expression for 'garden').'

However, these rules do not hold for goals or locations that are body parts. If the goal or location is a body part, the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the locative *o* again.

The Kilivila system of demonstratives, locatives and directionals allows its speakers to clearly distinguish, and point to, referents in specific spatial relations, at certain locations and in specific directions as idiomatic and unequivocal as possible. Moreover, to achieve this as precisely as possible, positional and sometimes also motion verbs are used together with the respective demonstratives, locatives and directionals. In what follows I will present a few examples for such spatial references. A question like:

- (36) *Ambe peni?*
 where pencil
 'Where's the pencil?'

can be answered as follows:

- (37) a. *Beya!*
 'Here! (+ accompanying gesture to the place where the pencil is).'
- b. *Beya o tebeli.*
 here Loc table
 'Here on the table.'
- c. *Beya odabala tebeli.*
 here on.top.(of) table
 'Here on top of the table.'
- d. *Beya odabala tebeli e-kanukwenu.*
 here on.top.(of) table 3-rest
 'It is lying here on top of the table.'
- e. *Peni beya o tebeli o daba-la e-sisu.*
 pencil here Loc table Loc head-its 3-be
 'The pencil is here on (the top of) the table.'
- f. *Ma-ke-na peni o tebeli e-sela.*
 Dem-CP.wooden.thing-Dem pencil Loc table 3-put
 'This pencil on the table he put it.'
- g. *Ma-ke-na peni o tebeli mata-la e-mikeya-gu.*
 Dem-CP.wooden.thing-Dem pencil Loc table eye-its 3-come.towards-me¹⁴
 'This pencil on the table, the tip of which is pointing towards me.'

Moreover, in spatial deictic reference local landmarks and other environmental features are quite often mentioned to make it easier for the addressee to find and identify the object the speaker is pointing at. Thus, sitting together with me on my veranda looking at the sea, my consultants and friends quite often point to shoals of fish or dolphins or canoes, producing utterances like the following ones:¹⁵

- (38) a. *Ku-gisi ma-ke-we-na mwasawa b-ima beya*
 2-see Dem-CP.wooden-med-Dem Kula.canoe 3.Fut-come here
va numia.
 Dir stony.reef
 'Look at that Kula-canoe sailing towards us there in the direction of the stony reef.' (*Numia* is the term that refers to the whole beach and sea region between the villages Tauwema and Koma.)
- b. *Mi-na-we-si-na taninua galayomala va dom*
 Dem-CP.animal-med-Pl-Dem sardines many Dir muddy.reef
e m-to-si-na bi-lo-si bi-pola-si.
 and Dem-CP.man-Pl-Dem 3.Fut-go-Pl 3.Fut-fish-Pl
 '(Look at) Those many sardines in the direction of the muddy reef — and these men will go and fish them.' (*Dom* is the term that refers to the whole beach and sea region between the villages Tauwema and Koma.)

¹⁴ For descriptions of Kilvila motion verbs as means of spatial deixis and for the use of these verbs — most often realised in serial-verb constructions — see Senft (1999b, 2000) and Bohnemeyer et al. (2003:115).

¹⁵ See also examples (17), (19), (20), (22), (27), (28a), (28b), and (33) above.

These few examples should suffice for the purposes pursued here. In the final section I would like to summarise the aspects of Kilivila spatial deixis presented above.

4 Conclusion

Kilivila has two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. The forms within these two sets can take over the functions of demonstrative pronouns, of demonstratives that are used attributively, and of place adverbs. The two sets of demonstratives constitute a three-term system with respect to the distances they distinguish. The system with its proximal, medial, and distal forms is speaker-centred, but the deictic reference can be modified by additional morphemes that add additional distinctions to this 'default' understanding of demonstratives. The demonstratives which do not obligatorily require an accompanying deictic gesture convey with the CPs which are infixed in their word gestalt additional information that helps the addressee to narrow down and further specify the search domain for the referent to which these deictic forms point.

With respect to the actual usage of the demonstratives we observe the following:

- The proximal forms of the demonstratives are semantically unmarked, they are most often used and thus have the widest spatial distribution.
- The use of the medial forms is not restricted to situations where there are three referents to distinguish. Speakers may use only the proximal and medial forms to distinguish between referents that are in medial and distal positions. However, if speakers want to refer to something that is really far away or invisible from their present position, and they want to mark this fact, they use the distal forms. If they want to refer to their own body parts contrastively, they may use the proximal and the medial forms (but not the distal forms).
- When there are more than three referents that have to be deictically distinguished, only the ones closer to the speaker will be distinguished as being proximal or medial; the further ones are lumped together as distal and additional modifiers are employed to make the deictic reference as unequivocal as possible.
- In their deictic references speakers of Kilivila can take the position of other participants in the speech situation into account. That is to say, speakers can shift their basic reference point, their 'origo'.
- Speakers use their distance-based systems not only on the 'away' or sagittal axis, but also on the across or left/right axis. Thus, the same demonstrative can be used for references to the far left and to the far right.
- It seems that the spatial distinctions 'proximal/medial/distal' invoke spatial regions; each object introduces a partition of space so that one object introduces two spaces, two objects introduce three spaces, etc.
- If there is no distance contrast between two referents, but the speaker wants to differentiate them, the proximal and medial forms can be used for this purpose; the order in which the forms are used is arbitrary. If there is a distance contrast between referents, this contrast is explicitly expressed.

- In the vertical dimension, the Kilivila system is organised around the speaker's torso. The proximal forms are used to refer to referents at a 'chest-belly-head' level, the medial forms refer to referents at the speaker's feet and above his or her head. The distal forms are rather rarely used here; they point to referents that are really deep under or high above a speaker.
- In space beyond table-top space, speakers seem to prefer the use of both sets of demonstratives. The forms from the two sets can, but need not, agree with respect to their position within the proximal-medial-distal series. The first form used usually expresses the spatial distinction, whereas the second form quite often seems just to keep the addressee's attention focused on the spatial area marked by the first form.

Besides these demonstratives, Kilivila offers its speakers locatives, directionals, positional and motion verbs, as well as further reference to local landmarks or other environmental features to clearly distinguish, and point to, objects in specific spatial relations, at certain locations and in specific directions as idiomatic and unequivocal as possible.

These findings certainly describe many characteristic features of spatial deixis in Kilivila. However, this description is far from being comprehensive. In the sections above we do not find any information whatsoever with respect to questions like the following ones:

- How are the verbal means for spatial deictic reference in Kilivila used in indirect or reported speech?
- How does Kilivila distinguish between gestural and symbolic and between anaphoric and non-anaphoric deictic usage?¹⁶
- What kind of dimensional and spatial adjectives co-constitute the Kilivila system of spatial deixis?

And:

- Does the use of some means for spatial deictic reference such as placenames and local landmarks, presuppose a cultural context that has to be shared by the speaker and the addressee?

Thus, it seems that quite a lot of additional research has to be done here (or there?)!

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¹⁶ The following examples illustrate this differentiation (see Senft 1997:8):

'This bush-knife is sharp.' (deictic, gestural usage)

'This village stinks.' (deictic, symbolic usage)

'I drove the car to the parking lot and left it there.' (anaphoric usage)

'There we go.' (non-anaphoric usage)

Levinson (1983:67) gives the following example where a deictic term ('there') is used both anaphorically and deictically, namely in the sentence:

'I was born in London and lived there ever since.'

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5 *Spatial deixis in Pileni*

ÅSHILD NÆSS

1 Introduction

One of the most prominent features of the Polynesian Outlier language Pileni is the extent to which various spatial-deictic forms are used in discourse. The two chief means of marking spatial deixis in Pileni are demonstratives and directional particles, and both types of forms are used to an extent which appears quite extraordinary for a language of this family, perhaps for any language — a fact which suggests that spatial deixis plays an important role in the organisation of Pileni grammar.

Perhaps most striking in Pileni is the use of the demonstrative particles, which occur extremely frequently in both nominal and verbal phrases with deictic or anaphoric reference, as well as serving a number of discourse-structuring functions. But Pileni also has a very high number of the so-called directional particles: postverbal particles, common in Polynesian languages, which indicate the direction, physical or social/metaphorical, of the action denoted by the verb. While most Polynesian languages have between four and six of these particles, Pileni has seven; I am not aware of any other Polynesian languages with more than six directional particles.

This paper will deal chiefly with the uses of the demonstrative and directional particles, giving a brief account towards the end of other forms with possible spatial-deictic functions.

Until recently, available linguistic material on Pileni has been practically non-existent, and the description and study of the language is still at an early stage. The material on which this study is based was collected during two brief field trips to Pileni island in 1997 and 1998, and consists mainly of tape-recorded narratives (most of which are published as Hovdhaugen et al. 2002) as well as some elicited material. In addition, some previously published sources, mainly Elbert and Kirtley (1966), have been consulted.

The limitations imposed by the nature of the available materials should be obvious. Since no fieldwork has yet focused specifically on deixis and the use of spatial terms, very little information is available regarding, for example, how the different spatial terms relate to geographical descriptions and compass points, or how pointing and gestures are employed in descriptions of spatial relations. These are clearly important concerns in an account of spatial deixis, and it is to be hoped that future fieldwork will be able to remedy

these shortcomings; in the present paper, the main focus will of necessity be on the use of spatial-deictic forms in narrative texts. All examples are from my own tape-recorded material (see Hovdhaugen et al. 2002) unless labelled otherwise.

2 The Pileni language

Pileni is a Polynesian Outlier language spoken by roughly a thousand people¹ in Temotu Province, the easternmost province of the Solomon Islands. The language is spoken on the islands of Pileni, Nifiloli, Matema, Nukapu and Nupani in the Reef Islands group, as well as in a couple of settlements on the rather larger island of Santa Cruz, some 80 km to the south. The language of the nearby Duff Islands, though treated as distinct from Pileni in the 1999 census (Beimers 2002), is described by speakers as 'the same language' and should probably be considered a dialect of Pileni; it has roughly five hundred speakers. On the basis of vocabulary samples, Pileni has been classified as belonging to the Samoic-Outlier subgroup of Polynesian.

Temotu Province is a rather remote and isolated region of the Pacific, and the Pileni-speaking community together with the nearby Reefs and Santa Cruz islands has traditionally formed an internally more or less self-sufficient community with little contact with the outside world. Trade connections between the islands within the region, however, go hundreds of years back, and the Pileni speakers thus have a long tradition of contact with the speakers of the so-called Reefs–Santa Cruz languages, of which very little is known and whose genetic affiliation is disputed; they have been claimed to be both Austronesian heavily influenced by Papuan languages and Papuan with a significant amount of Austronesian features (Lincoln 1978; Wurm 1978). What is certain is that these languages are structurally and lexically very different from Pileni with its basically Polynesian lexicon and morphosyntactic structure.

The extensive linguistic contact caused by the trade and intermarriage between these different speech communities has led to a great deal of passive multilingualism on the islands as well as considerable mutual influence on the structure and vocabulary of, one must assume, all the languages in the area. In the case of Pileni this means that, while identifying the language as Polynesian is a straightforward matter, there are prominent features on all levels of its structure that appear distinctly non-Polynesian. With the exception of the older people, most Pileni speakers today are bilingual between Pileni and the heavily English-based Solomon Islands Pidgin (SIP), which is in frequent use on the islands.

Pileni morphosyntax is basically accusative in structure, though certain constructions follow an essentially ergative patterning and may derive from an earlier ergative structure; however, there is little synchronic evidence for analysing Pileni clause structure as wholly or partly ergative (Næss 2002). The language has little or no morphological case-marking and marks grammatical relations chiefly by means of word order; basic word order is SVO, although it is fairly flexible according to certain rules.

The physical environment in which Pileni is spoken deserves a moment's attention. All five Pileni-speaking islands are extremely small; Pileni itself covers an area of about half a square kilometre, Nukapu and Nupani are roughly the same size, Nifiloli is maybe twice as big, while Matema is even smaller than Pileni. The islands are in effect little more than sandbanks which have grown big enough for patches of forest to take root on them. There

¹ In the 1999 census, 1142 people reported having Pileni as their first language (Beimers 2002).

are no significant differences in height and no distinguishing geographical features such as hills or rivers on the islands as such.

From Pileni you can see across to neighbouring Nifiloli and the somewhat larger island of Fenualoa where the Ayiwo language (called 'Reefs' in Wurm 1978) is spoken; you can see the tiny, uninhabited islet of Makaluma, the volcano Tenekula, and, in clear weather, Matema and Nukapu can be glimpsed on the horizon. Nukapu and Nupani islands are situated quite far from the rest of the group, and as far as I know, except for the occasional glimpse of Pileni that one may get from Nukapu on a very clear day, they are out of view of any other inhabited land. This means that the language is spoken on an extremely restricted area of land with very few distinguishing physical features beyond the distinction between land and sea. In other words, the physical space that the speakers live in is small and lacks naturally defined reference points, which may mean that the necessary reference points for the subdivision and structuring of physical and social space are primarily taken from social relations and the immediate speech situation, to which many of the most common spatial-deictic forms refer.

3 Demonstratives

3.1 The basic system

At the basis of all demonstrative forms in Pileni is a three-term system of demonstrative particles, which may occur both as independent forms and in combination with various other elements, in a wide range of contexts. The system, closely similar to cognate systems in related languages, appears to be a speaker/addressee-based one referring to the participants of the immediate speech situation: *ne* or *nei* denotes something in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, *na* refers to something close to the addressee, while *la* denotes something situated away from both speaker and hearer.

This, at least, is how speakers explain the system when questioned directly, and cognate systems in related languages show essentially the same patterning. However, in actual use it is sometimes difficult to point to a clear semantic motivation for the choice between *na* and *la* in terms of reference to speech-act participants, particularly when these particles are used for discourse-structuring purposes (§3.5) and so are somewhat removed from their basic spatial meaning. In such cases informants are often unable to indicate any difference between the two, claiming them to be equivalent in meaning.

In actual use, *na* appears to be the most neutral term of the set. Although no systematic statistical examination has been made, superficial assessments of token frequency suggest that *na* is considerably more frequent in discourse than the other two forms. *Na* is also commonly used with a general demonstrative meaning 'that one, over there' without necessarily relating the entity in question directly to the addressee in the speech-situation; and it occurs in certain contexts where the other demonstratives are not generally found, such as the fixed expression (*te*)*na ko ia* 'that's it, just like that'. A corresponding form **la ko ia* is not attested; the material has one or two examples of *tne ko ia*, though with a clearly deictic function 'this here' rather than the more generalised 'that's it' found with *na* (cf. examples (6)–(7)).

These facts, together with certain aspects of the discourse uses of the demonstratives to be discussed below, suggest that the Pileni demonstrative system may in fact have shifted, or be in the process of shifting, from speaker-based to distance-based: although speakers

still associate the demonstrative forms with aspects of the speech-situation, the originally addressee-referring form *na* appears to be acquiring a status as the medial term in a distance-based system, with *ne* referring to entities closer in distance and *la* to entities farther away.

In addition to purely deictic uses, the demonstrative particles are also employed as anaphora in discourse; this use of the demonstratives will be discussed in §3.5.1.

3.2 Demonstratives in noun phrases

The demonstrative particles are frequently found in all types of noun phrases, including with pronouns, proper nouns and place names. The demonstrative particle occurs as the last element of the noun phrase, following the nucleus it modifies and any other postnominal modifiers.²

The system of articles in Pileni is complex, and the precise relationship between the use of various articles and demonstrative particles is not clear. Næss (2000) lists eight different forms under the heading of ‘determiners’, and further research is required to establish the precise semantic parameters that govern their distribution. It is clear, however, that the demonstrative particles typically occur in noun phrases containing one of the specific articles *te* ‘singular’, *a* ‘plural, collective’ and *gha* ‘plural, individual’, or the personal article *a*. However, they are not obligatory in such noun phrases; it is also possible to have noun phrases with a specific article but no demonstrative.

The demonstrative particles situate the objects denoted by the noun phrase in physical or social space, giving them a spatial anchoring which seems to be highly desirable if not exactly obligatory in Pileni. While no statistical study has been made, the available material suggests that the use of a demonstrative is the rule rather than the exception in Pileni noun phrases. Personal pronouns frequently combine with the appropriate demonstrative particle: *aiau ne* ‘me (here)’, *akoe na* ‘you (there)’, *aia na* or *aia la* ‘him/her (there)’ etc. Interestingly, however, there are contexts where a personal pronoun occurs with a demonstrative different from that which would be expected in a purely speaker/addressee-based system; for example, a second person pronoun may in an appropriate context take a demonstrative other than the presumably addressee-referring *na*.³

- (1) *A-koe la e mda-tagara pe-hea?*
 ART-2SG DEM ART kind.of-man like-what
 ‘What kind of man are you?’

In other words, there is not a strict correlation between demonstrative use and speaker/addressee reference. Rather, such demonstrative uses as in (1) are most likely examples of the function of *la* as a marker of contrast in discourse; see §3.5.1.

2 Postnominal modifiers are rare in the material, but do occasionally occur; most common is *katoa* ‘all’, which not only precedes any demonstrative particle but seems to require the presence of one: *a taveli katoa la* ‘ART banana all DEM’ = ‘all the bananas’.

3 Note on transcription: *g* represents the voiced velar nasal. *ph*, *th*, *kh*, *mh*, *nh*, *gh* and *lh* represent aspirated versions of the consonant in question. Long vowels are marked with a macron. Abbreviations used in glosses: ART - article, ANAPH - anaphoric particle, BEN - benefactive preposition, CAUS - causative prefix, COMP - complementiser, CONJ - conjunction, DEM - demonstrative, DIR - directional particle, DU - dual, EMPH - emphatic particle, INCL - inclusive, INT - interjection, LOC - locative, MOD - modal marker, NEG - negation, PART - particle (precise meaning unknown), PL - plural, POSS - possessive, PP - predicative possessive marker, RED - reduplication, SG - singular, TA - tense-aspect marker, TOP - topicalising particle, TR - transitive suffix.

Placenames also tend to take a demonstrative particle: *i Pleni ne* 'here in Pileni', *i Kola la* 'there in Kola'. Elicitation tended to produce phrases with demonstratives even when corresponding spatial-deictic forms were carefully avoided in the English sentences given for translation:

- (2) *Te buka ne ni aku.*
ART book DEM PP 1SG.POSS
'The book is mine.'
- (3) *Te buka na ni au.*
ART book DEM PP 2SG.POSS
'The book is yours.'

I did not test the corresponding sentences without demonstratives for acceptability, but the version with demonstratives is clearly preferred.

The demonstrative particles may combine with the singular specific article to form the nucleus of a noun phrase, typically found in nominal-predicate constructions such as (4):

- (4) *Ko te-na e ika efa.*
TOP ART-DEM ART fish big
'That is a big fish.' (Elbert & Kirtley 1966:352)

This is a common construction in Polynesian languages. More unusual for Pileni is the possibility of using the bare demonstrative particle in this construction:

- (5) *Na e kio.*
DEM ART chicken
'That is a chicken.'

This use is most likely the result of a phonological process in Pileni whereby a syllable with an unvoiced consonant may in certain cases be deleted, leaving aspiration on the initial consonant of the following syllable (Næss 2000:5); the aspirated form *nha* is attested in similar contexts. Deletion of aspiration is a common process in Pileni, and the form may thus be realised as *na*.

The demonstrative particle *na* also forms part of the very commonly used expression *(te)na ko ia* which in isolation means 'that's it' and is frequently used e.g. to conclude narratives (7); it may also function as a nominal predicate with the meaning 'this, just like this' (6):

- (6) *Na ko ia loa aga o lārou.*
DEM TOP 3SG EMPH behaviour POSS 3PL.POSS
'This was the way they behaved.'
- (7) *Na ko ia, mui k-ohi ai t-na, ē, te lalakhai.*
DEM TOP 3SG place TA-end ANAPH ART-DEM eh ART story
'That's it, that's where it ends, eh, the story.'

A few nominal lexemes in Pileni appear to be unable to occur without a demonstrative attached, and are further characterised by not taking a preceding article.⁴ Attested forms are

⁴ More precisely, they do not take the specific article *te*, which their semantic counterparts which do not require a demonstrative normally take; however the personal article *a* seems to be possible with these forms.

mhe- ‘man’ (*mhe-na*, *mhe-la*), *han-* ‘woman’ (*han-ne*, *han-na*, *han-la*) and *mua-* ‘place’ (*mua-ne*, *mua-na*, *mua-la*). To my knowledge corresponding forms are not attested in other Polynesian languages, although a similar phenomenon may exist in the Austronesian language Kwaio spoken on Malaita in the central Solomon Islands (Keesing 1997:130, fn. 7). Pileni also has other lexemes with apparently the same meaning as these forms, but which do not require a demonstrative particle (*tagata* ‘man’, *hahine* ‘woman’, *mui* ‘place’). At present it is not known what governs the choice between the two forms, although it is possible that *mhe-* and *han-* are shortened forms with a ‘semi-pronominal’ function, used anaphorically for repeated reference to participants originally introduced with *tagata* or *hahine*.

3.3 Demonstratives in verb phrases

Just as in noun phrases, the demonstrative particles may be used in verb phrases with a spatial-deictic meaning, specifying the location of the event denoted by the verb relative to the speech-act participants, and thus corresponding roughly to the English locative adverbs ‘here’, ‘there’:

- (8) *A hat-e iloa po a kio no tahao ne i ghauta.*
 CONJ IPL.INCL-TA know COMP ART chicken TA wander DEM LOC shore
 ‘We know that the chickens wander about here, on land (as opposed to the sea).’

In a number of other cases, however, the function of demonstratives in verb phrases is less clear. They appear to be obligatory in verb phrases functioning as temporal adverbials:

- (9) *Hoko-mua-mai na, a pleni e ōge karoa.*
 CAUS-front-DIR DEM ART Pileni TA starve all
 ‘A long time ago everyone on Pileni was starving.’

The same holds for other types of phrases functioning as temporal adverbials: *tai pō na* ‘one night’, *atiao na* ‘tomorrow’. Most likely, this use of the demonstrative particles should be considered as an aspect of their general discourse-structuring function, to be discussed below.

Furthermore, demonstrative particles are highly frequent in phrases with stative verbs describing qualities attributed to an entity:

- (10) *Io-ko te gata e thuambe na ko le-mai.*
 CONJ-TOP ART snake TA big DEM TA go-DIR
 ‘And a big snake came.’

This use of the demonstratives might be motivated by the same concern as that proposed below for relative clauses, namely indicating that the verb phrase should be considered as a modifier to the preceding noun rather than as an independent clause; see also §3.5.2.

3.4 Demonstratives in relative clauses

There is no distinct relative marker in Pileni, and the simplest case of relative constructions consists just of an NP head modified by a VP (see Næss 2000 for a discussion of the justification for classifying such clauses as relative clauses rather than simplex main clauses):

- (11) *Te tai no kaiā ko kake.*
 ART man TA steal TA climb
 'The man who stole (i.e. 'the thief') climbed.' (Craven et al. 1979:18)

However, most relative clauses in the material include one of the demonstrative particles *na* or *la*. Example (11) showed a relativised intransitive subject with no demonstrative present, but there are also examples of relative clauses formed from intransitive clauses which do include a demonstrative particle:

- (12) *Ko lek-age loa na tuohine, na tuohine ko mate la.*
 TA go-DIR EMPH 3SG.POSS sister 3SG.POSS sister TA die DEM
 'His sister went along, his sister who was dead.'

There are few available examples of clauses with relativised transitive subjects, but those found all include a demonstrative particle:

- (13) *Na tugane ne-i tetuā a-ia la ko logo ai.*
 3SG.POSS brother TA-3SG chase ART-3SG DEM TA hear ANAPH
 'Her brother who had chased her away heard about it.'

Relativised direct objects seem systematically to yield clauses marked by one of the demonstrative particles *na* or *la*:

- (14) *Te ifi aku te-na ko ia koutou ne faki-a na.*
 ART chestnut 1SG.POSS ART-DEM TOP 3SG 2PL TA pluck-TR DEM
 'That is my chestnut you have plucked.' (Craven et al. 1979:18)

- (15) *Ne il-age na te puke ne-i tuhi-a na e tū oki*
 TA look-DIR DEM ART puke TA-3SG fell-TR DEM TA stand again
i na tafito.
 LOC 3SG.POSS trunk
 'He looked, and the puke-tree which he had felled was standing on its trunk again.' (Craven et al. 1979:10)

It is not unknown for demonstrative forms to be identical to relative markers; the English form *that* (*the man that I saw ...*) is a case in point (see also Anderson and Keenan 1985). The question is whether the available data justifies ascribing the demonstrative particles the status of relative markers in examples like (12)–(15) above.

A situation somewhat similar to that in Pileni is found in the related language Maori, where an anaphoric or demonstrative particle is obligatory in certain types of relative clauses (Bauer 1993). In Maori, as in Pileni, the precise status of these particles is unclear; Bauer (1993:53) states that 'it is possible that they function as pro-forms for relative elements', but elsewhere the same author suggests that this analysis is problematic (Bauer 1982). One suggestion advanced by Bauer (1982) is that the particles might serve as a marker of subordination, in the sense that they indicate to the hearer that the clause just uttered should be analysed as belonging to the preceding noun phrase rather than an independent clause. Such an analysis would seem to fit well with the suggested 'demarcative' function of demonstratives discussed in §3.5.2 below.

Nevertheless, a number of problems remain to be explained. Why, for instance, is there no demonstrative particle in the intransitive relative in example (11), while there is one in

(12)? And what governs the choice between *na* and *la* in those relative constructions which do contain a demonstrative particle?

An alternative hypothesis might be that the frequent occurrence of demonstratives in relative phrases is simply a function of their other uses. The use of *la* in (12) and (13), for example, might be related to the notion of anaphoric distance discussed in §3.5.1. below; both these relative clauses are used in their respective texts to reintroduce into the discourse participants which have not been mentioned for some time. Clearly, more research into the obligatoriness or otherwise of demonstrative particles in relative clauses, the possibility of choosing between *na* and *la* in different types of relatives, and the more general functions of demonstratives in discourse, is necessary in order to obtain a clear picture of the functions of demonstrative particles in relative clauses.

3.5 The discourse functions of demonstrative particles

3.5.1 Anaphoric distance and topic-switch

In addition to the primarily deictic uses described in §3.1–§3.3, the demonstrative particles also have anaphoric uses, referring back to previously mentioned entities:⁵

- (16) *Lha-ko laka i te motu lha-ko u-ake I te vai.*
 3DU-TA pass LOC ART island 3DU-TA paddle-DIR LOC ART water
Na te vai na na igoa po te Vainata.
 DEM ART water DEM 3SG.POSS name COMP ART Vainata
 ‘They passed an island and paddled up a stream. That stream is called Vainata.’

It appears that the choice between *na* and *la* in anaphoric contexts are to a certain extent governed by anaphoric distance (*ne* is used almost exclusively with deictic function in the available material). That is, *la* is preferred when the antecedent is found relatively far away in the preceding discourse, with much intervening material, while *na* is commonly used when the antecedent is recently mentioned. This would mean that the notion of relative distance encoded by the demonstratives with respect to the spatial domain is transferred to the discourse domain, a fairly well-attested correlation (see e.g. Givón 2001).

As a consequence of this encoding of anaphoric distance, there is a fairly strong tendency for *la* to be used to mark switches in subject or topic; that is, *la* frequently occurs when a previously mentioned entity which has not been the subject/topic of the previous clause(s) is the subject/topic of a new clause. The correlation is not strong enough to consider *la* a grammaticalised switch-reference marker, as it is possible for switches in subject/topic not to be marked by *la*, but the use of *la* in such cases is nevertheless very common:

- (17) *lo-ko lua meme-ana la e lavaki ngina ko-i kina.*
 CONJ-TOP two child-3SG.POSS DEM TA disappear because TA-3SG eat
lo-ko thau tugane la ko fulo. La-ko fūfulo na, Ko te
 CONJ-TOP pair brother DEM TA run 3DU-TA RED.run DEM TOP ART

⁵ The function of the prenominal demonstrative in the sequence *na te vai na* is not clear.

pakola la ne ila ...

giant DEM TA look

'And his two children were gone, because he had eaten them. And the brother and sister ran. They ran and ran, and the giant looked ...'

Another indication that *la* in such instances is used to mark a change in subject/topic is its use in combination with the quantifier *hai* 'one' to mean 'another'; the meaning of 'another' is essentially 'one different from that previously mentioned':

- (18) *Hai-la lek-age e-i kutea o lāvoi ko le-mai, hai-la lek-age*
one-DEM go-DIR TA-3SG see CONJ good TA go-DIR one-DEM go-DIR

e-i kutea o lāvoi ko le-mai, hāhano k-osi.

TA-3SG see CONJ good TA go-DIR RED.go TA-finish

'One of them went off and looked and came back, then another one went off and looked and came back, they all went (one after the other).'

La is the only demonstrative particle used with this meaning, which is what one would expect if the appropriate semantic extension is indeed from physical distance to anaphoric distance to topic switch.

This latter use of *la* is only a step away from another apparent function of this demonstrative, which is as a marker of *contrast* — 'entity *x* as opposed to another/any other' (rather than 'entity *x* as opposed to the previously mentioned entity'). The assumption that *la* may function as a contrast marker accounts for the appearance of this demonstrative in examples like (19):

- (19) *Ne mda-hahine pe-hea ne-i toa na? Ke-i toa*
DEM kind.of-woman like-what TA-3SG take DEM MOD-3SG take

harou la, matea ka-i oin-age a-ia i mouku.

IPL.INCL DEM maybe TA-3SG help-DIR ART-3SG LOC bush

'What kind of woman is this he has married? If he had married one of us (instead of her), we might have helped him (with his work) in the bush.'

In this example, the presumably third-person-referring demonstrative *la* appears on the first-person pronoun *harou* 'we-inclusive'. Clearly, this demonstrative does not function as a marker of spatial location; rather, it serves to contrast the virtuous and hard-working local women, referred to by *harou*, with the stranger one of the local men has taken as his wife, who refuses to do her share of the work. Similarly, the appearance of *la* on the second-person pronoun *akoe* in example (1) can be explained by reference to the contrasting function of this particle: the person referred to is being singled out as exceptional ('what kind of man are *you*?') and therefore marked by *la* rather than the expected 'addressee' demonstrative *na*.

3.5.2 Demonstratives as demarcative devices

The above account, assuming the demonstrative particles to have deictic, anaphoric, and topic switch-marking functions, still leaves a substantial amount of the demonstrative tokens found in narrative unaccounted for. One example is the demonstrative *na* following the temporal adverbial *hoko-mua mai* in example (9); this example is taken from the very

beginning of a narrative, meaning that the demonstrative cannot be an anaphor as there is no possible antecedent; but nor does *na* here seem to serve any obvious deictic function.

Such puzzling occurrences of demonstratives are in fact extremely common in Pileni narrative. The following is the beginning of a story told by one of the most respected storytellers in Pileni, and is highly representative of Pileni narrative style:

- (20) *Lui thau avaga la-ko nohonoho na, a nohine-ana ko*
DU pair marry 3DU-TA RED.live DEM ART wife-3SG.POSS TA

hei tama.

make child.

'There was a couple who lived together, and the wife got pregnant.

Ko hei tama na, io-ko lha-ko nōnoho na,
TA make child DEM CONJ-TOP 3DU-TA RED.live DEM
She got pregnant, they lived for a while,

ko hanau-ia na e tagata.
TA birth-TR DEM ART man
and she gave birth to a boy.

Ko hale-gia hale-gia na ko metua.
TA care-TR care-TR DEM TA grow.up
[The child] was taken care of and grew up.

Na ne metua te memea tagar-ana la na,
DEM TA grow.up ART child man-3SG.POSS DEM DEM
When this boy-child had grown up,

io-ko hina-na ko hei tama oki.
CONJ-TOP mother-3SG.POSS TA make child again
his mother got pregnant again.

Hei tama na, io-ko mha-na, ē,
make child DEM CONJ-TOP father-3SG.POSS eh
She got pregnant, and his father, eh,

a te matu-ana ko mate.
CONJ ART husband-3SG.POSS TA die
her husband died.'

This systematic repetition of phrases, with a demonstrative attached to the second occurrence, appears to be an integral part of the structure of Pileni narratives. The demonstratives are prominent in discourse not just on account of their frequency but also their intonational properties: phrase-final demonstratives are heavily stressed with a corresponding high pitch.

Despite this high prominence of demonstratives in discourse, their exact function is not entirely clear at present. It has been suggested to me that the demonstratives might mark old or given information and be used for the backgrounding of entities or events, which would agree quite well with the example above. A related suggestion would be that the demonstratives serve as a kind of temporal subjunctions, and the appropriate translation of e.g. *hei tama na* above would be 'when she got pregnant' or 'after she got pregnant'. In working through this and similar texts with a native consultant we have frequently agreed on such translations as appropriate for clauses of this type.

The notion of backgrounding, however, does not agree very well with the proposed *contrasting* function of at least one demonstrative particle, discussed in §3.5.1 above: a marker of contrast serves rather to emphasise and *foreground* a participant in relation to the surrounding discourse. A more appropriate suggestion that would relate the use of demonstratives in example (20) to those described in §3.5.1 is that the demonstratives are used to mark *topical* information, in the standard sense of ‘what is currently being talked about’: this would tie in well with the use of the distal demonstrative *la* as a marker of new or reactivated topics.

The salience of the demonstrative particles in discourse suggest that they play a central role in structuring the narrative. A very similar phenomenon is found in the Polynesian language East Futuna of the French overseas territory Wallis and Futuna, where a particle *la* is described by Moyse-Faurie (1997) as a ‘demarcative particle (particule démarcative)’: ‘[C]ette particule a dans la phrase une fonction de délimitation des différents groupes nominaux ou verbaux. Dans les récits, les discours, et dans la conversation courante, elle peut se postposer à chaque “partie du discours” de la phrase, comme une sorte de ponctuation à rôle contrastif⁶ (Moyse-Faurie 1997:195). Something similar is apparently the case for the particle *na* in the related language Fagauvea (Claire Moyse-Faurie, pers. comm.).

The notion of demonstratives as ‘phrase demarcators’ is probably not incompatible with the suggestion that the demonstrative particles serve to mark topical information. The demonstratives might be considered to structure the progress of the narrative by marking off, one at a time, the topic currently being elaborated, before moving on to the next topic which is similarly marked by another demonstrative. In this way, the topic-marking and ‘phrase-delimiting’ functions of demonstratives may be considered essentially two aspects of the same phenomenon: the use of demonstratives to indicate ‘what is currently being talked about’.

The clearly most frequent demonstrative form found with this discourse-structuring function is *na* (cf. example (20)). As mentioned above, *ne* appears to be used almost exclusively with deictic function, whereas *la* most typically appears under the circumstances described above, as anaphoric for elements some distance away in the discourse or as markers of subject/topic-switch or of contrast. This is another indication that, as suggested in §3.1, *na* functions as the neutral term of the Pileni demonstrative system, with *ne* having a specific denotation of (spatial) closeness and *la* one of (spatial or discourse) distance.

