

The Demonstrative Pronouns *pa* and *ti* in Urim Discourse

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1. INTRODUCTION

Urim is a Papuan language stock level isolate in the Torricelli Phylum spoken by 3,200 people in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea.

There are four words used as demonstrative pronouns in Urim. Two of them are real demonstrative pronouns: the proximal *ti* 'this, here' and the medial *pa* 'that, there'. The third person singular pronoun *kil* and the locative clitic *-ai* have also some secondary uses as demonstratives. The focus of this paper is on the discourse functions of *ti* and *pa*.

Each one of these four demonstratives can have both referential and psychological uses. All can be used to refer to time as well. The basic deictic functions of the demonstratives are as follows:

- ti* 'this, here': marks physical nearness to the speaker, to the hearer, or to both. It can also indicate psychological nearness to the speaker.
- pa* 'that, there': marks some distance from the speaker, the hearer, or both. The referent is usually near enough to be seen. *Pa* can also signal an indefinite distance.
- ai* 'far away, over there, somewhere': marks a relatively far distance from both the speaker and the hearer. The referent is usually not near enough to be seen. *Ai* also often indicates an indefinite spatial or temporal distance.
- kil* 'he, this, here': marks physical or psychological nearness and is often used instead of *ti* when referring to humans or animals, or when the nearness is emphasized.

Examples (1) thru (5) illustrate some of the uses of the demonstratives:¹

- (1) *Miring arpme kitn pa, aki miring arpma kupm ti?*
 spirit sit: CNT 2sg that or spirit sit 1sg this
 'Does the spirit live in your village, or in mine?'

- (2) *Ti kar a akwap*
 this car G work
 'This is a truck'
- (3) *Mala atna ai?*
 who stand there
 'Who's over there?'
- (4) *Kil kawor wan ai.*
 3sg enter house there
 'He entered the house'
- (5) *Kipm pa wakg ur kol men kil aki?*
 3pl that fire one like 1pl this or
 'Do you have a lamp like we have?'

All demonstratives can also be used to refer to time and as parts of proadverbs. *Ti* and *pa* can also function as conjunctions and as parts of connectives. Both *ti* and *pa* have a wide range of different discourse functions. Usually *pa* is used, unless the physical or psychological nearness is stressed, in which case *ti* is used instead.

One of the signals as to whether *pa* is functioning on the phrase level or on the clause level is the intonation pattern, which is discussed in section 1.1.

1.1. INTONATION

In Urim the word *pa* has at least the following functions:

1. *Pa* occurring alone can function as:

- a demonstrative pronoun. This use seems to be restricted in some contexts (see section 5.2).
- an emphatic particle (see section 2.4)
- a conjunction

2. *Pa* occurring with NP can mark:

- anaphoric reference (refers to an entity mentioned in the text)
- marked focus (emphasis, contrast, corrections)
- topicality (entities important in the text)

Pa used in the textual functions often has lost its deictic meaning and is neutral in respect to the location of the referent.

Consequently, *pa* is by far the most common word in Urim. In a corpus of 28,000 words *pa* occurs over 3,500 times. Since its use is governed by tendencies

and strategies rather than by strict rules, it is not always easy to tell which function *pa* has in a particular context. It may even have several functions at the same time. In spoken Urim, however, intonation helps a great deal in determining which function *pa* has.

The following relationships between the functions of *pa* and intonation have been observed:

1. When *pa* occurs with NP, it can be either stressed or unstressed. *Pa* marking anaphoric reference only is always unstressed.² Often *pa* is more heavily stressed than the head noun, especially when marking contrast or emphasis.
2. When *pa* refers to the preceding clause as a conjunction, it has two alternative positions. It can occur either before or after the pause between these clauses (see examples (31a) and (31b)). Other Urim conjunctions behave the same way, and the change of position affects the meaning of the conjunction. A conjunction situated after the pause clause-initially is uttered with normal intonation, but a clause-final conjunction has a very distinctive intonation pattern with heavy rise of pitch and lengthening of the vowel. This helps to distinguish between a *pa* used as a conjunction and a *pa* used as a demonstrative within a clause-final NP.
3. Unfortunately, intonation does not always indicate the function of *pa* so clearly. Often Urim clause-sequences do not have any clear non-final intonation or pauses between clauses. This happens especially if the subject/topic remains the same and is deleted. In these cases it is often very difficult to tell which function *pa* really has. As an example, consider:

- (6) *Uwi tangkurong pa irpmi.*
 take:IRR palm-sheet that sit:IRR
 'Take a palm-sheet to sit on.'

