Nih and tuh as spatial deixis in imagined interaction

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Colloquial Indonesian demonstratives *nih* and *tuh* have previously been accounted for in relation to the longer forms *ini* and *itu*, and in terms of the general function of 'giving emphasis'. This article asks what the purpose of 'emphasis' is and why certain parts of an utterance are emphasised in preference to other parts. Based on data from 'imagined interaction' in comics, and drawing on a semiotic-based theory of deixis, the article argues that 'emphasis' is an effect achieved by the joint work between deictic forms and other linguistic and non-linguistic elements that make up the context of utterance. Participants give emphasis in order to achieve interactional purposes. The article demonstrates that *nih* and *tuh* can fulfil presentative, directive, and expressive functions. In addition, *nih* is also used reflexively to identify the speaker with respect to her/his own location (reflexive use), or identify the addressee (alter-centric use) with respect to speaker. Meanwhile, *tuh* refers to a denotatum distal from the immediate participants in interaction. Because of this, *tuh* rather than *nih* tends to be selected for discourse deixis and recognitional deixis.

1. Introduction[1]

The Indonesian *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' are described in reference grammars (e.g., Alwi et al. 2003, Sneddon et al. 2010) as demonstratives used to point to something present (deictics), to refer to a previously mentioned entity or proposition (anaphoric function), and to refer to generic entities or actions. Detailed studies of their syntactic positions and discourse functions include Kaswanti Purwo (1984) and Sukamto (2003). Kaswanti Purwo's study on deixis, which draws examples from newspapers, magazine, fiction, and is supported by introspective data, includes these demonstratives. Sukamto's study focuses on spoken uses in an academic setting. Based on Himmelmann's (1996) categories of 'usage types', Sukamto describes *ini* and *itu* in terms of their situational, discourse deictic, tracking, and recognitional uses.[2] Although these two studies are focused on different modalities – one written, the other spoken – they are essentially addressing language use in formal settings. As such, *nih* and *tuh* – the reduced forms of *ini* and *itu* – receive minimal attention as these forms are generally associated with informal contexts. Sukamto provides examples of *nih* and *tuh* and briefly discusses their

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[2] Situational use is based on the notion of relative distance and serves to establish the referent in the utterance situation; discourse deictic use involves pointing to an adjacent discourse portion with the aim of establishing a proposition or event as the referent; tracking use refers to a referent an entity already established in discourse and serves to keep track of that entity as the discourse unfolds; recognitional use involves the speaker referring to an entity s/he assumes the addressee already recognizes through shared knowledge and invites the addressee to seek clarification regarding the referent or signal that s/he knows what the speaker is talking about (Himmelmann 1996: 240).

semantic scope and function with respect to information structure; however, for the most part, her analysis is focused on the full forms *ini* and *itu*.[3]

Meanwhile, Ewing's (2005) description of colloquial Indonesian discusses examples of *nih* and *tuh* as well as *ini* and *itu*. However, much like Sukamto's, his account does not delve into the topic of functional differences between the forms. Sneddon's (2006) book-length study on the Jakartan dialect of colloquial Indonesian, does explore these differences, accounting for them in terms of 'giving emphasis'. This general function is further specified as follows. When followed or preceded by a noun, *nih* and *tuh* serve as 'intensifier', as exemplified in (1) and (2). When either of these forms co-occurs with a full form, as in (3), they function as 'particulariser'.

(1) *Dessy Ratnasari*   **tuh**   *heboh*   *banget.*
     Dessy Ratnasari   that   sensational   very

     'That Dessy Ratnasari is really sensational.' (Sneddon 2006:70)

(2) *Kagak*   *ngerti*   **ni**   *orang.*
     not   understand   this   person

     'This person doesn't understand.' (Sneddon 2006:70)

(3) *Maksudnya*   *seperti **ini***   **nih**.
     purpose-the   like   this   this

     'This is what I mean.' (lit. 'The purpose is like this.') (Sneddon 2006:71)

Sneddon also points out that, when *nih* and *tuh* follow a verbal or adjectival predicate, they also give emphasis to the predicate, as in (4), but should be considered as discourse markers (2006:71).

(4) *Eh,*   *Tina!* *Lagi*   *makan* **nih***?*
     exc   Tina   still   eat   DM

     'Hey Tina! You're eating, are you? (Sneddon 2006:72; my translation)[4]

Terms such as 'intensifier' and 'particulariser' suggest the placement of emphasis or stress on a particular part of an utterance in preference to other parts. The question is, why is that part given emphasis? What is the function of this emphasis? My purpose in this paper is to begin addressing these questions by examining how *nih* and *tuh* are used in forms of interaction for which the accompanying semiotic clues (vocal and gestural) are available. Having such clues helps us to understand what constitutes the context of an utterance and minimises the possibility of misinterpretation. Having contextual details is also particularly useful for resolving ambiguous cases. For example, the utterance in (2) can be interpreted as 'I don't understand this person' (the first person subject not being mentioned), instead of 'This person doesn't understand' (as in Sneddon's translation).[5] My argument is that *nih* and *tuh* serve several functions in

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[3] These reduced forms are written as *ni* and *tu* in Sukamto (2003), indicating variation in pronunciation (also see Sneddon 2006: 70).

