Definiteness and referent tracking in Abui

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1. Introduction

This paper discusses referential properties of hearer-oriented articles in Abui, exploring the structure of 'hearer-knowledge', targeted by several Abui deictic forms, two of which will be discussed in detail here. Hearer-familiarity is one of the core components in determining referential status of nominal constituents. Hearer-oriented demostratives and articles, however, are cross-linguistically rare (Dryer 2014:241).

We follow Hanks (2005) in the focus on the interaction of deixis with the social relation between the speaker and the addressee, the construction of their identity, knowledge, shared attention and their anchoring in the socio-temporal world in their interaction takes place.

1.1. Analytical framework

The line between demonstratives and articles is blurred and subject of vivid discussion lately (Dryer 2013; Dryer 2014; Davis et al. 2014).

FEATURE	Dryer 2013a-b, 2014	Davis et al. 2014
MORPHOLOGY	free or bound form	bound form
SYNTAX	obligatory or optional	obligatory
FAMILIARITY	familiar	familiar
UNIQUENESS	unique	unique
DEMONSTRATIVES	included	excluded
CONTRASTS	anaphoric vs. share knowledge	n.a.
SEMANTIC TESTS	n.a.	maximality (plurals and mass)

Table 1. Defining criteria for definite articles

1.2. Demonstratives and articles in the TAP languages

(1) proto-AP NP Template: Gen **N** Attr Num/Quant **Dem**

1.3. Features encoded by TAP demonstratives and articles

In terms of Diessel's typology of semantic features of demonstrative, features of deixis are encoded, while features of quality (ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number, etc.) are missing.

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language	DISTANCE	ELEVATION	VISIBILITY	KNOWLEDGE	VIEWPOINT	source
Western Pantar	+ (3-way)	+	+	-	-	Holton 2014:57-59
Teiwa	+ (2-way)	-	-	-	-	Klamer 2010:130-138
Kaera	+ (2-way)	?	?	?	?	Klamer 2014:117
Blagar	+ (2-way)	+	+	-	+	Steinhauer 2014:181
Adang	+ (2-way)	+	-	-	-	Robinson and Haan 2014:256-257
Abui	+ (3-way)	+	-	-	+	Kratochvíl 2011
Klon	+ (2-way)	+	?	?	?	Baird 2008:58-61
Kamang	+ (2-way)	-	-	+	-	Schapper 2014b:310
Sawila	+ (2-way)	-	+	-	-	Kratochvíl 2014a:376-377
Wersing	+ (2-way)	-	-	-	-	Schapper and Hendery 2014:469-470

Table 2. Features encoded by deictic words in Alor-Pantar languages

2. Referential properties of Abui Noun Phrases

(1)   Abui NP Template: **DEICT** GEN N ATTR NUM/QUANT **ART**

2.1. Spatial deixis

DISTANCE	VIEWPOINT (V)		ELEVATION	
	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	LOW	HIGH
PROXIMAL	*do* (PRX)	*to* (PRX.AD)	*	*
MEDIAL	*o, lo* (MD)	*yo* (MD.AD)	*o* (MD.L)	*ó* (MD.H)
DISTAL	*oro* (DST)		*wo* (DST.L)	*wó* (DST.H)

Table 3: Abui deictic demonstratives

(2)   Abui deictic demonstratives

1   a.   ***do***   *fala*   b.   ***o***   *fala*
          PROX   house   MD   house
          'this house (near me)'   'that house there (further from me)'

2   c.   ***to***   *fala*   d.   ***yo***   *fala*
          PROX.AD house   MD.AD   house
          'this house (near you)'   'that house there (further from you)'

3   e.   ***oro***   *fala*
          DST   house
          'that house over there (far from both)'

2.2. Articles

DISCOURSE LOCATION	VIEWPOINT (V)	
	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE
[+PROXIMAL][+DEFINITE]	*do* (PROX)	*to* (PROX.AD)
[-PROXIMAL][+DEFINITE]	*o* (MD)	*yo* (MD.AD)
[NEW][−DEFINITE][±SPECIFIC]	*nu* (SPC)	*hu* (SPC.AD)

Table 4: Abui articles

2.3. Possessive phrases

(3)   Definite and indefinite possessors

4   a. *fala   wai*
              house roof
              'roof of a house, house roof'

5   b. *mok-fala **he-**cet   **he-t-**adaafi*
              church   3.AL-paint 3.LOC-DISTR.PAT-peel.off.PFV
              'the paint on the church (walls) is peeled off'

2.4. Referential status and argument realization

(4)   Verbal agreement and definiteness

6   I > J   *maama **bataa** fakda*
              father   wood   chop.IPFV
              'father chops wood OR father is chopping wood'

