Deixis in Kenyah and Punan languages of Borneo

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This paper presents a description of the spatial and temporal deictics in some languages of North Borneo. A comparison of deictics in Kenyah Lebu’ Kulit and Óma Lóngh and Punan Tubu’ reveals a complex pattern of similarities and divergences.

Óma Lóngh and Lebu’ Kulit are two Kenyah languages that belong to two quite distinct branches of the same language family, the Kayan-Kenyah spread in a vast area between Kalimantan and Sarawak in Borneo. Óma Lóngh data were collected in the village of Setulang in the Malinau district and Lebu’ Kulit data were collected in Lung Tungu in the Bulungan district of East Kalimantan-Indonesia. Punan Tubu’ is only one member of the Punan (hunter-gatherers) languages spread in the Malinau district in East Kalimantan.

1. Demonstratives and location

1.0 Demonstratives

1.1. Óma Lóngh
Óma Lóngh distinguishes two categories along the basic spatial deictic dimension, based on a distance oriented system:
ji ‘close to speaker ’ referring to a singular referent, di if the referent is plural or mass name,
jé ‘remote from speaker and from both speaker and hearer- it does not always seem relevant the position of the hearer, referring to a singular referent, dé if the referent is plural or mass name. These two are also used contrastively when two objects are very close to the speaker but still one is a bit farther than the other. They can be used pronominally and adnominally. They can refer either to entities immediately visible in the speech situation, but also to entities that do not have a physical existence. They are exophoric.
Examples:
1. zi laminy-ki
   this house-1SG
   this is my house
2. zi nyeng ighu
   this close 2SG
   This one near you
3. jé ghé
   that there
   that one over there (near you)
4a. aqeng kuvaqan étó zé
   NEG like seen that
   ‘No!’ (not like that)
4b. nya kuvaqan étó zi
   yes like seen this
   Yes indeed (‘Thus it is’)
5. deq jé betaeng deq ji?  
REL that or REL this
That one or this one?

The demonstratives adjectives jé and ji are clitics and have variants depending on the phonological environment of the word preceding it: nyé/nyi follow words ending with a velar or palatal nasal, zi follows words ending with vowels and jé/ji follows any other consonant including glottal stop. The plural forms di and dé have the variant ri and ré where the form with d- follows any word ending with consonant and the form with r- follows any word ending with vowel.

6. kelónény-nyé that person
7. udekjé that dog
8. anaq-jé that child
9. énem-nyé what’s that?
10. tasa-zé that time
11. dae-ré those sounds

The independent forms are the following and are considered by speakers to be more formal. They probably used to be in pronominal position but in few cases they occur also in adnominal position.
isí proximal demonstrative singular- formal
idi proximal demonstrative plural- formal
ezé distal demonstrative singular- formal
edé distal demonstrative plural- formal

When demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or a noun phrase in the previous discourse, they are anaphoric. In Oma Lóngh the anaphoric demonstratives seem to be derived by the exophoric ones and indicate distance contrast. They occur in the forms of:
jiqi and its variants ziqi and nyiqi when they relate to some singular entity closer in the speech (diqi and riqi are the plural variants)
jèqè and its variants zèqè and nyèqè when they relate to something farther in the speech (dèqè and rèqè are the plural variants)

12. te ziqi tè nya ateq tepeng fuqeng éle deq Ncó-zé le  
LOC this go FILL very ancestor old 1PL.INCL REL Nco=that PRTCL
this one was definitely our old ancestor, Ncau Kirit
ziqi is referring to somebody referred to in the previous discourse.

13. mii étó bezu deq zèqè  
like.this seen big REL that
that thing it is obviously as big as this Sima
zèqè is definitely referring to an animal referred to in the previous discourse

14 diqi-ku ngkiny  
those=2SG bring
you bring these (anaphoric)

1.2 Lebu’ Kulit
Lebu’ Kulit employs a three distance marked demonstratives system: proximate, medial and distal:
iní inyé iti respectively. These independent forms occur more often in pronominal position and in a much small number in comparison to the short forms ni ti and nyé that are attached to personal pronouns or nouns, occur more often in adnominal position. A fourth demonstrative is irai which seems to be occurring only in anaphoric position and its occurrence is much more limited than the others. If asked about the difference in meaning of the dependent and independent forms the speakers say that the independent form is more formal. The forms bini, biti, binyé, birai refer to plural or mass names. Their occurrence is more limited though.
15. “daau-lu kumé-a ini sé balei, balu!” mengini daau tiraq-tiraq releu o Tulung
voice=IPL.INCL say=3SG this one ghost EXCL this.way voice RED-talk 3PL PRTCL
“we said that this is a ghost, yes” this is what they said