[4] It is common for Indonesians to say the obvious as a way of connecting with the addressee. The speaker here most likely can see that Tina is eating. By uttering (4) s/he implicates that Tina is 'not doing something else', so if the speaker wants her to do something, she either waits or urges Tina to stop eating and do something else.

[5] Himmelman (1996: 224) points out that having data which include gestures would be useful in explaining the relation between transferred (non-situational) uses and situational ones. Situational uses

discourse, of which giving emphasis is one. Taking account of the forms' multifunctionality is helpful for explaining the purpose of emphasis. Emphasis is an indication of salience. An element, proposition, or event which is given emphasis is deemed most 'figural' and treated as attention-worthy. As pointed out by Leonard (1985; cited in Hanks 1992:66), salience is a matter of scale. Highest in the scale of figure-ness are elements that are newly introduced and which a change in the orientation of participants. As will be shown below, examining the joint work between utterance and gesture provides a clue as to which element, proposition, or event is treated as figural. Furthermore, observing shifts in gesture and taking into account the contextual details that accompany such shifts are helpful for explaining how emphasis is achieved.

The account of *nih* and *tuh* proposed here is theoretically grounded in the work of Hanks (1990, 1992, 1993, 2000) and Agha (1996). Central to their accounts is that deictic reference is essentially relational as it involves the identification of a referent with respect to an anchorage in a speech event. It is also interactional as deictics are used by speech participants to point to entities or to refer to abstract notions relevant to the interaction. The deictic anchorage or the 'origo' may be identified as the speaker, the addressee, other entities present in the utterance situation, or any combination of these. All of these make up what Hanks calls the 'indexical framework' (1992:50-51). The relation between the referent and its anchorage parallels that of Figure and Ground. The Ground provides the framework with respect to which the Figure is located.

Data for this study are taken from a comic book written by Benny Rachmadi and Muhammad Misrad, entitled *Kartun Benny & Mice: Talk about Hape* 'Benny & Mice Cartoon: Talking about Mobile Phones' (henceforth *Benny & Mice*). This book is a compilation of comic cartoon strips dedicated to the topic of mobile phones. It is one among many written and illustrated by a duo well-known for their sharp wit and jocular commentaries on social issues. The protagonists in the book, Benny (dark, curly haired) and Mice (bespectacled, grey haired) are the cartoonists' alter egos. These characters are so popular that the books by Rachmadi and Misrad are more widely known as Benny & Mice books rather than by their individual titles. *Talk about Hape* is a critique of Indonesia's mobile phone culture, presented through the eyes of two characters who, like many mobile phone-obsessed Indonesians, have experienced both the excitement and frustration of owning mobile phones.

Deixis studies utilise a wide range of data to show the complexity of deictic reference, from face-to-face interaction (Hanks 1990, 1992), workplace interaction (Hindmarsh & Heath 2000), children's stories (Ehlich 1982), newspaper reports (Ehlich 1989, 2007), popular science texts (Becher 2010), to a mixture of written genres (Kaswanti Purwo 1984). Curiously, comics seem to be under-utilised for deixis data. This is possibly due to the fact that comics, while rich in semiotic details, represent only imagined reality, hence considered inferior to real-life interaction. Moreover, it is perhaps assumed that comics do not have the structured presentation of ideas and arguments of the kind found in formal written texts, or the intricacies of plot in written narratives. However, as I

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are ones that serve as "reference to an entity present in the utterance situation" (1996: 219). If the gestures used in situational use are the same as those employed for entities referred to in first mention in transferred uses, then we could establish that the meaning of the latter has its basis in the former. In other words, that the meaning of transferred uses is based on the same notion that guides the meaning of situational uses, namely, relative distance from a deictic centre.

hope to demonstrate, well-crafted cartoons such as *Benny & Mice* are well provided with verbal and gestural signs sufficiently detailed to allow for an appreciation of the complex workings of deictic reference. I use the term 'imagined interaction' in preference to 'constructed' or 'mediated' interaction to de-emphasise the artificiality of the interaction and the cartoonists' conscious and intentional manipulation of language (cf. Harris 1996:283). The term 'imagined' captures both the transposed nature of the interaction and highlights comics as a product of the authors' creativity. Though it may well be the case that cartoons are a product of the authors' conscious and intentional efforts such as implied in the term 'constructed', the enjoyment of reading comics and our experience of the world represented therein is not determined by the production process. Rather, as argued by proponents of deictic shift theory (see the chapters in Duchan et al. 1995), in reading the reader cognitively positions herself within the text world and experience events from that position. In doing so her real-life deictic orientation also shifts to that in the text world (Segal 1995:74). The term 'imagined' captures both the author's creativity and the reader's active reading position.

2. Spatial deixis as a semiotic phenomenon

Probably the most thorough account of spatial deixis in everyday interaction available to date is Hanks (1990; also 1992, 1993). Fundamental to Hanks's theory is the idea that the interpretation of indexical forms depends heavily on the context of their occurrence, therefore a theory of deixis needs to take into account the non-linguistic particulars that make up the context and accompany the utterance. These include gesture, spatial setting, and the physical arrangement of the speech participants in relation to the referent and to each other. Indexicality, according to Hanks (2000), is a relation not of resemblance or determined by convention but one of contiguity. By contiguity he means that in the occasion of its use, the demonstrative form is conceptually accompanied by the referent; both the form and the referent are "co-present" (2000:124).

