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## 7. Demonstratives and locatives

This chapter discusses the Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives, focusing on their different functions and domains of use. Demonstratives and locatives are deictic expressions that provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation. Papuan Malay employs a two-term demonstrative system and a three-term locative system as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives

Papuan Malay DEM		Gloss	
proximal	<i>ini / ni</i>	'D.PROX'	'this'
distal	<i>itu / tu</i>	'D.DIST'	'that'
Papuan Malay LOC		Gloss	
proximal	<i>sini</i>	'L.PROX'	'here'
medial	<i>situ</i>	'L.MED'	'there'
distal	<i>sana</i>	'L.DIST'	'over there'

Both systems are distance oriented in that they “indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation vis-à-vis the deictic center” which “is defined by the speaker’s location at the time of the utterance” (Diessel 2006: 430). The unmarked deictic center is defined by the speaker in the ‘here’ and ‘now’. In reported direct speech and narratives, however, the deictic center is readjusted to the reported speech situation and defined by the quoted speakers and the location and time of their speaking.

While their major domain of use is to provide spatial orientation, the demonstratives and locatives also signal distance in metaphorical terms. Their main domains of use are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC) and their of domains of use

Domains of use	Function	DEM	LOC
Spatial	to provide spatial orientation to the hearer	X	X
Figurative locational	to signal a figurative locational endpoint		X
Temporal	to indicate the temporal setting of the situation or event talked about	X	X
Psychological	to signal the speakers’ psychological involvement with the situation or event talked about	X	X
Identificational	to aid in the identification of definite or identifiable referents	X	
Textual anaphoric	to keep track of a discourse antecedent	X	X
Textual discourse deictic	to establish an overt link between two propositions	X	

Domains of use	Function	DEM	LOC
Placeholder	to substitute for specific lexical items in the context of word-formulation trouble	X	

In the following sections the demonstratives (§7.1) and locatives (§7.2) are investigated in more detail. The ways in which the demonstratives and locatives can be combined are discussed in §7.3. The different findings for the demonstratives and locatives are summarized and compared in §7.4.

## 7.1. Demonstratives

In the following sections, the syntactic properties and forms of the Papuan Malay demonstratives are reviewed and discussed (§7.1.1), followed by an in-depth discussion of their different functions and domains of use (§7.1.2).

### 7.1.1. Syntax and forms of demonstratives

The distributional properties of the demonstratives are briefly reviewed in §7.1.1.1. This review is followed in §7.1.1.2 by a discussion of the distribution and frequencies of the long and short demonstrative forms.

#### 7.1.1.1. Distributional properties of demonstratives

The Papuan Malay demonstratives have the following distributional properties (for more details see §5.6):

1. Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): N/NP DEM (§5.6.1)
2. Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§5.6.2)
3. Modification with relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§5.6.2).
4. Co-occurrence with verbs or adverbs (adverbial uses) (§5.6.3)
5. Stacking of demonstratives: DEM DEM and N DEM DEM (§5.6.4)

#### 7.1.1.2. Distribution of the long versus short demonstrative forms

This section investigates the distribution and frequencies of the long versus the short demonstrative forms and explores the factors that contribute to this distribution. The data show that the reduced demonstrative forms are fast-speech phenomena that fulfill the same syntactic functions as the long forms. With two exceptions they are also employed in the same domains of use.

The corpus contains a total of 2,304 *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens of which 2,046 (88.8%) are the long form and 258 (11.2%) the short form, as shown in Table 3. The number of *itu* 'D.DIST' token is considerably larger with a total of 4,159 token of which 3,491 (83.9%) are the long form and 668 (16.1%) the short form.

Table 3: Demonstratives according to their phonological environment

	<i>ini</i>		<i>itu</i>		<i>ni</i>		<i>tu</i>	
Clause-initial	86	4%	279	8%	7	3%	28	4%
Post-vowel	1,156	<b>57%</b>	1,671	<b>48%</b>	222	<b>86%</b>	531	<b>80%</b>
Post-nasal	432	21%	833	24%	18	7%	67	10%
Post-consonant	372	18%	708	20%	11	4%	42	6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,046</b>	100%	<b>3,491</b>	100%	<b>258</b>	100%	<b>668</b>	100%

The long forms occur in all phonological environments with Table 3 indicating some differences in distribution, however. First, the high number of long demonstratives (about 50%) that follow lexical items with word-final vowels is due to the fact that in Papuan Malay more lexical items have a word-final vowel than a word-final nasal or consonant. Second, the low number of long demonstratives (<10%) in clause-initial position is due to the fact that the number of pronominally used demonstratives is much lower than that of adnominally or adverbially used ones.

The short forms also occur in all phonological environments. Table 3 shows, however, that most of them ( $\geq 80\%$ ) occur after lexical items with a word-final vowel. The percentage of short demonstratives following lexical items with word-final nasal or consonant is considerably lower compared to the long forms.

Interestingly, the short demonstratives also occur in clause-initial position: of the seven short *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens occurring clause-initially, five occur at the beginning of an utterance. The remaining two tokens occur clause-initially in the middle of an utterance. In both cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has a word-final vowel which appears to be conditioning these two short forms. Of the 28 short *itu* 'D.DIST' tokens occurring clause-initially, eleven occur at the beginning of an utterance. The remaining 17 tokens occur clause-initially in the middle of an utterance. Of these, 14 tokens are conditioned by the preceding word-final phoneme: in eleven cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has a word-final vowel while in the remaining three cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has coda /t/.

These findings suggest that for the most part the short demonstrative forms are conditioned by the environment of their occurrence and constitute fast-speech phenomena. The listed exceptions require further investigation.

The short demonstratives fulfill the same syntactic functions as the long ones. With two exceptions they are also employed in the same domains of use. The data does, however, suggest some preferences. Table 4 presents the short demonstratives according to their syntactic functions. The data show a clear preference for their adnominal uses. Of the 209 adnominally used short *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens, 170 (81%) modify noun phrases with nominal heads, while 34 (16%) modify noun phrases with pronominal heads; the remaining five tokens modify interrogatives. Likewise, of the 482 adnominally used short *itu* 'D.DIST' tokens, 345 (72%) modify noun phrases with nominal heads, while 105 (22%) modify noun phrases with pronominal heads, and 30 (6%) modify locatives; the remaining two tokens modify interrogatives. Considerably less frequently, the short demonstratives have pronominal uses ( $\leq 8\%$ ) and adverbial uses ( $\leq 13\%$ ). (Given their large numbers, the long demonstratives have not been quantified according to their syntactic functions.)

Table 4: Reduced demonstratives according to their syntactic functions

Syntactic functions	<i>ni</i>		<i>tu</i>	
Adnominal uses	209	81%	482	72%
Pronominal uses	20	8%	44	7%
Adverbial uses (verbal modifier)	20	8%	86	13%
Adverbial uses (adverbial modifier)	9	3%	56	8%
Total	258	100%	668	100%

The short demonstratives are also employed in the same domains of use as the long ones, except for the identificational and placeholder uses. Given their rather frequent alternative readings (§7.1.2), the demonstratives have not been quantified according to their domains of use.

Table 5 and Table 6 present an overview of the short demonstratives according to their syntactic functions and domains of use. For *ini* ‘D.PROX’ in Table 5, its syntactic functions are exemplified as follows: adnominal in (1) to (4), pronominal in (5), and adverbial in (6) and (7). Its domains of use are given as follows: spatial in (1a) and (5a), temporal in (1b), psychological in (1c) (emotional involvement), (3), (4), (6) and (7) (vividness), and (2) (contrast), textual in (5b) (anaphoric) and (5c) (discourse deictic).

Table 5: Short *ini* ‘D.PROX’: Syntactic functions and domains of use<sup>184</sup>

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
1. Adnominal uses (modifies nouns) / Spatial uses in (a), temporal uses in (b), psychological uses (emotional involvement) in (c)	
a. <i>bawa mace ni ke ruma-sakit</i> bring woman D.PROX to hospital	‘(I) brought ( <b>my</b> ) <b>wife</b> <b>here</b> to the hospital’
b. <i>hari ni ko kasi makang</i> day D.PROX 2SG give food	‘ <b>today</b> you give food (to others)’
c. <i>kalo Ise ni selesay ...</i> if Ise D.PROX finish	‘when <b>this (my daughter)</b> <b>Ise</b> has finished (school) ...’ <sup>185</sup>
2. Adnominal uses (modifies personal pronouns) / Psychological uses (contrast)	
<i>kitong ni tra bisa</i> 1PL D.PROX NEG be.able	<b>we, by contrast</b> , can’t (work like that)’
3. Adnominal uses (modifies demonstratives) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
<i>dia buang ini ni</i> 3SG throw(.away) D.PROX D.PROX	‘he threw away <b>these very (ones)</b> ’

<sup>184</sup> Documentation: (1) 081025-003-Cv.0042, 081110-008-NPHt.0254, 081025-003-Cv.0135; (2) 081014-007-Pr.0053; (3) 080922-010a-NF.0101; (4) 080922-004-Cv.0017; (5) 080922-010a-NF.0081, 080917-006-CvHtEx.0005, 080917-010-CvEx.0116; (6) 080919-005-Cv.0015; (7) 080922-001a-CvPh.0735.