16. ini niyaq tegen ileu kuvaq irai o ini tiyaq tegen ileu kadep irai
this this=REL feel 1PL.INCL KE-want that PRTCL this=REL feel 1PL.INCL intention that
this is apparently what we wanted, this is apparently what we really wanted Aran
irai is referring to a series of things mentioned in the previous discourse.

17. iti daleu-daleu beluaq alemti releu sekening daau tawé ti
daleu=that middle night=that 3PL hear voice laugh=that PRTCL
that’s what they heard in the middle of the night, a laughter

18. inyé sé dité adet-adet Lebuq Kulitni
that one see RED-customary law village bark=this
actually that is only one (feature) of (our) Lebu’ Kulit customary law

19. uripé daleu inyé sé puluq uman daleu sepuk da ngetena’a akiq da Pifung
life=1SG within that one ten year within grandmother PRTCL N-tell=3SG 1SG PRTCL
my age during that (time) 10 years, when my grandma told me that

20. uvan nai na isyunyé paviq koq Segaqti no’o Tulung
RES come PRTCL story=that arrive LOC Segah=that PRFCT
that story has arrived until to Segah there

1.3 Punan Tubu’
Punan Tubu employs a four distance marked demonstratives system: proximate, distal, medial and distal
medial: inih inah irih iréh respectively. These independent forms tend to occur more often in pronominal
position and in a much small number in comparison to the short forms nih nah rih and réh that are
attached to personal pronouns or nouns, occur more often in adnominal position. Inih and inah are also used
anaphorically:

21. hén éngang kun unan boq nyan nih elicit.
he brought food and drinks here

22. oviq ne hok ngami kou kenah uron, oviq nih kén an nak hén nah Baya
not then 1SG N-believe 2SG that way before not this say-3SG at child 3SG that
I can’t believe you were like this, not this, he said at the child

23. kou ketop kenah jadiq urah daq hén inah Baya
2SG cut that.way become splatter blood 3SG that
you cut it in such a way to splatter blood (everywhere)

24. inih ungéi nih réh melaq tapi lou inih seniom elicit.
this water this yonder panas but day this dingin
this water here is warm but the day is cold
1.2.0 LOCATION

1.2.1 Òma Lóngh

Three main location are expressed by local deictics in Òma Lóngh each distinguishing between proximate and distal respectively:

- **ghi/ghé** close, in the immediate vicinity (proximate and distal)
- **ti/té** close by but still visible (proximate and distal)
- **ki’i/ kéké** distant (proximate and distal).

These three local deictics can be followed by the particles **ne** or **te** that can occur also elsewhere in the speech, when the location of the intended referent in respect to the speaker is felt as an exact point or a vague location. I suspect they are relics of a directional system and are most likely related to the verbs for ‘go’ **tè** and ‘come’ **nè**. The possible combinations within the same dimension are:

ghi
ghi-ne
ghi-te
ghé
ghé-ne
ghé-te

* here

**tè**
**tèqé-**
**tèqé-**
**tèqi-**
**tèqi-**
**tèqi-**

* there (a bit far but still in sight)

ki’i
ki’i-te
kiqi
kiqi-te
kéké
kéké-te

* there (far away and out of sight)

Some examples:

25. kemény-nyé ghé-ne that picture here (a bit distant but definitely visible)
26. kemény-nyi ghi-ne this picture here (it can be touched)
27. facény-nyi ti this papaya there (it can be easily reached)
28. udeq jé teqé-te that dog over there (it can be seen but not touched)

Observe that **ke** and **te** serve as locative prepositions in the language and that **te** often occurs as a postposition; another locative preposition is **cin**:

cin-né from there towards the speaker n- is probably the root for the verb **nè** indicating action moving towards the subject

cin-ni from here

29. bezu-le-te aneng- le taneq be-le ghèmet disi-disi re tene mudij ke Tòlangh ghi-ne big-IPL.INCL-PRTCL have-IPL.INCL land if=IPL.INCL think RED-way people PRFCT N-live LOC Setulang here

the land we have, if we think about, is big, after people came to live here in Setulang Kayang

