

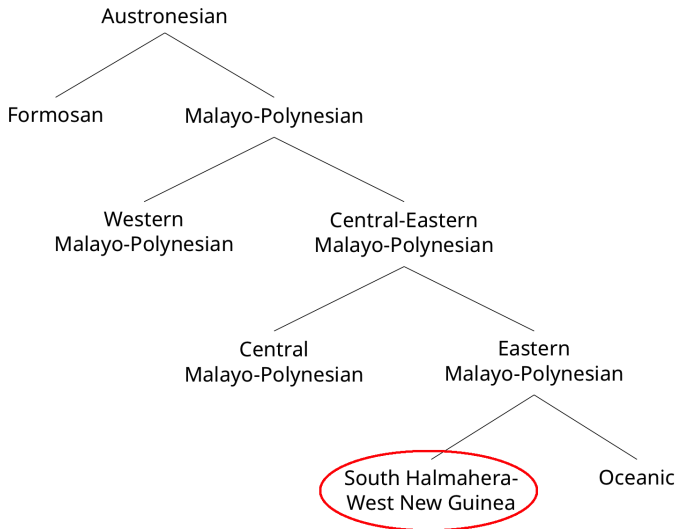
# The origins and development of elevationals and other spatial coordinate demonstratives in South Halmahera-West New Guinea

Laura Arnold  
University of Edinburgh

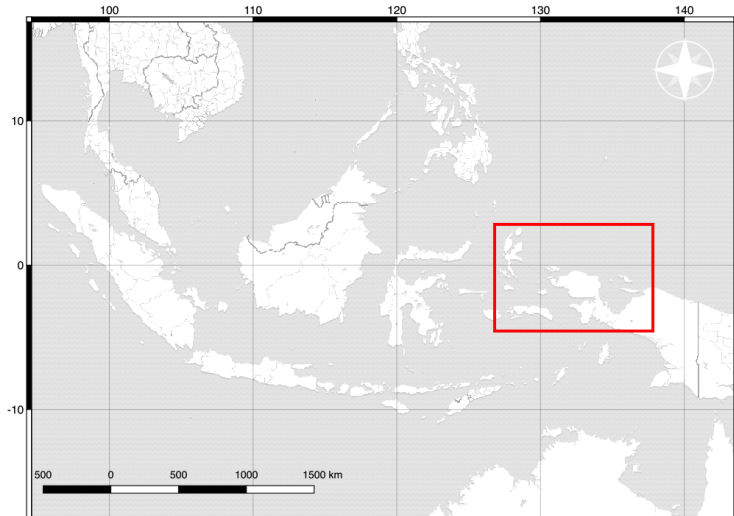
Societas Linguistica Europaea 52nd Annual Meeting  
Elevation as a deictic category: Typological and diachronic perspectives  
Leipzig University, 21 August 2019



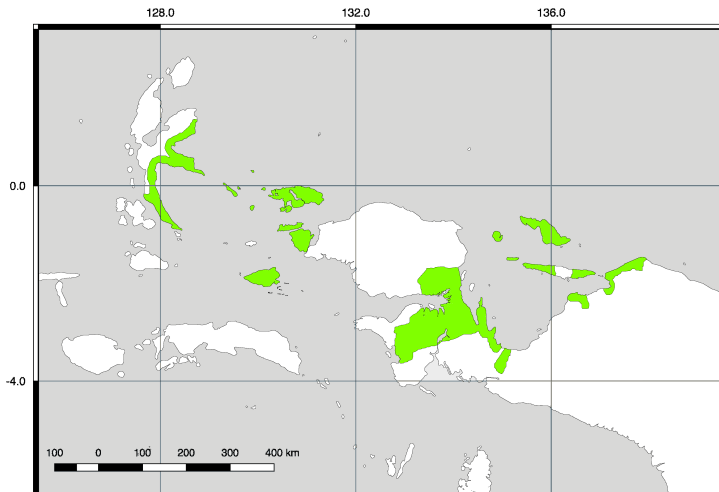
# South Halmahera-West New Guinea



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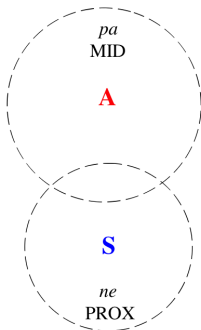


# Spatial coordinate demonstratives

- ▶ Non-spatial coordinate demonstratives (‘vanilla’ demonstratives):
  - ▶ Encode information about relative proximity to the deictic centre
  - ▶ e.g. ‘this’/‘that’/‘yonder’...
- ▶ Spatial coordinate demonstratives:
  - ▶ Demonstrative forms that encode **angular search domains** (Burenhult 2008)
  - ▶ e.g. UP/DOWN, LAND/SEA, IN/OUT...

