THE 'DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES' OF CHANTYAL

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Chantyal language [Tibeto-Burman: Bodic: Bodish: Tamangic] is spoken by about 2000 of the 11,000 ethnic Chantyal in the Myagdi District of west-central Nepal.[1] Chantyal attests a number of Bodic demonstrative etyma, but only members of three sets retain clear demonstrative senses and oppositions based on spatial deixis.[2] In this paper, I will discuss these three sets of demonstratives and, in particular, how demonstratives from different sets can combine to form a construction I will call the 'double demonstrative'.

1. INDEPENDENT DEMONSTRATIVES

The first of these demonstrative oppositional sets I will refer to as the 'independent' set since its members are the only ones which regularly occur alone as independent words. This set contrasts a proximal **cu** with a distal **cə**. These forms may fill grammatical roles such as subject or object independently — i.e. they may be pronominal heads of NPs — or they may be used adnominally to determine and modify nouns. As pronouns, they are often used to translate English third person pronouns, though there are also dedicated third person pronoun forms as well, singular **khi** and plural **thə-ma**, both of which are also based historically on demonstratives though they no longer express spatial deixis. **khi** and **thə-ma** are used almost exclusively with human referents; as pronouns, **cu** and **cə** may have human or non-human referents. In non-deictic pronominal usage, distal **cə** is by far the most common. Some examples follow:

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[2] There are some additional contrasting sets which include members of the three sets discussed in this paper. For example, **cunnə** 'right here' and **cənnə** 'same place', which include 'independent demonstratives' [§1], contrast with **khənnə ~ khyannə** 'right there', which contains a demonstrative element not found in any of the other sets though cognate with the 3s personal pronoun **khi**.

(1)   cə   *bɦuluŋ-ye   sãyesəpət   təy   a-thãy-i*
       that   leopard-GEN   noise   nothing   NEG-know-PERF
       'I wasn't aware of that leopard's noise.' [I3]

(2)   *a::   cu   samra   nə   təy   ta-sere   ley*
       ah   this   thigh   topic nothing become-ANT+NEG+NPST   surprise
       'This thigh had not yet become nothing [*i.e.* it hadn't rotted away]!' [I11]

(3)   cə   *garãwa   mu*
       mu   good   be+ NPST
       'That's nice.'

(4)   *kɦyam-əŋ   bini-ri-wa   yəwta   cini-si-wa   mastər-ra*
       way-LOC   Beni-LOC-NOM   one   know-ANT-NOM   teacher-DAT
       dɦo-si-rə   cə-ye   ligam   lagi-i
       meet-ANT-SEQ   that-GEN   after   follow-PERF
       'On the way, I met a teacher I knew from Beni and followed him.' [G16-7]

2. LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

The next set of demonstratives I'll refer to as the 'locative' set since they are attested only in a small set of locative constructions. This set contrasts a proximal **ca-** and a distal **te-**. They are always found with one of a set of three suffixes:

(5) **ca-ŋ**   'this place, over here'   **te-ŋ**   'that place, over there'
    ca-r   'in this way/direction'   **te-r** 'in that way/direction'
    ca-jam   'this side [of river/gorge]'   **te-jam** 'that side [of river/gorge]'

ca-ŋ and **te-ŋ** are suffixed with a locative case marker of limited distribution and indicate location, either static or dynamic.   **ca-r** and **te-r** contain a form etymologically related to the unmarked locative **-ri**, which has both locational or directional senses, in contrast to the directional sense found in the forms with final **-r:** in this/that way or direction. The morpheme **-jam** is found only with the locative demonstratives.   The forms listed in (5) can be affixed with additional case markers, case compounding being a common process in Chantyal.   Examples follow:

(6)   *ni   te-r   səri-o   sã*
       little   that-LOC   move-IMP   FRUSTRATION
       'Move over a little!'

(7)   ca-ŋ-gəmsə   te-ŋ   ɦya-ro
       this-LOC-ABL   that-LOC   go-IMP
       'Go there from here.'