30. kíqi tè-ki abi hevesóngh sadiny aeng Jendam there go=1SG until KE-FE-meet younger.brother have Jendam

there I went until I met the younger brother of Jendam Kirit
1.2.2. Lebu’ Kulit

In Lebu’ Kulit the three dimensions marked by demonstratives in proximate, medial and distant are reproduced also in the spatial expressions that are clearly based on the three demonstratives ini iti inyé:

ki ni  here close, in the immediate vicinity
kinyé there (but still in sight)
kiti  over there
ko’ ini there (lit. at this)
ko’ iti there (lit. at that)
ko’ inyé there (lit. at that)

Other two locative adverbs are extensively used:
ka’a there (lit. ko’+3SG?)
nenga there (lit. at+3SG)
in both the first part is a location preposition followed by the 3SG clitic pronoun.

31. nyé sé amen nuyau kinyé tei apui néé aring ép, kalaq bavui tééq Pifung That one omen N-voice there make fire this-1SG initial EXCL KE-get wildboar that-1SG that was an omen telling me to make fire there first and I would get a wildboar

32. nga kenai-ra po’o nai pit teleu kini o Aran only.then KE-come=3PL also come add ITRIAL here PRFCT only then they came to increase our number here

33. ni koq ini o kulu diq tai tisen upenglu Pifung this LOC this EXCL PRTCL go know pest PRTCL=IPL.INCL we know here (now) that this is rice pest

34. bang akiq luq yaq urip tamak da koq ini diq Pebaun only 1SG PRCL REL life father PRTCL LOC this PRTCL I am the only one who lives from my father here (now)

In both the previous examples the locative expressions can also be interpreted as temporal expressions.

35. nyé ta liang-a koq Jelarai na ka’a Pebaun that TA graveyard=3SG LOC Jelarai NA there that one is buried there in Jelarai

Like in Òma Lóngh the language employs the particles na and ta that encode the speaker’s feeling about how distant something in the speech is. It might be that these particles are directionals marking the opposition “towards the speaker” and “away from the speaker” that are strictly related to the verbs for ‘come’ nai and ‘go’ tai.

36. iré yaq akiq baraq-ni daau un ta udoq bateu ledo dué-nyé koq alo Pejungan na 3PL REL 1SG inform=this voice be PRTCL mask stone woman 3DUAL=that at flow Pujungan PRTCL they whom I said are stone statues of the two women are on the Pujungan river

37. kancau na Lebuq ileu-ni no’o ngiri ta Lebuq Tau arrogant NA village IPL.INCL=this PFCT TA village Tau our village became arrogant and so did the Lepo’ Tau people
1.2.3 Punan Tubu’

In Punan Tubu’ the four dimensions marked by demonstratives in proximate, medial, distal and far distal are reproduced also in the spatial expressions that are clearly based on the four location demonstratives *tanih* ‘here’, *tanah* ‘there’, *tarih* ‘yonder’ and *tarèh* ‘yonder distal’.

38. tsk tanah iro petiq lou’ah tiq lou’ah Jalung
   TSK there 3DUA PE-energetic that.day energetic that.day
there the two of them did that to each other, that day

39. levuq aq woq viq kun tarih néi
elicit.
the house person REL possess food over.there earlier
the house of the person who has the restaurant over there (visibile) is big

1.3 Spatial deixis and the environment

Spatial deixis also is related to the environment where the language is spoken. Traditionally Kenyah people live in longhouses along rivers in villages facing one side of rivers, whereas the Punan tend to gather in small bands wandering in the forest where the main reference is always the river. Therefore the main directional deictics depend on the position of the speaker with the respect of the river without any reference to the cardinal directions as orientation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Óma Lóngh</th>
<th>Lebu’ Kulit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saqo</td>
<td>so’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metiq</td>
<td>medik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaba</td>
<td>ko’ ava/kava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke razó</td>
<td>ko’ déé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>réfa/ke sehaq-te</td>
<td>ke dipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadóvai</td>
<td>saré bengaai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuseng</td>
<td>kusun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>up away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from the rivershore, generally the hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko’ daai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punan Tubu’</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ricuq</td>
<td>go downriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murik</td>
<td>go upriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decuq</td>
<td>upriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devaq, livaq</td>
<td>downriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méno</td>
<td>walk upriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macaq</td>
<td>walk downriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripa</td>
<td>across the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jujun</td>
<td>rivershore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridai</td>
<td>up away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from the rivershore, generally the hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lauq</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The directions left (*kabiengh, kaving, buléi*) and right (*taqe, taau, ta’uh*) in Óma Lóngh, Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tubu’ respectively are applied to the sides of the river and are always used together with the direction of the speaker, whether he is going upriver or downriver:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kabiengh kaba</th>
<th>kaving ava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>left side going downwards.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. ta’au tia un, sé basé *kavinga* neng alo Pejungan ti
right that=3SG be one side left=3SG LOC downriver flow Pujungan
that one was on the right, the other one on the left side on the Pujungan river
41. sé basé ta’au medik sé basé kaving medik
one side right go.upriver one side left go.upriver
one was on the right side going upriver and the other on the left side going upriver