Deictic forms are differentiated from other indexical forms (e.g., pronouns, place adverbs) by two criteria. Formally, they form closed paradigmatic sets, and functionally, they serve to pick out the individual referent (Figure) with respect to the context of utterance (Ground). Hanks (1992) distinguishes four functional dimensions of deictic reference, as follows.

- *Communicative function*: specifies the speech act value of the deictic reference as 'presentative', 'directive', 'referential', 'phatic', or 'expressive'. Presentative designates an act involving the showing, offering, or giving of the referent (e.g., **Nih duitnya** 'Here is the money'), while Directive, as the name suggests, functions to point out the referent and direct the addressee's attention to it (**Tuh liat orang itu!** 'Look there, look at that person!'). The referential function is the function of deictics in individuating objects, matching the form and the referent (e.g., *nih* in **Nih duit nggak cukup buat beli hape** 'This money is not enough for buying a mobile phone' serves to refer to money known by the speech participants). The phatic function is to do with the management of contact in interaction by signalling attentiveness and comprehension. Indonesian deictic adverb *gitu* 'like that' used for backchannelling is a good example of this (e.g., **O gitu?** 'Oh, is that so?'). The expressive function foregrounds speaker involvement in what is said, which includes subjective evaluation, special emphasis, surprise, admiration, and so on (Hanks 1992:49-50). The use of *nih* and *tuh* for backchannelling falls under this category (e.g., speaker A is telling interlocutor B about her experience of falling off the motorbike, *Gua jatuh dari*

sepeda motor kemaren 'I fell off the motorbike yesterday'. Speaker B might then backchannel by saying *Tuh*, meaning something like 'really?' or 'oh dear!').

- *Characterising function* relates to the semantic categorisation of the referent as 'thing', 'region', 'path', 'time', and so forth. For example, *ni orang* in (2) above specifies the referent as 'person', while *hari ini* 'today' identifies the referent as 'time'.

- *Relational function* is concerned with the notion of relative distance. A referent may be 'proximal to' or 'distal to' the deictic anchorage. In example (4) the form *nih* suggests proximity to addressee and also temporal proximity. As the literal translation indicates, *nih* specifies the event of eating as happening at the time of utterance.

- *Origo of deixis* specifies the anchoring of the referent in relation to the speech participants (speaker, addressee, speaker and addressee) or the utterance situation. Hanks stresses that the origo of deixis constantly shifts during interaction as a result of the negotiation of participant roles and other social processes (1990:79).

In any act of reference, lamination or over-layering of functions is common (1992:65). For example, in **Nih** *duitnya* '<u>Here</u> is the money' accompanied by a hand-giving gesture, *nih* simultaneously fulfils the presentative and directive functions. It is presentative as it is used to index the referent (money) as it is being handed to the addressee, and directive in that *nih* alerts the addressee to the kind of object the referent is. It is for this reason that Agha (1996) argues that in deictic reference is multimodal; linguistic elements and semiotic elements such as gesture work jointly in indexing the referent.

Based on Hanks's theory, Agha (1996) developed an account of spatial deixis as a relation between "schema" and "superposition", that is, between semantic properties and pragmatic specification respectively. Agha adopts three of the four functions described by Hanks and simplifies them into the following two main functions: *characterising* properties and *relational* properties. The characterising properties of a deictic expression "typify the denotatum in semantic terms, specifying it as an entity of some type" (1996:644), e.g. as 'thing', 'region', 'path', and so on. The relational properties "specify the relationship between the denotatum and some zero point of reckoning" (1996:645), so a referent may be 'distal from speaker', 'proximal to addressee', 'proximal to speaker and addressee' and so on. What Agha calls "zero point of reckoning" here is the same as what Hanks terms the "origo of deixis". Both types of properties provide only schematic information about the referent, while contextual details, including non-linguistic ones, are supplied in a usage event. These details, which he calls "contextual superposition", are detachable; that is, they are not part of the conventional meanings of the forms, so they change with use. Thus deictic reference "indexically situates spatial representations in relation to contextual variables whose values are only specified during the course of discursive interaction" (1996:646).

The main difference between Hanks's and Agha's approaches is in the conceptualisation of the relation between the Figure and Ground; that is, between the referent and the contextual details respectively. Whereas Hanks considers these details as the backdrop for the identification of the referent, Agha accounts for them in terms of what they 'do', namely, fill in or 'superpose' the skeletal semantic frame. Both accounts share the view that deictic reference cannot be explained purely by speaker-based notion of distance (Hanks 1990, 1992, 1993; cf. Silverstein 1976). Incorporating Agha's

notion of "superposition" is useful for highlighting the idea that dynamicity does not entail that every aspect of deictic reference is variable. The interpretation of a deictic form has as its basis the form's semantic specifications as well as pragmatic properties. The semantic properties of a deictic form are specified by its lexico-grammatical properties, while the superposing contextual details make up the pragmatic basis for meaning interpretation.