(8)   te-jam-wa   sirkhərkə
       that-side-NOM   Sirkharka
       'the Sirkharka on the far side of the river'

EXAMPLE (8) illustrates the use of the nominalizer -wa in forming attributive constructions.[3]

The independent demonstratives also form locative constructions, e.g. with the locative case marker -rɨ: cu-rɨ 'here' and cə-rɨ 'there'. These forms have both locational and directional senses and thus can be used in place of either ca-ŋ and te-ŋ or ca-r and te-r. All three sets are idiomatic and are found frequently in discourse, with the forms containing the locative set preferred when there is a felt need to emphasize locational or directional senses.

3. PREFIXAL DEMONSTRATIVES

The last set of demonstratives will be referred to as the 'prefixal' set. The prefixal demonstratives form a three-way deictic opposition: proximal yɨ-, distal ɦa-, and remote wu-. As the name implies, the prefixal set are found prefixed onto other forms.[4] There is a limited set of forms to which the prefixal demonstratives can be attached. Some of these forms are illustrated in (9):

(9)   yɨ-sər   'this way/manner'   yɨ-ddyo   'this big'
       ɦə-sər   'that way/manner'   ɦə-ddyo   'that big'
       wu-sər   'that way/manner'   wu-ddyo   'that [over there] big'
       yɨ-jəgər   'this much [quantity]'   yɨ-jjyajyar   'this much [volume]'
       ɦə-jəgər   'that much [quantity]'   ɦə-jjyajyar   'that much [volume]'
       yɨ-tu   'up here'   yɨ-məŋ   'down here'
       ɦə-tuŋ   'up there'   ɦə-məŋ   'down there'
       wu-tuŋ   'up there yonder'   wu-məŋ   'down there yonder'
       yɨ-tor   'to up here'   yɨ-mar   'to down here'
       ɦə-tor   'to up there'   ɦə-mar   'to down there'
       wu-tor   'to up there yonder'   wu-mar   'to down there yonder'

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[3] See Noonan (1997) for discussion.

[4] Proximal yɨ- is cognate with yɨ 'right here', a form that can be used independently. I've recorded some instances of the other prefixal demonstratives being used in similar ways, though yɨ is the only one that occurs frequently and that all speakers seem to agree is an independent word.

The final /r/ in these forms is etymologically related to locative -ri, and the final /ŋ/ to the non-productive locative -ŋ. **yi-ddyo** 'this big' and *ɦə-ddyo* 'that big' contain the adjective **thya-wa** 'big': the allomorph *-ddyo* is found only in this construction. Some of the roots above — -sər 'manner, kind', -jəgər 'quantity', and -jjyajyar 'volume' — either mostly or always occur with the prefixal demonstratives. A few examples of the prefixal set follow:

(10) **ɦə-sər**   *lə-o*
      DISTAL-manner do-IMP
      'Do it that way!'

(11) **yi-sər-wa**   *jəŋəl*
      PROXIMAL-manner-NOM forest
      'this sort of forest' [V35]

(12) *ta-i*   *nə*   **ɦə-jəgər**   *nə*   *bɦi-lanə*
      become-PERF TOPIC DISTAL-quantity TOPIC say-COND
      'If I say that much, it's enough.' [W49]

(13) **wu-tu-ŋ**   *dɦuŋ-ra-wa*   *yinəni*   *thu-la*   *kham* *mu-ẽ,*
      REMOTE-up-LOC tree-LOC-NOM bitter.apple pick-COND be.able be-NPST.Q
      a-kham   *mu*
      NEG-be.able be-NPST
      'Can you pick the bitter apple on the tree up yonder, or can't you?'

4. DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES:

Of special interest to us here is the fact that the prefixal set can be attached to both the independent and locative demonstratives, resulting in forms which I will refer to as 'double' demonstratives. The following double demonstratives have been recorded with the independent demonstratives as the second element:

(14)   *cu*   *'this'*   *cə*   *'that'*
      yi-cu   PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL   **yi-cə**   PROXIMAL-DISTAL
      ɦə-cu   DISTAL-PROXIMAL   **ɦə-cə**   DISTAL-DISTAL
                                            wu-cə   REMOTE-DISTAL

The following double demonstratives have been recorded with the locative demonstratives as the second element:

(15) *ca-ŋ*   *'this place, over here'*   *te-ŋ*   *'that place, over there'*
      yi-ca-ŋ   PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL
      ɦə-ca-ŋ   DISTAL-PROXIMAL   **ɦə-te-ŋ**   DISTAL-DISTAL
                                              wu-te-ŋ   REMOTE-DISTAL

ca-r	'in this way/direction'	*te-r*	in that way/direction'
yi-ca-r	PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL		
fiə-ca-r	DISTAL-PROXIMAL	**fiə-te-r**	DISTAL-DISTAL
		wu-te-r	REMOTE-DISTAL

ca-jam	'this side [of river/gorge]'	*te-jam*	'that side [of river/gorge]'
yi-ca-jam	PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL		
fiə-ca-jam	DISTAL-PROXIMAL	**fiə-te-jam**	DISTAL-DISTAL
		wu-te-jam	REMOTE-DISTAL

The combination proximal-distal has been recorded only in *yi-cə*; the better attested combinations are:

(16)   PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL
          DISTAL-PROXIMAL   DISTAL-DISTAL
                                                   REMOTE-DISTAL

5. FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES

Before discussing the uses of the double demonstratives, we need to discuss the functions of demonstratives generally and in the context of the grammar of Chantyal.

First, it should be noted that Chantyal has no articles, per se. Nonetheless, the category of definiteness is as central to the syntax of Chantyal as it is to languages with articles: it is simply that definiteness is manifested through a variety of other lexical, morphological, and syntactic devices, one of which is the category of demonstratives.

Definiteness is part of what is signaled by demonstratives, except in a few special cases.[5] However, forms labeled 'demonstrative' typically have an additional deictic sense, generally assumed to be spatial deixis in its most basic meaning, though commonly transposed to other cognitive domains.[6]

Himmelman (1996) proposes the following four major types of uses for demonstratives:

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[5]   As, for example, the well-known 'new-specific' sense of English *this*.

[6]   But see Laury (1996) who argues that the meanings of demonstratives are not based on spatial deixis, but rather are based on mutual access to referents for speakers in ongoing talk. Note that some forms in paradigmatic relationship with more prototypical demonstratives [*e.g.* French *ce/cette*] are neutral with regard to spatial deixis.

(17)

- SITUATIONAL USE: This involves reference to some entity present in the speech situation. It requires a 'deictic center' [usually the speaker in the utterance situation, though various sorts of displacement are possible] and serves to establish an entity in the universe of discourse.
- DISCOURSE DEICTIC USE: This involves reference to the discourse itself, to propositions, or to events noted in the discourse, and serves to establish such references in the discourse.
- TRACKING USE: This involves reference to entities already established in the discourse and serves to help the hearer keep track of them.
- RECOGNITIONAL USE: This involves reference to an entity that is to be identified by specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational cues or reference to preceding discourse. Unlike other uses, this one is only adnominal, not pronominal.

These four use-categories can be exemplified in Chantyal by the independent demonstratives, as in the following sentences:

SITUATIONAL
(18) cə   *kitab kɦə-o*   *sɔ̃*
      that book bring-IMP FRUSTRATION
      'Bring me that book!' [said with a gesture toward the book]

DISCOURSE DEICTIC
(19) *purkha-ye*   *rəkəm*   *pir-ji.*   cə-ye   *lesəŋ cu chərə-wa*
      forefather-GEN   occupation   let.loose-PERF that-GEN back   this this.way-NOM *ta-i*
      become-PERF
      'Our forefather's occupation was abandoned. After that, it became like this.'

