Demonstratives in Papuan Malay

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Outline

- Introductory remarks
- Syntax of demonstratives
- Functions of demonstratives
- Summary
Papuan Malay varieties

(based on Donohue in press, and Kim et al. 2007)
Papuan Malay demonstrative system

- Demonstratives – Deictic expressions
  - Focus their “attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors” or “in the speech situation” (Diessel 1999:93-94)

- Papuan Malay
  - Two-term distance-oriented demonstrative system (Diessel 2006)
    - Proximal ini / ni ‘D.PROX, this’
    - Distal itu / tu ‘D.DIST, that’
Syntax and functions – Overview

- Syntax
  - Adnominal uses
  - Pronominal uses
  - Adverbial uses

- Functions
  - Spatial uses
  - Temporal uses
  - Psychological uses
  - Textual uses
Syntax

- Distributional properties
  - Adnominal uses: Co-occurrence with noun phrases
    - N/NP DEM
    - DEM N/NP
  - Pronominal uses: Substitution for noun phrases
  - Adverbial uses: Co-occurrence with verbs or adverbs
  - Demonstrative stacking: (N) DEM DEM
Syntax: Adnominal uses

- Post-head and pre-head demonstratives

  (1) kitong dua kas naik anjing itu
      1PL two CAUS ascend dog D.DIST
      ‘we two lift that dog (onto the motor-bike)’

  (2) dorang datang dengar ini anjing gong-gong babi
      3PL come hear D.PROX dog bark pig
      ‘they came (and) heard these dogs barking at the pig’

  (3) baro ana kecil satu ini de tra gambar
      then child small one D.PROX 3SG NEG draw
      ‘but this particular small child, he doesn’t draw’
Functions

- Spatial uses
- Temporal uses
- Psychological uses
- Textual uses
  - Identificational uses
  - Placeholder uses
Functions: Spatial uses

- DEM draw the hearer’s attention to specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation
  - Proximal ini ‘D.PROX’
    - Referent is conceived as spatially close
  - Distal itu ‘D.DIST’
    - Referent is conceived as located further away

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
  - Pronominal
  - Adverbial
Functions: Spatial uses

- Pronominally and adverbially used demonstratives

  (4) ko tinggal ini
      2SG stay D.PROX
      ‘you live here’

  (5) de ada tu de ada tu
      3SG exist D.DIST 3SG exist D.DIST
      [Reply to a question:] ‘she’s over there, over there’
Functions: Temporal uses

- DEM signal temporal setting of an event in terms of some temporal reference point
  - Proximal ini ‘D.PROX’
    - Temporal reference point is temporally close
  - Distal itu ‘D.DIST’
    - Temporal reference point is located at some distance

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
  - Pronominal
  - Adverbial
Functions: Temporal uses

- Pronominally and adnominally used demonstratives

(6) mandi cepat-cepat, ni tong mo lanjut lagi bathe fast-fast D.PROX 1PL want continue again ‘bathe very quickly, right now we want to continue further’ [Lit. ‘this (is when)’]

(7) Rabu tu hari Kamis itu ko datang Wednesday D.DIST day Thursday D.DIST 2SG come ‘next Wednesday, next Thursday you’ll come’ [Lit. ‘that Wednesday, that Thursday’]
Functions: Psychological uses

- DEM signal the speakers’ psychological involvement with the situation or event talked about (Lakoff 1974:347)

- Domains of psychological use
  - Emotional involvement / Vividness
  - Contrast
Functions: Psychological uses

- Emotional involvement / Vividness (Anderson 1985:278)
  - Proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’
    - Emotional proximity or positive attitudes
  - Distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’
    - Emotional distance or negative attitudes

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
  - Adverbial
  - DEM stacking
Functions: Psychological uses

- Emotional involvement

(8) maju ke depan dan menyanyi, …
    advance to front and sing …
    kamu pu suara ini bagus
    2PL POSS voice D.PROX good
    ‘come in front and sing … these voices of yours are good’

(9) ko pu suara tu bahaya, ko stop
    2SG POSS voice D.DIST danger 2SG stop
    ‘that voice of yours is dangerous, stop it’
Functions: Psychological uses

- Vividness (demonstrative stacking): ‘this/that very (one)/N’

  (10) ada segala macam tulang dia buang ini ni
  exist all kind bone 3SG throw D.PROX D.PROX
  ‘there were all kinds of bones, he threw away these very (ones)’

  (11) waktu kitorang masuk di ruma itu tu ...
  time 1PL go.in at house D.DIST D.DIST ...
  ‘when we moved into that very house, …’
Functions: Psychological uses

- Contrast
  - DEM signal contrast between a discourse referent and another entity
    ⇒ Convey speaker attitudes about the subject matter

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
  - Adverbial
Functions: Psychological uses

- Contrast

  (12a) Wife: **skarang** ada jalan bengko sedikit
           now exist walk crooked few
           Wife: ‘**now** (he’s) walking a little crookedly’

  (12b) Husband: **dulu itu** de jalan lurus
               prior D.DIST 3SG walk straight
               Husband: ‘**in the past, however**, he walked straight’

  (12c) Wife: … **skarang ini** baro ada baik-baik
             … **now** D.PROX then exist good-good
             Wife: ‘**just now** that (the foot got) well’
Functions: Textual uses

- DEM provide discourse orientation

- Domains of textual uses (Diessel 1999, see also Himmelmann 1996)
  - Anaphoric
  - Recognitional
  - Discourse operations in narratives (Longacre and Hwang 2012)
    - Integration
    - Contrastive focus
    - Restaging
  - Discourse deictic uses
Functions: Textual uses

- **Anaphoric uses** (Diessel 1999:93)
  - DEM are co-referential with a prior NP
    - Track discourse participants

- **Attested uses**
  - Adnominal
  - Pronominal
  - Adverbial
Functions: Textual uses

- Anaphoric uses (pronominal and adnominal uses)

  (13) ada penokok kayu ... smua ... tokok dengan ini
  exist pounder wood ... all ... pound with D.PROX
  'there is a wooden pounder ... all ... pound (sagu) with this'

  (14) trus di situ dia ada ketemu ada bua mera
  then at LOC.MED 3SG exist meet exit fruit red
  tapi dia ta ta trapun di atas kulit air,
  but 3SG [SPEECH MISTAKE] float at top skin water
  de pegang bua mera itu dan de jalan
  3SG hold fruit red D.DIST and 3SG walk
  'then there he was meeting there was a red fruit but it was
  floating on the water, he took that red fruit and he walked on'
Functions: Textual uses

- Recognitional use  (Diessel 1999 and Himmelman 1996)
  - DEM do not have a referent in the preceding discourse
    ⇒ Identify a referent through specific shared knowledge

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
Functions: Textual uses

- Recognitional use

(15) ... tapi kasian ade yang kemarin meninggal
... but pity ySb REL yesterday die
dengan baik itu
with good D.DIST
‘... but pity on that younger relative who died so well recently’
Functions: Textual uses

- Discourse operations in narratives (Longacre and Hwang 2012)
  - Integration
  - Contrastive focus
  - Restaging
Functions: Textual uses

- Integration
  - DEM occur usually at second and possibly at third mention of a participant, after participant introduction
    ⇒ A definite NP following the indefinite NP of participant introduction (Himmelmann 1996)

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
Functions: Textual uses

- Integration

(16) tete dan cucu dong pergi mancing di laut cucu ini de pegang pisang goreng dalam sak

‘they grandfather and grandchild go fishing on the ocean, this grandchild he holds a fried banana in (his) bag’
Functions: Textual uses

- Contrastive focus
  - NP DEM
    - Indicates contrastive focus between participants

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
Functions: Textual uses

- Contrastive focus

(17) dong baker, dong makan, a dia ini blum, 3PL cook 3PL eat ah, 3SG D.PROX not.yet
yang tua ini de bawa-bawa sampe di … REL old D.PROX 3SG carry-carry arrive at
‘they cooked, they ate, ah, this one not yet [arrived], this old one he kept on carrying until (he) arrived at …’
Functions: Textual uses

- Restaging
  - NP DEM or other increases in saliency (more coding material)
    ⇒ Restage participants who have been off-stage for at least a few clauses

- Attested uses
  - Adnominal
Functions: Textual uses

- Restaging

(18) teman-teman turun ke sana panggil-panggil, friend-friend descend to LOC.DIST call-call
a mari kitong turun olahraga, a sa masi ah come.here 1PL descend do.sports ah 1SG still
mo tidor, trus prempuan ini dia bertriak want sleep then woman D.PROX 3SG scream
ade prempuan ini
ySb woman D.PROX
‘(my) friends came down there calling (me), ‘ah, let’s go down, do sports’, ‘ugh, I still want to sleep’, then this woman, she screams, this younger sister’
Functions: Textual uses

- Discourse deictic uses (Diessel 1999:101)
  - DEM are co-referential with a preceding or following proposition
    - Establish an overt link between two propositions
      - Proposition in which DEM occurs
      - Proposition to which DEM refer

- Attested uses
  - Pronominal
Functions: Textual uses

Discourse deictic uses

(19) pace de bilang ini, mace ko sendiri man 3SG say D.PROX woman 2SG self yang ikut REL follow ‘he (my) husband said this, ‘you wife yourself have to go’"

(20) di kalender dua blas, baro di langit ini cuma at calendar two tens then at sky D.PROX just satu … itu tipu skali one … D.DIST cheat very ‘in a calendar are twelve (moons), but in this sky is only one (moon) … that's very deceptive’
Functions: Textual uses

- Discourse deictic uses of distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’
  - Sentence connective that signals “a causal link between two propositions” (Diessel 1999:125)
    - *itu* ‘D.DIST’
      - ⇒ Reason relation
    - *itu yang* ‘REL D.DIST’
      - ⇒ Result relation
Functions: Textual uses

- Discourse deictic uses: Reason relation

(21) sa bilang, tulang bau yang pata tulang rusuk, 1SG say, bone shoulder REL broken bone rib
... a mama itu hanya ko jatu kaget
... ah mother D.DIST just 2SG fall started
‘I said, ‘(it’s my) shoulder bone that is broken, (my) ribs’
(the doctor said,) ‘... ah, Mother that is just because you’re in shock’
Functions: Textual uses

- Discourse deictic uses: Result relation

(22) pace de tida makan ... lapar, itu yang man 3SG NEG eat ... hungry D.DIST REL
de sakit
3SG sick

‘he (my) husband hadn’t eaten ... (he was) hungry, that’s why he’s sick’
Summary

- Syntax
  - Adnominal, pronominal, adverbial uses

- Functions
  - Spatial uses
  - Temporal uses
  - Psychological uses (emotional involvement / vividness, contrast)
  - Textual uses (anaphoric, recognitional, integration, contrastive focus, restaging, discourse deictic)
  - Identificational uses
  - Placeholder uses
References


