Deixis in the Sumbawa Besar Dialect of Sumbawa

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This paper offers an overview of Sumbawa deixis in the Sumbawa Besar dialect, a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. Personal deixis distinguishes the three common persons: number (singular and plural) is distinguished only in the first and second person, while speech level is distinguished in the first and second person singular. The basic set of the spatial demonstrative exhibits three-term distinctions according to distance from the reference point, as follows: \textit{ta} - nearer the speaker than the addressee; \textit{nan} - nearer the addressee than the speaker; and \textit{ana} - distant from both the speaker and the addressee. Temporal deixis adopts two of these demonstratives, namely, proximal \textit{ta} and distal \textit{ana}. In addition to situational use, \textit{ta} and \textit{nan} have cataphoric and anaphoric uses, respectively. \textit{Ta} also functions in narratives to indicate the important entities in a plot and thus makes the plot easy to understand. In addition to the basic set of spatial demonstratives, the form \textit{tó}’ is used in noun phrases to refer to an entity or situation that is visible to either the speaker or the addressee, but whose presence is not recognized by the addressee.

1. Introduction

Sumbawa (indigenous designation Samawa, ISO-639-3 code SMW) is a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. Sumbawa belongs to the Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa subgroup in the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Adelaar (2005: 19) and Mbete (1990))\(^\text{1}\).
Within the Sumbawa language region, Mahsun (1999) distinguishes four main dialects on the basis of comparison of basic vocabulary (Map 2):

Map 2: The distribution of the Sumbawa language and its dialects (Based on Mahsun (1999))

1. Sumbawa Besar, which is widely spoken in Central Sumbawa.
2. Taliwang, spoken near Taliwang in the northwestern part of West Sumbawa.
3. Jereweh, spoken near Jereweh in the central-eastern part of West Sumbawa.
4. Tongo dialect, spoken near Tongo in the southern part of West Sumbawa.

Note that on the eastern part of Sumbawa island (Number 5 on the map), Bimanese is spoken, which is a different language.

This paper offers a survey of deixis in the Sumbawa Besar dialect, which functions as a lingua franca for speakers of other dialects throughout the Sumbawa-speaking region. In what follows, the three common categories of deixis in Sumbawa will be explored, namely, personal deixis, spatial deixis, and temporal deixis.

2. Personal deixis

Table 1 provides the forms of person markers in Sumbawa.

Number (singular and plural) is distinguished only in the first and second person and honorific forms exist for the first and second person singular. The humble form \textit{kaji} ‘1SG.HUM’ and the honorific form \textit{sia} ‘2SG.HON’ are used when the addressee is of a higher social status than the speaker. In addition to the forms shown in Table 1, a special humble form is used for the first (\textit{kajilin}) and a special honorific form, for second person singular (\textit{kelépé} and \textit{kelépé-kaji}). These forms are used when the addressee is a member of the nobility.

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2 See Shiohara (2012) on the status of this dialect.
3 In Sumbawa society, social status basically corresponds to age. There are, however, two exceptions: (i) a married person is considered to have higher status than an unmarried person, (ii) a person who is located in an older generation in the family tree is considered to have higher status than one located in a younger generation. For example, an uncle has a higher position than his nephew, who may be older than him.
The third person pronoun *nya* may be used to refer to both singular and plural, animate and inanimate, entities. Its semantic function overlaps with demonstratives to much extent. I will return to this point in section 3.

A personal deixis may occur in the following three syntactic environments.

(i) as a head noun in an NP

(ii) as a subject marker within a predicate

(iii) as a modifier within an NP

An independent pronoun occur in environment (i), and thus be the complement of a preposition.

(1) *aku ta* tau-Samawa‘
    1SG this Sumbawanese
    ‘I am a Sumbawanese.’

(2) *nya datang ké aku*
    3 come with 1SG
    ‘He comes with me.’

A subject clitic occurs in environment (ii). It is procliticized to a verb to indicate the subject (A/S) of the clause\(^4\).

It may be the only indicator of subject person or it may cross-refer to a separate personal pronoun in a given clause, as in (3)-(5).