This was said to a girl weeding grass. The word *tangkurong* 'palm-sheet' has not been mentioned before, but it could be considered as old information, because it is usually associated with this work. On the other hand, the conjunction *pa* frequently occurs in clause sequences like this, functioning as a 'temporal succession marker' (see section 3.3). See also examples (29) and (36). In the latter example *pa* most probably refers to the preceding clause, since *kweikwei* 'food' has not been mentioned before and there is no need to emphasize it.

at all as 'given', but an emphatic meaning, marking prominence or topicality only (see section 2.5). Consider the following examples:

(10a) *Kin ur pa ekg naren ampen tukgwan.*
 woman a that two gather breadfruit ripe
 'Two women were gathering ripe breadfruits'

(10b) *Melnum ur pa, kil kai ari wuring alkil pa, ari manto al.*
 man a that 3sg go see garden 3sg:POS that but pig eat
 'A man went to see his garden, but pigs had eaten it.'

In examples (10a) and (10b) main participants are introduced in the beginning of the story.

(11a) *Mentekg ari manto ur pa arpma kai-nar wap haung.*
 1dl see pig a that sit go-down tree fallen
 'We saw a pig down near a fallen tree.'

(Then follows the story, how the pig was shot.)

(11b) *Tepm kul ari kin wekg ur pa atna ya.*
 1in come see woman two a that stand road
 'We came and saw two women on the road.'

(A conversation with the women then follows.)

In examples (11a) and (11b) new thematic drops or participants are introduced in the middle of the story. They then become local topics.

The following example (12) shows how a minor participant is introduced when it is not topical:

(12) *Mentekg Dik nampokgen melnum Maprik-en ur kai Pakwi.*
 1dl Dik with man Maprik-ATTR a go Pakwi
 'I and Dik and a man from Maprik went to Pakwi.'

(This man is not mentioned again in the story.)

Often *pa* alone is used to introduce new participants, especially if the referent is further specified by an adjective or relative clause. *Pa* is not used if the participant is introduced by using a pronoun or proper noun, or if the referent is considered to be shared background knowledge.

(13a) *Kin warimpet pa kai karkuk ...*
 woman young that go bathe
 'A young woman went to have a bath...'

- (13b) *Pekekg pa, kainil pekekg man warim wekg.*
 before that moon before mother child two
 'In olden times the moon was a mother and child'

Both examples are from the beginning of a story.

There are other ways to introduce new major participants; for example, through a "presentative construction" consisting of a NP only. This construction is used to introduce main participants or other discourse level topics.

- (14a) *Man warim wekg. Man pa kai...*
 mother child two mother that go
 'There was a mother and child. The mother went..
- (14b) *Tokor. Tokor pa ak eng ulikg.*
 Tokor Tokor that do PR spit
 'Tokor it was who abused him'

In this example a new participant is introduced in the middle of the story.

2.3. *Pa* WITH TIME ADVERBIALS

If the text starts with a time adverbial, this adverbial is usually marked by *pa* or *ur pa*. In these cases the main participant always seem to be encoded by pronoun, proper noun or generic noun, which are never marked by *pa* or *ur pa* when starting the story.

- (15) *Wang ur pa, mentekg kai-nar akor manto.*
 time a that 1dl go-down find pig
 'Once we went down to the valley to hunt pigs'

(see also example (13b))

Pa used with time adverbials never encodes givenness only. Time adverbials are usually inherently 'given' since they refer back to a time mentioned in the story or to the time when the story was told. A topicalized time adverbial with *pa* usually indicates the beginning of a new paragraph, as in the following:

- (16) *Ak Trinde kong pa, poliskar awi-yo aye kawor*
 PR Wednesday morning that police.car take-1pl carry enter

Borom ese.
 Borom CMP

‘Wednesday morning the police car took us to Borom’

Pa used with a full NP referring to the main participant may also indicate the beginning of a new paragraph. However, this is not invariably the case, as the next section shows.

