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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>Dryer 2013a-b. 2014</th>
<th>Davis et al. 2014</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MORPHOLOGY</td>
<td>free or bound form</td>
<td>bound form</td>
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<td>SYNTAX</td>
<td>obligatory or optional</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAMILIARITY</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIQUENESS</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEMONSTRATIVES</td>
<td>included</td>
<td>excluded</td>
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<td>CONTRASTS</td>
<td>anaphoric vs. share knowledge</td>
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<td>SEMANTIC TESTS</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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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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## 2. Referential properties of Abui Noun Phrases

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

### 2.1. Spatial deixis

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Viewpoint (V)</th>
<th>Elevation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>do (PRX)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to (PRX.AD)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>o, lo (MD)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo (MD.AD)</td>
<td>o (MD.L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(MD.H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>oro (DST)</td>
<td>wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wó (DST.L)</td>
<td>(DST.H)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Abui deictic demonstratives

(2) Abui deictic demonstratives

1 a. **do** fala
   *PROX* house
   ‘this house (near me)’

b. **o** fala
   *MD* house
   ‘that house there (further from me)’

c. **to** fala
   *PROX.AD* house
   ‘this house (near you)’

d. **yo** fala
   *MD.AD* house
   ‘that house there (further from you)’

e. **oro** fala
   *DST* house
   ‘that house over there (far from both)’

### 2.2. 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 оф 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.IPVF
   ‘father chops wood OR father is chopping wood’

7  I > J maama bataa he-fakda
   father wood 3.LOC-chop.IPVF
   ‘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 kafka
   dog fire.place near=SEE go.up.PFV=SIM ashes scrape.IPVF
   ‘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.IPVF 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.IPVF
   ‘children come down to school (for education)’

Table 4: Abui articles
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-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 31.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.IPfv=SIM 31.AL-friend 3.REC-touch=into leave=CSEQ 31.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’
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. Address-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

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’)

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.

KM: he-naha heng kar-nuku to, maama.#
3.AL-debt 3.COP.IPV 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’

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

<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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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...’

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’

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

36 I>J Ø *wan de-konrek foka yo men-i.*
already [3[1.AL-shirt be.big MD.AD] wear.PFV-PFV
‘wearing that thick shirt again’

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

37 I>J Ø wiil-mayol nuku di *de-kuang-afaal yo ha-tamadi=ya*
[young.woman one 3.AGT] [3[1.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-ruid=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.’

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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-i-enri-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-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.’

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 \textit{to}

\begin{align*}
50 & \text{I} > \text{J} \quad \text{waah!} \quad \text{Ø e-feela he-toku to} \quad \text{wan a la} \\
& \quad \text{INTER} \quad \text{2SG.AL.-friend} \quad \text{3.AL.-leg} \quad \text{PROX.AD} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{2SG.AGT} \quad \text{PART} \\
& \quad [\text{r-unused-?unknown?}] \\
51 & \text{he-laak-i to!} \\
& \quad \text{3.LOC.-walk.over-PFV} \quad \text{PROX.AD} \\
\text{‘Wow! You have just walked over your buddy’s leg there’} & \quad \text{SURREY.KM4.34}
\end{align*}

(22) Assertive requests with \textit{to}

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

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

\begin{align*}
53 & \text{I} \quad \text{hen nala hee-it}-\text{ye} \\
& \quad [\text{3.COP}] \quad \text{what} \quad \text{3.BEN-lie.on-PROG} \\
\text{talking to herself: ‘what is that for?’} & \\
54 & \text{I} \quad \text{ai, afu to!} \\
& \quad \text{INTER} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{PROX.AD} \\
\text{answering to herself: ‘oh, that’s a fish (of course)!’} & \quad \text{SURREY.MA1.81}
\end{align*}

5. Overview

The two hearer-oriented forms \textit{to} and \textit{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.
References


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