(3) *ka=ku=ínóm kawa nan ling aku.*
    PST=1SG=drink coffee that by 1SG
    ‘I (unmarked) drank the coffee.’

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\(^4\) A subject marker normally occurs when a dynamic verb is the predicate head. (Its occurrence with a stative verb is optional.) The first and second person clitics occur with an intransitive verb to indicate the (single) intransitive subject argument, or with a transitive verb to indicate the actor. The third person prefix occurs only with transitive verbs and indicates that the actor is the third person. (For details of the conditions under which the person marker occurs, see Shiohara 2013: 149.)
A genitive clitic occurs in environment (iii) to indicate possession.

In Sumbawa, word-level stress is located on the final syllable of each word (for example, kawa ‘coffee’ and nginom ‘drink’, in which the stressed syllables are underlined). A stressed syllable is pronounced longer and louder than other syllables. The clitics ku, mu, tu are, however, pronounced without stress. It is pronounced as short and weak as a non-stressed syllable in a multi-syllabled word is.

Another genitive clitic kaku exists for the category of the first person singular, unmarked. It falls within a word-level stress domain of the preceding head noun to which it encliticise.

An independent form of this category cannot be used as a modifier. Example (10), thus is not accepted by a native speaker.

The other categories do not have a distinctive form occurring in this environment. But the first person pronouns kaji (1SG.HON.), kita (1PL.INCL.), kami (1PL.EXCL.) exhibit the same phonological feature with kaku (1SG.GEN) in (9); they fall within a word-level stress domain of the preceding head noun to which they encliticise, as in example (11).
(11) (a) [buku kaji] ‘my (HON.) book’
(b) [buku kita] ‘our (INCL.) book’
(c) [buku kami] ‘our (EXCL.) book’

In contrast to the first person forms above, the forms of the other categories form a separate stress domain in the same way as common nouns do.

(12) and (13) are examples in which a common noun acts as a modifier. It does not form a stress unit with the preceding noun.

(12) buku kaka’
book elder.sibling
‘My elder sibling’s book.’

(13) buku guru
book teacher
‘a teacher’s book.’

In the same way, the second and third person pronouns occur as modifiers outside the word-level stress domain of the head noun, as in example (14). (The first person independent pronoun may not occur as a modifier (*buku aku)).

(14) (a) buku kau ‘your (unmarked) book’
(b) buku sia ‘your (HON) book’
(c) buku nènè ‘your (PL) book’
(d) buku nya ‘his/ her/their book’

Two options are available as a modifier in the categories that have special genitive forms, or a genitive form, namely the first person singular (=ku and =kaku) and plural (=tu and kita (INCL.) / kami (EXCL.)), and the second person singular (=mu and kau). In these categories, the long forms (=kaku, kita/ kami, and kau) are used when its referent is focus of the discourse.

(15) (a) balè sai dèta?
house who this

(b) balè=kaku/ kami/kita/ kau dèan.
house=1SG.GEN/ 1PL.INCL./2SG that

(b’) balè=ku/ tu/ mu dèan.
house=1SG.GEN/ 1PL.GEN./ 2SG.GEN that

(a) ‘Whose house is this?’
(b) ‘It’s my/ our/ your house’.
(b’ (intended meaning) ‘It’s MY/ OUR/ YOUR house.’

In other conditions, the short forms tend to be used.
3. Spatial and temporal deixis

3.1. Overview of the demonstratives

The basic set of the spatial demonstrative exhibits three-term distinctions, as shown below, based on the relative distance of a referent from the speaker and the addressee.5

- ta: nearer the speaker than the addressee
- nan: nearer the addressee than the speaker
- ana: distant from both the speaker and the addressee

In addition to the basic set above, the form tó’ can be included in the morpho-syntactic category of demonstratives. tó’ refers to an entity that is visible but unnoticed by the addressee.

The demonstrative tó’ is used in a noun phrase to refer to an entity or situation that is visible to either the speaker or the addressee, but whose presence is not recognized by the addressee. It is almost always uttered with a gesture to indicate the referent.

