

THIS, THAT, AND THE OTHER:
A STUDY OF KORAFE DEMONSTRATIVES

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1. INTRODUCTION

An examination of Korafe¹ demonstratives reveals a variety of forms and functions. Webster (1976) defines 'demonstrative' as "pointing out the one referred to and distinguishing it from others of the same class." In this way, then, demonstratives are a major part of the deictic system of a language, but in Korafe they are a lot more than deictic distinguishers. In combination with phrase relators and other clitics, they pervade almost every aspect of Korafe structure: they indicate a whole range of inter-clausal semantic relations; they mark pragmatic topic at various levels; they differentiate between and track participants in discourse; and in tight-knit phrases with verbs that are stripped of tense, person, and mood affixation, they form the conjunctions which indicate the relationships between clausal propositions.

¹ Korafe is a Non-Austronesian language of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. It belongs to the Binandere family. It is spoken by the 3,000 or so Korafe people living on the headlands of Cape Nelson around the Tufi sub-provincial headquarters and also by those Korafe people living and working in the towns and population centers of Papua New Guinea.

Korafe is an SOV language with a strong inclination to topicalize the subject (or object). The phonemes of the language are /a/, /ã/, /b/, /d/, /e/, /ẽ/, /f/, /g/, /g/ written gh, /i/, /ĩ/, /j/, /k/, /m/, /n/ /o/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /u/, /ũ/, /v/, and /y/.

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Table 1 charts most of the words formed by affixation of relators and clitics to the three demonstrative roots¹ e, a, and o.

Table 1: *Most Frequent Demonstrative-based Words*

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL-1	DISTAL-1
root	e	a	o
control/instrument	ei	ai	oi
topic	emo	amo	omo
topic and control	eimi	aimi	oimi
change of direction/ contrastive topic	evia	ava	ovia
possessive	einda	ainda	oinda
locative	eminda	aminda	ominda
purpose/benefactive	eindae	aindae	oindae
dual comitative	einghae	ainghae	oinghae
plural comitative	einde	ainde	oinde
comparative	emingo	amingo	omingo

In light of the multiple uses of demonstratives, a complete understanding of Korafe demands a thorough understanding of these forms and their functions. In this paper, we will only attempt to explain the contrastive functions of the three roots e, a, o. (The functions of the forms charted in the first five rows and conjunctive elements are described in Farr, Lowe and Whitehead (1982) and Farr (1981).

2. DISTINCTIVE FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS

The demonstrative roots in Korafe have two distinct functions: (1) referential, whereby the speaker identifies the person/item/event referred to by its location in space, time, or discourse, and (2)

¹ The demonstrative roots e, a and o are also referred to as deictic forms, because they point out the location of the referent they mark.

psychological,¹ whereby the speaker indicates his involvement in the event described.

The first function, referential, has been described in detail by Fillmore (1975:51) for English. There, he differentiates three distinct types of reference which he calls: gestural, symbolic and anaphoric. We will make a similar distinction with the following definitions:

gestural, where the referent is physically present and in some way physically monitored.

symbolic, where the event can be interpreted by merely knowing certain aspects of the speech communication act.

endophoric, where a deictically marked element in discourse is interpreted by knowing what other portions of the same discourse it is co-referential with. (We use endophoric in preference to anaphoric since we wish to include both anaphora and cataphora.)

The second function, psychological, is an extension of what Lakoff (1974) referred to as emotional deixis. The demonstratives are used in Korafe to indicate the full range of the speaker's attitude to the information he is communicating, which may or may not involve the emotions.

Table 1 presented the three demonstrative roots e, a, o used in Korafe, labelled 'proximal', 'distal-1' and 'distal-2' respectively. Table 2 summarizes the distinctive semantic components of these roots within each of the four categories given above.

¹ The authors are indebted to Ivan Lowe for his theoretical input to this paper, especially for introducing the concept of psychological deixis to us.

Table 2: *Semantic Components of Demonstrative Roots*

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL-1	DISTAL-2
Referential:			
(1) Gestural	+speaker	+addressee	-speaker -addressee
(2) Symbolic	coding time (+speaker involvement)	neutral +addressee, +speaker	not coding time -speaker -addressee
(3) Endophoric	cataphoric/ (anaphoric)	anaphoric	(anaphoric)
Psychological	+strong speaker association, sometimes emotional	+speaker and addressee association, -emotional involvement	distancing from both speaker and addressee, sometimes emotional

Every demonstrative can, therefore, have a dual function: referential and psychological. In section 3, we will elaborate on how these functions operate together.