<sup>185</sup> The referent *Ise* was not present when the speaker talked about his daughter; hence proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ does not have spatial uses in this context.

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
4. Adnominal uses (modifies interrogatives) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>de mo ke mana ni</b> 3SG want.to LOC(to) where D.PROX	' <b>where (EMPH)</b> does he want to go?'
5. Pronominal uses / Spatial uses in (a), textual uses (anaphoric) in (b), textual uses (discourse deictic) in (c)	
a. <b>ada ni</b> exist D.PROX	'(the fish) are <b>here</b> '
b. <b>de menyala ni</b> 3SG put.fire.to D.PROX	'he puts fire to <b>this</b> '
c. <b>ni usul saja</b> D.PROX proposal just	' <b>this</b> is just a proposal'
6. Adverbial uses (modifies verbs) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>sa masi hidup ni</b> 1SG still live D.PROX	'I'm still <b>very much alive</b> '
7. Adverbial uses (modifies adverbs) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>... tapi skarang ni ada libur</b> ... but now D.PROX exist vacation	'but <b>right now</b> (we) are on vacation'

Table 6 lists the syntactic functions and domains of use of *itu* 'D.DIST'. Its syntactic functions are listed as follows: adnominal in (1) to (5), pronominal in (6), and adverbial in (7) and (8). Its domains of use are given as follows: spatial in (6a), temporal in (1a), psychological in (1b) and (4) (emotional involvement), (3) and (7) (vividness), and (2) and (8) (contrast), textual in (1c) (anaphoric), and (6b) and (6c) (discourse deictic).

Table 6: Short *itu* 'D.DIST': Syntactic functions and domains of use<sup>186</sup>

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
1. Adnominal uses (modifies nouns) / Temporal uses in (a), psychological uses (emotional involvement) in (b), discourse uses (anaphoric) in (c)	
a. <b>Rabu tu ... ko datang</b> Wednesday D.DIST 2SG come	' <b>next Wednesday</b> you'll come'
b. <b>ko pu swara tu bahaya</b> 2SG POSS voice D.DIST be.dangerous	' <b>that voice of yours</b> is dangerous'
c. <b>Herman tu biasa tida ...</b> Hermanus D.DIST be.usual NEG ...	' <b>that Herman</b> usually cannot ...'

<sup>186</sup> Documentation: (1) 081011-005-Cv.0001, 081025-009b-Cv.0016, 081014-004-Cv.0019; (2) 080922-001a-CvPh.0455; (3) 081115-001a-Cv.0145; (4) 081109-001-Cv.0092; (5) 081006-022-CvEx.0150; (6) 081025-009b-Cv.0006, 081006-022-CvEx.0113, 081013-002-Cv.0003; (7) 081023-001-Cv.0020; (8) 081115-001a-Cv.0058.

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
2. Adnominal uses (modifies personal pronouns) / Psychological uses (contrast) <b>sa tu rajing skola</b> 1SG D.DIST be.diligent go.to.school	<b>'I, nonetheless,</b> go to school diligently'
3. Adnominal uses (modifies demonstratives) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>itu tu kata-kata dasar ...</b> D.DIST D.DIST RDP~word base	<b>'that very</b> (word belongs to) the basic words ...'
4. Adnominal uses (modifies interrogatives) / Psychological uses (emotional involvement) <b>itu apa tu?</b> D.DIST what D.DIST	<b>'what (EMPH)</b> was that? <sup>187</sup>
5. Adnominal uses (modifies locatives) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>di sini tu ada orang swanggi satu</b> LOC(at) L.PROX D.DIST exist person nocturnal.evil.spirit one	<b>'here (EMPH)</b> there is a certain evil sorcerer'
6. Pronominal uses / Spatial uses in (a), discourse uses (discourse deictic) in (b) and (c) a. <b>de ada tu, de ada tu</b> 3SG exist D.DIST 3SG exist D.DIST b. <b>dorang liat kitorang, tu heran</b> 3PL see 1PL D.DIST feel surprised (about) c. <b>tu yang sa tampeleng Aleks</b> D.DIST REL 1SG slap Aleks	<b>'she is over there,</b> she is <b>over there</b> ' <b>'they see us, that's</b> surprising' <b>'that's why</b> I slapped Aleks in the face'
7. Adverbial uses (modifies verbs) / Psychological uses (vividness) <b>tong maing tu hancur</b> 1PL play D.DIST be.shattered	<b>'we did our very playing</b> poorly'
8. Adverbial uses (modifies adverbs) / Psychological uses (contrast) <b>de skarang tu tida terlalu ...</b> 3SG now D.DIST NEG too	<b>'he's now (as opposed to the past)</b> not too ...'

In summary, the data in the present corpus suggests that the short demonstrative forms are fast-speech phenomena that for the most part are conditioned by their phonological environment. The data also show that the long and short demonstrative forms fulfill the same syntactic functions. Moreover, they are employed in the same domains of use with two exceptions (the identificational and placeholder uses).

### 7.1.2. Functions of demonstratives

The Papuan Malay demonstratives have a range of different functions and uses which are discussed in more detail in the following sections: spatial uses in §7.1.2.1,

<sup>187</sup> In her utterance the speaker conveys her anger about the referee of a volleyball game by whom she felt cheated.

temporal uses in §7.1.2.2, psychological uses in §7.1.2.3, identificational uses in §7.1.2.4, textual uses in 7.1.2.5, and placeholder uses in §7.1.2.6. Unless the context of an utterance is clear and explicit, the specific domain of use of the demonstrative may have multiple possible readings

### 7.1.2.1. Spatial uses of demonstratives

The major domain of use for the demonstratives is to provide spatial orientation. This is achieved by drawing the hearer's attention to specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation. Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' indicates that the referent is conceived as spatially close to the speaker, whereas *itu* 'D.DIST' signals that the referent is conceived as being located further away. This distinction is shown in three sets of contrastive examples.

In the first set of examples in (1) the contrast is illustrated for the adnominally used demonstratives, each of them modifying the common noun *ruma* 'house'. This example is part of a conversation that took place at the speaker's house. Employing *ini* 'D.PROX', the speaker relates her plans to move from her current house, *ruma ini* 'this house', to a different house in a neighboring village. Because the new house is smaller than the older one, the speaker's husband is going to enlarge *ruma itu* 'that house', with *itu* 'D.DIST' indicating that the new house is located at some distance.

Spatial uses: Examples set #1

- (1)    *ini*    *kasi*   *tinggal*   *ana~ana*   *dong*   *tinggal*   *tong*   *pi*  
       D.PROX   give   stay   RDP~child   3PL   stay   1PL   go  
       *tinggal*   *di*   *Sawar*   *sana*   ...   *ruma*   *ini*   *tinggal*   ...  
       stay   at   Sawar   L.DIST   house   D.PROX   stay  
       *baru*    *ruma*   *itu*    *biking*   *besar*  
       and.then   house   D.DIST   make   be.big  
       '(we'll) leave this (house) behind, the children will stay (here), (and) we'll  
       move to Sawar over there ..., (we'll) leave **this house** behind ... and then  
       (we'll) make **that house** (in Sawar) bigger' [081110-001-  
       Cv.0012/0022/0025/0027]

The second set of examples in (2) and (3) illustrates how the pronominally used demonstratives signal spatial distance. The example in (2) occurred when the speaker and his brother were fishing. When asked where he had put the fish they had just caught, the speaker employs *ini* 'D.PROX' to convey that the fish *ada ini* 'are here', in the bucket right next to him. In (3), the speaker replies to the question where a certain other person was. Employing *itu* 'D.DIST' the speaker states that *de ada itu* 'she is over there'.

Spatial uses: Examples set #2

- (2)    *ada*    *ni*  
       exist   D.PROX  
       [Reply to a question:] '(the fish) are **here**' [080917-006-CvHt.0005]



- (3) de ada **tu** de ada **tu**  
 3SG exist D.DIST 3SG exist D.DIST  
 [Reply to a question:] ‘she’s **over there**, she’s **over there**’ [081025-009b-Cv.0006]

In the third set of examples in (4) and (5), the demonstratives are used adverbially. The utterance in (4) occurred during a discussion about the teenagers living in the house. Noting that they are ill-behaved, the speaker uses *ini* ‘D.PROX’ to assert that they *tinggal ini* ‘live here’ in this house. In (5) the speaker relates that she used to live in a different part of the regency, namely in Takar. Employing *itu* ‘D.DIST’, the speaker maintains that she used to *tinggal itu* ‘live there’.