John Lyons (1977) and Christopher Lyons (1999) suggest that demonstratives have two functions, that is, (i) coding the distance of the referent (deixis) and (ii) drawing the hearer’s attention to the referent (ostension). We could say that tó’ exclusively performs function (ii).6

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5 The three-term distinction that Sumbawa exhibits is less common in languages of the area than the two-term distinction that is observed in Malay (ini ‘this’ vs. itu ‘that’) and Balinese (ene vs. ento) for example. However a three-term distinction is found in the immediate neighbours: Sasak, spoken on Lombok to the west (P.K. Austin pers. comm), and Bimanese, spoken in the eastern part of Sumbawa (Area 5 in Figure 1), which belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian (Satyawati 2010: 141).

6 This type of demonstrative is not common in the neighboring languages, but is sporadically observed cross-linguistically (e.g., Turkish şu (Hayasi 1988) and Burmese ḥo-ći, ḥo- đa proximal’/ ḥo- ho(-ha)
The form *tó‘* is used as a temporal deictic denoting the point in time of the utterance.

(19) \(\text{dadi } \text{tó‘ } \text{mé } \text{lók } \text{mu } \text{roa } \text{mo}\)  
then now which way 2SG want ICT  
‘So, now how will you behave?’

The temporal deixis adopt two of the demonstratives, namely, proximal *ta* and distal *ana* Proximal *ta* and distant *ana*; *ta* modifies words that denote units of time and the resultant phrase refers to a unit that includes the present time.

(a) \(\text{anó } \text{ta} \) ‘today’  
(b) \(\text{bulan } \text{ta} \) ‘this month’  
(c) \(\text{tin } \text{ta} \) ‘this year’  
(d) \(\text{tin } \text{dua-ribu-teluolas } \text{ta} \) ‘2013, this year’

Distal *ana* modifies the time expressions and indicates that the time referred to is far in the past.

(21) \(\text{tin } \text{dua-ribu } \text{ana} \)  
‘the year 2000’ (which the speaker considers to be far in the past)

(22) \(\text{saman } \text{dunóng’ } \text{ana} \)  
time before over.there  
‘long time ago’

Proximal *ta* may stand alone to refer to a situation in the immediate future or to a progressive situation. In example (23), it is used as an adverb and refers to a situation that is about to be realized.

(23) \(\text{ta } \text{ya=ku=mópó‘} \).  
this FUT=1SG=ITR-launder  
‘Here/Now I am going to do washing.’

Example (24) is an equational sentence in which one argument is *ta*, and the other is a NP introduced by the noun *muntu* ‘time; when’. This type of device is commonly used to indicate the present progressive in Sumbawa.

(24) \(\text{ta } \text{muntu7 } \text{ku-nuja=padé} \).  
this time 1SG=ITR-pound=rice.  
‘I am pounding rice.’ (lit. This is the time I pound rice.)

‘distal’ (Okell 1969, Okano 2011, Atsuhiko Kato p.c.)). The Japanese interjections *sora* or *hora*, which are considered to be derived from the demonstrative *sore* or *hore* ‘Look!’ play a similar role.

* muntu is also used as a conjunction that introduces time in an adverbial phrase.

(n7) \(\text{ka=sia=datang } \text{muntu } \text{ku=mopo } \text{sapérap} \)  
past=2HON=come when 1SG=wash yesterday  
‘You came when I was washing’.
Among the five demonstratives, *ta* and *nan* have anaphoric and cataphoric uses, respectively, as will be shown in 2.2. However, the morpho-syntactic properties of demonstratives will be examined first.

### 3.2. Morpho-syntactic properties of demonstratives

The above demonstratives can function as modifiers of the head of a NP. As mentioned in section 1, in Sumbawa, stress is located on the final syllable of each word in Sumbawa. The demonstrative also falls within the stress domain of the head noun, as shown in examples (25)(a)-(d) above.