The analysis of *nih* and *tuh* which follows is based on a synthesis of Hanks's and Agha's approaches, summarised below.

- Deictic reference is structured as Figure/Ground alignment.
- The deictic form bears an indexical relation to the Figure, and the Figure is identified with respect to the Ground.
- At the semantic level, the form typifies the schematic properties of the Figure in terms of its *denotational* properties and *relational* properties.
- In any occasion of use, the schematic properties are superposed or 'filled in' by contextual details. These are details that make up the Ground. Both the schematic and contextual information provide a clue to the communicative function of the deictic form.

The analysis below demonstrates that *nih* and *tuh* can serve as presentative, directive, and referential functions. They also give an expressive reading by virtue of contextual details. In transposed (non-spatial) contexts such as narrative, *ini* or *itu* are often juxtaposed with *nih* or *tuh,* producing contrastive effects.

3. Deictic reference in *Benny & Mice*

3.1 *Nih* as presentative and directive

Instances of *nih* and *tuh* in *Benny & Mice* occur mostly as situational use. Himmelmann (1996:240) defines this use as that which "involves the notion of relative distance to some deictic centre and serves to establish the referent in the universe of discourse". This is illustrated in (5). The panel shows people of different ages, gender, social class, and cultural orientation engaged in telephone conversation using mobile phones. The cartoonists use this panel to illustrate the prevalence of the latest tech-craze in Indonesia. There are two occurrences of *nih*: one by the woman who wants to buy an eggplant from the vegetable seller (see front left side of the panel) but the seller is busy organising a date with a woman he addresses as 'Yem[6] (front right side of panel); the other is by an old man who is being given a massage by a younger woman (top right side of the panel). In both instances, *nih* specifies the referent as proximal to the speaker, the speaker being the origo of deixis. The English translation is provided below.

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[6] 'Yem is shortened from 'Pariyem', a name associated with Javanese women from the lower socio-economic class.

(5):

Vegetable seller (front right): *he..he..he.. mosok aku boong sih 'Yem .. pasti jadilah …*
kalo enggak ujan lho ..
'ha..ha..ha.. you think I'm lying 'Yem .. of course I'm coming.. if it doesn't rain
of course..'

Woman buyer (front left): *Woi, bang! Pacaran aja lu … terongnya berapaan **nih**?*
'Hey, *bang*![7] Stop talking to your girlfriend … how much is this eggplant <u>here</u>?

Old man (top right): *iya bu … sebentar lagi bapak pulang.. lagi check up jantung*
***nih**…*
'yes darling … I'm coming home soon .. just getting a heart check up <u>here at the</u>
<u>moment.</u>'

The woman buyer's use of *nih* is both directive and presentative. It is directive as this
form is used to hail the vegetable seller to turn in her direction and tell her the price of
the eggplants. It is presentative in that the utterance is accompanied by her holding the
eggplant up to show (present to) the seller that it is the item she wants to buy.
Semantically, the referent is specifiable as a 'thing' with its relational property being

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[7] *Bang* (from *abang* 'older brother') is a common address term for adult males. It is used both as a kin
term (for one's older brother or husband) and as an address for males in low-service professions, e.g.,
cigarette seller, food peddlar, rickshaw driver.

'proximal to speaker'.[8] The superposed semiotic details, such as the addressee has his back on the speaker and possibly does not hear what she is saying, yield the interpretation of *nih* as pointing to a referent spatially proximal to speaker but not visually accessible to addressee. Visual accessibility is in this case a pragmatic variable. The use of *nih* by the old man (top right on the panel) is discussed in the next section.

3.2 *Nih* in reflexive and addressee-based uses

The other use of *nih* in panel (5) is by the old man. This case is also relationally specifiable as proximal to the speaker but not as a 'thing' proximal to speaker but as 'animate/human' that is the speaker. *Nih* here is 'self-referring' or 'reflexive' as it anchors the speaker with respect to his own physical and temporal experience.[9] It identifies the speaker as Figure with respect to the current time and action (Ground). Its meaning can therefore be described as 'here I am at the place where I am now doing/experiencing X'. Syntactically, this use of *nih* acts like an 'agreement marker'. It 'agrees' with *lagi* 'in process of' in marking progressive aspect. Semantically it is ambiguous between identifying the speaker as Figure and the time of utterance as 'now'. Thus in *lagi check up jantung nih* 'just getting a heart check up here/at the moment', *nih* is not a determiner that modifies *check up jantung* 'heart check up'. A similar example was given in (4). The difference is that in (4), *nih* points to the addressee, not the speaker.

The reflexive use of *nih* is also shown in example (6) where the form occurs in the speech of a schoolgirl (see the middle back row of panel). The panel shows the girl talking to the family driver, Mang Diman, asking him to pick her up at the school gate. *Nih* identifies the girl as Figure, while the action of waiting at the specified location at the time of utterance, and the fact that the addressee is not co-present, constitute Ground details. As with the use of *nih* by the old man in (5), *nih* in this example locates the referent with respect to its own spatial location, action, and time.

