Chapter 4

Two definite markers in Manado Malay

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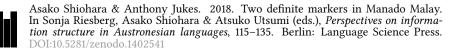Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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This chapter discusses referential strategies in Manado Malay (MM), a variety of trade Malay spoken in North Sulawesi, with special focus on how a lexical NP is marked according to the information status of the referent. Like some other Malay varieties, MM uses two strategies to indicate definiteness: articles and the third person singular possessive. The articles are derived from demonstratives and used for direct situational and anaphoric reference, while the possessive is used for reference in which some kind of association is required for identification. An article and a possessive may co-occur in one NP. The semantic domain each form covers is not exclusive to the other but rather belongs to intrinsically different semantic dimensions. Thus, the MM system enables speakers to mark that the referent is textual-situationally accessible and, at the same time, associable to the larger shared situation.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses referential strategies employed in lexical NPs in Manado Malay (hereafter MM). There, forms functionally similar to what is called the "definite marker" in other languages are grammaticalizing from two distinct sources: one is from the third person singular possessive marker *depe* and the other is from the demonstratives.

   MM is a variety of trade Malay spoken in Indonesia by upwards of 2 million people in North Sulawesi, the Sangir and Talaud archipelagos to the north, and Gorontalo to the west. It seems to have developed from North Moluccan Malay, but it has developed independently since the 17th century (Paauw 2008: 43–44). Until relatively recently, first language speakers were mainly found in the city of Manado, while elsewhere MM was used as a second language by speakers of the indigenous Minahasan and Sangiric languages. In recent decades MM has become the first language of virtually the entire population of the region. Although most of the Minahasan and Sangiric languages are still

spoken, even elderly people grew up with MM and it could be considered a "joint" first language, while for many people of all ages, it is their first or even their only language.

The notion of monolingual MM speakers requires some clarification. The education system, media, and government administration largely use standard Bahasa Indonesia (BI), and so everyone is exposed to this variety and code switching and mixing are pervasive. Some speakers are clear about the significant grammatical and lexical differences between BI and MM, and they call MM "Melayu Manado" or "Bahasa Manado", recognizing that it is not the same as BI. Others do not have this meta-awareness and believe that the language that they speak is BI. As noted by Paauw, "Manado Malay and Indonesian (and, in particular, colloquial Indonesian) have been converging to the point that speakers of Manado Malay, to varying extents and often subconsciously, employ Indonesian vocabulary and constructions when using Manado Malay, and it is often difficult to draw a line between the two languages" (Paauw 2008: 44).

The data sources of this study are (i) translation/elicitation from standard Indonesian sentences, (ii) semi-spontaneous monologue that was obtained using a procedural video as stimulus, and (iii) an unpublished MM-BI dictionary compiled by the Pusat Penerjemahan Bahasa (PPB, Translation Centre) in Tomohon. The last item was particularly useful and the authors would like to thank Albert Polii for making it available to us.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: §2 provides a brief overview of the NP structure of MM. In §3, we will examine the semantic function of the two definite marking devices, that is, articles and the third person possessive *depe* based on elicited and published data, and provide a brief comparison to the other Malay varieties. In §4, we will see larger texts elicited using a procedural video and confirm the usage of the two devices discussed in §3. In §5, we look at the MM definite marking strategy from a cross-linguistic perspective.

2 NP structure in MM

Before discussing the referential strategy of MM, we will show the NP structure in MM, largely based on Prentice (1994: 424–429). (1) is the structure that Prentice suggests. Note that Prentice calls the demonstrative "deictic".

(1)   (article) (POSSESSOR+*pe*) N$_{head}$ (attributive N/V)[1]

Two articles *tu* and *ni*, "both translatable by *the*" (Prentice 1994: 424), are derived from the distal demonstrative *itu* and proximal demonstrative *ini*, respectively. "The articles both mark the referent of the following noun as being known to both speaker and addressee, while *ni* has the added function of indicating geographical temporal and/or psychological proximity to the speaker" (Prentice 1994: 424). Examples (2a–b) are examples from Prentice (1994: 424).

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[1]Quantifiers may precede or follow the head noun according to its pragmatic status, which we will not go into further in this research.

(2) a. *tu   anging*
       ART wind

   'the wind (e.g. which blew down my coconut palms.)'

   b. *ni   anging*
       ART wind

   'the wind (e.g. which is blowing now.)'

Prentice suggests that the demonstratives may either precede the head-noun alone or follow the combination of article + noun, as shown in Example (3a–d).

(3) 'that island' or 'those islands'/ 'this island' or 'these islands'

   a. *itu pulo*
       that island

   b. *ini pulo*
       this island

   c. *tu   pulo itu*
       ART island that

   d. *ni   pulo ini*
       ART island this

We assume that Prentice's data was collected in the 1980s and 1990s. More recent MM data shows that the pre-predicate slot is more frequently, though not exclusively, filled by the article. Thus, phrases like (2a–b) or (3c–d) are more common than ones like (3a–b).