Spatial uses: Examples set #3

- (4) ko **tinggal ini**  
 2SG stay D.PROX  
 ‘you **live here**’ [081115-001b-Cv.0030]
- (5) waktu kitong dari Jayapura baru pulang ke kampung  
 when 1PL from Jayapura and.then go.home to village  
 di Takar Pante-Timur baru kitong **tinggal itu**  
 at Takar Pante-Timur and.then 1PL stay D.DIST  
 ‘when we (were back) from Jayapura, then (we) returned home to the village at Takar at Pante-Timur, and then we **lived there**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0159]

### 7.1.2.2. Temporal uses of demonstratives

In their temporal uses, the demonstratives signal the temporal setting of the situation or event talked about in terms of some temporal reference point. This function is attested for the adnominally, pronominally, and adverbially used demonstratives.

The (near) contrastive examples in (6) to (8) demonstrate the temporal uses of the adnominally used demonstratives. Proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ signals that the event is temporally close to the current speech situation as in *hari ni* ‘today’ in (6). By contrast, *itu* ‘D.DIST’ indicates that the temporal reference point is located at some distance from the current speech situation, either in the past as in *hari itu* ‘that day’ in (7) or in the future as in *Rabu tu hari Kamis itu* ‘next Wednesday, next Thursday’ in (8).

Temporal uses of the adnominally used demonstratives

- (6) **hari ni** ko kasi makang nanti ...  
 day D.PROX 2SG give food very.soon  
 [About helping each other:] ‘**today** you feed (others), at some point in the future [they’ll feed your children]’ [081110-008-CvNP.0254]
- (7) yo, dong dua pergi ke skola lagi **hari itu** dong  
 yes 3PL two go to school again day D.DIST 3PL

ada meter sedikit  
exist meter few

‘yes, they both went to school, **that day** they were a little drunk’ [081115-001a-Cv.0038]

- (8) **Rabu tu hari Kamis itu** ko datang ...  
Wednesday D.DIST day Thursday D.DIST 2SG come  
‘**next Wednesday, next Thursday**, you’ll come ...’ [081011-005-Cv.0001]

Pronominally used demonstratives also have temporal uses as shown in (9) and (10). Again, *ini* ‘D.PROX’ in (9) indicates that the event is temporally close to the current speech situation: *ini* ‘right now’. Distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’ in (10), by contrast, signals temporal distance: *itu* ‘then, that’s when’.

Temporal uses of the pronominally used demonstratives

- (9) mandi cepat~cepat **ini** tong mo lanjut lagi  
bathe RDP~be.fast D.PROX 1PL want continue again  
‘bathe very quickly, **right now** we want to continue further’ (Lit. ‘**this (is when)**’) [080917-008-NP.0134]
- (10) satu kali tong pergi berdoa ... **itu** de ikut  
one time 1PL go pray D.DIST 3SG follow  
‘one time we went to pray ..., **at that time** she (my daughter) also followed (us)’ (Lit. ‘**that (is when)**’) [080917-008-NP.0175]

The temporal uses of the adverbially used demonstratives are illustrated in (11) and (12). Again, *ini* ‘D.PROX’ signals temporal proximity as in *ada datang ini* ‘is coming right now’ in (11), while *itu* ‘D.DIST’ indicates temporal distance as in *bangung itu* ‘woke up at that time’ in (12).

Temporal uses of the adverbially used demonstratives

- (11) ... o betul Papua-Satu ini **ada datang ini**  
oh! true Papua-Satu D.PROX exist come D.PROX  
‘[and then we saw,] ‘oh!, (it’s) true, this Papua-Satu (ship) is **coming right now**’ (Lit. ‘**this coming**’) [080917-008-NP.0130]
- (12) sa bawa pulang ... mace **bangung itu** dia suda  
1SG bring go.home woman wake.up D.DIST 3SG already  
snang karna liat ada makangang  
feel.happy(.about) because see exist food  
‘I brought home (the game that I had shot) ... (when my) wife **got up at that time**, already she was glad because (she) saw there was food’ (Lit. ‘**that waking up**’) [080919-004-NP.0030/0032]

### 7.1.2.3. Psychological uses of demonstratives

In their psychological uses, the demonstratives signal the speakers’ psychological involvement with the situation or event talked about (Lakoff 1974: 347). Three

major domains of psychological use are attested: emotional involvement, vividness, and contrast.

### *Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement*

Speakers employ the demonstratives to signal their emotional involvement, close association, and/or attitudes concerning the subject matter. Proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ indicates emotional proximity or positive attitudes, while *itu* ‘D.DIST’ signals emotional distance or negative attitudes, as illustrated in three sets of examples.

In the first set of examples in (13) and (14), the demonstratives modify the personal pronoun *ko* ‘2SG’. In (13), a mother scolds her daughter for having ripped off the blossoms of the garden’s flowers. In shouting at her youngest, she uses *ini* ‘D.PROX’, thereby signaling her nevertheless close emotional involvement with her daughter. By contrast, in (14) a teacher is exasperated with one of his students who does not know the English word ‘please’. In voicing his frustration, the speaker uses *itu* ‘D.DIST’ and thereby signals his momentary emotional distance from the referent.

#### Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement: Examples set #1

- (13) ko liat Luisa pu bagus, suda kembang banyak  
 2SG see Luisa POSS be.good already flowering many  
 ko ini bunga tida selamat  
 2SG D.PROX flower NEG safe  
 [After the speaker’s daughter ripped off blossoms:] ‘you see Luisa’s (flowers) are good, (they are) already flowering a lot, **you (EMPH)**, the flowers (you picked) can’t be saved’ [081006-021-CvHt.0002]
- (14) Dodo kipas de suda mo ko tu ora orang  
 Dodo beat 3SG already want 2SG D.DIST TRU-person person  
 bilang please, kata pis saja tida tau goblok  
 say please[E] word please[E] just NEG know be.stupid  
 ‘Dodo reprimanded her immediately, **you there**, people[TRU], people say ‘please’, don’t (you) know the word ‘please’?!, (you’re) stupid!’ [081115-001a-Cv.0140]

In the second set of examples in (15) and (16), each demonstrative modifies the common noun *ana* ‘child’. The utterance in (15) is part of a story about a motorbike accident that the speaker had in a remote area of the regency. The speaker relates how her nephew came and picked her up and took her all the way to the next hospital in the regency capital. In choosing *ini* ‘D.PROX’, the speaker signals her emotional closeness to the referent, who was not present when the speaker related her story; in fact, at that time the nephew was living about 300 km away. The utterance (16) occurred during a conversation about the speaker’s youngest brother. Her interlocutors relate several complaints about the referent, who was present during the conversation. Finally, the speaker joins her interlocutors and comments that *ana kecil itu* ‘that small child’ constantly changes his opinion. By employing *itu* ‘D.DIST’, the speaker, who often criticizes her brother publicly, signals that she wishes to dissociate herself from her brother.



‘uncle’ and *emosi* ‘feel angry (about)’ with *ini* ‘D.PROX’, thereby emphasizing them. In choosing the proximal rather than the distal demonstrative to modify the constituent *bapa-tua* ‘uncle’, the speaker also signals that the referent is still near by.

The utterance in (20) is part of a conversation about the work stamina of a wife from the Pante-Barat area. When she and her husband lived in a different area, the women from that area were surprised how hard the Pante-Barat woman worked. The utterance in (20) relates the husband’s response to these women. Having referred to his wife twice with the personal pronoun *de* ‘3SG’, the speaker refers to her again. This time he modifies the personal pronoun with short *itu* ‘D.DIST’, thereby emphasizing it. This example again illustrates the at times overlapping functions of the demonstratives. In addition to signaling vividness, the distal demonstrative also signals that the referent was not present in the speech situation.

Adnominal uses to signal vividness

- (19) sa bilang, adu, **bapa-tua ni** mancing  
 1SG say oh.no! uncle D.PROX fish.with.rod  
**emosi ni**  
 feel.angry(.about) D.PROX  
 [After having been provoked:] ‘I said, ‘oh no, **uncle here** is provoking **(our) emotions (EMPH)**’ [081025-008-Cv.0124]
- (20) ... de bilang, ... de suda biasa de bisa kerja  
 3SG say 3SG already be.usual 3SG be.able work  
**de tu** kerja kaya laki~laki  
 3SG D.DIST work like RDP~husband  
 ‘[and then he (my) husband (‘father’) told (them),] he said, ‘...she’s already used to (working like this), she can work (hard), **she (EMPH)** works like a man’ [081014-007-CvEx.0049-0050]

In the second set of examples in (21) and (22), the demonstratives are used adverbially to signal vividness. In (21), *ini* ‘D.PROX’ modifies the verb *hidup* ‘live’, resulting in the emphatic reading *hidup ini* ‘to be very much alive’. Along similar lines, in (22), *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies the verb *lompat* ‘jump’, giving the emphatic reading *lompat itu* ‘really jumped’. Again, these examples illustrate the overlapping functions of the demonstratives. In addition to indicating vividness, they also have temporal uses: they signal temporal proximity indicating present tense in (21), and temporal distance indicating past tense in (22).

