Elevative deixis in Wano

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Abstract

Wano, spoken by about 7,000 native speakers, is a Papuan language of Trans-New Guinea Phylum, Dani-Kwerba Stock, which is found in the interior of Papua of the regency of Puncak Jaya. The language is closely related to Dani, Walak and Nggem. It is an SOV language typology that has complex morphological system.

Four spatial dimensions are morphosyntactically coded in elevative deixis, which are steepness/non-steepness distinction, proximity/distality distinction, adverbial/attributive expressions, and vertical/horizontal plane. This paper discusses the grammatical operation of a set of two-term system: *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' that serves as the basic forms for the elevational deixis in Wano.

Key words

Wano, elevative deixis, steepness/non-steepness, proximity/distality, adverbial/attributive, vertical/horizontal.

0 Introduction

Four spatial dimensions are grammatically coded in elevative deixis:[i] steepness/non-steepness distinction, proximity/distality distinction, adverbial/attributive expressions, and vertical/horizontal plane. A set of two-term system: *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' serves as the basic forms for the elevational deixis. Both deixis are found either with or without final glottal stop with no semantic value.

(1) **ei** ~ *eiq* 'up'
     ou ~ *ouq* 'down'

The basic forms can be used adverbially and attributively, as shown in 2 and 3 respectively.

(2) | *ando* | *ra,* | ***ou*** | *acodi* | *nok* | *mbonggu,* | *ando* | *ra,* | *we* |
     |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
     | anto | ta | **ou** | acodi | nok | mbon-k-u | anto | ta | w-e |
     | other | who | down | PN | next | cut-REAL-3p.A | other | who | come-s.A |

inyom	*o*	*ma*	*akbiri*	*ndome*	*ari*
ø-inom	o	ma	akbiri	ndo-me	ati
3s-with	place	sacred	PN	cave-LOC	that

* unggugu,*					*ando*	*ra,*	*tukmid*	*injenok,*
un-k-u-k-u					anto	ta	tukmid	inje-nok
go through-REAL -3p.A -REAL -3p.A \					other	who	PN	climb up-next

yinggeo	*nok,*	*nu*	*ru*	*mbugu*	*eiq*
jinkeo	nok	n-u	tu	mbu-k-u	**eiq**
PN	next	go-3p.A	way	scatter-REAL-3p.A	up

nouguarago
n-ou-k-at-ak=o \
go-REM-REAL-3p.A-then=PAUS

'As for others, they went down (Lit. 'cut down') to Acodi, yet others came and went through (the) sacred Akbiri, (the) cave, yet others climbed up Tukmid, then Yinggeo, then went up scattering away, they went.' [Text 35: 12 in 7.2]

(3)
an	*da*	*kwa*	*manggu*	*muni*	*nome,*	*wunumu*	*ra,*
an	ta	kwa	manku	muni	nome	wun-u-mu	ta
1s	who	woman	first born	that	therefore	exist-3p-LOC	who

eiq	*ne,*	*nova*	*enot*	*nimbirak*	*dambuno,*
eiq	ne	n-ova	enot	n-impitak	dampun=o
up	S.REF	1s-father	PN	1s-together	unite=PAUS

pinicorago,	*yuicenok*	*ka,*
pinit-jot-ak=o \	j-u-itje-nok	ta ||
bind-say-then=PAUS	say-3p.A-1p.U-then	who

eee	*bogo,*	*itnuk*	*dambun*	*pinit*	*yuicenok*	*ka,*
eee	bok=o	it-nuk	dampun	pinit	j-u-itje-nok	ta
STUT	good=PAUS	do-next	unite	bind	say-3p.A-1p.U-then	who

nit	*no,*	*icadipa*	*nouguerago*
nit	no	itjadipa	n-ou-k-uet-ak=o \
1p	G.REF	PN	go-REM-REAL-1p.A-then=PAUS

'I was the first born girl, as we lived up there, I am married to my father Enos (implies: 'I am married to my husband, Enos'), they said, "it's good if we marry them! (implies: 'let us marry them!')" Having said so, eee "Good (okay)!" (I said). Having done so, they married us. As for us, we went to Hitadipa.'