   In more recent MM data, the form *tu* may co-occur with either the demonstrative *itu* or *ini*, as seen in *tu ruma itu* in example (4) and *tu parkara ini* 'this problem' in example (5).

(4) *Tu   ruma itu ancor lantaran da kena   bom waktu prang.*
    ART.D house that broken because PST affected bomb time   war

   'That house is broken because it was bombed in the war.'   (PPB:2)

(5) *Tu   parkara ini   so lama nyanda klar-klar.*
    ART.D issue   DEM.P PFV long NEG   solved

   'This issue has not been solved (lit. finished) for a long time.'   (PPB:62)

Example (4) and (5) suggest that the form *tu* has undergone semantic bleaching, as it is neutral regarding the distance to the reference point.

   The occurrence of the determiners *tu* and *ni* exhibits a syntactic restriction in that they only occur with S, A, and P but not with an oblique. Consider examples (6) and (7) below, which Prentice (1994: 430) provides to show word order variation in the MM transitive clause. Examples (6) and (7) both denote almost the same proposition in which "I" is the actor, the basket is the location, and the rice is the theme; and the non-agent NP occurs with the determiner *tu* only when it is P.

(6) *Kita so   isi tu   loto   deng padi.*
1SG PFV fill ART.D basket with rice

'I have already filled the basket with rice.'

(7) *Kita so   isi tu   padi di loto.*
1SG PFV fill ART.D rice at basket

'I have already filled the rice with a basket.'

In possessive structures, the possessor noun or pronoun precedes the head (the possessed item) being followed by the possessive marker *pe*, the short form of *punya* 'have' in standard Malay. Table 1 contains the paradigm of possessives with personal pronouns and a lexical noun.

Table 1: Possessives

1SG	*kita / ta pe*	*kita pe anak* 'my child'
1PL	*torang / tong pe*	*torang pe anak* 'our child'
2SG	*ngana pe*	*ngana pe anak* 'your (SG.) child'
2PL	*ngoni pe*	*ngoni pe anak* 'your (PL.) child'
3SG[2]	*dia pe / depe*	*depe anak* 'his/ her/ its child'
3PL	*dorang / dong pe*	*dorang pe anak* 'their child'
lexical noun	NOUN *pe kamar*	*anak pe kamar* 'a child's room'

Among the forms presented in Table 1, the long form of the first-person possessive (*kita pe*) and the short form of the third person (*depe*) are not shown in Prentice (1994: 424). However these forms, especially *depe*, are much more frequently observed in current MM than their alternatives.

In MM, the possessor is obligatorily marked when the referent of the matrix NP is possessed by, or has a part-whole relation to, a referent whose identity is clear from the previous utterance – thus, in sentences (8) and (9), the possessive obligatorily occurs.

(8) *Tu   anak pe gaga.   depe   mata basar deng depe   mulu kacili.*
ART.D child POSS beautiful 3SG.POSS eyes big   and 3SG.POSS mouth small

'How beautiful the child is. Her eyes are big, and her eyes are big, and her mouth is small.'   (elicited)

(9) *Sayang ini   pohon, depe   ujung so   potong.*
pity   DEM.P tree   3SG.POSS tip   PFV cut

'(This) poor tree, the (its) top has been chopped off.'   (elicited)

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[2]The third person pronouns *dia* (SG) and *dorang* (PL) may refer to both animate and inanimate referents, and so may the possessives, as seen in sentence (8) and (9) among others.

The article and possessive may co-occur in pre-head noun position, as seen in examples (10) and (11), suggesting they are assigned to separate syntactic positions.[3]

(10) *Serta tu   depe ubi milu deng   sambiki so   mandidi.*
      after ART.D 3SG.POSS potato corn and pumpkin PFV   boil

      'after the potato, corn and pumpkin are boiled.' (elicited narrative, speaker D: 45)

(11) *Dia no tu   / ni   kita pe   papa.*
      3SG PTC ART.D / ART.P 1SG POSS father

      He is my father. (lit. the my father)   (PPB dictionary:89)

This co-occurrence also suggests that they each have semantic functions independent of each other. We will return to this point in §4.

As will be seen in the section that follows, the use of *depe* partially overlaps with that of English definite article *the*, but not all *depe*-marked NPs refer to a so-called definite referent.

In example (12), neither the possessor *ayang* 'chicken' or *de* '3SG' in the possessive is referential, but used attributively.[4]

(12) *Kita suka **ayang** pe   kaki, mar nyanda suka **depe**   dada.*
      1SG like chicken POSS leg but NEG.   like 3SG.POSS breast

      'I like chicken leg meat, but not chicken breast meat.'   (elicited)

The development of the articles and possessives that we have seen in this section have been observed in other varieties of Malay, to a lesser or greater extent. We will give a brief comparison in §3. The variation of the position of the demonstratives and the long and short forms of the third person possessives mentioned above illustrate the transitional status of the two strategies.