7   I > J   *maama **bataa** **he-**fakda*
              father   wood   3.LOC-chop.IPFV
              'father is chopping **the** wood, (understood quantity of wood)'

(5)   Verbal agreement and definiteness (N + Rel)

8   I > J   ***kaai** diking   pe=ng   marei=ba   Ø **arui** kafia*
              dog   fire.place near=SEE go.up.PFV=SIM   ashes scrape.IPFV
              'the dog went up to the fireplace to scrape in ashes'

9   I > J   *Ø   **e-toku**   **ba yokung   nu**   **he-**kafi-a   naha!*
              [2SG.AL-leg LNK be.inflamed SPC]   3.LOC-scratch.IPFV not
              'don't scratch your inflamed leg!'

(6)   Distribution of the agentive pronoun *di* (N *di*)

10   I > J   ***moku   loku** sakola   *he-*sei*
              [kid   PL]   school   3.LOC-come.down.IPFV
              'children come down to school (for education)'   B3.3.2

11   I > J   ***moku loku di***   *sakola*   *he-sei*
            [kid   PL   3AGT] school   3.LOC-come.down.IPFV
            'the children come down to school (for education)'   B3.3.2

(7)   Distribution of the agentive pronoun *di* (N *di*)

12   I > J   ***kaai***   *afu loku ha-fur-i*
            dog   [fish PL]   3.PAT-swallow.PFV-PFV
            'dogs swallowed the fish'   B5.24.3

13   I > J   ***kaai di***   *afu loku ha-fur-i*
            [dog 3AGT] [fish PL]   3.PAT-swallow.PFV-PFV
            'the dog swallowed the fish'   B5.24.3

(8)   Generic reference and the agentive pronoun *di* (N *di*)

14   I   *war-tama maiye* ***kumal*** ***tafuda***   *mong-e*
         dry.season when [mosquito be.all]   die.IPFV-PROG
         'when it is dry season, mosquitoes will be dying'   B7.61.2

15   I > J   *tuntama do*,   ***kumal***   ***di***   *ne-l*=*takei*
            night   PROX   [mosquito 3AGT] 1SG.LOC-give=bite
            'last night, the mosquitoes were biting me'   B7.34.3

(9)   Topical NPs marked with demonstratives

16   I > J   *kawen do*,   ***a***   ***ha***-*komangdi-a*   *naha!*
            machete PROX 2SG.AGT 3.PAT-blunt.PFV-CONT   not
            'the machete, don't you blunt it'   EVY.1114

3.   Speaker-based forms

(10)   Discourse-old NPs with *o* (MD)

17   I   ***pelang o***   *tut taaha iti*
         [canoe   MD]   shore be.on lie.on
         'the canoe (I talked about before) lies on the shore'   B9.76.1

(11)   Response to MPI stimulus 076M_fbpushing (Staged events set)

18   I + J   *Neng moku de-bal*   *ha-da*=*muila*   *hu*,   *nuku di*   *bal*
            man   kid   3I.AL-ball 3.PAT-join=play.IPFV SPC.AD one 3.AGT ball
            'two young guys were playing soccer, one of them'

19   I, J   *ha-kur*=*ba*   *de-feela*   *ho-pa*=*dong*   *wee*=*mi*,   ***he-takel***   ***di***
          3.PAT-kick.PFV=SIM 3I.AL-friend 3.REC-touch=into leave=CSEQ 3.AL-enemy 3.AGT
          'kicked the ball to his teammate and then his rival'

20   J > I   *me*   *ho-k*=*mia*   *yo*   *he-nil*=*mi*,
           come.IPFV 3.REC-bring-take.away.IPFV MD.AD 3.LOC-do.so.IPFV=CSEQ
           'took it from him and so'

21   I > J   *de-ina*   *de-**takel***   *la=ng=ha-suraidi=ya*   *mii,*
               3I.AL-self 3I.AL-enemy   be.MD=SEE=3.PAT-push.PFV=SEQ   take.PFV
               'took it from him and so he pushed him and took it back,'

22   J   *he-takel*   *o*   *di*   *he-baai*.
               3.AL-enemy MD   3.AGT 3.LOC-angry.PFV
               'so the rival got angry at him.'   MPI.076M_fbpushing

The medial *o* seems to occur in places where the flow of the narrative reaches a climax and many things happen in rapid sequence.

4.   Addressee-based forms

Addressee-based forms are marked in the sense that they are only used when the speaker interacts with hearer-knowledge. They are quite rare in narratives, but very frequent in conversations.

