Deixis and relative height terms in Bantik

Atsuko UTSUMI

Meisei University, Tokyo

This paper aims to present usages of deictic and directional terms in Bantik. As do many other Austronesian languages, Bantik has a system of relative height terms which indicate vertical position relative to that of the speaker. Deictic terms and their usage will be shown first, and then the usage of relative height terms will be exemplified. Height related terms will also be presented in detail as they occur in naturalistic data.

1. Introduction

Bantik is an Austronesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is said to belong to the Sangiric subgroup within the Philippine group, Western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Noorduyn (1991), Sneddon (1984) among others). It is spoken by around 10,000 people in nine villages in the vicinity of Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi, and two more villages around 100 kilometers away from Manado (cf. Noorduyn (1991)). Every speaker of Bantik also speaks Manado Malay, the lingua franca of North Sulawesi. People born after 1970 mostly use Manado Malay but only passively use Bantik, and people born after 1980 basically do not use Bantik, so it is clearly in danger of extinction.

The Bantik directional system shows features that are common to many other languages of the Austronesian family. Austronesian languages often express a vertical axis opposing direction towards the interior to direction towards the sea. This axis is reflected in the deictic systems of many languages of this family, as described in Blust (1997). The Proto-Austronesian form for direction towards the interior is *Daya, and that for direction towards the sea is *laSud. Of these forms, only *Daya survived in Bantik (as daya).

Bantik has five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, j, r, m, n, ŋ,ʔ/. The glottal stop occurs only base-finally with a few exceptions. A word consists of a base, or a base with one or more affixes. The basic word order is SVO while VS word order frequently occurs when the verb is Undergoer-oriented. Like many other Philippine type languages, Bantik has more than one Undergoer Voices (at least two) in addition to an Active Voice. For detailed description of Bantik, see Bawole (1993) and Utsumi (2005).

2. Basic deictic terms: demonstratives

Bantik has a three-way distinction for demonstratives, and there is one more set of terms which are specifically used for marking and emphasising a new entity in the discourse. All the demonstratives can be used both for singular and plural.

Things | Location | Anaphoric Function | Nominal Modification
--- | --- | --- | ---
Introductory | *ite | *ete | *
Proximal | *ie | *sie | OK
Medial | *ene | *sene | OK
Distal | *eʔe | *seʔe | OK

**Table 1. Basic deictic terms: demonstratives**

First, I will illustrate the usage of *ite and *ete, which are used respectively to introduce an entity and location in the discourse. They also indicate that the speaker needs the hearer’s attention directed toward the entity or location referred to. Once an entity or a location has been introduced by *ite or *ete, it cannot be marked with *ite or *ete again; a different deictic expression, most often *ene (medial) for an entity and *sene (medial) for a location, should be used, as shown in example (1) and (2). In sentence (1)a, a new entity (ballpoint pen) is introduced by *ite, and in sentence (1)b, which is a reply to (1)a, the same entity is referred to by *ene. Similarly, a new location in the discourse is introduced by *ete in (2)a, and that location is referred to again in (2)b, by *sene.

(1)  
a.  
*ite polpoin baras-en=nu.  
INTRO ballpoint.pen lend-GV=LINK.2sg  
‘That is the ballpoint pen that you will lend (to me)’
b.  
*ene adiei pa-ka-tahan=en bo pa-guje.  
that do.not APPL-POT-long-GV and APPL-return  
‘That (one), do not (borrow) for long and return (it immediately).’

(2)  
a.  
*i-amaʔ=ku pai *ete.  
SUBJ-father=LINK.1sg exist there  
‘There is my father’
b.  
*ka-bua=ku isie h<um>ompoŋ su *sene.  
POT-see=LINK.1sg SUBJ.-3sg <AV.NPST>sit LOC there.medial  
‘I can see he sits there.’

*ite and *ete cannot modify nominals as shown in example (3)a. For nominal modification, *ie, *ene or *eʔe should be used as in example (3)b.

(3)  
a.  
*polpoin *ite apedeʔ=ku.  
ballpoint.pen INTRO possession=LINK.1sg  
‘This is my ballpoint pen.’
b.  
*polpoin *ie apedeʔ=ku.  
ballpoint.pen this possession=LINK.1sg  
‘This is my ballpoint pen.’

The deictic terms, *ie, *ene and *eʔe, are used when a speaker marks/points to situationally salient entities that are present in the situation in which a conversation takes place. Entities denoted by *ie and *eʔe are visible, but *ene can be used for invisible entities as well. The proximal term is *ie, which points at things in a speaker’s territory. Things which are in a hearer’s territory are indicated by *ene, the medial term, while those
reasonably far from both a speaker and a hearer, or those situated neither in a speaker’s nor in a hearer’s territory, are designated by eʔe. The three way distinction of these deictic terms becomes clear in the following situation. Suppose that speaker, hearer, and a third party sit around a table and have a glass before them. When the speaker holds the glass, s/he will say ‘glas ie (glass proximal)’, since it is clearly in her/his territory. If the hearer holds it, speaker will refer to it as ‘glas ene (glass medial)’. However, when the third party holds it, both speaker and hearer will refer to it as ‘glas eʔe (glass distal)’. As shown in (4) and (6), ie, ene and eʔe can follow a noun so as to modify it. They can occur independently, as illustrated in (5).

(4) \textit{i-sie ma-turau su barei ie.}  
\textit{ SUBJ-3sg AV.NPST-live LOC house this.proximal}  
‘S/he lives in this house’

(5) \textit{ene sapatu=ku.}  
\textit{ that.medial shoes=LINK.1sg}  
‘Those are my shoes’

(6) \textit{side ma-saka su kantay ene}  
\textit{ 3pl AV.NPST-climb LOC mountain that.distal}  
‘They will climb that mountain’

When referring to a contextually but not situationally salient entity, ene is the only possibility. The most natural interpretation of \textit{kantay ene} ‘that mountain’ in example (7) is that a speaker refers to a mountain which is already salient in the discourse, not the mountain situated in a hearer’s territory, because a mountain is usually too big and too far away to be construed to be in the territory of only one of the discourse participants.

