

Deictic Noun Phrases in Mussau-Emira

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Abstract

Mussau-Emira [emi] has two distinct types of noun phrase. The general noun phrase was described earlier, but the second type is a deictic noun phrase which requires an emphasis marker and a demonstrative. When comparing general noun phrases containing a demonstrative with deictic noun phrases, we show that there are overlapping uses, though with clear preferences for one kind over the other in certain grammatical roles and types of demonstrative reference. In other uses, though, it appears that the two types of noun phrase are available as stylistic variants with little, if any, difference in meaning.

1 Introduction

Mussau-Emira [emi] is an Oceanic language spoken on the St Matthias Islands, in the north of New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea. Together with Tenis (Tench) [tns], it forms the St Matthias family, a first-order subgroup of Oceanic (Ross 2002:148). The grammar of Mussau-Emira was described in Brownie & Brownie (2007). The noun phrase was described and the variation of word order for emphasis. However, further study has shown another type of NP which has an obligatory deictic element and a different structure. We will call these Deictic Noun Phrases.

In this paper we describe the structure of a deictic NP, then look at its usage, in terms of distribution and semantics, and in how it contrasts in usage with other NPs.

The text corpus on which this analysis is based has 127 non-translated texts, plus some postings from Facebook. These include first-person narratives, third-person narratives, traditional stories, letters, personal diary entries, social media conversations, and some poetry. Among these, there are 138 deictic NPs.

As an additional point of reference, a scan of the whole of the currently-translated Scripture was made. This additional collection will be used more sparingly to avoid skewing the data.

2 Deictic noun phrase structure

The unmarked noun phrase order is as follows, with a summary of the forms that can go in each slot (adapted from Brownie & Brownie 2007:86-87):

- (1) (Quant_i) (Adj_i) Head (Adj₂) (Quant₂) (Dem) (LocN)

Here there are two slots for a quantifier and two for an adjective. Quant_i can be a prenominal number-classifier or one of the prenominal quantifiers *akapa* ‘all’, *katoa* ‘a

LSPNG 2022 Proceedings: Deictic Noun Phrases in Mussau-Emira by John Brownie
 few', *kasina* 'some' or *oro* 'many', possibly with the intensifier clitic =*aili*. Quant₂ can be a postnominal number-classifier or a postnominal quantifier, or possibly two quantifiers *akapa atoa* 'all PL'. Quant₁ and Quant₂ usually do not co-occur. When they do, Quant₂ is always *atoa* 'PL' and Quant₁ is most commonly *oro* 'many'.

Adjectives are divided into those that appear before the head and those that appear after the head. Usually only one adjective or adjective phrase is present. A small class of nouns also function as adjectives in the Adj₂ position.

The demonstrative may be used to mark definiteness, and may be any of the nominal demonstratives: *oia* (and its dialectal variant *oio*) 'this', *o* 'that (medium distance)' or *okae* 'that (far distance)'. It can also have a locative function, in which case it will be one of the adverbial demonstratives: *oia* 'here', *toko* 'here in front', *teke* 'there in front (medium distance)', *ona* 'there (far distance)', or *okae* 'there (remote)'. When the demonstrative occurs, the Quant₂ slot is almost always filled as well.

It appears that it is possible to add a place name to the end of a NP, along with the locative clitic *e=* (omitted when the name starts with /e/). Alternatively, this could be seen as being in apposition, with the demonstrative and the place name being coreferential.

The Deictic Noun Phrase has the following structure:

- (2) Emp Dem (Adj₁) (Head) (Adj₂) (Quant) (LocN)

The first element is an Emphasis marker, which can be either a third person pronoun or the particle *isaa*. The pronoun is most commonly the singular, *ia* (3a), but some non-singular have been observed, including the dual *ilalua* (3b) and the plural *ila* (3c). There is no reason why the trial *ilotolu* or the paucal *ilaata* should not occur, but the data does not show them. The particle *isaa* is slippery to define, but in this context appears to be some sort of emphasis or focus, and it is glossed as EMP (3d). The locative noun at the end is always a place name with the locative clitic *e=*, and is subject to the same caveat as with the general NP.

- (3) a. *ia o olimo ateva*
 3S that canoe SG:I
 G
 'that canoe'
- b. *ilalua o topiki elua*
 3DU that topic DU:I
 'those two topics'
- c. *ila o taumattu ng=ato*
 a
 3P that person LIG=PL
 L
 'those people'
- d. *isaa o nau*
 EMP that time
 'that time'

Another possibility has been seen in a few texts, mostly translated, adding the emphatic particle *arau* after the emphasis element.