42. kaving so’o neng teguq lirung Kayanti diq
left go upriver LOC meet river Kayan=that PRTCL
on the left side going upriver the Kayan river

43. nenga mengiti dité ielu kesedep kumé diq sui tiga nilu tai murip kava ti
only.then that.way see IPL.INCL KE-will say PRTCL more good this-IPL.INCL go N-life downriver
that
at that point actually came our desire to make a better life downriver

The position of the sun is very seldom considered as a directional term although terms like east and west
have been selected as terms where the sun is born, the sunrise tè lebèj tò in Òma Lóngh and dau maya, in
Lebu’ Kulit, and where the sun disappears, sunset tè nyelèj tò in Òma Lóngh and dau sek in Lebu’ Kulit.
This means that Kenyah and Tubu’ languages do not have any absolute spatial reference terms. Their
orientation is mostly egocentric. The intrinsic spatial terms have been elicited only when referring to
houses where for instance the back, lighek, likut, urin respectively, are the part opposite the entrance stairs
that is called the front of the house jumé, jawéi. The river flow is basically the main orientation element
together with right and left. If Kenyah or Punan people have to find orientation in the middle of the jungle
then their reference point is the position of the sun. If they get lost in the middle of the jungle they try to
reach the highest point and try to locate the closest river and try to get orientation from the position of the
sun observing the movement of the sun from sunrise to sunset.

2. Time and manner deixis

2.1 Òma Lóngh
The spatial deixis seems to be partly used in temporal deixis and manner deixis: -i marks the spatial
reference to something close to the speaker and by metaphorical extension also something close temporally
miqi now, and mii this way, on the other hand we find –é that indicates distal spatial deixis is employed to
refer to temporal deixis in méquére at that time and méé that way. I only found nighi (in the past but not too
long ago) where the element –ghi is found in the proximate deictic ghi-ne (here).

Location in time with respect to the time of the speech event is expressed in Òma Lóngh with the use of
temporal location nouns and the with some aspect markers. The temporal location nouns seem to mirror the
tripartite distinction in three location domains but then extend to more explicit definitions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miqi-le</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighi</td>
<td>in the past (but not too long ago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méqué-re</td>
<td>in the past (a particular moment in the past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beghoère</td>
<td>very long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubi</td>
<td>then, later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kena</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words incorporate temporal references that can only be interpreted by reference to extralinguistic
features of the situation of an utterance (see Anderson & Keenan 1985:300)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tôi/tó-zi</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benyéaq</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benyéaq có-re</td>
<td>the day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nempam</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óqó nempam</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Lebu’ Kulit
In Lebu’ Kulit the tripartite distinction in three dimensions is definitely mirrored in the manner deictics that are derived from the demonstratives:
mengini/mekini
menginyé/mekinyé
mengiti/mekiti
mengirai
The temporal dimension does not seem to reproduce the tripartite distinction of the demonstratives as the temporal adverbs are:
nakini now (from na+kini)
mena’a da in the past (from men+ka’a)
aring da at the beginning, long time ago
bo’o in the future
bo’o da just happened

Nevertheless in many cases the temporal dimension is expressed through spatial adverbs like in the following already mentioned sentences:

44. bang aki’ lu’ ya’ urip tamak da ko’ ini.
only 1SG PRTCL REL life father1SG PRTCL LOC this
I am the only one to continue my father’s descendence now

45. ni koq ini o kulu diq tai tisen upenglu
this LOC this PRTCL EXCL PRTCL go know pest=IPL.INCL
we now know this is a pest