4 Directionals

Directional particles are postverbal particles which describe the direction of the action described by the verb they modify. This ‘direction’ may be purely physical, if the act in question has a physical direction towards a particular participant or point in space; but the directionals may also refer to ‘social’ or ‘metaphorical’ direction, describing an act as ‘directed’ towards a participant in the sense of being performed on someone’s behalf or to someone’s benefit or detriment. Pileni has seven directional particles; the first three relate

⁶ ‘This particle has a function in the clause of delimiting different nominal or verbal phrases. In narratives, discourse, and in running conversation it can be postposed to each “part of discourse” of the clause, as a kind of punctuation with a contrastive role.’ (my translation)

to the participants in the speech situation, the next three describe vertical direction while the last denotes movement away from a point of reference.

The directionals referring to speech-act participants are *mai*, *atu*, and *age*. The distinction between them is essentially the same as that described in §3.1 for the demonstrative particles: they describe direction towards the speaker, towards the addressee, and away from both speaker and addressee, respectively. Thus *mai* indicates that an action is being performed 'in the direction of' the speaker, either literally or in the sense that the act is done for or on behalf of the speaker:

- (21) *Le-mai!*
go-DIR
'Come here!'
- (22) *Lu-aha-gia mai te thoka ne!*
2DU-open-TR DIR ART door DEM
'Open the door for me!'

Atu similarly indicates direction, literal or metaphorical, away from the speaker, and typically towards the addressee, though it also has a more general meaning 'out, away'; the latter may be considered to be in a sense parallel to the use of the corresponding term of the demonstrative system, *na*, with a general meaning 'over there' independently of any reference to the speech-act participants:

- (23) *U-ka av-atu nei e potopoto.*
1SG-TA give-DIR DEM TA short
'I'll give you this short one.' (Craven et al. 1979:12)
- (24) *Na lhatu-e u-atu.*
DEM 3PL-TA paddle-DIR
'Then they paddled away.'

Age typically indicates direction away from the speaker and towards a third person, but also has a more general meaning of 'away, along':

- (25) *Ko-i tuku-age nohine-ana ki-a te matu-ana po ...*
TA-3SG say-DIR wife-3SG.POSS to-ART ART husband-3SG.POSS COMP
'The wife said to her husband ...'
- (26) *Ko lek-age loa na tuohine.*
TA go-DIR EMPH 3SG.POSS sister
'His sister came along.'

The directional particles *ake*, *ifo*, and *ofo* all refer to the vertical dimension. *Ake* refers to actions performed in an upward direction:

- (27) *Ko nh-ake ko kake-ake i hai lakau.*
TA go-DIR TA climb-DIR LOC ART tree
'(She) went up and climbed up into a tree.'

Ifo is similarly used for direction downwards:

- (28) *Ko-i toa te au niu ko kave-iho.*
TA-3SG take ART tree coconut TA bring-DIR
'(He) took a coconut tree and brought it down.' (Craven et al. 1979:16)

The exact function of the third 'vertical' directional, *ofo*, is not clear. From the attested examples it appears that the particle may refer to vertical movement in either direction, up or down, though one cannot exclude the possibility that this rather unusual interpretation is due to some flaw in our translations:

- (29) *Io-ko ia ko tu-ofo.*
 CONJ-TOP 3SG TA stand-DIR
 'And she stood up.'
- (30) *Ko-i telei-ofo loa ki haupé.*
 TA-3SG push-DIR EMPH to sea
 '(He) pushed (him) into the sea.'

Nor is it clear precisely what the relationship is between *ofo* on the one hand and *ake* and *ifo* on the other. *Ofo* is not a mere phonetic variant of *ifo* as they are both attested in the exact same environment, with the same verb.⁷ The examples of *ofo* with the apparent meaning 'up' are few, while it is considerably more frequently used than *ifo* to denote 'down'; it is possible that *ofo* is in the process of replacing *ifo* as the directional meaning 'down'.

The final directional particle is *kē*, meaning 'away'. This brings the total number of demonstrative particles in Pileni up to seven, which as mentioned in the introduction is more than in any other Polynesian language I am aware of.

- (31) *Latou ko tetuā te memea na po ke fano kē.*
 3PL TA chase ART child DEM COMP MOD go DIR
 'They drove the child away.' (Elbert & Kirtley 1966:354)

The directionals, particularly those referring to speech-act participants, are highly frequent and found with a great variety of verbs. In general, for any verb which may be conceived of as having a 'direction',⁸ the use of a directional particle is clearly the rule rather than the exception. When another marker of direction is present, e.g. a prepositional phrase with the directional preposition *ki* 'to, towards', omission of the directional particle seems to be somewhat more common (32), although directional particles and directional PPs may certainly co-occur (33):

- (32) *Ghi e ō ki tua, ko toa ni fatu.*
 some TA go.PL to back TA take ART stone
 'Those who are going to the back (of the island), take some stones.'
- (33) *Lhat-ko ua-mai ki Pleni.*
 3PL-TA paddle-DIR to Pileni
 'They paddled back here to Pileni.'

It seems that any description of an event in Pileni should be anchored in physical or social space, typically the space defined by the speech-act participants, wherever possible. The use of a verb without a marker of direction is clearly the marked case and in some, perhaps most, cases has a clearly defined semantic-pragmatic significance. For example,

⁷ *Kave ifo/kave ofo* 'bring down'.

⁸ That is, not the so-called stative verbs denoting qualities and corresponding roughly to adjectives in English, e.g. *thuambe* 'big', *likiliki* 'small', *kila* 'black' etc. These on the other hand show a tendency to be followed by a demonstrative; cf. §3.3.

the transitive verb *tukua* ‘say’ normally requires a following directional particle: *tuku-mai* ‘say to me/us’, *tuku-atu* ‘say to you’, *tuku-age* ‘say to him/her/them’. When this verb is used without a directional particle it does not simply mean ‘say (in some direction or other)’ but specifically ‘say to oneself’, as illustrated by example (34), taken from a story telling of an old man seeing a young girl come walking down to the beach:

- (34) *Ko-i tuku-a po kē, te meitaine ne mo tuku ataliki age.*
 TA-3SG say-TR COMP INT ART girl DEM BEN 1SG.POSS son DIR
 ‘He said to himself: “Oh! (I’d like) this girl for my son (to marry)”.’

The verb *hano* ‘go’ normally takes a directional particle when used to refer to an actual instance of the act of walking or otherwise proceeding from one location to another. It is also commonly used in narratives to represent a period of time and of life in which nothing in particular happens, life goes on as normal; in such cases the verb takes no directional particle and could be translated as ‘he/she/they went on’ or even ‘time went on’:

- (35) *Nōnoho na, hano hāhano na, hai lagi na ...*
 RED.live DEM go RED.go DEM ART day DEM
 ‘They lived there, (time) went by, and then one day ...’

5 Other spatial-deictic forms

Pileni does not have many spatial-deictic forms beyond the demonstratives and the directional particles. It appears that the extensive use and broad range of functions of these two types of forms all but exhaust the potential for spatial deixis in the language. As will be clear from the above account, the demonstrative particles can be used to cover the functions expressed in e.g. English by locative adverbs (‘here’, ‘there’, cf. example (8)), demonstrative adjectives (‘this thing’, cf. example (2)–(3)), and demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’). With the dimension of direction covered by the directional particles, there seems to be little need for additional forms with spatial-deictic function.

There are, however, a few forms which may be described as having a possible deictic function. One such form is *akinai*, which is basically an anaphoric form for prepositional phrases with *ki* ‘to, towards’:

- (36) *Mua-ne hiai loa e tai no thae mai akinai.*
 place-DEM NEG EMPH ART man TA reach DIR ANAPH
 ‘No man has ever reached this place.’

In (36), *akinai* refers back to *mua-ne* ‘this place’ and adds a directional meaning, i.e. it replaces the full prepositional phrase *ki mua-ne* ‘to this place’. However, there are instances of *akinai* in reported direct speech where no antecedent is present; instead, *akinai* appears to refer to direction in the immediate spatial setting of the reported speech⁹ — that is, it has a deictic meaning ‘over there’ (glossed ‘down there’ in the example due to the presence of the directional particle *oho* ‘down’):

- (37) *Iau ka lele-oho loa akinai.*
 1SG TA jump-DIR EMPH ANAPH
 ‘I will jump down there.’

⁹ Presumably this form is equally applicable in direct, non-reported speech, but as the corpus consists mainly of narratives all the available examples are of reported speech.

Another set of forms referring to spatial properties, usually referred to in Polynesian languages as 'local nouns' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992) or 'locatives' (Hooper 1996) are also common in Pileni. These describe spatial dimensions of objects or spatial relations between objects, and are usually preceded by one of the prepositions *i* 'in, at, on' or *ki* 'to, towards'. Some of the more common local nouns in Pileni are: *luga* 'top, up', *lalo* 'bottom, down', *taha* 'side, beside', *tua* 'back, behind', *ghauta* 'shore, place on shore where the village is situated, inland', *thaupē* 'sea, seawards'. *Lalo* 'bottom, down' and *luga* 'top, up' are also used for 'west' and 'east', respectively. The complex forms *hai tōilo* (*hai* 'side') and *hai tōvalo* are used for 'left-hand side' and 'right-hand side' respectively; these are presumably derived from the verbs *iloa* 'know' and *valea* 'not know, be ignorant of'.

Finally, while it is possible for the demonstrative particles to be used on their own with a 'locative adverb' function, i.e. as referring to the place where an event takes place (example (8)), it is rather more common to employ a complex form for this purpose, namely *mua*- 'place' + demonstrative (*mua-ne* 'here', lit. 'this place'; *mua-na/mua-la* 'there', lit. 'that place'; cf. §3.2.):

- (38) *Ta-pale-ake mua i mua-ne.*
 IDU.INCL-arrive-DIR PART LOC place-DEM
 'Let us go ashore here.'
- (39) *Te akau na e ohi loa na i mua-na.*
 ART reef DEM TA end EMPH DEM LOC place-DEM
 'The reef ends there.'

6 Conclusion

Spatial deixis is central to Pileni grammar not only in the sense that descriptions of events and entities carry an overt marker of spatial location or orientation whenever assigning them such an orientation is feasible, but also in the sense that it serves as the source domain for the structuring of discourse: the notions of relative 'closeness' and 'distance' expressed by the spatial-deictic forms *na* and *la* are extended into the discourse domain to indicate such properties as topicality, anaphoric distance and contrast.

The semantic basis of the Pileni system of spatial deixis is the speech situation; both the demonstrative and the directional particle sets distinguish between 'near-speaker', 'near-hearer' and 'away from speaker-hearer' (or 'near third person') forms. It has been suggested (Denny 1978) that languages spoken in so-called 'natural environments' may have more need of deictic forms to relate space to human activity than those spoken in man-made environments, because the latter are to a great extent formed by just such activities and so make available non-deictic forms as 'down the road', 'through the door', 'around the corner' (Denny 1978:80); such forms are less applicable in 'natural environment'. As mentioned at the start of this paper Pileni speakers inhabit an extremely restricted physical space with little in the way of topographical distinctions beyond that between sea and land; the amount of human-made features in the landscape are also very limited. This may go some way towards accounting for the extreme frequency of spatial-deictic forms in Pileni: faced with the lack of distinct physical features to structure and divide physical space and relate it to everyday human activity, the speakers may have chosen to base their conceptualisation of space mainly on social relations and the structure

of the speech-situation, and so any reference to an event or entity should ideally position the event/entity relative to the speech-act participants.

However, if one examines the entire range of uses of the demonstrative particles, the association between these forms and the speech-act participants appears to be weakening somewhat; for example it is possible in the right context to mark a speech-act participant with a different demonstrative particle from that which would be expected in a strictly speaker/addressee-based deictic system. Instead, particularly when the demonstratives are used for discourse-structuring purposes, they show properties characteristic of a *distance-based* system: the originally addressee-referring demonstrative *na* is used with a general meaning of 'some distance away, neither very near nor very far' and functions as the neutral term in a system where it is opposed to *ne* 'close by' and *la* 'far away'. *Ne* is almost exclusively found with a proper deictic function, meaning 'right here, close by'; *la* has a number of uses which can all be related to the notion of *distance*, either physical or anaphoric. In all other cases one typically finds *na*, which can therefore no longer be described as a purely 'addressee-referring' form; rather, it functions as the medial term in a system whose members still retain a basic association with the participants in the speech situation, but which have been extended, or are in the process of being extended, to referring to more general notions of relative distance.

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6 *Deixis in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia)*¹

ISABELLE BRIL

Spatiotemporal reference is marked by various categories of morphemes; apart from a number of lexical items which constitute temporal or locative landmarks, the core system is based on three deictic markers, three anaphoric markers and five directionals which may be suffixed to a number of nominal or pronominal roots, to demonstrative pronouns or adjectives, presentative pronouns, adverbs of time or place.

Those markers may have spatial, temporal and sometimes aspectual reference. Deixis, as we shall see, may have exophoric (situational) or endophoric (discursive) reference in Nêlêmwa. The text at the end of the paper provides various examples of all those usages in a broader context.

1 Overview of deictic, anaphoric and directional markers

The paradigm of deictic, anaphoric markers and directionals may have spatial or aspectotemporal reference (see Tables 1 and 2 and §3.1, §4.1, §4.4). Deictic and anaphoric markers — in contrast with directionals — constitute static reference.

¹ Nêlêmwa is one of the twenty-eight Kanak languages spoken in the far north of New Caledonia; it is an Oceanic language of the Austronesian family.

1.1 Deictic and anaphoric suffixes

Table 1: Deictic and anaphoric suffixes

	DEICTICS EGOCENTERED			ANAPHORICS LOGOCENTERED		UNREFERENCED
	<i>hleny</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>-xo</i> ²
SPATIAL VALUE	close 'here' (near speaker)	mid distance 'there'	distant 'over there'	known to the speaker, (previously mentioned)	known to the speaker and addressee	unknown, unreferenced
TEMPORAL VALUE	present 'now'	prospective (near)	prospective (distant)	indifferent temporal value	past	unknown future

— DEICTICS refer to items anchored in the space and time of the speaker; they are then subcategorised according to proximal/medial/distal distance from the speaker:

- close to the speaker (*hleny*)
- at a small distance from the speaker (*ena*)
- far away (*ali*)

They refer to frontal space and to the horizontal spatial axis. Visibility or audibility are not relevant factors for deictic reference. Those deictics may be used with shifted reference and may be endophoric, with discursive reference to events, objects or characters in a narrative (see §3.2 and §4.3).

— ANAPHORIC markers distinguish three types of reference:

- discursive reference to something previously mentioned (*eli*)
- discursive reference to facts known from shared experience and from the past (*bai*)
- discursive reference to something unknown, unreferenced (*-xo*)

1.2 Directionals

Table 2: Directional morphemes

	DEICTIC DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES		DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES		
	<i>me</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>du</i>
SPATIAL VALUE	towards the speaker	away from the speaker	transverse	upward	downward
ASPECTO TEMPORAL VALUE	present perspective 'up to now'	*	continuous aspect or future	progressive, up to a point	*

² *ho-xo* 'that' (unknown +/- animate); *fo-xo* 'that' (unknown + inanimate).

Kiya ho-xo na axi-e.

there.is.not this.UNREF 1SG see-3SG

'I haven't seen anybody.' (lit. 'There is not anybody I have seen.')

Directionals are very commonly used and constitute the dynamic system of spatial reference. They distinguish centripetal, centrifugal, transverse, upward or downward direction, some of them may also refer to static location and may have aspectotemporal value. They can be subdivided into:

- those which are speaker-centred (*-me*³ centripetal, *-xi* centrifugal); they may have shifted deictic or endophoric usage in narratives (see §3.2 and the text).
- those which may be deictic or non-deictic (*ve* transverse, *da* ‘up’, *du* ‘down’), according to whether they are speaker-centred or centred on some other reference point.

Compound directionals: *da* and *du* may be suffixed by *-me* and *-xi* in the strict following order: *dame* ‘up here’, *dume* ‘down here’ (speaker-centred), *daxi* ‘up there’, *duxi* ‘down there’ (away from the speaker).

2 Description of deictic, anaphoric and directional determiners

The paradigm of deictic, anaphoric and directional morphemes (listed in §1 and Table 1) may be suffixed to various roots or lexical items to form several types of determiners.

2.1 List of roots or lexical items

- nominal roots (*ax-* ‘man’ > *axa-*; *thaamwa* ‘woman’ > *horaamwa-*;⁴ *aguk* ‘people’ > *agu(x)-*); they form masculine, feminine or generic pronouns with human reference. This feature is specific to a few languages of the north of New Caledonia⁵ (Table 3a and 3b)
- third person pronouns which distinguish three numbers: *ho-* (SG), *hli-* (DU), *hla* (PL) (Table 3a) and refer to animates or inanimates
- the pronominal form *fo-*, which is derived from the noun *fo(liik)* ‘thing’ and refers to inanimates (Table 3a)
- independent personal pronouns (Table 4) or presentative pronouns (Table 5)
- the locative root *mw(e)-*, *mw(a)-* (Table 3a and 6)
- time adverbs based on the prefix *e-*: *êna* ‘now’, *ebai* ‘some time ago’ (Table 7)
- the simulative predicate *shuma* ‘be like (this, that)’ (Table 8)

The directionals may be suffixed to nouns⁶ and pronouns, as well as all types of active verbs.

³ It is a reflex of Proto Oceanic **mai* ‘come’.

⁴ Loss of the aspirate consonant in intervocalic position: *thaamwa* [rha:mwa] > *raamwa* [ra:mwa].

⁵ *Nyelâyu*, *Nêlêmwa*, *Nixumwak* as well as in two tonal languages in the Centre (Rivierre 1980:144–149).

⁶ Except the centripetal directional *me*; unless that noun refers to a movement *âda-n me* (lit. delay-his here) ‘his delay (in arriving) here’.

2.2 Deictic, anaphoric, directional pronouns or determiners

These determiners may be used either as pronouns or as nominal determiners. The contrast between foregrounded versus backgrounded determination is marked by their position and morphology.

(A) Prenominal determiners

In prenominal position, the paradigm of demonstratives (see Table 3a) refers to first mentioned and foregrounded determination. They may also be used with contrastive effect. (For such use, see Text 1, 29, 39, 71, 75, 76, 77, 86, 89).

Paradigm of deictic and anaphoric pronouns or determiners	Noun
-----------------------------------------------------------	------

Masculine and feminine pronouns, such as *axaleny* 'this one' (masculine), *horaamwaleny* 'this one' (feminine) may also determine nouns of the same gender with emphatic meaning: *horaamwaleny thaamwa* 'this woman here'; *axamalaaleny hulak* 'these old men here' (Text 53).

When suffixed with the mid-distant deictic *-ena*, they may be used as vocative pronouns, to call relatives or friends of the same sex as strategies of avoidance and respect, since calling somebody by his name is disrespectful: *axeena!* 'eh! man!' (between men); *horaamwena!* 'eh! woman!' (between women).

Table 3a: Deictic and anaphoric pronouns or determiners

PRONOUNS OR DETERMINERS	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	+ DEICTIC / ANAPHORIC SUFFIX	+ DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX
neutral (+/–animate)	<i>hi</i> (this here)	*	*	*	*
neutral (+/–animate)	<i>ho-</i>	<i>hli-</i>	<i>hla-</i>	<i>-hleny,</i> <i>-ena,</i> <i>-ali,</i> <i>-eli,</i> <i>-bai,</i> <i>-xo</i>	<i>-aida,</i> <i>-maidu,</i> <i>-xi</i>
Masculine	<i>axa-</i>	<i>axamali-</i>	<i>axamala-</i>		
Feminine	<i>horaamwa-</i>	<i>horamali-</i>	<i>horamala-</i>		
collective/generic human	<i>agu-</i>	<i>agumali-</i>	<i>agumala-</i>		
Inanimate	<i>fo(liik)</i>	<i>fomali-</i>	<i>fomala-</i>		
Locative	<i>mwe-, mwa</i>				

(B) Postnominal determiners

In postnominal position (Table 3b), those determiners refer to backgrounded, known information (Text 25, 80). The dual and plural are marked by *mali-*, *mala(a)-*.

Noun	+ Paradigm of deictic and anaphoric determiners
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Table 3b: Post-nominal determiners

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	+ DEICTIC/ ANAPHORIC SUFFIX	+ DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX
N + deictic/ anaphoric suffixes	N + mali- + deictic/ anaphoric suffixes	N + mala- + deictic/ anaphoric suffixes	-hleny -ena -ali -eli -bai -xo	-aida, -maidu, -xi

Compare the prenominal and postnominal determiners:

Prenominal (foregrounded)

ho-leny ak
this man

ho-ona cet

ho-bai mwa

hli-leny ciic

hlaa-bai thaamwa

Postnominal (backgrounded)

axa-leny 'this man'
man-this

cer-ena 'that cooking-pot'

mwa bai 'that house' (anaphoric)

ciic mali-leny 'these two trees'

thaamwa mala-bai 'those women' (anaphoric)

Prenominal and postnominal determiners may co-occur with emphatic value:

- (1) *Hlaaleny thaamwa malaaleny.*
these.DEICT woman these.DEICT⁷
'These women here.' (Text 61)

2.3 Deictic, anaphoric, directional independent pronouns

Full, independent pronouns may be specified by deictic, anaphoric and directional markers (only three directionals are attested: *-aida* 'upward', *-maidu* 'downward', *-xi* 'away' centrifugal).

Table 4: Deictic and anaphoric independent pronouns

Personal pronouns	SG	DUAL	PLURAL	+ DEICTIC (or) ANAPHORIC SUFFIX	+ DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX
1 st	<i>Na</i>	incl. <i>hi</i> excl. <i>yaman</i>	incl. <i>há</i> excl. <i>yavaa</i>	<i>-hleny, -ena, -ali</i> <i>-eli, -bai</i>	<i>-aida, -maidu</i>
2 nd	<i>Co</i>	<i>yamon</i>	<i>yawaa</i>		<i>-xi</i>
3 rd	<i>Ye</i>	<i>hli</i>	<i>hla</i>		

⁷ Abbreviations: AGT - agent; AGT.N - noun of agent; ANAPH - anaphoric; BENEF - beneficiary; CLASS - classifier; COMIT - comitative; DEICT - deictic; DET - determiner; DU - dual; DIR - directional; DUR - durative; EXCL - exclusive; FEM - feminine; FUT - future; INAN - inanimate; INCL - inclusive; INDEP - independent pronoun; INSTR - instrumental; INTR - intransitive; IRR - irrealis marker; LOC - locative marker; LOC.PRED - locative predicate; MASC - masculine; PERF - perfective marker; POSS - possessive suffix; PL - plural; SEQ - sequential; SG - singular; TOP - topic marker; TR - transitive; UNREF - unreferenced.

1SG	<i>na-hleny</i>	'me here'
2SG	<i>co-ena</i>	'you there'
1DU.excl.	<i>yaman-aida</i>	'we (2) up there'
1PL.excl.	<i>yavaa-hleny</i>	'we here'
3PL	<i>hla-ali</i>	'they over there' (<i>hleena</i> ⁸ 'those'; <i>hla-maidu</i> 'those down there'; <i>hlaida</i> 'those up there')

The directional suffixes **me*,⁹ **ve* may not be used with personal pronouns, except with dual or plural independent pronouns with predicative function used in a comitative construction and referring to some movement (see (2) and (3) below).

- (2) *Yaman me ma Piepe.*
 1DU DIR COMIT Piepe
 'We(2) (came) here, Piepe and me.'

In many cases, the independent pronoun in a comitative construction (see *hla xi* in (3)) is different from the static demonstrative pronoun or adjective (see *hle-xi* 'those over there' (going away), in (4) and (5) below) which displays vowel harmony (/a/ > /e/; *hla* + *exi* > *hlexi*).

- (3) *Hla xi ma Piepe.*
 3PL DIR COMIT Piepe
 'They (went) away with Piepe.'
- (4) *Hle-xi thaamwa malexi (mu mweli).*
 those-DIR woman those.DIR (live LOC.ANAPH)
 'Those women over there (who live there).' (away from the speaker)
- (5) *Hle-xi mu mwe-xi.*
 those-DIR live LOC.ANAPH
 'Those there live over there.' (away from the speaker)

2.4 Deictic, anaphoric and directional presentative pronouns

The paradigm is slightly different for animates and inanimates in the third person, (Table 5): inanimate pronouns display the morpheme *e-*, while animate pronouns use the paradigm of independent pronouns (Table 4).

e-hi 'here it is!'/ 'here they are!' (+ inanimates); *ye-hi* 'here (s)he is!' (+ humans).

(A) Inanimates

Inanimate presentative pronouns consist of the morpheme *e-*, plus a pronominal root *ho*, *hli-*, *hla-*, plus the paradigm of deictic, anaphoric pronouns or the 'up'/'down' directionals suffixed to it. (Text 79, 89).

⁸ Vocalic harmony: *hla* + *ena*.

⁹ The directional *me* cannot have static reference.

- + SG *e-ho-leny* 'Here it is!'
 + DU *e-hlii-leny* 'Here they (2) are!'
 + PL *e-hlaa-leny* 'Here they are!'

- (6) *E-hooli* *vhaa* *bai* *na* *tâlâ*.
 3SG-that.ANAPH speech that.ANAPH 1SG hear
 'Here is the speech I heard.'

(B) Animates

Animate presentative pronouns consist of an independent personal pronoun (*ye* SG; *hli* DU; *hla* PL), specified by a pronoun made from the pronominal roots *ho-*, *hli-*, *hla-* and the paradigm of deictic, anaphoric and the 'up'/'down' directional suffixes.

- (7) *Ye-ho-maidu* *na* *pwayiic!*
 3SG.INDEP-this-down DUR cut.wood
 'There she is down (there) cutting wood!'
- (8) *Hli-li-ali* *na* *pîila* *mwaali!*
 3DU-3DU-there.DEICT DUR play over.there.DEICT
 'There they (2) are playing over there!' (lit. 'They (2) those there ...')
- (9) *Hla-la-ali* *hlaabai* *âlô-ak!*
 3PL-3PL-DEICT those.ANAPH young-man
 'There they are over there, those young men!' (lit. 'They those there ...')

For all persons other than the third person, presentatives consist of a personal pronoun specified by a deictic or directional pronoun (in contrast with the deictic or anaphoric personal pronouns listed in Table 4).

- 1SG *Na holeny!* 'Here I am!'
 2SG *Co hoona!* 'There you are!'
 1DU.EXCL *Yaman hlileny!* 'Here we (2) are!'
 1PL.EXCL *Yava hlaaleny!* 'Here we are!'
 2PL *Yawa hleena!* 'There you are!'

Table 5: Presentative pronouns

DEICTIC PRESENTATIVES	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	+ DEICTIC/ ANAPHORIC DETERMINER	+ DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX
3 rd inanimates	<i>e-ho-</i>	<i>e-hli(i)-</i>	<i>e-hla(a)-</i>	<i>-hleny,</i> <i>-ena, -ali,</i>	<i>-aida,</i> <i>-maidu</i>
3 rd animates	<i>ye ho-</i>	<i>hli-li</i>	<i>hla-la</i>	<i>-eli, -bai</i>	
1 st person	<i>na ho-</i>	incl. <i>hî hli-</i> excl. <i>yaman hli-</i>	incl. <i>hâ hla(a)-</i> excl. <i>yavaa hla-</i>	<i>-hleny,</i> <i>-ena,</i>	
2 nd person	<i>co ho-</i>	<i>yamon hli-</i>	<i>yavaa hla-</i>	<i>-ali</i>	

2.5 Deictic, anaphoric and directional locative adverbs

Those locative adverbs are formed on the root *mw(a)-* which is suffixed with deictic, anaphoric and directional morphemes (Tables 6a and 6b).

Table 6a: Deictic and anaphoric locative adverbs

ROOT	+ DEICTIC OR ANAPHORIC SUFFIXES	DEICTIC OR ANAPHORIC LOCATIVES	
<i>mw(a)</i>	<i>-iny</i>	<i>hmwiny</i>	'here'
	<i>-ena</i>	<i>mw-ena</i>	'there' (mid-distance)
	<i>-ali</i>	<i>mwa-ali</i>	'over there' (distant)
	<i>-eli</i>	<i>mw-eli</i>	'at that place' (mentioned before)
	<i>-bai</i>	<i>mwa-bai</i>	'at that place' (known from experience)
	<i>-xo</i>	<i>mwe-xo</i> ¹⁰	'at that place' (unknown)

The only directional suffixes attested are *-xi*, *-(ai)da*, *(-mai)du* (Table 6b) (the use of *me* and *ve* is ungrammatical); *mw-aida*, *mwa-maidu* locate something further away than *mwa-da*, *mwa-du*. See their various occurrences in the text (2, 6, 15, 25).

Table 6b: Directional locative adverbs

ROOT	+ DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES	DIRECTIONAL LOCATIVES	
<i>mw(a)</i>	<i>-xi</i>	<i>mwe-xi</i>	'there' (going away)
	<i>-da</i>	<i>mwa-da</i>	'up there'
	<i>-du</i>	<i>mwa-du</i>	'down there'
	<i>-aida</i>	<i>mw-aida</i>	'up there' (far away)
	<i>-maidu</i>	<i>mwa-maidu</i>	'down there' (far away)

2.6 Deictic and anaphoric temporal adverbs

Only two temporal adverbs display deictic or anaphoric morphology (*e-bai* 'a moment ago', *ê-na* 'now'). Other adverbs have deictic function though it is not marked morphologically (*ereek* 'the night before (now)', 'yesterday night', *caae* 'tomorrow', *koobwan* 'yesterday'). See §3.1.3.

¹⁰ *Na farame mwexo i â le.*
1SG forget place.UNREF 3SG go there.ANAPH
'I forgot where he was going.' (unreferenced location)

Table 7: Deictic and anaphoric temporal adverbs

<i>e-</i>	<i>na</i>	‘now’
	<i>bai</i>	‘a moment ago’

2.7 Deictic and anaphoric similitive predicate: *shuma* ‘be like, be a certain way’

With such usage, the similitive predicate *shuma* ‘be like’ is associated with locative markers (see Table 8), formed on the root *mw-*.

Table 8: Deictic or anaphoric similitive predicates

ROOT	+ DEICTIC/ANAPHORIC LOCATIVE MARKERS	DEICTIC/ ANAPHORIC VERB	
<i>shum(a)</i>	<i>(h)mwiny</i>	<i>shum-winy</i>	‘be like this’
	<i>mwena</i>	<i>shum-wena</i>	‘be like that’
	<i>mweli</i>	<i>shum-weli</i>	‘be like that’ (anaphoric)
	<i>-bai</i>	<i>shu-bai</i>	‘be like that’ (anaphoric)

- (10) a. *I wâyôók o pwe ni madaan o shumwiny?*
 3SG persist IRR fish in weather IRR be.like.this.DEICT
 ‘Why does he persist in fishing in such weather?’ (lit. ‘with a weather like this’)
- b. *I shumweli.*
 3SG do.thus.ANAPH
 ‘He said thus.’
- c. *Fek me wêêng xe shubai.*
 ways and customs TOP be.thus.ANAPH
 ‘The customs were like that.’

3 Referential functions of deictic and anaphoric determiners

Here is an overview of the temporal and aspectual meanings of those determiners as well as their exophoric or endophoric referential functions.

3.1 Temporal value of deictic and anaphoric determiners

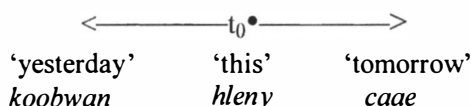
Deictic and anaphoric markers may refer to temporal landmarks, and directionals may have aspectotemporal value (see §4.4).

3.1.1 Deictic markers

Deictic markers display a strict parallel in terms of distance or proximity in time or space. See Table 1.

(A) Proximal deictic (*hleny*): present relevance

The reference point marked by *hleny* is the situation and time of speech. When it occurs with the deictic adverbs *koobwan* 'yesterday' or *caae* 'tomorrow', it refers to a point in the speaker's near past or near future (t_0 = time zero):



- (11) *ni ka hleny koobwan*
 in year this.DEICT yesterday
 'last year' (lit. 'this year yesterday')
- (12) *ni shade hleny caae*
 in week this.DEICT tomorrow
 'next week' (lit. 'this week tomorrow')

(B) Mid-distant and distant deictics and prospective reference

The mid-distant deictic *-ena* refers to a near future, while the distant deictic *-ali* refers to a distant future:

- (13) *caae me ni hoona*
 tomorrow and in that.DEICT
 'tomorrow and the day after tomorrow'
- (14) ... *pwaxa o taan maleena je me.*
 for REL day those be.LOC towards.here
 '... for the days to come.'
- (15) *hmwalux-ali*
 month-that.DEICT
 'next month'
- (16) *ni taan malaali*
 in day those.DEICT
 'in the future' (more distant)

3.1.2 Anaphoric markers

(A) Reference to the past: *bai*

The anaphoric marker *bai* refers to something known from shared experience in the near or distant past.

- (17) *koobwan me ni hobai*
yesterday and in that.ANAPH
'yesterday and the day before yesterday'
- (18) *hmwaluk bai koobwan*
month that.ANAPH yesterday
'last month' (narrative)

In narratives or in direct speech, deictic reference to the future contrasts with anaphoric reference to the past:

- (19) *caae me ni hoona*
tomorrow and in that.DEICT
'tomorrow and the day after', 'the next day' (vocalic harmony: *ho-ena* > *hoona*)
- (20) *ni hobai*
in that.ANAPH
'day before yesterday' OR: 'the day before'

In narratives, the chronological ordering of events on the time axis is usually expressed by non-deictic spatiotemporal morphemes *mon* 'after', *habuk* 'before'.

- (21) *Ni naxâât bai mon hleeli ...*
in day that.ANAPH after those.ANAPH
'The following day ...' OR: 'The day after this ...'
- (22) *Ni taan/naxâât bai habuk ...*
in day that.ANAPH before
'The day before ...' OR: 'In the past ...'

But these morphemes may also be specified by deictic determiners which are then used endophorically, in reference to the point in time that constitutes the landmark:

- (23) *Ni taan ena mon ...* OR: *Ni yeewar-ena mon ...*
in day that.DEICT after in time-that.DEICT after
'The following day ...'

(B) Discourse anaphoric: *eli*

In contrast with *bai*, which may refer only to the past and to shared knowledge, the temporal reference of the discourse anaphoric *-eli* is neutral; it may refer to the present, future or past, depending on the context.

- (24) a. *Ti hleeli hla fooyet?*
who those.ANAPH 3PL cook
'Who did the cooking?'
- b. *Ti hleeli io hla fooyet?*
who those.ANAPH FUT 3PL cook
'Who will do the cooking?'

- c. *Ti hlaabai fooyet?*
 who those.ANAPH cook
 'Who did the cooking?'

3.1.3 Deictic and anaphoric temporal adverbs

The deictic adverb *êna* 'now' refers to the present, to the time of speech. When it is associated with the future marker *io* (25) or the irrealis marker *o* (26), *êna* refers to a projected point 'later' (from now).

- (25) *Io i uya êna.*
 FUT 3SG arrive now
 'He will come later.'

- (26) *êna o thabwan*
 now IRR evening
 'tonight' (prospective)

The anaphoric adverb *ebai* 'a moment ago' refers to the near or distant past (Text 53, 61).