- (4) a. *ia arau o nau eteva*
 3S EMP that time SG:I
 G
 ‘at that time’
- b. *isaa arau o inangar*
i
 EMP EMP that word
 ‘the same message’ (Nehemiah
 6:5)

In the vast majority of cases, the demonstrative is *o* (3a), but is occasionally *oia* (5a), *okae* (5b), *toko* (5c), or *ona* (5d).

- (5) a. *ia oia taumattu ng=atev*
a
 3S this person LIG=SG:I
 G
 ‘this person’
- b. *isaa okae voto*
 EMP that place
 ‘that place’
- c. *isaa toko voto*
 EMP here place
 ‘this place here’
- d. *isaa ona e=Ukarump*
a
 EMP there LOC=PN
 ‘there in Ukarumpa’

As with normal NPs, two adjectives do not co-occur, so there may be an adjective before (6a) or after the head (6b), while a second noun functioning as an adjective may occur after the head (6c).

- (6) a. *ia o natu kiuki erighi*
u
 3S that small story SG:small
 G
 ‘that short story’
- b. *ia o pai muenna ativila*
u
 3S that side right SG:VI
 G
 ‘that right hand side’
- c. *ia o aliki vause ateva*

3S that youth woman SG:I
G
‘that young woman’

The head is usually a noun, but may also be a possessive construction (7a), two nouns in an associative construct (7b), a nominalized verb (7c), or a coordinate NP (7d).

(7) a. *ia o une-ira kinatam taoni eteva*

3S that CLF- huge town SG:I
G 3PL.POSS
‘that great town of theirs’

b. *ia oia tuku tuvui erighi*
3S this piece bush SG:small
G
‘this small patch of bush’

c. *ia o ni-ai-u~uvi-i eteae*
3S that NMLZ-RECP-IPFV~hit- SG:II
G RECP
‘that fight’

d. *ia o ane-imami inana me*
3S that CLF- food and
G 1PL.EXCL.POSS
ropi-mami manu
CLF- water
1PL.EXCL.POSS
‘our food and water’

The quantifier is one of the postnominal number classifiers (8a), the plural classifier *atoa* (3c), or the combination of the indefinite quantifier *akapa* ‘all’ and the plural classifier *atoa* (8b).

(8) a. *ia o masalik eteae*

3S that village SG:II
G
‘that village’

b. *isaa oia nau ekapa atoa*
EMP this time all PL
‘all the time now’

The head can be omitted as in (9), when *nau* ‘time’ is often understood, or it can refer back to the entirety of the discourse.

(9) a. *ia o*
3S that
G

‘that (time)’

- b. *isaa o*
 EMP that
 ‘that’

3 Usage of the deictic NP

In many ways, a deictic NP functions the same as any NP. We look at their distribution, and then consider the semantics.

3.1 Distribution of deictic NPs

A deictic NP can be used just about anywhere that a regular NP can be used. It can be at either end of a sentence, so is apparently not limited in distribution to either periphery or the nucleus. Following are examples of a deictic NP in the left periphery as a time reference (10a), as a time reference in the right periphery (10b), as subject (10c), as object (10d), as a locative (10e), and as circumstance in the left periphery (10f).

- (10) a. *Isaa o nau me Ghaluen ang ghe a~annaa*
e
 EMP this time and PN TAM PST IPFV~think
kapu-irarua Goto ateva kinna me tama-ne.
 CLF- god SG:I mother.3SG.POS and father-3SG.POSS
 3PL.POSS S
 ‘At that time Ghaluene began to think about the God of his mother and father.’

- b. *Nau la=ghe kaiaa=la kinna, Ghaluen*
e
 when 3PL.SBJ=PS bury=PFV mother.3SG.POS PN
 T S
ghe tiu-aa=la tani llotuu e-
korokorongana
 PST begin- INF worship ADVZ-strong
 TRZ=PFV
lomosi ta isaa oia nau.
 until PRE EMP this time
 P
 ‘After they buried his mother, Ghaluene began to worship strongly until the present day.’