(25) (a) *[balè ta]* ‘this house’ (near to the speaker)
(b) *[balè nan]* ‘that house’ (near to the addressee)
(c) *[balè ana]* ‘that house’ (distant from both the speaker and the addressee)
(d) *[balè tó]* ‘this or that house’ (visible but unnoticed by the addressee)

The basic set of demonstratives *ta*, *nan*, *ana* may modify a proper noun, as in (26)a-c, or a personal pronoun, as in (27)a-c, as well as a common noun.

(26) (a) *Samawa ta* ‘Sumbawa where we live’
(b) *Lombok nan* ‘Lombok that is near to the addressee, or previously is mentioned’
(c) *Jepang ana* ‘Japan that is distant from either the speaker or the addressee’

(27) (a) *aku ta* ‘I, who is here’
(b) *nya nan* ‘he, she or they who is near to the addressee, or previously is mentioned’
(c) *nya ana* ‘he, she or they who is/are distant from either the speaker or the addressee’

The above demonstratives form corresponding derivational locative nominals with the relativizer *dè* in examples (28), and locative adverbs with the prefix *n*- shown in examples (29).

(28) locative nominals
(a) *dè-ta* ‘this (near to the addressee)’
(b) *dè-nan* or *dèan* ‘that (near to the addressee)’
(c) *dèna* ‘that’ (distant from both the speaker and the addressee) (< *dè-nan*)
(d) *dè-tó* ‘this or that, which is visible, but its existence has not been recognized by the addressee’

(29) locative adverbs
(a) *n-ta* ‘here (near to the addressee)’
(b) *ni-nan* or *dèan* ‘there (near to the addressee)’ (< *n-nan*)
(c) *n-ana* ‘over there’ (distant from both the speaker and the addressee)
(d) *n-tó* ‘here or there, which is visible, but has not been noticed by the addressee’
The locative nominals are used to refer to a concrete entity or entities. The referent may be either a singular or plural entity, and either animate or inanimate, as with the third person pronoun *nya* (section 2).

(30) *sanak-sawai=kaku dèta/dèan/dèna.*
   sister=1GEN this/that/that
   ‘This/That/That is my sister,’ or ‘These/Those are my sisters’.

(31) *ai-aning Samawa dèta/dèan/dèna.*
   honey Sumbawa this/that/that
   ‘This/That/That is Sumbawa’s honey.’

The third person personal pronoun *nya* plays a similar function in that it may refer to a concrete entity present at the place of utterance.

(32) *sanak-sawai=kaku nya*
   sister=1GEN 3
   ‘He or she is my sister.’

(33) *ai-aning Samawa nya.*
   honey Sumbawa 3
   ‘It is Sumbawa’s honey.’

A basic demonstrative may follow one of the prepositions *pang* ‘at, in’, *kó* ‘to’, *kalis* ‘from’, or *kaling* ‘from’, as in *pang ta* ‘here’ (near to the addressee), *ko nan* ‘there(to)’ (near to the addressee), and *kalis ana/ kaling ana* ‘from there’.

A basic demonstrative refers to location or situation when it stands alone. It often forms an equational sentence in which one argument is a demonstrative, and the other is a phrase with an abstract noun such as *pang* ‘place’, *lók* ‘way’, *rua* ‘form, way’.

(34) *ta/nan/ana pang tu=ètè ai’*
   this/that/yonder place 1PL=get water
   ‘This/ that/ that is a place where we draw water.’

(35) *ta/nan/ana lók tu=kakan jenberai’ raras*
   this/that/yonder way 1PL=eat water spinach
   ‘This/ that/ that is the way we eat water spinach.’

(36) *ta rua adat Samawa’*
   this appearance tradition Sumbawa
   ‘This is what a tradition in Sumbawa looks like’

The construction in (35) derives the compounds *ta lók* ‘like this’ and *nan lók* ‘like that’.

(37) *nya balangan ta lók*
   3 walk this way
   ‘He walks in this way.’
The compounds function syntactically as adverbs in that it may occur in post-predicate position, as in (37) or as the predicate of an equational sentence, as in (38). However, they function phonologically as two words and each constituent thus carries its own word stress. They also deviate from the canonical constituent order of the head and its modifiers; the head normally precedes its modifier, as seen in examples (25).