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[8] One could also argue that *nih* here also suggests proximity to both speaker and addressee; however, in this instance, the referent, though spatially proximal to both speaker and addressee, is not visually proximal to the addressee. The speaker's use of the form as a directive here is aimed at rendering that referent visually accessible to the addressee.

[9] It is not clear to me at this stage whether what I call 'reflexive use' here is similar or the same as that referred to by Abraham (2011: xviii-xix) as 'weak deictics'. He defines these as "those means serving only to refer to the Origo" and which "serve the purpose of establishing a relation between the Origo and the sign under consideration". Weak deictics are expressed by grammaticalized elements (e.g., article lexemes in the nominal domain, and conjugation and inflection in the verbal domain).

(6)

> School girl with bag slung across her shoulder: *Mang Diman dimana sih?! Jemput aku dong ... aku udah di gerbang sekolah **nih**!*
> 'Mang Diman where are you? Pick me up please ... I'm already at the school gate <u>right now</u>!'

In addition to its reflexive use, *nih* can also be used alter-centrically to locate the addressee in relation to his/her own location, as in (7). In this case, the addressee, not the speaker, is treated as the origo. Semantically, *nih* identifies the denotatum as the addressee, and that this addressee is spatially, visually, temporally, or cognitively accessible to speaker. Whereas the reflexive use of *nih* is ego-centric and can be described as 'I at the location, time, and situation I'm in', the meaning of alter-centric use can be specified as 'you at the location, time, and situation you are in, which I can spatially, visually, temporally, or cognitively access'.

(7):

Saving makes you rich …

Benny: *Wuiichh … Lempeng!! Banyak duit **nih**…*
'   Wow … so serious!! Have lots of money, <u>do we now</u>?

The panel shows the referent, Mice (wearing glasses, sitting down), carefully counting the money he has just earned, while his mate Benny commenting behind him, saying that he looks very serious. Benny's pupils are shown dilated, seeing the thick wad of money in Mice's hands. One might argue that *nih* points to the money as syntactically, it follows the noun *duit* 'money' and the quantifier *banyak* 'much, a lot', therefore *nih* modifies the phrase *banyak duit* 'have a lot of money'. However, the superposition of contextual details provides a clue that the referent is Mice. First of all, the first part of Benny's utterance (*Wuiich.. Lempeng!!* 'Wow… so serious!!') is a remark on Mice's countenance. This part provides the lead-in to the following part in which Benny surmises that Mice is looking very serious because he is concerned whether or not he has enough money to get himself the latest mobile phone. In both cases, the concern of the utterance is firstly with the addressee, and by extension, to the money in the addressee's hands. *Nih* is thus used to refer to the addressee. This alter-centric use is similar to English 'we' used to mean 'you' in sarcastic comments (e.g., 'sleeping in, are we?', suggesting that one should have got up; 'having coffee, are we?', suggesting that perhaps one is being too leisurely and should be doing something else other than having coffee).

According to Sneddon (2006:71), when *nih* or *tuh* follows a verb or adjective, it puts an emphasis on the predicate and should be considered as a discourse marker, as in (4) seen earlier and is reproduced below.

(4) *Eh,   Tina! Lagi   makan **nih**?*
      exc   Tina   still   eat   DM

      'Hey Tina! Eating, are you? (Sneddon 2006:72; my translation)

As discourse markers generally convey the speaker's subjective attitude toward what is said, they fall under Hanks's (1992) functional category 'expressive'. However, although *nih* in (4) follows a verb, it is not clear how expressivity or emphasis works. Semantically, in this alter-centric use, as it is also in (7), *nih* identifies the addressee as the referent (identified with respect to her/his own location, time and action). The expressive value, I would argue, derives from its being used to convey politeness. Using *nih* to mean 'you' is less direct than using the second person pronoun *kamu* 'you' (as in *Eh, Tina! Lagi makan, kamu?* 'Hey Tina! Eating, are you?). The latter would likely make the utterance sound brash.

The use of *nih* as a form of politeness can be further illustrated in the use of the colloquial phrase *nih ye*. For example, *marah nih ye* 'getting annoyed, are we?' is a reconciliatory remark made on seeing someone taking offence to what one has said. In compliments, *nih* adds a playful tone to an utterance, e.g., *baru nih ye!* 'wow, look at that new thing you're wearing/using!' (uttered upon seeing someone wear or use something new, such as items of clothing, accessories, car, mobile phone). Another interesting example is the following remark, posted as caption for a photo of a group of women friends sitting around a table: *Wauw.. mejeng nih ye!* 'Wow, look at you all showing off! (lit. 'Wow, showing off are you/we, hey!')'[10] Semantically *nih* locates the referent (i.e., the women) with respect to their transposed location (the photograph) and action (posing). Thus jointly with the tag *ye* 'yes' and the colloquial verbal form *mejeng* 'pose, show off' *nih* yields an expressive reading as it conveys the speaker's jocular attitude toward the referent. However, it is useful to bear in mind that not all instances of alter-centric use index politeness (e.g., *nih* in (3)). Further research is needed to understand what sorts of pragmatic considerations should be taken into account in determining the politeness reading.

