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 ca. 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 adnominaly 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 ca may have human or non-human referents. In non-deictic pronominal usage, distal ca is by far the most common. Some examples follow:

¹ Work on Chantyal has been supported by the National Science Foundation, grant No. DBC-9121114. See Noonan (1996), Noonan (2000), Noonan et al (1999) and references cited there for additional information about the Chantyal people and their language. Textual material is from Noonan et al (1999) and Noonan & Bhulanja (to appear). I would like to thank Ram Prasad Bhulanja for discussing with me some of the issues presented in this paper.
² There are some additional contrasting sets which include members of the three sets discussed in this paper. For example, cnnə ‘right here’ and cənna ‘same place’, which include ‘independent demonstratives’ [§1], contrast with khənna ~ khynna ‘right there’, which contains a demonstrative element not found in any of the other sets though cognate with the 3s personal pronoun khi.
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  səŋ
    little that-LOC move-IMP FRUSTRATION
    ‘Move over a little!’
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(7) ca-n-gamsə   te-n    fiya-ro
    this-LOC-ABL  that-LOC   go-IMP
    ‘Go there from here.’

(8) te-jam-wa     sirkharka
    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 -rl: cu-rl ‘here’ and ca-rl ‘there’. These forms have both locational and directional senses and thus can be used in place of either ca-n and te-n 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 yi-, distal fiə-, 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) yi-sar          ‘this way/manner’       yi-ddyo        ‘this big’
    fiə-sar         ‘that way/manner’       fiə-ddyo        ‘that big’
    wu-sar          ‘that way/manner’       wu-ddyo        ‘that [over there] big’
    yi-jjarar       ‘this much [quantity]’    yi-jjyyajjar    ‘this much [volume]’
    fiə-jjarar      ‘that much [quantity]’    fiə-jjyyajjar    ‘that much [volume]’
    yi-tu           ‘up here’               yi-mət          ‘down here’
    fiə-tu�          ‘up there’           fiə-mət          ‘down there’
    wu-tu�           ‘up there yonder’       wu-mət          ‘down there yonder’
    yi-tor          ‘to up here’           yi-mar          ‘to down here’
    fiə-tor        ‘to up there’            fiə-mar        ‘to down there’
    wu-tor        ‘to up there yonder’       wu-mar        ‘to down there yonder’

³ See Noonan (1997) for discussion.
⁴ Proximal yi- is cognate with yi ‘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 yi is the only one that occurs frequently and that all speakers seem to agree is an independent word.
The final /t/ in these forms is etymologically related to locative -ri, and the
final /n/ to the non-productive locative -ŋ. yi-ddyo ‘this big’ and ḥa-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’, -
jaŋar ‘quantity’, and -jiyajyar ‘volume’ — either mostly or always occur with
the prefixal demonstratives. A few examples of the prefixal set follow:

(10) ḥə-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  ḥa-jaŋar  nə  bhi-lanə
become-PERF  TOPIC  DISTAL-quantity  TOPIC  say-COND
‘If I say that much, it’s enough.’ [W49]

(13) wu-tuŋ  dhunŋ-ra-wa  yinəni  thu-la  kham  mu-ə,
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’
    yi-cu  PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL
    ʔa-cu  DISTAL-PROXIMAL
    ‘that’
    yi-ɛə  PROXIMAL-DISTAL
    ʔa-ɛə  DISTAL-DISTAL
    wu-ɛə  REMOTE-DISTAL

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

(15) caŋ  ‘this place, over here’
    yi-caŋ  PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL
    ʔa-caŋ  DISTAL-PROXIMAL
    teŋ  ‘that place, over there’
    yi-teŋ  DISTAL-DISTAL
    ʔa-teŋ  REMOTE-DISTAL
    wu-teŋ
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ca-r</th>
<th>‘in this way/direction’</th>
<th>te-r</th>
<th>‘in that way/direction’</th>
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<tr>
<td>yi-ca-r</td>
<td>PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL</td>
<td>fiə-te-r</td>
<td>DISTAL-DISTAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>fiə-ca-r</td>
<td>DISTAL-PROXIMAL</td>
<td>wu-te-r</td>
<td>REMOTE-DISTAL</td>
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ca-jam ‘this 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-ca; 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. 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.

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) ca kitab khao sã
that book bring-IMP FRUSTRATION
'Bring me that book!' [said with a gesture toward the book]

DISCOURSE DEICTIC

(19) purkha-ye rakom pir-ji. ca-ye lesãŋ cu chara-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 syl-sa ho-sar la-si-ra 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 katha chin-ji
then this aforementioned story finish-PERF
'This story is finished.' [P418-20]

TRACKING

(21) yawta syl mu-si-m ro
one jackal be-ANT-NPST INERENCE
'Once there was a jackal.'
ca syl nã nhaka ca-wa pãlki-si-wa hin-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 rè Hitman bhyanā-ru Kadmandu-ra village-LOC-NOM mayor and Hitman brother.in.law-COM Kathmandu-LOC hiya-wa bhī-si-rə phara-i go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ walk-PERF
‘With the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, I walked to Kathmandu.
...
pharki kha-wa-khi nə cu-ma nə hāre-ma return-PERF come-NOM-COTEMP TOPIC this-PL TOPIC be.NEG-IMPF
‘When I returned, they weren’t there.’ [G4, 11-2]

RECOGNATIONAL
(23) cə byala-ri sāllay-ye səsura cə dwari-ri-wa that time-LOC 3rd.brother-GEN father.in.law that Dwari-LOC-NOM game-ye baqe 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 tay ta-sere ley ah this thigh TOPIC nothing become-ANT+NEG+NPST surprise
‘This thigh had not yet become nothing!’
gajjab-ri-wa sya mu ley nice-LOC-NOM meat be+NPST surprise
‘Wow, it is good meat!’ [110-1]