(7) \textit{side ma-saka su kantay ene}  
\textit{ 3pl AV.NPST-climb LOC mountain that.medial}  
‘They will climb that (=contextually salient) mountain’

If a location is to be referred to, the proximal term sie is used to refer to something in speaker’s territory, the medial term sene for something in hearer’s territory, and the distal səʔe for something in neither speaker nor hearer’s territory. The /s/ sound found in these locative demonstratives is assumed to derive from the locative preposition \textit{su} glossed as LOC. However, these locative demonstratives should also be accompanied by the full form \textit{su} when they appear in a sentence. The examples with these locative demonstratives are shown in examples (8), (9) and (10).

(8) \textit{barei ni-heis pai su sie}  
\textit{ house LINK-Heis exist LOC here}  
‘Heis’s house is here (=proximal).’

(9) \textit{sene pai sikora=ku}  
\textit{ there.medial exist school=LINK.1sg}  
‘There (=medial) is my school’

(10) \textit{saŋkoi ni-terok pai su seʔe}  
\textit{ farm LINK-Terok exist LOC there.distal}  
‘Terok’s farm is over there (=distal).’
While all locative demonstratives refer to locations visible to the participants, only *sene* has an anaphoric function. Thus, when referring to a place which has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse but is not visible, *sene* should be selected, as shown in example (11). In sentence (11)b, *jakarta*, the given location which is already present in the previous utterance (11)a, is referred to by *sene*. The other two locative demonstratives cannot occur in this context.

(11)  
(a) *i-stefi n-ako su *jakarta kahibi*  
SUBJ-Stevy AV.PST-go LOC Jakarta yesterday  
‘Stevy went to Jakarta yesterday.’

(b) *anaʔ=ku ma-sibi? m-ako nu-sene/*sie/*seʔe*  
child=LINK.1sg AV.NPST-like AV.NPST-go LINK-there  
*ada pai berenan.*  
if exist job

‘My child wants to go there if (there is) a job (for him/her).’

To summarize, the demonstratives have a three-way distinction, proximal, medial, and distal, and different terms are employed for things and locations. Only the medial demonstratives *ene* and *sene* can refer to a contextually salient entity or location. Unlike other deictic terms, *ite* and *ete* cannot modify nouns and can only be used once, namely to introduce a new entity in the discourse.

3. Relative height terms

In the following discussion, I will first present relative height terms used for stationary entities and location, then relative height terms used for moving entities. These terms belong to the class of ‘adverbials’. Unlike verbs, they lack tense inflection, and unlike nouns, they cannot occupy a subject position. Their morphology does not match that of verbs, adjectives nor nouns. Their position is quite free; they can appear before and after verbs, and before and after nominals denoting locations. Although relative height terms sometimes behave very much like nominals (as we will see below, especially in example (14)), it is to be noted that nominals denoting locations should always follow the prefix *su* ‘at, in’, which is not the case with relative height terms (again, see example (14)). Their grammatical features are unique to them, and it might be justified to set a word class specifically to them. However, in this paper I will tentatively treat them as adverbials.

In Bantik, as in many other Austronesian languages, the vertical axis – upwards and downwards – has a great importance in everyday conversation. Bantik people are said to originate from some islands and have migrated to North Sulawesi Peninsula, where they currently live in an area stretching from the seashore to the hills. People who live in these environments have to go up or down the road in order to get from their homes to their workplace (traditionally fields or gardens). Directionals that indicate relative altitude make clear the location which is referred to by the speaker in those areas. Villagers know lower and higher places compared to their current position, so by just mentioning relative altitude, they will vaguely know the direction of the referred place. As a result, Bantik people usually do not just say *sene* ‘there’ or *seʔe* ‘over there’. Most frequently, they also mention the relative altitudinal location of the referent with respect to the position of the speaker. This is also true when the movement of someone or something is expressed, although the terms for stationary entities are different from
those accompanying motion verbs in Bantik. All relative height terms are given in table 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For Stationary Entity</th>
<th>For Moving Entity, with Motion Verbs leaving a speaker</th>
<th>approaching a speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Upwards (Far), across the river (with verbs expressing motion in the water)</td>
<td><em>daya</em></td>
<td><em>tamai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Downwards (Far), downriver (with verbs expressing motion in the water)</td>
<td><em>raʔ</em></td>
<td><em>tansao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably Upwards, upriver (with verbs expressing motion in the water)</td>
<td><em>daŋ</em></td>
<td><em>tanaiʔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably Downwards, to the bottom (with verbs expressing motion in the water)</td>
<td><em>baba</em></td>
<td><em>tanao</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. Relative Height Terms**

There are three sets of relative height terms. The first set, (*daya, raʔ, daŋ* and *baba*) is used when a described entity is not moving. The other two sets in the rightmost columns are relative height terms indicating the direction in which an entity is moving. In principle, an entity should be in motion in order to be modified by these relative height terms. The second set consists of *tamai, tansao, tanaiʔ* and *tanao*. They are used for movements away from the deictic center. The third set (*mahi, nsao, naiʔ, and nao*) is used for movements towards the deictic center. The above explanation is for most common usages. Exceptional meanings arise when relative height terms of the second and the third set are used with verbs denoting motion in the water, as also shown in table 2. All the relative height expressions shown in table 2 are deictic and the selection of the term is done ‘according to the point of view of the speaker’. In section 4, relative height terms for stationary entities are illustrated, followed by a description of relative height expressions for moving objects in section 5.

It is to be noted that *naiʔ* has a verbal synonym which means ‘to come’ with an irregular inflection applying only to this verb; it is *si-naiʔ* in the past tense and *naiʔ* in the non-past tense.

### 4. Relative height terms for stationary entities

For places that can be seen from where the discourse participants are, and places frequently visited by village members so that the direction and the relative altitudinal position are known, it is almost obligatory to use one of the relative height terms that appear in table 2. Conversely, when the location is very far away from the discourse participants and the relative altitudinal position is not known, relative height expressions are usually not used. For example, Jakarta is mentioned in (11)a. When the discourse participants are in North Sulawesi, Jakarta is too far away to be construed to be situated upwards or downwards relative to their position.

When locative demonstratives such as *sie, sene* and *seʔe* are used, it is quite often the case that they co-occur with one of the relative height terms, because when they indicate situationally salient locations, the relative altitude should also be known. Examples (12)
and (13) show relative height terms and locative demonstratives being used together. It seems that the former always precede the latter, as shown in the examples below. Relative height terms can also be used in isolation as a predicate to indicate the location of the subject nominal, as in example (14). Note that here it does not get the preposition su (which is needed before locative nominals and locative demonstratives, as mentioned previously and is shown in example (15)). The relative height terms in the following examples are in boldface.