2.4. SEPARATING A GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS

Separating one group of participants from another, *pa* marks a change of topic and contrasting noun phrases in separate predications. As mentioned in section (2.1), proper nouns and pronouns are not marked by *pa* to signal givenness. However, they are marked with *pa* (or *ti*) quite often in certain narratives and conversations. Some of these are purely emphatic or deictic uses, as in examples (2), (27), and (48). In narrative discourse the use of *pa* marks a change of the actors in the story. At the same time it also often marks topic-shift and the beginning of a new paragraph, but not necessarily.

- (17a) *Mentekg kai-nar, kil pa ikgyokg al-el.*

1dl go-down 3sg that face eat-3sg

‘We went down and he (the other hunter) became sleepy’

- (17b) *Mentekg al kul-kul ... kil pa la-la ... Ari kupm pa la-la ...*

1dl eat come-come 3sg that say-say but 1sg that say-say

‘We ate on the way ... he said ... But I answered...’

- (17c) *Tuwekg pa la-la: Kitn antokg kuina? - Ari maur pa la-la...*

3dl that say say 2sg do what but spirit that say-say

‘They asked: What are you doing? But the spirit answered...’

When changing participants in a conversation, the contrast is often further marked with *ari* ‘but’ as in (17b) and (17c).

If the changing participant is a member of the group that has been acting or talking, *pa* is not always used. Compare the following examples:

- (18) *Tuwekg kai karkuk, mentekg Agnes pa akor nung.*
 3dl go bathe 1dl Agnes that find wood
 'They went to wash themselves; Agnes and I went to get firewood'

Here the group of four participants previously only referred to as 'we' is divided into two groups. In the next example (19) there is no contrast since *Wurongkatnur* is still together with the group.

- (19) *.men anel kul akor, Wurongkatnur la ...*
 1pl start come find Wurongkatnur say
 '.we started to search and Wurongkatnur said ...'

Pa can also mark contrast within two predications. In that case both terms can be marked by *pa* to signal the contrast.

- (20a) *Kupm ari anong wrongwail, pake ake kupm ari Lae pa.*
 1sg see village plenty but not 1sg see Lae that
 'I have been in many places, but not in Lae'
- (20b) *Kinyom pa ma wor pake Kinyipan ma pa horen*
 Kinyom that breast good EMP Kinyipan breast that swollen
 'Kinyom's breasts were good, but Kinyipan's were swollen'

In the second example (20b) there are two parts of contrasting items: the two women and their breasts. These two women are not actors in the story. *Pa* marks here only contrast.

2.5. EMPHASIS

Pa can also have other focusing functions; it is used to mark emphasis and corrections, especially in conversations. It has emphatic functions, both on the phrase and clause level. Often the stronger expression *pake* is used instead (20b).

- (21a) *Kitn pa mala?*
 2sg that who
 'Who you are?'
- (21b) *Kitn mala pa?*
 2sg who that
 'Who are you?'

In example (22) *pa* is used to mark correction:

- (22) .. *ak antokg wakg, wakg kuntuk pa.*
 do make fire fire pot that
 ‘.. made fire, a cooking fire’

An emphatic *pa* often occurs between the head and modifier. In this case it probably emphasizes the modifier rather than the whole NP:

- (23) *Warim akupm pa ile wan pa wail!*
 child 1sg:POS that build:IRR house that big
 ‘My child, build a big house!’

As an emphatic clause particle, *pa* may be used to signal ‘yes’ in responses:

- (24) *Kupm arpma pa!*
 1sg sit that
 ‘Yes, I am at home’

2.6. CLIMAX

Pa is also used on the discourse level to highlight the climax of a story or other important point in the discourse. In this case *pa* is repeated many times in the clause or sentence:

- (25) *Ari tuwekg man warim pa ak pain pa nar kuntuk*
 but 3dl mother child that do feces that go down pot

wail pa atna kai kilpakg pa, ak a yela tatu
 big that stand go stove that do GEN everywhere around

wan pa. Tuwekg ar wanyun pa elng atna pa ekg
 house that 3dl shut door that put stand that two

awi wes pa angkli...
 take stone that throw

‘But they two, mother and child, defecated into the big pot on the stove, and they did the same all over the house. Then they shut the door, left and threw stones...’