First, however, we shall delineate respectively the gestural, symbolic, endophoric, and psychological uses of the demonstratives.

2.1 REFERENTIAL

2.1.1 GESTURAL

The gestural use indicates the physical position of the referent relative to the speaker and addressee: near to the speaker (example (1)), near to the addressee (example (2)), or distant from both (example (3)).

- (1) Na nene aindae setevo emo asuguseni, emo!
I you on.account.of.that you.said this I.put.on this
'You chose me, so on account of that, I have put on
this (church warden's badge), this one!'

(2) Okia amo budo fuyo!
 pot that getting come
 'Bring that pot near you!'

(3) Omo nanda ghato-ra-si.
 that my cousin-is-certainly
 'That one over there certainly is my cousin.'

The gestural use can be extended to be used in written discourse as well as in oral discourse. This occurs when a picture is present on the page and the demonstrative signals that picture as its referent.

(4) Emo oto seraera.
 this axe we.say
 'We call this an axe.'

Example (4) is from a book of descriptions of Korafe artifacts. It is the first clause in a description under a pictorial illustration of an axe. The description follows immediately after the initial clause. The near deictic e in emo 'this as topic' draws attention to the picture of the axe, which is near to both the speaker and the addressee. It also indicates that this is what the former will describe.

2.1.2 SYMBOLIC

The symbolic use of demonstratives is primarily, if not exclusively, either temporal or locative, relative to the time and location of the speech act. We deal first with the temporal and then with the locative use.

Temporally, the proximal demonstratives are used to indicate the time of the speech act, i.e. what Fillmore (1975:9) calls coding time.

(5) Oroko-é ogha mo Kofure irira.
 today-this crow topic Kofure it.remains
 'At this present time, the crow lives at Kofure.'

In example (5), the e 'this' suffixed to oroko 'today' refers to the coding time, the moment at which the speaker is making the utterance.

The temporal use of the distal-1 demonstratives encodes a time period near to the coding time, but not including the coding time.

(6) Oroko ava fuvu, kirumu mindove.

today that come feast you.may.eat

'Come at once, so that you may eat the feast.'

Obviously, the speaker realizes that the action of coming has not yet taken place. In fact, his use of *oroko ava* 'at once, right away' is to spur the addressee to immediately act upon his request. The *ava* removes the time orientation of *oroko* 'today, now' from the immediate present of the coding time to an unestablished moment shortly after the coding time.

In their temporal symbolic use, the distal-2 demonstratives refer to time definitely away from the coding time as in example (7) where the time referred to is the preceding week.

(7) Namonde fura eni dotutusera ominda ainda jokada

we week another we.left there of.that inside.of
furaetera amo, emboro seriri aetira.

we.would.have.come that path slippery it.would.have.been

'If we would have come during last week (lit. 'inside of that other week we left'), the trail would have been slippery.'

In this expression, which is the normal way of expressing the previous week in Korafe, the *ominda* establishes the temporal reference, time definitely distinct from the present time.

The temporal symbolic use of the demonstratives also has a strong influence on the Korafe terms for the days preceding and following the twenty-four hour day of which the coding time is a part. These are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Terms for Days Relative to the Coding Time of 'today' (*oroko*)

	One day distant	Two days distant	Three days distant
Preceding	sife ¹	sife ¹ ojina ²	sife ¹ onde ³
Following	sifode	ojina ²	onde ³

¹The word for the time period 'day' is *sifo*, to which is added the proximal root *e*.

²The distal root *o* combines with *iji* 'sun, day' and another particle *na* to form the lexical item 'two days distant'.

³The distal root *o* combines with the plural comitative to indicate 'three days from now'.

The locative symbolic use of the demonstratives is distinguished along the same parameter as the gestural use, especially in oral discourse.

In example (8), the proximal locative eminda 'here' refers to the place where he is when he is writing.

(8) Nati Baga irera eminda, dara ai dubo mema eni
house Baga we.remain here trouble or neck pain some
tefo-ri.

nothing-is

*'We who are here at Baga don't have any trouble or
sadness (i.e. deaths) (to report).'*

In example (9), the distal-2 locative ominda 'there' indicates a location distant from both the speaker and the addressee, the location of a bird in the kunai grass.