With reference to the speaker, the deixis mark 'steepness' and 'non-steepness' distinction as well as 'proximity-distality', which we will see in the following sections respectively.

1.1 Steepness and non-steepness

The marking of the 'steepness' notion is indicated by the prefix *d-* on the basic forms.

(4) a. *dei*   'up.steep'
         d-ei
         steep-up

b.   ***dou***   'down.steep'
     d-ou
     steep-down

The degree of steepness depends on the speaker's perception of his/her surroundings. Supposed Acodi in 2 were situated on a steep location, based on his/her intuitively topography knowledge of the Wano surrounding area, then we would expect *dou* 'down-steep'. A similar assumption is true for Tukmid where the people walked through Yinggeo along the steep ravine, then *dei* 'up-steep' was expected. The first and the second clauses of utterance 2 would then be reproduced as given in 5.

(5)   *ando*   *ra,*   ***dou***   *acodi,*   ...   .
      anto   ta | **d-ou**   atjodi |
      other   who   steep-down   PN

      ...   *nok,*   *nu*   *ru*   *mbugu*   ***deiq***
                nok | n-u   tu   mpu-k-u   **d-eiq**
                next   go-3p.A   way   scatter-REAL-3p.A   steep-up

      nouguarago
      n-ou-k-at-ak=o   \
      go-REM-REAL-3p.A-then=PAUS
      '...., they went **down**.**steep** to Acodi, ... then went **up**.**steep** scattering away, they went.' [Text 35: 12 in 7.2]
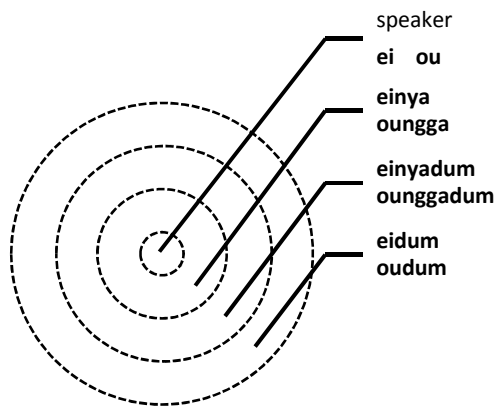
1.2 Proximity-Distality distinction

The elevative proximity-distality distinction with reference to the speaker pointing to the referent at different distances is also found. When the referent is '**near** to speaker' the basic form is suffixed by *-nya*/*-ngga* 'PROX', as illustrated in 6. When it is '**far** from speaker', the suffix *-dum* (or *-dom*) 'DIST' is applied as we have in 8. When it is some where between 'near to speaker' and 'far from speaker', both *-nya*/*-ngga* 'PROX' and *-dum* (or *-dom*) 'DIST' are suffixed to the root *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down', as shown in 7. In free translation, I will call this 'proxital' indicating the distance between 'proximal' and 'distal'. When the distinction is not a prior concern in the speaker's mind, then the basic forms *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' is used. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

(6)   a.   ***einya***   'up.proximal'
           ei-**na**
           up-PROX

      b.   ***oungga***   'down.proximal'
           ou-**nka**
           down-PROX

(7) a. *ei**nya**dum*　　　　　　　　'up.proxital'
　　　 ei-**na**-**dum**
　　　 up-PROX-DIST

　　 b. *ou**ngga**dum*　　　　　　　'down.proxital'
　　　 ou-**nka**-**dum**
　　　 down-PROX-DIST