This is the turning point of the story, where the mother and child manage to escape from a man-eating spirit. Some of the occurrences of *pa* here can be explained as marking givenness; for example, the first, fifth, and sixth. The last two

occurrences could be explained as marking sequences of action. Nevertheless, this kind of heavy use of *pa* at each phrase break occurs only when the whole section is emphasized as the climax of the story. Some occurrences of *pa* thus have a double function: marking givenness and clause borders as well as discourse climax.

In example (26) below *pa* is used to mark a point in a dispute:

(26) *Kupm karken kai hom wom mismis aro, ikga pa*
1sg dislike go family other altogether break later that

komplein pa kunukg pa.
complain that afterwards:IRR that

'I do not like that she goes to live in another family and then complains afterwards'

In the first instance *pa* may be a conjunction, but the two other occurrences do not have any of the previously mentioned functions.

Pa also encodes moral obligation in exhortations:

(27) *Mentepm pa ikwonilmpen pa totnongket a Jisas.*
1in that think:IRR that strength GEN Jisas
'We should think about the power of Jisas'

3. FUNCTIONS OF *pa* ASSOCIATED WITH THE CLAUSE

The demonstrative pronoun *pa* can function in the following ways related to the clause.

3.1. RECAPITULATION

Pa functioning as a conjunction usually marks the preceding clause as 'given'. This is especially clear in head-tail linkages. The recapitulated item is always marked by *pa*, usually associated with a non-final rising intonation.

(28) *.kil karmo wunei. Kil karmo wunei pa, kupm no alm.*
3sg grab wunei 3sg grab wunei that 1sg come-up shoot
'It went to the wunei-tree, and then I shot it.'

3.2. ENABLING CONDITIONS AND TEMPORAL SUCCESSION

Pa separates coordinated clauses encoding temporal succession where the second action is usually possible only if the first action occurs.

(29a) *Monto arpma no maket, pa asen yul.*
 1tr sit come up market that ask fish
 'When we had come to the market, we asked for fish'

(29b) *Uwi talu ur, pa ik uwi iye kul!*
 take:IRR hook a that with:IRR take:IRR carry:IRR come
 'Take a hook and catch it with it!'

In both examples the second action requires the first. In example (30) there is only a temporal succession encoded.

(30) *Kil elung kul nar pa, kupm perng talpuk.*
 3sg start come descend that 1sg throw spear
 'It started to come down and then I threw the spear'

Notice the differences in intonation and position of *pa* in these three examples (compare the discussion on intonation in section 1). In example (30) *pa* occurs before the pause and is heavily stressed by non-final intonation and lengthening of the vowel. This serves to emphasize the immediateness of the action.

3.3. CONDITIONALS

When used together with irrealis aspect, *pa* often means 'if' or 'given Clause y, then Clause x will follow'. This is not very different semantically from the cases before, 'when Clause y, then Clause x follows'. In both cases *pa* marks a condition and also marks the first clause as given.

(31a) *Il okopma watipmen, pa nikh-wor.*
 eat:IRR food plenty that belly-good
 'If you eat plenty, you will be satisfied'

(31b) *Hu wei pa, mentepm irki wan.*
 water fall:IRR that 1in stay:IRR house
 'If it rains we will stay at home'

These two examples represent slightly different kinds of conditions, which in Urim is marked by the different positions of *pa* in respect to the pause between the clauses.

The reduplicated form *papa* or combinations *pa*, *pa/papa*, *pa* are more commonly used to mark conditionals than is the single *pa*.

- (32) *Tu katin manto pa, pa kin ampake kai wureren.*
 3pl hunt pig that that woman cannot go near
 'When they are hunting pigs, women are not allowed to go near'

(Notice the intonation, which signals that the first *pa* refers to the entire first clause and not just to *manto* 'pig'.)

- (33a) *Kin nomong-ok ur arpma pa-pa, il-kopm.*
 2sg limbum-fruit a sit that-that give:IRR-1sg
 'If you have some rice, give to me'

- (33b) *Ikga wang a kupm imo pa-pa, pa tu itning.*
 later time REL 1sg die:IRR that-that that 3pl listen:IRR
 'Later, when I have died, they will listen (to my voice from the tape).'