4.1.   The use of the proximal *to* - '*I know this is familiar for you*'

(12)   Recently mentioned referents

23   I > J   ***na***   *kul*   *wee*   ***ne-sura***   ***to***   ***he-**bilenri=te*
               1SG.AGT must   leave 1SG.AL-book PROX.AD 3.LOC-paint.PFV=PRIOR
               'I must now go photocopy my book (that you mentioned)'   B10.50.12

(13)   Confirmation use ('as you said')

24   SP: *So, his paternal side counts ten people, so that should be ten pieces of cloth.*
               So whatever you do, the engaged couple has to give each of them; don't say
               anything, as long as it is a kabala cloth.

25   KM: *he-naha* *heng*   ***kar-nuku*   *to***,   *maama*.#
               3.AL-debt 3.COP.IPFV ten-one   PROX.AD father
                                        [**r-briding**   ]
               'The debt includes indeed these ten (pieces) [as you said].'   MPTF.509

(14)   Claiming a turn with a 'call-back'

26   KM: *Hare*   ***na***   ***fu***   *takei-se*.#
               so   1SG.AGT   betel.nut   bite.IPFV-PRIOR
                                  [**r-new**]
               'So I will now have some betelnut.'   MPTF.422

27   <4 turns>

28   MM: *Ma*   *ril*   *baai*   ***fu***   ***wala*** *takai=re?*#
               PART   2PL.TOP also   betel.nut some chew.PFV=TAG
                                  [**r-given**   ]
               'So will you guys also have some betelnut, or not?'   MPTF.426

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29 *Ai,* **ede** *tangi* *hare,* **lupa do** *e-l-e* **maama!#**
    INTER 2SG.AGT.FOC speak.PFV so be.soft PROX 2SG.LOC-give-PROG father
                                              [**r-given**   ]
    'Well, you asked for it, so you will get the soft one!'   MPTF.427

30 *Ne-i=no-mi* *maaha tanga mai,* *e-r* *do!*
    1SG.LOC-put=1SG.REC-be.inside who speak.IPFV and.then 2SG.LOC-reach PROX
    'I was wondering who was asking, and it was you.'   MPTF.428

31 <2 turns>

32 YM: *Ma* **fu-meeting** **to** *ri* **wala** *mi ui-hieng baai ha-reng=re!#*
    PART betel.and.pepper PRX.AD 2PL.AGT some use backside also 3.PAT-face.at=TAG
        [**r-given-hearer.mention**]
    'Well, give us at the back here also some of this betelnut (you just talked
    about), would you?'   MPTF.431

4.2. The use of the medial *yo* – '*I think this could be familiar for you*'
The medial *yo* interacts with hearer's knowledge, and often introduces new referents into discourse. The 'medial distance' asserts the awareness and expectation of a certain misalignment of the 'shared attention'.

(15) Response to MPI stimulus scen53_V1_put_033 (Put project set)

33 WM *Yaldo dikang* **bal ayoku** *ta-ming* *iti,* **nuku** *war-sei mia,*
    now again ball two DISTR.INAL-side lie.on one west be.in
34 **nuku** *war-marang mia haba...*
    one east be.in but
    'Now there are two balls laid next to each other, one in the west, one in the
    east, but...'   MT.GAME.2.BD.55

35 *war-sei mia* *yo* *kika,* *war-marang mia* *yo* *adet-san.*
    west be.in MD.AD be.red east be.in MD.AD yellow
    'the one in the west is red, the other in the east is yellow'   MT.GAME.2.BD.56

(16) Response to MPI stimulus scen53_V1_put_033 (Put project set)

36 I > J *Ø wan* **de-konrek foka yo** *men-i.*
    already [3I.AL-shirt be.big MD.AD] wear.PFV-PFV
    'wearing that thick shirt again'   SURREY.MA1.240

(17) Response to MPI stimulus 030M_bikeunfold (Staged events set)

37 I > J *wiil-mayol* *nuku di* **de-kuong-faala yo** *ha-tamadi=ya*
    [young.woman one 3.AGT] [3I.AL-bicycle MD.AD] 3.PAT-repair.PFV=SEQ
    'the young woman unfolded (lit. repaired) her bike (familiar to you) and'

38 I > J *Ø* **Ø** *ha-ruidi=ya* *Ø* **Ø** *tahang mit=ba*
    3.PAT-set.upright.PFV=SEQ be.on sit.PFV=SIM
    'put it upright, sat on it and'

39 I *Ø laak-i*
    leave.for-PFV
    'drove away.'   MPI.030M_BikeUnfold

4.3.   Optionality

(18)   Response to MPI stimulus 005P_collidebreak (Staged events set)