- c. *Kinna aliki eteva ghe koto=la ta kiapi eteva,*
 mother.3SG.POS youth SG:I PST sue=PFV PRE kiap SG:I
 S P
ia o gh tau=la skol saplae me meteriol
e
 3S that PS give=PF school supply and material
 G T V

tale aus lotu eteva e=Salien, nau ghe tara=la
 PRE church SG:I LOC=PN time PST see=PFV
 P

arari-na ateae Pasta ghe kila-i-e=la.
 name- SG:II pastor PST know-TRZ-
 3SG.POSS 3SG.OBJ=PFV

‘The mother of the child took him to court before the kiap (patrol officer), the one who had given the school supplies and materials to the church in Salien, when he saw the Pastor’s name he recognised it.’

d. *Nau pisi etoa la=ghe mae nama~nam imuimutu*
a
 time fish PL 3PL.SBJ=PS come IPFV~eat algae
 T

tale olimo ateva lotolu ghe sagho~sagho
 PREP canoe SG:I 3TRI PST IPFV~catch

isaa o pisi, me lotolu ghe nama~nama.
 EMP that fish and 3TRI PST DETR~eat

‘When fish would come to eat the algae on the canoe they would catch those fish, and they would eat.’

e. *Poli Jeremia ghe tingina a- tani usilaa*
h korokorongana=la
 because PN PST stand ADVZ-strong=PFV INF follow
inangari-na Vau ng=epona ateva, nau ghaine
 word- chief CNST=abov SG:I time today
 3SG.POSS e

ni-arangise ang ghe toka=la me karik la mene
a
 NMLZ-bless TA PST sit=PFV and NEG 3P again
 M L

ai-sessa-ii tale ia o sikulu eteva.
 RECP-bad- PRE 3S that school SG:I
 RECP P G

‘Because Jeremiah stood strongly to follow the word of the Lord (lit. Chief of above), now blessing has stayed and they are no longer arguing at that school.’

f. *Tale isaa o salana me Samsa*
n
 PRE EMP that path and PN
 P

ghe toka=la ta pamili eteva ta Baelua.
 PST sit=PFV PRE family SG:I PRE PN
 P P

‘In that way Samson stayed with the Baelua family.’

Occasionally, a deictic NP can be the entire utterance. For example, in a discussion on Facebook, one participant indicated agreement with the following:

(11) *Nim isaa o.*

DIM EMP that
 ‘I agree (lit. just that)’

This would correspond with an English speaker saying, ‘That,’ in response to someone else saying that they agree with and consider well put.

3.2 The semantics of deictic NPs

This analysis uses the categories defined by Diessel (1999). Exophoric demonstratives refer to the situational context. Anaphoric demonstratives refer back to a noun or noun phrase in the preceding context. Discourse deictic demonstratives refer to propositions in the surrounding discourse. Recognitional demonstratives refer to some specific shared knowledge rather than the surrounding discourse or the situation.

In the corpus, which contains 138 deictic NPs, there are no recognitional demonstratives, while there are 25 exophoric (18%), 51 anaphoric (37%), and 62 discourse deictic (45%). This would seem to indicate that deictic NPs are used more for internal than external reference.

3.2.1 Exophoric use

Deictic NPs with exophoric reference are most commonly locative or temporal, but there are also other uses.

When used as a locative, the reference can either be to somewhere within the situation of the conversation, often accompanied by a pointing gesture (12a), or with a place name indicating a place which may be distant (12b), or local (12c).

- (12) a. *Am ghe ue=la va, la=ghe sau velu sio mae*
 2P PST say=PF COMP 3PL.SBJ=PS throw drop go.down come
 L V T
Satan, me lo ateva ie toko ang=e vira katuu=l
 PN and RE SG:I 3SG this TAM=3SG.S now fall=PFV
 L BJ
 ‘You say that they cast down Satan, but the one over there has now fallen down.’

- b. *Isaa okae e=Simb me vausenna ateva ghe molenaar=la*
 EMP there LOC=PN and wife.3SG.POS SG:I PST give.birth=PFV
 S
aiaaghaluene ateva natu-na vause -i-a
 second SG:I child- woman -TRZ-
 3SG.POSS 3SG.OBJ
me ghe rau-e=la.
 and PST lose-
 3SG.OBJ=PFV
 ‘There in Simbu his wife gave birth to his second child, a girl, and died.’

- c. *Ninamanama ate 1998 ami ghe uungu*
 year SG:I 1998 1PL.EXC PST work
 I L

tale ale mang atea isaa oio e=Tavol
a o.
 PRE house holy SG:I EMP here LOC=PN
 P I

‘In the year 1998 we were working on the church here in Tavolo.’