3.3 Juxtaposition of *nih* and *ini*

When *nih* is juxtaposed with the full form *ini*, a contrastive effect results, as illustrated in (9) below. The panel in (8) below is the preceding discourse that provides the context to this example. The cartoon panel in (7) above is the beginning of a series of panels showing Benny and Mice discussing the merit of owning the latest mobile phone technology. In the panel following that in (7) (not included here), Mice shifts his bodily orientation toward Benny and tells him that he wants to use his money to buy the latest mobile phone with large enough memory for taking good photos as well as internet connection. Benny is alarmed by Mice's plan to spend all of his money on a mobile phone and remarks that 6 million rupiah is an extravagant sum to spend on such a gadget, for surely all one needs is to be able to make calls and send text messages. Benny then persuades Mice to opt for a cheaper solution. If Mice wants to take photos, he should buy a digital camera instead, and if he wants to use the internet, he should go to an internet café. This is shown in the two panels in (8).

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[10] See publicly available photo file at http://www.flickr.com/photos/67022685@N05/6102323259/

(8):

Left panel:

> Mice: *Kameranya udah 5 MP!! Gua perlu buat foto-fotoan.*
> 'The phone has an 5MP camera!! I need it for taking photos.'

> Benny: *Beli kamera digital aja!! ... cuma 1.5 juta.*
> 'Why don't you buy a digital camera; it only costs 1.5 million rupiah.'

Right panel:

> Mice: *Udah ada 3Gnya!! Internetan jadi cepet!!*
> 'The 3G version has come out!! You get a much faster internet connection!!'

> Benny: *alaaa…. ke warnet aja!!*
> 'Why, you can just go to the internet café!!'

Mice relented (though annoyed that he did so) and bought a cheap secondhand phone. The panel in (9) below shows Mice pointing out the new phone to Benny. Both *nih* and the full form *ini* occur in his speech.

(9):

Mice: ***Nih****!! akhirnya gua beli hape yang 200 ribuan!! second lagi!!* **ini** *bener-bener cuma bisa SMS sama nelpon… Puas lu!?*
'<u>Here, see!!</u> I ended up buying a mobile for around 200 thousand!! It's secondhand too!! <u>this one</u> only does SMS and calls … You're happy now?'

Benny: *he he he… duit lu 'kan masih sisa banyak…. Traktir makan yang mewah dooong..!!*
Ha..ha..ha… you've still got a lot of money left …. You can buy me an expensive meal!!

Here *nih* occurs as a demonstrative pronoun, the referent (the new mobile phone) being identifiable from the situational context. It serves presentative and directive functions and locates the referent as proximal to speaker, much like *nih* used by the woman buyer in (5). The double exclamation marks following *nih* suggest to the reader that the form is uttered in a forceful tone. The difference is that in (9), this 'thing' is visually accessible to the addressee. This referent is figural, that is, it is highly salient in the perceptual field of participants in the current spatial framework. The pointing to this referent results in the shift of addressee's orientation. Notice in example (9) that Benny's gaze is intently directed toward the referent. This is a shift from his downward gaze in the panels in (8) which, together with his folded arms, suggest disinterest in what the addressee is saying. By contrast, in (9) his eyes are wider and turned toward Mice, and his tongue is poked out, suggesting a playful attitude. In this example, the full form *ini* also occurs as a pronoun but its function is referential; that is, it serves to individuate the referent ('*this* mobile phone'). Unlike *nih*, *ini* lacks presentative and

directive values. The use of both forms produces a contrastive effect. Section 4 further discusses this point.

Laminated on the presentative function of *nih* in (9) is the expressive value. This value is gained by the superposition of contextual details in the form of graphological devices (e.g., double exclamation marks occurring three times, and bold type in the last utterance, *Puas lu?* 'You're happy now?'). Thus here *nih* is used not only to present the referent to the addressee but it also foregrounds the speaker's attitude toward what is said (Hanks 1992:49). This, and the foregoing examples in (4) and (7), demonstrate that 'giving emphasis' is better understood in terms of the effects that result from the joint work by all elements within the indexical framework, not just by *nih* and the preceding element (whether it be a noun or verb) or proposition. Meanwhile, *ini* 'here' also serves other functions. Endophorically it refers back to the previous mention of the referent in the preceding clause, namely, *hape yang 200 ribuan* 'mobile phone which costs around Rp 200,000', thus serving as a tracking device. Exophorically, it refers to the object in Mice's hand, individuating it with respect to the current interaction and identifies it as Figure (referential function).

3.4 Tuh and the notion of distance

In situational use, *tuh* is used to specify the referent as distal from the origo. In (10), the origo is identified as Benny (on right) and the referent as Mice (on left). The panel shows Mice getting anxious as the phone credits he had purchased, which are supposed to have been credited automatically, do not show up. Benny, who is standing behind him, suspects that something is wrong with his friend's phone.

