

8 *Demonstratives in Samoan*¹

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1 Introduction

In comparison to English, Samoan is extremely rich in deictic means of expressions, not only in respect of the number of deictic morphemes and the semantic distinctions they express, but also with regard to text frequency. In our corpus, which consists of spontaneously written e-mails and spoken and written narratives, we found clauses with up to four deictics as, for instance, *'inei* 'here', *lea* 'this', *lenei* 'this' and *mai* 'hither, towards the deictic centre' in our first example:

- (1) *'Ua ā mai le mālūlū 'aia o Siamani.*
PERF what DIR ART cold ice POSS Germany
'O 'inei lea fo'i e tau mālūlū mai lenei aso.²
PRES here DEM also GENR weather cold DIR DEM day³
'How do you find the icy cold in Germany? Here (i.e. in Canberra), it is also cold weather today.' (e-mail)

These two clauses contain three kinds of deictics: the directional particle *mai* 'hither'; the local noun *'inei* 'here'; and the demonstratives *lea* and *lenei*. Literally the two clauses translate as follows: 'What is towards the deictic centre (i.e. the addressee in a question) the

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² The e-mails and the short stories quoted here were originally written without glottal stops and macrons.

³ The abbreviations used in the interlinear morphemic translations are: ANAPH - anaphoric pronoun, ART - ARTICLE (when not specified, the specific singular article), COMPL - complementizer, CONJ - conjunction, DEM - demonstrative, DIM - diminutive article, DIR - directional particle, DU - dual, EMPH - emphatic particle, EXCL - the suffix *-e* used in exclamations, FUT - future, GENR - general tense-aspect-mood particle, LOC - locative-directional preposition, NSP - non-specific article, PAST - past tense particle, PERF - perfect particle, PN - proper name, POL - polite, POSS - possessive preposition or affix, PRES - presentative preposition, PROG - progressive, REL - proform functioning as the head of relative clauses, SG - singular, TAM - tense-aspect-mood particles.

icy cold of Germany? This (place) here also, it is cold weather towards the deictic centre (i.e. the writer in this context) on this day'.

In Samoan narratives the number of deictics is more than twice as much as their equivalents in their idiomatic English translation. Thus on the pages 50 to 63 in Moyle (1981) we find 85 demonstratives, local deictic adverbs and directional particles, while their English equivalents *this*, *that*, *here* and *there* count only 34.

The present study investigates the morphosyntax and semantics of demonstratives from a holistic perspective which, as far as possible, comprises all kinds of uses in order to describe and explain how the meaning the demonstratives have in the actual speech situation is transferred to their other functions. We therefore include an analysis of their anaphoric and cataphoric use in text deixis and reference tracking, their recognitional use, and their grammaticalised use in relative-clause constructions. In accordance with this holistic approach, we will also refer to the temporal uses of the demonstratives and their formal and semantic relation to deictic nouns and verbs.

The Samoan demonstratives are a subclass of deictic words many of which are derived from the same deictic stems:

1. pronominally and adnominally used demonstratives, e.g. *lenei* 'this here';
2. deictic local nouns, e.g. *'inei* 'here';
3. deictic temporal nouns, e.g. *nei* 'now, today', *ananei* 'earlier today';
4. deictic verbs, e.g. *fa'apēnei* '(do/be) like this here'.

In addition, Samoan has directional particles, e.g. *mai* 'hither, i.e. towards the deictic centre', *au* 'thither, i.e. away from the deictic centre', which express the orientation of an action, process or state of being.

2 The language

2.1 The ecology of the Samoan language

The Samoan language belongs to the Samoic-Outlier group of Nuclear Polynesian. It is spoken by approximately 170,000 people in Western Samoa, 35,000 people in American Samoa and 100,000 Samoan migrants in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii and California. Along with English, it is an official language in Western Samoa and in American Samoa, but its vitality is strongest in Western Samoa, where it is the prevailing means of communication (cf. Mosel 2004). It is also the best researched Polynesian language⁴ and the one in which the largest number of texts is published by both Europeans⁵ and Samoans.⁶

⁴ Cook (1988), Duranti (1981, 1994), Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), Milner (1966), Ochs (1988), Pawley (1966), Pratt (1862).

⁵ Stuebel (1895), Krämer (1902–03), Moyle (1981), Hovdhaugen (1987).

⁶ For example, school books, collections of short stories (Aiavao, Tuitolova'a) and several weekly Samoan newspapers published since the beginning of the 19th century.

2.2 Varieties of Samoan

Samoan is spoken in two varieties: the T-language and the K-language. They differ in that the phonemes /t/ and /n/ of the former are replaced by /k/ and /ŋ/ in the latter. While the T-language is used in church, school and the media, the K-language is predominant in traditional ceremonies, village council meetings and casual conversations. In both the T- and the K-language an additional distinction is made between formal and informal ways of speaking. With the exception of direct speech in short stories, the use of the T-language is obligatory in written Samoan.

2.3 Grammatical characteristics

For the purposes of the following investigation, the most relevant structural features of Samoan are:

1. Samoan is more or less an isolating language with only a few derivational affixes, and pronouns being the only inflected words.⁷
2. Each sentence can be segmented into phrases. The main types of phrases are verb phrases, noun phrases and prepositional phrases, which are distinguished from one another by the type of functional words they occur with, such as TAM markers and negations in verb phrases, articles, demonstratives and possessive determiners in noun phrases, and prepositions in prepositional phrases.

(2) *Na alu le tamā i le fa'atoaga.*

PAST go ART father LOC ART plantation
VP NP PP

'The father went to the plantation.'

3. Verb phrases do not contain any person marking (as typical Western Oceanic languages do). If it is clear from the context who or what is talked about, participants in events require no explicit expression. It is possible to narrate actions without referring to the agents, although there is no passive. A representative example is the beginning of the story *A'oga i le 'Ato Fu'e Umu* ('School with the baskets that are used for the food coming from the earth oven') by Aiavao.

(3) 'O le afaifi o le Aso Sā e tā mai ai le lau-niu,
PRES ART evening POSS ART Sunday GENR cut DIR ANAPH ART coconut-leaf
'ua lalaga ai tama'i ato e lua, e sauniuni mo le
PERF weave ANAPH little basket GENR two GENR prepare:RED for ART
ā'oga i le taeao. E auli fo'i lavalava o nai tamaiti ...
school LOC ART morning GENR iron also clothes POSS ART:DIM:PL children
'On Sunday evening (a boy) cuts a coconut leaf, weaves two little baskets from it to be prepared for the school in the morning. (A girl) also irons the clothes of the little children ...' (Aiavao 1987:60).

⁷ See Pawley (1966), Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), and for the theoretical problems of the inflection of possessive pronouns cf. Stolz (1992:447-462).

For native speakers it is quite clear that the implied agents of the actions ‘cut a coconut leaf’ and ‘iron the clothes’ are different persons, as in Samoan culture only boys climb coconut trees and cut leaves, and only girls and women iron clothes.

4. Third person pronouns are hardly ever used in the function of core arguments. Consider the beginning of the short biography of Agafili. The theme of this text, *'o Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a*, is mentioned at the very beginning but not referred to any more in the following clauses, which all relate to Agafili.

(4) *'O Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a na soifua mai i Salailua ...*
 PRES PN PN PN PAST live DIR LOC Salailua

'Ua fa'aipoipo iā Luafaletete Laumatiamanu ma 'ua to'afitu
 PERF married LOC PN PN and PERF seven

o lā alo. Na a'oa'oina i le ā'oga a le faife'au ...
 POSS 3DU child PAST be.educated LOC ART school POSSART pastor

‘Agafili Lā'au Tuitolova'a was born in S. ... (He) is married to L. L. and they have seven children (lit. their children are seven). (He) was educated in the Pastor's school ...’ (Tuitolova'a 1985:iv)

5. The basic word order is VP NP/PP ...⁸ but verbal clauses can also start with a fronted prepositional phrase as in (3) and (4). This phrase is marked by either the presentative preposition *'o* (PRES) or the locative preposition (*'i*) (LOC).
6. The articles do not distinguish between definite and indefinite, but between specific and non-specific noun phrases, i.e. between noun phrases whose referent can be identified and those noun phrases whose referent cannot irrespective of whether these noun phrases are mentioned for the first time or not. Thus specific noun phrases translate as ‘the X, a certain X, a particular X’ and non-specific noun phrases as ‘any X’. Non-specific noun phrases are typically found in negative and interrogative existential clauses (‘there is no X’, ‘is there an X?’) and in hypothetical clauses (‘if there is an X’); cf. example (6).

2.4 The data used in this study

The data for our investigation come from elicitation,⁹ observation,¹⁰ traditional oral narratives edited by Moyle (1981), written traditional narratives (Sio 1984), modern short stories (Aiavao 1987; Tuitolova'a 1985) and spontaneously written e-mail messages from Ainslie So'o.

⁸ For a justification of this view cf. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:414).

⁹ In particular from Ainslie So'o and Makerita Va'a.

¹⁰ Since 1985 I have spent a total of 24 months in Samoa doing fieldwork and working as a consultant for the production of a Samoan monolingual dictionary and a grammar for teachers. My work has been funded by the German Research Society, the Arts Faculty Research Fund of The Australian National University, the Australian South-Pacific Cultural Fund, and the Australian Agency for International Development.