3 Semantic functions of the articles and the possessive construction

As mentioned in the introduction, MM has developed two types of definite markers, the sources of which are the demonstratives and possessives. Their compatibility in one NP (e.g. *tu depe ruma* 'the house of him/her/it) implies that each device has a function

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[3]As for the status of possessives, Lyons (1999: 130–134) proposed a typological distinction of DG language and AG language; in the former, the possessive is assigned to the determiner position and, in the latter, to the adjectival or some other position. The compatibility of the article and possessive, seen in sentences (10) and (11), suggests that MM belongs to the latter (AG) type.

[4]Note that the antecedent of *depe* in example (12) is the expression *ayang* 'chicken', not the referent of the expression *ayang* 'chicken'. (See Krifka & Musan 2012: 23 on the distinction of expression givenness and denotation givenness.) This type of anaphorical usage is not observed in the third person possessive pronoun in many other languages, such as English *its* or *nya* in standard Indonesian. Thus, the sentence '*I like chicken leg meat, but not its breast meat' cannot be accepted as the English counterpart of example (12).

independent of each other. In this section, we will examine the semantic function of each strategy, mainly based on MM sentences obtained as translations of target sentences from standard Indonesian and utterances observed in every day conversation.

Hawkins (2015: Chapter 3) makes a distinction between four major usage types of the definite article *the*: anaphoric, immediate situational, larger situational, and associative anaphoric uses.

The MM articles *ni* and *tu* are used in cases similar to the first two types, that is, anaphoric use and immediate situational use. In sentence (13), the two forms are used for making reference to the entity in the speech situation, in sentence (14), one of the two forms *tu* is used for making reference to the entity or situation mentioned in the previous discourse.[5]

(13) *Bole pinjam tu   / ni   pulpen*?
      may borrow ART.D / ART.P ballpoint.pen
      'May I borrow that ballpoint pen?'   (elicited)

(14) *Ada parampuang gaga   deng dua anak da masuk ke satu ruangan. kita*
      exist woman   beautiful and two child PST enter to one room   1SG
      langsung tahu sapa tu   parampuan itu.
      directly know who ART.D woman   DEM.D
      'An elegant lady and two children came in the room. I immediately knew who
      the woman was.'

These two uses correspond with what Lyons (1999: 166, 198) calls "textual-situational ostension". According to Lyons, "what these have in common is that the referent is immediately accessible." Lyons suggested that a primary distinction of definiteness should be made between textual-situational ostension and other usages. The former functionally overlaps with demonstrativeness, and the others do not. A similar view is presented in many previous studies, such as Hawkins (2015: Chapter 3), Himmelmann (1996), and De Mulder & Carlier (2011: 528).

Demonstratives are a well-known source of definite markers in many languages, as suggested by Heine & Kuteva (2002) and Lyons (1999) among others. De Mulder & Carlier (2011: 528) suggest that the crucial semantic shift from demonstratives to the definite article is seen from *direct reference* that corresponds to the direct situational use and anaphoric use of Hawkins, to *indirect reference*, which corresponds to anaphoric associative use and larger situational use.

Notwithstanding the distinct syntactic position in NP from the demonstratives, the uses of the articles in MM have not undergone a semantic shift and have not extended

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[5](14) is a sentence obtained as a rough translation of sentence (i) below; an example of anaphoric use of the English definite article is given in Lyons (1999: 3).

   (i) An elegant, dark-haired woman, a well-dressed man with dark glasses, and two children
        entered the compartment. I immediately recognized **the woman**....

beyond direct reference. Instead, indirect uses are covered by the third person possessive *depe* '3SG.POSS' in MM. In the anaphoric associative use of *the*, the NP refers to something associable to the referent of a previously mentioned NP, while in the larger situational use, the NP refers to something associable to the situation of the utterance itself. In both uses, the hearer is supposed to use shared general knowledge for identification; the hearer and the speaker need to know the referent is associable to the antecedent or the utterance situation in question.

Sentences (15–16) are examples of anaphoric associative uses.[6]

(15) *Kita lebe suka Australia daripada Jepang karna   depe   sayur-sayur   lebe*
      1SG more like Australia from   Japan because 3SG.POSS vegetable.RED more
      sadap deng murah.
      tasty and   cheap

      'I like Australia more than Japan, because vegetables there are tastier and cheaper.'   (elicited)

(16) *Kita baru pulang   dari pesta kaweng. Depe   broid ta pe   tamang.*
      1SG just come.back from party wedding. 3SG.POSS bride 1SG POSS friend

      'I have just come back from a wedding party. The bride was a friend of mine.' (elicited)

Employment of the third person possessive *depe* for this use can be easily explained by its original meaning; the possessive *depe* includes *de*, the shortened form of the third person pronoun *dia* '3SG'. The pronoun *dia* may be used as an anaphor, and in the possessive, it indicates the presence of a whole to part relation between the referent of the pronoun and the matrix NP.

From sentences (15) and (16) above, we can see that the semantic relation between the possessor and the head noun is not limited to the simple whole to part relation that is exemplified in sentence (8) and (9) shown in §2. There may be various relations, such as location, as seen in example (15), and occasion, as in example (16).

