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Deixis in Borneo

Antonia Soriente

University of Naples "L'Orientale

asoriente@unior.it

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 Òma Lóngh and Punan Tubu' reveals a complex pattern of similarities and divergences.

Òma 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. Òma 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. Òma Lóngh

Òma 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** ?
 RELthat 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. udek-**jé** 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.

izi	proximal demonstrative singular- formal
idi	proximal demonstrative plural- formal
ézé	distal demonstrative singular- formal
édé	distal demonstrative plural- formal

When demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or a noun phrase in the previous discourse, they are **anaphoric**. In Òma 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 Ncò-**zé** le
 LOC this go FILL very ancestor old 1PL.INCL REL Nco=that PRTCL
 this one was definitely our old ancestor, Ncau
ziqi is referring to somebody referred to in the previous discourse.

Kirit

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

Sima

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: **ini 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 tираq-tираq 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 1PLINCL KE-want that PRTCL this that=REL feel 1PL.INCLintention 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 tawéti diq Tulung
 that RED-in.the.middle 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 Pifung
 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 isiu**nyé** 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 rib** 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** elicited.
 3SG bring food with drink at this
 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** melauq tapi lou **inih** seniom elicited.
 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 locations 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/ ké'é	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	here
ghé-ne	
ghé-te	
ti	
tiqi-ne	
tiqi-te	
té	there (a bit far but still in sight)
téqé-ne	
téqe-te	
kiki-ne	
kiki-te	
kéqé-ne	there (far away and out of sight)
kéqé-te	

Some examples:

25. **kempény-nyé ghé-ne** that picture here (a bit distant but definitely visible)
26. **kempény-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. **kiki 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**:

kini	here close, in the immediate vicinity
kinyé	there (but still in sight)
kiti	over there
ko' ini	here (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 1TRIAL 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 ledó 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.
 house person REL possess food over.there earlier
 the house of the person who has the restaurant over there (visible) 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.

Òma Lóngh

saqo
 metiq
 kaba
 ke razó
 réfa/ke sehaq-te
 sadóvái
 kuseng

Lebu' Kulit

so'o go downriver
 medik go upriver
 ko' ava/kava downriver direction
 ko' déé upriver direction
 ke dipa across the river
 saré bengai rivershore
 kusun up away from the rivershore, generally the hill
 ko' daai inland

Punan Tubu'

ricuq go downriver
 murik go upriver
 decuq upriver
 devaq, livaq downriver
 méno walk upriver
 macaq walk downriver
 ripa across the river
 jujun rivershore
 ridai up away from the rivershore, generally the hill
 lauq inland

The directions left (**kabiengh**, **kaving**, **buléi**) and right (**taqe**, **taau**, **ta'uh**) in Òma 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:

kabiengh kaba **kaving ava** left side going downwards.

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 ileu 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 *méqére* 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:

<i>miqi-le</i>	now
<i>nighi</i>	in the past (but not too long ago)
<i>méqé-re</i>	in the past (a particular moment in the past)
<i>beghoère</i>	very long time ago
<i>ubi</i>	then, later
<i>kena</i>	before
<i>po</i>	until

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)

<i>tòi/tò-zi</i>	today
<i>benyéaq</i>	yesterday
<i>benyéaq có-re</i>	the day before yesterday
<i>nempam</i>	tomorrow
<i>óqó nempam</i>	the day after tomorrow

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 descendance 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.

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

Temporal markers:

Òma 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:

	Òma Lóngh		Lebu' Kulit	
I	aghi	-ki	akiq	-é
you SG	ighu	-ku	ikuq	-o
he/she	zó/jó/nyó	-e	ié	-a
we (excl)	ami	-mi	ami	-mé
we (excl.dual)	mévó	mévó	mé'é	-mé'é
we (excl.trial)	ami tele	-ami tele	mé teleu	- mé teleu
we (incl.)	éle	-le	ileu	-lu
we (incl.dual)	tò	-tò	tua	tua
we (incl.trial)	éle tele	-le tele	teleu	teleu
you PL	égham	-kam	ikam	kam
you (dual)	kavó	kavó	kam ué	kam ué
you (trial)	égham tele	-kam tele	kam teleu	kam teleu
they	éqó	éqó /-dó	iré	-ra
they (dual)	évó	évó	dué	dué
they (trial)	éqó tele	éqó tele	rateleu	rateleu
Impersonal: de/re/ne	person		dulu person	

Punan Tubu'

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	hok	ku	-q
2SG	kou	nuh	-m
3SG	hén	rin	-n
1PL.EXCL	katou	katou	
1PL.EXCL.DUA	karo	karo	
1PL.INCL	tero	tero	
1PL.INCL.DUA	tou	tou	
2PL	ketou	ketou	
2PL.DUA	kevo	kevo	
3PL	detou	detou/doh	
3PL.DUA	iro	iro	

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 Òma 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 Òma Lóngh and in a similar way also relative pronouns are derived from demonstratives.

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

- **Demonstratives:**

Òma Lóngh

z-i demonstrative+proximal deictic

z-é demonstrative+distal deictic

Lebu’ Kulit

i-ni 3SG pronoun +deictic

iti

inyé

inyé 3SG ié

Punan Tubu’

i-nih

i-nah

i-rih

- **Anaphoric demonstratives** from exophoric demonstratives?

ziqi < zi

Òma Lóngh

irai

Lebu’ Kulit

inih/inah < inih/inah

Punan Tubu’

3P pronouns from demonstratives?

3SG zo < z-i singular

Òma Lóngh

3PL do < d-i plural

Lebu’ Kulit

Relative pronouns:

deq < plural demonstrative= eq

Òma 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 Òma Lóngh, Lebu’ Kulit and Punan Tubu’ the main difference is that Òma 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.

Òma 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 Ôma Lôngh dependent demonstratives and independent 3 SG pronoun share the same stem and the same opposition between singular and plural. The plural demonstratives *di* and *dé* and their related 3PL pronoun *dô* 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 *ié*. Whereas the opposition between singular and plural is not marked in the demonstrative pronouns but it is marked in the relative pronouns.

In both Ôma Lôngh and Lebu' Kulit the particles *ne te* and *na ta* respectively are widely employed. They are probably directionals 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 are (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)

52. 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)

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