3 Demonstratives: definition and morphology

As a starting point for the following discussion we take Himmelmann's definition of demonstratives, which suggests that the demonstratives of a language can be identified on the basis of the following two characteristics (Himmelmann 1996:210ff.):

1. the element must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which — when used exophorically — locate the entity referred to on a distance scale as proximal, distal, etc.
2. the element should not be amenable to the following two uses, which are characteristic for definite articles:
 - *larger situation use*: demonstratives are generally not usable for first mention of entities that are considered to be unique in a given speech community (... **This/that sun was ...*).
 - *associative-anaphoric use* as exemplified by the following example from the Pear Stories, where replacing the definite article in *the branch* by a demonstrative would sound fairly odd:

... on a ladder ... picking pears ... from a tree, and putting it in his ... apron ... it's like they have a microphone right next to the branch ...

According to this definition, the following words qualify as demonstratives:

Table 1: Inventory of specific demonstratives

Singular specific	Plural specific	Meaning
<i>lea</i>	<i>ia</i>	1. 'this/these here' 2. (general, not close to either speaker or hearer) 'this, that'
<i>lenei</i>	<i>nei</i>	'this/these here with me/us (more formal than <i>lea</i>)' ¹¹
<i>lenā</i>	<i>nā</i>	'that/those with you'
<i>lelā</i>	<i>lā</i>	'that/those further away over there'
<i>lele</i>	<i>ie</i> *	'this close to me, within reach'
<i>nale</i>	<i>nae</i> *	'that close to you, within reach'
<i>lale</i>	<i>lae</i> *	'that over there, beyond reach, but not as far away as <i>lelā</i> '

(* only found by elicitation, not attested in Mayer (1976), Milner (1966), Pawley (1966))

The demonstratives *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā* and *lelā* consist of the specific singular article and the deictic morphemes *a*, *nei*, *nā* and *lā*. With the exception of *lea*, the corresponding specific plural forms consist of the bare deictic morpheme and thus show the same pattern of singular–plural distinction as specific common noun phrases, e.g. *le tama* 'the child', *tama* 'the children'.

As later sections will show, *lea* is, in certain contexts, neutral with respect to distance or the speech-act participants. It can, for instance, be used for pointing at particular items of a collection of things. For example:

¹¹ Mayer (1976:34), So'o (pers. comm.).

- (5) *lea ma lea ma lea*
 ‘this and this and this’

The article position can also be filled by the non-specific and the diminutive article.¹² Such combinations are, however, quite rare:

Table 2: Inventory of singular demonstratives

specific (sg. <i>le</i> , pl. Ø)	non-specific (sg. <i>se</i> , pl. <i>ni</i>)	diminutive (sg. <i>si</i> , pl. <i>nai/nāi</i>)
<i>le-a</i>	<i>se-a</i>	<i>si-a</i>
<i>le-nei</i>	<i>se-nei</i>	<i>si-nei</i>
<i>le-nā</i>	<i>se-nā</i>	<i>si-nā</i>
<i>le-lā</i>	<i>se-lā</i>	–

Being non-specific, the forms *sea*, *senei* and *senā* are not used for situational deixis, but only for anaphoric deixis in hypothetical and negative sentences like the following:

- (6) ... *e le'i fa'alogo LTF pē va'ai i sea fa'asilasilaga.*
 GENR not.yet hear PN or see LOC DEM notice
 ‘(... because even if there had been a notice by the bank about their intentions (to change the opening hours), I think, the country was not aware of it.)¹³
 LTF¹⁴ did not hear or see such a notice.’ (*Sunday Observer* 30.3.97)

In contrast, the combination with the diminutive article can be used for both situational and anaphoric deixis. The example below illustrates the situational use; it is the last sentence of an e-mail message, in which the writer jokingly refers to herself as an old woman.

- (7) 'Ua lava *le-a talanoaga. 'ona e lē mālosi 'ato'atoa*
 PERF enough ART-DEM talk because GENR not strong entirely:RED
*si _____ nei*¹⁵ *lo'omatua.*
 DIM:SG DEM old.woman
 ‘This talk is enough because this poor old woman is not entirely strong.’
 (i.e. ‘I am tired now.’)

If the noun phrase is modified by a possessive pronoun in addition to a demonstrative, the latter is separated from the article:

- (8) 'Ae *tālofa i ʔ-o-'u nei tagata!*
 but have.pity LOC ART-POSS-1SG DEM person
 ‘But have pity on this person of mine here!’ (Te'o 1987:1)

The three deictic stems *-a*, *nei*, *nā* and *lā* are also found in the deictic verbs *fa'apea* ‘(be, do, say) like this (ana- and cataphoric)’, *fa'apēnei* ‘(be, do, say) like this (cataphoric)’, *fa'apēnā* ‘(be) like that (anaphoric)’, *fa'apēlā* ‘(be) like that (far away)’¹⁶ and the stems *nei* and *nā* in the deictic local nouns *'inei* ‘here’ and *'inā* ‘there’. In addition, the stem *nei*, which in adverbial function means ‘now’, is also found in the temporal deictics *ananei* ‘earlier today’

¹² This has already been described in Pawley's (1966) analysis of Samoan phrase structure.

¹³ The text in brackets is a translation of the preceding context.

¹⁴ A reporter.

¹⁵ Note that the author writes the article *si* and the demonstrative stem *nei* as two separate words.

¹⁶ Not in our corpus, but in Mayer (1976:189), Milner (1966:48).

and *nānei* ‘later today’ (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:134). In order to simplify the terminology, we will call the combination of deictic stems with articles and the corresponding bare plural forms demonstratives, while the other combinations are called deictic verb, deictic local noun and temporal deictic.

Table 3: Distribution of deictic stems

Stem	Demonstrative	Deictic verb	Deictic local noun	Temporal deictics
-a	<i>lea</i> ‘this, that’	<i>fa’apea</i> ‘like this’	– –	<i>lea then</i>
<i>nei</i>	<i>lenei</i> ‘this’	<i>fa’apēnei</i> ‘like this’ (cataphoric)	<i>’inei</i> ‘here’	<i>nei</i> ‘now today’ <i>ananei</i> ‘earlier today’
<i>nā</i>	<i>lenā</i> ‘that (with you)’	<i>fa’apēnā</i> ‘like that’ (anaphoric)	<i>’inā</i> ‘there (with you)’	– –
<i>lā</i>	<i>lelā</i> ‘that (far away)’	<i>fa’apelā</i> ‘like that’	<i>’ilā</i> ‘over there’	

In the following, temporal deictics like *nei* ‘now’, *lea* ‘then’ and *ananei* ‘earlier today’ are mentioned only in passing and will not be investigated in detail (cf. §8.2.)

The three demonstratives *lele*, *nale* and *lale* cannot be analysed as article plus deictic stem. They all show an element *le/l-* in their singular forms which is missing in the corresponding plural forms and thus could be a relict of the specific article. Its position, however, is different.

Finally, in spoken colloquial Samoan the demonstrative *lea* is sometimes replaced by *lae/lāe* (Moyle 1981:17). It mainly¹⁷ occurs in clause-initial position, where it anaphorically refers to someone or something mentioned before. In the e-mails we also find *lāe* written as two words, i.e. *la e*. In this case *e* seems to be interpreted as the general TAM marker *e* (*lā e* < *lea e* DEM TAM).

- (9) *Na ’ou vili iā Ruth i le aso lea na maua ai*
 PAST 1SG ring LOC Ruth LOC ART day DEM PAST get ANAPH
l-a-’u e-mail iā ’oe. ’O lāe maua i le malaria
 ART-POSS-1SG e-mail LOC 2SG PRES DEM? get LOC ART malaria
si teine.
 DIM:SG girl
 ‘I rang Ruth on the day I got my e-mail from you. The poor girl has malaria.’
 (e-mail)

- (10) ...’ae lata mai le sami ’a-’o lae ’ua ou alu e
 but close DIR ART Sea but-PRES ?? PERF 1SG go GENR
utu.
 collect.salt.water
 ‘... the sea is so close, so I am going to collect some salt water.’ (Moyle 1981:212)

¹⁷ Exceptions are found in Moyle (1981:94, 106, 108).

The expression 'o *lāe/lae* regularly occurs in the answer to the question where a particular person is:

- (11) 'O *fea le teine?* – *Lāe/lae moe.*
 PRES where ART girl ?? sleep
 'Where is the girl? – She is sleeping.'

The Samoan linguists Hunkin (1988:43–46) and So'o (Mosel & So'o 1997:23) observe that in the spoken language *lāe/lae* is often used instead of the progressive particle 'olo'o. In fact, in (9) and (11) 'o *lāe* can be replaced by 'olo'o, but as (10) shows, not all occurrences allow this interpretation. As we do not have sufficient data on conversational colloquial Samoan, we cannot investigate this topic any further. Perhaps *lāe/lae* is polysemous, functioning as a demonstrative pronoun in some contexts, but as a TAM marker in others.

The whole set of demonstratives, i.e. *lea, lenei, lenā, lele, nale, lale* and *lelā*, is only used for exophoric deixis. While *lele, nale, and lale* are usually accompanied by a gesture with the hand or the head (but not with finger-pointing, which is taboo), *lea, lenei, lenā, and lelā* can be used without gestures. Only these are also used in written Samoan. As for the semantic distinctions made by the Samoan demonstratives when used exophorically, we find two parameters:

1. spatial relation to the speech act participants, i.e. to the speaker, the addressee or to neither the speaker nor the addressee;
2. distance to the speech-act participants.