In descriptive and instructive texts, and when a progression of action is described inside a narrative text, a combination of *plalng papa* 'that finished' is used as a head-tail linkage (see also section 3.1):

- (34) *..aye wuli angkut. Angkut plalng pa-pa, arkol...*
 carry come sew sew finish that-that pull
 '...brought it and sew it. When this was done, they pulled..'

4. SECONDARY FUNCTIONS OF *pa*

4.1. DISAMBIGUATING VERB PHRASES FROM CLAUSE SEQUENCES

One of the secondary functions of *pa* is its use as a border marker to help disambiguate certain constructions. Compare the following examples:

- (35) *Kil antokg kweikwei pa al arpma.*
 3sg make food that eat sit
 'He made food and sits eating it'

but:

- (36) *Kil antokg kweikwei al.*
 3sg make food eat
 'He made himself food to eat'

Without *pa* inserted between the clauses there would be ambiguity as to whether 'make food' and 'eat' are a sequence of actions or parts of a serial structure.

Examples (37) and (38) further illustrate the function of *pa* distinguishing serial verb phrases from clause sequences.

- (37) *Kupm aro napmung arpma pa.*
 1sg break nut sit that
 ‘Yes, I am breaking nuts’

(Here the existential verb *arpma* functions to mark continuative aspect.)

- (38) *Kupm aro napmung pa arpma pake.*
 1sg break nut that sit EMP
 ‘Yes, I do sit and break nuts’

(Here the basic meaning of *arpma* ‘sit’ is present.)

4.2. MARKING THE END OF A RELATIVE CLAUSE

Pa functions as a border marker also in relative clauses. The relative clause marker is the same as the genitive marker(a). Since this marker is sometimes optional and there is no other change in the relative clause, it would often be difficult to know where the relative clause ends without the help of *pa* at the end. The primary function of *pa* in these cases is usually to mark givenness, but it can also be used as a border marker only.

- (39) *Kil kai ya a kai-nar anong hu pa an-an*
 3sg go road REL go-down get water that sharpen-sharpen

wam-wuhor.
 hand-nail

‘She went down the road that led to the waterhole and sharpened her fingernails’

Here *pa* could also be a conjunction encoding temporal succession (see section 3.3).

- (40) *alm tu wrong kin-kapman a pekekg or-en pa,*
 shoot PL crowd woman-man REL before beat-3pl that

alm alm...
 shoot shoot

‘(they) shot those people who before had beaten them, shot and shot...’

(The referent of the relative clause has been mentioned before.)

Notice that the relative clause is not always marked by *pa* even if the referent has been mentioned before:

- (41) *Kil numpet waikenketn atnen wap amprang wet kil al.*
 3sg sick a.little because ton nut recently 3sg eat
 'She is a little sick because of the ton nuts she ate.'

(Nuts have been mentioned before.)

5. COMPARISON OF *ti* WITH *pa*

5.1. REPLACING *pa* BY *ti* IN NOUN PHRASES

The demonstrative pronoun *ti* 'this, here' is a deictic which always signals proximity to the speaker or hearer. Otherwise it can have almost all the same functions signalling givenness etc. as *pa* has. Compare the following examples:

- (42) *Manto pa kai-nar angko minip ti.*
 pig that go-down fall river this
 'The pig has crossed this river'

- (43) *Waring ti, yekal pa.*
 betel this bow that
 'This is betel palm; that is black palm'

In example (42) *pa* only indicates that *manto* 'pig' has been mentioned already in the text, but *ti* refers to the location of the river. (43) is a verbless equative clause, whereas *ti* and *pa* are independent demonstrative pronouns functioning as equative predicates.

Consequently, *ti* is used in conversational and hortatory texts more than in narrative texts, and in narratives usually in direct quotations or when the speaker is one of the participants. This is illustrated as follows:

- (44) *Atom miring yek wekg ti Pirkko Ritva ekg kainar...*
 then white DIM two this Pirkko Ritva two go-down
 'And then these two white women Pirkko and Ritva went down...'

In this example *ti* refers to the previously mentioned participants who are listening. *Ti* marks both givenness and proximity in the situation.

Both physical and psychological nearness is encoded in (45) and (46). The primary function of *ti* here is to separate groups of participants.

- (45) *Mentepm wrong wail kai ampang atom men kapman ti alm wel.*
 lin crowd big go bush then 1pl man this shoot bird
 'We all went to the bush and we men shot birds.'