(9) Sifo atutururari, nu eke joka ominda
day while.it.is.dawning he kunai.grass inside there
beka teriango sari ningaresa.

mouth great he.will.say you.will.hear

*'While day is dawning, you will hear him there inside
the kunai grass calling out.'*

2.1.3 ENDOPHORIC

The endophoric use of the demonstratives signals their anaphoric and cataphoric reference to nominals in discourse. Basically, the distal-1 demonstratives signal anaphoric reference, reference back to a person, item, or event previously mentioned in the discourse. The proximal demonstratives usually signal cataphoric reference, reference to a person, item, or event that is fully identified subsequently in the discourse. However, the proximal e set occasionally indicates anaphoric reference, and the distal-2 demonstratives occasionally are substituted for the distal-1 demonstratives to signal anaphoric reference.

ANAPHORIC

In the following example, the distal-1 deictic form aminda 'at that' refers anaphorically to oká daka 'limepot and limestick'.

- (10) Eni mo: oká daka dae resena. Emo,
one topic limepot limestick about I.am.saying this
 namonde oroko-é aminda danduduse irera.
 we today-this at.that chewing we.remain
 'Another thing: concerning these limepots and limesticks
 I'm talking about, (I'm telling you that) even today we
 still use them for chewing (betelnut).'

Events also may be referred to anaphorically.

- (11) ... ava roera dabako jo aeri, amo okia jo uvu
 that thing one not did.not.do that pot not water
 ghae bayau itaeri.
 with food did.not.cook
 '... but that one thing they didn't do (was) they didn't
 cook the food in a pot with any water.'

In example (11), the amo refers back to the clause that states 'they didn't do one thing'. The clause following amo explains what it was that they didn't do.

CATAPHORIC

The proximal deictic often refers cataphorically to participants and events. The evi 'this, contrastive topic' in example (12) illustrates cataphora, by referring to items in a list which follows it.

- (12) Edo roera da javo evi-ri: sifa, ghara, rirabona,
 and things of name this-is bracelets legbands waistbands
 boka bovotu, embo bovotu, goroba,
 loincloth paper.mulberry skirt paper.mulberry spears
 ghanda ...
 paddles
 'And the names of these things are: bracelets, legbands,
 waistbands, tapa cloth for men and women, spears,
 paddles'

Events are also referred to cataphorically. In example (13) eminguseri 'they acted this way' refers to the action described in the following clause cluster.

- (13) Dara eminguseri. Arada amo budo kae
 wrong they.did.this.way lizard that getting poison

boriseri.

they.roasted

'This was the way they acted wrongly (did wrong). They took those lizards and made poison (to kill people).'

2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL

The psychological use indicates the speaker's attitude towards an item or event. It is evidenced overtly when the demonstrative used is not the referential form which corresponds to the actual physical situation.

All three demonstrative roots e, a, and o have a psychological function. The distal-1 a is the unmarked or normal form. The normal attitude of the speaker is to communicate something that he/she knows or feels to the addressee. Thus, both speaker and addressee are equally involved, the speaker by virtue of the fact that he is speaking and the addressee by the choice of the distal-1 form. The use of the distal-1 demonstrative, therefore, indicates a straightforward, dispassionate way of speaking. Warrington Isari, one of the Korafe language instructors, explains the use of the distal-1 demonstrative this way: *dambu geka sise saresa 'speaking talk straight, you will speak'*. The marked forms e and o are used when the speaker wishes to depart from this norm, either by indicating a closer association of himself with the referent (proximal e) or a dissociation of himself and the addressee from the referent (distal-2 o).

The following example, employing the distal-2 demonstrative omo, illustrates the speaker's desire to distance both the addressee and herself from the event.

- (14) Aya sisira, "Omo genembo da arigo-ri; jo
 mother she.said that man of like.a.deed-is not
 evevetu da ari iraeri."
 women of deed it.is.not

'(My) mother said, "That deed (of yours) is like what a man would do; that's not what women would do!"

In the context, the correct referential demonstrative should be *amo*, because the addressee performed the deed, which is being referred to anaphorically. But here, even though the mother is commending the girl for killing a large snake, she is distancing both herself and the girl from the deed, in order to emphasize that killing snakes should be a man's activity.

In example (15), the referent of *emo* is the speaker's husband, who is not physically present. The referentially expected demonstrative is *omo*, but the proximal *emo* occurs.

- (15) *evetu nu kotetira, "Emo namo deredo aira,*
woman she she.thought this me tricking he.went
noaro ghae irira," ava kote ...
his.wife with he.remains that thinking
'(her husband did not come back quickly, and) the woman
thought, "This (man) has tricked me and gone away; he is
with his (other) wife," thinking that'

By using the proximal form, the woman is indicating that a close relationship exists between her husband and herself in spite of the outrage she supposes he has committed.