Adverbial uses to signal vividness

- (21) wa, sa masi **hidup ni** kam suda hinggap di  
 wow! 1SG still live D.PROX 2PL already perch at  
 sa punya badan  
 1SG POSS body  
 [After having been pestered by flies:] ‘wow!, I’m still **very much alive**, you (blue flies) had already perched upon my body’ [080919-005-Cv.0015]

- (22) *sunngu sa lompat itu dengan tenaga*  
 be.true 1SG jump D.DIST with energy  
 ‘truly, I **really jumped** with energy’ [081025-006-Cv.0220]

The second, although less common, strategy to signal vividness is the stacking of demonstratives: the first demonstrative is always a long one, while the second is always the corresponding short one. In these constructions, the first demonstrative may be used adnominally as in (23) and (24), or pronominally as in (25) and (26). In each case, the result of the stacking is an emphatic reading of the entire noun phrase. In (23) and (24) the second demonstrative modifies a nested noun phrase with an adnominal demonstrative such that ‘[[N DEM] DEM]’. The result of the stacking is an emphatic reading in the sense of ‘this/that very N’: *orang ini ni* ‘this very person’ in (23) and *ruma itu tu* ‘that very house’ in (24).

Adnominal uses of stacked demonstrative stacking to signal vividness

- (23) *[[orang ini] ni] percaya sama Tuhan Yesus*  
 person D.PROX D.PROX trust to God Jesus  
 ‘**this very person** believes in God Jesus’ [081006-022-CvEx.0177]
- (24) *waktu kitorang masuk di [[ruma itu] tu] ...*  
 when 1PL enter at house D.DIST D.DIST ...  
 ‘when we moved into **that very house**, ...’ [081006-022-CvEx.0167]

In (25) and (26) the second demonstrative modifies a pronominally used first one. The result is an emphatic reading in the sense of ‘this/that very (one)’: *ini ni* ‘these very (ones) in (25) and *itu tu* ‘those very (ones) in (26).

Pronominal uses of stacked demonstrative stacking to signal vividness

- (25) *ada segala macang tulang dia buang [ini ni]*  
 exist all variety bone 3SG throw(.away) D.PROX D.PROX  
 ‘there were all kinds of bones, he threw away **these very (ones)**’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0101]
- (26) *ko taw kata pis ka tida [itu tu] kata~kata*  
 2SG know word please[E] or NEG D.DIST D.DIST RDP~word  
*dasar yang harusnya kamu taw*  
 base REL appropriately 2PL know  
 [Addressing a school student:] ‘do you know the (English) word ‘please’ or not?, **that very** (word belongs to) the basic words that you should know’  
 [081115-001a-Cv.0145]

While unattested in the corpus, speakers do allow one combination of non-identical demonstrative stacking in elicitation. Acceptable is the order of proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ followed by distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’, as shown in (27). The reverse order is not permitted by speakers even in elicitation, as illustrated in (28). At this point in the research on Papuan Malay, however, the semantics of ‘N *ini tu*’ constructions as compared to ‘N *ini ni*’ and ‘N *itu tu*’ constructions remain uncertain.

## Non-identical stacked demonstratives

- (27) **orang ini tu** percaya sama Tuhan Yesus  
 person D.PROX D.DIST trust to God Jesus  
 ‘that person here believes in God Jesus’ [Elicited BR111017.009]
- (28) \* **orang itu ni** percaya sama Tuhan Yesus  
 person D.DIST D.PROX trust to God Jesus  
 Intended reading: ‘this person there believes in God Jesus’ [Elicited BR111017.010]

*Demonstratives signaling contrast between two entities*

In their contrastive uses, the demonstratives signal contrast between a discourse referent and another entity, thereby conveying the speakers’ attitudes about the subject matter. This contrastive use is illustrated with three sets of examples.

In the first set of examples in (29) and (30), the demonstratives modify the personal pronoun *saya* ‘1SG’, each time indicating an explicit contrast.

In (29), the speaker compares the ill-behaved young people living in the house to himself. While they have the privilege of staying with relatives in the regional city to complete their secondary schooling, he had to stay with strangers when he was young. This contrast is indicated with *ini* ‘D.PROX’.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: *saya ini* ‘1SG D.PROX’

- (29) kamu ana~ana skarang ini susa ... **saya ini**  
 2PL RDP~child now D.PROX be.difficult 1SG D.PROX  
 tinggal dengan orang  
 stay with person  
 ‘you, the young people, nowadays are difficult ... **I, by contrast**, stayed with (other) people’ (Lit. ‘this I’) [081115-001b-Cv.0038/0040]

The exchange in (30) occurred during a phone conversation when a daughter asked her father to buy her a cell-phone. In (30a) her father suggests that a cell-phone would distract her from her studies. The daughter responds with the contrastive statement in (30b) in which *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies *saya* ‘1SG’, resulting in the contrastive reading *sa tu* ‘I, nevertheless’. As already mentioned, the exact semantic distinctions between *ini* ‘D.PROX’ and *itu* ‘D.DIST’ need further investigation. The use of *itu* ‘D.DIST’ with *saya* ‘1SG’ is especially surprising given that a first person singular pronoun is inherently proximal. A temporal non-contemporaneous interpretation is not likely since the speaker talks about her behavior in general.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: *saya itu* ‘1SG D.DIST’

- (30) a. Father: kalo bli HP di situ nanti su  
 if buy cell.phone at L.MED very.soon already  
 tra bisa skola maing HP saja  
 NEG be.able go.to.school play cell.phone just  
 Father: ‘if (you) buy a cell-phone there then (you) won’t be able to do (any) schooling, (you’ll) just play (with your) cell-phone

- b. Daughter: **sa tu** rajing skola  
 1SG D.DIST be.diligent go.to.school  
 Daughter: ‘**I, nonetheless**, go to school diligently’ (Lit. ‘**that I**’)  
 [080922-001a-CvPh.0448/0455]

In the second set of examples in (31) and (32), the demonstratives modify the personal pronoun *ko* ‘2SG’: while the contrast is implicit in (31), it is explicit in (32).

The example in (31) is part of joke about a boy who chooses to attend a choir rather than a karate club together with his friends. The father is upset about his son’s choice. Finally, he vents his anger with a contrastive statement in which *ini* ‘D.PROX’ modifies *ko* ‘2SG’. Thereby, the father contrasts his son implicitly with his friends: *ko ni* ‘and what about you’.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: *ko ini* ‘2SG D.PROX’

- (31) dep bapa liat~liat dia setiap hari ... sampe dep  
 3SG:POSS father RDP~see 3SG every day until 3SG:POSS  
 bapa su mara, **ko ni** setiap hari ko  
 father already feel.angry(.about) 2SG D.PROX every day 2SG  
 ikut latiang paduang-swara trus, kalo dong pukul  
 follow practice choir be.continuous if 3PL hit  
 ko ko bisa tangkis ka tida  
 2SG 2SG be.able ward.off or NEG  
 ‘his father sees him (practicing in a choir) [while his other friends practice self-defense] until his father gets angry (with his son), ‘**and what about you**, each and every day you attend the choir practice, (but) if someone hits you, can you defend (yourself) or not?’ (Lit. ‘**this you**’) [081109-006-JR.0001-0003]

In (32), an aunt gives advice to her niece who had been insulted by her younger cousin. Agreeing that the younger cousin has lighter skin and longer hair than the referent, the speaker continues her advice with a contrastive statement in which *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies *ko* ‘2SG’: *ko itu* ‘you, however’.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: *ko itu* ‘2SG D.DIST’

- (32) ade tu biar puti rambut mayang tinggal rambut  
 ySb D.DIST permit be.white hair palm.blossom stay hair  
 panjang, **ko itu** jalang  
 be.long 2SG D.DIST walk  
 ‘let that younger sister have light skin, (let her have) hair that’s long down to her bottom, **you, however**, go (your own way)’ (Lit. ‘**that you**’) [081115-001a-Cv.0244]

In the third set in (33), the demonstratives modify temporal adverbs, thereby signaling temporal contrasts. In (33), a wife and her husband recount how a young man damaged his leg during a motorbike accident. In (33a) the wife relates that *skarang* ‘now’ the referent walks crookedly. Her husband continues the narrative in (33b) with a contrastive statement in which *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies the temporal



adverb *dulu* ‘in the past’, thereby signaling a temporal contrast: *dulu itu* ‘in the past, however’. Subsequently, the wife further elaborates on the referent’s condition. She concludes the exchange with yet another contrastive statement in (33c) in which *ini* ‘D.PROX’ modifies the temporal adverb *skarang* ‘now’, again signaling a temporal contrast: *skarang ini* ‘(it’s) just now’.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: Modifying temporal adverbs

- (33) a. Wife: *skarang ada jalang bengkok sedikit*  
           now       exist walk   be.crooked few  
       Wife: ‘now he’s walking a little crookedly (because of his motorbike accident)’
- b. Husband: *dulu itu de jalang lurus*  
               in the past D.DIST 3SG walk be.straight  
       Husband: ‘in the past, however, he walked straight’
- c. Wife: ... *ini bengkok ini kaki ini*  
               D.PROX be.crooked D.PROX foot D.PROX  
               *skarang ini baru ada baik~baik*  
               now D.PROX recently exist RDP~be.good  
       Wife: ‘this (foot) was crooked here, this foot, (it’s) just now that (it got) well’ [081006-020-Cv.0006-0007/0013]

#### 7.1.2.4. Identificational uses of demonstratives

The demonstratives have identificational uses when they appear in the subject slot of a nominal predicate clause (§12.2). In this context, the demonstratives aids in the identification of a definite or identifiable referent encoded by the predicate. For instance, *ini* ‘D.PROX’ takes the subject slot in (34) and *itu* ‘D.DIST’ in (35). In this domain of use the long demonstratives are attested.