(12) sikora=ku daŋ su seʔe
    school=LINK.1sg up LOC there.distal
    ‘My school is up there.’

(13) i-titin ma-turau su barei baba su sene
    SUBJ-Titin AV.NPST-live LOC house down LOC there.medial
    ‘Titin lives in the house down there.’

(14) i-ani raʔ.
    SUBJ-Annie downwards
    ‘Annie is down there.’

(15) i-ani su barei.
    SUBJ-Annie LOC house
    ‘Annie is at home.’

If a referent (an entity or a location) is clearly situated at the higher level than the place where a speaker is, daŋ is the option, whereas baba is to be used when it is at the considerably lower point than a speaker’s position. In Bantik villages, it is quite often the case that the farm is located on a hillside, which is higher than where people live, so example (16) is a natural utterance when the discourse participants including the speaker are at home. In this sentence, Desi, the entity whose location is referred to by daŋ, is moving as he plants, but since he is not moving towards or away from the speaker, daŋ, the expression for a stationary thing or location is used. Example (17) is an appropriate utterance in the following situation: the speaker and the other discourse participants are on the way up the mountain and see Maria staying at the foot of the mountain.

(16) i-desi daŋ kahagasaʔ nu ma-suan bokan
    SUBJ-Desi up now LINK AV.NPST-plant corn
    ‘Desi is now planting corn (at a higher point than where the speaker is).’

(17) i-maria baba su aruʔ nu-kantaŋ
    SUBJ-Maria down LOC below LINK-mountain
    ‘Maria is at the foot of the mountain (at a lower point than where the speaker is).’

If an entity or a location is some distance away from the speaker and the altitudinal position of the referent is neither considerably higher nor lower from her/him, then either daya ‘a place somewhat upwards’ or raʔ ‘a place somewhat downwards’ is used. These two terms have the connotation that the mentioned place is located a little bit far away, although they can be used to refer to a nearby place but with only a small altitudinal difference. Thus, politeknik ‘the Polytechnic University’ in sentence (18) can be located near or far from the speaker, but at a slightly higher position since it is
modified by *daya*, and *gaheda* ‘church’ in (19) is at a somewhat lower location, near or far from the speaker because it is modified by *ra*. As mentioned in section 3, these relative height expressions can be located before a locative noun phrase (e.g. *su politeknik* in (18)), or after a nominal (e.g. *gaheda* in (19)).

(18) *daya* su *politeknik* nu *ako-n* ni-*mia*  
upwards LOC polytechnic LINK go-GV LINK-Mia  
‘To the polytechnic up there goes Mia.’

(19) *gaheda* *ra?* ene *su?-an=ku*  
church downwards that enter-GV=LINK.1sg  
‘That church down there, I attend (services).’

The speaker normally selects the term for relative height according to the following rule. The priority is on the altitude, then the distance is considered. If the relative altitude is prominent, *daya* for upwards or *baba* for downwards is selected. If it is not, *daya* for upwards or *ra?* for downwards is used. In addition, if the referred location is not very near from the speaker, there is an increased chance that *daya* or *ra?* will be selected gets high. Since the priority is on altitude, when a speaker knows that the referred location is situated considerably higher or lower than where s/he is, *daya* or *baba* is preferred even if the referred location is far away from her/him. However, when the distance to the destination is more obvious than the difference in level, usually *daya* or *ra?* is preferred.

These relative height terms always indicate the relative altitudinal position with respect to a speaker, so they cannot be used to define a speaker’s current position. Thus, example (20) is always unacceptable. A hearer is usually on the same spot as a speaker, so relative height terms are generally not used to refer to the location of a hearer either. Therefore, sentence (21) is unacceptable, unless, for instance, in a situation where speaker and hearer (= *ikau*, 2sg) are talking on their mobile phones and are in different locations.

(20) *ia?* *pai* *daya* su *politeknik*  
SUBJ.1sg exist upwards LOC polytechnic  
‘*I am at the Polytechnic University up there.’

(21) *ikau* su *barei* *baba*  
SUBJ.2sg LOC housedown  
‘Are you in the house down there?’

It is impossible to use *daya*, *baba*, *daya* and *ra?* with verbs expressing motion, with only one exception: they frequently follow the verb *m-ako* (AV.NPST-go)/n-*ako* (AV.PST-go) ‘to go’, as in examples (22)a, (23) and (24). When the destination is mentioned after by a noun *m-ako/n-ako*, it is obligatory that the genitive linker *nu* appear between the verb and the noun denoting the destination, as can be seen in *m-ako nu *barei*=ne ‘go to his/her house’ in example (22)b. If a relative height term is used, the word order will be as follows: ‘*m-ako/n-ako + /N/ + diectional term + *nu + locative nominal*’, as in the case of sentence (22)a. The behaviour of relative height terms is not the same as nominals since it does not follow the linker *nu*, but the linker *N*. Both *N* and *nu* can take the same form since *nu* is often realized as a nasal homorganic with the first consonant of the following word, e.g. */m/* before */b/* and */p/*, as in the case of *m-ako m-*barei* (go to a house). The linker *N* is also realized as */m/* when it comes before *baba* ‘downward’ as in
m-ako m-baba. But N differs from nu in that it is realized as zero before words beginning with /h/, /t/ and /j/, so that we have m-ako ra?, not m-ako n-ra? as shown in example (22). Examples (23) and (24) are cases where N is realized as an homorganic nasal.

(22) a ia? n-ako ra? nu-barei=ne
   SUBJ.1sg AV.PST-go downwards LINK-house=LINK.3sg
   ‘I will go to his house down there.’
   b ia? n-ako nu-barei=ne
   SUBJ.1sg AV.PST-go LINK-house=LINK.3sg
   ‘I will go to his house.’

(23) manu? ene t<um>ara? m-ako m-baba nu-pasoŋ
   bird that <AV.NPST>fly AV.NPST-go LINK-down LINK-valley
   ‘That bird will fly downwards to the valley’

(24) isie m-ako n-day nu-saŋkoi.
   SUBJ.3sg AV.NPST-go LINK-up LINK-farm
   ‘S/he will go to the farm up there.’