(20) *cater cu nisap syal-sə*   *ɦə-sər*   *la-si-rə*   *nisap la-i*
      then this justice jackal-ERG that-manner do-ANT-SEQ justice do-PERF
      'So, the jackal administered justice in this way, and he administered justice.'
      cater cu *cãy*   *kətha chin-ji*
      then   this aforementioned   story finish-PERF
      'This story is finished.' [P418-20]

TRACKING
(21) *yəwta syal   mu-si-m*   *ro*
      one   jackal be-ANT-NPST INFERENCE
      'Once there was a jackal.'
      cə   **syal** *nə   nɦaka   ca-wa   pəlki-si-wa   ɦin-si-m*
      that jackal TOPIC chicken eat-NOM lust-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST
      'That jackal loved to eat chickens.' [J1-2]

(22) gāw-ri-wa   pərdhan rə Hitman bhiyanā-ru   Kadmandu-r|
      village-LOC-NOM mayor   and Hitman brother.in.law-COM Kathmandu-L|
      hya-wa bhi-si-rə   phara-i
      go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ walk-PERF
      'With the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, I walked to Kathmandu.|
      ...
      phərki   kha-wa-khi   nə   cu-ma nə   hare-ma
      return-PERF come-NOM-COTEMP TOPIC this-PL TOPIC be.NEG-IMPF
      'When I returned, they weren't there.' [G4, 11-2]

RECOGNITIONAL
(23) cə byala-ri sāllay-ye   səsura   cə dwari-ri-wa
      that time-LOC 3rd.brother-GEN father.in.law that Dwari-LOC-NOM
      gəme-ye baje   tarik-wala
      Game-GEN grandfather date-person
      'At that time third brother's father-in-law, that Game from Dwari, his
      grandfather [was a] court-date-person.' [K13]

With regard to situational use, it was noted in (13) that various sorts of
displacement are possible. One sort, which I will refer to simply as 'narrative
displacement',[7] involves a shift from the actual situation of the utterance to
the temporal and physical setting of the narrative itself, wherein the speaker
pretends that the narrated events are happening right in front of the speaker
and the audience. This shift need not be complete, but can be done in varying
degrees. When engaged in performing a narrative in which such a shift has
taken place, the narrator may employ gestures and so on to reinforce the sense
of direct involvement in the narrative action. In (20), the speaker has already
described how he has come upon the carcass of a wild goat while he was
walking in the mountains: he now shifts the deictic center to himself at the
scene of discovery.

(24) a:: cu samra nə   təy   ta-sere   ley
      ah this thigh TOPIC nothing become-ANT+NEG+NPST surprise
      'This thigh had not yet become nothing!'

      gəjjab-ri-wa   sya mu   ley
      nice-LOC-NOM meat be+NPST surprise
      'Wow, it is good meat!' [I10-1]

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[7] This is referred to by Himmelmann (1996:222) as Deixis am Phantasma and by Lyons
(1977:579) as 'deictic projection'.

His tone, his gestures, and his use of the non-past tense reinforce this shift. Such shifts can also be partial, as in (21) where the speaker uses a proximal demonstrative and hand gestures to indicate the degree of swelling:

(25)   **yĭ-sǝr-wa**   *sãra-ysi-wa*   *mu-õ*   *nu*
       this-manner-NOM   swell-ANT-NOM   be-IMPF   REMINDER
       'It had swelled like this [demonstrating].' [I85]

6. FUNCTIONS OF THE DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES

The functions of the double demonstratives can be accommodated within the set of demonstrative uses presented in (13). Our discussion will be based primarily on the double demonstratives consisting of the prefixal set and the independent set. Those consisting of the prefixal+locative double demonstratives are, in any case, much less frequently attested in my text sample and, within the constraints imposed by their meanings, seem amenable to the same sort of analysis as the prefixal+independent double demonstratives.

The simplest and least interesting use of the double demonstratives involves the prefixal remote demonstrative **wu-**. Since only the prefixal demonstratives express a three-way spatial PROXIMAL-DISTAL-REMOTE contrast, prefixal **wu-** is used with the other two sets to supply the missing remote sense. Sentences (22) and (23) illustrate this usage:

(26)   *na* **wu-cǝ**   *cǝwtaro*   *pipǝl-ra*   *sori-m*
       I   yonder-that resting.place pipal-DAT ask-NPST
       'I will ask yonder resting place pipal tree.' [P195]

(27)   *canǝ* **wu-te-ŋ**   *mu-wã*
       then yonder-that.place-LOC be-IMPF
       'Then we were at that place over there.' [P309]

In double demonstrative constructions, the remote prefix **wu-** has only been attested with distal members of the other two sets, as one might expect based on its meaning and function.