- (27) *I â ebai dua waak gat.*
 3SG go some.time.ago when morning still
 'He left some time ago, when it was still early.'

3.2 Referential function: endophoric and exophoric deixis

As already mentioned, deictic markers may have exophoric or endophoric reference.

- When used exophorically (as situational deixis), the reference point is the speaker's space (here) and time (now) (Text 80, 86).
- When used endophorically (in narratives), they may have anaphoric or cataphoric reference. The deictic *hî* may be used anaphorically (Text 43, 50) or as a cataphor (Text 79). The narrator's deictic reference to the net is endophoric (Text 43): *hla thege oga hî pwiak* 'they leave this net' (i.e. the one I just mentioned).

In a sequence, *hî* 'this' refers to the first thing mentioned, *holeny* refers to the second one (as in 'this one, that one', 'the former, the latter') and they may have distinctive or contrastive function. The endophoric use of deictics is a strategy to focus interest on the main character or on the relevant events of the story. Endophoric deictics and anaphoric markers often co-occur (Text 53, 61).

- Shifted deixis occurs when the narrator's space and time interfere with the space and time of the narrative: the event is then narrated as though it were happening at the time of speech (as in 'and then, this guy walks up to me ...' rather than 'and then, the guy walked up to me'). Shifted deixis occurs especially when the narrator is part of the story, the two planes (narrative situation and situation of speech) then interacting. This strategy may highlight some events or characters or it may point out the narrator's viewpoint on the story. Directionals may also be used with similar effects (see §4.3).

- The chronology of events may be specified by adverbs (*khada* ‘after, then, consequently’, *mon* ‘after’, *habuk* ‘before’ (Text 1), *mwa* ‘finally’, etc.), as well as by anaphoric markers (*-eli*, *bai*) that refer to past events or already mentioned facts or characters.

Thus, the use of endophoric or shifted deixis carries specific function and meaning; it stresses the present relevance of the story by referring it to the deictic centre of the story (the narrator’s situation of speech), it integrates the narrator’s viewpoint and highlights the topical, distinctive facts or characters of the story.

4 Directionals

There are five directionals which refer to the up (*da*), down (*du*), transverse (*ve*) axis (which may or may not be deictic) and to the deictic centripetal (*me*), centrifugal (*xi*) directions (cf. Table 2). They are used as dynamic spatial reference markers with verbs, but also (*me* excepted) as specifiers of static location with nouns.

4.1 Directional verbs

The two most common verbs used with directionals are the generic verb of movement *o* ‘go’ and the specific verb *tu* ‘go down’ (**odu* does not exist). Most active verbs (but some stative verbs too) may be specified by directionals, the notable exception being the verbs referring to departure, *â* ‘leave, go away’, *le* ‘leave’ and *bwaa* ‘depart, leave’.

Table 9a: Directional verbs of movement

	CENTRIPETAL	CENTRIFUGAL
<i>o</i> ‘go’	<i>oo-me</i> ‘come near’	<i>oo-xi</i> ‘go away’
<i>o-da</i> ‘go up’	<i>o-da-me</i> ‘come up here’	<i>o-da-xi</i> ‘go up and away’
<i>tu</i> ‘go down’	<i>Tuu-me</i> ‘come down here’	<i>tuu-xi</i> ‘go down and away’

Note that the transverse directional *ve* may not be suffixed to the verb *o* or *tu* (**o-ve*, **tuu-ve* are not attested).

4.1.1 Aspectotemporal values of directional verbs

Three directional verbs, *oda* ‘go up’, *tu* ‘go down’ and *oo-me* ‘come here’, may express time reference. The verb *oo-me* ‘come here, occur’ may refer to present or coming events (Text 83); *oda* ‘go up’ may refer to past events, whereas *tu* ‘go down’ narrates an event as an ongoing process.

Table 9b: Aspectotemporal values of verbs of movement

<i>oo-me</i> ‘come here’	‘happen, occur’ (present perspective)
<i>o-da</i> ‘go up’	past perspective
<i>tu</i> ‘go down’	ongoing process
<i>oo-xi</i> ‘go away’	*

- (28) *Dua u oda uya mweli.*
 when PERF go.up arrive there.ANAPH
 'When things have come to that point.'
- (29) *Oome ma pôlôk kee hobai âlô.*
 come and be.full basket that.ANAPH child
 'It so happens that the child's basket is full.'
- (30) *Âlô ena xe io i oome me i aa-yhalap ni wi-yaak.*
 child this.DEICT TOP FUT 3SG come and 3SG AGT.N-fish in water-salt
 'This boy will become a sea fisherman.'

- *Oda mwa... xa...* and *tu mwa... xa...* : 'occur, happen'

These expressions are used in narratives with stylistic effects. With *oda* or *da*, the event is narrated as being past and completed. *Tu* 'go down' refers to it as an ongoing process, the narrator's viewpoint is that of an observer or active participant of that process. Similarly in French, *remonter dans le passé* means 'go back (up) to the past', in contrast with *advenir* (etymologically: *ad-* 'toward' + *venir* 'come'). Ozanne-Rivierre (this volume) also mentions the assimilation of 'up' and past.

- (31) *Oda mwa xa tan.*
 go.up finally too night
 'At last, it was dark.'
- (32) *Tu mwa xa tan.*
 go.down finally too night
 'It's finally getting dark.' OR: 'The night's coming.'

4.2 The up, down, transverse axes: spatial orientation

These axes may refer to restricted or to expanded scales, with deictic or non-deictic reference. Only the up-and-down axis is common on all scales; the transverse *ve* is infrequent on the expanded scale of reference.

(A) Vertical axis: *oda, da* 'up' / *tu, du* 'down'

Apart from reference to the vertical axis, here are the various other usages of these directionals.

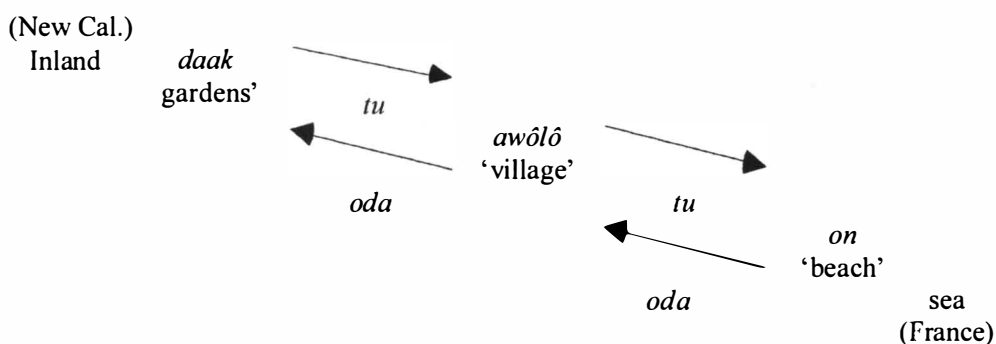
- **Topographic reference:** the up/down axis refers to the sea/land axis; seaward is 'down' and inland is 'up'. The inland/seaward direction can be traced all the way up to Proto Austronesian etymons (Ozanne-Rivierre 1999:75). On a larger scale, this may expand to refer to the position of New Caledonia (inland, up) in contrast to France (far away at sea, down) and there are various other intermediate scales on that axis.
- **Cardinal directions and geographic reference:** 'up' refers to the South and East, and 'down' to the North and West. Only the North–South axis is absolute on the Mainland, the East–West axis is relative to the speaker's location.

- Deictic, speaker-centered reference
- Endophoric deixis relative to discursive landmarks in narratives.
- Aspectotemporal reference.

Table 10: The up/down axis

Verbs or directionals	Spatial location			Temporal value
<i>oda, da</i>	(go) up	landward	south, east	progress, change
<i>tu, du</i>	(go) down	seaward	north, west	occur

Here is a summary of the various possible scales of directional reference.



Graph 1: The various scales of the up/down axis

(1) Restricted scale

(1a) Restricted scale: inland/seaward direction

The 'up/down' directionals have two main reference points: inland and seaward, with the village as an intermediate reference point; the direction up or down is relative to the point of origin.

- *tu, du* means 'go down toward the sea' (when inland or at the village), 'go to the village' (when inland or in the fields),
- *oda, da* means 'go up toward the land' (when at sea), 'go to the village' (when on the shore); 'go to the fields' (i.e. inland, from the village or the shore) (Text, 15, 46, 50, 71).

(33) *I oda ni daak.*

3SG go.up in field

'She goes (up) to the fields.'

(34) *I tuu-me na ni daak.*

3SG go.down LOC in field

'She's coming down back from the fields.'

(1b) Restricted scale: reference to the house

The scale of the house is a sort of close-up of the general inland/seaward direction. Going in is referred to as going ‘up’ and going out as ‘down’. There may be another reason, since houses were formerly built on raised ground (Text 57, 66).

(35) *I oda ni mwa.*

3SG go.up in house

‘He goes into the house.’

(36) a. *I ulep¹¹ da ni mwa.*

3SG pass up in house

‘He goes into the house.’

b. *I ulep du na ni mwa.*

3SG pass down LOC in house

‘He comes out of the house.’

The directionals may refer to directions inside the house (Text 50), that is away from the door or towards the door, as well as to abstract direction in(to) or out of the house (37):

(37) a. *I no du ni fwâ-wida.*

3SG watch down in opening-window

‘He looks out through the window.’

b. *I mago bwaa-n da mwaida ara-neng, [...] kua-n*

3SG sleep head.POSS.3SG up up.there side-posts foot-POSS.3SG

du fwâmwâ.

down door

‘He sleeps with his head (up) toward the bottom of the house¹² and his feet towards the door.’

(2) Expanded scale

On that scale, the directionals constitute an absolute system of reference. The most widely used directionals are ‘up’ and ‘down’; the transverse *ve* is very seldom used.

(2a) Absolute inland-seaward direction

On an expanded scale, any movement away from New Caledonia is referred to as going ‘down’ (seaward), the reverse movement as ‘going up’ (inland).

(38) *Na oda me na Frâs.*

1SG go.up here from France

‘I’m coming back (here) from France.’

¹¹ The verb *ulep* refers to a movement from one space of reference to another (in/out).

¹² Away from the door.

- (39) *Na u tu Frâs.*
 1SG PERF go.down France
 'I'm going to go to France.'

(2b) Absolute cardinal orientation

The most frequently used system for cardinal orientation is the 'up-down' axis. It may be specified by the names of winds.

- The 'up-down' axis in cardinal orientation

The directional *da* refers to a point east or south or to a movement from west to east or from north to south. *Du* refers to a point in the west or the north or to a movement from east to west or from south to north (Text 2, 6).

- da*: E : *Je da Arama.* 'He is at Arama.' (east)
 S : *Je da Numia.* 'He is in Noumea.' (south)

- (40) *Hna-kûûlî-a fââlâ-m da Numia xe eneda?*
 place-end-DET trip-POSS.2SG up Nouméa TOP when?
 'Your last trip (up) to Noumea (south), when was it?'
 (41) *Pwa-neda tiiwo i yo da ushi-n?*
 CLASS-how.many? letter DET 2SG up side-POSS.3SG
 'How many letters did you write (up) to him (south)?' (lit. your letters up to him)
 (The character is located in the south.)

While the 'up' (south) – 'down' (north) axis is absolute all over the Mainland, the 'up' (east) and 'down' (west) axis is relative to the position on the east or west coast.¹³ The 'up' (south) – 'down' (north) orientation relates to sailing rather than to topography or to the movement of the sun (Ozanne-Rivierre 1999). As trade winds blow from south to north, one sails 'up' to windward (to the south) or 'down' before the wind (to the north). As for the 'up' (east) and 'down' (west) axis, it is relative to the inland-seaward axis. Thus, in *Nêlêmwa* (spoken on the west coast), east is 'up' and west is 'down', just the reverse of what obtains in the *Nemi* language¹⁴ (which is spoken on the east coast; Ozanne-Rivierre 1999:80).

- Absolute cardinal orientation: names of winds and names of body parts.

In *Nêlêmwa*, absolute cardinal orientation may also be specified by the names of two winds (for the east and west) and by the names of body parts used metaphorically (for the

¹³ Such organisation is specific to the Mainland. On the Loyalty Islands, the system is different and dissociates the up-down axis and the cardinal system of orientation. Thus, in *Iaai* (spoken on the island of Uvea (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976), the directional suffix (*-lee*) refers to the south and the north, and is distinct from the markers for east (*-i*) and west (*-ü*). Besides, these terms are distinct from those which refer to upward/downward direction.

¹⁴ 'The west coast is referred to as "up" and as the "bottom of the country", whereas the east coast is "down" since it is oriented toward inter-island circulation and toward the open sea.' (Ozanne-Rivierre 1987)

various degrees of abstraction ((45a), (45b) and (45c)). It may also express continuous aspect especially when it is suffixed to non-active or stative verbs (cf. §4.4 (C)).

- (43) a. *Ma u faaxeen o daan ve Aramwa.*
 IDU.EXCL ACC ask LOC road DIR Arama
 'We asked him for the road to Arama.'
- b. *Shuma hlaaleny fwamwa na hmwiny ve.*
 be.like these country LOC here DIR
 'Like these countries around here.'
- (44) *I taabwoo ve awôlô.*
 3SG go.down DIR dwelling
 'He went down towards the houses.'
- (45) a. *I no ve.*
 3SG look DIR
 'She's looking away.'
- b. *Na na ve keet shi agu ali.*
 1SG give DIR basket BENEF person this.DEICT
 'I gave the basket to that person.'
- c. *I xau taxe ve shi axaleny Teâ Pwayili.*
 3SG suddenly protrude DIR arm this.MASC.DEICT Teâ Pwayili
 'Teâ Pwayili extended his arm.'

With nouns referring to lateral space such as (*ava-t*, *avi-t*, *didi-t*, *thala-t* 'side'), the mid distant (*-ena*) and distant (*-ali*) deictic suffixes and the directional *ve* have similar reference, in contrast to the static proximal deictic suffix (*hl*)eny (Text 6).

<i>ava-r-eny</i> ¹⁶ (<i>ava-t hleny</i>)	'on this side'	<i>ava-r-ena</i> <i>avat ve</i>	'on that side' 'on that side'
<i>bwa didi-r-eny</i>	'on this side' (of river, road)	<i>bwa didi-r-ali</i> <i>bwa didi-t ve</i>	'on the other side, on that side' 'on the other side, on that side'
<i>bwa thalat hleny</i>	'on this side' (of river, road)	<i>bwa thala-r-ali</i> <i>bwa thala-t ve</i>	'on the side opposite' 'on the side opposite'

Table 13: Semantic correspondances

	DEICTIC SUFFIXES STATIC REFERENCE	DIRECTIONALS
Proximal	(<i>hl</i>)eny	<i>me</i> (centripetal, dynamic)
mid-distant	<i>-ena</i>	<i>ve</i> (transverse, static or dynamic)
Distant	<i>-ali</i>	

¹⁶ But the centripetal directional *me* is inherently dynamic and cannot refer to proximal static location (**ava-t me* is ungrammatical).

4.3 Deictic directionals: centripetal *me*, centrifugal *xi*

The directionals *me* and *xi* refer respectively to speaker-centred centripetal and centrifugal direction. They may also be used as compound forms: *dume* ‘down here’, *dame* ‘up here’, *duxi* ‘down and away’, *daxi* ‘up and away’.

(A) *me* and the compounds *dame*, *dume*

The centripetal directional *me* may only have dynamic reference; the direction may be concrete or abstract: *oo-me* ‘come here!’; *she-e me* ‘bring him here!’; *na me* ‘give me!’ (lit. give here). Compare (46a) and (46b).

- (46) a. *I khabwe me shi-man.*
 3SG say DIR side-POSS.IDU.EXCL
 ‘He says (here) to us.’
- b. *I khabwe a Werilic ve shi Taadi.*
 3SG say AGT Werilic DIR side Taadi
 ‘Werilic says to Taadi.’

(B) *xi* and the compounds *daxi*, *duxi*

Xi refers to a centrifugal movement away from the speaker’s initial location (48b) or the location of any item within the speaker’s sphere, as in (47).

- (47) *Co pwâ pera xi tiwo maleena.*
 2SG a.little push DIR book these.DEICT
 ‘Push away these books.’

In (48b), which is the answer to (48a), by using the verb *ôôxi*, the speaker pictures himself in his original location and chooses to refer to his journey as ‘away from’ his original location (x) towards his addressee’s location (y), even though he is now at the addressee’s location.

- (48) a. *Co oome eneda?*
 2SG come.here when
 ‘When did you come here?’ (towards the speaker)
- b. *Na ôôxi êna dua thabwan.*
 1SG arrive now when afternoon
 ‘I left and arrived this afternoon.’ (away from the speaker’s original location)

The directional *xi* may also refer to a stative location, a point away from the speaker’s reference point. It is indifferent to proximal/distal contrast; compare (47) and (49).

- (49) *Wa mwemwelî kor-exi mwexi Caveet?*
 2PL know rain-DIR over.there Tiabet
 ‘Did you hear about that rain over there in Tiabet?’

Compounds: *daxi*, *duxi*

Da-xi refers to a movement ‘up and away’ to the south or the east; *du-xi* refers to a movement ‘down and away’ to the north or the west.

- (50) *I na daxi bwa to, i kole duxi le wi.*
 3SG put up.away on stone 3SG pour down.away there.ANAPH water
 ‘She puts it (pot) up onto the stones of the oven and she pours down water into it.’
- (51) *I u haga daxi.*
 3SG PERF fish up.away
 ‘She went fishing south.’

(C) Dispersive use of *xi*, *me*

Xi is often reduced to *i*, as in *i pweede-i pweede-me* ‘he turns it on all sides’.

- (52) *Kââlek o hâ gaa tu pweede-i pweede-me*
 impossible VIRT IPL.INCL PROG go.down turn-DIR turn-DIR
na mwena.
 LOC there.DEICT
 ‘We cannot go and do things anyhow.’

Here are a few occurrences of the dispersive use of *me* and *xi*:

<i>i fhe-e xi fhe-e me</i>	‘he brings here and there’ (pacing)	(<i>fhe</i> ‘carry’)
<i>i ôôxi oome</i>	‘he paces to and fro’	(<i>o</i> ‘go’)
<i>i kole xi kole me</i>	‘he throws on all sides’	(<i>kole</i> ‘throw’)
<i>i kê-xi kêk me</i>	‘he cries on all sides’	(<i>kâk</i> ‘cry’)
<i>i no xi no me</i>	‘he watches everywhere’	(<i>no</i> ‘watch’)
<i>i u xi u me</i>	‘he oscillates on all sides’	(<i>u</i> ‘fall’)

4.4 Spatial orientation in narratives: endophoric ‘narrative deixis’

This is a complex field to master as the reference point may vary. It may be relative to the topography or to the characters’ location, or it may be relative to the narrator’s and the audience’s location (as shifted deixis).

Here is an example of shifted deixis (Text 6): the narrator refers to the settings in relation to his own location on the west coast, which accounts for the proximal deictic determiner *hleny* and the deictic locative *hmwiny*.

I tu pîla mwa avat hleny, hmwiny Hawawalic.
 3SG go.down stroll SEQ side this.DEICT here Hawawalic
 ‘He goes down (westward) and takes a walk on this side, here at Hawawalic.’
 (Text 6)

Further on in the story (Text 53), the narrator refers back to the character’s trip to the west coast, still in reference to his own location on the west coast, whence the directional *me*. Thus, the narrator’s deictic space and the story’s endophoric space interact.

Ke i haxa mu shi axamalaaleny hulak malaaleny ebai i
 not he at.all stay side these.DEICT old.people these.DEICT before he
tuu-me taabwa shi-hla ...
 go.down-here sit side-their
 'But he does not go back to the old people he had **come down** (west) **here** before
 to visit ...' (Text 53)

In direct speech, shifted deictic reference is part of rhetorical strategies (Text 71).

Ma oda-me shi-m, me ma oda-me yaage
 1DU.EXCL go.up-here side-POSS.2SG and 1DU.EXCL go.up-here look.for
hobai pwiak.
 that.ANAPH net
 'We **came up here** (east) to you, and we **came up here** to get that fishing net.'
 (Text 71)

The sentence in Text 71 indicates a shift of reference points; the women spirits (the speaker) choose their present location at the old man's dwelling place (their addressee) as their reference point, as if speaking from the addressee's viewpoint (*me* 'here'), instead of referring to their trip away from their original location toward the old man's place with the directional *-xi*. They thus choose to focus on their errand in their present location, rather than on their trip (in contrast with (48b) above).

Similarly, in (53) below, the narrator tells a story in which he had some part, which accounts for the numerous deictic references to his present location (*dume* 'down here' to the north). The directional *dume* also makes the first person object pronoun 'me' redundant, as it refers to the addressee by his location:

- (53) *I faaxeen dume o je hmwinny.*
 3SG ask down.here IRR LOC.PRED here
 'He₁ (uncle) asks me if he₂ (nephew) is here.'
 (lit. he₁ asks down here (north) if he₂ is here)
 (The uncle asks the narrator if their nephew is staying with them in the north.)

Referring to the addressee by his location or direction is very common; it often makes pronouns redundant:

- I khabwe me* 'he says here' (i.e. he tells me)
I khabwe ve 'he says there' (i.e. he tells her/him/them in a transverse direction)
I khabwe du 'he says down/north' (i.e. he tells her/him/them to the north)
I khabwe da 'he says up/south' (i.e. he tells her/him/them to the south).

Since it is improper to mention or call someone by his name, directionals ('hey! the man up there') or toponyms ('hey! the man from x') may be used for respectful reference. Directionals may also refer metaphorically to a person's social status (54):

- (54) *I thovi da.*
 3SG ladle up
 'She serves him.' ('up' refers to the higher status of that person.)

4.5 Aspectotemporal meaning of the directionals

Apart from their spatial reference, directionals may also express time reference (present, past, prospective) and various aspectual meanings (progressive, durative) as shown in what follows.

(A) *me*: present perspective and centripetal direction

Me may express duration starting from a point in the past with present relevance.

- (55) *Hooli vhaa eli xe hâ u tâlâ me.*
 that.ANAPH speech that.ANAPH TOP 1PL.INCL PERF hear DIR
 ‘Those words, we have always heard them.’ (up until now)
- (56) ... *da foliik mahlaabai e hla khabwe pwaxa malep me*
 what thing those.ANAPH FUT 3PL say for life DIR
i hâ?
 REL 1PL.INCL
 ‘... what will they say concerning our present lives?’
- (57) ... *foliik xe hâ tâlâ vhajama-t me ni taan*
 thing TOP 1PL.INCL hear story-POSS.3SG.INAN DIR in day
mahlaabai xu toven.
 those.ANAPH PERF finish
 ‘... it’s something we hear about nowadays (coming) from past days.’

(B) *da*: progression and accumulation (till an endpoint)

If no endpoint is expressed, *da* has progressive and accumulative meaning:

- (58) *Hla vhaa da.*
 3PL speak up
 ‘They talk away about it’ (no endpoint)
- The perfective aspect marker *ku* in (59) indicates the endpoint of the process:
- (59) *Hla u civa da ku ‘cîlic civa!’*
 3PL PERF dance up PERF go.wrong dance
 ‘They danced until (they heard) “the dance is going wrong!”.’

(C) *ve*: ongoing process, expanded time

As a spatial marker, *ve* refers to a movement or location crosswise or sideways and away from a reference point. In its aspectotemporal usage, it refers to an ongoing process or to expanded time or state, as does *away* in English (he’s working away).’’

- (60) *Paari-na ve uya hna-kûûlî-a-t.*
 tell-1SG DIR come place-end-DET-POSS.3SG.INAN
 ‘Tell me to the end of it.’

- (61) *I waara ve.*
 3SG grow DIR
 'He is growing.' OR: 'It is expanding.' (+ (in)animates)
- (62) *Co taa ve da mwena?*
 2SG sit DIR what there.DEICT
 'Why do you remain seated like that?' (expanded state)

In future (*io*) or irrealis (*o*) contexts, *ve* keeps the basic notion of expansion; in (63), it takes on the meaning of 'put off, delay'.

- (63) *Kââlek o hâ na ve.*
 impossible IRR IPL.INCL put DIR
 'It is impossible for us to put it off.'

In (64), prospective time is indicated by both the future marker *e* and the mid-distant deictic marker *-ena*; and *ve* refers to an ongoing process in a future context (see also Text 83):

- (64) ... *me pwaxa taan maleena e yo malep ve na-t.*
 and for day those.DEICT FUT 2SG live DIR inside-POSS.3SG.INAN
 '... for the days (to come) that you will live through.'

5 Body parts and locational nouns

Body parts (*maa-t* 'face, point', *daxa-t* 'front, forehead', *duaxa-t* 'back' or *shi-t* 'side, arm, hand') may be used for spatial location, either with deictic reference to the speaker (with first/second person possessive pronouns) or non-deictically (with third person possessive pronouns). But those nouns are basically used to locate something relative to a reference point (whether human or inanimate) which has some inherent directionality, a front, back or side. It is not as widely used as the other systems of reference mentioned before, though two of them, *maa-t* 'face' and *boda-t* 'bottom, behind', are frequently used as cardinal reference markers in narratives (see §4.2): *boda-wamwa* 'north of the country' and *maa-wamwa* 'south of the country'. From *daxa-ny* 'my forehead', deictic compound locative verbs may be derived: *i o-daxa na* 'she comes facing me' (lit. she go-front me); *i taabwa ku-daxa na* 'he's sitting facing me' (lit. she sits situated-front me). Similarly, from *duaxa-ny* 'my back', compound locative verbs are derived: *wa o-duaxa-wa i va* 'you go your back to us' (lit. you go-back-your REL. us). The noun *shi-* 'side, arm, hand' refers to animate beings¹⁷ and is frequently used as a deictic marker with proximal spatial reference. It also marks beneficiary, destination, locative case functions (*na shi-ny* 'give me' (lit. give side-my) (Text 87, 88), *khabwe shi-ny* 'say to me', *mu shi-ny* 'stay with me' (Text 53, 71)).

The notions of 'left' and 'right' exist lexically, but are not commonly used for spatial reference, mostly carrying benefactive or adversative notions. The noun *hmau-ny* 'my left (side)' may be used for spatial reference as in *bwa hma* 'to the left', and with adversative meaning in *kâ-maut* 'located on the wrong (side)'. The word *bwamwaaguk* means 'right,

¹⁷ Laterality in reference to inanimates is marked by other nouns, see §4.2 (*ava-t*, *didi-t*, *thala-t*).

wise' and may be used as a locative marker in *shi-ny hleny bwamwaaguk* 'my right hand' (lit. hand-my this right). But the spatial usages are fairly restricted.

6 Conclusion

As was pointed out and as will appear in the following text, several markers belonging to different paradigms (deictic, anaphoric and directional morphemes) may co-occur in a sentence or paragraph; they are suffixed to various roots (nouns, pronouns, verbs or adverbs) in order to specify spatiotemporal location or direction. Text 83, repeated below, thus associates the transverse directional *ve*, the mid-distance deictic pronoun *maleena* and the deictic verb *oo-me* to refer to the near future:

me pwaxa i yo ve ni taan maleena oo-me
and for REL 2SG DIR in day those.DEICT come-here
'for you in the days to come' (Text 83)

Accumulation of spatiotemporal indicators is thus a very characteristic feature of a Nêlêmwa narrative; it helps keep track of the shifting reference to characters, places and times, especially so in a language in which aspectotemporal morphology on the verbal group is scarce.¹⁸

Besides, it is a very labile system since deictic markers may shift from exophoric to endophoric reference and are used to vary viewpoints or carry rhetorical effects, sometimes creating intricate spatiotemporal reference points which may be difficult to interpret when one is not familiar with the topography of the story or with the social context and hierarchy of the group.

Appendix: Text

Story-teller: Philippe Dahot (Tiabet, 1991)

This is a clan's ancestor myth which explains how the ancestor received a magic fishing net from some spirits.

- 1 *E na pajale u-diya-a fwâhuk i hlaabai hulak [...] ni taan habuk ...*
FUT/I/tell/way-of-doing/story/of/those.ANAPH/old people/in/day/before.
I am going to tell the deeds of my ancestors in the old times,
[*hlaabai* 'those' past reference]
- 2 *na ni fwamwa na avar-aida, mwabai hna-muovi i hla, Noomuja [...],*
LOC/in/country/LOC/side-up/there/place-dwell/of/them/Noomuja
on their land, on the other side to the east: there in their residence in Noomuja.
[*avar-aida* 'to the side up' refers to the east; *mwabai* 'there' refers to a place in the past and to shared knowledge]
[(3-5) One day, the ancestor decided to go down ...]

¹⁸ TAM reference on the predicate includes the perfective aspect marker *(k)u*, *(x)u*, two irrealis morphemes (the future *e ~ io* and the hypothetical marker *o*), and a number of aspectual morphemes indicating duration, progression, persistence (see Bril 2002 for further detail). Present or past in the realis mood is not marked on the verb, but by time adverbs or specific conjunctions in subordinate clauses.

- 6 *me i tu piila mwa avat hleny, hmwiny Hawawalic, [...]*
 and/he/go down/stroll/then/side/this/here/Hawawalic
 to go down and take a walk to this side, here at Hawawalic,
 [tu 'westward'; avat hleny 'this side', hmwiny 'here': shifted deixis, reference to the
 narrator's present location]
 [(7–11) in a creek where these ancestors lived. This part of the clan lived there. One day, he
 went down to visit them and stayed with them until it was dark.]
- 12, 13, 14
Na ni thabwalir-eli xe hla mago dua tan uya dua u oda khô-taan [...]
 but/in/evening-that.ANAPH/TOP/they/sleep/when/night/come/when/PERF/rise/morning-star
 During that night, they slept when it was dark, until the morning star rose.
 [eli 'that' discourse anaphoric]
- 15 *xe i noot me i tu kuut bwa on na mwena Hawawalic [...]*
 TOP/he/wake up/and/he/go down/stand/on/beach/LOC/there.DEICT/Hawawalic
 then he woke up and went down to the beach there at Hawawalic,
 [tu 'seaward'; mwena 'there' shifted deixis]
 [(16–24) he heard the sound of voices, walked along the beach, and saw some people fishing
 with nets. He went down to see who they were, and there, he recognised them, they were his
 tutelary spirits, women-dwarves. He went down among them and they went down fishing
 with their net, they fished 'dawas'.]
- 25 *Hla khak mwaali bwa baara on ve [...]*
 they/fish/over there.DEICT/on/tip/sand/DIR
 They fished over there on a sandbank (sideways)
 [mwaali 'there': shifted deixis, far from speaker and audience]
 [(26–28) toward the coast of the island called Bweebun. They caught shoals of 'dawas'. They
 carried them up and threw them up onto the beach.]
- 29 *Na u jeuk me oda hobai at, [...]*
 but/PERF/be near/and/rise/that.ANAPH/sun
 But the sun was going up,
 [(30–34) and some of them said: 'It's dawn! The sun is rising. Let's go back up!' Some of
 them say ...]
- 35 *'Wafhe nok me wa taa-oda.' [...]* [oda inland]
 you/take/fish/and/you/before-go up
 'you! take the fish and go up before us!'
 [(36–38) 'take the net!'. But as they were picking up the net from the ground, the ancestor
 was entangling what was left of it,]
- 39 *i pa-tegexa na bwa hlaabai pânaat ai o dat me âda axamalaaleny me hla thuxa.*
 they/tangle/LOC/on/those.ANAPH/rocks/or/on/coral/to/delay/these.DEICT/and/they/untangle
 he entangled it on the rocks and coral to delay them as they would have to untangle it.
 [axamalaaleny 'these': endophoric deixis]
 [(40–42) Very soon the sun was up. Then, they said:]
- 43 *'Hâ oga pwiak!' Hla thege oga hî pwiak [...]* [hî 'this': endophoric deixis]
 we/leave/net/they/run/leave/this/net
 'let's leave the net!', and they ran away leaving the net,
 [(44) they run away leaving the net]
- 45 *me hla u oda bwaxamaat [...]* [oda inland]
 and/they/PERF/go up/on land
 they went up inland

[(end of 45) and vanished deep into the forest. But the ancestor followed them, he went up with them and]

- 46 *gi hla mwaida ni kak*, [...]. [*mwaida* inland]
stand/they/up there/in/forest
they were all up there in the forest,
[(47–49) then, he retraced his steps, went back down to the beach.]
- 50 *Tu je mwadu taaja hî pwiak*. [...] [*tu*, *mwadu* seaward; *hî* ‘this’: endophoric deixis]
go down/be/down there/pick up/this/net
He went down there and picked up the net (onto a stick).
[(51–52) He picked up the net, took it up and went back up.]
- 53 *Ke i haxa mu shi axamalaaleny hulak malaaleny ebai i tuu-me taabwa shi-hla*,
not/he/at all/stay/side/these.DEICT/old people/these.DEICT/before/he/go down-here/sit/
side-their
But he did not go back to the old people whom he had previously come down to visit,
[*axamalaaleny* and *malaaleny* ‘these’: endophoric deixis; *ebai* anaphoric; *me* shifted deixis]
- 54 *bu i oda ni hoona daan-ena hna-khem ena Wiiwu*
for/he/go up/in/that.DEICT/path-that.DEICT/place-cross/that.DEICT/Wiiwu
he went up the path towards the pass of Wiiwu,
[*hoona*, *ena* ‘this’, shifted deixis, mid-distance from speaker]
[(55–56) he went up the pass of Wiiwu, went down toward Cabwi, walked on the sandy headland at Ony, went around the headland of Kalovaak, then went up toward the cove of Noomuja.]
- 57 *Fhe hî pwiak oda mwapaxe na mwaida ni mwa-n*. [...] [*hî* ‘this’ endophoric deixis; *oda* inland; *mwaida* restricted scale of the house]
take/this/net/go up/then/hung/LOC/up there/in/house-house
He took the net with him and hang it up there in the house.
[(58–60) Then, he stayed there and when it grew dark he went to sleep. During the night, he slept by the heat of the fire, with his feet (down) toward the door and his head (up) toward the far end of the house.]
- 61 *Hla u yaage hî pwiak ea hlaaleny thaamwa malaaleny ebai* [...] [*hî*, *hlaaleny*, *malaaleny*: endophoric deixis; *ebai*: previously mentioned]
they/PERF/look for/this/net/AGT/these.DEICT/woman/these.DEICT/before/
The women were looking for their net,
[(62–65) and realised it had disappeared. Now, some of them said: ‘go up and get it because the old man took it’. Then they went up and arrived on the other side to the east, two of these women went up.]
- 66 *kuut mwadu fwaamwa*. [...] [*mwadu* : scale of the house]
stand/down there/door
and stopped (down) at the doorstep.
[(67–70) The old one was sleeping and the two women called him saying: ‘Grand-father! Grand-father!’. He started and woke up, went to the door and saw them. He said: ‘What is it you want?’ And they answered:]
- 71 *‘Ma oda-me shi-m me ma oda-me yaage hobai pwiak*. [...] [*hobai* : anaphoric, reference to past and shared experience]
we(2)/go up-here/side-your/and/we(2)/go up-here/look for/that.ANAPH/net
‘We came up here to your place to get the net’
[(72–74) ‘The others sent us up here to bring the net back.’ – ‘Now, listen you two, I cannot give it back to you,]

- 75 ... *buxaucêê* awa-ny *hooli* pwiak. [*hooli* : discourse anaphoric]
for/really/a lot/will-my/**that**.ANAPH/net
because I am craving for that net,
- 76 *xau* awa-ny mwa *hoona* pwiak [*hoona* : exophoric deixis]
really/will-my/then/**that**.DEICT/net
I am craving for this net'
[(end of 76) and I beseech you to leave this net to me.]
- 77 *Na hli khabwe a hlihleny thaamwa khabwe*: [endophoric deixis]
and/they(2)/say/AGT/**these(2)**.DEICT/woman/say
And the two women replied:
[(78) 'No, it's impossible because we have only one net,]
- 79 *xexam ehoona. Na ehî!*
TOP/really/**there**.DEICT it is/but/**here** it is
and it's that one. But here is (what we suggest).
[(16–24) *ehoona*: exophoric presentative deixis; *ehî* : endophoric presentative deixis,
cataphoric]
- 80, 81, 82
Co fhe hî foliik hleny ... kedok hleny me yo na bwa pwiak [...]
you/take/**this**/thing/**this**.DEICT/magic/**this**.DEICT/and/you/put/on/net
Take this, take this magic, and from now on put it on your nets,
[*hî, hleny* : exophoric deixis]
- 83 *me pwaxa i yo ve ni taan maleena oo-me,*
and/for/DET/you/DIR/in/day/**those**.DEICT/come-here
and it will be useful for you in the days to come,
[prospective value of deictic marker *maleena* and directionals *ve* and *me*]
[(84–85) for the days to come that you will live through from now on and for these clans.]
- 86 *Na na telaxa hoona pwiak [...]* [*hoona* : exophoric deixis]
but/I/ask/**that**.DEICT/net
But I ask you to give us back this net.'
- 87 *I u fhe a hua me i fhe hî kedok na shi-hli* [*hî* : endophoric deixis]
he/PERF/take/AGT/ancestor/and/he/take/**this**/magic/LOC/**side-their(2)**
The ancestor took it and received the magic from their hands,
- 88 *me i u kuut xa na shi-hli hî pwiak me hli u bwagi-hli.*
and/he/PERF/stand/and/give/**side-their(2)**/**this**/net/for/them(2)/PERF/goback-they(2)
and standing there, he gave them back their net so that they would go back home.
[*hî* : endophoric deixis]
- 89 *Ehooli hobai jamaa-a u-diya-a fwâhuk nao pwiak*
there it is/that.ANAPH/story-of/way-of-doing/story/of/net
This is how the story of the net occurred.
[*ehooli* : discourse anaphoric; *hobai* : past, shared experience]

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7 *Spatial deixis in Iaaï (Loyalty Islands)*

FRANÇOISE OZANNE-RIVIERRE

1 Introduction

Deictic terms (from the Greek *deiktikos* ‘showing’), which allow the speaker to locate people, objects and events, are no doubt common to all languages. However, the way in which spatial deixis is organised, and the number of oppositions that exist can be extremely variable from one language to another. In some languages, certain sets of deictics may be more fully developed than in others. This is the case in French, which has a two-degree opposition with certain demonstrative pronouns (*celui-ci* ‘this one’ / *celui-là* ‘that one’), but a three-degree opposition in the case of adverbs (*ici* ‘here’ / *là* ‘there’ / *là-bas* ‘over there, yonder’).