 (10):
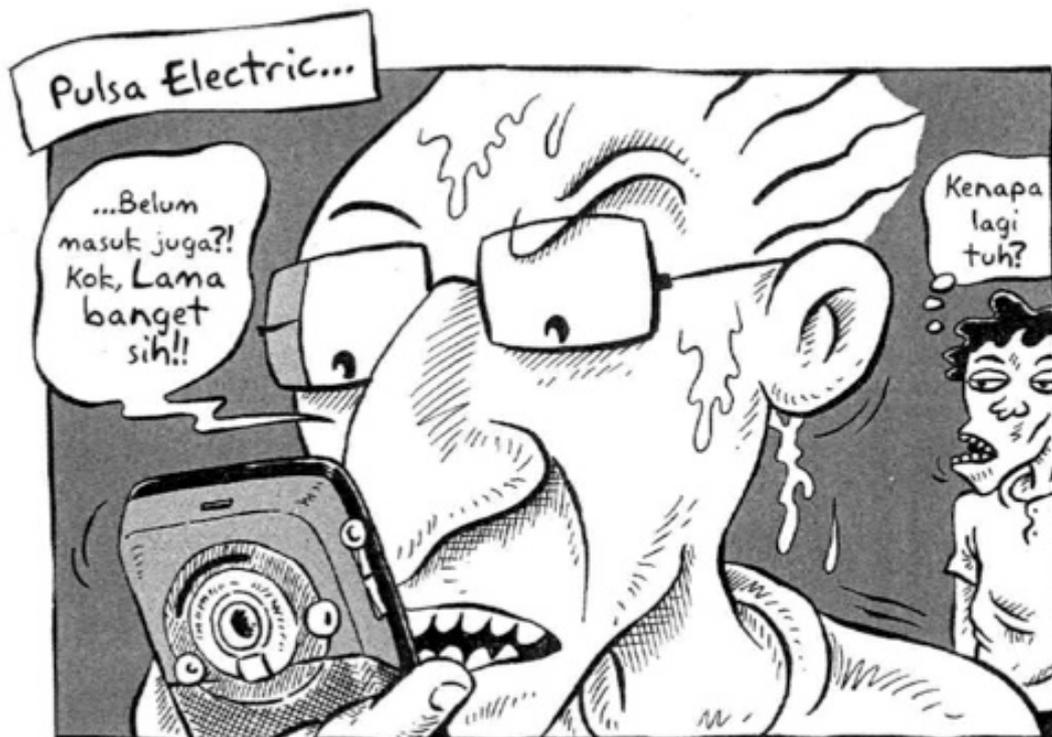
Electronic phone credits

Mice: … *Belum masuk juga?! Kok, Lama banget sih!!*
… It's not in? Why is it taking a long time?

> Benny: *Kenapa lagi tuh?*
> What's the matter with <u>him now/there</u>?

Though the referent of *tuh* is specified by the relational property 'distal from speaker', the effects of the utterance are much richer as a result of the superposition of gestural elements (such as Benny's gaze and Mice's facial expression). Benny (the origo of deixis) is shown standing some distance away from Mice (the referent) and his gaze is directed at him though what he sees is only the back of the latter. Benny is shown here thinking about Mice and his phone. His use of *tuh* points to Mice in the first instance, and only secondarily, to the phone. Thus the phone is identified *relationally* through Mice, not other way round. The notion of 'distance' can also be understood in interactional sense as signalling an 'indirect' interaction, by which I mean that the interlocutors are not directly engaged in verbal interaction with each other. In this panel both participants are shown talking or thinking to themselves. Mice is facing his phone and uttering his concern as if to himself, while Benny, facing the back of his addressee, looks on with disinterested eyes (compare with his piercing eyes in (7) and cheeky look in (9)), thinking to himself rather than directly responding to Mice's utterance. This is unlike the distal, addressee-based use of *nih* we saw earlier in (7) which, though it also locates the referent as distal from the speaker, necessitates a more immediate speaker-addressee engagement.

3.5 **Tuh** as recognitional deictic

Situational use, as Himmelman defines it, specifies distance from an origo which is not always the speaker (also see Abraham 2011:xviii). In (11), the origo is identified as both the speaker *and* addressee. This panel shows Benny and Mice hearing from someone in a house high behind theirs that s/he got credits for free (credits Mice paid but were sent to the person's phone by mistake). *Tuh* is here used by Benny as a directive, to point to the voice-referent, and at the same time, in conjunction with the tag *'kan* (protracted to *kaan* to show affect) to point out to Mice that his suspicion about the latter's phone credits being misdirected proves correct.

(11):

Voice from house above: *Cihuuuuyy!! Gua dapet pulsa nyasar 50 rebu!!*
Adeeem… adeem deeh….
'Yipeee! I got 50 thousand rupiah worth of credits sent by mistake!! Coool…
really coool….'

Benny: **tuh**, *kaan!*
'hear <u>that</u>? What did I tell you!'

Mice: ?!

The interpretation of *tuh* as pointing to distance from both speaker and addressee in (11) is supported by non-linguistic clues such as visual direction and gesture. Both Mice and Benny's vision are directed toward the source of voice above them, and Benny is shown with an upward pointing gesture. However, the occurrence of *tuh* in conjunction with the tag *'kan* in this instance not only identifies the referent with respect to the origo, but also represents the conventionalised meaning 'what did I tell you!' This use of *tuh* approximates what Enfield (2003) calls 'recognitional deixis', namely the use of an expression the comprehension of which calls upon the speaker's assumption that the addressee can figure out what is being referred to.