Of greater interest are the other attested double demonstrative combinations. In the subsections that follow, I'll present a list of the most common uses.

6.1 The 'tracking + situational' use

A common use to which these constructions are put is one in which the speaker makes separate situational and tracking references to the same entity.

In such cases, the prefixal demonstrative signals the tracking function and the demonstrative to which it is prefixed marks the situational reference. As an example of how this works, consider the dialog in (24):

(28) a. X: *dɦuŋ-ra cəri-wa-khi*   cu korsili *pin-o*
              tree-LOC climb-NOM-COTEMP this basket give-IMP
              'When I climb on the tree, give me this basket.'

      b. Y: *khənnə*   ɦə-cə
              which.one that-that
              'Which one? That one?'

      c. X: ɦə-cu
              that-this
              'This one.'

In (24a), speaker X uses the independent demonstrative cu to identify a particular basket out of a set. Speaker Y isn't sure which one X is referring to and points to a basket while saying DISTAL-DISTAL ɦə-cə. X responds with DISTAL-PROXIMAL ɦə-cu.

The function of ɦə- in (24b) and (24c) is to indicate that the reference to the basket is already established in the discourse: in other words, ɦə- is being used in its tracking function. cə in (24b) and cu in (24c) are being used situationally, *i.e.* to identify specific referents in the physical environment. In the English translation to (24b), we could have 'Is that the basket?', where *that* is exophoric [*i.e.* situational] and *the basket* is anaphoric [*i.e.* tracking]. In Chantyal expressions like ɦə-cə, the exophoric and anaphoric functions are invested in separate demonstratives, although either component could, under other circumstances, be used either exophorically or anaphorically.

Another example can be found in (25):

(29) 340. *khəy   bura   khor*
            where old.man trap
            '"Where, old man, is the trap?"'

      341. *bɦi-i*
            say-PERF
            'he [the jackal] said.'

      342. *yi* ɦə-cu   *khor*
            here that-this trap
            '"This, this is the trap."'

      343. *yi   ɦin   khor*
            here be.NPST trap
            '"Here it is, the trap,"'

344. *bɦi-i*   *nə*
     say-COTEMP TOPIC
     'When they said this,'

345. *canə* fiə-cu   **khor-ri** *nɦe*   *bɦuluŋ*
     then   that-this trap-LOC be.NPST.Q leopard
     'Then: "You were in this trap, leopard?"'

...

349. *bɦuluŋ-sə*   ə̃ə̃ na fiə-cu   **khor-ri** *thuni-si*
     leopard-ERG yes I that-this trap-LOC restrain-ANT
     ni-si-wa   *ɦin*
     happen-ANT-NOM be.NPST
     'the leopard said: "Yes, I was shut in this trap."' [P340-5, 349]

In this portion of the discourse, the initial reference to *trap* is in (340). Subsequent references in (342), (345), and (349) all employ DISTAL-PROXIMAL fiə-cu, with the distal prefixal demonstrative fiə- signaling that the referent is established in discourse, and the proximal independent demonstrative cu providing the situational proximal sense in the context of the story.

6.2 The 'summary' use

In the 'tracking + situational' use, the tracking function might almost be translated as 'aforementioned': this *aforementioned* trap. This sense comes to the fore in the 'summary' use of the double demonstratives. In this use, the DISTAL-DISTAL combination fiə-cə is used to signal the completion of a process of listing, being used in clauses that wind up or summarize such lists. In (26), we have an example of this sort of use:

(30) a. *timmər pəni ni   thəri thəri ta-m*
         timur   also little kind kind become-NPST
         'There are also a few kinds of timur.'[8]

     b. *yewta boke timmər   ta-m*
         one   buck mushroom become-NPST
         'One is buck timur.'

     c. *ākhe timmər   bɦi-wa*
         eye mushroom say-NOM
         'Eye timur, for example,'

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8   This plant [*Xanthoxylem acanthopodium* & *X. alatum*], the fruits and fruit-husks of which are used in cooking, is related to the Sichuan pepper.

d.   *silte   timmər bɦi-wa*
      hopping timur   say-NOM
      'hopping timur, for example,'

e.   *rə   ɦə-cə   timmər-ma nɦi-sə   ca-m*
      and that-that timur-PL   we-ERG   eat-NPST
      'and those kinds of timur we eat.'