With temporal meaning, the demonstrative is usually *oia* ‘this, here’ (or its dialectal variant, *oio*), and the reference is to the present time rather than the time internal to the story being told. The common forms are *isaa oia* or *ia oia* with a time word, often *nau* ‘time, day’, though the time word can be omitted.

(13) a. *Ia oia ninamanam atee (2010),*

a
 3SG this year SG:II 2010
Jeremiah e=gh<e>elei Grad 11 e=Aiyura National High School
e
 PN 3SG.SBJ=do<IPF grade 11 LOC=PN
 V>
me presedenti -i-a
 and president -TRZ-
 3SG.OBJ

ta (AASA) Aiyura Adventist Student Association.

PRE PN

P

‘This year (2010), Jeremiah is doing Grade 11 at Aiyura National High School and is president of the Aiyura Adventist Student Association.’

b. *Nau la=ghe ruu=la uungu-aa-ira tani atulu ale,*
 time 3PL.SBJ=P finish=PF work-NMLZ- INF build house
 ST V 3PL.POSS

Ghaluene ghe tam kasu=la, ghe toka=la e=Goroka

PN PST NE go=PFV PST sit=PFV LOC=PN

G

lomosi ta isaa oia nau.

until PRE EMP this time

P

‘When they finished their work of building houses, Ghaluene did not leave, he stayed in Goroka until the present day.’

c. *Isaa oia anna ninamanama 63 me ie a~anamis*
i.

EMP this CLF.3SG.PO year 63 and 3SG IPFV~play
 SS

‘He is now 63 years old and he still plays.’

Occasionally the deictic NP can fill other roles such as subject or object, but it seems as though these are also accompanied by some sort of dislocation. In (14a), the plane is the subject of the subordinate clause which is in apposition to the equative clause. In (14b), the place is both the object of the people seeing and the location where the church is to be built, and was presumably accompanied by a pointing gesture in the original context.

taumattu ng=atoa la=ghe tam anna-i-e=la,
 person LIG=PL 3PL.SBJ=PS NE want-TRZ-
 T G 3SG.OBJ=PFV
me ghe rekata tee=la tale nau eteva
 and PST arrive with=PFV PRE time SG:I
 P
la=ghe a~ai-uvi-i eta-na.
 3PL.SBJ=PS IPFV~RECP-hit- prep3s.POS
 T RECP S

‘When he arrived at those places, the people did not want him, and he also arrived when they were fighting there.’

d. *Karika righi voto ghe lutu=la tale ia o*
 NEG EXIST:sma thing PST happen=PFV PRE 3SG that
 II P
EPIRB *ateva, me ng=ami ghe mene i~ilou.*
 PN SG:I and TAM=1PL.EX PST again IPFV~run
 CL

‘Nothing happened with that EPIRB, and we kept running.’

It seems possible to add the emphatic particle *arau* to strengthen the identity of the reference.

(16) *Aiaaghalimane me Sanballat ghe suu=la*
 fifth and PN PST send=PF
 V
kapu-na tau ng=ai- nongo~non anna ateva
 CLF- person CNST=AGN IPFV~hear want SG:I
 3SG.POSS T-
tee isaa ara o inangari me uru ng=ai etikirigh
u *i*
 with EMP EMP that word and leaf CNST=tree SG:VI
karika teva aikaai-na.
 NEG EXIS put.inside-
 T ADJZ

‘A fifth time Sanballat sent his messenger with the same word and a letter not sealed.’ (Nehemiah 6:5)

3.2.3 Discourse deictic use

A frequent use of a discourse deictic NP is a time reference, usually placing an event at the same time as events just described. It may describe a particular moment, as in (17a), or place the event in a general time, as in (17b). In these cases, the demonstrative is usually *o* ‘that’.

(17) a. *Me nau ghe tingina=l ia o nau eteva*
 and time PST stand=PFV 3SG that time SG:I
aloo-ne ghe ghaa-i-e=la me ghe adoptimi-e=la.

uncle- PST get-TRZ- and PST adopt-
 3SG.POSS 3SG.OBJ=PFV 3SG.OBJ=PFV
 ‘When he was standing at that time his uncle took him and adopted him.’

- b. *Isaa o nau karika righi tanga*
 EMP that time NEG EXIST:sma tank
 II
tani ghaa manu olo vaoo
 INF get water drop rain
 ‘At that time there were no tanks to catch rain water.’