Here *ti* is used instead of *pa* because of the psychological nearness; the speaker is a man but the hearer is a woman.

- (46) *Ari wa kupm ti la-la...*
 but and 1sg this say-say
 'But I said...'

In this example (46) the two main participants of the story are the hearer and the speaker; the speaker is marked with *ti*, and the hearer with *pa* when the actor changes.

In (47) the speaker stands by the addressee and is trying to wake him - therefore *ti* instead of *pa* in emphatic meaning.

- (47) 'Kitn ti wurekg o-m!'
 2sg this wake IMP-now
 'Wake up now!'

However, in (48) *pa* is used because the speaker is up in a tree at a distance from the addressee:

- (48) 'Kitn pa ikor wakg..'
 2sg that find:IRR fire
 'You go to get a torch..'

In summary, when *ti* is associated with a noun phrase, it can have nearly all the same functions as *pa*. It is used instead of *pa* to mark givenness, contrast, changing participants, etc., when physical or psychological nearness is in focus.

5.2. DEICTIC USE OF *ti* AND *ai* COMPARED WITH *pa*

When *pa* is used as a discourse marker or to indicate givenness, it is usually neutral in respect to spatial, temporal, or psychological distance. It can be used in its basic meaning as a medial deictic pronoun, but there are certain restrictions. In the analyzed data *pa* did not occur alone as the subject of transitive or intransitive clauses, but was rather common as the subject or predicate of verbless equative and descriptive clauses. Also this demonstrative never occurs as a locative

adverbial (compare examples (3) and (24)). *Ti* frequently occurs in all these positions.

There also seem to be some restrictions in the use of *pa* as a demonstrative within a noun phrase. Consider the following examples taken from an elicitation test:

(49a) *Tu nalu-n-to wayu ti.*
 3pl pick-IO-1pl taro this
 'They harvested this taro for us'

*(49b) *Tu nalu-n-to wayu pa.*
 3pl pick-IO-1pl taro that
 'They harvested that taro for us'

(49b) uttered in isolation seems to be ungrammatical, although (49a) is perfectly acceptable, when the taro is visible. However, (49b) is acceptable within a suitable discourse context, as in (50), where *pa* indicates that taro has already been mentioned in the text:

(50) *Atom tu nalu-n-to wayu pa eng men al.*
 then 3pl pick-IO-1pl taro that for 1pl eat
 'Then they harvested that taro for us to eat'

If the speaker wants to refer only to the location of the taro without any anaphoric meaning, he uses either the locative marker *ai*, or a proadverb composed of an existential verb plus *pa* or *ai*:

(51) *Tu nalu-n-to wayu arpma kai-ai / kai-pa*
 3pl pick-IO-1pl taro sit go-there go-that
 'They harvested for us that taro (over there)'

For this reason the locative marker *ai* is often used to contrast with *ti* in distance; as in (52) through (55):

(52) *melnum ur ti*
 man a this
 'this (unknown) man'

(as when pointing to a name in a list)

(53) *melnum ur ai*
 man a somewhere
 'Somebody/ A man from an unknown place'

Notice that the expression *melnum ur pa* is almost exclusively used to introduce new participants (section 2. 2):

(54) *wan wunen ti*
house inside this
'here inside the house'

(55) *wan wunen ai*
house inside there
'there inside the house'

Further locational contrast is signalled by *ai* vs *ti* in (56):

(56) *Ti pa, miring pa am itini warim yek wekg ai*
this that spirit that now stand:IRR child DIM two there

tuwa, mentepm ti kalpis.
EMP 1in this not

'Indeed, it looks like the spirit is with those two little children, not with us!'

In the analyzed data, all three demonstratives (*pa,ti,ai*) occur in contrast only within proadverbs:

In (57) the referent is visible:

(57) *Kil arpma kai-pa.*
3sg sit go-that
'He sits there'

In (58) the referent is near the speaker:

(58) *Kil arpma kai-ti/ ti.*
3sg sit go-this/this
'He sits here'

In (59) the referent is more distant than in (57) or not visible at all:

(59) *Kil arpma kai-ai.*
3sg sit go-there
'He sits/lives over there'

The combination of *pa/ti* and an existential verb is also often used when something not topical is mentioned the first time:

(60a) *Tu alok ampei ur alntu ha-pa.*
 3pl pull rope a 3pl:POS be-that
 'They secured it with a rope they had with'

(60b) *..arpma hunokg wamping ha-ti.³*
 sit sea shore be-this
 '..was on the seashore near there'

The locative marker *ai* apparently does not to occur in this construction.