\(^7\) 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) yi-sar-wa sāra-ysi-wa mu-ō 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-cə cəwtaro pipal-ra sori-m
    I yonder-that resting.place pipal-DAT ask-NPST
    ‘I will ask yonder resting place pipal tree.’  [P195]

(27) cara wu-te-ŋ mu-wā
    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: \textit{dhuny-ra cari-wa-khi cu korsili pin-o}  
\textit{tree-LOC climb-NOM-COTEMP this basket give-IMP}  
\textit{‘When I climb on the tree, give me this basket.’}  

b. Y: \textit{khanna ha-ca}  
\textit{which-one that-that}  
\textit{‘Which one? That one?’}  

c. X: \textit{ha-ca}  
\textit{that-this}  
\textit{‘This one.’}

In (24a), speaker X uses the independent demonstrative \textit{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 \textit{ha-ca}. X responds with DISTAL-PROXIMAL \textit{ha-cu}.

The function of \textit{ha-} in (24b) and (24c) is to indicate that the reference to the basket is already established in the discourse: in other words, \textit{ha-} is being used in its tracking function. \textit{ca} in (24b) and \textit{cu} in (24c) are being used situationally, \textit{i.e.} to identify specific referents in the physical environment. In the English translation to (24b), we could have ‘Is that the basket?’, where \textit{that} is exophoric [\textit{i.e.} situational] and \textit{the basket} is anaphoric [\textit{i.e.} tracking]. In Chantyal expressions like \textit{ha-ca}, 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. \textit{khay bura khor}  
\textit{where old.man trap}  
\textit{‘Where, old man, is the trap?’}  

341. \textit{bhi-i}  
\textit{say-PERF}  
\textit{‘he [the jackal] said.’}  

342. \textit{yi ha-cu khor}  
\textit{here that-this trap}  
\textit{‘This, this is the trap.’}  

343. \textit{yi hin khor}  
\textit{here be.NPST trap}  
\textit{‘Here it is, the trap.’}
344. bhi-i  nə
    say-COTEMP  TOPIC
    'When they said this,'

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

...  

349. bhulunj-sə  əsə  na  fiə-cu  khor-ri  thuni-si
    leopard-ERG  yes  I  that-this  trap-LOC  restrain-ANT
    ni-si-wa  fiin
    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. timmar  pəni  ni  thərι  thərι  ta-m
    timur  also  little  kind  kind  become-NPST
    'There are also a few kinds of timur.'

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

    c. åkhe  timmar  bhi-wa
    eye  mushroom  say-NOM
    'Eye timur, for example,'

8 This plant [Xanthoxylum acanthopodium & X. alatum], the fruits and fruit-husks of which are used in cooking, is related to the Sichuan pepper.
d. *silte timmar bhi-wa*
   hopping timur say-NOM
   ‘hopping timur, for example,’

e. *ra fiə-cə timmar-ma nhi-so 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 *ca timmar-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 annə fiin*
   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. *fiə-sər-wa fiə-cə phara khyən 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 *fiə-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 *fiə-* as the first element. Double demonstratives with proximal *yi-* also exist,
though these signal meanings that are very different from those signaled by distal *na*-: 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. _ra na-sə maʃər ta-si-rə_
    and I-ERG  teacher become-ANT-SEQ
   ‘And I, having become a teacher,’

b. _təməm mənchi jəmməy na-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. _fiya-i_
   go-PERF
   ‘left.’

d. _təkəhəɾ na-i kancha pənə na-sə pəɾə-ysi-wə fiən_
   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-maɾə pənə jəmməy pəɾə-ysi-wə na fiən_
   this-this baby-PL-DAT also all teach-ANT-NOM TOPIC be.NPST
   ‘These babies, I have also taught all of them.’

f. _jəmməy pəɾə-ysi-wə mənchi-wə mə mu_
   all teach-ANT-NOM person-PL be.NPST
   ‘They are all people whom I taught.’

g. _na-ye jəmməy_
   I-GEN all
   ‘My... all....’

h. _dwiɾə maʃəɾ na mə mu_
   two teacher TOPIC be.NPST
   ‘There are two teachers.’

i. _tinta dwiɾə chame yewta hedmaʃər_
   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:

\[(33) \, məŋ \, cə \, thar-ye \, khuri-sə \, yi-cu-μar \, cə\]
\[\text{down that goat-GEN hoof-INST this-CIRC that}\]
\[loccari-wa-nhəri \, pho-ı \, tə\]
\[rub-NOM-INES take+away-PERF FACT\]

‘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:

\[(34) \, a. \, canna \, cə \, kəpal-ra \, khāra-i\]
\[\text{then that head-DAT singe-PERF}\]
\[‘Then I singed the head.’ [to remove the hair]\]

\[b. \, khāra-i\]
\[singe-PERF\]
\[‘I singed it.’\]

\(^9\) 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 ye kæptyara подоби 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 kæptyara la-si-rə
       three portion do-ANT-SEQ
       ‘and I did three pieces,’

   e.  yi-cu-ri jiuntə-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)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>INES</td>
<td>inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT</td>
<td>anterior</td>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRC</td>
<td>circumulative</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalization</td>
</tr>
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<td>comparative</td>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>non-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>conditional</td>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>cotemporal</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>ergative</td>
<td>PROG</td>
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<tr>
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<td>essive</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
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<td>SEQ</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>past imperfective</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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