The narrator was describing to me the kinds of timur the Chantyal people use. In the final clause (26e), having already listed the kinds of timur, she sums up the list.   Had she said **cə timmər-ma**, using only the independent demonstrative, the reference (26e) could have been interpreted as referring only to the last sort of timur mentioned in the list.   By using the double demonstrative, she clearly indicated she was summarizing the whole list in this reference.

    Another short example of this use can be found in (27):

(31) a.   *phapər*
            buckwheat
            'Buckwheat.'

      b.   *phapər   yewta ənnə ɦin*
            buckwheat one   grain be+NPST
            'Buckwheat is a grain.'

      c.   *phapər   pəni phara-si-rə*
            buckwheat also grind-ANT-SEQ
            'We also grind buckwheat, and'

      d.   *phara ta-m*
            flour become-NPST
            'it becomes flour.'

      e.   *ɦə-sər-wa   ɦə-cə   phara khyaŋ kar-si-rə   pəni*
            that-manner-NOM   that-that flour bread put-ANT-SEQ also
            'In that way, that flour makes panbread also, and'

      f.   ca-m
            eat-NPST
            'we eat it.' [Q235-40]

Here **ɦə-cə** is used to wind up a description, in this case of a process.

6.3 Double demonstratives with proximal yi-

    The 'tracking + situational' use and the 'summary' use both involve distal ɦə- as the first element.   Double demonstratives with proximal **yi-** also exist,

though these signal meanings that are very different from those signaled by distal *ɦə-*: with proximal *yi-* as the first element, double demonstratives invariably have a purely situational use in the context of the narrative; that is, they never have a tracking function, unlike proximal *yi-* or proximal *cu* could have when used independently. The double demonstrative *yi-cu*, then, is used only with new mentions of referents. Moreover, these new mentions tend not to become established as referents in discourse: they are peripheral characters or props in the context of the whole narrative.

An example can be found in (28):

(32) a. *rə   na-sə   mastər ta-si-rə*
      and I-ERG   teacher become-ANT-SEQ
      'And I, having become a teacher,'

    b. *təmam   mənchi jəmməy nə-i-gəmsə   pas ta-si-rə*
      whole   person   all   I-GEN-ABL   pass become-ANT-SEQ
      'one and all, all people got a pass from my efforts, and'

    c. *ɦya-i*
      go-PERF
      'left.'

    d. *tɦokhər nə-i kancha   pəni na-sə pərə-ysi-wa   ɦin*
      now   I-GEN youngest.brother also I-ERG teach-ANT-NOM be.NPST
      'Now, I have also taught my youngest brother.'

    e. *yi-cu   bebi-ma-ra   pəni jəmməy pərə-ysi-wa   nə   ɦin*
      this-this baby-PL-DAT also all   teach-ANT-NOM TOPIC be.NPST
      'These babies, I have also taught all of them.'

    f. *jəmməy pərə-ysi-wa   mənchi-wã mu*
      all   teach-ANT-NOM person-PL be.NPST
      'They are all people whom I taught.'

    g. *nə-ye jəmməy*
      I-GEN all
      'My... all....'

    h. *dwita mastər nə   mu*
      two   teacher TOPIC be.NPST
      'There are two teachers.'

    i. *tinta dwita cɦame   yewta hedmastər*
      three two   daughter one   headmaster
      'Three, two daughters... a headmaster... [were my students.]' [U110-8]
      [Three people presently teaching were his students: his daughter, his
      niece, and the headmaster of the local school.]