Unlike *nih ye* which is semantically alter-centric and conveys the speaker's lighthearted attitude toward what is said, the identification of the referent pointed to by *tuh, kan!* requires shared knowledge of the preceding discourse. In the case of (11), this preceding discourse shows Benny guessing the cause of delay in Mice's phone credits, as shown below in (12).

(12):

Left panel:

Mice: *.. gua beli pulsa electric, dari tadi belum masuk juga!! nyebelin!*
.. I bought electronic credits but they still haven't been credited to my account!!
So annoying!

> Benny: ... *emang, kadang suka lama juga **tuh***!
> you know, sometimes <u>it/that</u> can take a long time!

Right panel:

> Benny: ...*Waaah?! jangan-jangan lu salah nyatet nomornya kali ..?*
> 'Whooa?! Don't tell me you wrote a wrong phone number (for the credits to go into)?'

Here, *tuh* is used as a discourse deictic, pointing to an adjacent discourse segment in order to establish a proposition or event as referent (Himmelmann 1996:240). The left panel shows Mice expressing his annoyance at the delay in getting his phone credits. Benny tries to calm him down by saying that the process (of having the credits sent to one's phone) can take a long time. The right panel shows Benny's alarmed face at realising that the reason Mice has not received his credits might be that the latter had supplied the wrong phone number so the credits went to someone else's phone. As we saw in (11), Benny's suspicion is proven correct.

4. Differences between *nih* and *tuh*, and the full forms

As the foregoing discussion demonstrates, *nih* and *tuh* both have several functions. They are used in interaction as to show the referent to addressee (presentative), and hail the addressee and ask her to turn her attention to the referent (directive). *Nih* is also used to point to oneself in relation to utterance time and one's current situation (reflexive use), or to locate the addressee in relation to her utterance time and current situation (addressee-based or alter-centric use). In the latter case, it is the addressee, not the speaker, who is treated as the origo of deixis. Semantically *nih* encodes proximity to the origo. It can be used expressively, as we saw in (9), and this interpretation results from its co-occurrence with superposed details such as voice volume and other gestures, or its co-occurrence with other linguistic elements such as the tag *ye* in *nih ye*. Meanwhile, in the interaction shown, *tuh* does not occur in either reflexive or alter-centric uses. Instead, it refers to a denotatum distal from the first and/or second person, the immediate participants in interaction. Because of the association between *tuh* and the relative remoteness from these participants, it is *tuh* rather than *nih* that is selected for discourse deixis and recognitional deixis.

 The interaction examined in this study shows that the juxtaposition of forms for pointing to the same referent produces a contrastive effect. As shown earlier in (9), the reduced form *nih* introduces the referent in first mention. The accompanying gestures (holding up the referent and calling out to the addressee) add an expressive dimension to the utterance. Once the addressee is alerted to the presence of the referent, it is then pointed back with the full form *ini*. The full form thus serves both referential and tracking function. *Tuh* and *itu* can produce a similar effect. For instance, a person standing next to an addressee at a dock can point to a boat in the distance and say in the first instance ***Tuh**, lihat ada kapal besar!* '<u>Look there</u>, there's a big ship!', then add ***Itu** kapal barang* '<u>That</u>'s a cargo ship'. The order of occurrence between the reduced and full forms in this case does not parallel the usual pattern in anaphoric reference where it the longer form (NP) occurs as first mention, and tracking is done with a pronoun (the shorter form).

To summarise, the examples from *Benny and Mice* show that *nih* and *tuh* are mainly used as presentative and directive, as in (5), (9), and (11), to refer to self (as in (6)) or the addressee (as in (7) and (10)), or as a discourse deictic (as in (12)). Where *nih* acquires an expressive meaning, that meaning is inferable from the context (see (9)).

The full form *ini* occurs in referential function. The full form *itu* also occurs in the data in this function but is not exemplified here.

5. Conclusion

The instances of *nih* and *tuh* examined in this study occur in what Haviland (1993; also Haviland 2000) refers to as 'local space' and 'interactional space', the former being the space in which observable features of the environment are located, while the latter is the space projected by the participants' bodily orientations. Not all instances of *nih* and *tuh* analysed here serve an emphatic function, if by 'emphatic' one means involving subjective evaluation and affect. As shown, syntactic position alone does not determine whether *nih* or *tuh* is emphatic. Emphasis is a pragmatic notion which, in indexical reference, is indicated by the demonstrative *jointly* with other elements in the indexical framework (linguistic and non-linguistic), as well as their syntactic position. It is therefore distributed across different parts of an utterance or discourse. The purpose of giving emphasis is to achieve interactional goals. Thus it is not that the overall function of *nih* and *tuh* is to give emphasis, but rather that giving emphasis is part of what participants do in interaction. Hence in (9) the primary function of *nih,* as mentioned, is to direct the addressee's attention to the referent, but in its being used as such, it gains an emphatic meaning by virtue of contextual details.

It is likely that the current finding is influenced by the nature of the data examined here. As the interaction depicted in *Benny & Mice* is situational, the demonstratives are used mainly in presentative, directive, and referential functions. It could well be that in narrative data, where they are predominantly used to refer to referents and events that are spatially and temporally distant from participants, these situational functions are less prevalent. A study comparing interactional data with narrative ones would help clarify this issue.

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