However, the semantic range the possessive covers does not seem to perfectly overlap with that of anaphoric associative *the*. Consider example (17), which Lyons (1999: 3) gives as one of the examples of associative use of the English definite article.

(17) I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way, **the driver** told me there was a bus strike.

In sentence (18), a rough MM equivalent of sentence (17), the counterpart of the English definite NP does not receive any explicit marking, as seen in sentence (18).

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[6]Example (16) is obtained as a rough MM equivalent of sentence (ii) below; an example of associative anaphoric use of English *the* given in Lyons (1999: 3). (ii) 'I have just come back from a wedding party. The bride wore blue.'

(18) *Ni   hari kita da   nae taksi dari   stasion. Di tenga   jalang* (**depe   / *tu*)
     ART.P day 1SG PFT ride taxi from station at middle way   3SG.POSS   ART.D
     sopir *se   tau   tadi   ada cilaka   brat.*
     driver CAUS know before exist accident heavy

   'I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way **the driver** told me there was a
   serious accident.'   (elicited)

In this situation, we can reasonably associate the referent of *sopir* 'the driver' to *taksi*
'a taxi', and that is the reason the NP undergoes the definite marking in English sen-
tence (17), but that is not the case in MM. The reason may be that the semantic relation
between *sopir* 'the driver' and the associated *taksi* 'a taxi' cannot be taken as a possessor-
possessed, or whole to part relation, to the MM speakers; one of the MM speakers sug-
gested that he could not use the possessive *depe* here because the driver possessed the
taxi, not the reverse. This example may show the difference between the English defi-
nite article in associative use and MM possessives; the former may indicate any type of
association, while the latter exhibits some limitations which presumably are attributed
to the original possessive meaning. At the present stage of our research, however, we
do not have enough data to provide the precise condition where the possessive may or
may not occur.[7]

The use of *depe* in example (19) and (20) overlaps with the "larger situational use" of
the in Hawkins's classification, where the referent of the *depe* NP is associable to the
utterance situation. Note that there is no clear antecedent of the possessive in these
examples.

In sentence (19), the NP *depe cuaca* refers to the weather of the place the speaker and
hearer are located in.

(19) *Depe   cuaca   bae.*
     3SG.POSS weather good

   'The weather is nice (today).' (spontaneous utterance obtained from daily
   conversation)

The sentences in (20) are from a Facebook post. Example (20a) is the original Facebook
post made with a picture of yams, and (20b) and (20c) are comments posted by two
friends of the poster. In both comments, *ubi* 'yam' mentioned in the original post is
marked by *tu* and *depe*, and the antecedent of *depe* is not explicitly mentioned.

(20)   a. *Slamat pagi,   panen   ubi jalar   serta menanam ulang.*
          good.morning harvest yam spread after plant   again

       'Good morning, harvesting yams and then planting them again.'

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[7]We might be able to infer that if the 'possessed' NP is animate and the 'possessor' NP is inanimate, the
marking with *depe* may not be permitted, as it contradicts the concept of possession we intuitively would
have.

Other varieties of Malay exhibit similar developments to a greater or lesser extent. Adelaar & Prentice (1996: 675) suggest that the use of the short form of the demonstratives *ni* and *tu* as well as forms such as *pu* or *pun* (derived from *punya* 'have' as possessive marker) are among several morphosyntactic features shared among trade Malay varieties, which Adelaar & Prentice (1996: 675) call Pidgin-Derived Malay (PDM) varieties. Regarding the development of demonstratives into the definite markers, Adelaar (2005: 212–217) points out the anaphoric use of the short forms of demonstratives *tu* and *ni* in Ambon Malay and Cocos Malay; they also underwent semantic bleaching similar to that of MM. Similar types of development are reported in both Papuan Malay (Kluge 2017: 384–388) and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012: 263, 277).

The development of the possessive into a definite marker is also observed in colloquial Indonesian, in which the third person possessive enclitic *=nya* is used to indicate identifiability, exhibiting functions similar to MM *depe* in associative anaphoric use and larger situational use (Englebretson 2003: 161–168). A rather different distribution was observed in Baba Malay, spoken in Malaka and Singapore by "Strait-born" Chinese. In Baba Malay, the articles *ini* and *itu* cover larger semantic domains, including associative anaphoric use and larger situational use (Thurgood 2001: 477–480), although the third person possessive suffix *-nya* also has similar functions to the articles (Thurgood 1998: 132–135).

4 Determiners and possessives in elicited procedural text

4.1 Method

In this section, we will see larger texts elicited by a short cooking video as stimulus to confirm the syntactic and semantic functions of the two strategies outlined in the previous sections. The advantage of employing this method for elicitation is that (i) this type of non-linguistic stimulus enables us to collect more naturalistic data without the influence of a medium language, and (ii) the reference tends to be clear in the text obtained through this method when compared to purely spontaneous utterance in which the referent of each NP may not always be easily identified (see Majid 2012 for details of elicitation methods using stimulus materials.)