Although the deictic use of *pa* with NP remains somewhat problematic at the present state of analysis, it is clear that *pa* very often occurs without any locational meaning. It also would seem, that *pa* with NP never functions as a demonstrative pronoun only, but always has some textual function as well. Textual functions seem to be primary and the possible deictic functions secondary. Other deictic expressions are used when the speaker wants to refer to the location of the referent only.

5.3. FUNCTIONS OF *ti* ASSOCIATED WITH THE CLAUSE

The demonstrative pronoun *ti* can also be used as a conjunction, like *pa*. As was the case with noun phrases involving *ti*, *ti* used as a conjunction is more frequent in conversational, hortatory and explanatory discourse than in narrative.

(61a) *Takgni wor, ti hu kai teng timpal.*
 sun good this water PR tank empty
 'There has been good weather, that is why the water tank is empty'

(61b) *Kupm ake ak akwap ur, ti tu akle-wopm.*
 1sg not do work a this 3pl scold-me
 'I did not work and therefore they scolded me'

(61c) *Tu la-wopm kai anong alkupmen, ti kupm antikg mahing.*
 3pl say-1sg go village 1sg:POS this 1sg hiccup ripe
 'They are speaking about me in the village, that is why I am sneezing'

These examples (61a-61c) reveal a distinction between the functions of *ti* and *pa* as conjunctions (see sections 3.3 and 3.4). While *pa* marks temporal succession, enabling conditions etc., *ti* marks a reason-result relationship between these two clauses. Both conjunctions refer to the preceding clause as given information. Probably this is why reason or explanation in Urim precedes the result.

The first clause contains new information in the discourse: explanation, reason, etc.. In conversations, *ti* can also refer to something that just happened, such as in example (56). The conjunction *ti* is usually used only with realis aspect, while in clauses expressing possible results in the future, *pa* is used.

6. COMBINATIONS OF *ti* AND *pa*

Combinations of these two demonstratives are frequently found, especially between clauses.

6.1. COMBINATION OF *ti* AND *pa* WITHIN A NOUN PHRASE

As we have seen earlier in section 5. 2, *pa* occurring with NP has lost part of its deictic meaning and has other functions instead. Therefore it is possible to use both *ti* and *pa* within the same noun phrase, even if this is not very common in Urim texts. Examples (62) through (64) illustrate the use of this combination. In (62) *pa* functions as an emphatic marker, while *ti* refers to something that was happened or said previously:

- (62) *ti pa!*
 this that
 'Just so!' or 'There you are!'

(This expression is used for example, if something happens about which someone else has a different opinion)

In (63) *tukunakg* 'head' is contrasted with the body which has fallen to the other side. There is emphasis on the word 'head' as well:

- (63) *tukunakg ti pa kai elng angko kawor wompel ai.*
 head this that go put fall enter other there
 'and the head, it fell to the other side'

In (64) *ti* plus *pa* encodes givenness plus emphasis or contrast:

- (64) *plalng pa-pa, tu ti pa am arpma antokg kin wekg pa.*
 finish that-that 3pl this that now sit do woman two that
 'after that was done, the women sat decorating those two women.'

The combination of *ti pa* in a noun phrase seems to add more prominence to the noun phrase. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that the combination almost always can be replaced by *pa* without any great difference in

meaning. Actually, it is often corrected to the simple *pa* or *ti* when occurring in a narrative text. *Ti pa* occurs more frequently in conversational text, and can perhaps be considered as a feature of spoken discourse only,

6.2. *Pa-ti*: DOUBLE REFERENCE

The combination *pa-ti* is used only as a conjunction, indicating that the hearer accepts what the speaker has said. The clause so marked is clearly designated as given and highly topical, as illustrated in examples (65) through (67):

- (65) *Kipm yul kalpis pa pa-ti, am kai uwi nep*
 2pl fish not that that-this now go get:IRR coconut

mangkon ur!
 green one

‘Since you do not have any fish, okay, go and get some green coconuts then!’

In (66) *pa-ti* refers to the immediately preceding speech in a court case:

- (66) *Am wet kol-pa Kinnampro la pa pa-ti am aklale pake.*
 now just like-that Kinnampro say that that-this now true EMP

‘What Kinnampro just said is certainly true’ or
 ‘What comes to what Kinnampro just said, it is certainly true’

In (67) *pa-ti* refers to a historical event as a strong support to the argument:

- (67a) *Kupm awi Namungkulok pa pa-ti pa a Anambok.*
 1sg take Namungkulok that that-this that GEN Anambok
 ‘I took Namungkulok-ground (in the war), therefore it belongs to Anambok’

- (67b) *Atom kapm pa pa-ti am kapaka kweikwei pa arke arke pake.*
 then pond that that-this now bat PL that hang hang EMP
 ‘Therefore there are bats by that pond nowadays’

Notice that in examples (65), (66), and (67) there is actually a sequence *pa pa-ti*. *Pa-ti* can occur without this extra *pa*, which in (65) probably refers to the previous clause meaning ‘this being so’, and in examples (66) and (67) acts as the subject of

verbless clause (descriptive and possessive respectively). In the combination *pa-ti* *pa* probably refers back to the previously mentioned item, and *ti* signals reason-result relationship, as explained in section 5.3.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The demonstrative pronouns *ti* and *pa* have a wide range of functions. The extensive use of *pa* as a discourse marker has probably affected its use as a far deictic, so that it is in many cases replaced with locative marker *ai* or with deictic proadverbs. *Pa* has pure deictic meaning only when occurring independently in the clause. Both demonstratives also occur in combinations with each other or other particles and pronouns. All the functions of *pa* at different levels nevertheless show the following basic semantic features:

1. One of the most important functions of *pa* is to mark discourse reference. At the phrase level this means that the entity marked by *pa* has already been mentioned in the text. *Pa* does not mark other kinds of givenness. If the entity is uniquely identifiable (moon, etc.), associated with the speaker or hearer (home, father, etc.), or present in the situation, it is not marked by *pa* for givenness. This use of *pa* makes it a very important device of topic continuity in Urim discourse. At the clause level *pa* also signals givenness as a conjunction.
2. The most central function of *pa* seems to be to mark topicality. Its use to mark textual reference is a strategy, not a strict rule. The more important the item is in the text, the more regularly it is marked by *pa* for givenness through the text. *Pa* is also used to introduce new topics into the discourse, and it is one of the most important devices to mark changing topics, i.e., beginning a new paragraph in the discourse. It also marks discourse climax and other important sequences in the text.
3. *Pa* is also used to mark prominence at the clause and phrase level. At the phrase level it emphasizes the modifier when situated between it and the head of the NP. At the clause level it marks contrasting noun phrases or functions as an emphatic particle.

All three functions of *pa* are closely linked together. Often *pa* has more than one function at the same time; for example, when it marks as given only those functions that are topical. It marks contrasting noun phrases either on clause level or at discourse level, when there is a change of information flow or

contra-expectation. It can be said that *pa* in all its uses marks prominence, since topicality can be termed as discourse-level prominence.

When physical or psychological nearness is in focus, *ti* is used instead of *pa*. When associated with the noun phrase, *ti* has the same functions as *pa* plus the semantic component of nearness. *Ti* can also function as a pure deictic pronoun within NP which *pa* cannot. At the clause-level *pa* and *ti* have separate functions as conjunctions.

The abbreviations used in this paper are:

ATTR	Attributive marker
CMP	Completive marker
DIM	Diminutive
EMP	Emphatic particle
GEN	Genitive marker
IO	Indirect object marker
IMP	Imperative
IRR	Irrealis
PL	Plural
POS	Possessive
PR	Preposition
REL	Relative clause marker

NOTES:

1. Notice that *pa* and *ti* primarily function as markers of contrast in examples (1) and (5), but they do have some deictic meaning as well (see section 5.2).
2. There is an intimate relationship between demonstratives and definite articles in many languages. In some languages the article has diachronically developed from the demonstrative; in other languages the distant demonstrative is used also to code definiteness. In this function it is usually unstressed.
3. Here *ti* indicates nearness from the point of view of the story, i.e., in a situation of the story. In English *ti* is translated 'there' because the place is far away from the place where the story was told.