According to Anderson and Keenan (1985:308), all demonstrative systems are based on at least two terms, and in this basic type of system it is the relative distance from the speaker (proximal/distal) that counts. The opposition in English between *this* and *that* is an example of this. However, in some languages we find systems that include three degrees (proximal/medial/distal), as in Spanish (*este/ese/aquel*), or even more. In Malagasy, for instance, as many as seven degrees of distancing from the speaker can be found (Domenichini-Ramiaramanana 1976:106).

As well as relative distance from the speaker, some deictic systems also take into account the space occupied by the addressee. Systems of this kind, organised according to the different speakers in a given linguistic situation, usually involve at least three terms (close to the speaker / close to the addressee / far from both). Latin offers a classic example (*hic/iste/ille*), but systems of this kind can also be found in many Polynesian languages. In Tahitian, for example, the three deictic particles *nei*, *na* and *ra* are clearly used with reference to the first, second and third persons (Lazard & Peltzer 1992:210) as are the three particles *ne(i)*, *na* and *la* in Pileni (Næss, this volume).

Finally, some deictic systems (distance-oriented as well as person-oriented systems) may also include other parameters, such as visibility, verticality, topography, mobility or immobility, animate/inanimate, etc. These complex, multioriented systems are common in the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of Oceania (cf. Mosel 1982 and Senft, ed. 1997). I have studied some examples myself, in the languages of New Caledonia and

the Loyalty Islands (Ozanne-Rivierre 1997:92–98). Today, I would like to come back in more detail to the organisation of spatial deixis in one of the languages of the Loyalty Islands, the laai language of Uvea.

2 The geographical and linguistic situation of Uvea

As the deictic system of laai is closely related to the natural environment of the island, here are some geographical details to help understand the system.

Uvea is the northernmost of the Loyalty Islands, a dependency of the Territory of New Caledonia. It consists of a coral atoll, sloping from east to west, and containing a lagoon. The main island, made up of two parts linked by a narrow stretch of coral, is prolonged at both ends by a string of islets forming a ring, only two of which are inhabited: Fayava and Muli, the islets nearest the southern tip (see map).

On the island itself, most of the villages are situated on the west coast, known as *Gööny*, which borders on the lagoon. The east coast, known as *Cöu*, consists of a rocky plateau with steep cliffs going straight down to the sea. Apart from the village of Ohnyât in the north, this part of the island is completely uninhabited.

The people of Uvea speak two languages: laai, a Melanesian language spoken by the native population, and Fagauvea, a Polynesian outlier, which has been spoken for several centuries in the northernmost and southernmost regions of the island by the descendents of migrants who came originally from Wallis.

Iaai is an Oceanic language of the New Caledonian group, spoken by some 2500 speakers (and around 1000 speakers living on the Mainland). Iaai, Nengone and Drehu, form the Loyalty subgroup of New Caledonian languages.

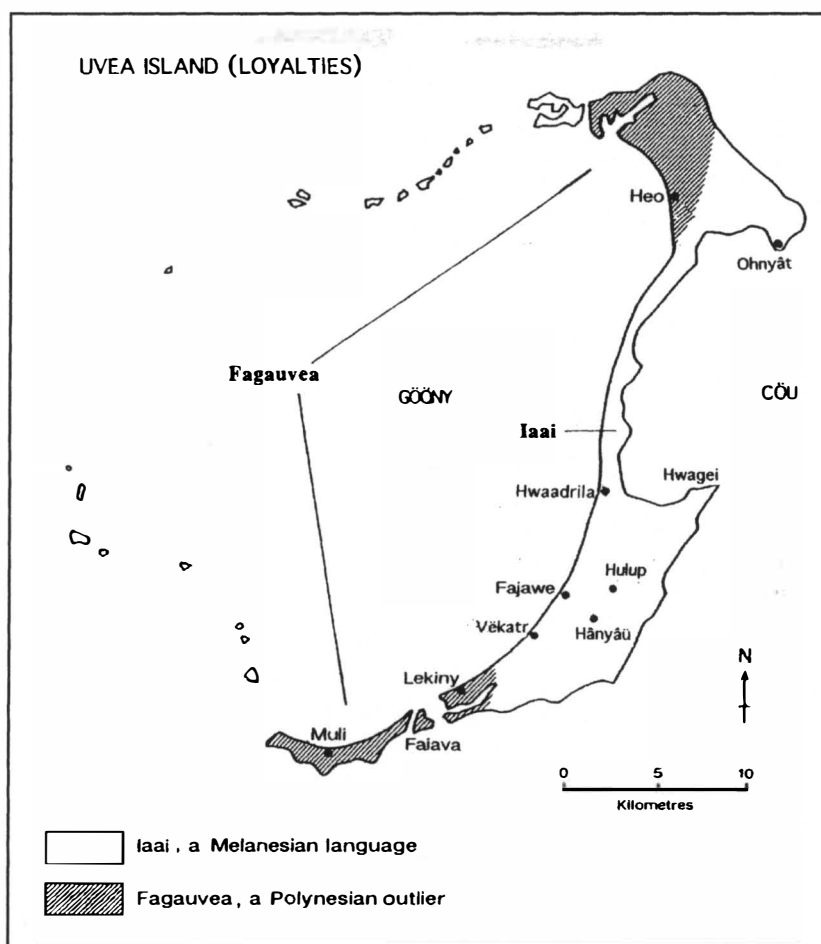
Iaai is central for the reconstruction of the Proto neo-Caledonian consonant system, as it is the only language of that group to have preserved its complex verbal morphology, including reduplication, which helps account for the split of oral and nasal consonants, which is still characteristic of all the languages of the group (Ozanne-Rivierre 1986).

Syntactically, Iaai is an accusative language with VOS unmarked word order. Predicative groups in this language usually contain personal subject markers to indicate the co-referent of the external nominal subject. Temporal-aspect markers are inserted between the subject marker and the predicate (1).

- (1) *Aa umdö köü ee wa-nu Poou.*
 3SG+ACC finish split ART coco Poou
 'Poou has finished splitting the coconut shells.' (for copra)

Arguments and adjuncts may be topicalised by anteposition to the predicative group with a pause (ex. *Poou // aa umdö köü jee wa-nu*), but the topic is mostly marked by the discontinuous morpheme *haba ... me* 'as for ... then' (ex. *Haba Poou me aa umdö köü jee wa-nu*).

A more detailed study of Iaai morphology and syntax can be found in the monograph on this language (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976).



3 The system of spatial deictic locatives

The system of deictic locatives is especially rich in Iaaï and involves several parameters:

1. Orientation relative to the speech-act participants (near speaker/near addressee/far from both speaker and addressee)
2. Verticality (up/down)
3. The geographical environment (sea/land, west/east)
4. The type of scale (large scale or limited setting)
5. Anaphoric restatement of items previously mentioned
6. A static or dynamic point of view (location/source or goal)

A list of these locatives is presented in Table 1. As we will see later, some of these deictic locatives can also have a temporal value.

Table 1: Deictic locatives in Iaaï

<i>ang</i>	here (near speaker)	DISTANCE AND SPEAKERS
<i>e</i>	there (near addressee)	
<i>lee</i>	far from both speaker and addressee	
<i>jii</i>	down (and towards the sea)	VERTICALITY AND TOPOGRAPHY
<i>jo</i>	down (near speaker)	
<i>dhöö</i>	up (and inland)	
<i>lââ</i>	beside (same level)	GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT
<i>ü</i>	<u>on a large scale (fixed points)</u>	
	sunset, west, west coast (<i>Gööny</i>)	
	<u>in a limited setting (relative points)</u>	
<i>io</i>	towards the sea, down below	
	<u>on a large scale (fixed points)</u>	
	sunrise, east, east coast (<i>Cöu</i>)	
	<u>in a limited setting (relative points)</u>	
<i>ling</i>	inland, on high ground	ANAPHORIC USE
	person, object or place previously mentioned	

Deictic locatives, in the forms presented in Table 1, can be used as expansions of independent personal forms (2), of the presentative *wale* (3a and 3b) and of the similitive predicate *helâ* 'be like' (4).

- (2) *Tiga örin ang.*
still 3PL **here**
'They are still here'
- (3) a. *Walaang dok a-me laba hmyin.*
PRESENTATIVE+**here** place 3SG-PRESENT stay inside
'Here is the place where he lives'
- b. *Wale jii anyâ-m sigââ!*
PRESENTATIVE **down** CLASS-your tobacco
'Here's your tobacco!' (words of greeting with some present)
- (4) *Helâ thibut ang/e.*
be like always **this/that**
'It is always like this/that'

However, in post-noun or post-verb position, they are always combined with prefixes indicating a location (static use) or a source or goal (dynamic use). These prefixes are as follows:

- Static : *e-* specific location
 ehee- unspecified location
- Dynamic : *jime-* source (whence)
 kââ- goal (whither)

This gives us the following table (Table 2):

Table 2: Prefixed deictic locatives

STATIC		DYNAMIC		
specified	unspecified	SOURCE (whence)	GOAL (whither)	
<i>e-ang</i> M <i>aang</i>	<i>ehee-ang</i>	–	<i>kââ-ng</i>	near the speaker
<i>e-e</i>	<i>ehee</i>	–	<i>kââ-e</i>	near the addressee
<i>e-lee</i>	<i>ehee-lee</i>	<i>jime-lee</i>	<i>kââ-lee</i>	far from the speakers south or north (wider space)
<i>e-jii</i>	<i>ehee-jii</i>	<i>jime-jii</i>	<i>kââ-jii</i>	down (and towards the sea)
<i>e-jo</i>	<i>ehee-jo</i>	–	<i>kââ-jo</i>	down (near speaker)
<i>e-dhöö</i>	<i>ehee-dhöö</i>	<i>jime-dhöö</i>	<i>kââ-dhöö</i>	up (and inland)
<i>e-lââ</i>	<i>ehee-lââ</i>	<i>jime-lââ</i>	<i>kââ-lââ</i>	beside (same level)
<i>e-ü</i>	<i>ehee-ü</i>	<i>jime-ü</i>	<i>kââ-ü</i>	sunset, west <i>fixed points</i> west coast towards the sea <i>relative points</i> down below
<i>e-iö</i>	<i>ehee-iö</i>	<i>jime-iö</i>	<i>kââ-iö</i>	sunrise, east <i>fixed points</i> east coast inland <i>relative points</i> on high ground
<i>e-ling</i>	<i>ehee-ling</i>	<i>jime-ling</i>	<i>kââ-ling</i>	anaphoric

Furthermore, the deictic system in Iaa also comprises a set of ‘centrifugal’ (away from) and ‘centripetal’ (towards) directional forms, which are more or less equivalent, semantically speaking, to certain deictics used to express the idea of a goal :

Hither, towards the speaker (5): *jeem* (similar to *kââ-ng*)

Hence, away from speaker (6): *jiiö* westward (similar to *kââ-ü*)
deiö eastward (similar to *kââ-iö*)
háâng crosswise (similar to *kââ-lee*)

- (5) *He dhö jeem!*
 go IMPERATIVE toward
 ‘Come here!’

- (6) *E bwele ju jioo me e bë ünyi ame wâ me bwele ju háâng me e bë dhö ünyi ame wâ ke maan ka bwele deiö me wâ dhö ünya hlu e-ü hon öny.*
 ‘He looks **westward** and sees nothing, he looks **crosswise** and sees nothing, suddenly, he looks **eastward** and sees a girl **down there** on the beach.’

(Rivierre et al. 1980:179 [sentence 17])

4 How deictic locatives function

As we saw earlier, these deictics can be used in expansions of independent personal forms (2) of the presentative *wale* (3a and 3b) and of the similitive predicate *helâ* (4). They can also function as determiners to a noun (7) or as adjuncts in noun (8) and verb (9) phrases.

- (7) *Maa-n thidhö: 'E caa soo dok aang.'*
 thought-his then 3SG NEG good place LOC+here
 'He said to himself: "This place is not good".'
- (8) *Bongo-n ioo-iny papaale adreem e-ang laai.*
 story-of arrival-of Europeans formerly LOC+here laai
 'The story of the arrival of white men, a long time ago, here in Uvea.' (text 31, 1)
- (9) *Oge-me laba e-ang Fajawe.*
 1SG-PRESENT stay LOC+here Fajawe
 'I am staying here in Fajawe.'

They are often followed either by a placename (proper noun), as in examples (8) and (9), by an autonomous locative form (10), or by a prepositional noun group (11) whose function is to specify the place that is being talked about:

- (10) *A-me kuku ka tavëët e-dhöö hoot.*
 3SG-PRESENT shout to people LOC-up ashore
 'He shouts to the men on the shore' (text 4, 44)
- (11) *Kamö-hmun e-dhöö hnyi draany ...*
 Father-our(excl.) LOC-up in sky
 'Our Father, who art in Heaven ...' [Lord's Prayer]

I would now like to come back to some of the characteristics of this deictic system, which, as we have seen, is strongly linked to the local geography, and show how certain oppositions can take on different values according to the context in which they are used.

5 Spatial and temporal value of certain deictics

Certain locative deictics, and especially those that are oriented with respect to the distance from the speakers, can also have a temporal value.

Proximate time is associated with the first and second persons (*ang* and *e*). The distant grade (*lee*) marks the distant future. See (12).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (12) | <i>ang</i> | near the speaker: | <i>kuli e-ang</i> | 'this dog here' |
| | | immediate time: | <i>Aa thep he ang.</i> | 'He has just left.' |
| | <i>e</i> | near the addressee: | <i>kuli e-e</i> | 'that dog there' (near you) |
| | | | <i>Elââm ju ehe-e!</i> | 'Look around there!' (near you) |
| | | near in time: | <i>Umwe höö e?</i> | 'What are you doing now?' |
| | <i>lee</i> | far from the speakers: | <i>kuli e-lee</i> | 'that dog over there'
(at a distance) |
| | | distant future: | <i>nyi e-lee</i> | 'in the future'
(lit. tomorrow/far) |

Past time is referred to, by the deictic marker for 'down' (*jii*). Compare (13) and (14):

- (13) *Aa ta e-jii hon kânâ.*
 3SG+ACC fall LOC-down on ground
 'He has fallen down.'
- (14) a. *hnyi bong e-jii ...*
 in day LOC-down
 'the day before ...'
- b. *Haba jii me ogee haa kö u.*
 TOPIC down COOR 1SG+ACC say to you
 'I had told you before.'

The locative deictic *jii* 'down' also serves to introduce relative clauses in the past (15):

- (15) *Ewa ünyi e-jii aa ixâlâ?*
 where.is thing LOC-down 3SG+ACC hide
 'Where is the thing that he has hidden?'

We may notice that, in Iaaï, the past is associated with the notion of 'down', whereas in Indo-European languages the opposite is true: in ancient Greek, for example, the preverb *an(a)-* marks both the upward direction and the pastness of events (cf. the loan word *anaphora*). But the association of 'up' and 'past' is also characteristic of some Austronesian languages, such as Taba, spoken in Maluku (Bowden pers. comm.).

Let us now look at the different values, absolute and relative, that certain locative deictics can take on according to the context and the situation in which they are used.

6 Absolute value of the coordinates *ü/iö* in a large-scale geographical context

When used in a large-scale geographical context, the terms *ü* and *iö* clearly refer to the west and to the east, fixed points determined with respect to the rising and setting of the sun.

We thus find, in a text already mentioned (Rivierre et al. 1980), speaking of the sun (16):

- (16) *He sevünö kene ditr thibut e-ü.*
 go sun and penetrate away LOC-west
 'The sun goes off to set in the west' (p.185 [sentence 32])

A few sentences later, the sun says to his grandmother (17):

- (17) *Buba! oge-me he but ka ut jime-iö ...*
 granny 1SG-PRESENT go away for jump SOURCE-east
 'Grandmother! I am off to rise in the east ...' (p.185 [sentence 41])

Similarly, whenever the names of the west coast (*Gööny*) and the east coast (*Cöu*), which also correspond to these fixed points, are mentioned, they are always preceded by the deictics *ü* and *iö* (18a and 18b):

- (18) a. *e-ü Gööny* 'in Gööny' *jime-ü Gööny* 'coming from Gööny'
 b. *e-iö Cöu* 'in Cöu' *jime-iö Cöu* 'coming from Cöu'

The same deictics are also used when referring to particular places, according to which coast they are on.

However, as we shall now see, the same terms *ü* and *iö*, when used in a narrower geographical context, can take on relative values, which partly overlap with the values of the coordinates *jii/dhöö* 'down/up'.

7 Overlapping of the oppositions *jii/dhöö* and *ü/iö*

One of the most off-putting aspects of spatial deixis in Iaaï (for the linguist, that is) is the fact that, from one text to another, some oppositions may overlap. Thus, the pair of coordinates *ü/iö*, which clearly have an absolute value (west/east) on a large geographical scale, can be used with a relative value in a limited setting, to indicate the opposition between the sea and the land, just like the coordinates used for 'up' and 'down' (*jii/dhöö*).

With the locative *hoot* 'on the shore', we could therefore say either *e-dhöö hoot*, as in example (10), or *e-iö hoot*, as in example (19):

- (19) *Ke haba e-iö hoot me ehu ke op ae gaan.*
and TOPIC LOC-land ashore then there.is ART cave which big
'And, on the shore, there is a great cavern.' (text 8, 2)

Similarly, in the Iaaï text (included here after), the noun group *hnyi köiö* 'in the sea' is sometimes preceded by the deictic *jii* indicating 'down', and sometimes by the deictic *ü*, which, in this particular context, refers not to a westerly direction, but to the direction of the sea. Compare (20) and (21):

- (20) *Ke haba ke at Hembue ie-n me tiga ehee-jii*
and TOPIC ART man Hembwe name-his COOR still LOC.unspec-down
hnyi köiö.
into sea
'But one man, called Hembue, was still in the sea' (text 4, 36)

- (21) *Haingö-dra thidhö ka at e-ü hnyi köiö.*
talk-their then to man LOC-sea into sea
'So they said to the man who was in the sea.' (text 4, 39)

Even more off-putting is the use of the coordinates *ü/iö* to refer to something which is situated below the speaker (22), or above him (23), in exactly the same way as the *jii/dhöö* coordinates:

- (22) *Ehu ke behelök a-me iââü e-ü hnyi sa-ot.*
there.is ART lizard 3SG-PRESENT crawl LOC-down in grass
'There is a lizard crawling in the grass.' (text 1, 7)
- (23) *E but ling iö hon iveto e-e.*
3SG already ANAPH up on stone there
'It is already there, on that stone.' (text 24, 4)

However, from a semantic point of view, the two sets of oppositions *ü/iö* and *jii/dhöö* in fact only partially overlap. Thus, the pair of coordinates *jii/dhöö* will always be used to refer to anything that is perpendicular to the speaker: hence, in example (11), *e-dhöö hnyi draany* 'up there in the sky' could not be replaced by **e-iö hnyi draany*.

Similarly, the coordinates *ü/iö* are always used to refer to west and east, the points of the compass: thus, the sun rises *jime-iö* 'from the east', as in example (17), and not **jime-dhöö* 'from above'. In the same way, when the sun is at its highest point, overhead, it is said to be *e-dhöö* and not **e-iö*.

8 Conclusion

The semantic overlap that can be observed in the Iaaï deictic system between, on the one hand, *west-sea-down* and, on the other hand, *east-land-up*, is easy to account for when we see how the island of Uvea is oriented, and how it slopes from east to west. It is also easy enough to understand (without being too deterministic about it) why the east coast of Uvea, uninhabited and situated on a higher level, has come to be associated with the notions of 'height' and 'inland', in opposition to the west coast, which is inhabited and faces the lagoon, over which the sun sets every evening.

The strong links that have been pointed out here between spatial deixis and local geography and ecology, as well as the different values that certain deictics can take on according to the scale that is being considered, are not limited to the Iaaï language only. There are now numerous descriptions of deictic systems based on multiple orientation values, combining ego-, topo- and geo-centric points of reference, not only in Austronesian languages, but also in languages belonging to other families: Papuan and Australian languages, Maya, etc. However, the most interesting point in the case of Iaaï, from a cognitive point of view (and which would no doubt be worth studying in more detail) is how to determine the exact degree of interchangeability between the up/down and east/west coordinates, in various visual contexts.

The data that I have presented here are taken from two surveys carried out in Uvea in 1977 and in 1983, and from a corpus of some fifty texts collected by Jean Guiart in 1948. Some excerpts from one of those texts (text 4) are given in appendix to illustrate the use of spatial deictics in Iaaï.

Appendix: Traditional text

This traditional story narrates how some Iaaï clans prevented the settlement of Lifu people at Hwagei, on the east coast of Uvea, a long time ago. The story was recorded by Jean Guiart in 1948 from Mr Wadawa Hnyigotr and was published in *Contes et légendes d'Ouvéa*, Jacob Wahéo, ed., Nouméa, CTRDP, 1989, pp.35–41.

[The people of Hulup went to fish in Cöu (east coast of Uvea). The fishing trip came to an end, but one man, called Hembue,]

was still in the sea

tiga ehee-jii hnyi köiö
still LOC.unspec-down in sea

[The tide began to rise, and]

the men on the shore

haba vëët e-dhöö hoot
TOPIC people LOC-up ashore

[saw a shark. So they shouted]

to the one who was in the water:

ka at e-ü hnyi köiö
to man LOC-sea in sea

['Hey! Watch out for that shark!]

There it is and it's coming towards you!'

a wale-e ame he kö-u!'
because PRES-there (near addressee) 3SG go toward-you

Now, that shark (ANAPH) was a devil

Haba ling ge aec me ünya hmâ
TOPIC ANAPH about shark COOR it.is devil

[Hembue tried to get back to the land, but he couldn't.]

So he shouted to the others up there:

Ke ame kuku ka vëët e-dhöö
then 3SG shout to people LOC-up (=ashore)

'Jump towards me!

'Gâ but öbun jeem!
jump IMPERATIVE 2PL GOAL.here (= towards speaker)

[or else the shark is going to bite me!']

So they jumped from up there

ödra gâ thibut jime-dhöö
3PL jump then SOURCE-up (= from ashore)

[with spears and sticks. They drove the shark away and brought Hembue ashore. He was unconscious. However hard they tried, they could not bring him round. They carried him to Hwagei]

and put him down there in his home.

m' ödra ip-ut e-iö hnyi hnyaaba-n.
and 3PL put-down LOC-inland in residence-his

[They sent for a man from Lifou whose name was Poulio, so that he could cure Hembue, but instead of curing Hembue, Poulio killed him]

because that shark that was there just now in Cöu (east coast)

a haba ling ge aec ehaac e-iö Cöu
because TOPIC ANAPH about shark formerly LOC-east Cöu

it was that devil sent by Poulio who wanted to kill Hembue.

me hmâ ling anyi Poulio ame weeny ka kuc Hembue.
COOR devil ANAPH of Poulio 3SG want for kill Hembue

[They sent for]

Menahole, Hembue's eldest brother, from Hounöbiny.

Menahole tuhö Hembue jime-ü Hounöbiny.
Menahole eldest.of Hembue SOURCE-west Hounöbiny

[Menahole came to Hwagei and asked Hembue's wife what had happened. And so she told him: 'One day,]

Poulio came here, to both of us

aa oo-but e-ang kö-hmu Poulio
3SG+ACC arrive LOC-here toward-1DU Poulio

[to ask Hembue to give him two fine seashells that he wanted to take back to Lifou to give to his chief. Hembue refused, and he hid his treasures away'.]

[So Menahole had Hembue's body taken to Hânyâü, and went to consult his god, Kong Hulup. He recited the names of several men, but the god said nothing. But when he pronounced the name of Poulio, the god said:]

'That's the man who killed Hembue'

'Wale-ling at aa kuc Hembue.'
PRES-ANAPH man 3SG+ACC kill Hembue

[So Menahole sent for the men from Hânyâü and from Hulup so that they could go and kill the people from Lifou who were in Hwagei. But someone betrayed them and told the people from Lifou, and they fled during the night. At dawn, when the warriors attacked, there was nobody left in Hwagei. The people from Lifou ran away to Ohnyât, and from there they fled back to Lifou.]

And they have never returned, till this day.

K' are caa-wen hmetu oo kene oo-but hnyi bong aang.
and 3PL+ACC never again arrive until arrive in day this

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8 *Demonstratives in Samoan*¹

ULRIKE MOSEL

1 Introduction

In comparison to English, Samoan is extremely rich in deictic means of expressions, not only in respect of the number of deictic morphemes and the semantic distinctions they express, but also with regard to text frequency. In our corpus, which consists of spontaneously written e-mails and spoken and written narratives, we found clauses with up to four deictics as, for instance, *'inei* 'here', *lea* 'this', *lenei* 'this' and *mai* 'hither, towards the deictic centre' in our first example:

- (1) *'Ua ā mai le mālulū 'aisa o Siamani.*
PERF what DIR ART cold ice POSS Germany
'O 'inei lea fo'i e tau mālulū mai lenei aso.²
PRES here DEM also GENR weather cold DIR DEM day³
'How do you find the icy cold in Germany? Here (i.e. in Canberra), it is also cold weather today.' (e-mail)

These two clauses contain three kinds of deictics: the directional particle *mai* 'hither'; the local noun *'inei* 'here'; and the demonstratives *lea* and *lenei*. Literally the two clauses translate as follows: 'What is towards the deictic centre (i.e. the addressee in a question) the

¹ For valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper I wish to thank the participants of the Second European Workshop on Oceanic Linguistics held at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in 1998. Special thanks go to my colleagues Geoffrey Haig and Nicole Nau at University of Kiel, who discussed this paper with me at various stages of its progress.

² The e-mails and the short stories quoted here were originally written without glottal stops and macrons.

³ The abbreviations used in the interlinear morphemic translations are: ANAPH - anaphoric pronoun, ART - ARTICLE (when not specified, the specific singular article), COMPL - complementizer, CONJ - conjunction, DEM - demonstrative, DIM - diminutive article, DIR - directional particle, DU - dual, EMPH - emphatic particle, EXCL - the suffix *-e* used in exclamations, FUT - future, GENR - general tense-aspect-mood particle, LOC - locative-directional preposition, NSP - non-specific article, PAST - past tense particle, PERF - perfect particle, PN - proper name, POL - polite, POSS - possessive preposition or affix, PRES - presentative preposition, PROG - progressive, REL - proform functioning as the head of relative clauses, SG - singular, TAM - tense-aspect-mood particles.

icy cold of Germany? This (place) here also, it is cold weather towards the deictic centre (i.e. the writer in this context) on this day’.

In Samoan narratives the number of deictics is more than twice as much as their equivalents in their idiomatic English translation. Thus on the pages 50 to 63 in Moyle (1981) we find 85 demonstratives, local deictic adverbs and directional particles, while their English equivalents *this*, *that*, *here* and *there* count only 34.

The present study investigates the morphosyntax and semantics of demonstratives from a holistic perspective which, as far as possible, comprises all kinds of uses in order to describe and explain how the meaning the demonstratives have in the actual speech situation is transferred to their other functions. We therefore include an analysis of their anaphoric and cataphoric use in text deixis and reference tracking, their recognitional use, and their grammaticalised use in relative-clause constructions. In accordance with this holistic approach, we will also refer to the temporal uses of the demonstratives and their formal and semantic relation to deictic nouns and verbs.

The Samoan demonstratives are a subclass of deictic words many of which are derived from the same deictic stems:

1. pronominally and adnominally used demonstratives, e.g. *lenei* ‘this here’;
2. deictic local nouns, e.g. *’inei* ‘here’;
3. deictic temporal nouns, e.g. *nei* ‘now, today’, *ananei* ‘earlier today’;
4. deictic verbs, e.g. *fa’apēnei* ‘(do/be) like this here’.

In addition, Samoan has directional particles, e.g. *mai* ‘hither, i.e. towards the deictic centre’, *au* ‘thither, i.e. away from the deictic centre’, which express the orientation of an action, process or state of being.

2 The language

2.1 The ecology of the Samoan language

The Samoan language belongs to the Samoic-Outlier group of Nuclear Polynesian. It is spoken by approximately 170,000 people in Western Samoa, 35,000 people in American Samoa and 100,000 Samoan migrants in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii and California. Along with English, it is an official language in Western Samoa and in American Samoa, but its vitality is strongest in Western Samoa, where it is the prevailing means of communication (cf. Mosel 2004). It is also the best researched Polynesian language⁴ and the one in which the largest number of texts is published by both Europeans⁵ and Samoans.⁶

⁴ Cook (1988), Duranti (1981, 1994), Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), Milner (1966), Ochs (1988), Pawley (1966), Pratt (1862).

⁵ Stuebel (1895), Krämer (1902–03), Moyle (1981), Hovdhaugen (1987).

⁶ For example, school books, collections of short stories (Aiavao, Tuitolova’a) and several weekly Samoan newspapers published since the beginning of the 19th century.

2.2 Varieties of Samoan

Samoan is spoken in two varieties: the T-language and the K-language. They differ in that the phonemes /t/ and /n/ of the former are replaced by /k/ and /ŋ/ in the latter. While the T-language is used in church, school and the media, the K-language is predominant in traditional ceremonies, village council meetings and casual conversations. In both the T- and the K-language an additional distinction is made between formal and informal ways of speaking. With the exception of direct speech in short stories, the use of the T-language is obligatory in written Samoan.

2.3 Grammatical characteristics

For the purposes of the following investigation, the most relevant structural features of Samoan are:

1. Samoan is more or less an isolating language with only a few derivational affixes, and pronouns being the only inflected words.⁷
2. Each sentence can be segmented into phrases. The main types of phrases are verb phrases, noun phrases and prepositional phrases, which are distinguished from one another by the type of functional words they occur with, such as TAM markers and negations in verb phrases, articles, demonstratives and possessive determiners in noun phrases, and prepositions in prepositional phrases.

- (2) *Na alu le tamā i le fa'atoaga.*

PAST go ART father LOC ART plantation
VP NP PP

'The father went to the plantation.'

3. Verb phrases do not contain any person marking (as typical Western Oceanic languages do). If it is clear from the context who or what is talked about, participants in events require no explicit expression. It is possible to narrate actions without referring to the agents, although there is no passive. A representative example is the beginning of the story *A'oga i le 'Ato Fu'e Umu* ('School with the baskets that are used for the food coming from the earth oven') by Aiavao.

- (3) *'O le afiafi o le Aso Sā e tā mai ai le lau-niu,*
PRES ART evening POSS ART Sunday GENR cut DIR ANAPH ART coconut-leaf
'ua lalaga ai tama'i ato e lua, e sauniuni mo le
PERF weave ANAPH little basket GENR two GENR prepare:RED for ART
ā'oga i le taeao. E auli fo'i lavalava o nai tamaiti ...
school LOC ART morning GENR iron also clothes POSS ART:DIM:PL children
'On Sunday evening (a boy) cuts a coconut leaf, weaves two little baskets from it to be prepared for the school in the morning. (A girl) also irons the clothes of the little children ...' (Aiavao 1987:60).

⁷ See Pawley (1966), Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), and for the theoretical problems of the inflection of possessive pronouns cf. Stolz (1992:447–462).

For native speakers it is quite clear that the implied agents of the actions 'cut a coconut leaf' and 'iron the clothes' are different persons, as in Samoan culture only boys climb coconut trees and cut leaves, and only girls and women iron clothes.

4. Third person pronouns are hardly ever used in the function of core arguments. Consider the beginning of the short biography of Agafili. The theme of this text, *'o Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a*, is mentioned at the very beginning but not referred to any more in the following clauses, which all relate to Agafili.