Table 4: Situational meanings of *lea, lenei, lenā* and *lelā*

Distance	Relation to the speech-act participants		
	Speaker	Addressee	Neither speaker nor addressee
very close, in the possession of	<i>lea, lenei</i>	<i>lenā</i>	–
near to, within reach of	<i>lele</i> (+ gesture)	<i>nale</i> (+ gesture)	–
not too far away from the participants, but beyond reach	–	–	<i>lale</i> (+ gesture)
far away from the participants	–	–	<i>lelā</i>

Since the use of *lelā, lele, nale, and lale* seems to be restricted to spontaneous conversational discourse and our corpus does not provide sufficient data, the present article will concentrate on the three demonstratives *lea, lenei* and *lenā*. These demonstratives can function as pronouns and determiners. As determiners, they can precede or follow the noun. The function of position is not clear yet.

Before we discuss our findings on these three demonstratives, we will briefly describe the formal and semantic characteristics of the deictic verbs and local nouns.

4 Deictic local nouns and deictic verbs

4.1 Deictic local nouns

The Samoan translational equivalents of English ‘here’ and ‘there’ are closely related to demonstratives because some of them contain the same deictic morphemes as demonstratives. In addition, the semantic distinctions they express can be described in terms of the same two parameters:

1. relation to the speech-act participants of speaker and addressee;
2. distance to the speech-act participants.

They differ from the demonstratives in that they never refer to entities (cf. Himmelmann’s definition, given in §3 above). The deictic local nouns refer to regions or areas. The parameters distinguished by deictic local nouns are similar to those of demonstratives:

1. relation to the speech-act participants;
2. distance from the deictic centre.

Table 5: Deictic nouns

<i>sau i 'i</i>	‘come here’
<i>sau i 'inei</i>	‘come here’
<i>'inā</i>	‘there (where you are)’
<i>alu i 'ile</i>	‘go there (a few metres away)’
<i>alu i 'ole</i>	‘go there (not too far over there)’
<i>alu i 'ō</i>	‘go over there (far away)’

Syntactically they are classified as nouns because they combine with prepositions. A typical example for *'inā* is the following example:

- (12) *'O lea lava e sau i le World News le mālosi tele*
 PRES DEM EMPH GENR come LOC ART World News ART strength big

o le 'aisa i 'inā.
 POSS ART ice LOC there

‘Now here, it comes in the World News how severe the winter is there at your place.’ (lit. ‘the big strength of the ice/snow there with you’) (e-mail)

- (13) *i 'i i o-'u luma, i 'inā i o-u luma*
 LOC here LOC POSS-1SG front LOC there LOC POSS-2SG front
 ‘here in front of me, there in front of you’ (lit. ‘in here in my front, in there in your front’)

The difference between *'i* ‘here’ and *'inei* is not clear yet.

4.2 Deictic verbs

The four deictic verbs *fa'apea*, *fu'apēnei*, *fa'apēnā*, and *fa'apelā* consist of the so-called causative prefix *fa'a-*, a deictic stem and a synchronically not identifiable syllable *-pe/pē-* which seems to be cognate with *pei* ‘like’.

Table 6: Deictic verbs

<i>fa'apea</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric and anaphoric)'
<i>fa'apēnei</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric)'
<i>fa'apēnā</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like that (anaphoric)'
<i>fa'apelā</i>	'(be, do, say, think) like that (far away)'

The meanings of *fa'apea*, *fa'apēnei* and *fa'apēnā* correspond to the uses of *lea*, *lenei*, *lenā* and *lelā*. Although both situational and discourse deictic uses can be observed (see §8.1), they cannot be classified as demonstratives because they do not refer to entities, but express how something is done or what someone thinks or says. Syntactically, they function as the nucleus of a verb phrase or as an adnominal or adverbial modifier:

- (14) 'O le ā le mea 'ole'ā o'o 'i ai l-o- 'u
 PRES ART what ART thing FUT come.to LOC ANAPH ART-POSS-2SG
finagalo e fa'apēnā ma s-o- 'u manatu.
 wish:POL GENR like.that also ART:NSP:SG-POSS-2SG wish
 'Whatever your wish may be, so shall my own be.' (lit. 'Whatever the thing is (that) your wish comes to, (be) like that also my wish.') (Moyle 1981:62)

5 The syntactic functions of pronominal demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives are always specific and singular (*lea*, *lenei*, *lenā*). They function (1) as the argument of a nominal predicate, (2) as a core argument of a verbal predicate, (3) as a locative-directional argument in certain fixed phrases, and (4) as a sentence-initial adjunct.

5.1 The demonstrative functioning as an argument of a nominal predicate

When the demonstrative functions as the argument of a nominal predicate, its referent can be a person, a thing or the content of a preceding or following piece of text.

- (15) 'O l-a u peni lea/lenei/lenā lele/nale/tale/lelā.
 PRES ART-POSS 2SG pen DEM
 'This/that is your pen.' (Mosel & So'o 1997:87ff.)
- (16) 'O a'u lava lenei 'o a'u lenei 'o Matu'utu'uasuga.
 PRES ISG EMPH DEM PRES ISG DEM PRES PN
 'It is really me, it's me, Matu'utu'usega.' (Moyle 1981:130)
- (17) Ia, 'o 'oe fo'i lenā ...
 well PRES 2SG again DEM
 'Well, it's you again ...' (Aiavao 1987:12)

The demonstrative argument always holds the position of the second phrase of the clause. Attributive prepositional phrases and relative clauses which modify the nucleus of the predicate must follow the demonstrative subject.

- (18) 'O le mealofa lea mo 'oe.
 PRES ART present DEM for 2SG
 'This (here) is the present for you.'
- (19) 'O l-o-'u to'alua lenei sā 'ou fa'atali 'i ai.
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG husband DEM PAST 1SG wait LOC ANAPH
 'This is the husband I have been waiting for.' (Moyle 1981:142)

The anaphoric and cataphoric use of pronominal demonstratives in subject function is illustrated by the following two examples:

- (20) 'O le uiga moni o le tagata lenei 'o Sinasegi 'o le
 PRES ART meaning real POSS ART person DEM PRES Sinasegi PRES ART
 tama'ita'i e segi 'i tagata e fefe 'i tagata — 'o
 lady GENR shy.of LOC person:PL GENR fear LOC person:PL PRES
 le uiga moni lea o l-o-na igoa.
 ART meaning real DEM POSS ART-POSS-3SG name
 'The real meaning of the name of this person Sinasegi is "the lady who is shy
 of people, who fears people" — this is the real meaning of her name.' (Moyle
 1981:56)
- (21) 'O l-a-'u tuatusi lea: Toad Hall, ANU ...
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG address DEM Toad Hall, ANU
 'This is my address: Toad Hall, ANU ...' (e-mail)

While *lea* in (20) refers back to 'the lady who is shy of people, who fears people, it points to the following phrase 'Toad Hall, ANU ...' in (21).

5.2 The demonstrative functioning as an argument of a verbal predicate

A typical example for a pronominal demonstrative in argument function is the use of *lenā* in the question a shopkeeper usually asks the customer after the latter has received everything he asked for:

- (22) Pau lenā?
 be.all DEM
 'Is that all?'

The demonstrative *lenā* refers here to the things the shop keeper has given the customer. In narratives the demonstrative can anaphorically refer to a previously mentioned event or to a person:

- (23) Na 'ou alu ananei e 'ave l-o-'u ata iā Mira ...
 PAST 1SG go earlier.today GENR take ART-POSS-1SG photo LOC PN
 Na 'uma lena o'u alu iā Andy to say hi and goodbye
 PAST be.finished DEM 1SG go LOC PN
 'I went earlier today to take my photo to Mira ... After that (lit. this was finished),
 I went to Andy to say hi and good bye.' (e-mail)

- (24) #¹⁸ *Tafēfē* 'ua oti Amau 'o *lea* 'ou te mana'o e
 how.terrible PERF die PN PRES DEM ISG GENR want GENR
fa'atalanoa pe ā 'ou toe fo'i i Sāmoa.
 interview CONJ FUT ISG again return LOC Samoa
 'How terrible, Amau has died, that one I wanted to interview when I'll return to Samoa.' (e-mail)

In the first example the demonstrative refers anaphorically to the immediately preceding portion of text, whereas in the second example its referent is the person Amau just mentioned. The demonstrative *lea* is here a fronted undergoer argument of *fa'atalanoa* 'interview'.

5.3 The demonstrative functioning as a locative-directional argument

According to our data, the construction with locative prepositions seems to be restricted to idiomatic phrases like the following, in which it always refers to something said before:

- (25) *e ui i lea*
 GENR in.spite.of¹⁹ LOC DEM
 'in spite of that, nevertheless'
- (26) *'ae lē gata i lea*
 but not be.limited LOC DEM
 'but that is not all, and not only that'

5.4 The demonstrative functioning as a sentence-initial adjunct

The demonstrative frequently functions as a sentence-initial adjunct, relating what is subsequently said to the actual speech situation or the preceding context. In this function it is usually marked by the presentative preposition 'o, but demonstratives without 'o occur in casual speech (33). In our e-mail corpus this construction is frequently used to refer to the writer's or the addressee's situation. Particularly at the beginning of an e-mail message, its function is to set the frame for what the writer is going to talk about. While *lea* refers to the situation of the writer in Canberra, Australia, *lenā* refers to the situation of the addressee in Kiel, Germany.