(8) a. *ei**dum***　　　　　　　　　　'up.distal'
　　　 ei-**dum**
　　　 up-DIST

　　 b. *ou**dum***　　　　　　　　　'down.distal'
　　　 ou-**dum**
　　　 down-DIST

Figure 1: Wano proximity-distality distinction of elevative deixis

Examples to illustrate the proximity-distality distinction are not easily found in texts. Supposed Acodi in 2 was, at the time the elicitation took place, **near** to the speaker, then we may expect *oungga* < ou-**na** {down-**PROX**} 'down.proximal'. When it was somewhere between **near and far**, then *ounggadum* < ou-**na**-**dum** {down-**PROX-DIST**} 'down.proxital'. If it was **far**, then *oudum* < ou-**dum** {down-**DIST**} 'down.distal'. Likewise, when referring to Tukmid the speaker would assert *einya*, *einyadum* or *eidum*, depending on his/her intuitively cognitive judgment. The same is true when the referent is 'far from speaker', where we would expect the deixis *dounggadum* and *deiqnyadum* in 9a be respectively changed to *dou**dum*** < d-ou-**dum** {steep-down-**DIST**} 'steep.down.distal' and *deiq**dum*** < d-eiq-**dum** {steep-up-**DIST**} 'steep.up.distal' as illustrated in 9b. The illustration in 5 can now be modified in 9.

(9) a. *ando*　*ra,*　　*dou**ngga**dum*　　　　*acodi,*　*...*　　*...*　　*...*
　　　 anto　ta |　d-ou-**nka**-**dum**　　atjodi |
　　　 other　who　steep-down-PROX-DIST　PN

		nok,	*nu*	*ru*	*mbugu*
...	...	nok |	n-u	tu	mpu-k-u
		next	go-3p.A	way	scatter-REAL-3p.A

*deiq**nyadum*** *nouguarago*
d-eiq-**na-dum** n-ou-k-at-ak=o \
steep-up-PROX-DIST go-REM-REAL-3p.A-then=PAUS
'...., they went down.**proxital** to Acodi, ... then went
up.steep.**proxital**, scattering away, they went.' [Text 35: 12 in 7.2]

b. *ando* *ra,* *dou**dum*** *acodi,* ... ...
anto ta \| d-ou-**dum** atjodi \|
other who steep-down-DIST PN

		nok,	*nu*	*ru*	*mbugu*
...	...	nok |	n-u	tu	mpu-k-u
		next	go-3p.A	way	scatter-REAL-3p.A

*deiq**dum*** *nouguarago*
d-eiq-**dum** n-ou-k-at-ak=o \
steep-up-DIST go-REM-REAL-3p.A-then=PAUS
'...., they went down.**distal** to Acodi, ... then went up.steep.**distal**,
scattering away, they went.' [Text 35: 12 in 7.2]

Up to this point, some morphophonological features are worth describing.

i. /n/ > [ɲ] / V_ N_ *ei + na* > *einya* 'up.proximal'
                    | |
                 [+high] [+alveolar]
                 [+front] [+nasal   ]

ii. /n/ > [ŋg] /V_ N_ *ou + na* > *oungga* 'down.proximal'
                    | |
                 [+high] [+alveolar]
                 [-front] [+nasal   ]

1.3 Attributive and adverbial expressions

Syntactic function is also morphologically marked here. When the basic forms *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' are marked for degree of 'steepness' with the prefix *d-*, the attributive function of the deixis requires *a-*, as illustrated in 10, and the adverbial function requires *n-*, as in 11.

(10) *wano* *ap* ***a**dei* *ambui* *ra,* *ome* *idik*
     wano ap **a**-d-ei ampui ta \| ø-o-me i-dik
     PN man **ATTR**-steep-up one who 3s-place-LOC 3s-no

dogwe *ru* *yenggwa* *bok*
do-k-we tu jen-k-wa bok \|\|
stay-REAL-HAB way wander-REAL-HAB good

'Not far up, there was one Wano man. He lived in a place alone (i.e., with his family), and wandered that path well.' [Text 35: 77 in 7.2]

(11) | *nit* | *ne* | *eve* | *ir* | *inyoku* | | *dokniq* | | *ta,* |
| nit | ne | eve | it | ø-ino-k-u | | do-k-niq | | ta | |
| 1p | S.REF | also | 3p | 3s.U.hit- PL- REAL-3p.A | | stay- REAL-as | such | who |

ap	*mbere,*	*ambui*	***adouq***		*waro,*	
ap	mpete ‖	ampui	**a**-d-ouq		wat=o	
man	two	one	ATTR-steep-down		3s.U.hit=PAUS	

n*doumungga,*		*ambui*	*wim*	*kuni*
n-t-ou-mu-nka ‖		ampui	wim	kuni
ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX		one	arrow	war

wegirak,		*muni*	*ap*	*kode*	*muni*
we-k-it-ak ‖		muni		ap	kode	muni	
come- REAL-3s.A-then		that	man	old	that

okouguarago.
o-k-o-u-k-u-at-ak=o \
do- REAL-3s.A-REM- REAL-3p.A-then=PAUS
'As for us, we also killed them, two men. One we killed down.steep (there), steeply downward. One was arrowed down (in the) fight. That was, the old man, who they killed.' [Text 35: 92 in 7.2]

The elevational deixis can be outlined in Table 1.