The video employed as stimulus here is titled *Tinutuan* 'Manadonese porridge'. The video was shot by one of the authors and is available from https://youtu.be/cyJanYZjXoo. We asked four speakers of MM (H, I, D and A) to watch the video and give a commentary in MM. In the video, the main dish *tinutuan* 'Manadonese porridge' and the side dishes *tahu goreng* 'fried tofu' and *dabu-dabu* 'chili sauce' are cooked. The outline of the cooking process is shown in Table 3.

Figure 1: *Tinutuan* 'Manadonese porridge', *tahu goreng* 'fried tofu' and *dabu-dabu* 'chili sauce'.

Table 2: MM speakers who provided the narrative

Name	Age	From	Mother tongue
H	65	Beo, Talaud	Talaud
I	36	Beo, Talaud	Manado Malay
D	34	Sonder, Minahasa	Manado Malay
A	55	Tomohon, Minahasa	Tombulu

Table 3: Outline of the cooking process

Scene 1:	showing ingredients
Scene 2:	cut and peel hard vegetables such as yam and pumpkin
Scene 3:	put the vegetables and rice into a pan and heat them
Scene 4:	cut and wash the leafy vegetables
Scene 5:	mash the pumpkin in the pan, put the leafy vegetables in the pan and mix all the ingredients
Scene 6:	prepare the side dish *tahu goreng* (fried tofu)
Scene 7:	prepare *dabu-dabu* (chili sauce)
Scene 8:	serve the dish

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Referent and general referential strategies observed

There are 45 entities mentioned in the narrations of the four speakers; the range of entities that each speaker mentioned varies depending on the speaker, and the term for the same entity may vary among speakers, too. The referents can be grouped into the semantic categories below.

- The speaker (1 type): *Isye*

- The name of dishes (3 types): *tinutuan* 'porridge', *tahu goreng* 'fried tahu', and *dabu-dabu* or *laburan* 'chili sauce'

- Ingredients (1 type): *bahan-bahan* 'ingredients'

- Base ingredients, i.e. root vegetables and rice (6 types): *ubi* 'potato', *batata* or *ubi manis* 'sweet potato', *ubi kayu* 'cassava', *sambiki* 'pumpkin', *milu* 'corn', *beras merah*, *beras* 'rice', *aer* 'water'

- Leafy vegetables (6 types): *sayor* 'leafy vegetables', *bayam* 'amaranth vegetable', *kangkung* 'water spinach', *gedi* 'aibika leaf', *kukuru*, *balakama* 'basil', *sarimbata*, *baramakusu*, *goramakusu* 'lemongrass'

- Ingredients for side dishes (8 types): *tahu* 'soybean curd, tofu', *bawang merah* 'shallot', *bawang putih* 'garlic', *garam* 'salt', *tomat* 'tomato', *rica* 'chili', *ikan roa* 'dried fish', *minyak kelapa* 'coconut oil'

- An attribute or a part of ingredients (4 types): *kuli* 'skin', *daong* 'leaf', *isi* 'contents, edible part of vegetable', *warna* (*kuning*) '(yellow) color'

- Cooking tools and so on (6 types): *blanga/panci* 'pan', *kompor* 'stove', *mangko* 'bowl', *pantumbu* 'pestle', *cobe-cobekan* 'mortar', *piso* 'knife'

- Body parts of the cook (2 types): *tangan* 'hand', *jare* 'finger'

- Others (8 types): *cacing* 'worm', *vitamin* 'vitamin', *kelihatan* 'appearance', *nama* 'name', *priksaan* 'test', *hasil* 'result, *pedis* 'spicy (n)', *orang* 'person'

The text length and number and varieties of the referents mentioned vary among the speakers. Table 4 shows the number of words and referents included in each narrative. Each referent can be expressed by either a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or a lexical NP. Table 5 counts the occurrences of each strategy.

It should be noted that the argument of the predicate is not expressed when it is salient in discourse; category zero counts such arguments.

The actor (the cook) is not mentioned at all in three of the four narratives and is mentioned only once (by the third person singular pronoun *dia*) in the remaining narrative. Other non-agent arguments are also often not expressed; a series of cooking processes

Table 4: The number of words and referents included in each narrative

Speaker	Words included	Types of referent mentioned
I	444	41
H	525	38
D	336	27
A	478	32

Table 5: Occurrence of each strategy

Speaker	Zero	Personal pronoun	Demonstrative pronoun	Lexical NP
I	131	8	18	105
H	111	5	12	95
D	112	1	4	78
A	117	6	8	89

is expressed by a co-ordinate clause, and the entity mentioned in the first clause is not expressed in the clauses that follow it. Consider sentence (21), which consists of coordinate clauses expressing a series of actions processing garlic. Here, the actor does not occur throughout the sentence, and the patient, *bawang putih* 'garlic' occurs only once in the first clause, but not in the three clauses that follow.