In both of the above examples, the speaker experienced mixed emotions. However, the psychological use of the demonstratives does not always imply an involvement of the emotions. In the following example, the speaker uses the proximal form, even though it is apparent that he is not emotionally involved with the referent.

- (16) *Gegenembo emo, ne yama taima-da futo*
men these they would.go bush-to pig.hunting
edo.gheteri.
they.would.do

'These men would customarily go pig hunting in the bush.'

The men were introduced in the previous sentence, so anaphorically the referential demonstrative here should be *amo*. The speaker's reason for choosing the proximal demonstrative in this instance is unclear. He may be emphasizing the men's role as the protagonists in this legend. Or he may be associating himself with them, since they are the protagonists.

Finally, in addition to expressing the speaker's attitude towards individual objects and events, the psychological use of the proximal demonstratives has a discourse function of indicating the climax of the story. In the following example, the climax is indicated by (1) the use of proximal demonstrative forms to refer to objects which would, because of their anaphoric reference, normally be referred to by distal demonstratives, (2) the switch to present tense verb forms (proximal time) to refer to events which would, according to their actual time reference relative to the coding time, normally be referred to by past tense verb forms (distal time), and (3) the use of the immediacy clitic *re* on the verbs. Thus, both the spatial and temporal components of the story are brought nearer to the space and time of the actual speech act to express the speaker's intense involvement.

- (17) Tefo ghaka giti eminda dalnghe
nothing canoe front here standing.straight
 fetireno yaura
while.I.am.remaining.standing wind
vurivurigherirare. Iri, namo anakora
here.it.is.blowing.gently while.it.is.doing I already
 diti bainghari tuturo.erirare ... Yaura
eyes to.flutter.open.and.shut here.it.is.beginning wind
 ava teria, teria beká ava erirare.
that great great true that here.it.is.doing
 Iri, gembudo erenare. Na ghaka giti
while.it.is.doing paddling here.I.am.doing I canoe front
eminda fetirise avidegiteghedo
here while.remaining.standing going.into.a.deep.sleep
 anakora teteghumbuse eva joka eminda suvino
already while.slipping.off sea inside here bubbles
 dambo dadurerenare.
straight here.I.am.fastening
 'Here I am standing for nothing (without catching any
 fish) on the front of this canoe with the wind blowing.
 While that's going on, my eyes have already begun to
 droop. The wind kicks up and really starts blowing.

While that's happening, here I am paddling along. While I'm standing here on the front of the canoe, here I am falling into a deep sleep and already slipping off the boat into the ocean, blowing bubbles straight up (lit. fastening or emitting bubbles from one spot).'

3. THE INTERPLAY OF REFERENTIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS

We have said that the demonstratives have a (1) referential function, indicating where the identity of the referent may be found, and (2) a psychological function, indicating the speaker's attitude towards the referent. It remains to be discussed whether a demonstrative can perform both functions simultaneously or only one at a time. It is our belief that a Korafe demonstrative can manifest both functions simultaneously. We cannot prove our theory conclusively, but we do not believe that the opposite can be proven either.

Assuming that every referent can be identified by its location in space, time, or discourse, and that the speaker has an attitude (marked or unmarked) towards the referent at all times, there are nine possible combinations of the interplay between the referential and psychological functions for the three deictic categories. These are illustrated in Table 4. The horizontal parameter indicates the psychological function, and the vertical indicates the referential functions.

Table 4: *Combination of Functions*

Referential functions	Psychological function		
	e	a	o
e	1	2	3
a	4	5	6
o	7	8	9

In combinations 1, 5, and 9, both functions are performed by the same demonstrative. So, these combinations present no conflict in

selecting the surface structure representation. Examples (18) and (19) illustrate combinations 5 and 9 respectively.

(18) Genembo amo, nu aviri ...

man that he while.he.was.sleeping

'While that man was sleeping'

Having previously established the man as the referent, the speaker may now refer to him anaphorically. The speaker is narrating the legend in a matter of fact way, with no strong feelings involved. Therefore, the surface structure selection is *amo*, the referential anaphoric form and the psychologically unmarked form.

(19) Arie, nanda oso, omo nangae da komana kena nangae
oh.dear my co-wife that we.two of friend toward we.two
vae.edo irera.

marrying(women) we.remain

'Oh dear, my fellow wife, that one (that we thought was
a man) that we are married to is a woman.'

The speaker uses the distal-2 *omo* to refer to her husband, who is symbolically distant. She is also choosing to distance herself from 'him' psychologically, because she is abhorred by the discovery that her husband (the referent) is a woman.