# Spatial coordinate demonstratives

► Ambel:



*mana*  
DIST



# Spatial coordinate demonstratives

## ► Ambel:



## Spatial coordinate demonstratives

### (1) Ambel

ana-i-ne,            ípon            **a-i-ne**,            bukan atú-tó    lo  
 3SG.INAN-UP-PROX    mountain    **DEM-UP-PROX**    NEG    3PC-stay    place  
 Kábum málo **a-mu-a**            po  
 Kabum truly **DEM-IN-AND**    NEG

“[So as for the place that they stayed in...] it’s up here, **this mountain at the top here**, they definitely didn’t stay at **Kabum inland there**.”

- Present study limited to **pronominal** and **adnominal demonstratives**



# Origins and development of SCD systems in SHWNG

1. Types of demonstrative system in SHWNG
2. Austronesian-Papuan contact and the development of SCDs
  - Type 3 systems
  - Type 4 systems
3. Summary

# Origins and development of SCD systems in SHWNG

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## Type 1

- ▶ No spatial coordinate demonstratives

### **Wamesa**

*nini* this

*yani* that (middle distance)

*wani* that (far distance)

## Type 2

- ▶ Spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ Paradigmatic with non-spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ Elevationals

### Wooi

*ne*      PROX

*vaw*     MID

*pa*      DIST

***pe***     UP

***vaw***    DOWN

## Type 3

- ▶ Spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ Paradigmatic with non-spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, GENERAL

### Taba

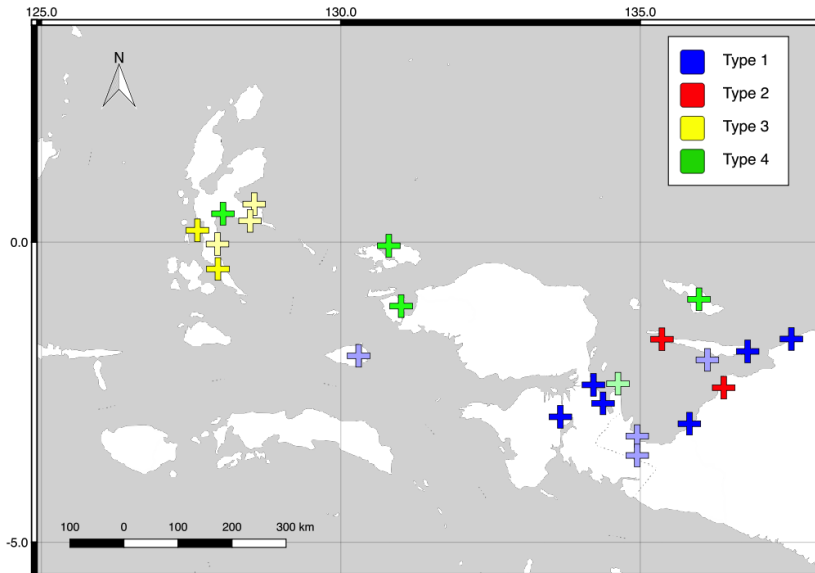
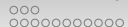
<i>ne</i>	PROX
<i>d(i)a</i>	DIST
<i>ya</i>	<b>UP</b>
<i>po</i>	<b>DOWN</b>
<i>le</i>	<b>LAND</b>
<i>la</i>	<b>SEA</b>
<i>no</i>	<b>there, across</b>

## Type 4

- ▶ Spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ Syntagmatic with non-spatial coordinate demonstratives
- ▶ UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, IN, OUT, etc

### Ambel

<i>wa-</i>	DEM1	}	<i>i-</i>	UP, OUT	}	<i>ne</i>	PROX
<i>a-</i>	DEM2		<i>pu-</i>	DOWN		<i>pa</i>	MID
			<i>li-</i>	LAND		<i>ma</i>	DIST
			<i>lu-</i>	SEA		<i>a</i>	AND
			<i>ta-</i>	FRONT			
			<i>mu-</i>	BACK, IN			
			<i>pa-</i>	SIDE			