The emphatic particle *arau* can apparently be added to strengthen the time reference.

- (18) a. *Ia arau o nau eteva,*
 3S EMP that time SG:I
 G
natu-na vause ateva ghe masina=la.
 child-woman SG:I PST get.well=PF
 2SG.POSS V
 ‘At that moment the woman’s daughter was healed.’ (Matthew 15:28)
- b. *Vau eteva ghe masi~masi=la me*
 chief SG:I PST DETR~be.happy.with=PFV and
ia arau o nau eteva la=ghe tau=la
 3S EMP that time SG:I 3PL.SBJ=PS give=PFV
 G T
ghinnani police ta Ben me ghe tiu-aa=la tani uungu.
 clothes police PREP PN and PST begin-TRZ=PFV INF work
 ‘The chief was pleased and that same day they gave Ben a police uniform and he began to work.’

Apart from time references, they can also refer to the preceding or following parts of the discourse. As anaphoric references, they are mostly used to sum up what has been said, as in (19a). When used cataphorically, the most common usage is to introduce a list, as in (19b), or the contents of a letter (19c) or speech which is being quoted (19d).

- (19) a. *Lalu ghe mae sio tale kateva ni-nannaa va*
 3DU PST come go.down PRE one NMLZ-think COMP
 P
lalu ai-karati, lo ateva e=laa rekata akasina,
 3D RECP- RE SG:I 3SG.SBJ= arrive first
 U race L go
ia aue e=ghaa-i-a e=patunganue-na -i-a.
 3S IRR 3SG.SBJ=get-TRZ- 3SG.SBJ=island- -TRZ-
 G 3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS 3SG.OBJ
Sisaupee tale a~asake-aa-ne ghe ue=la va,
 PN PRE IPFV~boast-NMLZ- PST say=PFV COM
 P 3SG.POSS V P

and 3PL.SBJ=PS give=PF pallet SG:I COMP 3SG.SBJ=go.u lie
T V P
eta-na. Ia o ghe vira roo=la.
PREP- 3S that PST then suffice=PF
3SG.POSS G V
‘And they gave her the pallet to lie on. Then that was enough.’

4 Contrasts between deictic NPs and other NPs

Noun phrases can contain a demonstrative, which comes at the end. When they do, they contain much the same elements as a deictic NP, so it is of interest to see how they differ and overlap in usage. In this section, we will look at how NPs with a demonstrative contrast with deictic NPs.

4.1 Distribution among categories

The corpus contains 212 clauses containing either a NP with a demonstrative or a deictic NP, so adds 73 NPs with a demonstrative, and one anomalous NP, which does not fit either paradigm. The anomalous NP in (22) shows a quantifier rather than an emphasis marker or pronoun in what would otherwise be a deictic NP.

(22) *Me lalu ghe pangusu=la Etaitoana me lalu*
and 3DU.SB PST surface=PFV PN and 3DU.SB
J J
ghe kao a-toka=la kasina o kosa,
PST spill CAUS- some that dirt
sit=PFV
ia o ripi eteva Etaitoana ghe lutu=la.
3S that reef SG:I PN PST be.born=PF
G V
‘And they surfaced at Etaitoana and they spilled some of that dirt, and that is how the reef at Etaitoana came to be.’

Using Diessel’s categories again, 65 of the demonstratives are exophoric (31%), 73 anaphoric (35%), 72 discourse deictics (34%), and one is recognitional. Breaking these down, the exophoric category has 25 deictic NPs and 40 NPs with demonstrative; the anaphoric has 51 deictic NPs, 22 NPs with demonstrative, and the anomalous clause; discourse deictics have 62 deictic NPs and 10 NPs with demonstrative; and the recognitional category is one NP with a demonstrative. Of the 73 NPs with a demonstrative, 40 are exophoric (55%), 22 anaphoric (30%), 10 discourse deictic (14%), and one is recognitional (1%). Comparing these percentages with those for deictic NPs, there is a much higher proportion of exophoric references, and much lower discourse deictic. This tends to indicate that NPs with a demonstrative are somewhat more preferred for external reference.

When the figures are broken down by the role of the NP in the clause, more differences emerge.