Using elicitation, it is possible to get sentences with m-ako/n-ako which lacks relative height terms such as (22)b. In natural speech, however, m-ako/n-ako is rarely used without a relative height term because people normally know the destination and its relative altitudinal position. M-ako/n-ako will only appear without relative height terms when the destination has not yet been visited (so that the altitudinal position is not clear), or when the destination is too far for its altitude to be compared to the speaker’s location.

5. Relative height terms for moving entities

Relative height terms belonging to the second set (tamai, tansao, tanai?, and tanao) are used for entities that are moving away from the speaker, while those belonging to the third set (mahi, nsao, nai? and nao) are used for entities moving towards the speaker. The altitudinal level referred to by daya ‘upwards’ for stationary entities corresponds to tamai?/mahi; ra? ‘downwards’ to tansao/nsao; day ‘upwards’ to tanai?/nai?; and baba ‘downwards’ to tanao/ nao. In other words, when distance is more salient than the difference in level, tamai/mahi ‘into/from an upwards direction’ and tansao/nsao ‘into/from a downwards direction’ are used. When the difference in altitude of an entity is more prominent, tanai/nai? ‘into/from an upwards direction’ and tanao/nao ‘into/from a downwards direction’ are used. As can be seen in table 2, terms prefixed with /ta/, i.e., tamai, tansao, tanai? and tanao, indicate movement away from the speaker. The terms which lack /ta/ indicate movement towards the speaker. It might be possible to say that /ta/ is a morpheme denoting movement away from the speaker, but so far no other words have been found with /ta/ meaning ‘moving away’, so it is difficult to posit /ta/ as a morpheme. It is not clear why tamai in the pair tamai/mahi differs in that tamai lacks /h/.

In the following discussion, usages of relative height terms for moving entities are discussed. Basic usage is shown in section 5.1, then in section 5.2, usage where relative height terms are used as predicates. Although relative height terms are most often used
together with motion verbs when they behave like adverbials, they can on their own occupy predicate position and can denote the movement of the subject. Finally, in section 5.3 another usage will be explained, where the terms for moving entities can also be used to describe stationary entities when many of them exist in a row or in a wide area.

In order to make clear the difference between tamai/mahi and tanaiʔ/naiʔ, and that between tansao/nsao and tanao/nao, I adopted the glosses ‘to/from upwards’ for tamai/mahi, ‘to/from up’ for tanaiʔ/naiʔ, ‘to/from downwards’ for tansao/nsao, and ‘to/from down’ for tanao/nao in the following examples.

5.1. Relative height terms modifying motion verbs

Relative height terms for moving entities are most often found adjacent to motion verbs such as r<um>ampay ‘walk’, s<um>oha ‘run’, ma-saka ‘climb up’, d<um>usun ‘climb down’, t<um>araʔ ‘fly’ or m-oyou ‘swim’. Here are some examples.

(25) i-pasko r<um>ampay mahi bua nu-sajkoi.
SUBJ-Vasco <AV.NPST>walk upwards from LINK-farm
‘Vasco will walk upwards from the farm (approaching the speaker).’

(26) i-piteres s<um>oha naiʔ si-kiteʔ.
SUBJ-Peter <AV.NPST>run up OBJ-1pl.EXCL
‘Peter will run upwards towards us.’

(27) side d<um>usun tanao m-ako m-baba
SUBJ-3pl <AV.NPST>go.down down AV.NPST-go LINK-downwards
ni-heis LINK-Heis
‘They go downwards to Heis’s (house) down there (away from the speaker).’

As in example (27), relative height terms for moving entities (tanao in (27)) sometimes co-occur with those for stationary things (baba in (27)). It is a rule that the relative height terms should agree on the altitudinal position they denote. As for example (27), both tanao and baba indicate a position lower than the deictic centre.

While other relative height terms are sensitive to altitudinal position of an entity, tamai can be used more widely in narrative texts. When it is used situationally, that is, to describe the movement of an entity that can be seen by both speaker and other discourse participant(s), it indicates that the location is higher than the deictic centre. However, in a narrative text, in which a speaker describes the movement of something that is not there at the time of speech, tamai can be used to refer to an entity’s movement that goes far away from the deictic centre, but the relative altitude of the destination can be higher or lower. This anomalous feature does not pertain to other relative height terms. In example (28), side ‘they’ is considered to have moved far away from the deictic centre, but the relative altitudinal position of its destination is not known.

(28) tamai side na-niyan sapi
upwards SUBJ.3pl AV.PST-take cow
‘They took a cow to the place far away (to higher location or lower location).’
There are natural restrictions on the co-occurrence of motion verbs and relative height terms. Motion verbs which do not imply movement upwards or downwards can co-occur with every relative height term, e.g. \( \text{r}<\text{um}>\text{amapa} \) ‘walk’ in example (25), \( \text{s-um}-\text{o} \) ‘run’ in (26), \( \text{t}<\text{um}>\text{ara} \) ‘fly’, \( \text{m-oyou} \) ‘swim on the surface’, or \( \text{m-iripi} \) ‘swim underwater’. However verbs denoting a downwards movement, such as \( \text{d}<\text{um}>\text{usun} \) ‘go down, get off (from vehicle)’ in example (27) and (29), \( \text{m-intuhu} \) ‘climb down’ in example (30), and \( \text{m-udu} \) ‘dive towards the bottom’ in (31), can co-occur only with \text{tanao}/\text{nao}, which clearly indicates the position just below the position of a speaker. Even \text{tansao}/\text{nsao} (showing a destination which is a little bit downwards) cannot appear with those verbs.

(29) \text{side} \hspace{1cm} \text{d}<\text{um}>\text{usun} \hspace{1cm} \text{nao/\text{nsao}} \hspace{1cm} \text{bua}
\text{SUBJ.3sg} \hspace{1cm} \text{<AV.NPST>go.down} \hspace{1cm} \text{down/\text{*downwards} from}
\text{nu-kantay} \hspace{1cm} \text{ene}
\text{LINK-mountain that}

‘They will go down from that mountain (approaching the speaker).’