3.3. Cataphoric and anaphoric uses of demonstratives

The demonstrative *ta* is used cataphorically, while *nan* is used anaphorically.

Example (39) is an example of the cataphoric use of *ta*. Here, *ta* in the first clause refers to the headman’s words that follow.

(39) dadi *ta* lók lèng blèng datu *ta*,
then this way words say headman this
‘tó’, ku-prènta nènè laló sama srang’
now 1SG=command 2PL go together fight
‘The headman said like this, ‘Now I will order you to go to fight’ [DPG 011]

Example (40) is an example of anaphoric *nan*. It is a conversation between a grandmother and her grandson about their relatives. The NP with the demonstrative *nan* (*tau=nan ‘that people’) in (b) refers to the two people mentioned in the previous utterance (a).

(40) (a) *berarti* papén-*Ali* ké’ Papén Koa
it means grand.parent-*Ali* and grand.parent Koa

sempu=dua si?
cousin=two YN
‘So, Grandpa Ali and Grandpa Koa are the second cousins?’

(b) a.a. papén-*Aras* papén-*selaki* *ta*,
yes grand.parent-*Aras* grand.parent-male this

basempu-sai ké’ Koa ké’ *Ali*
be.cousins with Koa with *Ali*

apa *nan* sempu-sai’ *tau* *nan*.
therefore that cousin-one people that
‘Well, Grandpa Alas, that is, the Grandpa here (the speaker’s husband) is a cousin with Koa and *Ali*, so the people are cousins.’ [PA081–082]

Example (41) is also a conversation between a grandmother and her grandson. The grandmother is talking about her school days. The pronominal demonstrative *dèan* in
(b) refers to the two teachers, *guru Tojang* and *guru Indeng*, mentioned in the previous utterance, (a).

(41) (a) 
\[ \text{guru } \text{tu } \text{bóé } \text{mo } \text{ka=maté} \]
\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{teacher} & \text{1.PL.GEN} & \text{gone} & \text{ICT} \\
\text{guru Tojang, guru Indéng} & \text{teacher Tojang, teacher Indeng} & \\
\end{array} \]

"Our teachers are all gone…Tojang, Indeng…"

(b) 
\[ \text{tau-Empang } \text{dèan?} \]
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{person-Empang} & \text{that} \\
\end{array} \]

"Are they (lit. those) from Empang?" [PA029]

The demonstrative *nan* may refer to a definite entity that forms a part of the shared knowledge of the speaker and the addressee. In (42), the speaker mentions two rivers where she used to wash clothes. Neither of the rivers is mentioned in the previous part of the utterance, but the relevant one is marked by the demonstrative *nan*, because the rivers can be identified from the geographic knowledge shared between the speaker and the addressee.

(42) 
\[ \text{jarang ada sumér apa rua berang tu-turés, } \]
\[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{rarely} & \text{exist} & \text{well} & \text{therefore} & \text{INTERJ} & \text{river} \\
\text{lamén} & \text{nó} & \text{brang} & \text{nan} & \text{brang-Peria} & \text{nan}. \\
\end{array} \]

"Earlier, because we rarely had a well, we went to the rivers. If we did not go to the river near to our home, we went to Pria river."

[PA048]

The third person pronoun *nya* (section 2) may play an anaphoric function similar to the demonstrative *nan* or *dèan*, as in example (43).

(43) 
\[ \text{dapat } \text{ana } \text{pas pang’ katokal noa blé’ } \]
\[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{arrive} & \text{over.there} & \text{just} & \text{at} & \text{position} & \text{hole} \\
\text{nya pang’ terpa dèta} & \text{3 place land this} \\
\end{array} \]

"They arrived at the serpent’s hole. This is the (serpent’s) nest’. [Si Mina]

The form *nan-nya*, a compound of the demonstrative *nan* and the third person pronoun *nya* may be similarly used.