Table 1   *Elevative deixis*
ATTR = Attributive, ADV = Adverbial

	Basic forms	Proximal	Proxital	Distal
'up'	***ei***	*ei-nya*	*ei-nya-dum*	*ei-dum*
'steep.up'	*d-ei*	*d-ei-nya*	*d-ei-nya-dum*	*d-ei-dum*
'ATTR.steep.up'	*a-d-ei*	*a-d-ei-nya*	*a-d-ei-nya-dum*	*a-d-ei-dum*
'ADV.steep.up'	*n-d-ei*	*n-d-ei-nya*	*n-d-ei-nya-dum*	*n-d-ei-dum*
'down'	***ou***	*ou-ngga*	*ou-ngga-dum*	*ou-dum*
'steep.down'	*d-ou*	*d-ou-ngga*	*d-ou-ngga-dum*	*d-ou-dum*
'ATTR.steep.down'	*a-d-ou*	*a-d-ou-ngga*	*a-d-ou-ngga-dum*	*a-d-ou- dum*
'ADV.steep.down'	*n-d-ou*	*n-d-ou-ngga*	*n-d-ou-ngga-dum*	*n-d-ou-dum*

The basic forms for 'up' and 'down' may be pronounced with glottal stop, thus; *ei ~ eiq* 'up' and *ou ~ ouq* 'down'. The 'distal' suffix *-dum* is also pronounced *-dom*. These deixis may be prefixed to a verb such as: ***d-ou**-g-ot-ik* 'steep-down-REAL-1s-PROG' renders 'I am falling', ***d-ou**-g-ond-ik* 'you are falling', and ***d-ou**-g-ar-ik* '(s)he/it is falling', for example.

They may also carry locative marker *-mu/-me* as in *n-d-ou-**mu**-ngga* 'ADV-steep-down-**LOC**-PROX' renders 'steeply down location.proximal'. Verbal inflections on deixis that express the motion of 'up and down' are also found, as listed in 12.

(12) a. ***ou**gu**ei***
       ou-k-ei
       down-REAL-up
       'up and down' [Text 2: 5, 6, Text 35: 40]

    b. ***dou**gu**ei**dum*
       d-ou-k-ei-dum
       steep-down-REAL-up-DIST
       'up.steep and down.steep.distal' [Text 35: 45]

    c. *a**dou**gu**ei**ngga*
       a-d-ou-k-ei-na
       ATTR-steep-down-REAL-up-PROX
       'is up.steep and down.steep.proximal' [Text 35: 88, 89]

1.4 Vertical and horizontal plane

Deixis that refer to elevative locations make further distinction between vertical and horizontal planes. Such take the same structures and functions as the elevative deixis discussed above.

1.4.1 Vertical plane

Wano employs deixis that distinguish 'low-high' on a vertical plane, with reference to trees or mountains: *wenom* 'up low' and *wunom* 'up high'. In Table 2, adverbial use is marked by the palatalisation of /n/; *wenom* 'low' becomes *wenyom* 'lowly'. Examples 13 and 14 illustrate their functional use in discourse.