(30) \text{i-stefi} \hspace{1cm} \text{tanao/\text{tansao}} \hspace{1cm} \text{m-intuhu?} \hspace{1cm} \text{su} \hspace{1cm} \text{tukada?}
\text{SUBJ.Stevy down/\text{*downwards} AV.NPST-climb.down LOC staircase}

‘Stevy will climb down the staircase (moving away from the speaker).’

(31) \text{i-santi} \hspace{1cm} \text{ma-udu} \hspace{1cm} \text{tanai/\text{tansao}/\text{tanaio/\text{tanao}}}
\text{SUBJ-Santy AV.NPST-dive.towards.bottom *upwards/\text{*downwards/\text{*up/down}}

‘Santy will dive to the bottom.’

In contrast to these verbs denoting a downward movement, \text{ma-saka} ‘go up’ can co-occur with \text{tamai/mahi} ‘to/from upwards’ and \text{tanai/nai} ‘to/from upwards’, as shown in example (32). As for \text{ma-\text{nabi}?} ‘climb up’, \text{tanai/nai}? is the only relative height term that can co-occur with it, as shown in example (33).

(32) \text{i-ani} \hspace{1cm} \text{ma-saka} \hspace{1cm} \text{tamai/\text{tansao/tanai?/\text{tanao}} su}
\text{SUBJ-Ani AV.NPST-go.up upwards/\text{*downwards/up/\text{*down} LOC}
\text{daren} \hspace{1cm} \text{ene}
\text{road that}

‘Annie will go up that road.’

(33) \text{i-pasko} \hspace{1cm} \text{ma-\text{nabi}?} \hspace{1cm} \text{tanai/\text{tansao/tanai?/\text{tanao}}}
\text{SUBJ-Vasco AV.NPST-climb.up *upwards/\text{*downwards/up/\text{*down}
\text{su} \hspace{1cm} \text{kayu} \hspace{1cm} \text{nu-bayo.} \hspace{1cm} \text{LOC} \hspace{1cm} \text{LINK-coconut}

‘Vasco will climb up the coconut tree.’

When a verb expresses a three-dimensional movement, all relative height terms can be used for movement in the air, as for example with \text{t}<\text{um}>\text{ara}? ‘fly’. In example (34)a, \text{t}<\text{um}>\text{ara}? ‘fly’ co-occurs with \text{tanai?} ‘to upwards’ and in (34)b, it co-occurs with \text{tanao} ‘downwards’. The act of flying is done over the deictic centre (= a speaker), so \text{tanai?} and \text{tanao} in (34) show that the direction of flying is to a higher or lower position than the deictic centre.
The interpretation in example (35) where m-iriπi is used with relative height terms. When m-iriπi is used with tamai, the movement ‘across the river’ is expressed by the combination, but with tanai?, the intended movement is ‘in a direction upriver’. The difference between two relative height terms denoting ‘up’ or ‘upwards’ is clear here. Tamai has a connotation that the movement is done towards somewhere in the distance, and it is sometimes understood as towards a place beyond an obstacle. In the case where the movement occurs in the middle of river, water is regarded as an obstacle, so the movement expressed by tamai is ‘moving away across the river’. Tanai? indicates the movement which goes to higher position, but with m-iriπi, which expresses that the actor is moving under the water, the only possible interpretation is ‘in upriver direction’, but not to the surface. If m-iriπi is used with tanao ‘downwards’, the denoted motion is towards lower position, so the actor is supposed to make a move towards the bottom of the river. With tansao ‘to somewhat downwards’, the supposed movement is in downriver direction.

The interpretations of tamai/mahi as ‘to/from the opposite bank’, tanai?/nai? as ‘to/from upriver’, tanao/nao as ‘to/from downriver’ are also observed when they co-occur with m-oyou, ‘swim on the surface’, as shown in example (36). Naturally, tanao/nao cannot be used with m-oyou, since the motion expressed by it is possible only on the surface, and with tanao/nao, the expressed movement is towards the bottom. As already shown in example (31), tanao/nao are the only terms that can co-occur with m-udug ‘dive towards the bottom’.

Here is a brief summary. Tamai/mahi ‘to/from upwards’ have connotations to/from the higher place that is located in a distance, or across the water. When they are used situationally, they always show that the motion is to/from upwards. The altitudinal position of an entity, however, is not important in the case where tamai is used in a narrative text. Tansao/nao also have a connotation that the movement occurs to/from the distance, but to/from somewhat lower position. Tanai?/nai? and tanao/nao do not
have connotation ‘in a distance’, and only denote the motion is to/from the higher position or to/from the lower position.

The difference between motion away from and towards the deictic centre is as follows. In example (37)a, *tanao* is used to describe Susan’s movement. This utterance is appropriate only when speaker is in a higher position than Susan, and Susan is running ‘downwards’. Contrary to this, example (37)b implies that speaker is in a lower position than Susan so that the approach is done from a higher position to a lower position and towards speaker. Similarly, (38)a is appropriate when speaker stays in a lower position than *ana?=ku* ‘my child’, and sentence (38)b, when speaker is in a higher position than *ana?=ku*. This sentence implies that speaker is already at the farm.

(37) a.  
\[
ka-bua=ku \quad i-susan \quad tanao \quad s<um>o\text{ha}
\]
\[\text{POT-see}=\text{LINK.1sg \quad SUBJ-Susan \quad down \quad }<\text{AV.NPST}>\text{run}\]
‘I can see Susan is running downwards (away from me).’

b.  
\[
ka-bua=ku \quad i-susan \quad nao \quad s<um>o\text{ha}
\]
\[\text{POT-see}=\text{LINK.1sg \quad SUBJ-Susan \quad down \quad }<\text{AV.NPST}>\text{run}\]
‘I can see Susan is running downwards (towards me).’

(38) a.  
\[
ana?=ku \quad \text{tamai} \quad r<um>\text{ampa}\text{j} \quad bua \quad \text{nu-saykoi}
\]
\[\text{child}=\text{LINK.1sg \quad upwards \quad }<\text{AV.NPST}>\text{walk \quad from} \quad \text{LINK-farm}\]
‘My child will walk upwards to the farm (away from me).’

b.  
\[
ana?=ku \quad \text{mahi} \quad r<um>\text{ampa}\text{j} \quad bua \quad \text{nu-saykoi.}
\]
\[\text{child}=\text{LINK.1sg \quad upwards \quad }<\text{AV.NPST}>\text{walk \quad from} \quad \text{LINK-farm}\]
‘My child will walk upwards to the farm (approaching me).’