- (4) *'O Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a na soifua mai i Salailua ...*
 PRES PN PN PN PAST live DIR LOC Salailua
'Ua fa'aipoipo iā Luafaletete Laumatiamanu ma 'ua to'afitu
 PERF married LOC PN PN and PERF seven
o lā alo. Na a'oa'oina i le ā'oga a le faife'au ...
 POSS 3DU child PAST be.educated LOC ART school POSS ART pastor
 'Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a was born in S. ... (He) is married to L. L. and they
 have seven children (lit. their children are seven). (He) was educated in the Pastor's
 school ...' (Tuitolova'a 1985:iv)

5. The basic word order is VP NP/PP ...⁸ but verbal clauses can also start with a fronted prepositional phrase as in (3) and (4). This phrase is marked by either the presentative preposition *'o* (PRES) or the locative preposition (*'i*) (LOC).
6. The articles do not distinguish between definite and indefinite, but between specific and non-specific noun phrases, i.e. between noun phrases whose referent can be identified and those noun phrases whose referent cannot irrespective of whether these noun phrases are mentioned for the first time or not. Thus specific noun phrases translate as 'the X, a certain X, a particular X' and non-specific noun phrases as 'any X'. Non-specific noun phrases are typically found in negative and interrogative existential clauses ('there is no X', 'is there an X?') and in hypothetical clauses ('if there is an X'); cf. example (6)).

2.4 The data used in this study

The data for our investigation come from elicitation,⁹ observation,¹⁰ traditional oral narratives edited by Moyle (1981), written traditional narratives (Sio 1984), modern short stories (Aiavao 1987; Tuitolova'a 1985) and spontaneously written e-mail messages from Ainslie So'o.

⁸ For a justification of this view cf. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:414).

⁹ In particular from Ainslie So'o and Makerita Va'a.

¹⁰ Since 1985 I have spent a total of 24 months in Samoa doing fieldwork and working as a consultant for the production of a Samoan monolingual dictionary and a grammar for teachers. My work has been funded by the German Research Society, the Arts Faculty Research Fund of The Australian National University, the Australian South-Pacific Cultural Fund, and the Australian Agency for International Development.

3 Demonstratives: definition and morphology

As a starting point for the following discussion we take Himmelmann's definition of demonstratives, which suggests that the demonstratives of a language can be identified on the basis of the following two characteristics (Himmelmann 1996:210ff.):

1. the element must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which — when used exophorically — locate the entity referred to on a distance scale as proximal, distal, etc.
2. the element should not be amenable to the following two uses, which are characteristic for definite articles:
 - *larger situation use*: demonstratives are generally not usable for first mention of entities that are considered to be unique in a given speech community (... **This/that sun was ...*).
 - *associative-anaphoric use* as exemplified by the following example from the Pear Stories, where replacing the definite article in *the branch* by a demonstrative would sound fairly odd:

... on a ladder ... picking pears ... from a tree, and putting it in his ... apron ... it's like they have a microphone right next to the branch ...

According to this definition, the following words qualify as demonstratives:

Table 1: Inventory of specific demonstratives

Singular specific	Plural specific	Meaning
<i>lea</i>	<i>ia</i>	1. 'this/these here' 2. (general, not close to either speaker or hearer) 'this, that'
<i>lenei</i>	<i>nei</i>	'this/these here with me/us (more formal than <i>lea</i>)' ¹¹
<i>lenā</i>	<i>nā</i>	'that/those with you'
<i>lelā</i>	<i>lā</i>	'that/those further away over there'
<i>lele</i>	<i>īe*</i>	'this close to me, within reach'
<i>nale</i>	<i>nae*</i>	'that close to you, within reach'
<i>lale</i>	<i>lae*</i>	'that over there, beyond reach, but not as far away as <i>lelā</i> '

(* only found by elicitation, not attested in Mayer (1976), Milner (1966), Pawley (1966))

The demonstratives *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā* and *lelā* consist of the specific singular article and the deictic morphemes *a*, *nei*, *nā* and *lā*. With the exception of *lea*, the corresponding specific plural forms consist of the bare deictic morpheme and thus show the same pattern of singular–plural distinction as specific common noun phrases, e.g. *le tama* 'the child', *tama* 'the children'.

As later sections will show, *lea* is, in certain contexts, neutral with respect to distance or the speech-act participants. It can, for instance, be used for pointing at particular items of a collection of things. For example:

¹¹ Mayer (1976:34), So'o (pers. comm.).

- (5) *lea ma lea ma lea*
 'this and this and this'

The article position can also be filled by the non-specific and the diminutive article.¹² Such combinations are, however, quite rare:

Table 2: Inventory of singular demonstratives

specific (sg. <i>le</i> , pl. Ø)	non-specific (sg. <i>se</i> , pl. <i>ni</i>)	diminutive (sg. <i>si</i> , pl. <i>nai/nāi</i>)
<i>le-a</i>	<i>se-a</i>	<i>si-a</i>
<i>le-nei</i>	<i>se-nei</i>	<i>si-nei</i>
<i>le-nā</i>	<i>se-nā</i>	<i>si-nā</i>
<i>le-lā</i>	<i>se-lā</i>	—

Being non-specific, the forms *sea*, *senei* and *senā* are not used for situational deixis, but only for anaphoric deixis in hypothetical and negative sentences like the following:

- (6) ... *e le'i fa'alogo LTF pē va'ai i sea fa'asilasilaga.*
 GENR not.yet hear PN or see LOC DEM notice
 '(... because even if there had been a notice by the bank about their intentions (to change the opening hours), I think, the country was not aware of it.)'¹³
 LTF¹⁴ did not hear or see such a notice.' (*Sunday Observer* 30.3.97)

In contrast, the combination with the diminutive article can be used for both situational and anaphoric deixis. The example below illustrates the situational use; it is the last sentence of an e-mail message, in which the writer jokingly refers to herself as an old woman.

- (7) 'Ua lava le-a talanoaga. 'ona e lē mālosi 'ato'atoa
 PERF enough ART-DEM talk because GENR not strong entirely:RED
si nei¹⁵ lo'omatua.
 DIM:SG DEM old.woman
 'This talk is enough because this poor old woman is not entirely strong.'
 (i.e. 'I am tired now.')

If the noun phrase is modified by a possessive pronoun in addition to a demonstrative, the latter is separated from the article:

- (8) 'Ae tālofa i l-o-'u nei tagata!
 but have.pity LOC ART-POSS-1SG DEM person
 'But have pity on this person of mine here!' (Te'o 1987:1)

The three deictic stems *-a*, *nei*, *nā* and *lā* are also found in the deictic verbs *fa'apea* '(be, do, say) like this (ana- and cataphoric)', *fa'apēnei* '(be, do, say) like this (cataphoric)', *fa'apēnā* '(be) like that (anaphoric)', *fa'apēlā* '(be) like that (far away)'¹⁶ and the stems *nei* and *nā* in the deictic local nouns '*inei* 'here' and '*inā* 'there'. In addition, the stem *nei*, which in adverbial function means 'now', is also found in the temporal deictics *ananei* 'earlier today'

¹² This has already been described in Pawley's (1966) analysis of Samoan phrase structure.

¹³ The text in brackets is a translation of the preceding context.

¹⁴ A reporter.

¹⁵ Note that the author writes the article *si* and the demonstrative stem *nei* as two separate words.

¹⁶ Not in our corpus, but in Mayer (1976:189), Milner (1966:48).

and *nānei* ‘later today’ (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:134). In order to simplify the terminology, we will call the combination of deictic stems with articles and the corresponding bare plural forms demonstratives, while the other combinations are called deictic verb, deictic local noun and temporal deictic.

Table 3: Distribution of deictic stems

Stem	Demonstrative	Deictic verb	Deictic local noun	Temporal deictics
<i>-a</i>	<i>lea</i> ‘this, that’	<i>fa’apea</i> ‘like this’	– –	<i>lea</i> <i>then</i>
<i>nei</i>	<i>lenei</i> ‘this’	<i>fa’apēnei</i> ‘like this’ (cataphoric)	<i>’inei</i> ‘here’	<i>nei</i> ‘now today’ <i>ananei</i> ‘earlier today’
<i>nā</i>	<i>lenā</i> ‘that (with you)’	<i>fa’apēnā</i> ‘like that’ (anaphoric)	<i>’inā</i> ‘there (with you)’	– –
<i>lā</i>	<i>lelā</i> ‘that (far away)’	<i>fa’apelā</i> ‘like that’	<i>’ilā</i> ‘over there’	

In the following, temporal deictics like *nei* ‘now’, *lea* ‘then’ and *ananei* ‘earlier today’ are mentioned only in passing and will not be investigated in detail (cf. §8.2.)

The three demonstratives *lele*, *nale* and *lale* cannot be analysed as article plus deictic stem. They all show an element *le/l-* in their singular forms which is missing in the corresponding plural forms and thus could be a relict of the specific article. Its position, however, is different.

Finally, in spoken colloquial Samoan the demonstrative *lea* is sometimes replaced by *lae/lāe* (Moyle 1981:17). It mainly¹⁷ occurs in clause-initial position, where it anaphorically refers to someone or something mentioned before. In the e-mails we also find *lāe* written as two words, i.e. *la e*. In this case *e* seems to be interpreted as the general TAM marker *e* (*lā e* < *lea e* DEM TAM).

- (9) *Na ’ou vili iā Ruth i le aso lea na maua ai*
 PAST 1SG ring LOC Ruth LOC ART day DEM PAST get ANAPH
l-a-’u e-mail iā ’oe. ’O lāe maua i le malaria
 ART-POSS-1SG e-mail LOC 2SG PRES DEM? get LOC ART malaria
si teine.
 DIM:SG girl
 ‘I rang Ruth on the day I got my e-mail from you. The poor girl has malaria.’
 (e-mail)

- (10) ...’ae lata mai le sami ’a-’o lae ’ua ou alu e
 but close DIR ART Sea but-PRES ?? PERF 1SG go GENR
utu.
 collect.salt.water
 ‘... the sea is so close, so I am going to collect some salt water.’ (Moyle 1981:212)

¹⁷ Exceptions are found in Moyle (1981:94, 106, 108).

The expression 'o *lāe/lae* regularly occurs in the answer to the question where a particular person is:

- (11) 'O *fea le teine?* – *Lāe/lae moe.*
 PRES where ART girl ?? sleep
 'Where is the girl? – She is sleeping.'

The Samoan linguists Hunkin (1988:43–46) and So'o (Mosel & So'o 1997:23) observe that in the spoken language *lāe/lae* is often used instead of the progressive particle 'olo'o. In fact, in (9) and (11) 'o *lāe* can be replaced by 'olo'o, but as (10) shows, not all occurrences allow this interpretation. As we do not have sufficient data on conversational colloquial Samoan, we cannot investigate this topic any further. Perhaps *lāe/lae* is polysemous, functioning as a demonstrative pronoun in some contexts, but as a TAM marker in others.

The whole set of demonstratives, i.e. *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā*, *lele*, *nale*, *lale* and *lelā*, is only used for exophoric deixis. While *lele*, *nale*, and *lale* are usually accompanied by a gesture with the hand or the head (but not with finger-pointing, which is taboo), *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā*, and *lelā* can be used without gestures. Only these are also used in written Samoan. As for the semantic distinctions made by the Samoan demonstratives when used exophorically, we find two parameters:

1. spatial relation to the speech act participants, i.e. to the speaker, the addressee or to neither the speaker nor the addressee;
2. distance to the speech-act participants.

Table 4: Situational meanings of *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā* and *lelā*

Distance	Relation to the speech-act participants		
	Speaker	Addressee	Neither speaker nor addressee
very close, in the possession of	<i>lea</i> , <i>lenei</i>	<i>lenā</i>	–
near to, within reach of	<i>lele</i> (+ gesture)	<i>nale</i> (+ gesture)	–
not too far away from the participants, but beyond reach	–	–	<i>lale</i> (+ gesture)
far away from the participants	–	–	<i>lelā</i>

Since the use of *lelā*, *lele*, *nale*, and *lale* seems to be restricted to spontaneous conversational discourse and our corpus does not provide sufficient data, the present article will concentrate on the three demonstratives *lea*, *lenei* and *lenā*. These demonstratives can function as pronouns and determiners. As determiners, they can precede or follow the noun. The function of position is not clear yet.

Before we discuss our findings on these three demonstratives, we will briefly describe the formal and semantic characteristics of the deictic verbs and local nouns.

4 Deictic local nouns and deictic verbs

4.1 Deictic local nouns

The Samoan translational equivalents of English ‘here’ and ‘there’ are closely related to demonstratives because some of them contain the same deictic morphemes as demonstratives. In addition, the semantic distinctions they express can be described in terms of the same two parameters:

1. relation to the speech-act participants of speaker and addressee;
2. distance to the speech-act participants.

They differ from the demonstratives in that they never refer to entities (cf. Himmelmann’s definition, given in §3 above). The deictic local nouns refer to regions or areas. The parameters distinguished by deictic local nouns are similar to those of demonstratives:

1. relation to the speech-act participants;
2. distance from the deictic centre.

Table 5: Deictic nouns

<i>sau i 'i</i>	‘come here’
<i>sau i 'inei</i>	‘come here’
<i>'inā</i>	‘there (where you are)’
<i>alu i 'ile</i>	‘go there (a few metres away)’
<i>alu i 'ole</i>	‘go there (not too far over there)’
<i>alu i 'ō</i>	‘go over there (far away)’

Syntactically they are classified as nouns because they combine with prepositions. A typical example for *'inā* is the following example:

- (12) *'O lea lava e sau i le World News le mālosi tele*
 PRES DEM EMPH GENR come LOC ART World News ART strength big
o le 'aisa i 'inā.
 POSS ART ice LOC there
 ‘Now here, it comes in the World News how severe the winter is there at your place.’ (lit. ‘the big strength of the ice/snow there with you’) (e-mail)
- (13) *i 'i i o-'u luma, i 'inā i o-u luma*
 LOC here LOC POSS-1SG front LOC there LOC POSS-2SG front
 ‘here in front of me, there in front of you’ (lit. ‘in here in my front, in there in your front’)

The difference between *'i* ‘here’ and *'inei* is not clear yet.

4.2 Deictic verbs

The four deictic verbs *fa'apea*, *fa'apēnei*, *fa'apenā*, and *fa'apelā* consist of the so-called causative prefix *fa'a-*, a deictic stem and a synchronically not identifiable syllable *-pe/pē-* which seems to be cognate with *pei* ‘like’.

Table 6: Deictic verbs

<i>fa'apea</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric and anaphoric)'
<i>fa'apēnei</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric)'
<i>fa'apēnā</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like that (anaphoric)'
<i>fa'apelā</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like that (far away)'

The meanings of *fa'apea*, *fa'apēnei* and *fa'apēnā* correspond to the uses of *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā* and *lelā*. Although both situational and discourse deictic uses can be observed (see §8.1), they cannot be classified as demonstratives because they do not refer to entities, but express how something is done or what someone thinks or says. Syntactically, they function as the nucleus of a verb phrase or as an adnominal or adverbial modifier:

- (14) 'O le ā le mea 'ole'ā o'o 'i ai l-o- 'u
 PRES ART what ART thing FUT come.to LOC ANAPH ART-POSS-2SG
finagalo e fa'apēnā ma s-o- 'u manatu.
 wish:POL GENR like.that also ART:NSP:SG-POSS-2SG wish
 'Whatever your wish may be, so shall my own be.' (lit. 'Whatever the thing is (that) your wish comes to, (be) like that also my wish.') (Moyle 1981:62)

5 The syntactic functions of pronominal demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives are always specific and singular (*lea*, *lenei*, *lenā*). They function (1) as the argument of a nominal predicate, (2) as a core argument of a verbal predicate, (3) as a locative-directional argument in certain fixed phrases, and (4) as a sentence-initial adjunct.

5.1 The demonstrative functioning as an argument of a nominal predicate

When the demonstrative functions as the argument of a nominal predicate, its referent can be a person, a thing or the content of a preceding or following piece of text.

- (15) 'O l-a u peni le/lenei/lenā lele/nale/lale/lelā.
 PRES ART-POSS 2SG pen DEM
 'This/that is your pen.' (Mosel & So'o 1997:87ff.)
- (16) 'O a'u lava lenei 'o a'u lenei 'o Matu'utu'uasuga.
 PRES 1SG EMPH DEM PRES 1SG DEM PRES PN
 'It is really me, it's me, Matu'utu'usega.' (Moyle 1981:130)
- (17) Ia, 'o 'oe fo'i lenā ...
 well PRES 2SG again DEM
 'Well, it's you again ...' (Aiavao 1987:12)

The demonstrative argument always holds the position of the second phrase of the clause. Attributive prepositional phrases and relative clauses which modify the nucleus of the predicate must follow the demonstrative subject.

- (18) 'O le mealofa lea mo 'oe.
 PRES ART present DEM for 2SG
 'This (here) is the present for you.'
- (19) 'O l-o-'u to'alua lenei sã 'ou fa'atali 'i ai.
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG husband DEM PAST 1SG wait LOC ANAPH
 'This is the husband I have been waiting for.' (Moyle 1981:142)

The anaphoric and cataphoric use of pronominal demonstratives in subject function is illustrated by the following two examples:

- (20) 'O le uiga moni o le tagata lenei 'o Sinasegi 'o le
 PRES ART meaning real POSS ART person DEM PRES Sinasegi PRES ART
 tama'ita'i e segi 'i tagata e fefe 'i tagata — 'o
 lady GENR shy.of LOC person:PL GENR fear LOC person:PL PRES
 le uiga moni lea o l-o-na igoa.
 ART meaning real DEM POSS ART-POSS-3SG name
 'The real meaning of the name of this person Sinasegi is "the lady who is shy of people, who fears people" — this is the real meaning of her name.' (Moyle 1981:56)
- (21) 'O l-a-'u tuatusi lea: Toad Hall, ANU ...
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG address DEM Toad Hall, ANU
 'This is my address: Toad Hall, ANU ...' (e-mail)

While *lea* in (20) refers back to 'the lady who is shy of people, who fears people, it points to the following phrase 'Toad Hall, ANU ...' in (21).

5.2 The demonstrative functioning as an argument of a verbal predicate

A typical example for a pronominal demonstrative in argument function is the use of *lenā* in the question a shopkeeper usually asks the customer after the latter has received everything he asked for:

- (22) Pau lenā?
 be.all DEM
 'Is that all?'

The demonstrative *lenā* refers here to the things the shop keeper has given the customer. In narratives the demonstrative can anaphorically refer to a previously mentioned event or to a person:

- (23) Na 'ou alu ananei e 'ave l-o-'u ata iā Mira ...
 PAST 1SG go earlier.today GENR take ART-POSS-1SG photo LOC PN
 Na 'uma lena o'u alu iā Andy to say hi and goodbye
 PAST be.finished DEM 1SG go LOC PN
 'I went earlier today to take my photo to Mira ... After that (lit. this was finished), I went to Andy to say hi and good bye.' (e-mail)

- (24) #¹⁸ *Tafēfē* 'ua oti Amau 'o *lea* 'ou te mana'o e
 how.terrible PERF die PN PRES DEM ISG GENR want GENR
fa'atalanoa pe ā 'ou toe fo'i i Sāmoa.
 interview CONJ FUT ISG again return LOC Samoa
 'How terrible, Amau has died, that one I wanted to interview when I'll return to Samoa.' (e-mail)

In the first example the demonstrative refers anaphorically to the immediately preceding portion of text, whereas in the second example its referent is the person Amau just mentioned. The demonstrative *lea* is here a fronted undergoer argument of *fa'atalanoa* 'interview'.

5.3 The demonstrative functioning as a locative-directional argument

According to our data, the construction with locative prepositions seems to be restricted to idiomatic phrases like the following, in which it always refers to something said before:

- (25) *e ui i lea*
 GENR in.spite.of¹⁹ LOC DEM
 'in spite of that, nevertheless'
- (26) *'ae lē gata i lea*
 but not be.limited LOC DEM
 'but that is not all, and not only that'

5.4 The demonstrative functioning as a sentence-initial adjunct

The demonstrative frequently functions as a sentence-initial adjunct, relating what is subsequently said to the actual speech situation or the preceding context. In this function it is usually marked by the presentative preposition 'o, but demonstratives without 'o occur in casual speech (33). In our e-mail corpus this construction is frequently used to refer to the writer's or the addressee's situation. Particularly at the beginning of an e-mail message, its function is to set the frame for what the writer is going to talk about. While *lea* refers to the situation of the writer in Canberra, Australia, *lenā* refers to the situation of the addressee in Kiel, Germany.

- (27) # *'O lenā e te pisi 'o lea fo'i ou te pisi.*
 PRES DEM 2SG GENR busy PRES DEM again ISG GENR busy
 'As for you there, you are busy, as for me here I am also busy.' (e-mail)
- (28) # *Talosi-e 'e te lē 'o ma'i. A 'o lenā 'ai*
 hopefully-EXCL 2SG GENR not PROG sick. but PRES DEM perhaps
'o 'e pisi i l-a-u galuega 'O lea fa'atoā
 PROG 2SG busy LOC ART-POSS-2SG work PRES DEM just

¹⁸ # indicates that this is the very beginning of a story or an e-mail.

¹⁹ *e ui* 'in spite of' is a verbal predicate.

o'u fo'i mai iā Tony.

1SG return DIR LOC PN

'Hopefully you are not sick. Perhaps you are busy with your work.

As for me, I have just come back from Tony.' (e-mail)

In the next example, the writer contrasts her own situation (*'o lea*) with the situation of her husband in Auckland by referring to the latter with the demonstrative *'o lelā*, which indicates remoteness from both the writer and the addressee.

(29) # *'Ou te iloa'ina 'o Asofou lā 'ua taunu'u i Aukilani.*

1SG GENR know PRES PN EMPH PERF arrive LOC Auckland

'O lea 'ua toeitiiti 'afa le lima l-o-na uiga 'o lelā
PRES DEM PERF almost half ART five ART-POSS-3SG meaning PRES DEM

e fa'atalitali i le taimi o l-a-na va'alele e
GENR wait LOC ART time POSS ART-POSS-3SG plane GENR

alu 'ese ma Aukilani i le 'afa o le ono.

go away from Auckland LOC ART half POSS ART six

'I know Asofou has arrived in Auckland. Here it is almost half past five, this means (lit. its meaning), he is waiting there for the (departure) time of his plane which will leave Auckland at half past six.' (e-mail)

Note that in terms of distance Auckland is much closer to the writer in Canberra than to the addressee in Kiel, which nicely illustrates that the relation to the speech-act participants has nothing to do with the parameter of proximity.

There is one example of *'o lenei* in the e-mail corpus. In contrast to *'o lea*, it does not introduce a statement about the writer's personal situation, but signals a change of theme.

After she has talked about a linguistic conference in the preceding text, she now, quite abruptly, turns to the extraordinary weather in Canberra.

(30) *'O lenei lava e fai ma fesuisuia'i le tau o*
PRES DEM EMPH GENR become change.to.and.fro ART weather POSS

Canberra. E vevela vevela toe mālūlū. E 'ese le
Canberra GENR hot hot and cold. GENR extraordinary ART

matagi toe mālūlū.

wind and cold.

'[I think the conference is held every three or four years. This is also the conference to which Andy will go. He said to me that he will only come back in February.]

Now, the weather in Canberra is constantly changing. It is hot, hot and cold. It is extremely windy and cold.' (e-mail, written in January, usually the hottest month in Canberra)

This use of *'o lenei* can be interpreted as an instance of cataphoric text deixis (cf. §8.2). In Moyle (1981) we find several examples of this kind in direct speech which also suggest that *'o lenei* is used to draw the hearer's attention to what is said next. Consider the following two examples, in which the speaker accuses the addressee of being responsible for an unacceptable situation. He uses *'o lenei* to point to this situation:

- (31) *E 'ese l-o-u fa'amaualuga ma l-o-'u fia*
 GENR extreme ART-POSS-2SG conceited and ART-POSS-2SG want
tagata! 'O lenei 'ua 'uma mai l-o-'u nu'u 'ae e
 person PRES DEM PERF finished DIR ART-POSS-1SG village but 2SG
te lē tāitāi lava e 'ai. Ia, 'o l-a-'u folafolaga
 GENR not near EMPH GENR eat well PRES ART-POSS-1SG ultimatum
lenei 'iate 'oe ...
 DEM LOC 2SG

'How conceited and snobbish you are!²⁰ Here I've gone through everybody in my village (asking them to masticate the food for you, U.M.), but still you're nowhere near eating. Here is my ultimatum for you ...' (Moyle 1981:148)

In the next example Taligamaivalu accuses Sinālemalama:

- (32) *'O lenei fo'i na 'e fai mai fo'i 'o l-o-u*
 PRES DEM also PAST 2SG say DIR also PRES ART-POSS-2SG
tuagane, 'a-'o lea 'ua mautinoa nei 'ua 'e fa'alata a'u ...
 brother but-PRES DEM PERF clear now PERF 2SG betray 1SG
 '[How terrible you were, Sinālemalama, in your lack of love.] Here you were telling me he was your brother, but now it is clear you betrayed me ...' (Moyle 1981:86ff.)

Here *'o lenei* contrasts with *'o lea*. While the former calls for attention to the whole situation described in the following two sentences, the content of the accusation, the latter refers only to what Taligamaivalu has just found out. The meaning of *lenei* in these contexts could perhaps be described as 'Here listen to what I am going to say now'. The assumption that *lenei* is used cataphorically to focus on what is said next is also supported by its use in adnominal position.

In narratives, *'o lea* is used to express that what is subsequently said results from what happened before. For example:

- (33) *Lea²¹ e fa'aigoa nei 'o Moso.*
 DEM GENR call now PRES PN
 '[Then the couple ... thought: "It is better to call our son by the name of that tree, the Fatumoso".] Thus he is called Moso now.' (Hovdhaugen 1987:54, my translation)

6 The morphosyntax of adnominal demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives can precede or follow the nucleus of common noun phrases. When following the nucleus, they are usually combined with an article provided that the noun phrase is introduced by an article. Only occasionally are common noun phrases combined with a following bare demonstrative stem:

²⁰ Lit. 'your making yourself high and your wish to be a person (somebody)'.

²¹ The presentative preposition *'o* is sometimes left out in casual speech.

Table 7: Adnominal demonstratives

Stem	Singular	Plural
<i>nei</i>	<i>lenei tama</i> <i>le tama lenei</i> <i>le tama nei</i> ‘this child’	<i>nei tama</i> <i>tama nei</i> ‘these children’
<i>nā</i>	<i>lenā tama</i> <i>le tama lenā</i> <i>le tama nā</i> ‘that child’	<i>nā tama</i> <i>tama nā</i> ‘those children’

- (34) *le tama'ita'i nei*
ART lady DEM
‘this lady’ (Moyle 1981:190)

Since the articles of the content word and the article preceding the demonstrative stem do not need to be of the same kind, the article of the demonstrative cannot be interpreted as an agreement phenomenon as it is in Hebrew (Rosén 1962:60). Rather, this construction of article and demonstrative stem is an appositional noun phrase. Compare:

- (35) *Fai atu loa lea 'o si tama sia laititi.*
say DIR immediately then PRES DIM:SG boy DEM young
‘The poor young boy asked them.’ (lit. ‘The poor boy this poor little one said.’)
(Moyle 1981:270)

- (36) ... *'ai 'o le ta'agulu lā lea a si ali'i*
probably PRES ART snoring EMPH DEM POSS ART:DIM:SG man
lea na tau atu ...
DEM PAST arrive DIR
‘... it was probably only the snoring of the poor man who had arrived ...’
(lit. ‘the poor man, this one who ...’²²) (Moyle 1981:86)

This appositional construction also occurs with personal pronouns or the proper names of person in order to express contrast or to attract the hearer’s attention. For example:

- (37) ... *'ona 'o a'u lea e pisi tele.*
because PRES 1SG DEM GENR busy very
‘... because I here (in contrast to the others over there) am very busy.’ (e-mail)
- (38) *Silila, 'o a'u lenei 'ā mole lava 'i le fia 'ai.*
PN PRES 1SG DEM FUT suffocate EMP LOC ART want eat
‘Silila, I am about to die from hunger.’ (Moyle 1981:150)
- (39) *'A-'o Matu'utautenea lenei 'ua manatu loa i o-na mātua.*
but-PRES PN DEM PERF think.of then LOC POSS-3SG parent:PL
‘This Matu'utautenea missed his parents.’ (Moyle 1981:124)

In accordance with this function, only fronted topical pronouns and proper names of persons are modified by demonstratives in the e-mails and the oral narrative texts edited by

²² For relative clause constructions cf. §8.6.

Moyle (1981). In the narratives written by Sio (1984), however, we also find demonstratives with proper names in argument position after the verb.

- (40) *Sa malaga mai lenei Tuimanua Moa ...*
 PAST travel DIR DEM PN PN
 'This Tuimanua Moa travelled here ...' (my translation since Sio's is very free;
 Sio 1984:1)

In both casual and formal speech, placenames and local nouns can only be modified by the demonstrative *nei* without article. In this context *nei* means 'here' and does not seem to contrast with other demonstratives.

- (41) *i Sāmoa nei*
 LOC Samoa DEM
 'in Samoa here'
- (42) *i o-'u luma nei*
 LOC POSS-1SG front DEM
 'here in front of me' (Pawley 1966:43)
- (43) *i gātai nei o Aleipata*
 LOC coast DEM POSS Aleipata
 'here on the coast of Aleipata' (Moyle 1981:164)

Finally, the demonstratives *lenei* and *lea* can also be used as temporal deictics which relate the time of an event to the time of the utterance. While the demonstrative *lenei* can occur in its bare form *nei* when following the nucleus, the demonstrative *lea* always occurs with its article.

- (44) *i lenei masina, i le masina nei, i le semester lenei*
 LOC DEM month LOC ART month DEM LOC ART semester DEM
 'in this month, in this month, in this semester'
- (45) *i le vāiaso lea*
 LOC ART week DEM
 'next week'

7 The demonstrative functioning as an adverbial modifier

Two demonstratives occur as temporal adverbial modifiers: *nei* 'now' without article, and *lea* 'then' with the specific singular article.

- (46) *'Ua maua nei lā le tama.*
 PERF get now EMPH ART boy
 'I've got the boy now.' (my translation — Moyle's does not have 'now';
 Moyle 1981:94)
- (47) *Ia, 'ua al-atu loa lea le va'a ...*
 well PERF go-DIR immediately then ART boat
 'Well, the boat left immediately then ...' (my translation — Moyle's does not
 have 'then'; Moyle 1981:78)

This variation in form corresponds to the different forms found in the temporal noun phrases mentioned above where only *nei* occurs without article. The demonstrative particle *lea* 'then' is also found in the *ona ... lea* construction, which also translates as 'then'.²³

8 The meanings of demonstratives

8.1 Situational and non-situational meanings

The meanings of the Samoan demonstratives can be described in terms of whether they refer to individual entities or states of affairs on the one hand and, on the other, whether they are used as pointing words in the actual speech situation or as metalinguistic means of expression which refer to somebody or something spoken or written about. Accordingly we can distinguish the following kinds of uses:

1. In the actual speech situation, and in direct speech in narratives which more or less depicts actual speech situations, demonstratives are used to
 - (a) identify and refer to an entity (person or object) or place by indicating its location in relation to the location of the speaker/writer and the addressee (true deictic use of pronominal and adnominal demonstratives);
 - (b) refer to the actual situation of the speaker, the addressee or a third person in order to set the scene for the following discourse (scene setting use of pronominal demonstratives);
 - (c) express how events are temporally related to the actual moment of the speech situation.
2. As a non-situational means of expression, they are used to
 - (a) refer to the content of a piece of the preceding or following text (text/discourse deixis use);
 - (b) refer to persons and objects which are relevant for two or more events talked about (reference-tracking use);
 - (c) indicate that the addressee is believed to remember who or what the speaker refers to although this person or object is mentioned for the first time (recognitional use);
 - (d) mark the head of a relative construction.

The distinction made here between discourse deictic, reference tracking and recognitional uses of demonstratives goes back to Himmelmann (1996).

8.2 Situational use

In §3 we briefly described the meaning of all demonstratives when they are used for pointing at persons and objects in an actual face-to-face conversation. This section concentrates on the demonstratives *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* and compares their different meanings in person/object, place and time deixis.

²³ A thorough analysis of the use of *ona ... lea* in Hovdhaugen (1987) is Compes (1997).

As numerous examples in the preceding sections showed, the speaker-centred demonstratives *lea* and *lenei* and the addressee-centred demonstrative *lenā* refer to the speaker and the addressee themselves ((7), (8), (16), (17)), their situation ((12), (27)–(29)) or the things in their possession ((15), (22)). For place deixis only the demonstrative *nei* ‘here’ and for time deixis only the demonstratives (*le*)*nei* and *lea* are used. This of course does not mean that the semantics of place and time deixis are less elaborated, because for these kinds of deixis other means of expression are employed, i.e. local and temporal deictic nouns and directionals.

When used for time deixis, *lenei* refers to the present time. In association with *aso* ‘day’ it means ‘today’, for example:

- (48) 'O le Aso Faraile lenei.
PRES ART day Friday DEM
'Today is Friday.' (e-mail)

- (49) 'O le aso mulimuli lenei o tamaiti i le ā'oga ...
PRES ART day last DEM POSS children LOC ART school
'Today/this/now is also the last day for the children at school ...' (e-mail)

The demonstrative *lenei* can be replaced by the bare stem *nei* ‘now’, which is also used as an adverbial modifier within the verb phrase (cf. §7) and as the stem in deictic temporal nouns, e.g. *ananei* ‘earlier today’, *nānei* ‘later today’. As it also holds the same position as temporal deictic nouns, it would be better classified as a temporal deictic noun like *anapō* ‘yesterday’, *ananei* ‘earlier today’, *nānei* ‘later today’ etc. For example:

- (50) 'O anapō na alu ai Asofou i Sini, 'a-'o nei
PRES last.night PAST go ANAPH PN LOC Sydney but-PRES DEM
i le taeao na alu ai i Aukilani.
LOC ART morning PAST go ANAPH LOC Auckland
'Last night Asofou went to Sydney, but now/today in the morning he went to Auckland.' (e-mail)

The demonstrative *lenei/nei* contrasts with *lea*, which means ‘next’, i.e. it refers to the period of time which follows the present one:

- (51) *i le vāiaso nei* *i le vāiaso lea*
LOC ART week DEM LOC ART week DEM
'this week' 'next week'

This meaning corresponds to the adverbial meaning of *lea* ‘then’. But *lea* does not have this meaning when it is the head of a relative clause as in *le vāiaso lea na te'a* ‘last week, lit. the week that passed’; see §8.6).

The comparison of all situational uses shows that the demonstratives *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* do not form a well-ordered set in which each of them is distinguished from the other two by the same formal, semantic and pragmatic features:

1. The distinction between formal and informal uses is made only in association with person/object deixis, not with place and time deixis.
2. Only in speaker-centred deixis are formal and informal demonstratives distinguished.

3. While there are seven demonstratives for person/object deixis, only two of them, *lenei* 'this, now' and *lea* 'next, then' are used for time deixis, and only one, *inei* 'here', in combination with placenames and local nouns for place deixis. The meaning of the temporal *lea* 'next, now' does not straightforwardly correspond to its meaning 'this here' when it refers to persons, things or situations.
4. In adverbial function only temporal deixis is expressed by demonstratives, i.e. *nei* 'now' and *lea* 'then' — provided that *nei* and *lea* are considered as demonstratives in this context.