- (34) *ini daging yang saya bawa antar buat sodara dorang*  
       D.PROX meat REL 1SG bring deliver for sibling 3PL  
       ‘this is the (wild pig) meat that I brought (and) delivered for them relatives’  
       [080919-003-NP.0021]
- (35) *itu kali Biri*  
       D.DIST river Biri  
       ‘that is the Biri river’ [081025-008-Cv.0006]

#### 7.1.2.5. Textual uses of demonstratives

In their textual uses, the demonstratives provide discourse orientation. Two major uses can be distinguished, following Diessel (1999: 93): “anaphoric” and “discourse deictic” uses. (See also Himmelmann 1996.)

*Anaphoric uses*

In their anaphoric uses, the demonstratives “are coreferential with a prior NP” and thereby “keep track of discourse participants” (Diessel 1999: 93).

When used anaphorically, the demonstratives corefer with a referent or an event. In these contexts they may be employed adnominally as in (36) and (37), pronominally as in (38) and (39), or adverbially as in (40) and (41). The exact semantic distinctions between *ini* ‘D.PROX’ and *itu* ‘D.DIST’ as participant tracking devices, however, are yet to be investigated in more detail.

The examples in (36) and (37) demonstrate the adnominal anaphoric uses of the demonstratives. The utterances in (36) are part of a joke about a school student who does not know to draw. The teacher orders the students to *gambar monyet* ‘draw a monkey’. When the *monyet* ‘monkey’ is mentioned the next time, it is marked with *ini* ‘D.PROX’ thereby indicating co-reference with this particular monkey. The example in (37) is part of a narrative that describes how the speaker’s ancestor first came down to the coast where he finds a *bua mera* ‘red fruit’. At its next mention, the noun phrase *bua mera* ‘red fruit’ is marked with *itu* ‘D.DIST’ to signal co-reference with that particular fruit.

## Adnominal anaphoric uses

- (36) ibu mulay suru ana~ana murit mulay gambar **monyet** di  
 woman start order RDP~child pupil start draw monkey at  
 atas pohong pisang ... trus de gambar **monyet ini**  
 top tree banana next 3SG draw monkey D.PROX  
 di bawa pohong pisang  
 at bottom tree banana  
 ‘Ms. (Teacher) starts ordering the students to start drawing **a monkey** on a  
 banana tree ... and then he draws **this monkey** under the banana tree’  
 [081109-002-JR.0001-0002]
- (37) trus di situ ... ada **bua mera** ... de pegang  
 next at L.MED exist fruit be.red 3SG hold  
**bua mera itu** dang de jalang  
 fruit be.red D.DIST and 3SG walk  
 ‘and then there ... was **a red fruit** ... he took **that red fruit** and he walked  
 (further)’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0218-219]

The examples in (38) and (39) illustrate the pronominal anaphoric uses of the demonstratives. The remark in (38) is part of a description of sagu production. After having introduced the main tool, *penokok kayu* ‘wooden pounder’, the speaker replaces it at its next mention with *ini* ‘D.PROX’. In (39) the speaker talks about a female weight lifter. Noting that she is talking about weights in kilogram, she employs short *itu* ‘D.DIST’ which is coreferent with *de pu brat* ‘her weights’.

## Pronominal anaphoric uses

- (38) ada **penokok kayu** ... semua orang tokok dengan **ini**  
 exist pounder wood all person tap with D.PROX  
 ‘there is a **wooden pounder** ... all people pound (sagu) with **this**’ [081014-006-CvPr.0011/0057]
- (39) prempuang Bandung itu **de pu brat** yang itu  
 woman Bandung D.DIST 3SG POSS be.heavy REL D.DIST  
 sa angkat **tu** kilo ... dlapang pulu tiga  
 1SG pick-up D.DIST kilogram eight tens three  
 ‘that woman from Bandung, **her weights** which I lifted, **that** (is in) kilogram ... eighty three (kilogram)’ [081023-003-Cv.0003]

The examples in (40) and (41) illustrate the adverbial anaphoric uses of both demonstratives. The utterance in (40) is part of a narrative about a youth retreat. During their journey to the retreat, the teenagers meet an old woman who gives them advice for the retreat. The woman mentions the verb *jalang* ‘walk’ three times while advising the teenagers where to walk and how to behave. When she mentions *jalang* ‘walk’ again, she marks it with *ini* ‘D.PROX’.

Adverbial anaphoric uses of *ini* ‘D.PROX’

- (40) kamu **jalang jalang** baik~baik saja kamu tinggal kamu **jalang**  
 2PL walk walk RDP~be.good just 2PL stay 2PL walk  
 tida bole ini ini ... kamu **jalang ini**  
 NEG be.permitted D.PROX D.PROX 2PL walk D.PROX  
 untuk apa pekerjaang Tuhan  
 for what work God  
 ‘you **travel**, just **travel** well, (when) you stay (at Takar and when you) **walk around** (in Takar), (you) shouldn’t (do) this (and) this, ... you (do) **this traveling** for, what, God’s work’ [081025-008-Cv.0142/0144]

The exchange (41) occurred between two sisters just before the youth retreat. In (41a) the younger one states that she wants to *jalang* ‘travel’ to the youth retreat without, however, attending the services; instead she plans to stay at the guesthouse. Her older sister responds in (41b) that in that case it were better if she stayed home. Being upset about this reaction, the younger one asks her older sister in (41c) why she said so. In her reply in (41d), the older sister mentions *jalang* ‘walk’ again, this time modifying it with *itu* ‘D.DIST’.

Adverbial anaphoric uses of *itu* ‘D.DIST’

- (41) a. Younger sister: sa **jalang** tra sembayang tinggal di ruma  
 1SG walk NEG worship stay at house  
 Young sister: ‘I’ll **go** (to the youth retreat, but) I won’t worship, (I’ll) stay at the house’
- b. Older sister: kalo mo tinggal di ruma tinggal di  
 if want stay at house stay at

ruma sini ...  
house L.PROX

Older sister: 'if (you) want to stay at the house, stay home ...'

c. Younger sister: knapa  
Why

Young sister: 'why?'

d. Older sister: orang **jalang itu** mo pergi sembayang  
person walk D.DIST want go worship

Older sister: 'people (doing) **that traveling** want to go worship'  
[081006-016-Cv.0012-0015]

Alternatively, however, one might argue that in (40) and (41) the demonstratives do not function as participant tracking devices, but rather signal emotional involvement.

#### *Discourse deictic uses*

In their discourse deictic uses, the demonstratives are not coreferent with the referent of a previously established noun phrase. Instead, they are coreferential with a preceding or following proposition. That is, they "establish an overt link between two propositions: the one in which they are embedded and the one to which they refer" (Diessel 1999: 101). As illustrated in (42) to (46), only the pronominally used demonstratives have discourse deictic uses.

Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' may refer to a preceding statement as in (42) or to a following statement as in (43). The example in (42) is part of a conversation about difficult children. Maintaining that children should be disciplined, the speaker makes a number of suggestions how to do so. Employing short *ini* 'D.PROX', the speaker summarizes her previous statements. Thereby she creates a link to her closing statement that her interlocutor should decide for herself what to make of these suggestions. In (43), *ini* 'D.PROX' creates a link to the following direct quote.

Discourse deictic uses of *ini* 'D.PROX'

(42) ... **ni** usul saja jadi kaka sendiri ...  
D.PROX proposal just so oSb be.alone

'**this** is just a proposal, so (you) older sister (have to decide for) yourself ...' [080917-010-CvEx.0116]

(43) pace de bilang **ini**, mace ko sendiri yang ikut ...  
man 3SG say D.PROX wife 2SG be.alone REL follow

'(my) husband said **this**, 'you wife yourself (should) go (with them) ...'  
(Lit. '(it's) you wife yourself who ...') [081025-009a-Cv.0032]

Distal *itu* 'D.DIST' is used only to create a link to a preceding statement, as in (44). This example is part of joke about an uneducated person who notes that *di kalender dua blas* 'in the calendar are twelve (moons)' while *di langit ini Cuma satu* 'in this sky is only one'. Distal *itu* 'D.DIST' summarizes these remarks, creating an overt link to the speaker's conclusion that this state of affairs is *tipu skali* 'very deceptive'.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST'

- (44) masa di kalender dua blas, baru di langit  
 be.impossible at calendar two teens and.then at sky  
 ini cuma satu ..., **itu** tipu skali  
 D.PROX just one D.DIST cheat very  
 [Joke:] '(it's) impossible, in a calendar are twelve (moons), but in the sky  
 here is only one (moon) ... **that's** very deceptive'' [081109-007-JR.0003]

The discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST' are very commonly extended to that of a "sentence connective" that signals "a causal link between two propositions" (Diessel 1999: 125), as illustrated in (45) and (46). Standing alone, *itu* 'D.DIST' introduces a reason relation as in (45). When co-occurring with the relativizer *yang* 'REL', *itu* 'D.DIST' marks a result relation as in (46).