- (27) # 'O lenā e te pisi 'o *lea* fo'i ou te pisi.
 PRES DEM 2SG GENR busy PRES DEM again ISG GENR busy
 'As for you there, you are busy, as for me here I am also busy.' (e-mail)
- (28) # *Talosi-e 'e te lē 'o ma'i. A 'o lenā 'ai*
 hopefully-EXCL 2SG GENR not PROG sick. but PRES DEM perhaps
'o 'e pisi i l-a-u galuega 'O lea fa'atoā
 PROG 2SG busy LOC ART-POSS-2SG work PRES DEM just

¹⁸ # indicates that this is the very beginning of a story or an e-mail.

¹⁹ *e ui* 'in spite of' is a verbal predicate.

o'u fo'i mai iā Tony.

1SG return DIR LOC PN

'Hopefully you are not sick. Perhaps you are busy with your work.

As for me, I have just come back from Tony.' (e-mail)

In the next example, the writer contrasts her own situation (*'o lea*) with the situation of her husband in Auckland by referring to the latter with the demonstrative *'o lelā*, which indicates remoteness from both the writer and the addressee.

(29) # *'Ou te iloaina 'o Asofou lā 'ua taunu'u i Aukilani.*

1SG GENR know PRES PN EMPH PERF arrive LOC Auckland

'O lea 'ua toetiiti 'afa le lima l-o-na uiga 'o lelā
PRES DEM PERF almost half ART five ART-POSS-3SG meaning PRES DEM

e fa'atalitali i le taimi o l-a-na va'alele e
GENR wait LOC ART time POSS ART-POSS-3SG plane GENR

alu 'ese ma Aukilani i le 'afa o le ono.

go away from Auckland LOC ART half POSS ART six

'I know Asofou has arrived in Auckland. Here it is almost half past five, this means (lit. its meaning), he is waiting there for the (departure) time of his plane which will leave Auckland at half past six.' (e-mail)

Note that in terms of distance Auckland is much closer to the writer in Canberra than to the addressee in Kiel, which nicely illustrates that the relation to the speech-act participants has nothing to do with the parameter of proximity.

There is one example of *'o lenei* in the e-mail corpus. In contrast to *'o lea*, it does not introduce a statement about the writer's personal situation, but signals a change of theme.

After she has talked about a linguistic conference in the preceding text, she now, quite abruptly, turns to the extraordinary weather in Canberra.

(30) *'O lenei lava e fai ma fesuisuia'i le tau o*
PRES DEM EMPH GENR become change.to.and.fro ART weather POSS

Canberra. E vevela vevela toe mālūlū. E 'ese le
Canberra GENR hot hot and cold. GENR extraordinary ART

matagi toe mālūlū.

wind and cold.

'[I think the conference is held every three or four years. This is also the conference to which Andy will go. He said to me that he will only come back in February.]

Now, the weather in Canberra is constantly changing. It is hot, hot and cold. It is extremely windy and cold.' (e-mail, written in January, usually the hottest month in Canberra)

This use of *'o lenei* can be interpreted as an instance of cataphoric text deixis (cf. §8.2). In Moyle (1981) we find several examples of this kind in direct speech which also suggest that *'o lenei* is used to draw the hearer's attention to what is said next. Consider the following two examples, in which the speaker accuses the addressee of being responsible for an unacceptable situation. He uses *'o lenei* to point to this situation:

- (31) *E 'ese l-o-u fa'amauauga ma l-o-'u fia*
 GENR extreme ART-POSS-2SG conceited and ART-POSS-2SG want
tagata! 'O lenei 'ua 'uma mai l-o-'u nu'u 'ae e
 person PRES DEM PERF finished DIR ART-POSS-1SG village but 2SG
te lē tāitāi lava e 'ai. Ia, 'o l-a-'u folafolaga
 GENR not near EMPH GENR eat well PRES ART-POSS-1SG ultimatum
lenei 'iate 'oe ...
 DEM LOC 2SG

'How conceited and snobbish you are!²⁰ Here I've gone through everybody in my village (asking them to masticate the food for you, U.M.), but still you're nowhere near eating. Here is my ultimatum for you ...' (Moyle 1981:148)

In the next example Taligamaivalu accuses Sinālemalama:

- (32) *'O lenei fo'i na 'e fai mai fo'i 'o l-o-u*
 PRES DEM also PAST 2SG say DIR also PRES ART-POSS-2SG
tuagane, 'a-'o lea 'ua mautinoa nei 'ua 'e fa'alata a'u ...
 brother but-PRES DEM PERF clear now PERF 2SG betray 1SG
 '[How terrible you were, Sinālemalama, in your lack of love.] Here you were telling me he was your brother, but now it is clear you betrayed me ...' (Moyle 1981:86ff.)

Here *'o lenei* contrasts with *'o lea*. While the former calls for attention to the whole situation described in the following two sentences, the content of the accusation, the latter refers only to what Taligamaivalu has just found out. The meaning of *lenei* in these contexts could perhaps be described as 'Here listen to what I am going to say now'. The assumption that *lenei* is used cataphorically to focus on what is said next is also supported by its use in adnominal position.

In narratives, *'o lea* is used to express that what is subsequently said results from what happened before. For example:

- (33) *Lea²¹ e fa'aigoa nei 'o Moso.*
 DEM GENR call now PRES PN
 '[Then the couple ... thought: "It is better to call our son by the name of that tree, the Fatumoso".] Thus he is called Moso now.' (Hovdhaugen 1987:54, my translation)

6 The morphosyntax of adnominal demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives can precede or follow the nucleus of common noun phrases. When following the nucleus, they are usually combined with an article provided that the noun phrase is introduced by an article. Only occasionally are common noun phrases combined with a following bare demonstrative stem:

²⁰ Lit. 'your making yourself high and your wish to be a person (somebody)'.

²¹ The presentative preposition *'o* is sometimes left out in casual speech.

Table 7: Adnominal demonstratives

Stem	Singular		Plural	
<i>nei</i>	<i>lenei tama</i>	<i>le tama lenei</i> <i>le tama nei</i>	<i>nei tama</i>	<i>tama nei</i>
		‘this child’		‘these children’
<i>nā</i>	<i>lenā tama</i>	<i>le tama lenā</i> <i>le tama nā</i>	<i>nā tama</i>	<i>tama nā</i>
		‘that child’		‘those children’

- (34) *le tama'ita'i nei*
 ART lady DEM
 ‘this lady’ (Moyle 1981:190)

Since the articles of the content word and the article preceding the demonstrative stem do not need to be of the same kind, the article of the demonstrative cannot be interpreted as an agreement phenomenon as it is in Hebrew (Rosén 1962:60). Rather, this construction of article and demonstrative stem is an appositional noun phrase. Compare:

- (35) *Fai atu loa lea 'o si tama sia laititi.*
 say DIR immediately then PRES DIM:SG boy DEM young
 ‘The poor young boy asked them.’ (lit. ‘The poor boy this poor little one said.’)
 (Moyle 1981:270)

- (36) ... *'ai 'o le ta'agulu lā lea a si ali'i*
 probably PRES ART snoring EMPH DEM POSS ART:DIM:SG man
lea na tau atu...
 DEM PAST arrive DIR
 ‘... it was probably only the snoring of the poor man who had arrived ...’
 (lit. ‘the poor man, this one who ...’²²) (Moyle 1981:86)

This appositional construction also occurs with personal pronouns or the proper names of person in order to express contrast or to attract the hearer’s attention. For example:

- (37) ... *'ona 'o a'u lea e pisi tele.*
 because PRES 1SG DEM GENR busy very
 ‘... because I here (in contrast to the others over there) am very busy.’ (e-mail)
- (38) *Silila, 'o a'u lenei 'ā mole lava 'i le fia 'ai.*
 PN PRES 1SG DEM FUT suffocate EMP LOC ART want eat
 ‘Silila, I am about to die from hunger.’ (Moyle 1981:150)
- (39) *'A-'o Matu'utautenea lenei 'ua manatu loa i o-na mātua.*
 but-PRES PN DEM PERF think.of then LOC POSS-3SG parent:PL
 ‘This Matu’utautenea missed his parents.’ (Moyle 1981:124)

In accordance with this function, only fronted topical pronouns and proper names of persons are modified by demonstratives in the e-mails and the oral narrative texts edited by

²² For relative clause constructions cf. §8.6.

Moyle (1981). In the narratives written by Sio (1984), however, we also find demonstratives with proper names in argument position after the verb.

- (40) *Sa malaga mai lenei Tuimanua Moa ...*
 PAST travel DIR DEM PN PN
 'This Tuimanua Moa travelled here ...' (my translation since Sio's is very free;
 Sio 1984:1)

In both casual and formal speech, placenames and local nouns can only be modified by the demonstrative *nei* without article. In this context *nei* means 'here' and does not seem to contrast with other demonstratives.

- (41) *i Sāmoa nei*
 LOC Samoa DEM
 'in Samoa here'
- (42) *i o-'u luma nei*
 LOC POSS-1SG front DEM
 'here in front of me' (Pawley 1966:43)
- (43) *i gātai nei o Aleipata*
 LOC coast DEM POSS Aleipata
 'here on the coast of Aleipata' (Moyle 1981:164)

Finally, the demonstratives *lenei* and *lea* can also be used as temporal deictics which relate the time of an event to the time of the utterance. While the demonstrative *lenei* can occur in its bare form *nei* when following the nucleus, the demonstrative *lea* always occurs with its article.

- (44) *i lenei masina, i le masina nei, i le semester lenei*
 LOC DEM month LOC ART month DEM LOC ART semester DEM
 'in this month, in this month, in this semester'
- (45) *i le vāiaso lea*
 LOC ART week DEM
 'next week'

7 The demonstrative functioning as an adverbial modifier

Two demonstratives occur as temporal adverbial modifiers: *nei* 'now' without article, and *lea* 'then' with the specific singular article.