# Origins and development of SCD systems in SHWNG

1. Types of demonstrative system in SHWNG

2. Austronesian-Papuan contact and the development of SCDs

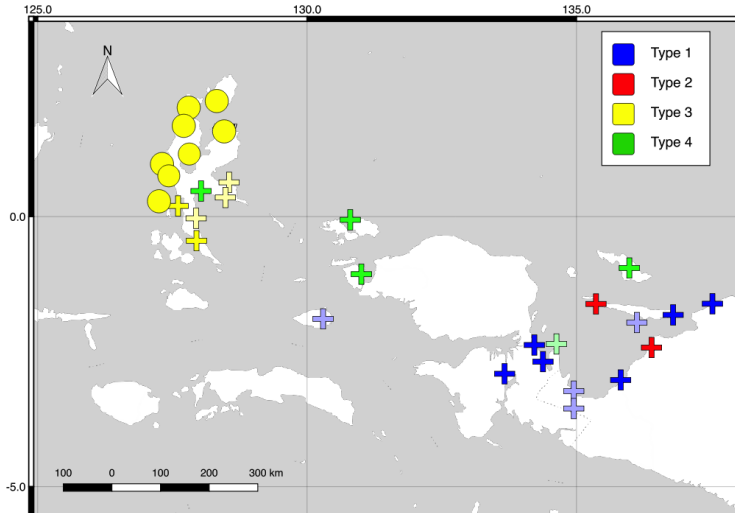
Type 3 systems

Type 4 systems

3. Summary



# Type 3 systems

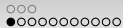


## Type 3 systems

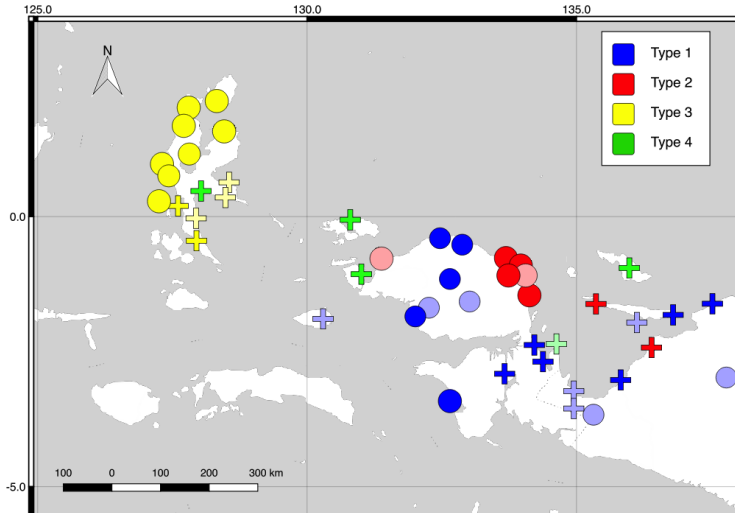
	<b>Tobelo</b> (N Halmahera)	<b>Taba</b> (SHWNG)
proximal	<i>nenanga</i>	<i>ne</i>
distal	<i>genanga</i>	<i>d(i)a</i>
<b>upward</b>	<b><i>dakenanga</i></b>	<b><i>ya</i></b>
<b>downward</b>	<b><i>daenanga</i></b>	<b><i>po</i></b>
<b>landward</b>	<b><i>dinenanga</i></b>	<b><i>le</i></b>
<b>seaward</b>	<b><i>danenanga</i></b>	<b><i>la</i></b>
<b>general</b>	<b><i>dokenanga</i></b>	<b><i>no</i></b>

## Type 3 systems

- ▶ Holton (2017):
  - ▶ Spatial orientation systems of SHWNG languages in South Halmahera developed through contact with North Halmahera (Papuan) languages
  - ▶ Spatial orientation systems of North Halmahera languages due to a pre-NH substrate?
- ▶ Bowden (2005): Metatypic restructuring of the spatial orientation system of North Moluccan Malay



# Type 4 systems



## Type 4 systems

<b>Biak</b>		<b>Ambel</b>		<b>Sawai</b>	
(SHWNG, CB)		(SHWNG, RASH)		(SHWNG, RASH)	
<i>yás-</i>	UP(RIVER)	<i>i-</i>	UP, OUT	<i>ya</i>	UP
<i>vav-</i>	DOWN	<i>pu-</i>	DOWN	<i>nóp</i>	DOWN
<i>re-</i>	LAND	<i>li-</i>	LAND	<i>léw</i>	LAND
<i>ra-</i>	SEA	<i>lu-</i>	SEA	<i>law</i>	SEA
<i>rum-</i>	IN	<i>mu-</i>	IN, BACK	<i>min</i>	IN
<i>ri-</i>	OUT	<i>ta-</i>	FRONT	<i>tó</i>	OUT
<i>pon-</i>	FRONT	<i>pa-</i>	SIDE	<i>li</i>	'there'
<i>pur-</i>	BACK, DOWN- RIVER				
<i>var-</i>	SIDE				
<i>vún-</i>	MIDDLE				

## Type 4 systems

- Contact with Papuan languages with Type 3 systems?