Breakdown of roles by type

Role	Exophoric		Anaphoric		Discourse Deictic	
	Deictic	NP	Deictic	NP	Deictic	NP
Subject	2	14	14	10	8	4
Object	1	11	17	7	5	0
Locative	10	12	17	1	0	0
Temporal	10	0	0	0	38	1
Circumstance	0	0	1	0	2	0
Accompaniment	0	0	1	0	0	0
Complement	1	1	0	2	1	0
Instrument	0	0	1	0	0	0
Possessed	0	0	0	1	0	0
Recipient	0	1	0	1	0	0
Summary	1	1	0	0	8	5

The significant differences between deictic NPs and NPs with a demonstrative are in exophoric subject, object and temporal uses, anaphoric object and locative uses, and discourse deictic object and temporal uses. The clearest preferences are for temporals, anaphoric locatives and discourse deictic objects to be deictic NPs, and for exophoric subjects and objects to be NPs with a demonstrative.

4.2 Contrasts in similar environments

In 4.1, some environments show no particular preference for either a deictic NP or an NP with a demonstrative. Here we will examine some of these and draw out what contrasts might be present.

4.2.1 Exophoric locatives

Some representative samples of NPs with demonstratives are given in (23), and some with deictic NPs are in (24).

- (23) a. *Taumattu ng=akapa atoa tale*
 person LIG=all PL PRE
 P
patunganua ateva oio e=Musao
 island SG:I this LOC=PN
la=ghe sae uungu eta-ira.
 3PL.SBJ=PS go.up work PREP-
 T 3PL.POSS
 ‘All the people from this island Mussau went to work for them.’

- b. *Ami kila=la poli voto ateva okae*
 1PL.EXC know=PF because place SG:I there
 L V
ouna atoa taumattu la velu~velu aliki eta-na.

time SG:I kiap TAM=3SG.SBJ= appear=PF
V

‘This triton shell told us when the kiap (patrol officer) arrived.’

- b. *Sali-e=la me u=sui-a me*
 husk- and 2SG.SBJ=poke- and
 3SG.OBJ=PFV 3SG.OBJ
u=ropi-a, ta niu eteae oia
 2SG.SBJ=drink- for coconut SG:II this
 3SG.OBJ
ai-na -i-a aloa-m ta Voi Masik
 CLF- -TRZ- nephew- APP PN
 3SG.POSS 3SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS
 ‘Husk it and pierce it and drink it, because this coconut tree belongs to your nephew Voi Masiki.’

- c. *Aliki taita ateva o ghe aikaai=la*
 youth man SG:I that PST get.in=PFV
me ghe a-toka lange sio pasipasi eteva emuli
 and PST CAUS- go go.down drinking.coconut SG:I behind
 sit
me ghe tiu-aa=la tani ose.
 and PST begin- INF paddle
 TRZ=PFV

‘That young man got in and put the drinking coconut down behind himself and began to paddle.’

- (26) a. *la o taita ateva ghe aimuli sso=la ta Donny*
 3S that man SG:I PST follow go.in=PFV PRE PN
 G P
me ghalua lalu ghe mene oghi ghoa=la
 and two 3DU.SB PST again return go.out=PF
 J V
tale paanaka ateva.
 PRE boat SG:I
 P

‘That man followed Donny in and the two of them came back out to the boat.’

- b. *Me Marjo e=ghe nannaa va ia o balusu eteva*
 and PN 3SG.SBJ=PS think COMP 3S that plane SG:I
 T G
koti e=pae~pae paanaka ng=ateva.
 perhaps 3SG.SBJ=IPFV~search.fo boat LIG=SG:I
 r

‘And Marjo thought that that plane was perhaps looking for the boat.’

- c. *Me ami ghe ai-sou-ii=la me*
 and 1PL.EXC PST RECP-meet- and
 L RECP=PFV

ila oia taumattu ng=atoa sesa -i-e=la.
 3P this person LIG=PL bad -TRZ-
 L 3SG.OBJ=PFV
 ‘And we met and these people were bad.’

Comparing these sentences, it is hard to see any significant difference between the use of the NP with demonstrative and the deictic NP in subject position. The only consistent difference is that the deictic NPs usually use the demonstrative *o* ‘that’, whereas the NPs with demonstrative usually use *oia* ‘this’. Even so, there are exceptions on both sides.

So, again, the choice between NP with demonstrative and deictic NP is free, though the use of *oia* ‘this’ may favour the former.

4.2.3 Anaphoric objects

Some representative sentences with anaphoric objects as NPs with demonstratives are in (27), and with deictic NPs are in (28).