Table 2	*Vertical plane deixis*	
	Attributive	Adverbial
'up.low.VERT'	*we**n**om*	*we**ny**om*
	we**n**om	we**ɲ**om
'up.high.VERT'	*wu**n**om*	*wu**ny**om*
	wu**n**om	wu**ɲ**om

(13) *it*   *ne*   *ra,*   *ap*   *waku*   *narik,*   *wu*
      it   ne   ta | ap   wat-k-u   n-at-ik | w-u
      3p   S.REF who   man   hit.3s.U-REAL-pA   go-3s/pA- PROG   come-p.A

      narik   *ka,*   *tu*   *wenom*   *enok,*   *ndi*
      n-at-ik   ka | tu   wenom   enok | nti
      go-3s/p.A-PROG   who   way   **ATTR**.up.low.VERT   next   this

      narik   *ka,*   *ndei*   *ne*   *koyon*   *awi.*
      n-at-ik   ta | n-d-ei   ne   koyon   ø-awi ||
      go-3s/p.A- PROG   who   ADV-steep-up   as such Koyon   3s-home
      'As for them, they went on killing people, having come this path
      up.low.vertical, they went up.steep to the Koyon village.' [Text 35: 75 in 7.2]

(14) *at*   *ne*   *urukuma*   *baneq*   *wunyom*
      at   ne | utukuma   baneq   wuɲom
      3s   S.REF   aircraft   INST   **ADV**.up.high.vertical

      ki   *narago*
      ki   n-at-ak=o \
      very   go-3s/p.A-then= PAUS
      '(s)he went high-up.vertical very high with the aircraft.'

1.4.2 Horizontal plane

As with the vertical plane, some deixis in Wano distinguish 'proximal-distal' on the horizontal plane, with reference to the speaker. In Table 3, any vowel-initial deixis marks the attributive function of the noun. Any *n-* initial deixis marks adverbial function.

Table 3	*Horizontal plane deixis*		
	Basic	Attributive	Adverbial
'away.HORZ.PROX'	*deru*	*aderu*	*nderu*
	detu	a-detu	n-detu
'away.HORZ.DIST'	*derudum*	*aderudum*	*nderudum*
	detu-dum	a-detu-dum	n-detu-dum

The following example illustrates the case.

(15) *wonok*   *nuerik*   *mbaren*   *banuk*   *ka,*   *yoan*   *ne*
      wo-nok   n-uet-ik   mpaten   ban-nuk   ta | joan   ne
      carry-3s.A.INCEP   go-3p.A-PROG   knot   set-next   who   PN   S.REF

      ra,   *digo*   *turu*   *ra*   *nderudum*   *narago*
      ta | dik=o \   tutu   ta   n-detu-dum   n-at-ak=o
      who   no= PAUS PN   who   ADV-away.HORZ.DIST go-3s/p.A-then= PAUS

      nome,   *woranugo!"*
      nome | wota-nuk=o \
      therefore   come-next= PAUS
      'When we had carried (the canoe) and tied it, John (he said), "I tell you
      what, ... the Turu who went away.horizontal.distal is coming!"' [Text 67: 21
      in 7.3]

Finally, as an accidental consequence of Wano topographical and geographical setting, *ei* 'up' generally refers to 'south', and *ou* 'down' to 'north' at present. On the other hand, the expressions for 'east' and 'west' are not deictically expressed, illustrated in 16.

(16) a. *o*   *poiya*   *we*
          o   poija   w-e
          place   sun   come-3s.A
          'east'

      b. *o*   *poiya*   *ne*
          o   poija   n-e
          place   sun   go-3s.A
          'west'

Symbols

-	morpheme break	=	clitic break
\	(short) closure in discourse	1	first person
\\	sudden cut in discourse	2	second person
|	short pauses in discourse	3	third person
||	long pauses in discourse		

Abbreviations

A	actor	PAUS	pausal
ADV	adverbial	PN	proper noun/name
ATTR	attributive	PROG	progressive aspect
DIST	distal	PROX	proximate
G.REF	general referent/reference	REM	remote past
HAB	habitual	s, SG	singular
HORZ	horizontal	S.REF	specific referent/reference
INCEP	inceptive aspect	STUT	stutter
INST	instrument	U	undergoer
LOC	locative	V	vowel (morphophonoly)
N	nasal (morphophonoly)	VERT	vertical
p, PL	plural		

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[i] For definition of deixis (deictic), see Crystal (1997: 107), Trask (1999: 75-76). Detail discussion is found in Anderson and Keenan (1985: 259-308) and Lyons 1996 (1995) chapters 9 and 10.