<b>Tidore</b> (PAP, NH)		
Non-SCDs	= <i>re</i>	‘here/this’
	= <i>ge</i>	‘there/that’
SCDs	= <i>tau</i>	UP
	= <i>ta(h)u</i>	DOWN
	= <i>tina</i>	LAND
	= <i>tai</i>	SEA
	= <i>ta</i>	‘over there’

## Type 4 systems

1. Why are SCDs in these languages syntagmatic, not paradigmatic?
2. Whence the additional categories?

## Type 4 systems

► Paradigmatic > syntagmatic:

Tidore: “The locational enclitics, =*ge* [‘that/there’] and =*re* [‘this/here’]... follow referring expressions to mark them as ‘given’” (van Staden 2000: 196)

(2) mina=tau=re

3SG.F=upward=here

“she who is in an upward location here” [my translation]



## Type 4 systems

► Paradigmatic > syntagmatic:

Tidore: “The locational enclitics, =*ge* [‘that/there’] and =*re* [‘this/here’]... follow referring expressions to mark them as ‘given’” (van Staden 2000: 196)

- (3) mina mi-ganyihi=tau                    toma tufa, toma kayangan=tau...  
 3SG.F 3SG.F.POS-place=upward LOC sky LOC heaven=upward  
**ena=tau=ge**                    nyifu mansia waro sikari            paka  
**3NH=upward=there** must person know first.then ascend  
 ine  
 upwards

“She resides upwards in the sky, in heaven... About **this upwards** [**place**], people must know how to go up.”

## Type 4 systems

- The additional categories:

<b>Wamesa</b> (SHWNG, CB) <i>Geographic nouns</i>	<b>Ambai</b> (SHWNG, CB) <i>Adverbs</i>
<i>rau</i> seawards	<i>rau</i> seawards
<i>re</i> landwards	<i>rei</i> landwards
<i>wi</i> uphill, inland	<i>weu</i> down
<i>ye</i> upriver	<i>yai</i> up
<i>po</i> front	<i>fon</i> front
<i>pui</i> behind	<i>fui</i> back
<i>ri</i> outside	<i>war</i> across

## Type 4 systems

- The additional categories:

<b>Biak</b> (SHWNG, CB) <i>SCDs</i>		<b>Wamesa</b> (SHWNG, CB) <i>Geographic nouns</i>		<b>Ambai</b> (SHWNG, CB) <i>Adverbs</i>	
<i>yás-</i>	UP(RIVER)	<i>ye</i>	upriver	<i>yai</i>	up
<i>vav-</i>	DOWN			<i>weu</i>	down
<i>re-</i>	LAND	<i>re</i>	landwards	<i>rei</i>	landwards
<i>ra-</i>	SEA	<i>rau</i>	seawards	<i>rau</i>	seawards
<i>rum-</i>	IN				
<i>ri-</i>	OUT	<i>ri</i>	outside		
<i>pon-</i>	FRONT	<i>po</i>	front	<i>fon</i>	front
<i>pur-</i>	BACK	<i>pui</i>	behind	<i>fui</i>	back
<i>var-</i>	SIDE			<i>war</i>	across
<i>vún-</i>	MIDDLE				

## Type 4 systems

- ▶ The additional categories:
  - ▶ **Ambel** (SHWNG, RASH)

SCD		Directional noun	
<i>i-</i>	UP	<i>il</i>	upwards direction
<i>pu-</i>	DOWN	<i>pul</i>	downwards direction
<i>li-</i>	LAND	<i>líl</i>	landwards direction
<i>lu-</i>	SEA	<i>lúl</i>	seawards direction
<i>mu-</i>	IN	<i>mul</i>	inside
<i>i-</i>	OUT	<i>li</i>	outside
<i>pa-</i>	SIDE	<i>pál</i>	side, sideways direction
<i>ta-</i>	FRONT		
<i>mu-</i>	BACK		

## Type 4 systems

- ▶ The additional categories:
  - ▶ ‘Ordinary’ contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2003)
    1. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
    2. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
    3. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
    4. They grammaticalize construction Ry to Rx.