- (46) *'Ua maua nei lā le tama.*
 PERF get now EMPH ART boy
 'I've got the boy now.' (my translation — Moyle's does not have 'now';
 Moyle 1981:94)
- (47) *Ia, 'ua al-atu loa lea le va'a ...*
 well PERF go-DIR immediately then ART boat
 'Well, the boat left immediately then ...' (my translation — Moyle's does not
 have 'then'; Moyle 1981:78)

This variation in form corresponds to the different forms found in the temporal noun phrases mentioned above where only *nei* occurs without article. The demonstrative particle *lea* 'then' is also found in the *ona ... lea* construction, which also translates as 'then'.²³

8 The meanings of demonstratives

8.1 Situational and non-situational meanings

The meanings of the Samoan demonstratives can be described in terms of whether they refer to individual entities or states of affairs on the one hand and, on the other, whether they are used as pointing words in the actual speech situation or as metalinguistic means of expression which refer to somebody or something spoken or written about. Accordingly we can distinguish the following kinds of uses:

1. In the actual speech situation, and in direct speech in narratives which more or less depicts actual speech situations, demonstratives are used to
 - (a) identify and refer to an entity (person or object) or place by indicating its location in relation to the location of the speaker/writer and the addressee (true deictic use of pronominal and adnominal demonstratives);
 - (b) refer to the actual situation of the speaker, the addressee or a third person in order to set the scene for the following discourse (scene setting use of pronominal demonstratives);
 - (c) express how events are temporally related to the actual moment of the speech situation.
2. As a non-situational means of expression, they are used to
 - (a) refer to the content of a piece of the preceding or following text (text/discourse deixis use);
 - (b) refer to persons and objects which are relevant for two or more events talked about (reference-tracking use);
 - (c) indicate that the addressee is believed to remember who or what the speaker refers to although this person or object is mentioned for the first time (recognitional use);
 - (d) mark the head of a relative construction.

The distinction made here between discourse deictic, reference tracking and recognitional uses of demonstratives goes back to Himmelmann (1996).

8.2 Situational use

In §3 we briefly described the meaning of all demonstratives when they are used for pointing at persons and objects in an actual face-to-face conversation. This section concentrates on the demonstratives *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* and compares their different meanings in person/object, place and time deixis.

²³ A thorough analysis of the use of *ona ... lea* in Hovdhaugen (1987) is Compes (1997).

As numerous examples in the preceding sections showed, the speaker-centred demonstratives *lea* and *lenei* and the addressee-centred demonstrative *lenā* refer to the speaker and the addressee themselves ((7), (8), (16), (17)), their situation ((12), (27)–(29)) or the things in their possession ((15), (22)). For place deixis only the demonstrative *nei* ‘here’ and for time deixis only the demonstratives (*le*)*nei* and *lea* are used. This of course does not mean that the semantics of place and time deixis are less elaborated, because for these kinds of deixis other means of expression are employed, i.e. local and temporal deictic nouns and directionals.

When used for time deixis, *lenei* refers to the present time. In association with *aso* ‘day’ it means ‘today’, for example:

(48) 'O le Aso Faraile lenei.
PRES ART day Friday DEM
'Today is Friday.' (e-mail)

(49) 'O le aso mulimuli lenei o tamaiti i le ā'oga ...
PRES ART day last DEM POSS children LOC ART school
'Today/this/now is also the last day for the children at school ...' (e-mail)

The demonstrative *lenei* can be replaced by the bare stem *nei* ‘now’, which is also used as an adverbial modifier within the verb phrase (cf. §7) and as the stem in deictic temporal nouns, e.g. *ananei* ‘earlier today’, *nānei* ‘later today’. As it also holds the same position as temporal deictic nouns, it would be better classified as a temporal deictic noun like *anapō* ‘yesterday’, *ananei* ‘earlier today’, *nānei* ‘later today’ etc. For example:

(50) 'O anapō na alu ai Asofou i Sini, 'a-'o nei
PRES last.night PAST go ANAPH PN LOC Sydney but-PRES DEM
i le taeao na alu ai i Aukilani.
LOC ART morning PAST go ANAPH LOC Auckland
'Last night Asofou went to Sydney, but now/today in the morning he went to Auckland.' (e-mail)

The demonstrative *lenei/nei* contrasts with *lea*, which means ‘next’, i.e. it refers to the period of time which follows the present one:

(51) *i le vāiaso nei* *i le vāiaso lea*
LOC ART week DEM LOC ART week DEM
'this week' 'next week'

This meaning corresponds to the adverbial meaning of *lea* ‘then’. But *lea* does not have this meaning when it is the head of a relative clause as in *le vāiaso lea na te'a* ‘last week, lit. the week that passed’; see §8.6).

The comparison of all situational uses shows that the demonstratives *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* do not form a well-ordered set in which each of them is distinguished from the other two by the same formal, semantic and pragmatic features:

1. The distinction between formal and informal uses is made only in association with person/object deixis, not with place and time deixis.
2. Only in speaker-centred deixis are formal and informal demonstratives distinguished.

3. While there are seven demonstratives for person/object deixis, only two of them, *lenei* 'this, now' and *lea* 'next, then' are used for time deixis, and only one, *inei* 'here', in combination with placenames and local nouns for place deixis. The meaning of the temporal *lea* 'next, now' does not straightforwardly correspond to its meaning 'this here' when it refers to persons, things or situations.
4. In adverbial function only temporal deixis is expressed by demonstratives, i.e. *nei* 'now' and *lea* 'then' — provided that *nei* and *lea* are considered as demonstratives in this context.

Table 8: Situational uses of demonstratives

person/object and place deixis	<i>lenei</i>	<i>lea</i>	<i>lenā</i>
pronominal, argument	speaker centred (+ formal)	speaker centred (– formal)	addressee centred
pronominal, scene-setting sentence adjunct	–	'o <i>lea</i> speaker centred 'as for me here'	'o <i>lenā</i> addressee centred 'as for you there'
adnominal, with common nouns	<i>le</i> N <i>lenei</i> , <i>lenei</i> N 'this N' (+ formal)	<i>le</i> N <i>lea</i> , <i>lea</i> N 'this N' (– formal)	<i>le</i> N <i>lenā</i> , <i>lenā</i> N 'that N'
adnominal, with pronouns	<i>a'u lenei</i> 'I here' (?+ formal)	<i>a'u lea</i> 'I here' (– formal)	(? 'o 'oe <i>lenā</i>)
adnominal, with place names, local nouns	<i>Sāmoa nei</i> 'Samoa here'	–	–
time deixis			
pronominal, argument	<i>lenei</i> 'today'	–	–
adnominal	N <i>lenei</i> 'this N' (point/period of time)	N <i>lea</i> 'next N' (point/period of time)	–
adverbial	<i>nei</i> 'now'	<i>lea</i> 'then'	–

8.3 Text or discourse deictic use

All three demonstratives are used for text deixis. While *lea* can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically and refers to what precedes or follows in a rather unspecified way, the uses of *lenā* and *lenei* are more restricted. The demonstrative *lenā* refers back to the preceding context, often a preceding clause within the same sentence, whereas *lenei* refers to what is said in the immediately following context.

(52) *Ua lava lea talanoaga.*

PERF enough DEM talk

'This talk (i.e. the whole e-mail message) is enough.' (end of an e-mail)

- (53) 'O l-a-'u tuatusi lea: Toad Hall, ANU ...
 PRES ART-POSS-1SG address this Toad Hall, ANU
 'This is my address: Toad Hall, ANU ...' (e-mail)
- (54) 'O le mea lenā ou te fia vave alu ai.
 PRES ART thing DEM 1SG GENR want quickly go ANAPH
 '[Since he has left Canberra, I am very sad because I miss my dear friend.]
This is why I want to go soon.' (lit. 'This is the thing, I quickly want to go
 because of it.') (e-mail)
- (55) Ia fo'i mai le tā'elega, tu'u atu le solo, ia, 'ua
 well return DIR ART bathing put.down DIR ART towel well PERF
 'uma lenā ia, ululale loa le tama.
 be.finished DEM well enter.house then ART boy
 'Well, the boy returned from bathing (lit. 'the bathing returned'), put down
 the towel, well, (when) this was finished, well, the boy entered the house.'²⁴
 (Moyle 1981:270)

In newspapers we find *lenā* in captions where it refers to the content of the picture above the caption.

The cataphoric use of *lenei* is typically found in announcements and threats:

- (56) Ma l-a-'u 'upu lenei iate 'oe, 'ā 'e toe fa'apenā
 and ART-POSS-1SG word DEM LOC 2SG FUT 2SG again like.that
 fo'i 'i tama'ita'i.
 again LOC lady:PL
 'But I tell you this — if you are like that again with the ladies ...' (lit. 'This is
 my word to you ...') (Moyle 1981:148)

Text deixis uses of demonstratives are also illustrated in the examples (31), (32).

8.4 Reference-tracking use

In the following analysis of the role that demonstratives play in reference tracking, we will first examine how the heroes of the 17 stories edited by Moyle (1981) are referred to after they are introduced in the beginning of the story. We then analyse the use of all demonstratives throughout a single story and finally investigate reference tracking in the spontaneously written e-mails. The story we chose is 'O *Taligamaivalu* (Moyle 1981:56–89), because it is fairly long and abounds in demonstratives.