In (28e), the double demonstrative is used to refer to the children who had gathered around listening to the narrator tell his life story: the reference is clearly situational. The reference to the children does not persist in the discourse: in saying (28f), the speaker gestured around the courtyard taking in not just the children, but also the adults — some of whom were fellow teachers — who had stopped by to listen to his story. As one further example, consider (29), which includes a very typical use of PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL yi-cu:

(33)   *məŋ   cə   thar-ye khuri-sə yi-cu-mar cə*
       down that goat-GEN hoof-INST this-CIRC   that
       ləcchari-wa-nñari pño-i   tə
       rub-NOM-INES   take+away-PERF FACT
       'Down there, that goat hoof was rubbing me right here as I carried it.' [I41]

This sentence is part of a discourse in which the speaker is talking about carrying a wild goat carcass. When he reaches this part of the narration, he points to the part of his body which was being rubbed by the goat hoof. That is, the reference, though embedded in a discourse about the past, is situational and is accompanied by a gesture. This gestural component is typical of the uses of **yi-cu**.[9]

The PROXIMAL-DISTAL combination **yi-cə** is barely attested in my corpus of over 6000 clauses.[10] On the analogy of the other double demonstratives, in the **yi-cə** combination, proximal **yi-** should signal situational use and new mention and **cə** distal deixis. Since PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL **yi-cu** is not rare, it is not immediately clear why **yi-cə**, and all the other PROXIMAL-DISTAL combinations, should be so uncommon. Of the two recorded instances, the example in (30) is the clearest in sense and corresponds, more-or-less, to the expected meaning of the combination:

(34)   a.   *cannə   cə   kəpal-ra   khāra-i*
            then   that   head-DAT   singe-PERF
            'Then I singed the head.' [to remove the hair]

       b.   *khāra-i*
            singe-PERF
            'I singed it.'

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9   See MacNeil, Cassell & Levy for a discussion of how narrative displacement can be accompanied by a pointing gesture in the same manner as demonstratives anchored in the speech situation.
10   Other PROXIMAL-DISTAL combinations have not been recorded at all and my attempts to elicit them have not been successful.

c.   *yi-cu-mar*   *yek kəptyara* ɔ̃ɔ̃ **yi-cə**   *la-si-rə*
      this-this-CIRC one portion   uh this-that do-ANT-SEQ
      'Around here I did one piece [of the head, which had been quartered],'

d.   *tin*   *kəptyara* *la-si-rə*
      three portion   do-ANT-SEQ
      'and I did three pieces,'

e.   *yi-cu-ri*   *jɦuntə-i*
      this-this-LOC hang-PERF
      'and I hung them right here.' [I74-8]

This example contains two instances of PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL **yi-cu**, both of which are typical in that they are both new mentions accompanied by gestures: in (30c), the speaker points to the part of his head that would correspond to the part of the goat's head that he had singed, and in (30e) he moves his hands as though hanging something. PROXIMAL-DISTAL **yi-cə** in (30c) is similar in that it, too, is accompanied by hand gestures, indicating how the singeing was done. Distal **cə** is presumably anaphoric, referring to the earlier mentions of singeing in (30a) and (30b). So, PROXIMAL-DISTAL **yi-cə** combines situational use from the **yi-** component with the tracking sense of **cə**. Perhaps it is the combination of **yi-**, which favors new-mention interpretations, and **cə**, which favors anaphoric interpretations, that accounts for the rarity of the combination.

7. SUMMARY

The uses of the double demonstratives are summed up in (31):
(35)

REMOTE **wu-** USE	*wu-cə* *wu-te-ŋ* etc.	supplies remote sense for independent and locative demonstratives
TRACKING + SITUATIONAL USE	*ɦə-cu* *ɦə-cə*	combines tracking and situational senses
SUMMARY USE	*ɦə-cə*	signals completion of process of listing
SITUATIONAL + NEW MENTION	*yi-cu* etc.	typically accompanied by gestures
SITUATIONAL + ANAPHORIC	*yi-cə*	rare

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INES	inessive
ANT	anterior	INST	instrumental
CIRC	circumlative	NEG	negative
COM	comitative	NOM	nominalization
COMP	comparative	NPST	non-past
COND	conditional	OPT	optative
COTEMP	cotemporal	PERF	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	PROG	progressive converb
ESS	essive	Q	interrogative
IMP	imperative	SEQ	sequential converb
IMPF	past imperfective	TEMP	temporal case

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