(21) *Aa kase ancor bawang <me->*[10] *bawang putih so   kase ancor ϕ lagi   iris-iris ϕ*
      ITJ CAUS crush onion   <re->   onion   white PFV CAUS crush   again slice
      lagi   hh campur ϕ di tahu.
      again ITJ mix   at tofu

      'Aa…(she) crushes the onion…the garlic, after crushing, (she) will slice (it) and
      mix (it) with tofu.'   (speaker H 37–38)

In what follows, we focus on how lexical NPs are marked with the articles and/or the possessive. A lexical NP may occur (i) in unmarked form, that is, a bare NP, (ii) with the article *tu* or *ni*, (iii) with possessives *depe* or *dia pe*, (iv) with both the article *tu* and the possessive, (v) with a postposed demonstrative, or (vi) with =*nya*, the third person singular possessive enclitic used in standard Indonesian.

Most of the possessives are that of the third person singular *depe* in the text; the text includes only one example of the lexical noun possessor, *sambiki le pe kuli* [pumpkin also POSS skin] 'pumpkin's skin'.

Table 6 shows the occurrence of the article and the possessive construction.

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[10]In this utterance, the speaker started to say bawang merah 'shallot', and then corrected herself saying bawang putih 'garlic'.

Table 6: Occurrence of the determiner and the possessive construction

	Sum of the lexical NPs	Unmarked	ART (*tu/ni*)	POSS	*tu* + POSS	DEM Pre-posed	DEM Post-posed	=*nya*	Others
I	105	62	32 (31/1)	8	2	0	0	0	0
H	95	45	3 (1/2)	41	0	0	2[a]	3	1
D	79	47	19 (14/2)	9	2	3	1	0	1
A	88	77	6 (6/0)	3	0	0	1	0	1

[a](*ni+ini*)

As observed in §2, in current MM the pre-head noun position is much more frequently filled by the article than by a demonstrative. This data confirm the observation; we can see only 3 instances of pre-head noun demonstratives compared to 65 instances of articles. We also mentioned the variation in form of the third person singular possessive. The short form *depe* occurs much more frequently (66 examples) than the long form *dia pe* (3 examples).

The individual narratives exhibit considerable variation in the frequency with which each speaker uses the two strategies – the determiner and the possessive. For example, speaker I prefers to use the article, while speaker H prefers the possessive *depe*. Speaker D uses both in similar frequencies, while speaker A rarely uses either of the markers.

Notwithstanding the difference in preference in using each device, the use in the text maintains the basic semantic function of the determiners and the possessive, which we have shown in §3; the articles mark a textual-situationally given referent, while the possessive *depe* or *dia pe* marks a referent associable to a given referent or utterance situation.

Table 7 shows the distribution of NPs with an article and the possessive *depe* in a textually accessible environment.

Table 7: The distribution of the articles and possessive *depe*

	Articles	Possessive *depe*
Total	59	61
Not textually accessible	3	30
Textually accessible	56	31

Because of the nature of the text, most of the referents are visible to both the speaker and addressee.[11] That makes it difficult to verify how direct situational accessibility affects both devices. The fact that a considerable number of NPs were not marked by either of the devices, however, suggests that situational accessibility is not a crucial factor for either of the markings.

[11]The addressee in any given narrative is whichever of the authors was present at the time of recording.

Regarding textual-accessibility, we can see a clear difference of frequency between the articles and possessives. In the 59 occurrences of the NP marked with articles in total, 56 refer to a textually accessible – in other words, previously mentioned, entity.

In contrast to the articles, as expected by the observation of §3, textual-accessibility does not influence the use of the possessive *depe*.

In the following sections, we will see the details of how each strategy works in the text.

4.2.2 Textually accessible use of the article

As mentioned above, in almost all the occurrences the NPs marked with an article refer to a textually accessible referent. The frequency of *tu* is far higher than that of *ni*, as seen in Table 6, which supports Prentice's view that *ni* is semantically marked (see §3). From the text obtained by the experiment, though, we could not clearly see the functional difference between the two articles.

As mentioned in §2, the determiner *tu* occurs with core arguments (S, A, and P). However, not all textually given S and P referents are marked by the determiner. Table 8 shows the frequency of use of the determiner for textually given S and P referents.[12]

Table 8: The frequency of the form *tu* and *depe* marking for a given S and P referent

Speaker	Textually accessible ASP	Marked by ART
I	55	38 (69%)
H	30	3 (10%)
D	35	21 (60%)
A	35	6 (20%)

The preference varies among the speakers. Speaker I and D more frequently used *tu* than the other two speakers. They are younger than the other speakers, and so this may represent a change in progress.

4.2.3 The use of the possessive pronoun

As shown in §2 and §3, the possessive covers anaphoric associative use as a part of its possessive meaning and also covers the larger situational use of Hawkins (2015) as a result of semantic change.

The obligatory marking of the possessor mentioned in §2 is attested by the narratives. Sentence (22) is a typical example.

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[12]No given A occurs in the four texts.