It is the deictic centre, most often the position of a speaker, that determines the choice between the second and the third set of relative height terms. The next question is which relative height term is selected if the speaker is changing his/her location.

The deictic center is the place where a speaker is at the time of the utterance, and relative height terms are selected accordingly. When speaker talks about his/her movement in the past, it is the third set of relative height terms that co-occur with the motion verb — as shown in example (39), in which *d<im>usun* ‘go down (past tense)’ is used with *nao* ‘down (towards the deictic center)’. In contrast, non-past verbs seldom co-occur with relative height terms as shown in *d<um>usun* in (40). A relative height term in the second set, which indicates the motion away from the deictic center, can appear only with an adverb which obviously expresses future time, such as *doyka* in (40)b.

(39)  
\[
ia? \quad d<im>usun \quad *\text{tanao/nao} \quad su \quad daren \quad ie
\]
\[\text{SUBJ.1sg \quad <AV.PST>go.down \quad down/down \quad LOC \quad road \quad this}\]
‘I came down this road.’

(40) a.  
\[
*ia? \quad d<um>usun \quad *\text{tanao/nao} \quad su \quad daren \quad ie
\]
\[\text{SUBJ.1sg \quad <AV.NPST>go.down \quad down/down \quad LOC \quad road \quad this}\]

b.  
\[
ia? \quad *\text{doyka} \quad d<um>usun \quad \text{tanao/*nao} \quad su
\]
\[\text{SUBJ.1sg \quad from.now \quad <AV.NPST>go.down \quad down/down \quad LOC}\]
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daren ie
road this

‘I will go down this road from now.’

The deictic centre is always the place where a conversation takes place, and it is difficult to use relative height terms in a context which does not have a strong relation with ‘here and now’. Past tense verbs cannot co-occur with the second set, which indicate the movement away from the deictic centre, even when you talk about a past event, since, in this case, the event has no relationship with the current situation.

5.2. Relative height terms as predicates

Relative height terms for moving entities can function as predicates when they are used by themselves. They can denote movement to/from the deictic center. When they express the location of something, the connotation is that someone is going to make a move. They are usually accompanied by the aspect markers =te ‘completive’ or =ken ‘continuative’ in this predicative usage.

When a speaker aims to tell the location of Heis’s house to an addressee who is looking for it, tanao ‘down’ should be accompanied by the aspect marker =ken as in example (41)b, which is the answer to the sentence (41)a. It is situationally inappropiate to omit the aspect marker =ken which implies the motion in an immediate future. Because tanao suggests that the discourse participant is supposed to make a move towards the house, it is inadequate to use it without a word that denotes/implies the motion. As is clear from table 2, tanao corresponds to baba with respect to the altitudinal position. If without =ken, s/he should use baba as in (41)c, in which the speaker does not suppose that the addressee is going to make a move towards it, but just wants to know the location of Heis’s house.

(41) a. su apa barei ni-heis
LOC what house LINK-Heis
‘Where is Heis’s house?’

b. barei ni-heis tanao=ken/*tanao
house LINK-Heis down=CONT/*downwards
‘Heis’s house is down there.’

c. barei ni-heis baba
house LINK-Heis down
‘Heis’s house is down there.’

One more example, in which the relative height term is used with =te ‘completive aspect’ is shown below in (42). Here, with =te, it is assumed that the motion has already commenced.

(42) i-maria tansao=te
SUBJ-Maria down=COMP
‘Maria has gone downwards.’
5.3. Relative height terms modifying stationary entities

The first set of relative height terms, namely daya, raʔ, daŋ and baba, is used to describe relative altitudinal position of stationary entities. However, it is also possible to use the second set of relative height terms, tamai, tansao, tanaiʔ and tanao, for describing stationary entities. The difference in meaning between the first and the second sets is that with the first set, the location of a stationary entity is regarded to be in one place only, but with the second set, it is assumed that it spreads over a wide area (as in example (43)) or that there are many items organized in a row (as in example (44)). Things which do not spread over a wide area or do not exist in a row, cannot co-occur with the second set of relative height terms, as shown in (45).

(43)  saŋkoi  tansao  eʔe  bagai
      farm    downwards  that  big

   ‘The farm (which spreads) down there is big.’

(44)  barei  tanaiʔ  eʔe  yasa
      house  up  that.distal  many

   ‘There are many houses [in a row] over there.’

(45)  *gaheda  tanaiʔ  eʔe
      church  up  that.distal

   ‘*Church which spreads up there is many.’

6. Relative height terms in natural text

As shown above, stationary objects or locations are predominantly referred to by daya, raʔ, daŋ and baba, while movement is modified by (ta)mai, (ta)nsao, (ta)maiʔ and (ta)nao. In this section, relative height terms found in naturalistic data will be shown and discussed. Examples shown in the following sections were taken from natural conversation and monologues. Waktu Kecil ‘Childhood’ is told by two speakers taking turns. Memperbaiki Rumah ‘Reforming a house’ and Rumah Sakit ‘Hospital’ is a conversation among four speakers. I-timpunu bo i-boheng ‘The turtle and the monkey’ is a folk tale spontaneously told. Tumideng is a folk story translated from Indonesian into Bantik and adapted to make it look like a natural Bantik text. The speakers were born between years 1938 and 1964 and claim to be first language speakers of Bantik. Since all of them are bilingual speakers of Bantik and Manado Malay, and the latter is predominant in the village where they live, their speech contains much Manado Malay vocabulary. Non-Bantik words are written between angled brackets, like <hidup> ‘life’ in (47).

6.1 Relative height terms in natural conversation

In natural conversation speaker-centered relative height terms occur very frequently. For speakers referring to the location where the action takes place or pointing into the direction of the movement, it is almost obligatory to use one of the relative height terms. Example (12) to (15) are sentences that refer to location. Examples (22), (23), and (32) to (36) show the use of relative height terms with motion verbs like m-ako ‘to go’, ma-saka ‘to climb uphill’, man-abiʔ ‘to climb’, tumaraʔ ‘to fly’ miripi ‘to swim underwater’, and moyou ‘to swim on the surface’.
However, there are two cases where relative height terms are seldom used even if a speaker is denoting location or direction.