8.4.1 *The use of the demonstratives at the beginning of Fāgogo stories*

At the beginning of all 17 stories, the narrator introduces the main characters by saying that there once lived a couple or a person who had a child or children named so-and-so. In 14 stories these main characters are again referred to in the immediately following clause.²⁵ For example:

²⁴ Translation mine; Moyle has 'took a towel', but *tu'u* means 'put down'.

²⁵ In two stories the second clause deals with something else, one story shows zero anaphora. Compare Lichtenberk's analysis of *To'aba'ita* (Lichtenberk 1996).

(57) 'O le fāgogo 'iā Saētānē ma Saēfafine. Nonofo, nonofo
 PRES ART story LOC PN and PN live:PL live:PL
lenei ulugāli'i ...
 DEM couple
 'A story about Saētānē und Saēfafine. This couple lived together ...'
 (Moyle 1981:50)

The anaphoric means of expression are noun phrases, possessive pronouns, and in one case a personal pronoun.

Table 9: Kind of anaphoric reference after first mention

Type of expression	Number of story
noun phrase	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16
personal pronoun	5
possessive pronoun	2, 13

In five cases this anaphoric noun phrase is combined with the demonstrative *lenei*. In other stories *lenei* does not occur with the first anaphoric noun phrase, but shortly afterwards in one of the following clauses. The table below shows in which clause after the first mention of the main character an anaphoric noun phrase is modified by *lenei*.

Table 10: Anaphoric reference by NPs modified by the demonstrative *lenei*

Number of clause	Number of story
1	1, 3, 7, 12, 15
2	5, 8, 11, 4
3	2
4	9

The observation that *lenei* is so often found with noun phrases referring to the thematically prominent participants in the beginning of the stories²⁶ suggests the following hypothesis:

1. the demonstrative *lenei* does not serve as a means of identifying a participant which could otherwise be mistaken, but simply draws the hearer's attention to those participants which are most relevant for the following sequence of events;
2. if the demonstrative *lenei* contrasts with other demonstratives, then the distinction is not motivated by ambiguity resolution, but has something to do with the thematic relevance of the participant in question.

In one story the first anaphoric noun phrase is modified by *lea* whereas *lenei* is used with the second one.

²⁶ Compare also the stories (*tala*) written down by Sio (1984). Here the demonstrative *lenei* occurs in the beginning of seven out of 24 stories. That the frequency is a bit lower than in the *fāgogo* may be ascribed to the different genre of narrative (i.e. oral history texts) or to the fact that they are written texts.

- (58) 'O le tala 'i le ulugāli'i, 'o le ulugāli'i lea sa nonofo
 PRES ART story LOC ART couple PRES ART couple DEM PAST live:PL
 i le fanua 'o Va'apālagi i Sāgone. Ona nonofo, nonofo
 LOC ART land PRES Va'apālagi LOC Sāgone so live:PL live:PL
lenei ulugāli'i, fānau l-a lā tama.
 DEM couple be.born ART-POSS 2DU child
 'The story of a couple (called ...), a couple who²⁷ used to live on the land called
 Va'apālagi at Sāgone. This couple lived on and on together, and had their first child.'
 (Moyle 1981:196)

The clause 'o le ulugāli'i lea sa nonofo ..., which literally means 'this couple lives ...' only gives irrelevant background information, whereas the clause nonofo lenei ulugāli'i introduces a sequence of clauses which report the first important events of the story. Therefore, we assume that *lea* is used in the context of background information, while *lenei* is associated with foreground information. This interpretation is supported by the contrastive TAM marking in the respective clauses: the predicate of the background clause is marked by *sā*, the past imperfective marker, while the foreground clause does not have any TAM marking (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:339–344, 371–373; Mosel 2000).

In the stories (*tala*) written down by Sio (1984) the demonstrative *lenei* occurs at the beginning of seven out of 24 stories. That the frequency of *lenei* is a bit lower than in the *fāgogo* may be ascribed to the different genre of narrative (i.e. oral history texts) or to the fact that they are written texts.

8.4.2 *The reference-tracking role of demonstratives in fāgogo stories*

In order to find out which role the demonstratives play in reference tracking, I analysed the narrative parts of the above-mentioned story 'O Taligamaivalu (Moyle 1981:56–89), excluding direct speech. As mainly *lenei* and *lea* occur as reference-tracking expressions, *lenā* occurring only twice, the investigation concentrates on the following questions:

1. Which reference-tracking expressions (i.e. pronouns, nouns, etc.) are used for the main characters throughout the story?
2. Do *lenei* and *lea* have distinctive meanings in these expressions?
3. Do *lenei* and *lea* occur with other expressions not referring to the main characters? Which meanings do they have in these contexts?

8.4.2.1 *Reference-tracking expressions for the main characters in fāgogo stories*

The main characters of the story are: the mother Sinasegi and her beautiful daughter Sinālemalama, Tigilau the male hero who wants to marry Sinālemalama and the evil spirit Taligamaivalu. Taligamaivalu kidnaps Sinālemalama, but Tigilau finds her. She plays a trick on Taligamaivalu and finally escapes with Tigilau.

²⁷ Lit. 'this couple lived', but Moyle's translation exactly renders the function of lea here. Note also the contrast in TAM marking: the predicate of the background clause is marked by *sā*, the past imperfective aspect marker, while the foreground clause does not have any TAM marking. See Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:339–344, 371–373), Mosel (2000).

The analysis shows that apart from zero anaphora, proper names (PN) and common nouns (N) are the most frequent kinds of reference tracking expressions, while personal pronouns (PRON) are rarely used. The nouns most frequently used anaphorically are *tama'ita'i* 'lady', *ali'i* 'chief, man, guy', and *tagata* 'person'. Nouns and proper names are sometimes combined (N PN). For example:

- (59) *le tama'ita'i 'o Sinālemalama*
 ART lady PRES PN
 'this lady Sinālemalama'

They can also be modified by demonstratives. For example:

- (60) *lenei tagata 'o Sinasegi*
 DEM person PRES PN
 'this person Sinasegi'

The table below shows the distribution of all expressions used in reference tracking.

Table 11: Expressions used in reference tracking

Type of expression	Sinasegi	Sinālemalama	Tigilau	Taligamaivalu	Total
N	7	12	29	24	72
PN	8	16	14	–	38
N PN	2	12	4	2	20
Total uses of N and PN	17	40	47	26	130
<i>lenei</i> N	2	5	4	4	15
<i>lenei</i> N PN	1	6	2	3	12
N <i>lenei</i>	–	2	–	1	3
Total uses of <i>lenei</i>	3	13	6	8	30
<i>lea</i> N	–	1	1	1	3
N <i>lea</i>	1	–	3	5	9
N <i>lea</i> PN	–	1	–	–	1
<i>Lea</i>	1	–	–	1	2
Total uses of <i>lea</i>	2	2	4	7	15
PRON	1	6	7	6	20
Total of mentions	23	61	64	47	195

8.4.2.2 *Thematically prominent participants marked by lenei and lea*

As for the distribution of demonstratives, the figures above show a clear prevalence of *lenei*. The use of *lea* is restricted to three kinds contexts:

- Contexts where the 'hero' in question does not play a prominent role. Thus in an episode which deals with the actions of Tigilau's people, Sinālemalama is referred to as *le tama'ita'i lea 'o Sinālemalama* 'that girl Sinālemalama':

(61) 'On that night, all of the Sāvavau group was there, not one Sāvavau person sleeping or resting, and they encircled the house, the house where Tigilau and that girl Sinālemalama were. There were about ten rows of people guarding the whole house, in case of any trouble.' (Moyle 1981:62)

2. Contexts which only give background information about the 'hero', which is encoded in parentheses or relative clauses. In these contexts *lea* or N *lea* functions as a topic or as the head of a relative construction. A typical example is the following text introducing Tigilau and his people into the narrative.

(62) ... 'ua sau se solo tele lava 'o fata mai
 PERF come ART:NSP:SG procession big EMPH PROG carry.on.a.litter DIR
 ai se tagata — 'o le ali'i lea 'o l-o-na
 ANAPH ART:NSP:SG person PRES ART man DEM PRES ART-POSS-3SG
suafa 'o Tigilau ma 'ua fa'ataunu'uina lenei malaga 'i
 name PRES Tigilau and PERF be.conveyed DEM travelling.party LOC
 le fale.
 ART house

'... there came now a huge procession, carrying with them a person on a litter — this man, his name was Tigilau, and this travelling party was conveyed to the house.' (translation slightly changed to make it more literal; Moyle 1981:60)

3. Reported speech or thought as in the following sequence, where Taligamaivalu thinks that a snoring cat inside a mosquito net was the hero Tigilau who, however, had already escaped.

(63) ... fa'apea lava 'ai 'o le ta'agulu lā lea a si
 think EMPH probably PRES ART snore EMPH DEM POSS DIM:SG

ali'i lea na tau atu...
 man DEM PAST arrive DIR

'... and thought it was probably only the snoring of the poor man who had arrived ...' (Moyle 1981:86)

These findings suggest that the participant referred to by *lenei* and what is said about him or her is immediately relevant to the progress of the narrative, whereas what is said about the participant marked by *lea* is not. This relationship to the progress of the story gives *lenei* here a cataphoric sense, which fits well with the use of *lenei* for cataphoric text deixis. In other words, in constructions like *lenei tama'ita'i 'o Sinālemalama*, it is the noun and the proper name which help the hearer to keep track of what is happening to whom, while the demonstrative indicates its relevance for the following context. A representative example for this cataphoric meaning of *lenei* is the following example from the eighth story in Moyle (1981). After he has talked about the parents of a girl who was kidnapped, the narrator says:

(64) Ia, 'ole'ā tu'u le tala 'i le ulugāli'i 'a 'ole'ā fai loa
 well FUT put.aside ART story LOC ART couple and FUT make then
 le tala i le teine. 'Ua nonofo loa le teine lenei ma le
 ART story LOC ART girl PERF live:PL then ART girl DEM with ART

Ilāmutu o le ulugāli'i.