(44) 
\[ \text{ina’ ina’ ènèng=mè gama ina’ } \]
\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{mother} & \text{mother} & \text{beg=rice} & \text{please} \\
\text{muntu nó.poka’ tingi batu-Langléló’ } & \text{when} & \text{not.yet} & \text{high stone-Langléló’} \\
\end{array} \]

"‘Mother, Mother, please give us food, before Langlelo stone is raised,’ the children said’. [Flat Stone]"
3.4 The usage of demonstrative *ta* to mark important entities in narrative

In narrative, the proximal demonstrative *ta* is used to mark the important entities in a plot. Example (45) is a passage from a folktale entitled ‘The Story of Lanang Maté’. In this story, the main character *Lanang Maté* first makes a trap, and obtains white ants, which he exchanges for a chicken. The proper noun that indicates the main character *Lanang maté* always occurs with the demonstrative *ta*, and so are the objects that play an important role in the plot: *bu* ‘trap’ in (b) and (f); *kodong* ‘trap’ in (e); and *mentrènè* ‘white ants’ in (g).

(45) (a) *Lanang-maté ta, pina mo bu*  
Lanang-mate this make ICT trap  
‘Lanang Maté made a trap.’

(b) *bu ta kènang bau simir n=dalam brang*  
trap this use get catfish at=inside river  
‘(Normally) the trap is used to catch catfish in the river.’

(c) *tapi Lanang-maté ta, lin kè tau lin*  
but Lanang-mate this different with man other  
‘But Lanang Maté is different from others.’

(d) *nya pasang bu pang tenga rau*  
3 put trap at center field  
‘He put the trap in the field.’

(e) *setela se-petang né, sióp laló gita kodong ta*  
after one-night INTERJ morning go look trap this  
‘Next morning he went and saw the trap.’

(f) *bang bu ta lempó ling mentrènè*  
unexpectedly trap this filled by white.ants  
‘Next morning, he went and saw the trap; the trap was filled with white ants.’

(g) *karing mentrènè ta, ètè ling nya*  
then white.ants ta ètè’ by 3  
‘Then he took the white ants.’

In this usage, the demonstrative *ta* draws attention to the addressee (the ‘ostensive’ function mentioned in 3.1), and makes the plot easy to understand.

4. Concluding remarks

This paper has offered an overview of Sumbawa deixis in the Sumbawa Besar dialect. The three common categories of deixis in Sumbawa have been explored, namely, personal deixis, spatial deixis, and time deixis.

Personal deixis distinguishes the three common persons: number (singular and plural) is distinguished only in the first and second person, while speech level is distinguished only for the first and second person singular. Two types of humble form exist for the first person singular, and three types of honorific form exist for the second person.
singular. Syntactically, an independent pronoun occurs as a head noun, while a subject clitic occurs within a predicate to indicate the person of the subject. As a modifier in an NP, a distinctive genitive clitic occurs for the category of the first person singular, plural, and the second person singular, while the independent pronoun occurs in the other categories.

The basic set of the spatial demonstrative exhibits three-term distinctions according to distance from the reference point: ta - nearer the speaker than the addressee; nan - nearer the addressee than the speaker; and ana - distant from both the speaker and the addressee. Temporal deixis adopts two of these demonstratives, namely, proximal ta and distal ana: proximal ta indicates the point or domain in time that includes the time of utterance (e.g., ano ta ‘today’), while distal ana indicates time far in the past (e.g., tin ana ‘that year, that is far in the past’).

In addition to situational use, ta and nan have cataphoric and anaphoric uses, respectively. Ta also functions in narratives to indicate the important entities in a plot and thus makes the plot easy to understand.

In addition to the basic set, the form to’ can be included in the morphosyntactic category of demonstratives. This form is used in a noun phrase to refer to an entity or situation visible to either the speaker or the addressee, but whose presence is not recognized by the addressee. It is used to draw attention to the addressee. This form is also used as a temporal deixis referring to the point in time when the utterance is made.

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>actor voice</td>
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<td>negator</td>
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<td>singular</td>
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<td>TITLE</td>
<td>particle introducing a personal name</td>
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<td>YN</td>
<td>a yes-no question and response to it</td>
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**References**