Table 8: Situational uses of demonstratives

person/object and place deixis	<i>lenei</i>	<i>lea</i>	<i>lenā</i>
pronominal, argument	speaker centred (+ formal)	speaker centred (– formal)	addressee centred
pronominal, scene-setting sentence adjunct	–	'o <i>lea</i> speaker centred 'as for me here'	'o <i>lenā</i> addressee centred 'as for you there'
adnominal, with common nouns	<i>le</i> N <i>lenei</i> , <i>lenei</i> N 'this N' (+ formal)	<i>le</i> N <i>lea</i> , <i>lea</i> N 'this N' (– formal)	<i>le</i> N <i>lenā</i> , <i>lenā</i> N 'that N'
adnominal, with pronouns	<i>a'u lenei</i> 'I here' (?+ formal)	<i>a'u lea</i> 'I here' (– formal)	(? 'o 'oe <i>lenā</i>)
adnominal, with place names, local nouns	<i>Sāmoa nei</i> 'Samoa here'	–	–
time deixis			
pronominal, argument	<i>lenei</i> 'today'	–	–
adnominal	N <i>lenei</i> 'this N' (point/period of time)	N <i>lea</i> 'next N' (point/period of time)	–
adverbial	<i>nei</i> 'now'	<i>lea</i> 'then'	–

8.3 Text or discourse deictic use

All three demonstratives are used for text deixis. While *lea* can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically and refers to what precedes or follows in a rather unspecified way, the uses of *lenā* and *lenei* are more restricted. The demonstrative *lenā* refers back to the preceding context, often a preceding clause within the same sentence, whereas *lenei* refers to what is said in the immediately following context.

(52) *Ua lava lea talanoaga.*

PERF enough DEM talk

'This talk (i.e. the whole e-mail message) is enough.' (end of an e-mail)

- (53) 'O l-a-'u tuatusi lea: Toad Hall, ANU ...
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG address this Toad Hall, ANU
 'This is my address: Toad Hall, ANU ...' (e-mail)
- (54) 'O le mea lenā ou te fia vave alu ai.
 PRES ART thing DEM 1SG GENR want quickly go ANAPH
 '[Since he has left Canberra, I am very sad because I miss my dear friend.]
This is why I want to go soon.' (lit. 'This is the thing, I quickly want to go
 because of it.') (e-mail)
- (55) Ia fo'i mai le tā'elega, tu'u atu le solo, ia, 'ua
 well return DIR ART bathing put.down DIR ART towel well PERF
 'uma lenā ia, ululale loa le tama.
 be.finished DEM well enter.house then ART boy
 'Well, the boy returned from bathing (lit. 'the bathing returned'), put down
 the towel, well, (when) this was finished, well, the boy entered the house.'²⁴
 (Moyle 1981:270)

In newspapers we find *lenā* in captions where it refers to the content of the picture above the caption.

The cataphoric use of *lenei* is typically found in announcements and threats:

- (56) Ma l-a-'u 'upu lenei iate 'oe, 'ā 'e toe fa'apenā
 and ART-POSS-1SG word DEM LOC 2SG FUT 2SG again like.that
 fo'i 'i tama'ita'i.
 again LOC lady:PL
 'But I tell you this — if you are like that again with the ladies ...' (lit. 'This is
 my word to you ...') (Moyle 1981:148)

Text deixis uses of demonstratives are also illustrated in the examples (31), (32).

8.4 Reference-tracking use

In the following analysis of the role that demonstratives play in reference tracking, we will first examine how the heroes of the 17 stories edited by Moyle (1981) are referred to after they are introduced in the beginning of the story. We then analyse the use of all demonstratives throughout a single story and finally investigate reference tracking in the spontaneously written e-mails. The story we chose is 'O *Taligamaivalu* (Moyle 1981:56–89), because it is fairly long and abounds in demonstratives.

8.4.1 The use of the demonstratives at the beginning of Fāgogo stories

At the beginning of all 17 stories, the narrator introduces the main characters by saying that there once lived a couple or a person who had a child or children named so-and-so. In 14 stories these main characters are again referred to in the immediately following clause.²⁵ For example:

²⁴ Translation mine; Moyle has 'took a towel', but *tu'u* means 'put down'.

²⁵ In two stories the second clause deals with something else, one story shows zero anaphora. Compare Lichtenberk's analysis of To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1996).

- (57) 'O le fāgogo 'iā Saētānē ma Saēfafine. Nonofo, nonofo
 PRES ART story LOC PN and PN live:PL live:PL
lenei ulugāli'i ...
 DEM couple
 'A story about Saētānē und Saēfafine. This couple lived together ...'
 (Moyle 1981:50)

The anaphoric means of expression are noun phrases, possessive pronouns, and in one case a personal pronoun.

Table 9: Kind of anaphoric reference after first mention

Type of expression	Number of story
noun phrase	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16
personal pronoun	5
possessive pronoun	2, 13

In five cases this anaphoric noun phrase is combined with the demonstrative *lenei*. In other stories *lenei* does not occur with the first anaphoric noun phrase, but shortly afterwards in one of the following clauses. The table below shows in which clause after the first mention of the main character an anaphoric noun phrase is modified by *lenei*.

Table 10: Anaphoric reference by NPs modified by the demonstrative *lenei*

Number of clause	Number of story
1	1, 3, 7, 12, 15
2	5, 8, 11, 4
3	2
4	9

The observation that *lenei* is so often found with noun phrases referring to the thematically prominent participants in the beginning of the stories²⁶ suggests the following hypothesis:

1. the demonstrative *lenei* does not serve as a means of identifying a participant which could otherwise be mistaken, but simply draws the hearer's attention to those participants which are most relevant for the following sequence of events;
2. if the demonstrative *lenei* contrasts with other demonstratives, then the distinction is not motivated by ambiguity resolution, but has something to do with the thematic relevance of the participant in question.

In one story the first anaphoric noun phrase is modified by *lea* whereas *lenei* is used with the second one.

²⁶ Compare also the stories (*tala*) written down by Sio (1984). Here the demonstrative *lenei* occurs in the beginning of seven out of 24 stories. That the frequency is a bit lower than in the *fāgogo* may be ascribed to the different genre of narrative (i.e. oral history texts) or to the fact that they are written texts.

- (58) 'O le tala 'i le ulugāli'i, 'o le ulugāli'i lea sa nonofo
 PRES ART story LOC ART couple PRES ART couple DEM PAST live:PL
 i le fanua 'o Va'apālagi i Sāgone. Ona nonofo, nonofo
 I.LOC ART land PRES Va'apālagi LOC Sāgone so live:PL live:PL
lenei ulugāli'i, fānau l-a lā tama.
 DEM couple be.born ART-POSS 2DU child
 'The story of a couple (called ...), a couple who²⁷ used to live on the land called
 Va'apālagi at Sāgone. This couple lived on and on together, and had their first child.'
 (Moyle 1981:196)

The clause 'o le ulugāli'i lea sa nonofo ..., which literally means 'this couple lives ...' only gives irrelevant background information, whereas the clause nonofo lenei ulugāli'i introduces a sequence of clauses which report the first important events of the story. Therefore, we assume that *lea* is used in the context of background information, while *lenei* is associated with foreground information. This interpretation is supported by the contrastive TAM marking in the respective clauses: the predicate of the background clause is marked by *sā*, the past imperfective marker, while the foreground clause does not have any TAM marking (cf. Mosel & Ilovhaugen 1992:339–344, 371–373; Mosel 2000).

In the stories (*tala*) written down by Sio (1984) the demonstrative *lenei* occurs at the beginning of seven out of 24 stories. That the frequency of *lenei* is a bit lower than in the *fāgogo* may be ascribed to the different genre of narrative (i.e. oral history texts) or to the fact that they are written texts.

8.4.2 The reference-tracking role of demonstratives in *fāgogo* stories

In order to find out which role the demonstratives play in reference tracking, I analysed the narrative parts of the above-mentioned story 'O Taligamaivalu (Moyle 1981:56–89), excluding direct speech. As mainly *lenei* and *lea* occur as reference-tracking expressions, *lenā* occurring only twice, the investigation concentrates on the following questions:

1. Which reference-tracking expressions (i.e. pronouns, nouns, etc.) are used for the main characters throughout the story?
2. Do *lenei* and *lea* have distinctive meanings in these expressions?
3. Do *lenei* and *lea* occur with other expressions not referring to the main characters? Which meanings do they have in these contexts?

8.4.2.1 Reference-tracking expressions for the main characters in *fāgogo* stories

The main characters of the story are: the mother Sinasegi and her beautiful daughter Sinālemalama, Tigilau the male hero who wants to marry Sinālemalama and the evil spirit Taligamaivalu. Taligamaivalu kidnaps Sinālemalama, but Tigilau finds her. She plays a trick on Taligamaivalu and finally escapes with Tigilau.

²⁷ Lit. 'this couple lived', but Moyle's translation exactly renders the function of lea here. Note also the contrast in TAM marking: the predicate of the background clause is marked by *sā*, the past imperfective aspect marker, while the foreground clause does not have any TAM marking. See Mosel and Ilovhaugen (1992:339–344, 371–373), Mosel (2000).

The analysis shows that apart from zero anaphora, proper names (PN) and common nouns (N) are the most frequent kinds of reference tracking expressions, while personal pronouns (PRON) are rarely used. The nouns most frequently used anaphorically are *tama'ita'i* 'lady', *ali'i* 'chief, man, guy', and *tagata* 'person'. Nouns and proper names are sometimes combined (N PN). For example:

- (59) *le tama'ita'i 'o Sinālemalama*
 ART lady PRES PN
 'this lady Sinālemalama'

They can also be modified by demonstratives. For example:

- (60) *lenei tagata 'o Sinasegi*
 DEM person PRES PN
 'this person Sinasegi'

The table below shows the distribution of all expressions used in reference tracking.

Table 11: Expressions used in reference tracking

Type of expression	Sinasegi	Sinālemalama	Tigilau	Taligamaivalu	Total
N	7	12	29	24	72
PN	8	16	14	—	38
N PN	2	12	4	2	20
Total uses of N and PN	17	40	47	26	130
<i>lenei</i> N	2	5	4	4	15
<i>lenei</i> N PN	1	6	2	3	12
N <i>lenei</i>	—	2	—	1	3
Total uses of <i>lenei</i>	3	13	6	8	30
<i>lea</i> N	—	1	1	1	3
N <i>lea</i>	1	—	3	5	9
N <i>lea</i> PN	—	1	—	—	1
<i>Lea</i>	1	—	—	1	2
Total uses of <i>lea</i>	2	2	4	7	15
PRON	1	6	7	6	20
<u>Total of mentions</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>195</u>

8.4.2.2 Thematically prominent participants marked by *lenei* and *lea*

As for the distribution of demonstratives, the figures above show a clear prevalence of *lenei*. The use of *lea* is restricted to three kinds contexts:

1. Contexts where the 'hero' in question does not play a prominent role. Thus in an episode which deals with the actions of Tigilau's people, Sinālemalama is referred to as *le tama'ita'i lea 'o Sinālemalama* 'that girl Sinālemalama':

(61) 'On that night, all of the Sāvavau group was there, not one Sāvavau person sleeping or resting, and they encircled the house, the house where Tigilau and that girl Sinālemalama were. There were about ten rows of people guarding the whole house, in case of any trouble.' (Moyle 1981:62)

2. Contexts which only give background information about the 'hero', which is encoded in parentheses or relative clauses. In these contexts *lea* or N *lea* functions as a topic or as the head of a relative construction. A typical example is the following text introducing Tigilau and his people into the narrative.

(62) ... 'ua sau se solo tele lava 'o fata mai
 PERF come ART:NSP:SG procession big EMPH PROG carry.on.a.litter DIR
 ai se tagata — 'o le ali'i lea 'o l-o-na
 ANAPH ART:NSP:SG person PRES ART man DEM PRES ART-POSS-3SG
suafa 'o Tigilau ma 'ua fa'ataunu'uina lenei malaga 'i
 name PRES Tigilau and PERF be:conveyed DEM travelling.party LOC
 le fale.
 ART house

'... there came now a huge procession, carrying with them a person on a litter — this man, his name was Tigilau, and this travelling party was conveyed to the house.' (translation slightly changed to make it more literal; Moyle 1981:60)

3. Reported speech or thought as in the following sequence, where Taligamaivalu thinks that a snoring cat inside a mosquito net was the hero Tigilau who, however, had already escaped.

(63) ... fa'apea lava 'ai 'o le ta'agulu lā lea a si
 think EMPH probably PRES ART snore EMPH DEM POSS DIM:SG
 ali'i lea na tau atu...
 man DEM PAST arrive DIR
 '... and thought it was probably only the snoring of the poor man who had arrived ...' (Moyle 1981:86)

These findings suggest that the participant referred to by *lenei* and what is said about him or her is immediately relevant to the progress of the narrative, whereas what is said about the participant marked by *lea* is not. This relationship to the progress of the story gives *lenei* here a cataphoric sense, which fits well with the use of *lenei* for cataphoric text deixis. In other words, in constructions like *lenei tama'ita'i 'o Sinālemalama*, it is the noun and the proper name which help the hearer to keep track of what is happening to whom, while the demonstrative indicates its relevance for the following context. A representative example for this cataphoric meaning of *lenei* is the following example from the eighth story in Moyle (1981). After he has talked about the parents of a girl who was kidnapped, the narrator says:

(64) Ia, 'ole'ā tu'u le tala 'i le ulugāli'i 'a 'ole'ā fai loa
 well FUT put.aside ART story LOC ART couple and FUT make then
 le tala i le teine. 'Ua nonofo loa le teine lenei ma le
 ART story LOC ART girl PERF live:PL then ART girl DEM with ART

Ilāmutu o le ulugāli'i.

Ilāmutu POSS ART couple

'I'm going to put aside the story about the couple and continue the story about the girl. This girl was now living with the couple's aunt.' (Moyle 1981:152)

Lichtenberk (1996:407) observes a similar phenomenon in To'aba'ita and concludes: 'The use of the proximate deictic *'eri* in immediate anaphora after first mention to signal thematic prominence is motivated by its cataphoric function of introducing direct speech'.

8.4.2.3 *The demonstratives lenei and lea in other contexts*

Apart from its association with the main characters, the demonstrative *lenei* only occurs with participants who locally, i.e. for a limited sequence of events, play a prominent thematic role. These are, for instance, the ship in which Tigilau and his party unexpectedly arrive (p.56–60), Tigilau's people on several occasions, and a girl who leads Tigilau to the cave where Taligamaivalu holds Sinālemalama imprisoned (p.82). In other words, *lenei* is also cataphoric with locally prominent participants.

In contrast, *lea* seems to have less deictic force. Not counting its text deixis use, e.g. *lea fa'alavelave* 'that unusual situation' (p.56), *lea fa'amoemoe* 'that aim' (p.60) etc., its time and its anaphoric use in indirect speech, we find *lea*

1. as a modifier of nouns referring to places already mentioned before (13 occurrences), e.g. *le motu lea* 'that island' (p.70), *le itū'āiga lalolagi* 'that sort of world' (i.e. the cave where Sinālemalama was imprisoned, p.82);
2. in the context of giving background information about previously mentioned persons (four instances on p.82).

8.4.2.4 *The demonstrative lenā*

The demonstrative *lenā* occurs only twice as a means of reference tracking. In both instances it refers to an immediately preceding topic:

- (65) ... 'a-'o le ta'inamu lea i tua 'o le ta'inamu *lenā*.
 but-PRES ART mosquito.net DEM LOC back PRES ART mosquito.net DEM
 'ua o'o loa e fa'ata'a le pusi
 PERF come immediately GENR let.roam.around ART cat
 '... but that mosquito net in the back, that mosquito-net (she) came there to let the cat roam around (i.e. she put the cat inside the net)' (Moyle 1981:86)

Thus this use of *lenā* corresponds to its use for text deixis (cf. §8.2). However, there is one text in Moyle's (1981:120–142) edition in which the distance between the participant marked by *lenā* and its previous mention is much longer, in one case even two paragraphs:

- (66) Ia, 'ua iai fo'i le ali'i lenā 'o Matu'utautenea ...
 well PREF be.there also ART youth DEM PRES PN
 'That youth Matu'uteneia was there too (at the place by the sea which ...)'
 (Moyle 1981:134)

As Matu'utautenea does not play any role in the following 20–30 clauses (the number of clauses depends on which units are regarded as clauses) and later plays only a minor role, *lenā* is considered as anaphoric here, reminding the addressee that Matu'utenea is still there.

8.4.3 *The use of the demonstratives in e-mails*

As it does not contain long narratives, the e-mail corpus shows only a small number of instances where demonstratives are used in the context of reference tracking. In all cases the demonstrative used is *lenā*. Like *lenā* in the narrative texts, it is used to refer back to an immediately preceding participant. In addition, it functions as a means of recalling and commenting on people and events reported in an earlier e-mail by the addressee:

- (67) *Matua'i leaga tele na tagata na faia lena mea leaga i*
 very bad very DEM person:PL PAST do DEM thing bad LOC
si o-u tuagane!
 DIM:SG POSS-2SG brother
 'How bad are these people who did this bad thing to your poor brother!'
 (A comment on an e-mail in which I reported that my brother had been robbed.)
 (e-mail)

- (68) *Ta'i malie tele lenā pati na 'e alu i ai.*
 very funny very DEM party PAST 2SG go LOC ANAPH
 'How funny this party must have been where you went.' (e-mail)

This use of the demonstrative *lenā* can be associated with its exophoric meaning 'that there with you'.

8.5 *Recognitional use*

The recognitional use is defined by Himmelmann (1996:230) as follows:

In recognitional use, the intended referent is to be identified via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse ... the speaker is uncertain whether or not the kind of information he or she is giving is shared by the hearer or whether or not this information will be sufficient in allowing the hearer to identify the intended referent.

A typical instance of this kind of function is probably the following example. Ainslie writes about the changes in the Linguistics Department in Canberra and says:

- (69) *'O Tim Shopen lea 'ua head o le department.*
 PRES Tim Shopen DEM PERF head POSS ART department
 'Tim Shopen has become head of department.' (e-mail)

Since this is the first time after we had exchanged e-mails for 18 months that she mentions Tim Shopen, this use of *lea* seems to mean 'do you remember him?' A similar use of *lea* is found in connection with names of two other people whom she was perhaps unsure I would remember. Formally these examples are slightly different, as *lea* is followed by a relative clause. However, the relative clauses refer to things which I knew and which she probably thought would help me to remember these people (for the construction of relative clauses cf. §8.6.).

- (70) 'Ua 'ou te'i ananei i l-o-'u va'ai iā Helen
 PERF ISG surprised earlier.today LOC ART-POSS-1SG see LOC PN
Charters lea sā I Taiwan.
 PN DEM PAST LOC Taiwan
 'I was surprised earlier today when I saw this Helen Charters (who) has been
 in Taiwan.' (e-mail)

In Samoan, then, recognitional use is formally distinguished from anaphora, as the latter is expressed by *lenā*.

8.6 Demonstratives in relative-clause constructions

In Samoan, relative clauses directly follow the head of the relative construction, for example:

- (71) 'O le ā le mea 'ua tupu?
 PRES ART what ART thing PERF happen
 'What happened?' (lit. 'What is the thing (that) happened?')

The head of the relative clause can be a common noun, a personal pronoun, the relative proform or a demonstrative.²⁸ For example:

- (72) 'o le teine sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES ART girl PAST study LOC Apia
 'the girl who studied in Apia'
 (73) 'o lē sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES REL PAST study LOC Apia
 'the one who studied in Apia'
 (74) 'o lea sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES DEM PAST study LOC Apia
 'that one who studied in Apia'
 (75) Faatali Elena e lē 'o 'oe lea ou te fesili atu i ai.
 Wait PN GENR not PRES 2SG DEM 1SG GENR ask DIR LOC ANAPH
 'Wait Elena, it is not you whom I am asking.' (lit. '(it) is not (the case that) that one
 I am asking him/her (is) you.').²⁹ (Tuitolovaa 1985:49)

The constructions whose head is formed by the relative proform or a demonstrative can be used as appositions. For example:

- (76) E to'afia fo'i le vāega Sāmoa lea e fuafua e ō
 GENR how.many again ART group Samoan DEM GENR plan GENR go:pl
 mai i 'inei e fa'amāsani i le faiga o le dictionary?
 DIR LOC here GENR familiarise LOC ART making POSS ART dictionary
 'How many (people) are (in) the Samoan group (i.e. the people there in Samoa) who
 plan to come here (to Canberra) to familiarise themselves with dictionary making?'
 (e-mail)

²⁸ For a detailed analysis of relative clause constructions cf. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:631–650).

²⁹ For negated nominal clauses of this kind see Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:503ff.).

- (77) 'Ua na iloa le mea lea 'olo'o iai i totonu o
 PERF 3SG know ART thing DEM PROG exist LOC inside POSS
 le nu'u.
 ART village
 'She already knew what was going on in the village.' (lit. '... the thing that
 existed ...') (Moyle 1981:84)

The demonstrative and the relative pronoun can be combined:

- (78) 'O le ata lea lē ta'atia, lea lē i 'i i le vai ...
 PRES ART reflection DEM REL lie DEM REL LOC here LOC ART water
 'The reflection lying there, the one which was here in the pool ...' (lit. 'The
 reflecting that one that lay there, that one that was here ...') (Moyle 1981:134)

The demonstrative employed in relative constructions is usually *lea/ia* irrespective of whether the referent is close to the speaker or not, as illustrated in the example above where *lea vāega Sāmoa lea ...* refers to people who are explicitly not at the speaker's place. In a similar manner to the use of *lea* and *lenā* in scene-setting function, e.g. 'o *lea* 'as for me here' and 'o *lenā* 'as for you there', *lea* can contrast with *lenā* in relative-clause constructions, for example:

- (79) Tafēfē e 'ese le lē mafaufau 'o le vevela lea
 terrible GENR extreme ART not think PRES ART heat DEM
 'ua iai nei i Canberra. Ia, 'ae tālofa-e iā 'outou
 PERF exist now LOC Canberra well and pity-EXCL LOC 2PL
 'ona 'o le mālūlū lenā 'ua iai.
 because PRES ART cold DEM PERF be.there
 'Terrible, I can't think properly because of this heat in Canberra. Well, and pity
 on you because of that cold that is there now (in Germany).' (lit. '... the not
 thinking is extraordinary, this heat that exists now in Canberra ...'). (e-mail)

Since — as we have just seen — *lea* can also combine with NPs whose referents are far away, this opposition between *lea* and *lenā* is one of markedness in which *lea* is the unmarked member. This means, *lea* per se is unspecified in respect to its relation to the speech-act participants. However, in certain contexts as when contrasting with *lenā*, it relates to the speaker.

In many relative-clause constructions of our corpus *lea* seems to be semantically bleached and similar to a relative pronoun. A point in case is the following example, where it is used in connection with the introduction of a new participant:

- (80) Ona 'uma lea ona inu, fai atu loa le upu a le
 then finished then COMPL drink say DIR immediately ART word POSS ART
 tama 'i le tama'ita'i lea 'olo'o iai i le vai.
 youth LOC ART lady DEM PROG be.there LOC ART pool
 'When he had finished drinking, the youth asked a question of a woman who was at
 the pool.' (lit. 'Then it was finished that (he) drank, said immediately the word of
 the youth to a lady (that one) who was there at the pool.') (Moyle 1981:264)

8.7 Sequential use

As noted above in §3, the demonstrative *lea* is used to point at the members of a series of objects, e.g. *lea ma lea ma lea* 'this and this and this'. This sequential use of *lea* is also found in narrative contexts when the speaker wants to emphasise that a certain event happens repeatedly. *Lea* occurs with expressions referring to people, objects, places or the intervals between the repetitions.

- (81) ... 'o le fa'a'upuga o tala fa'amatala e 'ese mai
PRES ART wording POSS story tell GENR vary from

i lea tagata 'i lea tagata ...

LOC DEM person LOC DEM person

'... the precise wording of the spoken narrative ... varies from individual to individual ...' (from the preface of Moyle 1981:42)

- (82) I lea aso, ma lea aso, ma lea aso, e usu ai
LOC DEM day and DEM day and DEM day GENR get.up ANAPH

le teine-itiiti, ma fai a-na tama'i manu pepa papa'e ...

ART girl-little and make POSS-3SG little bird paper white:PL

'One day after the other (lit. on that day and that day and that day), the little girl gets up and makes her little white paper birds ...' (Aiavao 1987:31)

It is probably this use of *lea* which is most closely related to its temporal meaning 'then'.

8.8 Summary

The analysis of non-situational uses of the demonstratives showed that *lea* has a much wider range of uses than *lenei* and *lenā*. While *lenā* anaphorically refers to persons, things, or events which were mentioned earlier by the speaker or the addressee, *lenei* is used for cataphoric text deixis and for directing the addressee's attention to a thematically prominent participant in narratives or to the speaker himself in conversations. In contrast, the meaning of *lea* is less specific and depends very much on the context. It is used for both anaphoric and cataphoric reference, but also occurs in the context of background information and indirect speech, in relative-clause constructions and in expressions like *lea N ma lea N* 'one N after the other' (lit. 'this N and this N'). We therefore regard *lea* as an unmarked demonstrative.

The question of how the non-situational meanings of demonstratives are related to their situational meanings will be discussed in the conclusion below.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Overview

Samoan has seven demonstratives whose meanings in situational and non-situational contexts are identified by several independent parameters. For the situational person/object deixis we found four parameters:

1. orientation with regard to the speech-act participants: [+speaker], [+addressee], [– speaker, – addressee];
2. distance from the speech-act participants: together with the speaker or addressee, within reach of the speaker or the addressee, not too far away from both, far away from both;
3. variety of language: [+formal], [–formal];
4. whether the demonstrative is necessarily accompanied by a gesture [+gesture] or not.

Two demonstratives are also used for time deixis: *(le)nei* ‘now’ and *lea* ‘next, then’. Only one, i.e. *nei* ‘here’, is used for place deixis, though exclusively in combination with placenames and local nouns. Otherwise time and place deixis is expressed by deictic temporal and local nouns, some of which are derived from the same deictic morphemes as demonstratives.

Table 12: Summary

[+speaker]		[+addressee]	
together with speaker <i>lenei/lea</i> [+formal/–formal]	within reach of the speaker <i>lele</i> – [+gesture]	within reach of the addressee <i>nale</i> – [+gesture]	together with addressee <i>lenā</i> –
		[–speaker, –addressee] not too far away, not in reach <i>lale</i> [+gesture]	
		far away from both speaker and addressee <i>lelā</i>	

As has been shown in the preceding sections, text deixis and reference tracking are expressed by those demonstratives which refer to the speaker and the addressee in situational deixis, i.e. *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā*. In other words, Lyons’ (1977:686–670) assumption that text deixis and deixis in reference tracking are related to spatial deixis does not hold for Samoan. But how the non-situational meanings are related to the corresponding situational meanings is less obvious.

The comparison of the situational and non-situational meanings of *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* as summarised in Table 13 raise the following questions:

1. How is the informal speaker-centred use of *lea* related to its function as an unmarked demonstrative and its temporal meaning ‘next, then’?
2. Can we find any plausible explanation of why the speaker-centred demonstrative *lenei* is used for cataphoric text deixis and for marking the thematically prominent participants, and why the addressee-centred demonstrative *lenā* is used for anaphoric text deixis and reference tracking?

Table 13: Situational and non-situational use of *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā*

Demonstrative	Situational use	Non-situational use
<i>Lenei</i>	speaker-centred person/object deixis (formal): 'this X which I have here with me' place deixis: 'here' time deixis: 'now, today'	cataphoric text deixis (cataphoric) reference tracking by marking thematically prominent participants
<i>Lea</i>	speaker-centred scene setting (informal): 'as for me here' speaker-centred person/object deixis (informal) N 'this X which I have here with me' pointing at one person/thing after the other: 'this and this and this' temporal: 'next (week)'	anaphoric and cataphoric text deixis cataphoric/anaphoric reference tracking recognitional use use in enumeration: 'this N and this N' = 'one N after the other' temporal: 'then'
<i>Lenā</i>	addressee-centred scene setting: 'as for you there' addressee-centred person/object deixis: 'this X which you have there with you'	anaphoric text deixis anaphoric reference tracking

9.2 The meanings of *lea*

It does not seem possible to find one or more specific semantic properties which would explain all uses of *lea* and their relation to the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā*. If, however, we regard *lea* as a default demonstrative, we can understand its seemingly contradictory meanings in some contexts such as the temporal meaning 'next, then' and its meaning 'as for me here' in sentence-initial adjuncts.

As a default demonstrative, it is used wherever neither the speaker nor the addressee are relevant as in the case of *lea ma lea ma lea ...* 'this and this and this ...' said by someone who is pointing at a number of things in front of him. This use is then transferred to the use in enumerations in narratives *lea N ... lea N ...* 'one N after the other' and to the temporal use of *lea* in the sense of 'next' and 'then'. Being the default demonstrative would also explain why *lea*, but not *lenei* and *lenā*, are so widely used in relative constructions and why in informal speech *lea* replaces *lenei*. This analysis, which is much more thorough than Mosel (1994:338ff.), suggests that *lea*, but not *lenei* or *lenā* represents the semantic primitive THIS (cf. Wierzbicka (1994:469ff.) who on the basis of Mosel (1994) concludes that *lenei* represents the semantic primitive).

9.3 Linking cataphora and anaphora to situational deixis

The answer to the second question can perhaps be found when we describe the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā* not in conventional linguistic terminology, but in simple English words similar to the Natural Semantic Metalanguage developed by Wierzbicka (1996:35ff.).

Table 14: Definitions of the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā*

	<i>lenei</i>	<i>lenā</i>
Situational deixis	speaker-centred deixis: 'this what I have here with me'	addressee-centred deixis: 'this what you have there with you'
text deixis	cataphoric deixis: 'this what I am going to tell you'	anaphoric deixis: 'this what I just told you'
reference tracking	marking the thematically prominent participant: 'the person/object I have something to say about in what I am going to tell you'	anaphoric reference tracking: 'the person/object I said something about in what I just told you'

These simple definitions suggest that the meanings of the demonstratives in text deixis and reference tracking are linked to their situational counterparts in the following way:

- lenei*:
1. The text deixis meaning 'this what I am going to tell you' can be understood as 'this what I have in mind (i.e. 'what I have here with me') and what I am going to tell you'. In other words, 'what I am going to tell you' is seen as 'something that I still have, but intend to give you'.
 2. The thematically prominent participant is a person/object which is relevant for the progress of the narrative. Since the progress of the narrative is 'what I am going to tell you', and this is 'something I have (in my mind) and not yet given to you', this person/object is also 'something I have (in my mind)'.
- lenā*:
1. The text deixis meaning 'this what I just told you' can be understood as 'something (e.g. the information) I gave you', and consequently as 'something (e.g. information) you have'. This means: what I refer to by saying *lenā* is 'something you already have (as information)'.
 2. Correspondingly, 'the person/object I said something about in what I just told you' is part of 'what you have (i.e. the information you have)'.

Thus anaphoric and cataphoric text deixis and reference tracking can be understood in terms of a metaphor: what the speaker says is something he gives to the addressee. When he refers to something he has already talked about, he refers to what he has given to the addressee, i.e. to something the addressee already has. When he refers to something he is going to talk about, he refers to what he has not given yet to the addressee, i.e. something he still has himself.

The analysis of the whole system of demonstratives showed that the spatial parameter of distance must be distinguished from the parameter of speaker/addressee-orientation. It is the latter parameter that appears to be relevant in the distribution of different demonstratives in text deixis and reference tracking, which can be explained in terms of a metaphor of passing of information (in the broadest sense) from the speaker to the addressee.

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9 *Demonstratives, local nouns and directionals in Oceanic languages: a diachronic perspective*

MALCOLM D. ROSS

1 Introduction

The languages whose demonstrative systems are described in the preceding chapters all belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. Austronesian languages are spoken in parts of Taiwan, in the Philippines, in parts of Vietnam, in most of Malaysia and Indonesia, in Madagascar, in coastal enclaves on the island of New Guinea and on its offshore islands, throughout most of island Melanesia and on all the inhabited islands of Polynesia and Micronesia. The Austronesian family consists of perhaps ten primary groupings, but all of these except one are located on the island of Taiwan (Blust 1999). The tenth is the Malayo-Polynesian grouping, which includes all Austronesian languages spoken outside Taiwan. Its common ancestor, Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) was probably spoken in the northern Philippines.

The Oceanic subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian consists of most of the Austronesian languages of New Guinea, island Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia,¹ which share a common ancestor conventionally labelled ‘Proto Oceanic’ (POc). Proto Oceanic was evidently spoken somewhere in the Bismarck Archipelago — the most likely candidate for the homeland is the island of New Britain, to the east of New Guinea — around the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002; Pawley & Ross 1993; Pawley & Ross 1995; Ross 1995:Ch. 4).

My purpose in this chapter is to present what I can of the systems of Proto Oceanic that were ancestral to the daughter systems described in the chapters of this book and to discuss the kinds of change that have led to today’s systems. I will also be interested in what has apparently not changed in the past three-and-a-half thousand years. The systems described in this book are demonstrative systems, directional particles (which also have deictic meanings) and, in some cases, relational nouns. I will discuss the Proto Oceanic demonstrative system first, in §2, then the morphosyntax of Proto Oceanic local nouns in §3 (since demonstratives and relational nouns were both apparently subtypes of local noun)

¹ Exceptions are the Austronesian languages of the islands of Yap, Belau and Guam in the west of Micronesia and Austronesian languages around Cenderawasih Bay in the northwest of New Guinea.

and finally, in §4, the Proto Oceanic directional verbs which have given rise to today's directional particles and have contributed in various ways to the deictic systems of modern Oceanic languages.

Table 1 shows in simplified form the subgroups within Oceanic² and the locations of the languages discussed in this volume within that subgrouping. These languages are spread right across Oceanic, but coverage of even the major subgroups of Oceanic is not possible in a volume that focuses on careful description of single languages. Because reconstruction of a protolanguage needs to draw on a database that samples as many subgroups as possible, as well as on external (non-Oceanic Austronesian) evidence, the reconstructions offered here are based on data drawn from a wider sample of languages than those discussed in this book.³

Table 1: Subgrouping of Oceanic languages

Oceanic

1. Yapese
2. Admiralties
3. Mussau
4. Western Oceanic
 - a. North New Guinea (**Takia**)
 - b. Papuan Tip (**Saliba**, **Kilivila**)
 - c. Meso-Melanesian: east New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville, northwest Solomons
5. Central/Eastern Oceanic
 - a. Southeast Solomonic
 - b. Utupua and Vanikoro: tiny islands between the Solomons and Vanuatu
 - c. Southern Oceanic
 - Northern Vanuatu
 - Nuclear Southern Oceanic
 - Central Vanuatu (**South Malakula**)
 - South Efate/Southern Melanesian
 - South Efate
 - Southern Melanesian
 - Southern Vanuatu
 - New Caledonian
 - Mainland New Caledonian (**Nêlêmwa**)
 - Loyalty Islands (**Iaai**)
 - d. Micronesian
 - e. Central Pacific
 - Western Central Pacific: western Fijian dialects, Rotuman
 - Eastern Central Pacific
 - eastern Fijian dialects
 - Polynesian
 - Tongic
 - Nuclear Polynesian
 - Samoic (**Samoan**)
 - Ellicean Outlier (**Pileni**)
 - Eastern Polynesian

² For more detailed discussion, see Chapter 5 of Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002), from which this subgrouping is drawn.