- (27) a. *Masaliki eteae oia e=Ukarumpa la=ghe atulu-e=la*
 village SG:II this LOC=PN 3PL.SBJ=PS build-
 T 3SG.OBJ=PFV
tale tuku pouru erighi, salana atoa la=ghe ghelei=la,
 PRE piece hill SG:smal road PL 3SG.SBJ=PS make=PFV
 P l T
la ilou taliaa pouru erighi oia
 3PL.SB run around hill SG:smal this
 J l
me e=sae~sae me e=sio~sio.
 and 3SG=IPFV~go.u and 3SG.SBJ=IPFV~go.dow
 p n
 ‘This village Ukarumpa they built on a small hill, the roads they made run around this hill and go up and down.’
- b. *Ue, ssinim ng=asi eteva oia,*
 yes package CNST-taro SG:I this
la=ghe kolo~kolo-a va ssinim o asi kotorapa ateva.
 3PL.SBJ=PS IPFV~call COMP package or taro gift SG:I
 T
 ‘Yes, this package of taro, they called it the package or taro gift.’
- c. *Vara me ghe mene ruu=la tani angari,*
 then and PST again finish=PF INF make.sound
 V
poli motoo ateva o a=ghe nongo-a=la
 because motor.canoe SG:I that 1SG.SBJ=PS hear-
 T 3SG.OBJ=PFV
ang ghe sso mae tapaa sao e=Talangau.
 TA PST go.in come PREP passage LOC=PN
 M
 ‘Then it stopped making a noise, because the motor canoe I heard and come to the passage at Talangau.’

- (28) a. *Karika masau me nge=ilalu ghe tii~tiu-aa*
 NEG far and TAM=3DU.S PST IPFV~begin-TRZ
 BJ
tani aisariaa ia o patunganua arighi.
 INF dispute 3S that island SG:smal
 G I
 ‘It was not long that they began disputing that island.’
- b. *Isaa o inana la=ghe nim nama=la*
 EMP that food 3PL.SBJ=PS DIM eat=PFV
 T
tani welcoming Naptale Kapti ta ghe mate=la,
 INF welcoming PN for PST die=PFV
me e=ghe mene toka=la.
 and 3SG.SBJ=PS again live=PF
 T V
 ‘That food they ate as a welcoming for Naptale Kapti because he died,
 and was living again.’
- c. *Ia o deit ateva e=a~a-toka-i-a*
 3S that date SG:I 3SG.SBJ=IPFV~CAUS-sit-TRZ-
 G 3SG.OBJ
va ghe suu=la, baptaesi=la eta-na ta 1944.
 COMP PST bathe=PFV baptise=PFV PREP- PRE 1944
 3SG.POSS P
 ‘That date he sets that he was bathed, baptised on it in 1944.’

Once again, there is not a lot of difference in the usage. Both types of NP can take the usual position of the object, or can bring the object to a left-dislocated position. There is a preference for *oia* ‘this’ in the NP with demonstrative, and for *o* ‘that’ in the deictic NP, but, again, it is not an absolute distinction.

4.2.4 Discourse deictic subjects

Some representative sentences with discourse deictic subjects as NPs with demonstratives are in (29), and with deictic NPs are in (30).

- (29) a. *Natu-ira atoa toko, la=ghe lutu=la okae:*
 child- PL here 3PL.SBJ=PS be.born=PF there
 3PL.POSS T V
Loncy, Robert, Gordon.
 PN PN PN
 ‘These are their children, who were born there: Loncy, Robert,
 Gordon.’
- b. *Kiukiu eteae oia e=kiukiu-aa taue ateva.*
 story SG:II this 3SG.SBJ=story- triton.shell SG:I
 TRZ
 ‘This story tells about the triton shell.’

- (30) a. *Isaa o voto ghe ghelei-lalue=la,*
 EMP that thing PST make-
 3DU.OBJ=PFV
ghe aanasa=aili eta-irarua tani lau sso tale pongai sau.
 PST hard=INTS PREP- INF exceed go.in PRE outer.reef
 3DU.POSS P
 ‘Those things affected them, it was very hard for them to get in across
 the outer reef.’
- b. *Ia o kiukiu paanaka ateva ghe vuluu=la,*
 3S that story boat SG:I PST sink=PFV
 G
karika ghe ghelei=la va John me Marjo Brownie
 NEG PST make=PF COMP PN and PN PN
 V
lalu ghe matautu me lalu ghe oghi vulu
 3DU.SB PST be.afraid and 3DU.SB PST return leave
 J J
uungu-aa-ne Vau ng=epona ateva tani ghelei.
 work-NMLZ- chief CNST=abov SG:I INF do
 3SG.POSS e
 ‘That story of the boat sinking, it did not make John and Marjo Brownie
 afraid that they leave the work of the Lord (lit. Chief of above) [he gave]
 to do.’