In (45), the speaker recounts a conversation with a local doctor after a motorbike accident. In using *itu* 'D.DIST' the doctor summarizes the speaker's comments concerning her health and creates an overt link to his explanation why she is in pain. In this context *itu* 'D.DIST' functions as a causal link that marks a reason relation.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST': Marker of a reason relation

- (45) sa bilang, tulang baw yang pata, tulang rusuk, o, a,  
 1SG say bone shoulder REL break bone rib oh! ah!  
 mama **itu** hanya ko jatu kaget  
 mother D.DIST only 2SG fall feel.startled(.by)  
 'I said, '(it's my) shoulder bone that is broken, (my) ribs', (the doctor said),  
 'oh! ah, Mother **that is** just **because** you're in shock' [081015-005-NP.0048]

The utterance in (46) is part of a conversation about the speaker's husband who had fallen sick after a straining journey. Recounting some details about the journey, the speaker relates that her husband had returned home hungry. At the beginning of the next clause *itu* 'D.DIST' summarizes this account and, combined with the relativizer *yang* 'REL', signals a reason relation: *itu yang de sakit* 'that's why he's sick'.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST': Marker of a result relation

- (46) pace de tida makang ... lapar **itu yang** de sakit  
 man 3SG NEG eat be.hungry D.DIST REL 3SG be.sick  
 'he (my) husband hadn't eaten ... (he was) hungry, **that's why** he's sick'  
 [080921-004b-CvNP.0003/0007]

## 7.1.2.6. Placeholder uses of demonstratives

The demonstratives are also employed pronominally as "placeholders" in the context of "word-formulation trouble": they function "as temporary substitutes for specific lexical items that have eluded the speaker" (Hayashi and Yoon 2006: 499). Attested as placeholders, however, are only the long demonstrative forms.

As placeholders the demonstratives can substitute for any lexical item, such as nouns as in (47), personal pronouns as in (48), or verbs as in (49). More investigation is needed, though, to account for the alternation of *ini* 'D.PROX' and *itu*

‘D.DIST’ in this context. In most cases, as in (48) and (49), the demonstrative is set off from the subsequently produced target word by a comma intonation (“,”). Often, however, there is no audible pause between the placeholder and the target word as in (47).

Placeholder for a proper noun

- (47) ... saya ingat **ini** **Ise**  
 1SG remember D.PROX Ise  
 ‘(at that particular time) I remembered, **what’s-her-name, Ise**’ [080917-008-NP.0102]

Placeholder for a personal pronoun

- (48) wa, **ini** | **kitong** lari~lari kemaring sampe ...  
 wow D.PROX 1PL RDP~run yesterday reach  
 ‘wow, **what’s-their-name, we** drove yesterday all the way to ...’ [081006-033-Cv.0007]

Placeholder for a verb

- (49) skarang sa **itu** | **simpang** sratus ribu  
 now 1SG D.DIST store one.hundred thousand  
 ‘now I (already), **what’s-its-name, set aside** one hundred thousand (rupiah)’ [081110-002-Cv.0039]

While in (47) to (49), the demonstratives are used referentially to substitute for a lexical item, this does not seem to be the case in (50). In this example, *itu* ‘D.DIST’ appears to be used as a non-referential “interjective hesitator” that signals “the speaker’s hesitation in utterance production” (Hayashi and Yoon 2006: 512–513). This is evidenced by the fact that *itu* ‘D.DIST’ does not agree with adnominally used *ini* ‘D.PROX’, which modifies the head nominal *pace* ‘man’. Further investigation is required, however, to explore whether and in which ways Papuan Malay makes a distinction between the placeholder and non-referential hesitator uses of its demonstratives and whether it may in fact be using this right-displacement as a deliberate construction for emphasis in some contexts (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 36).

Interjective hesitator

- (50) yo **itu** **itu** **pace** **ini** de baru ambil ...  
 oh! D.DIST D.DIST man D.PROX 3SG recently fetch  
 ‘oh, **umh, umh, this man**, he recently took ...’ [081011-009-Cv.0007]

## 7.2. Locatives

In the following sections, the syntactic properties and forms of the Papuan Malay locatives are reviewed and discussed (§7.2.1), followed by an in-depth discussion of their different functions and domains of use (§7.2.2).

### 7.2.1. Syntax and forms of locatives

The distributional properties of the locatives are briefly reviewed in §7.2.1.1. This review is followed in §7.2.1.2 by a discussion of the distribution and frequencies of pronominally versus adnominally used locatives.

#### 7.2.1.1. Distributional properties of locatives

The Papuan Malay locatives have the following distributional properties (for more details see §5.7):

1. Substitution for noun phrases that occur in prepositional phrases (pronominal uses) (§5.7.1)
2. Modification with demonstratives or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§5.7.1)
3. Co-occurrence with noun phrases in post-head position (adnominal uses) (§5.7.2)

#### 7.2.1.2. Distribution of the pronominal versus the adnominally used locatives

This section describes the distribution and frequencies of the pronominally versus adnominally used locatives (their semantic distinctions are discussed in §7.2.2.1).

The corpus includes a total of 1,367 locative tokens: 494 *sini* ‘L.PROX’ (36%), 412 *situ* ‘L.MED’ (30%), and 461 *sana* ‘L.DIST’ (34%) tokens. Most commonly the locatives are employed pronominally ( $\geq 75\%$ ), while their adnominal uses are considerably less common ( $\leq 25\%$ ), as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Locatives according to their syntactic functions

	<i>sini</i> ‘L.PROX’		<i>situ</i> ‘L.MED’		<i>sana</i> ‘L.DIST’	
Pronominal uses	416	84%	345	84%	345	75%
Adnominal uses	78	16%	67	16%	116	25%
Total	494		412		461	

The distribution of the pronominally used locatives is presented in Table 8 (see also §5.7.1). In their pronominal uses, as already mentioned, the locatives always occur in prepositional phrases. Most often they are introduced with an overt preposition: 384 *sini* ‘L.PROX’ (92%), 302 *situ* ‘L.MED’ (87%), and 311 *sana* ‘L.DIST’ (90%) tokens. When the context allows the disambiguation of the semantic role or relationship of the locative, however, the preposition can also be deleted (see also §10.1.5): 32 *sini* ‘L.PROX’ (8%), 45 *situ* ‘L.MED’ (13%), and 34 *sana* ‘L.DIST’ (10%) tokens. Overall, however, pronominally used locatives with zero-preposition are rather rare ( $\leq 12\%$ ).

Table 8: Pronominally used locatives in prepositional phrases (PP) with or without preposition (PREP)

	<i>sini</i> 'L.PROX'		<i>situ</i> 'L.MED'		<i>sana</i> 'L.DIST'	
PP with PREP	384	92%	302	88%	311	90%
PP with zero PREP	32	8%	43	12%	34	10%
Total	416		345		345	

The distribution of the adnominally used locatives is presented in Table 9 (see also §5.7.2). In their adnominal uses, the locatives most commonly co-occur with noun phrases that occur in prepositional phrases ( $\geq 80\%$ ). Like the pronominally used locatives, the vast majority of adnominally used locatives occur in prepositional phrases with an overt preposition: 46 *sini* 'L.PROX' (59%), 55 *situ* 'L.MED' (84%), and 86 *sana* 'L.DIST' (74%) tokens. Far fewer locative tokens occur in prepositional phrases with zero preposition: 16 *sini* 'L.PROX' (21%), 6 *situ* 'L.MED' (9%), and 16 *sana* 'L.DIST' (14%) tokens. The number of locative tokens occurring in unembedded noun phrases is equally low or still lower ( $\leq 21\%$ ): 16 *sini* 'L.PROX' (21%), 5 *situ* 'L.MED' (7%), and 14 *sana* 'L.DIST' (12%) tokens.

Table 9: Adnominally used locatives in prepositional phrases and unembedded noun phrases

	<i>sini</i> 'L.PROX'		<i>situ</i> 'L.MED'		<i>sana</i> 'L.DIST'	
PP with PREP	46	59%	55	84%	86	74%
PP with zero PREP	16	21%	6	9%	16	14%
NP	16	21%	5	7%	14	12%
Total	78		65		116	

### 7.2.2. Functions of locatives

The locatives have a number of different functions and uses which are discussed in more detail in the following sections: spatial uses in §7.2.2.1, figurative locational uses in §7.2.2.2, temporal uses in §7.2.2.3, psychological uses in §7.2.2.4, and textual uses in 7.2.2.5.