## Type 4 systems

- The additional categories:

<b>Tidore</b> PAP, NH <i>SCDs</i>	<b>Ambel</b> AN, SHWNG <i>Geographic nouns</i>		<i>SCDs</i>
= <i>tau</i> UP	<b><i>il</i></b>	<b>upwards</b>	<i>i-</i> UP
= <i>ta(h)u</i> DOWN	<b><i>pul</i></b>	<b>downwards</b>	<i>pu-</i> DOWN
= <i>tina</i> LAND	<b><i>lil</i></b>	<b>landwards</b>	<i>li-</i> LAND
= <i>tai</i> SEA	<b><i>lúl</i></b>	<b>seawards</b> >	<i>lu-</i> SEA
	<b><i>mul</i></b>	<b>inside</b>	<i>mu-</i> IN
	<b><i>li</i></b>	<b>outside</b>	<i>i-</i> OUT
	<b><i>pál</i></b>	<b>side, sideways</b>	<i>pa-</i> SIDE
			<i>ta-</i> FRONT
			<i>mu-</i> BACK

# Origins and development of SCD systems in SHWNG

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## Summary

- ▶ This is an area of unusually high levels of typological diversity in spatial coordinate demonstrative systems
- ▶ Type 3 systems in SHWNG developed through contact with North Halmahera (Papuan) languages
- ▶ Did Type 4 in SHWNG systems develop through contact-induced grammaticalization stimulated by political and trade links with Tidore?
- ▶ Whole grammatical subclass targeted as Ry: Are there cross-linguistic parallels?



Thank you!



## Sources: SHWNG

Language	Location	Type	Source
Taba	N Maluku	3	Bowden (2001)
Sawai	N Maluku	4	Whisler (1996)
Weda	N Maluku	3?	Yoshida (1980)
Gane	N Maluku	3	Teljeur (1987)
Maba	N Maluku	3?	Yoshida (1980)
Patani	N Maluku	3?	Yoshida (1980)
Ambel	Raja Ampat	4	Arnold (2018)
Matbat	Raja Ampat	1?	Remijsen (2010, 2015)
Ma'ya	Raja Ampat	4	van der Leeden (n.d.); Remijsen (2001)
Irarutu	Bomberai	1	Jackson (2014)
Wamesa	Cenderawasih Bay	1	Gasser (2014)
Dusner	Cenderawasih Bay	1	Dalrymple and Mofu (2012)
Roon	Cenderawasih Bay	4?	Gil p.c.
Yaur	Cenderawasih Bay	1?	Kamholz p.c.
Yerisiam	Cenderawasih Bay	1?	Kalmholz p.c.
Moor	Cenderawasih Bay	1	Kamholz p.c.
Waropen	Cenderawasih Bay	2	Held (1942, 1957)
Biak	Biak	4	van den Heuvel (2006)
Wooi	Yapen	2	Sawaki (2017)
Ambai	Yapen	1	Silzer (1983)
Warembori	N New Guinea	1	Donohue (1999)

## Sources: Papuan I

Family	Language	Location	Type	Source
North Halm.	Galela	N Maluku	3	Yoshida (1980); Shelden (1991)
	Loloda	N Maluku	3	Yoshida (1980)
	Tabaru	N Maluku	3	Yoshida (1980); Kotynski (1988)
	Tobelo	N Maluku	3	Holton (2003)
	Pagu	N Maluku	3	Wimbish (1991)
	Ternate	N Maluku	3	Hayami-Allen (2001)
	Tidore	N Maluku	3	van Staden (2000)
	West Makian	N Maluku	3	Voorhoeve (1982)
West Papuan	Moi	W Bird's Head	2?	Menick (1995, 1996, 2000)
	Maybrat	C Bird's Head	1	Dol (1998, 1999)
	Abun	N Bird's Head	1	Berry and Berry (1999)
	Mpur	N Bird's Head	1	Odé (2002)
EBH	Meyah	E Bird's Head	2	Gravelle (2004)
	Moskana	E Bird's Head	2	Gravelle (2010)
	Sougb	E Bird's Head	2	Reesink (2002a)
Hatam-Mansim	Hatam	E Bird's Head	2	Reesink (1999)
	Mansim	E Bird's Head	2?	Reesink (2002b)

## Sources: Papuan II

<b>Family</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Source</b>
South Bird's Head	Arandai	S Bird's Head	1?	Voorhoeve (1985)
	Inanwatan	S Bird's Head	1	de Vries (2004)
	Kokoda	S Bird's Head	?	de Vries (2004)
	Puragi	S Bird's Head	1?	de Vries (2004)
W Bomberai	Kalamang	Bomberai	1	Visser (2016)
Wissel Lakes	Ekagi/Mee	C WNG	1?	Doble (1987)
	Iau	C WNG	1?	Bateman (1986)

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