46. naaa mpei tiga dité alo Kayan-ni daleu iti nu’un o
shallows=3SG NEG good see flow Kayan=this in.the.middle that not.yet PRTCL
the shallows on the Kayan river was not good yet at that time

Some words incorporate temporal references that can only be interpreted by reference to extralinguistic features of the situation of an utterance (see Anderson & Keenan 1985:300)

menalem yesterday
alem ini tonight
dau ni today
mesut tomorrow
dau sé the day after tomorrow
dau kesé Monday

2.3 Punan Tubu’
The spatial deixis is partly used in temporal deixis and manner deixis: -nih marks the spatial reference to something close to the speaker and by metaphorical extension also something close temporally bénih now, unih ‘earlier’ and kenih/jainih ‘this way’, on the other hand we find –nah that indicates distal spatial deixis is employed to refer to temporal deixis in unah ‘at that time’ and kenah/jainah ‘that way’.

47. Pak Lih inéq téi nyan Tepian Buah nih?
Father Lih for/by go at Tepian Buah nih?
Mr Lie what are you doing in Tepian Buah?

Location in time with respect to the time of the speech event is expressed in Punan Tubu’ with the use of temporal location nouns and the with some aspect markers. The temporal location nouns seem to mirror the tripartite distinction in three location domains but then extend to more explicit definitions:
bénih  now
uron  in the past (a particular moment in the past)
lou’ah  that day/that time
unéi  earlier
lulung  very long time ago
kinah  then, later
lulung  before
lemok  until

2.3 Phases of the moon
An important role is played in the traditional temporal description by the moon. Its position is a deictic temporal reference frame and also an important element to consider when planning agricultural activities. A very detailed distinction of the various positions of the moon indicates the traditional temporal framework to which Kenyah people used to separate time. Now these traditional time distinction is only known to few elders of the village whereas nowadays time is expressed in numbers reflecting the 7 days of the week and the 12 months of the year.

Ôma Lóngh  Lebu’ Kulit
tò kecó  dau kesé   Monday (day 1)
tò kekédevó  dau kedué  Tuesday (day 2)
bólèny có  bulan sé   January (month/moon 1)
bólèny devó  bulan dué  February (month/moon 2)

Temporal markers:
Ôma Lóngh  Lebu’ Kulit
tene  o   perfective
lepó  lepek   perfective
òbèny  uvan  resultative
daò  daleu  imperfective
ke-  ke/ka  inchoative
3. Person deixis

3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have two sets: independent and dependent forms. The dependent forms have the function to mark the possessive and the subject of verbs. They can follow any class of words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Òma Lóngh</th>
<th></th>
<th>Lebu’ Kulit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>aghí</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>akiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you SG</td>
<td>īghu</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>īkuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>zó/jó/nyó</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>ié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>ami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl.dual)</td>
<td>mévó</td>
<td>mévó</td>
<td>mé’é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl.trial)</td>
<td>ami tele</td>
<td>mé teleu</td>
<td>mé teleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl.)</td>
<td>éle</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>ileu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl.dual)</td>
<td>tò</td>
<td>-tò</td>
<td>tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl.trial)</td>
<td>éle tele</td>
<td>-le tele</td>
<td>teleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you PL</td>
<td>égham</td>
<td>-kam</td>
<td>ikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (dual)</td>
<td>kavó</td>
<td>kavó</td>
<td>kam úé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (trial)</td>
<td>égham tele</td>
<td>-kam tele</td>
<td>kam teleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>éqó</td>
<td>éqó /-dó</td>
<td>iré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (dual)</td>
<td>évó</td>
<td>évó</td>
<td>dué</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (trial)</td>
<td>éqó tele</td>
<td>éqó tele</td>
<td>rateleu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impersonal:

de/re/ne person  dulu person

Punan Tubu’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set I</th>
<th>Set II</th>
<th>Set III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>hok</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>nuh</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>hén</td>
<td>rin</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>katou</td>
<td>katou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL.DUA</td>
<td>karō</td>
<td>karō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>tero</td>
<td>tero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL.DUA</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ketou</td>
<td>ketou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.DUA</td>
<td>kevo</td>
<td>kevo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>detou</td>
<td>detou/doh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.DUA</td>
<td>iro</td>
<td>iro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Comments on grammaticalization

One of the main problems addressed when studying deictics and in particular demonstratives is to investigate whether it is possible to track the development of demonstratives into grammatical markers. As Diessel (1999: 114) says, “crosslinguistically demonstratives provide a common historical source for a wide variety of grammatical items such as definite articles, relative and third person pronouns, copulas, sentence connectives, complementizers, number markers and possessives”.