40   I > J   *mayol   di   pingai ha*-liel=ba   mii   ama   h-ienri-a   hu
[woman 3.AGT] plate   3.PAT-lift=SIM take.PFV person 3.PAT-show.PFV-CONT SPC.AD
'A women lifted up a plate and showed it to people'

41   K   ***wiil-neng nuku   di***   *miyei=ba*
[boy   one   3.AGT]   come.PFV=SIM
'when one young man came and'

42   K > I   Ø   *la=ng=hoo-yaar-i=ya*
be.MD=see=3.GOAL-bump.into.PFV-PFV=SEQ
'walked into her there and'

43   J   ***pingai yo***   *ha-yeei=ba*   Ø   *poku-kaili*
[plate   MD.AD]   3.PAT-fall.PFV=SIM   shattered.PFV
that plate fell and broke in pieces.'   MPI.005P_collidebreak

(19)   Response to MPI stimulus 033P_collidenonbreak (Staged events set)

44   I > J   *mayol   nuku   di   pingai ho*-puna=ba   natet   hu
[woman one   3.AGT] plate   3.REC-hold.IPFV=SIM   stand.up.PFV SPC.AD
'A woman is holding a plate and standing when'

45   K > I   ***neng nuku   di***   *ming-hoo-yaa=mi*
[man one   3.AGT]   APPL-3.GOAL-bump.into.IPFV=CSEQ
'a man bumps into her and'

46   J   ***pingai ha-yei***   *haba   Ø   pok-u   naha*
[plate   MD.AD] 3.PAT-fall.IPFV but   split-PRF not
'the plate falls, but does not break.'   MPI.033P_CollideNonBreak

(20)   Response to MPI stimulus 061M_fbheadononefalls (Staged events set)

47   I   *Neng ayoku di   bal pei   ta-luk-u=ba   de-pikaai mi*
man   two   3.AGT ball near.PFV DISTR.PAT-fight-PRF=PURP 3I.AL-head use
'Two players competed for the header'

48   *mia=mi,   nuku=ba bal di   he-pikaai ha-yei   yo*
take.IPFV=CSEQ   one=[REL ball 3.AGT 3.AL-head 3.PAT-hit] MD.AD
'and the one whose head the ball hit'

49   I   *da-kuoili.*
3I.PAT-stumble.PFV
'ended up falling.'   MPI. 061M_fbheadononefalls

4.4.   Pragmatic extensions of addressee-based forms
Proximal addressee-viewpoint form *to* has some additional uses, where it usually marks discourse-new participants. Firstly, the proximal form can be used in strong reminders, as in (21).

(21)   Forceful reminder with *to*

50   I > J   *waah!* *Ø e-feela*   *he-toku to*   *wan*   *a*   *la*
            INTER   2SG.AL-friend 3.AL-leg PROX.AD already 2SG.AGT PART
                    [r-unused-?unknown?   ]

51   *he-laak-i*   *to!*
            3.LOC-walk.over-PFV PROX.AD
            'Wow! You have just walked over your buddy's leg there'   SURREY.KM4.34

(22)   Assertive requests with *to*

52   I > J   *Benny! Ø e-kafaak*   *tuku to*   *mii*   *do=ng=wot-te!*
            PN   2SG.AL-cigarette piece PROX.AD take.PFV PROX=see=throw.PFV-PRIOR
                    [r-unused-?unknown?   ]
            'Benny, throw me a cigarette now!', lit. 'Benny, throw this cigarette (you
            talked about) here now.'   SURREY.MA1.242

(23)   Self-directed speech (response to cb28cutfish)

53   I   *hen*   *nala*   *hee-iti-ye*
            [3.COP]   what   3.BEN-lie.on-PROG
            talking to herself: 'what is that for?'

54   I   *ai,*   *afu*   *to!*
            INTER fish   PROX.AD
            answering to herself: 'oh, that's a fish (of course)!'   SURREY.MA1.81

5. Overview

The two hearer-oriented forms *to* and *yo* both interact with hearer-knowledge, but differ in several aspects, summarized below.

- Proximate speaker-oriented form is the default form to mark definite NPs. It can also co-occur with proper nouns, and pronouns
- Medial speaker-oriented form is used when two definite reference are activated and switched in their argument role
- Proximate hearer-oriented form requires a recent previous mention of the referent ('*I know this is familiar for you*')
- Proximate form almost never introduces new referent, and it this is done, it is to adjust the illocutionary force, as in (21) or (22)
- The speaker can enter the hearer-knowledge frame in situations of self-directed speech, as in (23).
- Medial hearer-oriented form can introduce new referents, whom the speaker judges being possibly familiar for the hearer ('*I think this could be familiar for you*').
- Medial form can mark referents whose involvement in the event is constructed as unexpected or surprising for the hearer.

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