First, the use of relative height terms is infrequent if she/he is talking about an event in the remote past or non-immediate future. Example (46) is taken from the Waktu Kecil monologue narrative about the speaker’s childhood, which was told in Buha village. The Paniki river is clearly situated in a place lower than the location of the speaker at the time of the recording, but the speaker does not use any relative height terms with the verb m-ako ‘to go’ (the second line).

AV.NPST-POT-listen friend LINK-SUBJ.1pl.EXCL AV.NPST-shout
‘ako iki’, yo ene kite? ma-nahioko?=te
go let’s then that SUBJ.1pl.EXCL AV.NPST-hurry=COMP
maya berenan=ne ka m-ako m-paniki,
all job=LINK.3sg because AV.NPST-go LINK-Paniki.river
su paniki e.
LOC Paniki.river DP
‘Hearing our friend shouting ‘Let’s go’, we hurried (to finish) the work because (we were) going to the Paniki river.’ (Waktu Kecil)

Second, relative height terms are seldom used if the referred location is far away, since its relative altitude is not clear. In example (47), the place called Taraban is in Jawa Tenggah (Central Java), which is far away from North Sulawesi where the speakers live.

(47) side <hidup> age? ni-nene?=ne.
SUBJ.3pl live with LINK-grandmother=LINK.3sg
r-im-amò si-nene?=ne pai su taraban.
<AV.NPST>stay SI-grand.mother=LINK.3sg exist LOC Taraban

‘They live with their grandmother. They stay with their grandmother in Taraban.’ (Memperbaiki Rumah)

However, the rule is not strict, and there are sentences which contain relative height terms even when the above two cases apply. In the original Waktu Kecil narrative, sentence (example (48)) immediately follows example (46), which is about an event in the remote past, but a relative height tansao ‘downwards’ appears.

(48) ma-ídào? tansao su paniki ma-mika raku?,
AV.NPST-reach downwards LOC Paniki.river AV.NPST-open clothes
bo ma-ta-tumpere-an ma-ídào? su m-iri?i?
and AV.NPST-RED-frog-GV AV.NPST-reach LOC AV.NPST-dive

‘(When we) reached Paniki river down there, we took off clothes and we jumped like frogs into (the river) together, even (we) dived.’ (Waktu Kecil)

When speakers are referring to a location or a movement towards a place near enough for them to infer its altitude, relative height terms are seldom omitted. In the conversation shown in example (49), ‘T’ and ‘E’ are abbreviations of the names of two speakers using relative height terms. In the first line (T’s question), nai? ‘up’ indicates that the place of the shop where the roofing material was bought is lower than the house...
where it was brought to; naiʔ is used because the roofing material was brought up towards the place where the speakers are. In E’s reply, tanaiʔ indicates that the roofing material was lifted upwards, away from the place where the speakers are.

(49) T : \textit{ma-ɾuan=kən naiʔ ma-ŋarimuʔ}?
\textit{AV.NPST-buy=CONT up AV.NPST-make}

‘Did you buy them(=material of roof) (and bring them) up here (before) making (house)?’

E : \textit{<tantu> doʔ manen rikuduʔ=ne kiʔan-en of.course INT although back=LINK.3sg lift-GV}

\textit{tanaiʔ yo e up then E}

‘Of course, although (it is) at the back (=kitchen), it (=roof) was lifted to up there.’ (Memperbaiki Rumah)

The next example (50) is an example of using a relative height \textit{daya} for a stationary entity.

(50) H : \textit{<karena> ma-tuwarau daya sene to, because AV.NPST-live upwards there.medial DP}

\textit{daya su barei pona, barei ma-raŋkasa? upwards LOC house formerly houseADJVZ-tall}

‘Because (she) lived up there, up in the house formerly, the tall house (=house with raised floor)’ (Memperbaiki Rumah)

Relative height terms can be used even when actual motion does not occur. When a speaker talks about his act of ‘calling’ as in the case of example (51), such a term may appear if the relative altitude of the person receiving the call is clear to the speaker.

(51) \textit{kabaini iaʔ na-nelpon tanaiʔ si-sie to}
\textit{just.now SUBJ.1sg AV.PST-phone up OBJ-3sg DP}

‘Just now I called up there to her’

\textit{uriʔ=ku ‘yo kakuda juʔ ikau e?’ say=LINK.1sg then how INT SUBJ.2sg DP}

‘I said, ‘hey, how are you?’’ (Rumah Sakit)

6.2 Relative height terms in texts told in the third person

As shown in the previous section, relative height terms are speaker-oriented, so the location of the speaker at the moment of speech is crucial for the selection. So what determines their choice when the text is told in third person?

It is supposed that the choice of a relative height term indicates the point of view of the storyteller, who tends to coincide with the main character of the story. In the folk story \textit{Tumideng}, in which the relationship between heaven and people on earth is described, the speaker talks from the point of view of a human being who lives on earth. The protagonist in this story is a man called \textit{Tumideng} who has a relationship with a woman in heaven called \textit{Riamasan}. \textit{Tumideng} has an adventure after they were forced to separate.
In example (52), heaven, which is supposed to exist in the sky, is referred to by a relative height term for a stationary entity *day* ‘up’, while in example (53), both *day* (stationary) and *tanai?* ‘up (moving away from deictic center)’ appear. Heaven is above from the point of view of the story teller and also the hearer, as both are on earth. The upwards movement of *Tumideng* to heaven in example (53) is modified by *tanai?*, a relative height term for entities moving away from the deictic center.