(22) *Serta so   ta-kaluar depe   kuli, mo kupas lei   tu   sambiki.*
     after PFV PASS-peel 3SG.POSS skin FUT peel   again ART.D pumpkin

   'After all the peel has been removed, (then she) will peel the pumpkin, too.' (H 13)

The form *depe* in (22) retains its possessive meaning and indicates that the referent of the whole NP is associable to the referent of previously mentioned NP. In actual sentences, the associative use and larger situation use cannot always be separated clearly.

   Consider sentence (23). This is the first sentence in scene 6 (preparation of a tofu dish), and the antecedent of *depe* in the NP *depe tahu* 'the tofu', is not clear, or is at least unavailable in clauses that directly precede sentence (23).

(23) *Skarang mo bekeng **depe**   tahu. tahu taro di panci.*
     now   FUT do   3SG.POSS tofu   tofu put at pan

   'Now (we) want to make the tofu. Put the tofu in the pan.'   (I 052)

Sentence (24) provides a similar example. This is the first sentence in scene 7 (preparation of chili sauce), and the antecedent of *depe* in the NP *depe laburan* 'the sauce', is not clear, or at least is unavailable in the clauses that directly precede it.

(24) *Itu   mo bekeng depe   laburan.*
     that FUT make   3SG.POSS sauce

   'There (she) is going to cook the (its) sauce'.   (D 80)

According to the speaker, in both cases, the possessor is the main topic of the whole text: *tinutuan* 'Manado porridge', fried tofu and chili sauce always come together with the porridge as a side dish and can be considered a part of the dish.

   The dish *tinutuan* does have prior mention and we could therefore say that sentences (23) and (24) are examples of anaphoric associative use. But the prior mention of *tinutuan* is made in the very beginning of the whole narrative — far from sentences (23) and (24) (51 and 78 clauses away from each *depe* NP, respectively). It is therefore difficult to consider the NP *tinutuan* to be antecedent of the possessive *depe*. It may be more plausible to think that the referent of *depe* NP is associable with the larger situation in which the utterance was made, that is, watching, and talking about, the cooking process of *tinutuan*.

   Table 9 shows the frequency with which each speaker uses *depe*; each use is classified into those that have an antecedent available in directly preceding clauses – in other words, associative anaphoric use and larger situational use.
Differences among speakers are observed in their use of larger situational *depe*.

   As seen in Table 9, one of the four speakers (Speaker H) showed a marked preference for wider topic *depe*, while Speaker I did that to a lesser extent. Speaker H's distinct use of *depe* is clearly seen in the beginning of his narrative, where he introduces ingredients immediately after the title *tinutuan* 'Manado Porridge' is shown. Sentence (25) shows that part; here, speaker H marked the NP expressing ingredients with *depe* '3SG.POSS'.

Table 9: Frequency of the form *depe*

	Lexical NP	Possessive		
		Sum	Associative anaphoric use	Larger situational use
I	105	10	6	4
H	96	43	13	30
D	78	12	3	9
A	89	5	4	1

(25) a. *Mo   bekeng masakan nama-nya   tinutuan.*
　　　　want make   food   name-3SG.POSS(BI) tinutuan

　　　　'(She) wants to cook food named tinutuan.'   (Speaker H: 01)

　　b. *Ado e   pe sadap   skali ini, aah ini batata,   depe   batata,*
　　　　ITJ   ITJ ITJ delicious very this ITJ   this sweet.potato, 3SG.POSS sweet.potato,
　　　　depe   ubi.
　　　　3SG.POSS yam

　　　　'Oh, it is very delicious, this is sweet potato, the sweet potato, the yam.'

Unlike H, the other three speakers introduce the ingredients without any marking. In sentence (26), speaker I describes the same scene.

(26) *Bahan-bahan, bete, ubi kayu   sambiki   milu...*
　　　ingredients   taro sweet.potato pumpkin corn

　　　'Ingredients...taro, sweet potato, pumpkin, and corn...'   (Speaker I: 02)

Differences among speakers are also seen in the description that follows (25) and (26), respectively, which explains the cooking procedure. Sentence (27) is a description that follows sentence (25). Speaker H keeps employing *depe* for referring to the ingredients given in the previous part of his utterance; here, one of the ingredients *batata* 'sweet potato' is marked with *depe*.

(27) *Aah sekarang **depe**   batata   mo di-kupas kase kaluar depe   kuli.*
　　　ITJ   now   3SG.POSS sweet.potato FUT PASS-peel give go.out 3SG.POSS skin

　　　'Ah, now (she) is going to peel the potato, peel off the skin.'   (Speaker H: 11)

In contrast to that, speaker I employs *tu* to mark all the ingredients that were given in the preceding part of the utterance. Sentence (28) is a part of the description that follows sentence (26).