³ Reconstructions are drawn from Ross (2003), where supporting data and discussion are also provided.

2 Demonstratives in Proto Oceanic

Demonstratives in Oceanic languages usually make a three-way distinction based either on person — near speaker, near addressee, near neither or near a third person — or on relative distance — proximal, intermediate, distal — or on a mixture of both (as in Saliba). With some systems it is difficult to distinguish between these two possibilities, as their members seem to be used in both ways. So widespread are such three-way systems that it is virtually certain that Proto Oceanic had such a system, and it is reasonably certain that it was person-oriented, as are the majority of systems in both Oceanic and non-Oceanic Austronesian languages. I gloss the three members of such systems here as 1, 2 and 3.

Usually, one member of an Oceanic demonstrative system functions anaphorically, in accordance with one of two strategies. Under the first, form 2 is semantically the least marked, serving as an anaphor and often as a relative-clause marker. In Takia, form 2 has lost its deictic function and is only used anaphorically. It seems likely that form 2 was also the least marked in Proto Oceanic, but we cannot infer with any certainty what its non-deictic uses were. Under the second strategy, the system has a fourth purely anaphoric member, with neither person- nor distance-orientation. There is some evidence that the Proto Oceanic system may also have had an anaphoric fourth member. A sample from the systems described in this book is given in (1).⁴ A dash (–) indicates that this language has no form in this category.

(1)	1	2	3	anaphoric
Saliba	<i>teina</i>	<i>temeta</i>	<i>tem, tenem</i>	–
Takia	<i>[y]en</i>	–	<i>on</i>	<i>an</i>
Kilivila	<i>besa, beya</i>	<i>beyo</i>	<i>beyuuu</i>	–
Pileni	<i>ne[i]</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>la</i>	–
Port Sandwich	<i>xina</i>	<i>naxia</i>	<i>naxina</i>	–
Nêlêmwa	<i>-lheny</i>	<i>-ena</i>	<i>-ali</i>	<i>-eli</i>
Iaai	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>lee</i>	<i>liŋ</i>

The forms in (1) are all used pronominally, except for those in Nêlêmwa, which are cliticised to a noun.

More complex demonstrative systems which additionally mark distinctions such as inland/seaward or upper/lower are found in some modern languages, but there is no evidence that the additional categories formed part of the demonstrative system in Proto Oceanic.

For the historical Oceanicist, a notable feature of (1) is that these forms do not readily form cognate sets, and this remains true as one adds additional languages to the collection.

⁴ Material in square brackets here and elsewhere occurs optionally. Except where otherwise indicated, data sources are the contributions to this book and are as follows: Ambae (Hyslop 2001), Anejom (Lynch 2000), Arop-Lokep (D'Jernes & D'Jernes n.d.), Bariai (Gallagher 1998), Bauan (Standard Fijian) and Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988), Erromangan (Crowley 1998), Gela (Crowley 2002), Hoava (Davis 1997), Ifira-Mele (Clark In press), Kiribati (Groves, Groves & Jacobs 1985), Kokota (Palmer 1999), Kosraean (Lee 1975), Label (Peekel 1930), Lenakel (Lynch 1978), Lewo (Early 1994), Longgu (Hill 1992), Lusi (Counts 1969), Marquesan (Lynch 2002a), Mokilese (Harrison 1976), Motu (Lister-Turner & Clark 1954), Nakanai (Johnston 1980), Nyalâyu (Bril 1994), Paamese (Crowley 1982), Puluwatense (Lynch 2002b), Ramoaaina (Davies & Fritzell 1992), Saliba (Anna Margetts pers. comm.), Tawala (Ezard 1997), Tinrin (Osumi 1995), Tolai (Mosel 1984), Tongan (Churchward 1953), Ulithian (Lynch 2002c), Wailevu (Kadavu) (Ritsuko Kikusawa pers. comm.), Wayan (Pawley & Sayaba forthcoming), Woleaian (Sohn 1975), Xârâcùù (Moyse-Faurie 1995). 'Ala'ala, Halia, Lihir, Meramera, Minigir, Mussau, Nochi, Patpatar, Siar, Tabar, Tangga, Taiof and Takia data are from my fieldnotes.

Proto Oceanic forms *can* be reconstructed, but only with considerable difficulty and by also examining evidence from non-Oceanic languages. Reconstructed Proto Oceanic demonstrative forms are set out in (2). Doubtful forms are parenthesised.

(2)	1	2	3	anaphoric	history
	<i>*i, *e</i>	<i>(*a)</i>	<i>*u, *o</i>	<i>*a</i>	PMP subject determiner
	<i>*ni, *ne</i>	<i>*na</i>	<i>*nu, *no</i>	<i>*na</i>	PMP genitive determiner
	<i>(*ri)</i>	<i>(*ra)</i>	<i>(*ru, *ro)</i>	—	PMP oblique determiner ?
	<i>*ti, (*tu)</i>	—	<i>*ri</i>	<i>*ma</i>	PMP demonstrative base
			<i>*nai</i>		not known
			<i>*rai</i>		not known
			<i>*so</i>		not known
			<i>*ua</i>		POc direction verb

The untidiness of this set suggests that we do not yet know the full story of Oceanic demonstratives (and probably never will). A full discussion of these forms lies beyond the scope of this contribution, but certain points can be made.⁵ The forms in (2) come from at least three sources, as indicated in the right-hand column. One, **ua*, is also a Proto Oceanic direction verb, and I return to this in §4. The other two identifiable sources are Proto Malayo-Polynesian. In Proto Malayo-Polynesian, there were two person-oriented sets: demonstrative bases and the determiners used with common nouns. The subject determiners were PMP **i* 1, **a* 2, **u* 3, the genitive determiners PMP **ni* 1, **na* 2, **nu* 3, and the oblique determiners PMP **di* 1, **da* 2, **du* 3. The demonstrative bases were nominals, and were normally preceded by a determiner. The bases relevant here were PMP **-ya[y]* 1, **-(i)ni* 1, **-na* 2, **-daw* 3, **-ti* 1+2, **-tu* 1+2, **-di* 3, **-ma* ‘anaphoric’ (1+2 means ‘near both speaker and addressee’). There is reasonably good evidence that some Proto Oceanic demonstratives were descended from PMP determiners, others from demonstrative bases, and some were descended indistinguishably from a member of each set. For example, we cannot tell whether an Oceanic demonstrative with the form *ni* 1 is descended from the PMP genitive determiner **ni* 1 or the PMP demonstrative base **-(i)ni* 1. The same is true of forms reflecting the PMP genitive determiner **na* 2 and the PMP demonstrative base **-na* 2.

Why should Proto Oceanic demonstratives be descended from both Proto Malayo-Polynesian determiners and demonstrative bases? The most obvious inference is that determiners retained their adnominal syntax whilst demonstrative bases were nominals. This syntactic distinction then disappeared perhaps around the time that the Proto Oceanic speech community broke up.

And why were two or three different case forms of determiners retained when modern Oceanic languages do not in general mark case in their determiners and when there is no clear evidence that Proto Oceanic did so? Only a general answer can be given. Proto Oceanic seems to have been the outcome of a brief period of rapid and radical change in the language of a group of Austronesian speakers who found their way into the Bismarck Archipelago. This change was probably the result of contact with speakers of Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages. There is evidence that the language of these new arrivals retained a cut-down version of the Proto Malayo-Polynesian voice system, similar to the voice or ‘focus’ systems of modern Formosan and Philippine languages.⁶ This system

⁵ A fuller discussion of the reconstruction of these forms is provided by Ross (2003).

⁶ These developments are discussed in Chapter 4 of Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002).

entailed case-marked determiners, a non-subject agent being marked by a genitive determiner. One of the innovations that characterised Proto Oceanic was the loss both of the voice system and of case marking on determiners, but loss of system did not always entail loss of form. Proto Oceanic retained the alternate voice forms of certain verbs without retaining their voice-marking function (Ross 1998b:29–30), and it also retained at least the subject and genitive forms of the determiners without their case-marking function. Many Oceanic languages reflect as their determiner either the erstwhile subject form **a* or the erstwhile genitive **na*, but none retains this case-marking dichotomy and most retain only one of the two forms (because these forms are retained as determiners, they are shown as anaphoric in (2) above). There is also evidence that towards the end of this period of radical change, the Proto Oceanic speech community expanded rapidly eastwards and broke up. This probably helps explain why **a* is retained in some areas, **na* in others. If this scenario is a roughly correct explanation of the presence (i.e. reconstructability) of alternative determiner forms, then it is probably an equally good explanation of the presence of alternative demonstrative forms derived from different case-marked determiners.

Obviously, we cannot reconstruct for Proto Oceanic the details of pragmatic usage of the kinds that are recorded for some of the languages whose systems are described in this book. Nor, unfortunately, can we be absolutely certain of the syntax of the forms reconstructed in (2). Diessel (1999) distinguishes four grammatical functions served by demonstratives: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial and identificational (as in ‘this/here [is] an X’). As far as I can tell, Proto Oceanic had no dedicated identificational forms (although some modern Oceanic languages, like Saliba and Nêlêmwa, have innovated them). And, despite the fact that the Proto Malayo-Polynesian determiners were adnominal whilst the demonstrative bases were (pro)nominal, there is no reconstructable syntactic difference between ad- and pronominal forms in Proto Oceanic. We can be reasonably sure that a Proto Oceanic adnominal demonstrative followed the head noun, as this is its most common position in Oceanic languages (although there are plenty of exceptions). It does seem likely that when they were used adverbially (locatively) at least some of the Proto Oceanic forms in (2) were preceded by either the preposition **i* or the prefix **qa-*. Since both **i* and **qa-* usually preceded nouns (§3), this implies that the Proto Oceanic demonstrative bases were at least sometimes nominal. There are numerous fossilised reflexes with **i* and **qa-*, and a scattering of languages that retain a systematic distinction. Some of these are shown in (3). (Here and in later tables, hyphens are used to separate recurrent forms for the reader’s convenience: the forms thus separated do not necessarily have any synchronic identity.)

(3)			POc	1	2	3	anaphoric
Samoan	PRO, ADN		<i>∅</i>	<i>[le]nei</i>	<i>[le]nā</i>	<i>[le]lā</i>	<i>le-a, i-a</i>
	LOC		<i>*i</i>	<i>?i-nei</i>	<i>?i-n?ā</i>	<i>?i-lā</i>	—
Iaai	PRO		<i>∅</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>lee</i>	<i>liŋ</i>
	LOC, ADN		<i>*i</i>	<i>a-aŋ</i>	<i>e-e</i>	<i>e-lee</i>	<i>e-liŋ</i>
Kiribati	ADN PL		<i>*qa-</i>	<i>a-ikai</i>	<i>a-kanne</i>	<i>a-kekei</i>	—
	LOC PL		<i>*i</i>	<i>i-kai</i>	<i>i-kanne</i>	<i>i-kekei</i>	—
Siar	ADN		<i>∅</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>diŋ</i>	...	—
	PRO		<i>*i ?</i>	<i>i-da</i>	<i>i-diŋ</i>	<i>i-doŋ</i>	—
	LOC		<i>*qa-</i>	<i>a-da</i>	<i>a-diŋ</i>	...	—

Only in Samoan does a reflex of **i* serve as a locative marker. In Iaaí, the locative forms are also used adnominally. This is a change that has evidently been repeated over and over again in the history of Oceanic languages: a locative proform is used adnominally (e.g. 'the house there'), and eventually replaces its adnominal counterpart. In Kiribati, it is apparent reflexes of the **qa-* set that have come to be used adnominally, whilst in Siar (Meso-Melanesian, New Ireland) the **qa-* set retains its locative function and the **i* set (assuming this is their origin) have graduated to pronominal status.

The functional difference between Proto Oceanic forms reflecting **i* and those reflecting **qa-* remains unclear. However, Pawley (1972:32–33) reconstructs Proto Eastern Oceanic **qa-* as a marker of time rather than of location. I have not investigated temporal uses of Oceanic demonstratives, so I am uncertain what forms were used temporally in Proto Oceanic. Most Oceanic languages, however, use demonstratives temporally, as do some non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, so I infer that Proto Oceanic did so too. The form 1 pronoun was evidently used for 'now' or for a time close to the present, whilst forms 2 and 3 were used for times further from the present. It is not clear that either had a dedicated past or future usage.

Taken together, the sets in (3) illustrate two of the processes which operate in the Oceanic languages of Melanesia to further complicate the reconstruction of Proto Oceanic demonstratives. The first is the addition of morphological material, sometimes before, sometimes after the base, which often becomes fossilised when the second process occurs, namely shift in function from (usually) adverbial to adnominal. Boumaa Fijian, for example, has only one demonstrative set (Dixon 1988:58) for adnominal, pronominal and adverbial functions, where other Fijian dialects have at least two. We can infer that the surviving set has expanded its functions at the expense of at least one other set.

Sometimes material, like **qa-*, has been added for functional reasons, but sometimes material is added apparently to give phonological weight to a light form. For example in Meramera (Meso-Melanesian, New Britain) the locative forms are *ie* and *inani* 'here' and *ino* 'there', the adnominal enclitics *-de* 'this' and *-do* 'that'.⁷ *Ino* may also occur with the enclitic *-do*, giving *inodo*. This appears to make no semantic difference, but simply provides a weightier variant. There is apparently no need for a weightier variant for *ie*, as *inani* (once the 2 of a 1–2–3 system) also serves as 'here'.⁸ In Label (Meso-Melanesian, New Ireland) the adnominal forms are *ne* 1, *niŋ* 2, *no* 3. The same forms may be used pronominally. When they are, *ne* alternates with *nehe*, *niŋ* with a reduplicated *niŋ-niŋ*, whilst *no* alternates with *niŋ-no*, i.e. the additional weight for form 3 is provided by prefixing form 2. The most striking case of change of this kind is provided by Jones (1998:157–159), who records ongoing change in Mekeo (Papuan Tip) dialects. Some of his data are shown in (4). The most conservative forms occur in the north-western dialect. Form 3 has undergone suppletion in the other three dialects, the new form consisting of form 2 with additional material.⁹ In the northern and western dialects, form 1 is replaced by the corresponding identificational demonstrative *na-mo*. This has been formed from *ina*

⁷ The initial *i-* of the adverbial forms presumably reflects the preposition **i*, but the base forms **e*, **nani* and **no* no longer occur.

⁸ The use of somewhat teleological wording here is not meant to imply that I believe in goal-driven change. Neologisms like *inodo* arise as high-frequency patterns in discourse which become automatised and thereby grammaticised.

⁹ Jones does not discuss the source of the material; *-ke/ʔe* appears to be an emphatic particle.

1 by adding *-mo* 'only' (Jones 1998:218), a limiter whose reflexes are sometimes used for emphasis, to, and deleting *i-*, the original distinctive constituent.¹⁰ Finally, in the western dialect, *ena* 2 is replaced by identificational *naba* (the origin of *-ba* is unknown).

(4)	Mekeo dialects		1	2	3
	NW	ADN	<i>i-na</i>	<i>e-na</i>	<i>u-na</i>
		PRO	<i>i-ke</i>	<i>e-ke</i>	<i>u-ke</i>
	E	PRO	<i>i-na</i>	<i>e-ŋa</i>	<i>eŋa-ʔe-ŋa-ina</i>
	N	PRO	<i>na-mo</i>	<i>e-ŋa</i>	<i>eŋa-ke-ŋa-ina</i>
	W	PRO	<i>na-mo</i>	<i>na-ba, e-ŋa</i>	<i>eŋa-ke-ŋa-ina</i>

Changes of the kinds I have just described have evidently been common among Oceanic demonstratives in Melanesia. They are sometimes detectable through irregularities in morphological paradigmaticity like those just examined, sometimes through differences between the systems of quite closely related languages. For example, (5) shows the demonstrative forms from Lusi and Bariai, whose close relationship is attested by the work of Goulden (1982, 1996). Although there are some obvious formal similarities between the two systems, reconstructing the protosystem from which they are both descended is impossible.

(5)			1	2	3	3 + far
	Lusi	ADN	<i>torie-ne</i>	<i>tona-rawa</i>	—	—
		LOC	<i>ya-ne</i>	<i>ye-rawa</i>	<i>vayere</i>	<i>mana, mamara</i>
	Bariai	ADN	<i>ne</i>	<i>oa</i>	<i>na</i>	—
		PRO	<i>oai-ne</i>	<i>oai-oa</i>	—	—
		LOC	<i>ne-ne</i>	—	<i>ne-na</i>	—

(6)			1	2	3
	Motu	ADN, PRO SG	<i>i-na</i>	<i>e-na</i>	<i>u-na</i>
		ADN, PRO PL	<i>ini</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>unu</i>
	N.W. Mekeo	ADN	<i>i-na</i>	<i>e-na</i>	<i>u-na</i>
		PRO	<i>i-ke</i>	<i>e-ke</i>	<i>u-ke</i>
	'Ala'ala	PRO	<i>niʔa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>uʔa</i>

In the case of the three Central Papuan languages in (6), whose close relationship was demonstrated by Pawley (1975), the cognacy of Motu and N.W. Mekeo is self-evident. It is also clear upon inspection that the 'Ala'ala system is derived from the same protosystem, but reconstructing the steps by which that derivation occurred is impossible.

Cases like these occur throughout Melanesia. Only in Micronesia and Polynesia do we find more or less self-evident and straightforward cognacy. Micronesian forms are set out in (7). There are two cognate sets each for 2 and 3, and I take Puluwatese *m^wuun*, Woleaian *m^wu* to represent a local innovation. Not only are Proto Micronesian forms quite easily reconstructable; it is also easy to relate them back to their Proto Oceanic ancestors in (2).

¹⁰ This analysis is confirmed by the E. Mekeo identificational form *inamo* 1, representing the intermediate stage of change.

(7)		1	2	2a	3	3a	anaphoric
Proto Oceanic		* <i>e</i>	* <i>na</i>	—	* <i>o</i>	* <i>rai</i>	* <i>wa</i>
Proto Micronesian		* <i>ei</i>	* <i>na</i>	—	* <i>o</i>	* <i>rai</i>	* <i>wa</i>
Kiribati	ADN SG	<i>a-ei</i>	<i>a-nne</i>	—	—	<i>a-rei</i>	—
Kosraean	ADN	ɛ	<i>an</i>	—	ɔ	—	æ
Mokilese	ADN SG	<i>-e, -i</i>	<i>-[e]n</i>	—	<i>-o, -u</i>	—	<i>-wa</i>
Puluwatese ¹¹	ADN, PRO	<i>-ye-ey</i>	<i>-ye-en</i>	<i>m^wuun</i>	<i>-ye-naan</i>	—	<i>-ye-we</i>
Woleaian	ADN SG	<i>ye</i>	—	<i>m^wu</i>	—	<i>ra</i>	<i>we</i>
Ulithian	ADN SG	<i>l-ee</i>	<i>laa</i>	—	—	<i>laay</i>	<i>wee</i>
Kiribati	ADN PL	<i>a-ika-i</i>	<i>a-ka-nne</i>	—	—	<i>a-ke-kei</i>	—
Mokilese	ADN PL	<i>-ka-i</i>	<i>-ka-n</i>	—	<i>-[o]k</i>	—	<i>-k-ɔ</i>
Woleaian	ADN PL	<i>ka-θ</i>	—	<i>ka-m^wu</i>	—	<i>k-era</i>	<i>ka-we</i>
Ulithian	ADN PL	<i>-kaa</i>	<i>ka-laa</i>	—	—	<i>ka-laay</i>	<i>ka-wee</i>

One question which the reconstructions in (7) raise is whether forms 3 and 3a represent a Proto Micronesian semantic distinction lost in all the present-day languages, and, if they do, whether that distinction was inherited from Proto Oceanic. In other words, was POc **o* perhaps the default 3 form, and did POc **rai* perhaps mean '3 + far'?

The reconstruction of Proto Polynesian forms is equally straightforward.

(8)		1	2	3
Proto Oceanic		* <i>ni</i> /* <i>ne</i>	* <i>na</i>	* <i>ra(i)</i>
Proto Polynesian	ADN, PRO	* <i>ni</i> , * <i>nei</i>	* <i>na</i>	* <i>ra</i>
Tongan	PRO	<i>e-ni</i>	<i>e-na</i>	<i>ia</i>
Ifira-Mele	ADN	<i>-nei</i>	<i>-nā</i>	<i>-rā</i>
Pileni	ADN, PRO	<i>ne[i]</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>la</i>
Samoa	ADN, PRO	<i>[le]nei</i>	<i>[le]nā</i>	<i>[le]lā</i>
Marquesan	ADN	<i>nei</i>	<i>nā</i>	? <i>ā</i> , <i>aʔā</i>

How can we summarise our findings with regard to demonstratives? There are two basic points to be made. Firstly, even where forms are undergoing rapid change, the semantic organisation of the system remains fairly stable. Proto Oceanic evidently had a person-oriented demonstrative system of three members, with a possible fourth member denoting greater distance than 3 or invisibility. There was also perhaps a fifth, anaphoric, member. Changes in this system usually entail a reduction to three person-oriented members. A scattering of languages have shifted to a distance-oriented system of three members, and a few have made the system more complex (e.g. Kokota, a Meso-Melanesian language of Santa Isabel; see Palmer 1999). Where the system has been reduced to two members in a few languages of the New Guinea area, it has automatically become distance-oriented.

The second point concerns changes of form. These seem to have been rife and rapid in Melanesia, as far east as Fiji, but limited in Micronesia and Polynesia just to sound changes which affected the whole language. Why should Micronesia and Polynesia be so conservative, Melanesia so radically unstable? This clearly has nothing to do with genetic groupings, as the systems of Fijian languages, genetically the closest to Polynesia, are as

¹¹ Glosses of the Puluwatese forms are 1 'very near speaker', 2 'near speaker', 2a 'very near addressee' and 3 'distal'.

chaotic as the rest of Melanesia and quite unlike Polynesia, as a comparison of (8) with the Fijian data in (9) shows.

(9)		1	2	3	3 + far	anaphoric
Bauan	ADN, PRO	[o]ŋō	[o]ŋo-ri	[o]-yā	—	—
	LOC	kē	ke-ri	ke-yā	—	—
Wailevu	ADN, PRO	yā	yā-ri	yā-ðei	—	yē
	LOC	ē	eri	ðei	—	—
Wayan	ADN, PRO	[kō]k ^w ē,	[sō]kā-ē,	sō-k ^w ē	—	—
		[kō]kēni	[ko]eki,			
			[kō]ē, ti-ē			
	LOC	kāk ^w ē,	[sō]kā-ē,	sō-k ^w ē,	sō-kāk ^w ē	—
		[kō]keni,	kā-eki	sō-keni	—	—
		kō-k ^w ema,		sō-k ^w ema	—	—
		kō-kā				

What we are seeing here is one small manifestation of a question raised by Pawley (1981) and taken up by Lynch (1981): why are Melanesian languages so diverse, and Polynesian (and, we may add, Micronesian) languages so homogeneous? This is a complex issue, but we can usefully pick up on a point made by Lynch, who attributes Melanesian diversity to contact with Papuan languages. The conservatism of Micronesia and Polynesia points, so to speak, to languages at rest, while relentless change in Melanesia speaks of languages in turmoil. Since they arrived at their present small-island locations, speakers of Micronesian and Polynesian languages have lived relatively undisturbed. Speakers of almost any language in Melanesia, on the other hand, have been in continual contact with speakers of neighbouring languages, be they Papuan or Austronesian. Lynch's point concerned Papuan languages, but it is now reasonably certain that there have never been Papuan speakers in the south-eastern parts of Melanesia (south-east Solomons,¹² Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji). Grace's (1996) work on languages in New Caledonia, however, shows that contact among related (Oceanic) languages can also cause radical change, especially where speakers of different languages have multiplex social links with one another. These effects have probably been intensified over time by population movements, caused partly by natural events such as volcanic eruptions, and partly by socioeconomic pressures on small coastal populations whose lives are constrained by the possibilities of trade.¹³

We should keep change in demonstratives in Melanesian languages in perspective, however. The point of the comparisons in (4), (5) and (6) is that we find unexpectedly different demonstrative systems in quite closely related and otherwise resemblant languages. If other parts of these languages have remained recognisably similar, why should their demonstrative systems be so sensitive to turmoil? The answer is that similar changes can be found almost anywhere in the language where there are small paradigms of free or clitic morphemes. Systems of verbal tense/aspect/mood marking are at least as hard

¹² The presence of Papuan speakers in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Islands (between the Solomons and Vanuatu) is an exception, and archaeological research may yet find evidence of pre-Austronesian occupation in the south-east of the main Solomons chain.

¹³ I have suggested elsewhere that migration is an important factor in language change in Melanesia (Ross 1991).

to reconstruct from Melanesian data as demonstratives. It is these small paradigms whose high-frequency forms are subject to attrition, coalescence and reanalysis. In the languages of Melanesia, these processes are allowed to have their way, whereas in the more stable and conservative speech communities of Micronesia and Polynesia there is greater pressure to preserve linguistic form.

3 Local nouns and the local construction

Proto Oceanic local nouns are important in a discussion of space and deixis because they include directional terms which relate to the various directional axes around which Oceanic speakers partly organise their conceptions of space (Hill 1997; Ozanne-Rivierre 1997). Although the axes — inland vs seaward, up vs down — are in a sense absolute, not deictic, reflexes of absolute terms find their way into the systems used for deixis in some modern languages, a matter I touch on in §4.

Three syntactic classes of noun can be distinguished in Proto Oceanic, as they can in many modern Oceanic languages. With their various subclasses they are as follows:

- (10) a. Personal: personal proper names and kin terms used as proper names;
 b. Common:
 (i) human nouns not in the personal category and non-human animates;
 (ii) inanimates and abstract nouns;
 c. Local:
 (i) proper placenames;
 (ii) free (unpossessed) nouns including
 – nouns denoting familiar places (e.g. ‘home’, ‘(own) village’, ‘(own) garden’, ‘bush’, ‘beach’ etc.);
 – nouns denoting directionally based regions (‘down below’, ‘up above’);
 – one or two relational nouns (‘front’, ‘back’);
 (iii) inalienably possessed relational nouns (e.g. nouns denoting parts, like ‘inside’, ‘upper surface or space above’, ‘lower surface’, ‘space beneath’ and so on);
 (iv) temporal nouns.

Of these classes and subclasses, only common inanimates (b.ii), local free (c.ii) and local inalienably possessed relational nouns (c.iii) will concern us here.

Reference is made in (10c) to inalienably possessed nouns. In Proto Oceanic these had a possessor suffix marking the person and number of the possessor. For example:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (11) | <i>*tama-gu</i> | ‘my father’ | <i>*tama-ña</i> | ‘her/his father’ |
| | <i>*qage-gu</i> | ‘my leg’ | <i>*qage-ña</i> | ‘her/his/its leg’ |
| | <i>*muri-gu</i> | ‘my back’ | <i>*muri-ña</i> | ‘her/his/its back’ |

If there was a noun phrase possessor, it followed:¹⁴

- (12) *a qaqe-ña tam^wata
 DET leg-his man
 'the man's leg'

To talk of classes of noun is actually a convenient but inaccurate way of talking about classes of nominal construction. Some nouns could occur in more than one kind of nominal construction, and in such cases it was the construction that determined the class of the noun. For example, if the POc kin noun **tama-gu* 'my father' was preceded by the POc personal determiner **e/*i*, then it was being used as a personal noun, in a manner analogous to a proper personal name ('Dad', 'Papa'), but if it occurred without a determiner (Crowley 1985), then it was being used as a common human noun ('my father', or, in a classificatory kinship system, 'my fathers').

The distinction in usage between a common and a local noun was similar, but somewhat more complex. If POc **Rumaq* 'house' was preceded by the common determiner **a/*na*, then it served as a common non-human noun ('a/the house'). If it was used in a prepositional phrase, however, there were the two possibilities shown in (13). Preceded simply by the preposition **i*, as in (13a), it served as a local noun. That is, it referred to a location known to the interlocutors, in this case 'home'.¹⁵ In the construction in (13b), however, **Rumaq* serves as a common noun referring to a specific house which was not necessarily home to either speaker or addressee. In this construction, **Rumaq* was the possessor of the inalienably possessed dummy noun **ta-* (glossed TA), where the noun phrase *ta-ña Rumaq* has the same structure as **qaqe-ña tam^wata* 'man's leg' in (12).

- (13) a. *i Rumaq
 PREP house
 'at home'
- b. *i ta-ña Rumaq
 PREP TA-its house
 'at a/the house'

I return to the semantic distinction between (13a) and (13b) below.¹⁶

Only a few modern languages directly reflect the construction in (13b). In most Oceanic languages where this latter construction is reflected, however, **i* has dropped out, leaving **ta-* as an anomalous preposition — 'anomalous' because it was apparently the only preposition to take a possessor suffix agreeing with its governee noun phrase.¹⁷ Two reflexes are shown in (14).

¹⁴ Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are as follows: DEM - demonstrative, DET - determiner, DIR - directional, EXC - exclusive, IMPF - imperfective, POSTP - postposition, PREP - preposition, REAL - realis, REST - restrictive particle, SG - singular, TA - tense/aspect.

¹⁵ This preposition has sometimes been reconstructed as **qi*. It can be shown, however, that POc had two distinct forms, the locative preposition **i* and the non-specific possession linker **qi* (Ross 2001).

¹⁶ On the reconstruction of (13b), see Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:79–80) and Ross (2003).

¹⁷ In some languages, the new preposition **ta-* became the model for grammaticisation of further prepositions. See the history of Tigak prepositions in Ross (1998a).

(14) a. Taiof (Meso-Melanesian, Bougainville)

E Maras to noŋos no-n koma-na matan.

DET Maras REAL stay IMPF-he inside-its ditch

‘Maras is in the ditch.’

b. Longgu (South-East Solomonic)

... m-e la sara ta-na tanjaculu-naŋa luma.

and-he go arrive PREP-his ten-ORDINAL house

‘... and he arrived at the tenth house.’

In (15) are listed the free local nouns that can be reconstructed in Proto Oceanic. From the left the columns show the reconstruction, then its meaning as a common noun, then its meaning as a local noun and finally the adverb formed with **qa-*, the formative noted in §2. Two of these nouns, **laur* and **atas*, seem never to have been used as common nouns, and this may also be true of **loŋa* and **laka*. The adverbial forms in **qa-* are those for which reflexes have been found in modern languages. The fact that there is no **qa-* form against a particular noun may simply be due to a gap in the data.

(15)	as common noun	as local noun	adverb
<i>*muqa</i>	‘front’	‘front’	<i>*qa-muqa</i>
<i>*liwaŋ</i>	‘open space’	‘middle’	—
<i>*Rumaq</i>	‘house’	‘home’	<i>*qa-Rumaq</i>
<i>*tano(q)</i>	‘earth, soil’	‘down below’	<i>*qa-tano(q)</i>
<i>*atas</i>	—	‘up above’	—
<i>*laŋit</i>	‘sky, weather’	‘up top, high up’	—
<i>*laka</i>	...	‘up above’	<i>*qa-laka</i>
<i>*qutan</i>	‘bushland, hinterland’	‘inland’	<i>*qa-qutan</i>
<i>*loŋa</i>	...	‘inland’	—
<i>*laur</i>	—	‘seawards’	<i>*qa-laur</i>
<i>*tasik</i>	‘sea, salt water’	‘at sea’	—

The first two nouns on the list were apparently relational nouns, i.e. nouns that denoted a part of an object or a position in relation to an object. Most relational nouns were inalienably possessed, but these two were free.¹⁸ The other items in (15) denoted parts of the environment. Apart from **Rumaq* ‘home’, they express orientation along major directional axes. The common noun sense of **tano(q)* ‘earth, soil’ suggests that **tano(q)* and **atas* referred to the vertical axis on an immediately local scale. The remaining items denoted directionally based regions in the wider environment. Proto Oceanic almost certainly had more free local nouns than this. The last four items listed in (15) are directions roughly at right-angles to the coastline. A few languages have pairs of terms for the two directions oriented along the coastline. The two pairs in (16) are reconstructable for Proto Western Oceanic:

(16)	local noun	adverb
<i>*pa</i>	‘to one’s left when facing the sea’	<i>*qa-pa</i>
<i>*ta</i>	‘to one’s right when facing the sea’	<i>*qa-ta</i>

¹⁸ The noun **muqa* may have had an inalienably possessed variant.

It seems rather likely that such terms also occurred in Proto Oceanic, as a similar pair has been noted by Florey and Kelly (2002) in the non-Oceanic Austronesian language Alune in eastern Indonesia.

The semantic commonality among the non-relational local nouns in (15) is that they all denote a place or region which is part of the common knowledge of speaker and addressee and which, like a placename, requires no further specification. In most instances in (15) this is because the noun denotes a part of the geographic environment known to speaker and addressee. In the case of **Rumaq* 'home', the noun denotes the place where a discourse participant lives. It is clear that other nouns have also been co-opted into the local class in various Oceanic languages at different times, and that this must also have happened in Proto Oceanic. The co-opted nouns, like 'home', refer to a locality whose identity is taken for granted for the relevant discourse participant. A selection is given in (17).¹⁹

(17)	village	bush	garden	beach
Mussau	...	...	<i>utana</i>	<i>lamana</i>
Arop-Lokep	<i>malala</i>	<i>karam</i>	<i>kumu</i>	...
Saliba	—	—	<i>koya</i>	—
Nochi	<i>lokobel</i>	...	...	<i>kuen</i>
Tolai	<i>gunan</i>	<i>taman</i>	<i>uma</i>	...
Taiof	—	<i>ratu</i>	<i>tanum</i>	<i>tasi</i>
Paamese	<i>tavoial</i>	<i>nasisel</i>	...	<i>naveien</i>
Lenakel	<i>lauanu</i>	...	...	...

As I mentioned earlier, to speak of noun classes is a convenient shortcut. What we are actually dealing with here are different meaning-imparting constructions. I will call a construction like (13a) a 'local construction' and one like (13b) an 'adjunct construction' ('adjunct' because its meanings span a wider range than just location). Although there seem to have been Proto Oceanic nouns that were used only in the local construction (see (15)), when a noun like **Rumaq* was used in the local construction, it was the construction that contributed the semantic feature of 'identity taken for granted', not the noun itself. The same is true of all the nouns listed in (17). The *at* + NOUN construction in English works in much the same way. *At home, at school, at hospital, at work, at church* are all accepted collocations. It is possible, however, to recruit new nouns into the construction, like *at group* in a circumstance where there is no question for speaker or addressee which group is being talked about. Again, it is the construction that ensures the sense of 'identity taken for granted'.²⁰

In many modern Oceanic languages the distinction between the two Proto Oceanic constructions in (13a) and (13b) has been kept but they have undergone morphosyntactic changes. By way of illustration, the adpositions occurring in a range of Oceanic languages that retain the constructional contrast are shown in (18) (the notation '(+)' indicates that a variety of prepositions occur in the adjunct construction to indicate location).