(52) *isie* | *toumata* | *ma-pia* | *bo* | *ma-pia* | *su* | *gaguday*
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
SUBJ.3sg | people | ADJVZ-good and | ADJVZ-good | LOC | parents

*ka ijen* | *bo* | *isie* | *ni-ka-sibi?* | *nu* | *pai* | *siŋka-tau*
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
because-like-this | SUBJ.3sg | PST-POT-like | LINK | exist | one-CL

*babinei* | *aden=ne* | *i-riamasan* .
---|---|---
woman | name=LINK.3sg | SUBJ-Riamasan

*isie* | *ma-turai* | *day* | *su* | *karutuan* .
---|---|---|---|---
SUBJ.3sg | AV.NPST-live | up | LOC | heaven

‘He was a good man and was good to his parents so that a woman named Riamasan loved him. She lived in heaven *above.*’ (*Tumideng*)

(53) *i-tumideŋ* | *n-abi?* | *su* | *tukada?* | *bo* | *isie*
---|---|---|---|---|---
SUBJ-Tumideng | AV.PST-climb | LOC | ladder and | SUBJ.3sg

*na-idao?* | *su* | *karutuan*.  
---|---|---
AV.PST-reach | LOC | heaven

*sin̕a-idao?* | *tanai?* | *day* | *su* | *sene*
---|---|---|---|---
same.time-reach | DIR.up | up | LOC | there

*ka-bua=ne* | *i-riamasan*
---|---
POT-see=LINK.3sg | SUBJ-Riamasan

‘He climbed the ladder and he arrived in heaven. When he reached *up* there (=in heaven), he saw Riamasan.’ (*Tumideng*)

When the story teller talks about the downward motion of people from heaven, *nao* ‘down’, which shows a movement towards the speaker, is used as in example (54) below.

(54) *side* | *t<um>umpa* | *nao* | *na-niyaya* | *sajkoi*
---|---|---|---|---
SUBJ.3pl | <AV.NPST>go.down | down | AV.PST-check | field

*nu-meŋ* | *su* | *rou* | *nu-tahiti* | *bo* | *rou* | *nu-mahege*
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
LINK-rice | LOC | day | LINK-rain and | day | LINK-dry.season

‘They descended *below* to check the rice field in wet seasons as well as in dry seasons.’ (*Tumideng*)

The next examples are taken from the story of the turtle and the monkey. The protagonist is the turtle who is bullied by the monkey and who kills it in revenge. The storyteller chooses relative height terms from the point of view of the turtle.

(55) *i-boheŋ* | *n-abo=ken* | *nao* | *busa?* | *si-timpunu*
---|---|---|---|---
SUBJ-monkey | AV.PST-throw=COMP | down | banana | OBJ-turtle

‘The monkey threw the banana to the turtle’ (*I-timpunu bo i-boheng*)
The wild pig came down from above’ (toward the turtle)’ *(I-timpunu bo i-boheng)*

As a matter of fact, the point of view of the storyteller is not important in the utterances of the characters, while the character’s location is important in the selection of relative height terms. In example (57), *tamai* ‘upwards’ and *tanao* ‘down’ are selected from the point of view of the speaker, that is, the monkey. He shows the place away from the point where he stands, so chooses /ta/.

Example (59) is an utterance by the king of monkeys. Here again, a relative height term with /ta/, *tansao* ‘downwards’, is used because the song is sung away from him.

To summarize, direktionals in texts which are told in third person are selected according to the point of view of the storyteller. This tends to coincide with the protagonist of the story. In utterances that appear in texts, relative height terms are chosen from the point of view of the character who utters the sentence.

**7. Conclusion**

In Bantik, demonstrative pronouns and locative demonstratives have three-way distinctions. Proximals *ie* and *sie* designate a thing or location in the speaker’s domain,  

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1 *Naiʔ* in this sentence means ‘to come’. Please refer to section 3 for more description.
medials *ene* and *sene* designate a thing or location in the hearer’s domain, and distals *eʔe* and *seʔe* designate a thing or location which is in neither speaker nor hearer’s domain. Of these, only medial *ene* and *sene* can function as anaphoric elements. There are special terms to designate a new entity in the discourse, namely *ite* for things and *ete* for location.

There are three sets of relative height terms indicating the altitude of an entity relative to the deictic center, which is predominantly the speaker’s location. The first set modifies the location of stationary entities, and the second and the third sets indicate the position of moving entities. The second set indicates that a movement is made away from the deictic centre, and the third set expresses a movement towards it. The deictic centre is most usually the current position of the speaker, or the location where the conversation is taking place.

In naturalistic data, relative height terms are almost always used when a speaker refers to the location of an entity or its movement. When the event told in the discourse is in the remote past or future, relative height terms may be omitted. They may also be omitted when the location or the destination is far away so that the relative altitude is hard to detect.

In texts like folk tales that are told in the third person, the protagonist’s point of view is predominantly the deictic center for the choice of relative height terms.

### Abbreviations

- **1sg**: first person singular
- **2sg**: second person singular
- **3sg**: third person singular
- **3pl**: third person plural
- **ADJVZ**: prefix *ma-* which attaches to a base and forms an adjective
- **APPL-**: prefix *pa/-paN-* which attaches to a verb base to form an applicative verb
- **AV.npst-**: prefix *ma-, maN-, and infix -im-* that attach to a verb base, indicating both Actor Voice and the non-past tense
- **AV.PST-**: prefix *na-, naN-, and infix -im-* that attach to a verb base, indicating both Actor Voice and past tense
- **CAUS-**: causative prefix *pa/-paN-* that attached to verb bases
- **CL**: classifier
- **=CONT**: enclitic *=ken* which indicates continuative aspect
- **=COMP**: enclitic *=te* which indicates completive aspect
- **DIR**: directionals
- **DP**: discourse particle-*GV* suffix -*AN*, which has allomorphs -*an*, -*en*, -*n* that attached to verb bases and indicates passive voice
- **INT**: interjections such as *kasiʔ* which expresses compassion of the speaker, or *kudiʔ* which expresses second hand information, or *juʔ* which is used as a vocative towards a lovable addressee.
- **INTRO**: introductory deictic terms *ite* and *ete*
- **LINK-**: linker *ni-* is used to indicate genitive case, the actor of Undergoer Voice verb, and to link a noun with another entity. It is realized as *ni-* if it is attached NP is singular human, but as *nu-* indicates NP is either plural or non-human. Another linker, *N-* appears as a nasal homo-organic with the first consonant of the NP to which it attaches.
prefix *su* which is located before an NP which denotes the location.

complementizer

noun marker which is attached to an NP which behaves as an object of the verb of the clause. The noun marker *ni-* is attached to a singular human NP and *nu-* to the rest.

abilitative prefix *ka-* that is attached to a verb base

prefix *ni-* that attaches to undergoer voice verbs and indicates past tense

relativizer *nu*

noun marker *i-* which is attached to a subject NP which denotes singular human. When a pronoun behaves as a subject, the noun marker *i-* becomes a part of it.

References