In the six combinations (2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8) where the selections of surface structure representations are in conflict, one of the functions must be suppressed. For example, combination 4 occurs when the referent has been previously mentioned in the discourse (anaphoric reference) and the speaker wishes to closely associate himself with the referent. The speaker must choose whether it is more important to indicate his association with the referent or to identify the referent with the anaphoric form. In example (20), the referential anaphoric function is suppressed in favor of the psychological function, manifested by the proximal demonstrative *emo*.

(20) Noaro emo itatamedo iri gido dodo

his.wife this feeling while.she.was.doing seeing leaving
aira.

he.went

'He saw this wife of his begin to experience birth pangs,
and he left her and went away.'

In the context, the referential anaphoric selection for the referent 'wife' would be amo. By using emo, the speaker focusses on her as the chief protagonist, as he views the legend.

Similarly, combinations 2, 6, and 8 are manifested by a proximal or distal-2 form, rather than a distal-1, in every instance. This implies that, just as the distal-1 is the unmarked (normal) selection for the psychological function, so it is the syntactically unmarked selection for the referential function. We make this claim on the basis of the fact that the distal-1 deictic a- forms are always suppressed when in conflict with the proximal e- or distal-2 o- forms.¹ Combination 2, in which a referential proximal suppresses a psychological distal-1, is illustrated in example (21).

- (21) Roera einda javo mo kaira seraera. Emo
 thing of.this name topic sago.scrapers we.say this
 gegenembo da saramana-ri.
 men of work-is

'We call this thing a sago scraper. This is men's work.'

This information is presented right under a picture of a sago scraper, so einda and emo, proximal forms, are used to manifest the referential gestural function. Assuming that this is a straightforward description of a sago scraper, one would expect to find the psychologically unmarked a- deictic forms. Nevertheless, in order to maintain the focus on the visual image present on the page, the e- of the referential gestural function suppresses the a- of the psychological function.

In combination 8, the distal-2 form performing the referential function masks the distal-1 form performing the psychological function.

- (22) Afa, namonde da nati-da oto mo tefo-ri. Omo,
 dad we of house-at axe topic nothing-is that

¹ In this section, we have only discussed the combinations of psychological and referential functions and how one is suppressed when there must be a choice between the two for a surface structure representation. There is probably a third parameter that divides gestural/symbolic from anaphoric and requires a choice when there is a conflict. For examples (21) and (22), it could be argued that the referential anaphoric amo is suppressed by the referential gestural emo and the referential symbolic omo respectively.

karivako irira.

axe it.remains

'Dad, there's no oto thing at our house. That thing (that is there) is an axe.' (In the context, the speaker did not know what the traditional Korafe word for 'axe' (oto) was; he had only heard the borrowed word karivako.)

Concentrating on the physical position of the axe, the speaker selected the distal-2 demonstrative, omo, performing the referential symbolic function. Thus, he suppressed the distal-1 amo, which would have conveyed his psychologically neutral attitude toward the referent.

Example (23) illustrates that the psychologically marked e- takes precedence over the referentially marked o- in combination 7.

(23) Noaro eni ghae edo bunetira, "Emo reda
 his.wife another with doing he.did.not.know this where
 ai?" sedo aira.

did.she.go saying he.went

'Together with his other wife, he was puzzled, and he said, "Where did this one go?" and he went.'

The referent (the wife who has run away) is obviously not present, and the symbolic reference to her should be omo, but the husband is indicating the strength of their relationship together and his desire to maintain the association by selecting the psychologically marked proximal emo.

No instance of combination 3 has been found. Therefore, we cannot state categorically that the proximal deictic supersedes the distal-2 deictic or that the psychological function is selected over the referential function. From the examples we do have, our inclination would be to set up a theoretical dominance scale in this way: the psychologically marked forms dominate the referentially marked forms, which in turn dominate the psychologically/referentially unmarked forms.

4. CONCLUSION

We have illustrated that the three demonstrative roots used in Korafe have two very distinct functions. One, referential, is to tell the addressee who or what is the referent, by indicating to him the location of that referent. This may be by indicating a referent the addressee can physically monitor (gestural), by relating the referent to the time or location in which the speech is made (symbolic), or by referring within text to an item, person or event which either has already been mentioned or is about to be mentioned (endophoric). The other function, psychological, indicates the speaker's attitude towards the referent, that is, the degree to which he wishes to associate himself and/or the addressee with the referent. It is our theory that a demonstrative can perform both functions simultaneously, but that remains to be categorically proven or disproven.

Korafe demonstratives in their various functions pervade the entire language. They are the 'glue' that holds the language together through deixis, topicalization, participant identification, and conjunction.

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