Ilāmutu POSS ART couple

'I'm going to put aside the story about the couple and continue the story about the girl. This girl was now living with the couple's aunt.' (Moyle 1981:152)

Lichtenberk (1996:407) observes a similar phenomenon in To'aba'ita and concludes: 'The use of the proximate deictic *'eri* in immediate anaphora after first mention to signal thematic prominence is motivated by its cataphoric function of introducing direct speech'.

8.4.2.3 *The demonstratives lenei and lea in other contexts*

Apart from its association with the main characters, the demonstrative *lenei* only occurs with participants who locally, i.e. for a limited sequence of events, play a prominent thematic role. These are, for instance, the ship in which Tigilau and his party unexpectedly arrive (p.56–60), Tigilau's people on several occasions, and a girl who leads Tigilau to the cave where Taligamaivalu holds Sinālemalama imprisoned (p.82). In other words, *lenei* is also cataphoric with locally prominent participants.

In contrast, *lea* seems to have less deictic force. Not counting its text deixis use, e.g. *lea fa'avelave* 'that unusual situation' (p.56), *lea fa'amoemoe* 'that aim' (p.60) etc., its time and its anaphoric use in indirect speech, we find *lea*

1. as a modifier of nouns referring to places already mentioned before (13 occurrences), e.g. *le motu lea* 'that island' (p.70), *le itū'āiga lalolagi* 'that sort of world' (i.e. the cave where Sinālemalama was imprisoned, p.82);
2. in the context of giving background information about previously mentioned persons (four instances on p.82).

8.4.2.4 *The demonstrative lenā*

The demonstrative *lenā* occurs only twice as a means of reference tracking. In both instances it refers to an immediately preceding topic:

- (65) ... 'a-'o le ta'inamu lea i tua 'o le ta'inamu lenā.
 but-PRES ART mosquito.net DEM LOC back PRES ART mosquito.net DEM
 'ua o'o loa e fa'ata'a le pusi
 PERF come immediately GENR let.roam.around ART cat
 '... but that mosquito net in the back, that mosquito-net (she) came there to let the cat roam around (i.e. she put the cat inside the net)' (Moyle 1981:86)

Thus this use of *lenā* corresponds to its use for text deixis (cf. §8.2). However, there is one text in Moyle's (1981:120–142) edition in which the distance between the participant marked by *lenā* and its previous mention is much longer, in one case even two paragraphs:

- (66) *Ia, 'ua iai fo'i le ali'i lenā 'o Matu'utautenea ...*
 well PREF be.there also ART youth DEM PRES PN
 'That youth Matu'utenea was there too (at the place by the sea which ...)'
 (Moyle 1981:134)

As Matu'utautenea does not play any role in the following 20–30 clauses (the number of clauses depends on which units are regarded as clauses) and later plays only a minor role, *lenā* is considered as anaphoric here, reminding the addressee that Matu'utenea is still there.

8.4.3 *The use of the demonstratives in e-mails*

As it does not contain long narratives, the e-mail corpus shows only a small number of instances where demonstratives are used in the context of reference tracking. In all cases the demonstrative used is *lenā*. Like *lenā* in the narrative texts, it is used to refer back to an immediately preceding participant. In addition, it functions as a means of recalling and commenting on people and events reported in an earlier e-mail by the addressee:

- (67) *Matua'i leaga tele na tagata na faia lena mea leaga i*
 very bad very DEM person:PL PAST do DEM thing bad LOC
si o-u tuagane!
 DIM:SG POSS-2SG brother
 'How bad are these people who did this bad thing to your poor brother!' (A comment on an e-mail in which I reported that my brother had been robbed.) (e-mail)

- (68) *Ta'i malie tele lenā pati na 'e alu i ai.*
 very funny very DEM party PAST 2SG go LOC ANAPH
 'How funny this party must have been where you went.' (e-mail)

This use of the demonstrative *lenā* can be associated with its exophoric meaning 'that there with you'.

8.5 *Recognitional use*

The recognitional use is defined by Himmelmann (1996:230) as follows:

In recognitional use, the intended referent is to be identified via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse ... the speaker is uncertain whether or not the kind of information he or she is giving is shared by the hearer or whether or not this information will be sufficient in allowing the hearer to identify the intended referent.

A typical instance of this kind of function is probably the following example. Ainslie writes about the changes in the Linguistics Department in Canberra and says:

- (69) *'O Tim Shopen lea 'ua head o le department.*
 PRES Tim Shopen DEM PERF head POSS ART department
 'Tim Shopen has become head of department.' (e-mail)

Since this is the first time after we had exchanged e-mails for 18 months that she mentions Tim Shopen, this use of *lea* seems to mean 'do you remember him?' A similar use of *lea* is found in connection with names of two other people whom she was perhaps unsure I would remember. Formally these examples are slightly different, as *lea* is followed by a relative clause. However, the relative clauses refer to things which I knew and which she probably thought would help me to remember these people (for the construction of relative clauses cf. §8.6.).

- (70) 'Ua 'ou te'i ananei i l-o-'u va'ai iā Helen
 PERF ISG surprised earlier.today LOC ART-POSS-1SG see LOC PN
Charters lea sā I Taiwan.
 PN DEM PAST LOC Taiwan
 'I was surprised earlier today when I saw this Helen Charters (who) has been
 in Taiwan.' (e-mail)

In Samoan, then, recognitional use is formally distinguished from anaphora, as the latter is expressed by *lenā*.

8.6 Demonstratives in relative-clause constructions

In Samoan, relative clauses directly follow the head of the relative construction, for example:

- (71) 'O le ā le mea 'ua tupu?
 PRES ART what ART thing PERF happen
 'What happened?' (lit. 'What is the thing (that) happened?')

The head of the relative clause can be a common noun, a personal pronoun, the relative proform or a demonstrative.²⁸ For example:

- (72) 'o le teine sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES ART girl PAST study LOC Apia
 'the girl who studied in Apia'

- (73) 'o lē sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES REL PAST study LOC Apia
 'the one who studied in Apia'

- (74) 'o lea sā ā'oga i Apia
 PRES DEM PAST study LOC Apia
 'that one who studied in Apia'

- (75) *Faatali Elena e lē 'o 'oe lea ou te fesili atu i ai.*
 Wait PN GENR not PRES 2SG DEM ISG GENR ask DIR LOC ANAPH
 'Wait Elena, it is not you whom I am asking.' (lit. '(it) is not (the case that) that one
 I am asking him/her (is) you.').²⁹ (Tuitolovaa 1985:49)

The constructions whose head is formed by the relative proform or a demonstrative can be used as appositions. For example:

- (76) *E to'afia fo'i le vāega Sāmoa lea e fuafua e ō
 GENR how.many again ART group Samoan DEM GENR plan GENR go:pl
 mai i 'inei e fa'amāsani i le faiga o le dictionary?
 DIR LOC here GENR familiarise LOC ART making POSS ART dictionary
 'How many (people) are (in) the Samoan group (i.e. the people there in Samoa) who
 plan to come here (to Canberra) to familiarise themselves with dictionary making?'
 (e-mail)*

²⁸ For a detailed analysis of relative clause constructions cf. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:631–650).

²⁹ For negated nominal clauses of this kind see Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:503ff.).

- (77) 'Ua na iloa le mea lea 'olo'o iai i totonu o
 PERF 3SG know ART thing DEM PROG exist LOC inside POSS
 le nu'u.
 ART village

'She already knew what was going on in the village.' (lit. '... the thing that existed ...') (Moyle 1981:84)

The demonstrative and the relative pronoun can be combined:

- (78) 'O le ata lea lē ta'atia, lea lē i 'i i le vai ...
 PRES ART reflection DEM REL lie DEM REL LOC here LOC ART water
 'The reflection lying there, the one which was here in the pool ...' (lit. 'The reflecting that one that lay there, that one that was here ...') (Moyle 1981:134)

The demonstrative employed in relative constructions is usually *lea/ia* irrespective of whether the referent is close to the speaker or not, as illustrated in the example above where *lea vāega Sāmoa lea ...* refers to people who are explicitly not at the speaker's place. In a similar manner to the use of *lea* and *lenā* in scene-setting function, e.g. 'o *lea* 'as for me here' and 'o *lenā* 'as for you there', *lea* can contrast with *lenā* in relative-clause constructions, for example:

- (79) Tafēfē e 'ese le lē mafaufau 'o le vevela lea
 terrible GENR extreme ART not think PRES ART heat DEM
 'ua iai nei i Canberra. Ia, 'ae tālofa-e iā 'outou
 PERF exist now LOC Canberra well and pity-EXCL LOC 2PL
 'ona 'o le mālūlū lenā 'ua iai.

because PRES ART cold DEM PERF be.there

'Terrible, I can't think properly because of this heat in Canberra. Well, and pity on you because of that cold that is there now (in Germany).' (lit. '... the not thinking is extraordinary, this heat that exists now in Canberra ...'). (e-mail)

Since — as we have just seen — *lea* can also combine with NPs whose referents are far away, this opposition between *lea* and *lenā* is one of markedness in which *lea* is the unmarked member. This means, *lea* per se is unspecified in respect to its relation to the speech-act participants. However, in certain contexts as when contrasting with *lenā*, it relates to the speaker.