In Òma Lóngh like in Lebu’ Kulit, the language employs the particles na and ta that encode the speaker’s feeling about how distant is something in the speech. It might be that these particles are directionals.
marking the opposition “towards the speaker” and “away from the speaker” that are strictly related to the verbs for ‘come’ nai and ‘go’ tai.
Anaphoric demonstratives derive from exophoric demonstratives: the Ôma Lóngh ziqi is related to the exophoric zi, and the same happens with the Lebu’ Kulit irai.
As for the 3 person pronouns they can be derived from demonstratives in Ôma Lóngh and in a similar way also relative pronouns are derived from demonstratives.

- **Pronouns**: 3SG –e and –a in Ôma Lóngh and Lebu’ Kulit respectively often used as a determiner or associative. In Punan Tubu’ the third singular person of set II, generally used as a possessive is related to the demonstrative medial distal rih.

- **Demonstratives**:

Ôma Lóngh
z-i demonstrative+proximal deictic
z-é demonstrative+distal deictic

Lebu’ Kulit
i-ni 3SG pronoun +deictic
iti

iné
iné 3SG ié

Punan Tubu’
i-nih
i-nah
i-rih

- **Anaphoric demonstratives** from exophoric demonstratives?
ziqi < zi Ôma Lóngh
irai Lebu’ Kulit
inih/inah < inih/inah Punan Tubu’

3P pronouns from demonstratives?
3SG zo < z-i singular Ôma Lóngh
3PL do < d-i plural Lebu’ Kulit

Relative pronouns:
deq < plural demonstrative= eq Ôma Lóngh
iyaq/iraq < i demonstrative+aq/raq Lebu’ Kulit

- **Time and manner deictics**: mainly from exophoric demonstratives

- **Copula**
nah < verb ‘to be’ < distal demonstrative Punan Tubu’

In conclusion, comparing Ôma Lóngh, Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tubu’ the main difference is that Ôma Lóngh employs a two way distance marked demonstratives whereas Lebu’ Kulit employs a three way distance marked demonstratives and Punan Tubu’ a four way distance. The demonstratives are distance oriented in the languages and are used in pronominal and adnominal position.
Ôma Lóngh employs anaphoric demonstratives that are strictly dependent from the exophoric ones whereas Lebu’ Kulit also employs the demonstrative irai that is only used anaphorically.
For what concerns the relationship between third person pronouns and demonstratives, the three languages display a derivational relationship.
In Òma Lóngh dependent demonstratives and independent 3 SG pronoun share the same stem and the same opposition between singular and plural. The plural demonstratives *ďi* and *ďe* and their related 3PL pronoun *ďo* share the same stem *d*- with the relative pronoun *deq* as well. The three independent deictics in Lebu’ Kulit seem to share the same stem *i*- with the 3SG independent pronoun *ǐe*. Whereas the opposition between singular and plural is not marked in the demonstrative pronouns but it is marked in the relative pronouns.

In both Òma Lóngh and Lebu’ Kulit the particles *ne te* and *na ta* respectively are widely employed. They are probably directional and obviously derive from the verbs *nai/nè* ‘to come’ and *tai/ tè* ‘to go’.

In Punan Tubu’ the verb *nah* ‘to be’ or ‘copula’ can be derived from the *inah* distal demonstrative.

5. Deictic expressions calqued in the contact language: Bahasa Indonesia

48. ayo kita dua makan
   EXCL1PL.INCL two eat
   let’s eat (the two of us)

49. kapan milir ke Jakarta?
   when go.downriver LOC Jakarta
   when are you going (downriver) to Jakarta?

50. kapan mudik ke Setulang?
   when go.upriver Setulang
   when (you) coming back upriver to Setulang?

51. ini beras dari hulu?
   this rice from upriver
   is this rice from upriver? (referring the village as asked in the big town)

55. beli di hilir?
   buy LOC downriver
   did (you) buy (it) in town? (lit. downriver) (referring to Tarakan or also Jakarta, any big town at the estuary of the river)

References:


