

Deixis and Participant Tracking in Botin

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1. INTRODUCTION

A famous lecturer was expounding upon the properties of gravity, i.e., that the earth was spinning around at an unbelievable speed, when he was interrupted by a lady in the audience. She asked, “And what is holding up the world while it is spinning around so?” Not wanting to embarrass the lady, the lecturer asked her, “What do you think is holding it up?” The lady replied, “Why, everyone knows that the world is held up by a great big turtle.” The lecturer questioned her further, “And what holds up that turtle?” “You can’t fool me,” the lady replied

triumphantly, "it's turtles all the way down!" As I have studied Botin, I have become convinced that in Botin¹, IT'S DEIXIS--ALL THE WAY DOWN!

It is through the Botin deictic system that: (1) participants are tracked through a discourse, whether they be major, minor, or simply props, (2) the degree of volition that each of the participants may have at a given time in the discourse is communicated, and (3) the addressee can comprehend the attitude of the speaker regarding the information he is conveying, as well as, the speaker's perception of what his addressee's perception of the communicated information is.

It is the intent of this paper to describe the gestural, symbolic, and endophoric uses of deixis (Fillmore, 1975:40) in the Botin system of participant tracking.

2. DEICTIC MARKERS IN BOTIN

Fillmore (1975:39) describes deixis as:

the name given to those formal properties of utterances which are determined by and which are interpreted by knowing certain aspects of the communication act in which the utterances in question can play a role. These include the identity of the interlocutors in a communication situation, covered by the term, person deixis; the place or places in which these individuals are located, for which we have the term, place deixis; the time at which the communication act takes place---for this we may need to distinguish as the encoding time, the time at which the message is sent, and the decoding time, the time at which the message is received---these coming together under the heading of time deixis; the matrix of linguistic material within which the utterance has a role, that is the preceding and following parts of the discourse, which we can refer to as discourse deixis; and the social relationships on the part of the participants in the conversation, that determine, for example, the choice of honorific or polite or intimate or insulting speech levels, etc., which we can group together under the term social deixis.

The Botin speaker cannot say much if he can't use the deictic markers of the language. Deixis permeates every level, from discourse level down through word level. The deictic marker reveals his spatial awareness of his environment, his referencing of his or others' experiences in the current time frame, his personal psychological awareness of his referents, and the current centre of his universe.

Besides the personal and demonstrative pronouns which follow in section 2.1 and will be discussed extensively in this paper, the Botin speaker's awareness of himself and the world around him is explicitly expressed in the verbs 'come' and 'go.' These verbs exhibit more of a deictic nature than an actual verbal nature. In 'come' the referencing is to a deictic centre *s*, i.e., the speaker.

- (1) *Ga-s -a*
 ND-DC-INC
 'Come here.'

Similarly, in 'go' *m* (Medial) and *l* (Distal Plural) reflect a movement away from the speaker as opposed to movement more verbal in nature.²

- (2) *Ñ-e w-uk e -wi -m -e.*
 1s-CT 2s-from CT-ND.p-MD-CT
 'I am leaving you.'

Botin also incorporates numerous locative postpositionals, appearing in Table 1 in Section 2.2.2, which, in combination with the demonstratives, aid the Botin speaker in pinpointing his location, as well as his referent's location. In this paper, we will discuss the personal pronouns and then focus on the demonstrative pronouns in their referential and psychological uses.

2.1 Personal Pronouns

Botin manifests the following personal pronoun stems:

<i>ñ</i> – 1s	<i>n</i> – 1p.EXCL	<i>won</i> – 1p.INCL
<i>w</i> – 2s	<i>nu</i> – 2p	
<i>g</i> – ND	<i>wi</i> – ND.p	
<i>m</i> – MD		
<i>d</i> – FD	<i>l</i> – FD.p	

The personal pronouns, which indicate person and number, can be suffixed with various topic markers and function in the subject slot. They may also be affixed to the verb and function in the object slot.

Control topic marker on first person singular subject:

- (3) *Ñ -e bo -l -a.*
 1s -CT work-CONT-INC
 'I will work.'

Neutral topic marker on second person singular subject:

- (4) *Wu-ba ya m -ee -p -il ma-k -e*
 2s -NT nothing MD-near-remain-NF.SS MD-put-CT
t -ul m -e.
 move.around-CONT MD-CT
 'You are just near it and confused.'

Neutral topic marker on first person plural inclusive subject:

- (5) *Woni -ba ya pa -g -in p -il ...*
 1p.INCL-NT nothing house-ND-in remain-NF.SS³
 'We just remain inside the house here and...'

Control topic on second person plural subject, first person singular object prefix on the verb:

- (6) *Nuw-e nopa ñ-e -a.*
 2p -CT sorry 1s-hit-INC
 'You give thanks to me.'

Neutral topic marker on first person singular subject:

- (7) *Ñi-ba si -m -a.*
 1s -NT thing-eat-INC
 'I will eat.'

2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

2.2.1 Demonstratives

The third person pronouns are also the demonstratives. They function basically as spatial locators as presented from the speaker's (the deictic centre) perspective.

<i>g</i> – Near Deictic (ND)	<i>wi</i> – Near Deictic Plural (ND.p)
<i>m</i> – Mid Deictic (MD)	<i>**⁴</i>
<i>d</i> – Far Deictic (FD)	<i>l</i> – Far Deictic Plural (FD.p)

2.2.2 Grammatical Co-occurrences

Table 1 displays many of the forms created by the affixation of the singular demonstratives.

TABLE 1

ROOT	Proximal(ND) g-	Medial(MD) m-	Distal(FD) d-
Accompaniment	<i>ganin</i>	<i>manin</i>	<i>danin</i>
Instrument	<i>gan</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>dan</i>
Beneficiary	<i>gayak</i>	<i>mayak</i>	<i>dayak</i>
Origin	<i>gaak</i>	<i>maak</i>	<i>daak</i>
Inanimate Accompaniment	<i>gipa</i>	<i>mipa</i>	<i>dipa</i>
Counting	<i>gaga</i>	<i>maga</i>	<i>daga</i>
From	<i>guk</i>	<i>muk</i>	<i>duk</i>
Inside	<i>gin</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>din</i>
To	<i>gada</i>	<i>mada</i>	<i>dada</i>
Under	<i>gabe</i>	<i>mabe</i>	<i>dabe</i>
On Top Of	<i>gaal</i>	<i>maal</i>	<i>daal</i>
Near	<i>gel</i>	<i>mel</i>	<i>del</i>
Through	<i>gokol</i>	<i>mokol</i>	<i>dokol</i>
Above	<i>gatiyel</i>	<i>matiyeI</i>	<i>datiyeI</i>

Not only do the demonstratives affix to the above postpositionals, but they also affix to other grammatical notions. As a prefix on verbs they indicate goal (8), object (9), or recipient (10):

- (8) *N̄-e di -di -m -a m -e.*
1s-CT bush-FD-MD-INC ND-CT
'I am going to the bush.'
- (9) *W -e m -e -a.*
2s -CT MD-hit-INC
'You hit him.'
- (10) *Mi -ba sob ma -t m -an -up.*
MD-NT coconut MD-O1 MD-give-COMP
'He gave him a coconut.'

They also attach to postpositional phrases to indicate accompaniment (11) and instrument (12 and 13):

- (11) *Ñi-ba ape ma-nin bo -l p -ap.*
 1s -NT father MD-ACC work-CONT remain-COMP
 'I worked with father.'
- (12) *M -i pa s -il -a.*
 MD-IACC DC-CONT-INC
 'Bring it here. (Come with it.)'
- (13) *Mi -ba ye da-n an ma -tiku -p.*
 MD-NT knife FD-O2 firewood MD-cut -COMP
 'He cut the firewood with a knife.'

They also operate singly and with topic markers to form copulas.

- (14) *Pa -di -ma.*
 house-FD-MD
 'It is a house.' ex Topic Marker:
- (15) *Ñi-ga.*
 1s -ND
 'It is I.'

2.2.3 Referential Uses of the Demonstratives

Botin demonstratives have two primary functions: (1) referential, and (2) psychological. Fillmore (1975:40) has identified three distinct types of reference: gestural, symbolic and endophoric: (1) gestural: the referent is physically present and in some way physically monitored; (2) symbolic: the event can be interpreted by merely knowing certain aspects of the speech communication act; (3) endophoric: a deictically marked element in discourse is interpreted by knowing what other portions of the same discourse it is co-referential with.

Psychologically, the demonstratives are used to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the information he is conveying (Farr and Whitehead, 1981-2:66).

2.2.3.1 Gestural Referential Usage

Demonstratives in their gestural usage indicate the physical location of the referent in relation to the speaker.

- (16) *Ga-s -a.*
 ND-DC-INC
 'Come here.'

The following example is taken from a story in which the speaker became separated from his daughter and lost in the bush. In the following example where his uncle approaches him on a nearby road without the speaker's knowledge, the relationship between them is marked basically with proximal singular demonstratives.

- (17) *Ñi-ñ yob ga-yen mi-ba nok*
 1s-POS uncle ND-CNT MD-NT quiet

s -ap -k -il ñ-el dak g -in
 DC-COMP-put-NF.SS 1s-near road ND-in

m -e -p.
 MD-CT-remain

'My uncle was quietly coming near me in the nearby road.'

Afterward, he finds his daughter. She is not near, but not far away---within sight, and he uses the medial singular demonstrative form.

- (18) *Ñi-ba ate m -adu-p -ol...*
 1s-NT ?ate MD-see-COMP-NF.DS
 'After I saw her....'

In this same story, the speaker adds information about the approaching darkness, using the distal singular demonstrative for the sun.

- (19) *Ali m d -e aam e -tuw -a mi -m -e...*
 Sun FD-CT INT CT-go.down-INC MD-MD-CT
 'The sun was going down, going...'

2.2.3.2 Symbolic Referential Usage

The symbolic use of the demonstratives indicates that the referent may or may not be in view, but it is assumed the addressee is aware of the referent's location.

After responding to his uncle's inquiry of "Who are you?", the lost man makes this reply, using the distal form to refer to the road he assumes is a long way off.

- (20) *Ńi-ga o ñ -e dak d -ada lu -l m -e.*
 1s -ND EXP 1s -CT road FD-to look.for-CONT MD-CT
 'Oh! It is I here; I'm looking for the road.'

In the next example, the speaker is relating how the Germans brought steel knives to Papua New Guinea. He uses the proximal singular demonstrative to mean Papua New Guinea in general, not particularly the location where he's standing.

- (21) *Jiaman li -na ga -s paku -p -ul*
 German FD.p-?na ND-DS arrive-COMP -NF.SS

a li -ba wao li -loko biyag yoi
 EXP FD.p-NT grandfather FD.p-from limbum knife

li -k yi -k -ap ma.
 FD.p-put down-put-COMP MD

'When the Germans came to Papua New Guinea they took the limbum knives from our grandfathers and threw them away.'

In the same story, the speaker refers to the current time with the proximal singular demonstrative form.

- (22) *Gayi li -ba aka -k -ip -al*
 steel.axe FD.p-NT arrive-put-COMP-NF.DS

ni -ba li -n bo -l -a t -al; miña
 1p.EXCL -NT FD.p-O2 work-CONT-INC do-NF.DS now(NEG)

ga -n ni -ba la -n tomon
 ND-O2 1p.EXCL-NT FD.p-O2 stone.axe

l -e -k -ap m -a.
 FD.p-CT-put-COMP MD-NT

'Since the steel axes arrived, we work with them; now we have forsaken the stone axes.'

In the following example, night is referred to symbolically in an ancestral story, using the distal demonstrative to refer to a time long ago.

- (23) *Ba -da -n da -n mi -ba yingu -p.*
 night-FD-O2 FD-O2 MD-NT sleep -COMP
 'That night, he slept.'

2.2.3.3 Endophoric Referential Usage

In Botin, the morphemes *-olok* [and *-ok*] 'like' and *-olis* 'how' combine with the medial singular demonstrative *m* to indicate anaphoric reference. They combine with the proximal plural demonstrative *w* to indicate cataphoric reference.

The following example is a common method of ending a story in Botin, in which *m-olok* refers anaphorically to the story which has just been told.

- (24) *Ma -ma ñi-ñ ni -mi -ma mi -ba m -olok mi -s*
 MD-MD 1s-POS talk-MD-MD MD-NT ANA-like MD-DC

pi -tin ma.
 hold-get.COMP MD
 'That is my story. It went like that and remained.'

In the next example, the speaker laments the bad example set by his ancestors and rationalizes their resultant current situation. The anaphoric reference is to what the ancestors should have done.

- (25) *Ma -n e -m -ap -k -iten miña ga-n be*
 MD-O2 CT-MD-COMP-put-F.DS now(NEG) ND-O2 child

ni -yen o n -e aka -k -ap
 1p.EXCL-CNT EXP 1p.EXCL-CT arrive -put-COMP

ma, m -olok m -oo p -a t -ap.
 MD ANA-like MD-follow remain-INC move.around-COMP

 'If they had gone like that (making good work), now we children, who have come along, would have remained (good) like that.'

In example (26), a young girl sees a canoe come drifting toward her. The cataphoric reference is used to refer to an unknown future event.

- (26) *T -ap w -olok w -olis ma?*
 move.around-COMP CAT-like CAT-how MD
 'Like what will I do?'

In the following example, the speaker introduces his intention to relate how he will build a 'haus boi'. This reference is towards a definite plan of action.

- (27) *Miña ga -n ñi-ba pa -di -yen a -l -a*
 now(NEG) ND-O2 1s-NT house-FD-CNT do -FD.p-INC

m -e. Pa -li -ñ bu -lu -ba w -ok
 MD-CT house-FD.p-POS work-FD.p-NT CAT-like

w -olis m -e -p.
 CAT-how MD-CT-remain

'Now I am going to talk about the house. The work of the house will be like this.'

At this point, he relates some of the work involved in constructing the house. Later, he makes the following conclusion, having related what steps he plans to take.

- (28) *W -ok w -o -l -e -m -in*
 CAT-like CAT-?o-FD.p-CT-MD-F.SS

m -a -l -a m -e.
 MD -do-CONT-INC MD-CT
 'I will do it like this.'

2.2.4 Psychological Usage and Demonstrative Interplay

The psychological use of the demonstratives reflects the speaker's attitude towards his referent. Each demonstrative may carry a referential or a psychological load or both. Often there is obvious interplay between the psychological and the referential. When both are semantically encoded in the demonstrative, the psychological always suppresses the referential.

Briefly, before discussing the psychological usage of the demonstrative, I will exemplify the type of interplay that occurs between demonstratives in Botin. In a conversation one day with a young man from a neighboring village, we were unsure

as to exactly where he lived. When we asked him if he lived in Patika, a village about an hour's walk from ours, his answer was not what we expected. Our viewpoint of the village situation keeps us focused on the referential usage of the demonstrative over the psychological. So the following appears to be a referential statement.

- (29) *Ñy-e li -nin ga-w -e -p.*
 1p-CT FD.p-ACC ND-ND.p-CT-remain
 'I live here with them.'

His reply is an obvious statement of close psychological relationship with the people of his village. It is also a typical example of the way the psychological dominates the referential usage of the demonstratives in Botin.

The function of plural demonstratives is similar to the singular. Therefore, their referential and psychological uses will not be discussed in detail. The medial singular demonstrative is the neutral/known form. In its gestural and symbolic usage, it is employed to indicate a specific location of the referent (near to addressee). However, used psychologically it prescribes more or less a neutral/known attitude towards the referent on the part of the speaker. The proximal demonstrative reflects a strong, emotional bias toward the referent on the part of the speaker. The distal demonstrative indicates a mental distancing or a lack of recognition on the part of the speaker towards the referent.

In the following example, the man (speaker) is separated geographically from his daughter. Normally, the distal singular demonstrative would be used, but the safety of his daughter is uppermost in his mind, so he uses the proximal singular demonstrative form.

- (30) *Ñi-ñ ya -gi -yen mi-ba we*
 1s-POS daughter-ND-CNT MD-NT alone

ga -yi -m -e -p.
 ND-down-MD-CT-remain.

'This my dear daughter was sitting all alone here.'

As illustrated in the above example, the psychological use of the demonstratives seems to overrule the symbolic or gestural use when the speaker is trying to

indicate psychological involvement, or bring his current topic to centre stage in the discussion.

In the story about Basimi, she is puzzled by the noise she is hearing, yet she doesn't know the source (which is a distance above her in the tree tops). From her perspective, as related by the speaker, she says:

- (31) *Ju -ma ga-p -il li -il me?*
 what-MD ND-remain-NF.SS cry-CONT MD
 'What is this remaining here and crying?'

Because of the unknown location of the source of the noise, a medial or distal demonstrative might seem appropriate. However, because it is foremost in her thoughts at the moment, that fact is reflected in her thoughts. A free translation might be: 'What is this crying noise?'

In another example from the Basimi story, the noise is brought to centre stage again from the perspective of the storyteller. Since it has been mentioned before, it would seem that a more neutral (medial) demonstrative would be called for, but the storyteller wants to reestablish the prominent role of the noise created by the bamboos rubbing against the tree tops.

- (32) *Tabo wi -yen bu -gi -lil -il ma*
 bamboo ND.p-CNT garamut-ND-scrape-NF.SS MD

w -ul bu -kab gi -lil -il ma
 ND.p-NF.SS garamut-branch ND-scrape-NF.SS MD

w -ul bo -li -di -ma li -il m -e.
 ND.p-NF.SS music-FD.p-FD-MD cry-CONT MD-CT

'These bamboos were scraping the garamut tree and kept on scraping, and the garamut branches kept on scraping the bamboos and it sounded like music.'

Another example from the Basimi story also illustrates the psychological dominating the gestural use. Dumun is bemoaning the fact that although the other men get good food from their wives, his wife, brought to centre stage by a proximal demonstrative (she is no where near the scene), just brings him insects to eat!

(33) *Ñi-ñ neg ga-yen m -e ya palet juwe*
 1s-pos woman ND-CNT MD-CT no:hing insect bad

monag juwe ñi-ba li -m -il m -e.
 insect bad 1s-NT FD.p-eat-CONT MD-CT

‘Concerning this wife of mine, she just (gets) all those bad water insects (and gives me), and I eat them.’

A free translation would be: ‘This wife of mine just brings me horrible bugs to eat--yuk!’

Since the psychological use of the demonstratives seems to overrule the gestural and symbolic uses, it would seem natural that it would also overrule the endophoric use as well. No conclusive statement will be made at this time, since only three examples (all from legend) have been found. The usual encoding of the anaphoric is *mok malis mep* whereas the the cataphoric is *wok wolis wep*. In the examples below, the psychological use of the demonstrative, i.e., a deviation from the usual manifestation, seems to be acting in a similar fashion to the above examples where it overruled the gestural and symbolic. In the following two examples from the story about the ancestor called Mopul, the storyteller is underscoring the presupposition that if Mopul’s mother had not indulged in the evil practices in which she did, he and his people would be better off today. He does this by switching from the medial to the proximal demonstrative in *ma-ga* and *(e)-w-e-p*.

(34) *E -d -odo -p -k -al a ma-ga l -e*
 CT-FD-lose-COMP-put-NF.DS EXP MD-ND FD.p-CT

miña ya m -olok ma-ga e -w -e -p.
 now(NEG) nothing MD-like MD-ND CT-ND.p-CT-remain

‘(All things) lost, and here now they are just like that and remain.’

(35) *Ap-l -e, mom ma -ma mi -ba m -is -ak*
 no -FD.p-CT grandmother MD-MD MD-NT MD-DC-ORG

kaulo ma -ya -ap -k -al mi -ba miña m -olok
 wrong MD-shoot-COMP-put-NF.DS MD-NT now(NEG) MD-like

kaulo ma -ga ma -y -il m -ipa w -e -p.
 wrong MD-ND MD-shoot-NF.SS MD-IACC ND.p-CT-remain

'(But) no, the old woman it was that did wrong from that and now it is that wrong which she did that remains with us.'

The Botin speaker also uses demonstrative combinations to indicate his attitude towards not only the referent, but his (speaker's) perception of the addressee's awareness of the referent as well. In the following example, the demonstrative combination acts as a copula, but also brings the referent from a distant/unknown state to a neutral/known status.

(36) *Soat da -ma.*
 dry.season FD-MD
 'It is the dry season.'

It has been shown that the demonstratives can function referentially or psychologically. Table 2 displays the interaction of the demonstrative pronouns in regard to their psychological load. I believe demonstratives can carry a dual load, but I cannot completely prove it. Using Farr and Whitehead's Combination of Functions matrix (1981-2:76), it is understood that there are nine possibilities for interplay between the referential and psychological uses. As stated previously, when interplay occurs among the demonstratives, the psychological dominates. It is difficult to identify whether interplay is occurring between referential and psychological functions, or that the construction is only encoding a psychological function.

TABLE 2

Nearness	Neutral	Distance
Proximal Singular Demonstrative well known	Medial Singular Demonstrative known	Distal Singular Demonstrative unknown

In an example taken from the Basimi story, Dumun, Basimi's husband is preparing an area in which to kill her.

(37) *S -il ma -aj e -da -ap -k -il*
 DC-NF.SS MD-area CT-make-COMP-put-NF.SS

moñub at m -an -a y -e -k -ap.
 g-string O1 MD-give-INC down-CT-put-COMP

Ma -l -e -w -a m -e. Dumun Basimi
 MD-FD.p-CT-kill-INC MD-CT Dumun Basimi

ga -l -e -w -a m -e.
 ND-FD.p-CT-kill-INC MD-CT

'After he came he made ready the ground by placing his g-string. He was going to kill her. He was going to kill her! (She was on her way to that spot at this time.)'

In this example, the psychological function dominates the referential function in the demonstrative, but both concur in their usage of the medial demonstrative. As Farr and Whitehead point out, there is an area where the psychological and referential uses do not conflict. The area of interplay between referential and psychological functions requires more extensive research.

3. PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS--PARTICIPANT TRACKING

A wise man once said that we all see reality from inside our own heads. Because of this phenomenon, it is impossible to generate a foolproof formula for determining which demonstratives are used for the introduction and reintroduction of participants in Botin. Each speaker has his own motivations for his own choices. However, there do seem to be some general guidelines which will help the analyst in his efforts to understand the use of Botin demonstratives.

In ancestral stories, even major characters are introduced with the medial demonstrative. This is illustrated in the Basimi story. The stage is initially set in the first few sentences about the women gathering eels. Basimi is introduced with the medial demonstrative.

- (38) *Basimi ma -yen ma -ma m -ok li -nin*
 Basimi MD-CNT MD-MD ANA-like FD.p-ACC

m -i -l m -e.
 MD-get-NF.SS MD-CT
 'Basimi was getting eels with them.'

Later on in the story before her husband Dumun is even mentioned by name, he is first referenced by a medial demonstrative.

- (39) *L -ipa ba -ma e -ta -s -il*
 FD.p-IACC clan.house-MD CT-on.top-DC-NF.SS

li -m -a t -al li -t
 FD.p-eat-INC move.around-NF.DS FD.p-O1

m -anu -p -ol l -ipa l -oo ta -s.
 MD-give-COMP-NF.DS FD.p-IACC FD.p-follow on.top-DC

'Having brought food up to the meeting house to eat, Basimi boiled water insects and gave them to him and he took them on up (to the clan house).'

For someone who has heard the story before, this poses no problem. However, it is confusing if one is hearing the story for the first time. But these stories have been told and retold so many times that their content is very well known. This is reflected in the extensive use of the medial demonstrative. Because the people are already familiar with the participants in legends, I am proposing that personal narratives more accurately reflect the typical introduction and reintroduction motif.

In order to demonstrate the manner in which Botin tracks referents, we will consider an entire contemporary narrative text. The text is the story of a man and his daughter who get separated from each other on a food gathering trip into the the bush. After her subsequent rescue by a relative, they are reunited and return to the village. The major participants are the storyteller and his uncle *yob*.

3.1 Major Participant Tracking

The storyteller is referenced by the first person singular pronoun *n̄-: n̄i-ba* (neutral topic), *n̄-e* (control topic), and *n̄i-n̄* (possessive), when referring to himself

or a possession. The *ñi-* form is also used with the postpositions *-el* ‘near’, *-ñe* ‘behind’. Other than the pronouns, he is tracked by same subject non-final verb forms, zero anaphora endings, and head-tail linkage. The other participant is also tracked by non-final verb forms, as is the minor participant, the daughter.

- (40) *Ñi-ñ ya -d -e we da -yi -p -al*
 1s -POS daughter-FD-CT alone FD-down-remain-NF.DS

ñi-ba m -uk wi -m -e.
 1s -NT MD-from ND.p-MD-CT

‘My daughter was sitting over there all by herself and I was going from her..’

- (41) *Ñi-ñ yob ga -yen mi -ba nok s -ap -k -il...*
 1s -POS uncle ND-CNT MD-NT quiet DC-COMP-put-NF.SS

‘Here is my uncle who had silently come and...’

These participants are tracked mainly by deictic devices that introduce participants into the addressee’s active awareness, track the participants in order to keep the addressee aware of participant prominence and position, and to shift the deictic centre.

3.1.1 Introduction and Reintroduction of Participants

The Botin speaker makes his audience aware of a major participant with an introduction that usually includes a noun, proximal singular demonstrative plus topic marker, followed by the medial singular demonstrative plus neutral topic marker. (See example 41). In this story, the uncle is the actual hero of the story which gives him major participant status. He rescues the girl, locates the father, and reunites them.

The daughter is introduced and referenced with a distal singular demonstrative indicating her role as a minor character. Although the speaker constantly relates himself to her, she is, in fact, a minor character. She never says anything and is mostly a reference point about which the story develops. Her young age may also contribute to her minor character status. (But note as will be

stated below, she is brought to centre stage often, not by her own actions, but because the psychological involvement of the storyteller with her).

- (42) *Ñi-ba nai-ñ ya -di -nin*
1s -NT 1s -POS daughter-FD-ACC

lo -da -lu -l di -di -ma s -ap.
meat-FD-look.for-NF.SS bush-FD-MD DC-COMP
'I went with my daughter to the bush to find food.'

Thirteen clauses after his initial introduction, and seven after his previously being mentioned, the uncle *yob* is reintroduced. After initial introductions with the proximal singular demonstrative, major participants are relegated to the more neutral medial singular demonstrative.

- (43) *Ñi-ñ yob ma -yen mi -ba mi -pa -p -k -il...*
1s-POS uncle MD-CNT MD-NT MD-remain-COMP-put-NF.SS
'While my uncle who remained....'

The daughter is reintroduced four times, after intervals of seven, twenty-six, twenty, and eight clauses. Three of those times she is brought back in with a proximal singular demonstrative, indicating psychological nearness. (See 2.2.3.4) The proximal singular demonstrative evidences a strong concern of the storyteller for the welfare of his daughter, somewhere out in the bush by herself.

After seven clauses, she is reintroduced in example (30).

After twenty-six clauses:

- (44) *Ñi-ñ ya -gi -tin -il ma -nin*
1s-POS daughter-ND-get-NF.SS MD-ACC

l -a -wi -s l -e.
FD.p-outside-ND.p-DC FD.p-CT
'He had gotten my dear daughter and come outside there with her.'

After the daughter has been rescued, she is again reintroduced twenty clauses later with medial singular demonstrative.

- (45) *Ñi-ba ya -mi -nil -a t -ap.*
1s -NT daughter-MD-ask-INC move.around-COMP
'I asked him about my daughter.'

Eight clauses later when the storyteller is reunited with his daughter, she is referenced with proximal singular demonstrative again, indicating psychological nearness, as well as physical closeness.

- (46) *Ñi-ba ate nai-ñ ya -g -idu-p -ul...*
 1s -NT ?ate 1s -POS daughter-ND-see-COMP-NF.SS
 'I saw my daughter and...'

3.1.2 Participant Tracking

As mentioned above, the proximal singular demonstrative is used for introducing major participants. The Botin speaker then tracks participants through a discourse, barring any atypical influences, with medial singular demonstrative. By atypical, I mean that the psychological attitude of the speaker toward other participants in the story is reflected by his use of demonstratives and dominates the expected referential forms expected. Any reference other than the medial demonstrative usually indicates a change in status, location, or psychological distance, as perceived by the speaker.

The two instances of "in the road" in the following examples refer to the location of the uncle. First, a proximal singular demonstrative is used, because as he now tells the story, the storyteller knows that the road is close by. However, once introduced, it is then relegated to the medial, i.e. known, status.

- (47) *Ñi-ñ yob ga-yen mi-ba nok*
 1s -POS uncle ND-CNT MD-NT quiet
- s -ap -k -iñ ñ-el dak g -in m -e -p.*
 DC-COMP-put-NF.SS 1s-beside road ND-in MD-CT-remain

'Here is my uncle who had silently come and was in the road near me.'

(48) *Ñi-ñ yob ma-yen mi -ba mi -p -ap -k -il*
 1s-POS uncle MD-CNT MD-NT MD-remain-COMP-put-NF.SS

ma-n ñi-mo, "A, a -s -a ti! Dak
 MD-O2 1s-say EXP outside-DC-INC EXP road

ma-ga ñ-e m -in w -e -p.
 MD-ND 1s-CT MD-in ND.p-CT-remain

'My uncle who remained there told me, "Hey, come out (here)! Here is the road; I'm in it.'"

Ten clauses after the uncle's introduction, six since previously mentioned, he is reintroduced in example (48). The daughter is also tracked with the medial singular demonstrative, with the exceptions of times when the proximal singular demonstrative is used to indicate psychological nearness.

3.1.3 Deictic Centre Shifts

Throughout the story, the point of view is that of the storyteller. In the example below, the storyteller is quoting the uncle who has found the daughter and is relating the news to the storyteller. Here, the deictic centre shifts from the storyteller. Via the direct quote, the uncle briefly becomes the deictic centre. This is indicated by the proximal demonstrative. If the deictic centre had been the storyteller, such a statement would have meant that his daughter was waiting for someone other than the storyteller.

(49) *Wi-s -il -a ga-w -e -p.*
 2s -DC-CONT-INC ND-ND.p-CT-remain
 'She is waiting for you here.'

3.2 Tracking Minor Participants

In this story, the minor participants are inanimate objects that serve as props to move the story along and provide the background for the story. Typically, minor participants are introduced by the distal singular demonstrative and the distal plural demonstrative, and subsequently referenced by either the distal plural demonstrative or the medial singular demonstrative. Any deviance from this pattern reflects a change of perspective on the part of the speaker.

- (50) *Ñi-ba nai-ñ ya -di -nin*
1s-NT 1s -POS daughter-FD-ACC

lo -da-l -ul di -di -ma s -ap.
meat-FD-look.for-NF.SS bush-FD-MD DC-COMP
'I went with my daughter to the bush to find food.'

- (51) *Ñi-ba woa l -a -ap ma-t yi -p -il*
1s-NT sago FD.p-hit-COMP MD-O2 down-remain-NF.SS

[kon] li -n pi-k -ap li -t m-an -a
corn FD.p-O2 fire-put-COMP FD.p-O2 MD-give-INC

yi -ki -p -al li -m -il.
down-put-COMP-NF.DS FD.p-eat-CONT

'I cut down a wild sago tree, and then cooked some corn and gave them to her..'

After being referenced by the distal singular demonstrative in the setting of the story, the bush is referenced by the medial singular demonstrative throughout the rest of the story, with one exception. It is marked with the proximal demonstrative to heighten the emotional pitch of the story.

- (52) *Di -g -in tobunogno e -s ma.*
bush-ND-in dark CT-DC MD
'It was dark here in the bush..'

4. CONCLUSION

The uses of the demonstratives are basically predictable. How a speaker uses the demonstratives is a reflection of his perception of the reality around him and how he feels he fits into that reality.

Botin demonstratives have both referential and psychological functions. Through the demonstratives, the addressee can track the referent geographically (gestural). Though unable to see the referent, the addressee can interpret the relationship of the referent to the speaker (symbolic). He can also determine specifically referenced material in the discourse (endophoric). Additionally, he can interpret the speaker's attitude toward the referent (psychological). Some

demonstratives seem to carry the dual load of indicating both referential and psychological functions.

Botin demonstratives serve as the major cohesive device in the language. In Botin, IT TRULY IS DEIXIS ALL THE WAY DOWN. From conjoining paragraphs and marking discourse topics right on down to the word level, the deictic markers glue the language together.

APPENDIX A

Sample Text

1. *Ñ-e nau-wi -yen a -l -a m -e.* 2. *Soat da-ma ñi-ba*
1s-CT self-ND:p-CNT do-CONT-INC MD-CT dry:season FD-MD 1s-NT

nai -ñ ya -di -nin lo -da -lu -l di -di -ma s -ap.
own-POS daughter-FD-ACC meat-FD-look:for-NF:SS bush-FD-MD DC-COMP

3. *S -il ñi-ba woa l -a -ap ma-t yi -p -il [kon]*
DC-NF:SS 1s-NT wild:sago FD:p-hit-COMP MD-O1 down-remain-NF:SS [corn]

li -n pi -k -ap li -t m -an -a yi -ki -p -al mi -ba
FD:p-O2 fire-put-COMP FD:p-O1 MD-give-INC down-put-remain-NF:DS MD-NT

ñ-ee -yi -p -il li -m -il. 4. *Ma-s -il ñi-ba ma-t*
1s-near-down-remain-NF:SS FD:p-eat-CONT MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT MD-O1

ma -yi -p -il m -uk ma -a t -il bepat
MD-down-remain-NF:SS MD-from MD-INC move:around-NF:SS dry:sago

l -a -l e -s. 5. *L -a -l ma-a t -il dubot*
FD:p-hit-CONT CT-DC FD:p-hit-CONT MD-INC move:around-NF:SS larvae

l -iy -il m -e subog lu -to -p. 6. *Ma-s -il ñi-ba*
FD:p-get-NF:SS MD-CT sago:core FD:p-peel-COMP MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT

ma -t nau-ñe yi -p -il a mu-kulu -p punob
MD-O1 self-behind down-remain-NF:SS EXP MD-surpass-COMP first

ga -s -a e -wi -s l -e. 7. *Ñ-e di -mi -kol s -ap*
ND-DC-INC CT-ND:p-DC FD:p-CT 1s-CT bush-MD-through DC-COMP

da-yen m -olok di -mi-ke top ma. 8. Ma-s -il subog ñ-e
 FD-CNT MD-like bush-MD-move ?top MD MD-DC-NF:SS sago:core 1s-CT

m -olok l -ukuk dak m -in y -ul wi -s dubot l -ukuk
 MD-like FD:p-spill road MD-in down-NF:SS ND:p-DC larvae FD:p-spill

y -o -p miña yo hi -tin-ip -ul waw
 down-?o-COMP now(NEG) down FD:p-get-COMP-NF:SS afternoon

l -e -m -a m -e. 9. Alim d -e aam e -tuw -a mi-m -e
 FD:p-CT-MD-INC MD-CT Sun FD-CT INT CT-go:down-INC MD-MD-CT

di -g -in tobunogno e -s ma. 10. Ma-s -il ñi-ba nai-ñ
 bush-ND-in dark CT-DC MD MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT own-POS

ya -gai-ñ [ting] e -s ma. 11. Ñi-ñ ya -d -e we
 daughter-ND-POS [ting] CT-DC MD 1s -POS daughter-FD-CT alone

da-yi -p -al ñi-ba m -uk wi -m -e. 12. Bi -da -n
 FD-down-remain-NF:DS 1s-NT MD-from ND:p-MD-CT night-FD-O2

e -m -a m -e ma-ma ya ñ-ada lu -l s -il -a
 CT-MD-INC MD-CT MD-MD nothing 1s-to look:for-NF:SS DC-CONT-INC

m -e. 13. Ñ-ada lu -l s -iten ñi-ba da-m m -in
 MD-CT 1s-to look:for-NF:SS DC-F:DS 1s-NT FD-MD MD-F:SS

pakuw-un balup m-ada lu -l -a m -e. 14. Ma-s -il
 arrive -F:SS again MD-to look:for-CONT-INC MD-CT MD-DC-NF:SS

ñi-ñ ya -gi -yen mi-ba we gai-yi -m -e -p.
 1s-POS daughter-ND-CNT MD-NT alone ND-down-MD-CT-remain

15. Ma-s -il nai-ñ ewog ñi-li -il m -e 16. Ma-s -il
 MD-DC-NF:SS own-POS liver 1s-cry-CONT MD-CT MD-DC-NF:SS

ñi-ba miña bitig e -s -al ñ-e paak aam nau-k -ñ
 1s-NT now(NEG) strong CT-DC-NF:DS 1s-CT INT INT self-put-NF:SS

wi -s ma. 17. Si -li -na ñ-i -il mi -m -e ñi-ba
 ND:p-DC MD thing:p-FD:p-?na 1s-shoot-NF:SS MD-MD-CT 1s-NT

miña na -n los e -m -a w -al ap-l -e.
 now(NEG) own-O2 knowledge CT-MD-INC ND:p-NF:DS no-FD:p-CT

18. Ma -s -il ñi-ba ya ba di -mi -yen salip m -oo -kol
 MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT nothing NT bush-MD-CNT quick MD-follow-through

s -il -a t -il nai-ñ si -pilo li -yen m -olok
 DC-CONT-INC move:around-NF:SS own-POS thing:p-all FD:p-CNT MD-like

l -ukuk y -ul ga -s pon yi -l -o wuwon
 FD:p-spill down-NF:SS ND-DC closed:in down-FD:p-lying cane

d -aat. 19. Pon yi -l -o wuwon ma-a
 FD-shoot:COMP closed:in down-FD:p-lying cane MD-INC

t -il ñi-ba naua-n ekaap lado l -oo k -up.
 move:around-NF:SS 1s-NT self -O2 swing:up tree:type FD:p-follow put-COMP

20. Ñ-e ma-n mulo “Ñ-e ko -ap -k -ien lol wa -ñaam
 1s-CT MD-O2 say 1s-CT call-COMP-put-F:DS man creek-big

g -oo -kol s -il -a pa -p -k -in m -e ka -n
 ND-follow-through DC-CONT-INC remain-COMP-put-F:SS MD-CT ear-O2

ñi-luw -a m -e.” 21. Ma -s -il
 1s-hear-INC MD-CT MD-DC-NF:SS

ñi-ba m -oo pa -p d -o ko -ap, “Oi loo-ba
 1s-NT MD-follow remain-COMP FD-?o call-COMP EXP who-NT

m -oo -kol wi -s -e o.” 22. Ma -s -il ñi-ñ yob ga-yen
 MD-follow-through ND:p-DC-CT EXP MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-POS uncle ND-CNT

mi -ba nok s -ap -k -il ñ-el dak g -in m -e -p.
 MD-NT quiet DC-COMP-put-NF:SS 1s-beside road ND-in MD-CT-remain

23. Ñi-ñ ya -gi -tin -il ma -nin l -a -wi -s l -e.
 1s-POS daughter-ND-get-NF:SS MD-ACC FD:p-outside-ND:p-DC FD:p-CT

24. *Ma -s -il ñi-ba d -o ko -ap -k -al mĩ-ba ñikap ñ -el*
 MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT FD-?o call-COMP-put-NF:DS MD-NT later 1s-beside

dak m -in p -ap -k -il d -o ñi-kak, "Wu-ba loo -da?"
 road MD-in remain-COMP-put-NF:SS FD-?o 1s-say:COMP 2s-NT who-FD

25. *Ma -s -il ñi-ba ma -n wulo, "Ñi-ga o, ñ-e dak d -ada*
 MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT MD-O2 say 1s-ND EXP 1s-CT road FD-to

lu -l m -e." 26. *Ma -s -il ñi-ñ yob ma-yen mĩ-ba*
 look:for-CONT MD-CT MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-POS uncle MD-CNT MD-NT

mĩ-pa -p -k -il ma -n ñi-mo, "A, a -s -a ti.
 MD-remain-COMP-put-NF:SS MD-O2 1s-say EXP outside-DC-INC EXP

27. *Dak ma-ga ñ-e m -in w -e -p.* 28. *Wu-ba ya*
 road MD-ND 1s-CT MD-in ND:p-CT-remain 2s-NT nothing

m -ee -p -il ma-ke t -ul m -e." 29. *Ma-s -il*
 MD-near-remain-NF:SS MD-move move:around-CONT MD-CT MD-DC-NF:SS

ñi-ba salip m -ada a -wi -s. 30. *M -ada a -s -il pin*
 1s-NT quick MD-to outside-ND:p-DC MD-to outside-DC-NF:SS stand

ma -n aku -p -il ñi-ba ya -mĩ -ni -l -a
 MD-O2 come:out-COMP-NF:SS 1s-NT daughter-MD-ask-CONT-INC

t -ap. 31. *"Ñi-ñ ya -di -yen?"* 32. *"A ma-ga ñ-e*
 move:around-COMP 1s-POS daughter-FD-CNT EXP MD-ND 1s-CT

ma -ñin ma -nin l -a -wi -s ma. 33. *Wi-s -il -a*
 MD-get:COMP MD-ACC FD:p-outside-ND:p-DC MD 2s-DC-CONT-INC

ga -w -e -p." 34. *Ma -s -il ñi-ba ate m -adu-p -ol m -olok*
 ND-ND:p-CT-remain MD-DC-NF:SS 1s-NT ?ate MD-see-COMP-NF:DS MD-like

ñi-ñ noi ma-yen aam m -is -ak sa -pai e -s. 35. *Ma-s -il*
 1s-POS stomach MD-CNT INT MD-DC-ORG happy-CHAR CT-DC MD-DC-NF:SS

ñi-ñ lo -h -yen, ñi-ba l -iy -il l -ukuk di -di -y -ul
 1s-POS food-FD:p-CNT 1s-NT FD:p-get-NF:SS FD:p-spill bush-FD-down-NF:SS

s -ap ñi-ñ subog ñ-e miña balup s -il yi -l -o
 DC-COMP 1s-POS sago:core 1s-CT now(NEG) again DC-NF:SS down-FD:p-lying

ĩ -tin -ip -al. 36. Ñi-ba ate nai-ñ ya -g -idu-p -ul
 FD:p-get-COMP-NF:DS 1s-NT ?ate own-POS daughter-ND-see -COMP-NF:SS

ñi-ba balup pĩ ma -tin-up -ul m -olok ma -nin bo -s -a
 1s-NT again hold MD-get-COMP-NF:SS MD-like MD-ACC village-DC-INC

e -wi -s. 37. Ma-ma ñi-ñ ni -mi -ma mi -ba m -olok mi -s
 CT-ND:p-DC MD-MD 1s-POS talk-MD-MD MD-NT MD-like MD-DC

pĩ -tin ma.
 hold-get:COMP MD

Free Translation

1. I want to tell a story about me. 2. It was the dry season and I went with my daughter to the bush to find food. 3. Having gone, I cut down a wild sago tree, and then cooked some corn and gave them to her. She sat down near me and was eating them. 4. And so I put her there and from her went to split the dry sago palms. 5. I continued splitting sago and getting beetle larvae and peeled the core of the sago. 6. And so I put her behind me and passed her by and came here first and arrived. 7. Concerning my going through the bush there, I became confused as to where I was. 8. And so I threw down the sago core in the road and came. The larvae I threw down and didn't bring them, and the afternoon was going good (quickly). 9. The sun was going down, going and now it was dark here in the bush. 10. And so I was thinking about my dear daughter. 11. My daughter was sitting over there all by herself and I was going from her. 12. The night will go (now) and it will come find me. 13. It will come and find me and I will go there and go and arrive again there to look for her. 14. And so my dear daughter was sitting all alone here. 15. And so my liver was crying to me. 16. And so I was not strong and I was very truly putting (killing) myself to come back (to get to her). 17. Some things were shooting me, but I did not know it (my knowledge was not going and going), no. 18. And so I came running quickly through the bush there and threw down all my things like that and came here and got all closed in by the tall cane. 19. And being closed in by the cane, I swung myself up and climbed a tree.

20. I said that, "If I call out, and a man is coming this way through the big creek, he will hear me." 21. And so I stayed on top (of the tree) and called out, "Hey, who is coming through there? Oh!" 22. And so here is my uncle who had silently come and was in the road near me. 23. He had gotten my dear daughter and come outside there with her. 24. And so I called and he shortly called to me from the road which was near me, "Who are you?" 25. And so I said that, "Oh! It is I here; I'm looking for the road." 26. And so my uncle who remained there (in the road) told me, "Hey, come out (here)! 27. Here is the road; I'm in it. 28. You are just near to it and confused." 29. And so I hurriedly came outside to him. 30. And I came outside to him and stood there and I asked him about my daughter. 31. "Where is my daughter?" 32. "Oh, here she is. I got her and she came out there to here with me. 33. She is waiting for you here." 34. And so I saw her and like that my stomach was very happy inside. 35. And so all my food (meat) which I had gotten and thrown down in the bush and came back from, and my sago core I didn't go back there and get them. 36. I saw my dear daughter, and held her again and then like that with her came back here to the village and arrived. 37. That is my story. It went like that and remained.

APPENDIX B

Abbreviations

ACC	accompaniment
ANA	anaphoric
CAT	cataphoric
CNT	contrastive topic
CONT	continuous aspect
COMP	completed aspect
CT	control topic
DC	deictic centre
FD	far deictic (distal singular demonstrative)
FD.p	far deictic plural (distal plural demonstrative)
F.SS	future same subject
F.DS	future different subject
IACC	inanimate accompaniment
IMP	imperative
INC	incomplete aspect
INT	intensifier
MD	mid deictic (medial singular demonstrative)
NEG	negative
ND	near deictic (proximal singular demonstrative)

ND.p	near deictic plural (proximal plural demonstrative)
NF.SS	non-future same subject
NF.DS	non-future different subject
NT	neutral topic
O1	oblique 1
O2	oblique 2
ORG	origin
POS	possessive
SO	source
STAT	stative
1s	first person singular
1p.INCL	first person plural inclusive
1p.EXCL	first person plural exclusive
2s	second person singular
2p	second person plural
3s	third person singular
?	morpheme of uncertain meaning

NOTES

1. Botin (Kambot) is a Non-Austronesian language that has been classified by Laycock (1973:38) as a member of the Grass Family of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. It is spoken by approximately 6,500 people living in the Angoram District of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Its phonemes include the following: *a, b, d, e, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, o, p, s, t, u, w, y*. I wish to acknowledge Cindi Farr's assistance in the writing of this paper which was prepared at a grammar workshop conducted by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
2. A more extensive explanation appears in B. Pryor's and C. Farr's article "Botin deictics: go and come (1989)"
3. The *ɨ* morpheme is glossed NF.SS in non-final verbs and CONT in final verbs. This will be explained in a forthcoming paper.
4. At this point in time, a plural medial demonstrative form has not been discovered. It may be that the language is becoming more simplified, or that *m* encodes the medial demonstrative in the plural as well as the singular. Or it may be as Greenberg (Shopen, 1985:270) suggests that "languages commonly make fewer distinctions in the plural numbers than in the singular."

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