In many relative-clause constructions of our corpus *lea* seems to be semantically bleached and similar to a relative pronoun. A point in case is the following example, where it is used in connection with the introduction of a new participant:

- (80) Ona 'uma lea ona inu, fai atu loa le upu a le
 then finished then COMPL drink say DIR immediately ART word POSS ART
 tama 'i le tama'ita'i lea 'olo'o iai i le vai.
 youth LOC ART lady DEM PROG be.there LOC ART pool

'When he had finished drinking, the youth asked a question of a woman who was at the pool.' (lit. 'Then it was finished that (he) drank, said immediately the word of the youth to a lady (that one) who was there at the pool.') (Moyle 1981:264)

8.7 Sequential use

As noted above in §3, the demonstrative *lea* is used to point at the members of a series of objects, e.g. *lea ma lea ma lea* ‘this and this and this’. This sequential use of *lea* is also found in narrative contexts when the speaker wants to emphasise that a certain event happens repeatedly. *Lea* occurs with expressions referring to people, objects, places or the intervals between the repetitions.

- (81) ... 'o le fa'a'upuga o tala fa'amatala e 'ese mai
 PRES ART wording POSS story tell GENR vary from

i lea tagata 'i lea tagata ...

LOC DEM person LOC DEM person

‘... the precise wording of the spoken narrative ... varies from individual to individual ...’ (from the preface of Moyle 1981:42)

- (82) *I lea aso, ma lea aso, ma lea aso, e usu ai*
 LOC DEM day and DEM day and DEM day GENR get.up ANAPH

le teine-itiiti, ma fai a-na tama'i manu pepa papa'e ...

ART girl-little and make POSS-3SG little bird paper white:PL

‘One day after the other (lit. on that day and that day and that day), the little girl gets up and makes her little white paper birds ...’ (Aiavao 1987:31)

It is probably this use of *lea* which is most closely related to its temporal meaning ‘then’.

8.8 Summary

The analysis of non-situational uses of the demonstratives showed that *lea* has a much wider range of uses than *lenei* and *lenā*. While *lenā* anaphorically refers to persons, things, or events which were mentioned earlier by the speaker or the addressee, *lenei* is used for cataphoric text deixis and for directing the addressee’s attention to a thematically prominent participant in narratives or to the speaker himself in conversations. In contrast, the meaning of *lea* is less specific and depends very much on the context. It is used for both anaphoric and cataphoric reference, but also occurs in the context of background information and indirect speech, in relative-clause constructions and in expressions like *lea N ma lea N* ‘one N after the other’ (lit. ‘this N and this N’). We therefore regard *lea* as an unmarked demonstrative.

The question of how the non-situational meanings of demonstratives are related to their situational meanings will be discussed in the conclusion below.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Overview

Samoan has seven demonstratives whose meanings in situational and non-situational contexts are identified by several independent parameters. For the situational person/object deixis we found four parameters:

1. orientation with regard to the speech-act participants: [+speaker], [+addressee], [-speaker, -addressee];
2. distance from the speech-act participants: together with the speaker or addressee, within reach of the speaker or the addressee, not too far away from both, far away from both;
3. variety of language: [+formal], [-formal];
4. whether the demonstrative is necessarily accompanied by a gesture [+gesture] or not.

Two demonstratives are also used for time deixis: (*le*)*nei* ‘now’ and *lea* ‘next, then’. Only one, i.e. *nei* ‘here’, is used for place deixis, though exclusively in combination with placenames and local nouns. Otherwise time and place deixis is expressed by deictic temporal and local nouns, some of which are derived from the same deictic morphemes as demonstratives.

Table 12: Summary

[+speaker]		[+addressee]	
together with speaker <i>lenei/lea</i> [+formal/-formal]	within reach of the speaker <i>lele</i> - [+gesture]	within reach of the addressee <i>nale</i> - [+gesture]	together with addressee <i>lenā</i> -
		[-speaker, -addressee] not too far away, not in reach <i>lale</i> [+gesture]	
		far away from both speaker and addressee <i>lelā</i>	

As has been shown in the preceding sections, text deixis and reference tracking are expressed by those demonstratives which refer to the speaker and the addressee in situational deixis, i.e. *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā*. In other words, Lyons’ (1977:686–670) assumption that text deixis and deixis in reference tracking are related to spatial deixis does not hold for Samoan. But how the non-situational meanings are related to the corresponding situational meanings is less obvious.

The comparison of the situational and non-situational meanings of *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā* as summarised in Table 13 raise the following questions:

1. How is the informal speaker-centred use of *lea* related to its function as an unmarked demonstrative and its temporal meaning ‘next, then’?
2. Can we find any plausible explanation of why the speaker-centred demonstrative *lenei* is used for cataphoric text deixis and for marking the thematically prominent participants, and why the addressee-centred demonstrative *lenā* is used for anaphoric text deixis and reference tracking?

Table 13: Situational and non-situational use of *lenei*, *lea* and *lenā*

Demonstrative	Situational use	Non-situational use
<i>Lenei</i>	speaker-centred person/object deixis (formal): 'this X which I have here with me' place deixis: 'here' time deixis: 'now, today'	cataphoric text deixis (cataphoric) reference tracking by marking thematically prominent participants
<i>Lea</i>	speaker-centred scene setting (informal): 'as for me here' speaker-centred person/object deixis (informal) N 'this X which I have here with me' pointing at one person/thing after the other: 'this and this and this' temporal: 'next (week)'	anaphoric and cataphoric text deixis cataphoric/anaphoric reference tracking recognitional use use in enumeration: 'this N and this N' = 'one N after the other' temporal: 'then'
<i>Lenā</i>	addressee-centred scene setting: 'as for you there' addressee-centred person/object deixis: 'this X which you have there with you'	anaphoric text deixis anaphoric reference tracking

9.2 The meanings of *lea*

It does not seem possible to find one or more specific semantic properties which would explain all uses of *lea* and their relation to the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā*. If, however, we regard *lea* as a default demonstrative, we can understand its seemingly contradictory meanings in some contexts such as the temporal meaning 'next, then' and its meaning 'as for me here' in sentence-initial adjuncts.

As a default demonstrative, it is used wherever neither the speaker nor the addressee are relevant as in the case of *lea ma lea ma lea ...* 'this and this and this ...' said by someone who is pointing at a number of things in front of him. This use is then transferred to the use in enumerations in narratives *lea N ... lea N ...* 'one N after the other' and to the temporal use of *lea* in the sense of 'next' and 'then'. Being the default demonstrative would also explain why *lea*, but not *lenei* and *lenā*, are so widely used in relative constructions and why in informal speech *lea* replaces *lenei*. This analysis, which is much more thorough than Mosel (1994:338ff.), suggests that *lea*, but not *lenei* or *lenā* represents the semantic primitive THIS (cf. Wierzbicka (1994:469ff.) who on the basis of Mosel (1994) concludes that *lenei* represents the semantic primitive).

9.3 Linking cataphora and anaphora to situational deixis

The answer to the second question can perhaps be found when we describe the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā* not in conventional linguistic terminology, but in simple English words similar to the Natural Semantic Metalanguage developed by Wierzbicka (1996:35ff.).

Table 14: Definitions of the meanings of *lenei* and *lenā*

	<i>lenei</i>	<i>lenā</i>
Situational deixis	speaker-centred deixis: 'this what I have here with me'	addressee-centred deixis: 'this what you have there with you'
text deixis	cataphoric deixis: 'this what I am going to tell you'	anaphoric deixis: 'this what I just told you'
reference tracking	marking the thematically prominent participant: 'the person/object I have something to say about in what I am going to tell you'	anaphoric reference tracking: 'the person/object I said something about in what I just told you'

These simple definitions suggest that the meanings of the demonstratives in text deixis and reference tracking are linked to their situational counterparts in the following way:

- lenei*:
1. The text deixis meaning 'this what I am going to tell you' can be understood as 'this what I have in mind (i.e. 'what I have here with me') and what I am going to tell you'. In other words, 'what I am going to tell you' is seen as 'something that I still have, but intend to give you'.
 2. The thematically prominent participant is a person/object which is relevant for the progress of the narrative. Since the progress of the narrative is 'what I am going to tell you', and this is 'something I have (in my mind) and not yet given to you', this person/object is also 'something I have (in my mind)'.
- lenā*:
1. The text deixis meaning 'this what I just told you' can be understood as 'something (e.g. the information) I gave you', and consequently as 'something (e.g. information) you have'. This means: what I refer to by saying *lenā* is 'something you already have (as information)'.
 2. Correspondingly, 'the person/object I said something about in what I just told you' is part of 'what you have (i.e. the information you have)'.

Thus anaphoric and cataphoric text deixis and reference tracking can be understood in terms of a metaphor: what the speaker says is something he gives to the addressee. When he refers to something he has already talked about, he refers to what he has given to the addressee, i.e. to something the addressee already has. When he refers to something he is going to talk about, he refers to what he has not given yet to the addressee, i.e. something he still has himself.

The analysis of the whole system of demonstratives showed that the spatial parameter of distance must be distinguished from the parameter of speaker/addressee-orientation. It is the latter parameter that appears to be relevant in the distribution of different demonstratives in text deixis and reference tracking, which can be explained in terms of a metaphor of passing of information (in the broadest sense) from the speaker to the addressee.

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