(28) *Pertama kase bersi tu   bete, kupas depe   kuli.*
　　　first   CAUS clean ART.D taro peel 3SG.POSS skin

　　　'First, clean the taro, and peel its skin.'   (Speaker I: 18)

It should be noted that all the speakers use both strategies to a greater or lesser extent. Speaker H, who very frequently uses *depe*, also uses *tu* twice to mark a textually accessible referent, as in sentence (22), while speaker I, who uses *tu* for most of the textually given referents, also employs larger situational *depe*, as seen in sentence (23) above.

The variation observed in the frequency of each device among speakers, therefore, is not caused by differences in the referential system each of them employs, but by which strategy they prefer to code an anaphoric relation of a referent in the discourse and discourse situation. Speaker I prefers to code a relation of a referent in the previous discourse and therefore uses anaphoric articles more frequently, while speaker H prefers to relate a referent to a shared situation told by the whole discourse and therefore uses the possessive more frequently.

As mentioned in §2, the article and possessive may co-occur in one NP. The elicited text includes three examples of such a co-occurrence. Example (29) below and example (10) above from the elicited text and (20)b and (20)c above, which are spontaneous utterances, show this compatibility. In sentence (29), the article *tu* indicates a textual-situational accessibility and the possessive *depe* indicates that the referent can be associated with the shared larger situation.

(29)　*Kase ancor **tu　depe**　sambiki　supaya dapa lia　warna kuning.*
　　　cause smash ART.D 3SG.POSS pumpkin so.that get　　see color　yellow

　　　'(We) smashed the pumpkin, so that we could see the yellow color.'　　　(I 42)

This suggests that the semantic domain each device covers is not exclusive to the other and belongs to intrinsically different semantic dimensions; one may mark the referent as textual-situationally accessible and, at the same time, as identifiable through association with the larger situation shared between the interlocutors.

5　Summary and discussion

We have shown referential strategies of MM, with special focus on how a lexical NP is marked according to the information status of the referent. MM has two strategies to mark so-called "definiteness": articles and the third person singular possessive *depe*. The articles are derived from demonstratives and are used for direct situational reference and anaphoric reference, while the possessive is used for references in which some kind of association is required for identification, which corresponds to anaphoric associative use and larger situation use of English in the classification of Hawkins (2015).

Both devices still retain their original semantic functions. The semantic domain of the articles does not extend beyond textual-situational accessibility, a direct semantic extension of the demonstratives; while the possessive does not cover all the "associative" relations that would be expressed by the definite NP in English, as seen in §3.

Demonstratives are a well-known source of definite markers in many languages. MM articles have established a syntactic position in NPs separated from the postposed demonstratives, and especially *tu* (derived from the distal demonstrative) has undergone semantic bleaching. We could expect that the use of the articles might be extended further to

indirect reference, such as anaphoric associative or larger situational use (Hawkins 2015). This cross-linguistically plausible scenario, however, seems to be blocked by the semantic extension of the possessive *depe*, at least in the present stage.

The article *tu* and possessive *depe* may co-occur in one NP. This fact suggests that the semantic domain which each form covers is not exclusive to the other and belongs to intrinsically different semantic dimensions; one may mark the referent as textual-situationally accessible and, at the same time, as identifiable through association.

A very similar type of referential system with demonstratives and possessives is observed in Cirebon Javanese, a genetically related language (Ewing 1995; Ewing 2005). In Cirebon Javanese, as in MM, the determiners derived from the demonstratives mark directly shared identifiability, and textual-situational accessibility, while the possessive suffix -*é*, marks identifiability through indirect association. The two devices can frequently co-occur in one NP, because they "are not in some sort of complementary distribution" (Ewing 1995: 80).

Similar, but apparently more grammaticalized patterns of marking are observed in Fehring, a dialect of North Frisian. In Fehring, according to Lyons (1999: 161ff), which is based on the description of Ebert (1971a,b), and De Mulder & Carlier (2011), the strong, less grammaticalized, article is used for textual-situational accessibility, while the weak, more grammaticalized, article is used to indicate anaphoric association, unique entity, and generic entity (De Mulder & Carlier 2011: 529). The two articles exhibit complementary distribution in the pre-head noun determiner slot. The result of definite marking development in MM may be the pattern observed in Fehring.

Another possible development may be that one of the two strategies becomes more dominant than the other. As shown in §4, among the four speakers who have provided narrative data, one elder speaker prefers to use the possessive, while the two younger speakers prefer to use the articles. From this generational difference, we might predict that the article will become dominant and extend its semantic domain to indirect reference in the future.

MM is rapidly obtaining native speakers. As it goes in this direction, processes of standardization or homogenization could be expected to affect the marking of definiteness. The process should be monitored through ongoing research.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	the 1st, 2nd, 3rd person		NEG	negation
ART.D	distal article		PASS	passive
ART.P	proximal article		PFT	perfect
CAUS	causative		PFV	perfective
DEM.D	distal demonstrative		PL	plural
DEM.P	proximal demonstrative		POSS	possessive
EXCL	exclusive		PST	past
FUT	future		PTC	discourse particle
ITJ	interjection		RED	reduplication
ITR	interrogative		SG	singular

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