Once again, there appears to be little difference between the different types. All the deictic NPs use the demonstrative *o*, while the NPs can use any of several demonstratives.

4.2.5 Discourse deictic summaries

There are a few NPs with demonstrative and deictic NPs which function, for want of a better description, as summaries of what has gone before, thus acting as discourse deictics. Some samples are listed here with NPs with demonstrative (31), and with deictic NPs (32).

- (31) a. *Kiukiu-ghu eteae oia, a=kiukiu-aa*
 story- SG:II this 1SG.SBJ=story-
 1SG.POSS TRZ
natu-na kapu-ngalua taita ateva.
 child- friend- man SG:I
 3SG.POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS
 ‘This is my story, I will tell about the child of our friend.’
- b. *Inangari oia la=ghe ue=la va ghe kasu=la*
 word this 3PL.SBJ=PS say=PF COMP PST go=PFV
 T V
ta Lutheran head office.
 PRE PN
 P
 ‘This word they said came from Lutheran head office.’

- (32) a. *Ia o kiukiu-na ateaē katu ng=ateva.*
 3S that story- SG:II snake LIG=SG:I
 G 3SG.POSS
 ‘That is the story of the snake.’
- b. *Isaa o sas~sauti-aa Vau Palepale eta-ghi.*
 EMP that IPFV~help- paramount.chief BEN-
 NMLZ 1SG.POSS
 ‘That is the help of the Lord to me.’

Although both NP examples use the demonstrative *oia* ‘this’, (31a) is cataphoric, while (31b) is anaphoric.

There is a clear difference in usage here, with all of the examples of NP with demonstrative using the demonstrative *oia* ‘this’, while all the examples of deictic NP use the demonstrative *o* ‘that’. All of the deictic NPs have anaphoric reference, but the NPs with demonstrative can have either anaphoric or cataphoric reference.

5 Conclusion

Mussau-Emira has two distinct types of NP, the general NP as described in Brownie & Brownie 2007:86-95, and deictic NPs, as described here. The difference between these is the structure, with the deictic NP requiring an emphasis marker and a demonstrative, the semantics, with the deictic NP usually referring to a previous element of the discourse, and the patterns of usage.

Deictic NPs can be used in most, if not all, places that a general NP can. There are some combinations of demonstrative pragmatic use and grammatical role which show no deictic NPs in the data, so further research is required to establish whether they would be acceptable in such cases.

Deictic NPs are preferred for temporals, for anaphoric locatives, and for discourse deictic objects. For discourse deictic summaries, anaphoric references are most often made with deictic NPs. General NPs with a demonstrative, on the other hand, are preferred for exophoric subject and object. All other uses either show little significant differences, or insufficient data to come to a conclusion, and we may conclude that both types of NP are available to the speaker for stylistic choices.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

- 1 = first person
- 2 = second person
- 3 = third person
- ADJZ = adjectivizer
- ADVZ = adverbializer
- AGNT = agent
- APP = appositive

BEN	=	benefactive
CAUS	=	causative
CLF	=	classifier
CNST	=	construct
COMP	=	complementizer
DETR	=	detransitivizer
DIM	=	diminutive
DU	=	dual
EMP	=	emphasis
EXCL	=	exclusive
EXIST	=	existential
I	=	class I
II	=	class II
INF	=	infinitive
INTS	=	intensifier
IPFV	=	imperfective
IRR	=	irrealis
LIG	=	ligature
LOC	=	locative
NEG	=	negation, negative
NMLZ	=	nominalizer/nominalization
OBJ	=	object
PFV	=	perfective
PL	=	plural
PN	=	proper noun
POSS	=	possessive
PREP	=	preposition
PST	=	past
RECP	=	reciprocal
REL	=	relative
SBJ	=	subject
SG	=	singular
TAM	=	tense-aspect-mood marker (meaning comes from context)
TRI	=	trial number
TRZ	=	transitivizer
VI	=	class VI

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