¹⁹ In a number of descriptions this category is not mentioned, or contains only nouns denoting parts of the larger environment like 'sea', 'seawards' and 'inland'. I suspect that in at least some of these descriptions there are gaps because the writer has missed the relevant generalisation. A dash (—) indicates that the item does not occur. Three dots (...) indicates that the item was not collected.

²⁰ Constructional meaning is far more pervasive than most syntactic theorists recognise. For example, *a* in *a beer* forces a 'count' sense on a mass noun (Michaelis 2000). More complex examples are handled by Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988), Goldberg (1995), and Kay and Fillmore (1999).

(18)	in local construction	in adjunct construction
Mussau	<i>e</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Kilivila	<i>va</i>	<i>o</i>
Tawala	<i>hoi</i>	<i>u</i>
Saliba (POSTP)	<i>-i</i>	<i>unai</i>
<i>Meso-Melanesian</i>		
Tabar, Lihir	<i>i</i>	<i>si</i>
Siar	<i>an</i>	<i>o-</i>
Tangga	<i>na</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Patpatar, Minigir	<i>na</i>	<i>ta</i>
Bilur	<i>na-</i>	<i>ma</i>
Ramoaaina	<i>nə</i>	<i>u</i>
Tolai	<i>nə</i>	<i>ta</i>
Halia	<i>i</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Taiof	<i>∅</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Hoava	<i>pa</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Kokota	<i>∅</i>	<i>ka-</i>
<i>South-east Solomonian</i>		
Gela, Longgu	<i>i</i>	<i>ta-</i>
<i>Central Vanuatu</i>		
Ambae	<i>lo</i>	<i>lobe (+)</i>
Paamese	<i>∅</i>	<i>en</i>
Lewo	<i>∅</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>Southern Vanuatu</i>		
Anejom	<i>∅</i>	<i>a</i>
Lenakel	<i>∅</i>	<i>le, to</i>
<i>New Caledonia</i>		
Tinrin	<i>∅</i>	<i>gi (+)</i>
Nyelâyu	<i>∅</i>	<i>nan (+)</i>
Xârâcùù	<i>∅</i>	<i>tɔ (+)</i>
<i>Micronesian</i>		
Kosraean	<i>∅</i>	<i>ke</i>
Woleaian	<i>∅</i>	<i>in</i>

Thus in Longgu, one of the languages that continues to reflect the POc forms **i* and **ta*, we find a contrast in prepositional usage between *i* in (19a), which treats *bwela* 'floor' as a local noun in need of no further specification, and *ta-* in (19b), where reference is to a specified house.

- (19) a. ... *m-e la naʔi-a i bwela*
 and-he go put-it PREP floor
 '... and she put it on the floor'

- b. ... *m-e la sara ta-na tajaculu-naja luma*
 and-he go arrive PREP-his ten-ORDINAL house
 '... and he arrived at the tenth house'

A similar contrast occurs in Hoava. Here, POc **i* has been replaced by *pa* in (20a), but POc **ta* continues to be reflected in (20b).

- (20) a. *Koni la gami pa hiniyala.*
 FUTURE go we:EXC PREP garden
 'We will go to the garden.'
- b. *La tiga ga ria, mae tata mae ga tani sa miho.*
 go reach REST they come close come REST PREP:3SG DET:SG headland
 'They arrived, came close to the headland.'

In Kilivila both Proto Oceanic prepositions have been replaced by forms derived from verbs (Ross 2003), but the semantic distinction survives between (21a), where the identity of the garden is presupposed by the use of the local preposition *va*, and (21b), where its identity is already known.

- (21) a. *Ba-la va bagula.*
 I:FUT-go PREP garden
 'I will go to the garden.'
- Ba-la o buyagu.*
 I:FUT-go PREP garden
 'I will go to my garden.'

In a range of Oceanic languages some or all locative nouns — or forms derived from locative nouns — form a paradigm with demonstrative bases. One such language is Iaaí (Ozanne-Rivierre, this volume). Others are Yapese (Jensen 1977:234); Lusi (North New Guinea; Counts 1969:124); the Papuan Tip languages Minaveha (Lovell 1994:24) and Gumawana (Olson 1992); the Meso-Melanesian languages Meramera, Nalik, Nochi (Erickson & Erickson 1992), Siar, Label (Peekel 1909), Ramoaina (Davies & Fritzell 1992), Minigir, Tolai (Mosel 1982) and Taiof; and the Central Vanuatu languages Merei (Chung 1998:26) and Araki (François 2002). The significance of this observation is apparently that demonstrative bases in Proto Oceanic were also local nouns.

We turn now to inalienably possessed relational nouns, that is nouns which denote parts, like 'inside', 'upper surface or space above', 'lower surface', 'space beneath' and so on. Those that are reconstructable with reasonable certainty for Proto Oceanic are listed in (22). It appears that in Proto Oceanic all inalienably possessed nouns also occurred as free (unpossessed) nouns.²¹ As was shown in (11), an inalienably possessed noun takes a possessor suffix. Thus forms in (22) which end in a hyphen are inalienably possessed, and forms without a hyphen are free.

²¹ See Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:76). This not true of many Western Oceanic languages today, where inalienably possessed nouns have no free form.

(22)	as common noun	as local noun
<i>*lalo-</i> , <i>*lo-</i> , <i>*lalom</i>	—	'inside'
<i>*papa-</i> , <i>*pa-</i> , <i>*papaq</i> , <i>*paq</i>	—	'underside'
<i>*papo-</i> , <i>*po-</i> , <i>*papo</i> , <i>*po</i>	—	'upper surface'
<i>*qulu-</i> , <i>*qulu</i>	'head, (head) hair'	'top'
<i>*qaro-</i> , <i>*qarop</i>	'face' ?	'front'
<i>*mata-</i> , <i>*mata</i>	'eye'	'front'
<i>*nako-</i> , <i>*nako</i>	'face'	'front'
<i>*muri-</i>	'back'	'back'
<i>*[p^wa]p^waRa-</i> , <i>*[p^wa]p^waRa</i>	'cheek'	'side'

Unlike the nouns in (15), none of these formed an adverb with **qa-*.

In each case where a noun in (15) has a common-noun sense, it denotes a body part,²² and the possessive construction in which these nouns occurred was identical to that used with body parts, i.e. (12), except that it was embedded in the local construction and thus preceded by the preposition **i*, as illustrated in (23).

- (23) **i lalo-ña Rumaq*
 PREP inside-its house
 'inside a/the house' (more literally 'at the inside of the house')

I will call the combined construction the 'relational local construction'. The free gloss in (23) illustrates the fact that these nouns were used — and continue to be used in most Oceanic languages, as examples throughout this book show — to express senses that European languages tend to denote with a range of prepositions (although these too are often derived from nouns and are sometimes still complex, like *on top of*). Thus **i lalo-ña Ruma* in (23), semiliterally 'at the inside of the house', is most naturally glossed 'inside a/the house' or 'in a/the house' in English.

An interesting diachronic feature of the relational local construction is that it survives as a dedicated construction into many modern languages even when there have been changes in the local and/or the possessive construction. It has simply undergone the morphosyntactic changes of the constructions from which it gets its morphosyntax. Examples of relational noun phrases from a number of Oceanic languages are shown in (24). To the right of each example the structure is shown schematically. The abbreviations are: NREL relational noun, NPOSSR possessor noun, PREP preposition, and POSTP postposition. Thus (24a) reflects the Proto Oceanic construction in (23); (24b) reflects it with a change of preposition; (24c) with loss of the preposition. In (24e) the preposition is retained but the possessor precedes the relational noun; in (24f) the preposition intervenes between the two nouns. The languages in (24g) and (24h) have the order of (24e–f) but replace the preposition with a free or enclitic postposition; and (24i) has this order but no adposition.

- (24) a. Gela (South-East Solomonic)
i muri-na na vale PREP NREL NPOSSR
 PREP back-its DET house
 'behind the house'

²² On the conceptual transfer from body parts to relational locations in Oceanic languages, see Bowden (1992).

- b. Bali (Meso-Melanesian, New Britain)
na lo-na rumaka-ini PREP NREL NPOSSR
 PREP inside-its house-DEM
 'inside that house'
- c. Woleaian (Micronesian)
fā-r mai we NREL NPOSSR
 under-of breadfruit DEM
 'under the breadfruit tree'
- d. Tinrin (New Caledonia)
ṇùwù-m^wā NREL-NPOSSR
 inside-house
 'inside the house'
- e. Sudest (Papuan Tip)
e ṇgolo yadidi-ye PREP NPOSSR NREL
 PREP house side-its
 'beside the house'
- f. Tawala (Papuan Tip)
numa u gabouli-na NPOSSR PREP NREL
 house PREP underside-its
 'under the house'
- g. Saliba (Papuan Tip)
tebolo kewa-na ne unai NPOSSR NREL POSTP
 table top-its DET POSTP:SG
 'on the table'
- h. Tobati (West Papua)
rum trug-a NPOSSR NREL-POSTP
 house back-POSTP
 'behind the house'
- i. Arop-Lokep (North New Guinea)
[rumu] lo-no NPOSSR NREL
 house inside-its
 'in the house'

However, the relational local construction does not survive unscathed throughout Oceania. In a number of languages some or all relational nouns have been recategorised as adpositions (sometimes with concomitant phonological reduction), so that there is now a set of locative prepositions corresponding to, say, 'in', 'on', 'under', 'beside' and so on. These languages include Takia (North New Guinea), Nochi (Meso-Melanesian), Ambae (Central Vanuatu), Sye and Anejom (South Vanuatu), and Tinrin, Nyelâyü, Cèmuhî and Xârâcùù (New Caledonia). Thus in Takia we find the postpositions *lo* 'in, at', reflecting POc **lo-* 'inside', and *fo/fofo* 'on' reflecting POc **po-/papo-* 'upper surface' (Ross, this volume). Some relational nouns remain, however, like *patu-* 'back' in (25c).

- (25) a. Takia
 abi lo
 garden in
 ‘in the garden’
- b. *did fofo*
 hill on
 ‘on the hill’
- c. *ab patu-n fo*
 house back-its on
 ‘behind the house’

Similar recategorisation of relational nouns as prepositions seems to be under way in Kilivila (Senft, this volume) and Bowden’s (1992) work suggests that this kind of recategorisation is quite common in Oceanic languages.

As the discussion in this section has indicated, a significant diachronic fact about local noun constructions is their survival. When I talk about the survival of a construction, I do not mean that its morphosyntax remains unchanged. We have seen both for the local construction and for the relational local construction that what survives is the pairing between meaning and grammatical functions. In the case of the local construction the ‘identity taken for granted’ feature is paired with a phrase which either has an adposition dedicated to this function or no adposition at all; under both strategies, if the language has a determiner that is used with a common noun, that determiner does not occur in the local construction.²³ However, as shown in (18), the adposition may be replaced or deleted without destroying the construction.

A relational local construction survives in many languages which has the structure of the language’s local construction (cf. POc **Rumaq* ‘at home’), with a possessive noun phrase inserted into the NP slot within that construction (cf. POc **i lalo-ña Rumaq* ‘inside a/the house’), the head of which, **lalo-ña* ‘its inside’, is a relational noun. This noun specifies a place in relation to its possessor, **Rumaq*, and the construction is usually the language’s default construction for expressing such relationships (just as a prepositional phrase with a semantically specific preposition, e.g. *in the house* is the default construction for expressing them in English). The morphosyntax of the construction as a whole changes with the morphosyntax of (i) the local construction and (ii) inalienable possession construction, as illustrated in (24), but the relationship between meaning and grammatical function remains unchanged over time.²⁴

²³ Because the common determiner does not occur in this construction, it is arguable for some languages that the ‘preposition’ is in fact a (case-marking) determiner. Hyslop (2001) argues this for Ambae *lo*, and it can certainly be argued that locative ‘prepositions’ in many non-Oceanic Austronesian languages of the Philippines are better analysed as determiners.

²⁴ This is a slight simplification. In the relational local construction of some languages, the local construction has been replaced by the adjunct construction, i.e. the local adposition has been replaced by the general-purpose adposition (in the languages of Fiji and Polynesia and in certain other parts of Oceania the local and adjunct constructions have in any case collapsed into a single construction). In one or two cases the inalienable possession construction has been replaced by the construction used for alienable possession.

4 Directional verbs and their derivatives

Perhaps the most confusing and diachronically complex area associated with deixis is the one surrounding what many writers call 'directionals'. By 'directional', I mean a morpheme — often a clitic — that occurs in a verb phrase and has a deictic meaning. It lies well beyond the scope of this chapter to offer more than the barest outline of the history of these and associated morphemes.²⁵

The Pileni (Polynesian) examples in (26) are drawn from Næss (this volume):

- (26) a. *Lu-aha-gia mai te thoka ne!*
 you.two-open-TR DIR:1 DET door DEM
 'Open the door for me!'
- b. *U-ka av-atu nei e potopoto.*
 I-TA give-DIR:2 DEM TA short
 'I'll give you this short one.'
- c. *Ko nh-ake ko kake ake i hai lakau.*
 TA go-up TA climb up PREP DET tree
 '(She) went up and climbed up into a tree.'
- d. *Ko-i toa te au niu ko kave-iho.*
 TA-he take DET tree coconut PERFECTIVE bring-down
 '(He) took a coconut tree and brought it down.'

Four members of the Pileni directional paradigm are represented here: *mai* DIR:1, *atu* DIR:2, *ake* 'up(ward)' and *iho* 'down(ward)'. As the glosses indicate, these form two semantic sets. The first two are deictic directionals (DIR:1 means 'towards the speaker', DIR:2 'towards the addressee'), whilst *ake* and *iho* are absolute directionals. Similar sets of morphemes occur in Nêlêmwa (Bril, this volume), and (27) contains both an absolute directional, *-da*, and a deictic directional, *me*.

- (27) *Na o-da me na Frâs.*
 I go-up DIR:1 PREP France
 'I'm coming back (here) from France.'

Both Nêlêmwa and Iaii (Ozanne-Rivierre, this volume) have fewer directionals than Pileni. The Nêlêmwa set has just one more member, *xi* DIR:3. Iaii has *jeem* DIR:1, illustrated in (28), and three 'away from speaker' (DIR:3) forms, *jiio* 'westward', *deiö* 'eastward' and *hââng* 'crosswise'.

- (28) *He dhö jeem!*
 go IMPERATIVE DIR:1
 'Come here!'

Present-day Takia has no directionals. Instead we find serial-verb constructions like those in (29), where the directional semantics are carried by the verbs *-au* 'go from speaker', *-palu* 'come to speaker' and *-du* 'descend':²⁶

²⁵ For a fuller discussion, again see Ross (2003).

²⁶ The third example is from Waters, Tuominen and Rehbürg (1993).

- (29) a. *Du-masa di-au, pastor urat du-ga na ya.*
 they-get.up they-go pastor work they-do DURATIVE REAL
 'They would leave to do pastors' work.'
- b. *U-mul Ø-palu!*
 you:SG-return you:SG-come
 'Come back!'
- c. ... *ŋu-subali i-du ya.*
 I-tear.off it-descend REAL
 '... I was tearing it (my house) down.'

We can say beyond reasonable doubt that most directional forms in Oceanic languages are derived from a set of Proto Oceanic verbs that occurred phrase-finally in directional serial-verb constructions like those in (29).²⁷ Semantically, these verbs encapsulated the same person-oriented deictic system as the demonstratives. Its main members are shown in (30). The fourth, **pano/*pa*, does not quite fit the person-oriented system. Its reflexes have two senses: 'move away from speaker and addressee' and 'move in a transverse direction'. I return to the latter sense below.

(30)	as verb	as directional
<i>*mai, *ma</i>	'come towards speaker'	DIR:1
<i>*ua[tu]</i>	'go towards addressee'	DIR:2
<i>*lako, *la</i>	'go (to)'	DIR:3
<i>*pano, *pa</i>	'go away, go across'	DIR:3 (?)

The forms in (30) are glossed as both verbs and directionals as I infer that they already had both functions in Proto Oceanic. When one of these forms functioned as a verb, it took a subject coreferencing proclitic similar to the prefixes on the verbs in (29). When it functioned as a directional, it occurred without a proclitic. Three of the forms in (30) have reconstructable long and short forms. It is tempting to attribute verbal function to the long forms and directional function to the short, but the evidence suggests that both forms had both functions. The case of **ua[tu]*, however, is different. Here the earlier form was evidently **ua*, and the 2 demonstrative form **-tu* (§2) became fossilised on it, giving a disyllabic variant.

Proto Oceanic absolute directional verbs may also have had both grammatical functions. Those that are reconstructable include the two pairs in (31):

- (31) **sipo* 'go downward' **sake* 'go upward'
**jua* 'go down vertically, fall' **(j, dr)a* 'go up vertically, rise'

In one of its uses, **pano*, noted in (30), also belongs here. As Ozanne-Rivierre (1997) notes, 'go downward' and 'go upward' are often used in relation to a valley running down to the sea. This system requires a third member 'go across (the valley)', and the reflexes of **pano* fill this gap in a number of languages.

²⁷ Serial verb constructions are rife in Oceanic languages, but a literature on the topic has only recently emerged. See Crowley (1987 and 2002a) on serialisation in Paamese and across Oceanic respectively, Bradshaw (1983) and Ross (2002) on serialisation in Yabem, and Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:34–53) for a brief survey.

It is easy to see that Pileni *mai*, *atu*, *ake* and *iho* are descended respectively from POc **mai*, **uatu*, **sake* and **sipo*, whilst Nêlêmwa *da* and *me* reflect POc *(*j*, *dr*)*a* and **mai*. Intriguingly, the Iaaï and Takia examples above reflect the cycle of change that affects directional verbs and particles. For example, the second syllable of Takia *-masa* 'get up' in (29a) reflects POc **sake* 'go upward', also preserved in Takia as the verb *-sa* 'go up'. In other words, at sometime in the past history of Takia, there were directionals, which were cliticised, then suffixed to verbs, finishing off as fossilised compounds. Other fossils of *sa* in Takia are *-sisa* 'come up, approach, climb high up', *-sisisa* 'pull up, hitch up' and *-lasa* 'come out' (*-la* 'move away from speaker'). The directional **sipo* 'go downward' is not reflected as a verb in Takia, but occurs in various fossilised compounds: *-gansi* 'put down, give birth' (*-gane* 'do, make, put'), *-biseisi* 'quieten (oneself) down' (*-bisei* 'release'), *-bilsî* 'put down, throw down' (*-bal* 'throw'), *-ansi* 'lie down' (*-en* 'lie, sleep, stay') and *-epsi* 'bend down'. The first syllables of the fossilised compounds *-sala* 'go inland' and *-sila* 'go seawards' reflect POc **sake* and **sipo*, their second syllable POc **la* 'go (to)'. It is not difficult to imagine that a (formerly compound) verb like Takia *-sala* or *-sila*, occurring frequently as the final verb of a serial-verb construction, might then develop into a directional, starting the second phase of a cycle. Exactly this seems to have happened with the Iaaï directional *jeem* DIR:2 in (28), which apparently reflects POc *(*j*, *dr*)*a* 'rise' + **mai* 'come to speaker'. That is, *jeem* reflects what was once a serial verb construction.

The grammaticisation of directional verbs as directionals is a fairly obvious process, and so is the compounding of verb + directional reflected in Takia and in the Ambae (Central Vanuatu) set shown in (32) together with the Proto Oceanic forms from which it is descended.

(32)		across/traverse	up/landward	down/seaward
		* <i>pano</i>	* <i>sake</i>	* <i>sipo</i>
towards deictic centre	* <i>mai</i>	<i>van-ai</i>	<i>ha-mai</i>	<i>hi-mei</i>
towards addressee	* <i>uatu</i>	<i>van-atu</i>	<i>hag-atu</i>	<i>hiv-atu</i>
away from deictic centre	Ø	<i>vano</i>	<i>hage</i>	<i>hivo</i>

However, Proto Oceanic directional verbs, especially the deictics, have spawned several other morphosyntactic phenomena in modern languages. The reconstructed clauses in (33) consist almost entirely of morphemes discussed in this chapter, and are intended to represent a stage shortly after the break-up of Proto Oceanic when **i* had dropped out before **ta-* (see the discussion after (13) above). The second subject coreferencing proclitic *[*i*] is bracketed to indicate that **ua* could be either a verb (with proclitic) or a directional (without it).²⁸

- (33) a. **i-pano* [*i*]-*ua* *i* *atas*.
 s/he-go.across [s/he-]go PREP space.above
 'S/he went up (away from me).'
- b. **i-pano* [*i*]-*ua* *ta-ña* *Rumaq*.
 s/he-go.across [s/he-]go PREP-its house
 'S/he went up (away from me) to the house.'

Sometime in the history of Nakanai (Meso-Melanesian, New Britain), **atas* or the local noun or demonstrative occupying this position was incorporated into the verb phrase to

²⁸ I should emphasise that I use reconstructed clauses for heuristic and illustrative purposes. I would be loath to claim morphosyntactic accuracy for these reconstructions.

give compounds which have become, e.g., Nakanai *o-io* 'be there' (*-io* < *POc **i* *o* PREP + DEM), *o-talo* 'be down below' (*-talo* < POc **tanoq* 'ground'), *o-ata* 'be up above' (*-ata* < POc **atas* 'space above'). These compounds are verbs in their own right, and have shifted their sense from direction to location. They may also take a noun phrase as locative complement:

- (34) a. *E tete o-ata la luma.*
 DET father *o*-above DET house
 'Father is up at the house.'
- b. *Egite pou o-ata la hohoi.*
 they stay *o*-above DET bush
 'They are up in the bush.'

When **ua* in the clauses in (33) became a directional, it became more closely bound, at least in terms of constituency, to the preceding verb. But it was equally possible for it to come to form a constituent with the following phrasal item. In a number of Meso-Melanesian languages — Meramera of New Britain and Lamasong, Madak, Barok, Sursurunga, Tangga, Konomala, Patpatar, Minigir, Tolai, Label, Bilur, Kandas and Ramoaina, all of central and southern New Ireland — a more complex development has occurred. At some time in their history, clauses occurred with the structure of (35).

- (35) a. **i-pano ua i atas [ta-ña Rumaq].*
 s/he-go.across UA PREP space.above [PREP house]
 'S/he went up to the house.'
- b. **i-pano ua ta-ña Rumaq.*
 s/he-go.across UA PREP-its house
 'S/he went to the house.'

By this stage the reflex of **ua* had lost its verbal status and become cliticised to what followed it, the construction in (35a) giving rise to compounds like **ua-(i)-atas*. Unlike in Nakanai, where such compounds remained verbal, here they became directional adverbs. In Meramera, the paradigm in (36) has arisen (*-do* and *-de* are demonstrative enclitics). The Proto Oceanic roots are shown on the right. The locative forms are descended from the local construction with **i*, the allatives from the construction just described with **ua*, and the ablatives are the analogous forms descended from the directional **ma* 'come', reinterpreted as 'come from'.

(36)	locative	allative	ablative	POc root
'here'	<i>inani</i>	<i>u-s-inani</i>	<i>ma?-inani</i>	* <i>ni</i>
'there'	<i>ino</i>	<i>u-s-ino</i>	<i>ma?-ino</i>	* <i>no</i>
'down [t]here'	<i>tano-do</i>	<i>u-tano-do</i>	<i>ma?-tano-do</i>	* <i>tanoq</i>
'up [t]here'	<i>[i]uata-do</i>	<i>u-uata-de</i>	<i>ma?-uata-de</i>	* <i>atas</i>
'beach'	<i>lau</i>	<i>u-lau</i>	...	* <i>laur</i>
'home'	<i>luma</i>	<i>u-luma</i>	...	* <i>Rumaq</i>

The examples in (37) illustrate these forms in context.

- (37) a. *Ia ?asu?asu u-tano-do.*
 I go UA-down-DEM
 'I am going down there.'

- b. *Ia ?asu?asu ma?-ino na luma-de.*
 I go MA-there PREP house-DEM
 'I have come from that house.'

As (37b) shows, these adverbs may take a locative complement, in this case *na luma-de* 'at that house'.

Adverbial paradigms like this one also exist in the other Meso-Melanesian languages listed above. The most fully recorded of these is the one recorded for Tolai by Mosel (1982). The main forms are set out in (38).²⁹

(38) Tolai	locative	allative	ablative	POc root
'here'	<i>a-ti</i>	<i>u-ti</i>	<i>ma-ti</i>	* <i>i</i>
'there'	<i>a-r-o</i>	<i>u-r-o</i>	<i>ma-r-o</i>	* <i>o</i>
'down, seawards'	<i>a-r-a</i>	<i>u-r-a</i>	<i>ma-r-a</i>	* <i>sipo</i>
'up, inland'	<i>a-r</i>	<i>u-r-ə</i>	<i>ma-r-ə</i>	...
'straight up'	<i>a-r-a-ma</i>	<i>u-r-a-ma</i>	<i>ma-r-a-ma</i>	...
'inside'	<i>a-r-i-a</i>	<i>u-r-i-a</i>	<i>ma-r-i-a</i>	...
'inside and up'	<i>a-r-i-ma</i>	<i>u-r-i-ma</i>	<i>ma-r-i-ma</i>	...
'inside and down'	<i>a-r-i-ka</i>	<i>u-r-i-ka</i>	<i>ma-r-i-ka</i>	...
'beyond'	<i>a-r-ua</i>	<i>u-r-ua</i>	<i>ma-r-ua</i>	...

Again the reflexes of **ua* and **mai* are readily recognisable. Here, however, the prefix of the locative paradigm is derived not from **i* but from the adverb-forming prefix **qa-*. Indeed, it is likely that it was the already existing locative forms in *a-* that provided a model for the grammaticisation of the prefixes *u-* and *ma-*. The forms in (38) are apparently the outcomes of a great deal of phonological reduction. From closely related Patpatar we know that the forms in final *-a* 'down, seawards' were formerly **-as* (Tolai has lost **s* entirely), and I take the final **s* in turn to be all that was left of POc **sipo* 'go down'.

The Tolai clauses in (39a) and (39b) from Mosel (1982) reflect the constructions in (35a). The locative complement may be a placename, a common noun phrase introduced by the article *ra*, as below, or by the preposition *ta*,³⁰ a personal noun phrase preceded by the preposition *pire*; or a local noun phrase preceded by the preposition *na*.

- (39) a. *I ga bura u-ra ra pi.*
 s/he PAST fall UA-down DET ground
 'S/he fell down to the ground.'
- b. *I irop ma-rama ra ul a davai.*
 s/he go.out MA-up DET head LIG tree
 'S/he climbed down from the tree.'
- c. *I ki a-ka-nama liu ta ra pal.*
 s/he stay QA-far-straight.up high.above PREP DET house
 'S/he is on top of the house.'

²⁹ Forms in *u-* may insert *-ka-* to indicate 'further'. Forms in *-ra*, *-rə*, *-rama* and *-ro* may have *-ha-* inserted before this root to indicate anaphoric reference, i.e. the hearer knows it. The *-ka-ba-* sequence also occurs.

³⁰ The distribution of these two possibilities with common noun phrases is unclear from the available descriptions, including my fieldnotes.

An interesting syntactic feature of these adverbs is that they not only take a locative complement, but it is rare for the complement to occur without the preceding adverb. Thus (39c) would be infelicitous, if not ungrammatical, without *a-ka-nama*. Or, putting it another way, there is a very strong tendency in Tolai and in some of its close relatives to specify a location or direction deictically before further specification is given. As far as I know, this is quite a rare feature among the world's languages.³¹

I have so far left the reconstruction in (35b) hanging, with no modern outcomes. It has fewer reflexes than (35a): they occur in Sursurunga, Tangga, Konomala, Patpatar, Kandas and Ramoaina, and in the Southeast Solomonian language Longgu (Hill 1997). In these languages we find a reflex of **ua* or **ma/*mai* directly preceding its locative complement, as in the Ramoaina clauses in (40).

- (40) a. *I ruk u-a nə rumə.*
 s/he enter UA-across PREP house
 'S/he went into the house.'
- b. *Diar wan u nə bual.*
 they go UA PREP bush
 'They went into the bush.'
- c. *Ketekete i ka u rə agə.*
 Ketekete s/he go.up UA DET bush
 'They went into the bush.'

The clause in (40a) resembles the Tolai clauses in (39a): *u-a* is an adverbial like those in the Tolai paradigm in (38). The other two clauses, (40b–c), differ from the Meramera and Tolai construction in consisting of the bare reflex of **ua*. It is only a short step from here to reinterpret the **ua* reflex as a preposition, and this is what it appears to be in Ramoaina, where it is now the preposition of the adjunct construction.³²

Deictic sets of this degree of complexity are evidently rare, but a set with a paradigm similar in structure to Tolai is described by Ozanne-Rivierre (this volume, Table 2) for Iaa. I take it that this set is the result of innovations independent of those in Meramera and the New Ireland languages, but that it has arisen by a similar grammaticisation path.

The discussion thus far has largely concerned the fates of Proto Oceanic deictic directional verbs. Reflexes of the absolute directional verbs POc **sipo* 'go down' and POc **sake* 'go up' have also undergone a measure of category shifting. As we observed above, they have become directionals in a number of languages. One consequence of this seems to be that at various times and places they have been recategorised as adverbs with locative as well as directional meaning. That is, as well as 'go down' and 'go up', reflexes of the forms in (31) have acquired the senses 'down below' and 'up above'. This has had two outcomes. Reflexes of **sake* 'go up', at least, have in a few languages become local nouns. This is not surprising, as the shift to a locative sense 'up above' takes it close to reflexes of the meaning of the local noun **atas*, so that in Bauan Fijian, for example, both serve as local nouns and both *i yata* 'on top' and *i ḍake* 'up above' occur. The other outcome is that in Erromangan (South Vanuatu) and Nêlêmwa, reflexes of absolute directional verbs occur in the locative deictic system. The Nêlêmwa forms are given by Bril (this volume, Table

³¹ It is reported, however, by Bowden (2001) for the non-Oceanic Austronesian language Taba of eastern Indonesia, as well as for the nearby Papuan language Ternate (John Bowden, pers. comm.).

³² It may also be the origin of Kilivila *o*, Tawala *u*, but this is less certain.

6b). Erromangan has a paradigm which includes the the forms in (41), where *hep* reflects POc **sipo* 'go down' and *hay* reflects POc **sake* 'go up'.

(41)	'there'	'over there'
	'down'	<i>ye-hep</i> <i>e-mpi-hep</i>
	'up'	<i>ya-hay</i> <i>e-mpi-hay</i>

There is just one case where a Proto Oceanic deictic directional verb becomes a demonstrative, and this was noted in §2. The form **ua* has demonstrative reflexes, either form 3 or anaphoric, and one of these is found in Saliba *wa* (Margetts, this volume). This recategorisation could have occurred by one of two possible routes. The first is similar to that outlined for reflexes of **sipo* and **sake*. A reflex of POc **ua* was reinterpreted as an adverb meaning 'over there', and this was then used as a modifier to a noun phrase. The other is that the verb **ua* was used in an unmarked relative clause ('that is over there') which became grammaticised as an adnominal demonstrative.

Pulling together the threads of this section is difficult, but two sets of comments about diachronic tendencies can be made. The first concerns semantic organisation. The reflexes of directional verbs and directionals have continued to play a major role in Oceanic languages, but the situation does not quite match that of the demonstratives. There, the person-oriented internal organisation of the system has subsisted. Here, the three-way system based on persons has often collapsed into a speaker-oriented system with two directions: towards the speaker and away from the speaker. However, the directional orientation of events, both speaker-oriented and on the up/down axis, continues to be explicitly expressed in many modern systems.

The second set of comments concerns diachronic morphosyntax. We have seen here that directional verbs and their reflexes are readily subject to category shift and to various kinds of grammaticisation. In this respect they are very different from local nouns, which are embedded in diachronically rather stable constructions, but more similar to demonstratives, which undergo rapid changes of form, as well as category shift, e.g. from locative to adnominal.

5 Concluding thoughts

From the standpoint of a historical linguist, several interesting thoughts emerge from the study reported in this chapter.

Semantic organisation can be remarkably stable over very long periods of time. This is true of Oceanic demonstrative systems and of the axes of spatial orientation expressed by Proto Oceanic directional verbs and their descendants. However, the directional particles of many Oceanic languages have moved from the expression of a person-oriented to a speaker-oriented system. Why a person-oriented system should survive among demonstratives but not in directional particles is not completely clear to me, but I infer that it has to do with the different typical usages of these systems. A primary use of demonstrative systems is to locate referents in relation to the speech-act participants, so a person-oriented system is an eminently usable (but not a necessary) strategy. The major use of directional verbs and particles, however, has to do with the narration of dynamic events and the movement of referents. Here, a deictic centre — by default the speaker — is important, but the addressee, who was not present at the narrated events, is often irrelevant. Hence the addressee-related member of the directional set falls out of use.

Morphosyntactically the sets of items examined in this chapter appear to have two quite different diachronic fates, but the appearance is deceptive. On the one hand, the local constructions examined in §3 have enjoyed remarkable stability. As I pointed out there, this does not mean that their morphosyntax has remained unchanged, only that the pairing of meaning and grammatical function has survived. On the other hand, both the demonstratives and the directional verbs of Proto Oceanic have undergone radical changes of both form and, in some cases, syntax, so there would appear to be major differences in what has happened to local constructions and what has happened to demonstratives and directionals.

To compare the two phenomena in this way, however, is to compare unlike objects. Demonstratives and directional verbs are both elements **within** constructions. One is the demonstrative noun phrase construction ('this man' vs 'that man') and this construction has inevitably survived over time. Directional verbs and particles form parts of verb phrase constructions for expressing certain kinds of events, and we can probably argue too that these constructions have been remarkably stable over time (in the sense that the constructions have retained devices for attributing directionality to events). What is different about directionals, however, is that they have also been grammaticised into new constructions. The adverb + locative complement construction in Tolai and its neighbours represents a new construction which apparently did not exist before (as it is dedicated to expressing a combination of meanings that were not previously expressed) and has arisen through the accident of grammaticisation.

At the same time, the observation that the adpositions within the local construction have undergone change in form and syntax over time is of the same kind as the observation that demonstratives have undergone morphosyntactic change. And just as I noted that demonstratives have been far more conservative in Micronesia and Polynesia than in Melanesia, so the same is true of both prepositions in the local and adjunct constructions and of directional particles.

So it can be said in sum that, complex though they are, the changes that have occurred since Proto Oceanic times in demonstratives, in the local construction and in directionals all adhere to much the same patterns, provided that we view them all from the same perspective. Semantic organisation remains relatively stable in the face of morphosyntactic change. Constructional organisation is also rather stable, but grammaticisation may result in the rise of the occasional new construction, whilst constructional loss may sometimes occur through the merger of two constructions into one (e.g. the local and adjunct constructions in some languages). Changes in form within small paradigms can be quite radical, and this change reflects the social conditions of the language's speakers over time.

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