Definiteness and referent tracking in Abui

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This paper discusses the usage of the Abui anaphoric demonstratives (Kratochvíl 2007:163). These words occur in the final position of the NP, following all other NP constituents including quantifiers (numerals and quantifiers) and attributive words (nouns, adjectives, and stative verbs), as shown in the template in (1). Partly cognate set of deictic demonstratives occurs in the pre-head position.

(1) Abui NP Template: Deict Gen N Attr Num/Quant Dem

In the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, the differences in ordering of NP constituents are minimal (Schapper 2014a:14). Uniformly, the NP final slot is reserved for referent tracking accomplished by words labeled as demonstratives or articles.

There is a great diversity in the functions and categories encoded by the NP final words. Besides the typologically common [± definite] and [± specific], additional categories are commonly encoded, including at least distance. Kamang distinguishes referents in terms of (non-)knowledge (Schapper 2014b:310). Blagar (Steinhauer 2014:181); Western Pantar (Holton 2014:57-59) and Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014a:376-377) also include visibility.

Given the complexity within the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, the Abui system appears relatively simple. In Abui, a difference is made between speaker-mentioned and hearer-mentioned forms, with an additional dimension of distance (Kratochvíl 2007:162-163; Kratochvíl 2011:763-766; Dryer 2014:241). The entire paradigm is listed in Table 1 below, and the forms to be discussed in this paper are in bold face.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISCOURSE LOCATION</th>
<th>VIEWPOINT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+PROXIMAL; +DEFINITE</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+MEDIAL; +DEFINITE</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+DISTAL; -DEFINITE</td>
<td>nu</td>
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</table>

Given the cross-linguistic rarity of the hearer-based forms (Dryer 2014:241), we will look in detail at their use in naturally occurring discourse. The use hearer-viewpoint definite form to can be seen in the attached fragment of a brideprice negotiation. In (3) to interacts with hearer’s metalinguistic knowledge about kabala ‘fabric’ – both its meaning and its usual reference. In Diessel’s terminology (1999:106-107), hearer’s knowledge (hearer-old information) is activated (discourse-new). While both proximal to and medial yo share a ‘recognitional’ use (Diessel 1999), because SP used the word kabala in (2), it is appropriate for KM to use the proximal form in (3). From (6) onward, the referent of kabala is generic and therefore incompatible with the definite forms.

The paper will contribute to the discussion of typology of demonstratives (Diessel 1999) and definite articles (Dryer 2013; Dryer 2014; Davis et al. 2014). The discussion will be complemented with an anthropological, interaction-based analysis (Enfield 2003; Hanks 2005; inter alia).
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(1) KM: Jadi, wan kabala kasing buti…
so already fabric CLF four
‘So it’s four fabrics (that can be used as blanket)’ MPTF.223

(2) SP: Kabala nu, # hen nala kabala?
[fabric SPC]SP that what fabric
‘Those fabrics, what kind?’ MPTF.225

(3) KM: Ma kabala to. Ee wan ri-yi.
PART [fabric PROX.AD]SP before already 2PL.LOC-have.PFV
‘Well as long as it is the kabala fabric (as you just said). (The particular type)
is your choice.’ MPTF.226

(4) Ee amakang-e, kabala-ye,# ee, rido ha baai.
before person-and fabric-and before 2PL.FOC like.DST.IPFV also
‘To whom, and what type, that's just up to you.’ MPTF.227

(5) Na ma-i lipa yo masi korbai rido ha…
1SG.AGT be.PROX-PFV blanket MD.AD but.then soon 2PL.FOC like.DST.IPFV
‘Even is I listed lipa blankets, later it would be up to you…’ MPTF.228

(6) Heng kabala.
that fabric
‘All those fall under kabala fabrics.’ MPTF.229

(7) MM: Yoo!# Keng nowang hene pi tahai yo sulit.
MD.AD sarong cover that 1PL.INCL.AGT search.IPFV MD.AD difficult
‘That’s right. Sarongs and nowang blankets, those are hard to find.’ MPTF.230

(8) Madi kabala kaang loku mai heto heng kaang.
PART fabric good PL when that.ad that possible
‘But when it comes to regular kabala fabrics, those are manageable (can be
found).’ MPTF.231

(9) Ma-di keng ba itinala loku nu pi tahai~tahai do
PART sarong.LNK some PL SPC 1PL.INCL.AGT search.IPFV~ITER PROX
seng he-to-k=takda mai,# moku loku
money 3.LOC-DISTR.REC-bring=empty.IPFV when kid PL
pihabeekda# to.#
1PL.LOC-3.PAT-broken.IPFV PRX.AD
‘But (handwoven) sarongs, those we could be looking for until all our money
is spent, and we would damage our (newly-wed) children too (as we have
agreed to avoid).’ MPTF.232

(10) Kalau keng ba tahai.
if sarong LNK search.IPFV
‘That’s when we are trying to find sarongs.’ MPTF.233
References


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