#### 7.2.2.1. Spatial uses of locatives

In their spatial uses, the Papuan Malay locatives designate the location of an entity relative to that of the speaker and focus the hearer's attention to the specific location of these entities. In the following, two issues are explored in more detail: the semantic distinctions between the three locatives, and the semantic distinctions between the pronominally and adnominally used locatives.



*Semantic distinctions between the three locatives*

Generally speaking, proximal *sini* ‘L.PROX’ signals proximity to a deictic center, while distal *sana* ‘L.DIST’ expresses distance from this center. Medial *situ* ‘L.MED’ indicates mid distance; that is, the referent is more remote from the speaker than the referent of *sini* ‘L.PROX’ but not as far as the referent of *sana* ‘L.DIST’. The actual distances signaled with the locatives are relative, however, and depend on the speakers’ perceptions. The data also shows that the locatives are very commonly used independently of the parameter of visibility. Although *sini* ‘L.PROX’ most commonly denotes visible locations, it can also refer to invisible ones; likewise, the non-proximal locatives can refer to visible or invisible locations.

The spatial uses of *sini* ‘L.PROX’ are illustrated in (51) and (52). The semantic distinctions between *sini* ‘L.PROX’ and *sana* ‘L.DIST’ are shown in (53). The spatial uses of *situ* ‘L.MED’ and its semantic distinctions from *sini* ‘L.PROX’ and *sana* ‘L.DIST’ are illustrated in (54) and (55).

The examples in (51) and (52) illustrate the spatial uses of *sini* ‘L.PROX’. In both cases, adnominally used *sini* ‘L.PROX’ indicates the location of an entity close to the speaker: *ember sini* ‘the bucket here’ in (51) and *Sawar sini* ‘Sawar here’ in (52). The actual distances signaled with *sini* ‘L.PROX’ differ, however, depending on the speakers’ perceptions. In (51), *ember sini* ‘the bucket here’ is standing right next to the speaker. By contrast in (52), *Sawar sini* ‘Sawar here’ denotes a location that is situated about ten kilometers away from the speaker’s location. The speaker, however, perceives *Sawar* as being close to his own location given that *Apawer* is situated still further away. The examples in (51) and (52) also illustrate that *sini* ‘L.PROX’ is used independently of the parameter of visibility: the locative is used for a visible location in (51) and for an invisible one in (52).

Spatial uses of *sini* ‘L.PROX’

- (51) sa su taru di **ember sini**  
 1SG already put at bucket L.PROX  
 ‘I already put (the fish) in **the bucket here**’ [080917-006-CvHt.0003]
- (52) de mulay turung dari Apawer ... sampe di **Sawar sini**  
 3SG start descend from Apawer reach at Sawar L.PROX  
 ‘he (the ancestor) started coming down from Apawer ... (and) reached **Sawar here**’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0149]

The example in (53) illustrates the semantic distinctions between *sini* ‘L.PROX’ and *sana* ‘L.DIST’. The utterance occurred during a conversation outside at night. Noting that their neighbors are also sitting outside, the speaker employs the distal locative to refer to the neighbors’ location *sana* ‘over there’ and the proximal locative to refer to their own location *sini* ‘here’.

Spatial uses of *sini* ‘L.PROX’ and *sana* ‘L.DIST’

- (53) dong juga duduk di **sana** tong juga duduk di **sini**  
 3PL also sit at L.DIST 1PL also sit at L.PROX  
 ‘they also sit (outside) **over there**, we also sit (outside) **here**’ [081025-009b-Cv.0075]

The examples in (54) and (55) show the spatial uses of *situ* 'L.MED' and its semantic distinctions from *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST'.

The exchange in (54) took place at night in front of the house while a meeting took place inside in the living room where the teenagers usually sleep. The young people were waiting for the guests to leave so that they could go to sleep. Employing *situ* 'L.MED', the first teenager wonders what the adults are doing *situ* 'there' in the living room. Finally, the second teenager suggests they do not wait any longer: using *sini* 'L.PROX' she proposes that they sleep *luar sini* 'outside here'. The utterance in (55) occurred during a conversation about a street-building project. The speaker informs his interlocutor that the construction work has already reached the village of *Warmer*, located to the east of the interlocutors' location. Employing *situ* 'L.MED' and *sana* 'L.DIST', the speaker maintains that the construction work would continue *dari situ* 'from there (Warmer)' further eastwards *ke sana* 'to over there'.

Spatial uses of *situ* 'L.MED'

- (54) a. Teenager-1: *dong dong biking apa situ ...*  
                   3PL 3PL make what L.MED  
                   Teenager-1: 'what are they they doing **there?** ...'
- b. Teenager-2: *yo, kitong tidor luar sini*  
                   yes 1PL sleep outside L.PROX  
                   Teenager-2: 'yes, we sleep **outside here**' [080921-009-Cv.0001/0013]
- (55) *yo. mulay menuju jembatan Warmer ... kalo dari situ*  
       yes start aim.at bridge Warmer if from L.MED  
       ke **sana**, o itu dia ...  
       to L.DIST oh! D.DIST 3SG  
       'yes, (they) started working towards the Warmer bridge ... when (they'll  
       work the stretch of the street) from **there to over there**, oh, what's-its-  
       name, it ...' [081006-033-Cv.0013/0015/0017]

The examples in (53) and (55) show that distances signaled with the non-proximal locatives are relative. In (53) *sana* 'L.DIST' refers to the neighbor's house, situated about fifty meters away from where the speakers are sitting. By contrast, *situ* 'L.MED' in (55) is used of the village of Warmer which is located several kilometers away from the speaker's location, while *sana* 'L.DIST' refers to the area beyond Warmer. These examples also show that the non-proximal locatives are used independently of the parameter of visibility. Distal *sana* 'L.DIST' is used for a visible location in (53) and an invisible one in (55). Medial *situ* 'L.MED' refers to a visible location in (54) and an invisible one in (55).

*Semantic distinctions between the pronominally and adnominally used locatives*

In designating the location of a referent relative to that of the speaker, Papuan Malay makes a distinction between the pronominally and the adnominally used locatives.

Pronominally used locatives provide additional information about the location of an entity or referent without restricting its referential scope. Adnominally used locatives, by contrast, have a restrictive function, thereby assisting the hearer in the identification of the referent. That is, by directing the hearer's attention to the referent's location, adnominal locatives indicate that the referent is precisely the one situated in the location designated by the locative. This distinction is illustrated with the (near) contrastive examples in (56) and (57).

The prepositional phrases with pronominally used *sini* 'L.PROX' in (56a) and (57a) provide additional information about the location of the referents, information that is non-essential for their identification: *orang di sini* 'the people here' in (56a) and *dorang di sini* 'them here' in (57a). By contrast, in (56b) and (57b) the respective head nominals *orang* 'person' and *dorang* '3PL' are modified with *sini* 'L.PROX'. In both cases, the locative indicates that the referents of *orang* 'person' and *dorang* '3PL' are precisely the ones located *sini* 'here' as opposed to other locations: *orang sini* 'the people that are here' in (56b) and *dorang sini* 'they that are here' in (57b).

#### Adnominally versus pronominally used locatives

- (56) a. *orang di sini* bilang pake~pake  
 person at L.PROX say practice.black.magic  
 'the people here say 'black magic'' [081006-022-CvEx.0028]
- b. jadi *orang sini* bilang kemaring dulu  
 so person L.PROX say yesterday be.prior  
 'so the people (that are) here say 'the day before yesterday''  
 [081006-019-Cv.0015]
- (57) a. Lodia datang ke mari de kas bodo *dorang di sini*  
 Lodia come to hither 3SG give be.stupid 3PL at L.PROX  
 '(when) Lodia came here, she told **them here** how stupid they were'  
 (Lit. 'made **them here** stupid') [081115-001a-Cv.0136]
- b. baru sa liat *dorang sini* su terlalu enak  
 and.then 1SG see 3PL L.PROX already too be.pleasant  
 [Comment about ill-behaved teenagers:] 'and then I see **(that) they (that are) here** already (have) too pleasant (lives)' [081115-001a-Cv.0311]

#### 7.2.2.2. Figurative locational uses of locatives

The spatial uses of the locatives can be expanded to figurative locational uses in narratives. Employing a locative preceded by *sampe di* 'reach at', the narrators bring their stories to a figurative locational endpoint. Such uses are attested for *sini* 'L.PROX' as in (58) and *situ* 'L.MED' as in (59), but not for *sana* 'L.DIST'.

- (58) ... sa su sembu, trima-kasi sampe di **sini**  
 1SG already be.healed thank.you reach at L.PROX  
 ‘[after this accident] I already recovered, thank you! **this is all**’ (Lit. ‘reach **here**’) [081015-005-NP.0051]
- (59) sa pikir mungking sampe di **situ** dulu  
 1SG think maybe reach at L.MED be.prior  
 ‘I think maybe **that’s all** for now’ (Lit. ‘reach **there**’) [080919-004-NP.0083]

### 7.2.2.3. Temporal uses of locatives

The locative *situ* ‘L.MED’ also has temporal uses, which proximal and distal locatives do not have. Preceded by the preposition *dari* ‘from’, *situ* ‘L.MED’ signals the temporal setting of the event talked about with respect to some temporal reference point in the past, as illustrated in (60). Overall, however, this domain of use is not very common, with the corpus containing only two such occurrences.

- (60) **dari situ** sa punya mama tida maw jualang  
 from L.MED 1SG POSS mother NEG want merchandise  
 pagi lagi  
 morning again  
 ‘**from that moment on** my mother didn’t want to do any more vending in the morning’ (Lit. ‘**from there**’) [081014-014-NP.0006]

### 7.2.2.4. Psychological uses of locatives

The locatives also have limited psychological uses to signal the speaker’s psychological involvement. In discussing their spatial uses (§7.2.2.1), it was already mentioned that the locatives signal relative distances, that is, distance as perceived by the speaker. This perception, however, is linked to the speakers’ attitudes and emotional involvement as illustrated in (61) and (62).

The corpus contains a fair number of utterances in which the speakers switch from *sana* ‘L.DIST’ to *situ* ‘L.MED’ to refer to the same location. With this switch the speakers indicate that the location has become vivid to their minds and psychologically closer than *sana* ‘L.DIST’ would signal.

In (61) a father relates that he will bring his two oldest children to the provincial capital Jayapura for further schooling once the younger one has finished high school. Anaphorically used *sana* ‘L.DIST’ signals that Jayapura is at considerable distance from the speaker’s current location (ca. 300 km). The subsequent use of *situ* ‘L.MED’ indicates that with his two children going to live there, distant Jayapura has become psychologically much closer.

Psychological uses: Example #1

- (61) kalo Ise ni selesay saya mo bawa dong dua  
 if Ise D.PROX finish 1SG want bring 3PL two

ke **sana** tinggal di **situ**  
 to L.DIST stay at L.MED  
 ‘when Ise here has finished (her schooling) I want to bring the two of them  
 to (Jayapura) **over there** to live **there**’ [081025-003-Cv.0135]

Likewise in (62) the speaker switches from *sana* ‘L.DIST’ to *situ* ‘L.MED’ to refer to the Mambramo area *sana* ‘over there’, situated about 100 km to the west. The switch occurs at the moment when the speaker considers his own involvement with the Mambramo area, namely that he has never been *situ* ‘there’. Again, this switch indicates that the location talked about has become more vivid and psychologically closer to the speaker’s mind.

Psychological uses: Example #2

(62) kaka dong di **sana** saudara banyak skali ... sa juga  
 oSb 3PL at L.DIST sibling many very 1SG also  
 blum perna sa kunjungang ke **situ**  
 not.yet once 1SG visit to L.MED  
 ‘they older relatives **over there**, (the) relatives are very many in (the  
 Mambramo area), ... me too, I have never been **there**’ [080922-010a-  
 CvNF.0158]

#### 7.2.2.5. Textual anaphoric uses of locatives

In their textual uses, locatives are only used anaphorically: they are co-referential with a discourse antecedent that denotes a location. In (63) *sini* ‘L.PROX’ corefers with the place where the speaker was standing, namely where there were *daung klapa ... itu* ‘those coconut leaves’. Medial *situ* ‘L.MED’ in (64) corefers with *laut* ‘sea’, and *sana* ‘L.DIST’ in (65) with *sa pu temang* ‘my friend’. The three examples also show that in their anaphoric uses the locatives may be employed pronominally as in (63) and (64), or adnominally as in (65).

(63) baru daung klapa itu **daung klapa yang saya ada**  
 and.then leaf coconut D.DIST leaf coconut REL 1SG exist  
**berdiri itu** ... sa bilang ... dari **sini** sa kutuk dia  
 stand D.DIST 1SG say from L.PROX 1SG curse 3SG  
 ‘and then those coconut leaves, **those coconut leaves where I was  
 standing** ... I said, ‘... from **here** I curse him (the evil spirit)’ [080917-008-  
 NP.0101/0103]

(64) ey, kam dua pi mandi di **laut** suda!, trus kam  
 hey! 2PL two go bathe at sea already next 2PL  
 dua cuci celana di **situ**  
 two wash trouser at L.MED  
 [A mother addressing her young sons:] ‘hey, you two go bathe in the **sea**  
 already!, then you two wash (your) trousers **there!**’ [080917-006-CvHt.0007]

- (65) tong dari **sa pu temang** pinjam trening untuk besok  
 1PL from 1SG POSS friend borrow tracksuit for tomorrow  
 ... tu yang tadi sa ke **temang sana**  
 D.DIST REL earlier 1SG to friend L.DIST  
 ‘we (are back) from **my friend** (from whom we) borrowed a tracksuit for tomorrow ... that’s why a short while ago I (went) to (my) **friend over there**’ [081011-020-Cv.0052/0056]

### 7.3. Combining demonstratives and locatives

Demonstratives and locatives can be combined with an adnominally used demonstrative modifying a pronominally used locative. In these constructions, the demonstrative serves to intensify the locative, resulting in an emphatic reading that conveys vividness.

Short distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies proximal *sini* ‘L.PROX’ in (66) and medial *situ* ‘L.MED’ in (67). In (68) long distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies distal *sana* ‘L.DIST’.

- (66) dorang tida bisa dekat sama dorang ... di **sini tu**  
 3PL NEG be.able near with 3PL at L.PROX D.DIST  
 ada orang swanggi satu de bertobat ...  
 exist person nocturnal.evil.spirit one 3SG repent  
 ‘they (the evil spirits) can’t be close to them (God’s children)... **here (EMPH)** is one evil sorcerer, he has become a Christian [and now he tells others about these things]’ [081006-022-CvEx.0146/0150]
- (67) tida bisa kamu tinggal di situ, di **situ tu**  
 NEG be.able 2PL stay at L.MED at L.MED D.DIST  
 ruma tu ada setan banyak  
 house D.DIST exist evil.spirit many  
 ‘you can’t live there, **there (EMPH)**, (in) that house are many evil spirits’ [081006-022-CvEx.0164]
- (68) ... Papua-Satu ada muncul dari laut **sana itu**  
 Papua-Satu exist appear from ocean L.DIST D.DIST  
 ‘[have a look first] (the ship) Papua-Satu is appearing from the ocean, (from) **over there (EMPH)**’ [080917-008-NP.0129]

In all attested combinations, it is the distal demonstrative that modifies a locative. Modification of a locative with proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ is also possible although unattested, as discussed in §5.7.1).

### 7.4. Summary

The Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives are deictic expressions. They provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation, in spatial as well as in non-spatial domains. Both deictic systems are distance oriented, in that they signal the relative distance of an entity vis-à-vis a deictic center. At the

same time, the two systems differ in a number of respects. They are distinct both in terms of their syntactic characteristics and forms and in terms of their functions.

The differences between the demonstratives and the locatives with respect to their syntactic characteristics and forms are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: Syntax and forms of the demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC)

Syntax and forms	DEM	LOC
Deictic forms	Two term system: – proximal <i>ini</i> ‘D.PROX’ – distal <i>itu</i> ‘D.DIST’	Three-term system: – proximal <i>sini</i> ‘L.PROX’ – medial <i>situ</i> ‘L.MED’ – distal <i>sana</i> ‘L.DIST’
Distributional properties	– adnominal uses – pronominal uses – adverbial uses	– adnominal uses – pronominal uses
Pronominal uses	– in unembedded NPs – in PPs – in adnominal possessive constructions	– in PPs
Adnominal uses	– can be stacked	---

The main distinctions between the demonstratives and the locatives in terms of their various functions are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11: Functions of the demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC)

Domains of use	DEM	LOC
Spatial	provide spatial orientation by drawing the hearer’s attention to specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation	provide spatial orientation by designating the location of an entity and focusing the hearer’s attention to its specific location
Figurative locational	---	signal a figurative locational endpoint
Temporal	indicate the temporal setting of an event/situation	indicate the temporal setting of an event/situation (medial locative only)
Psychological	indicate the speakers’ emotional involvement with an event/situation signal vividness indicate contrast	indicate the speakers’ emotional involvement with an event/situation signal vividness
Identificational	aid in the identification of	---

Domains of use	DEM	LOC
	referents (long forms)	
Textual anaphoric	keep track of discourse participants	keep track of the location of an entity
Textual discourse deictic	establish an overt link between two propositions	---
Placeholder	substitute for specific lexical items the context of word-formulation trouble (long forms)	---

In summary, with respect to their syntactic properties, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial uses) than the locatives. Likewise, in terms of their functions, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses than the locatives. The locative system, by contrast, allows finer semantic distinctions to be made than the demonstrative system, given that the former expresses a three-way deictic contrast, whereas the latter expresses a two-way deictic contrast.



