Strata of contact: Typologising spatial coordinate demonstrative systems in the Moluccas and 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...
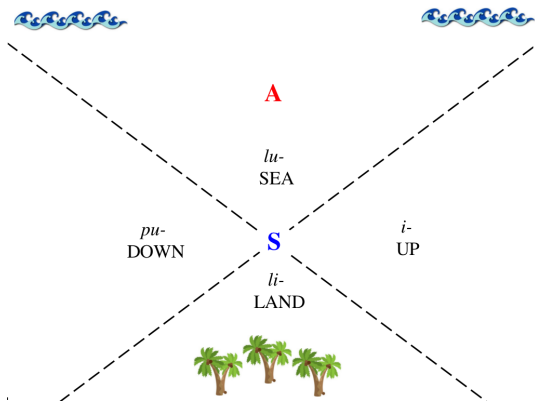
Spatial coordinate demonstratives
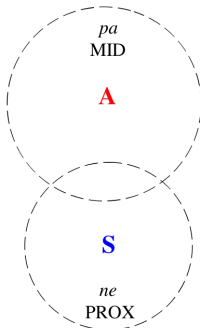
▶ Ambel:

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**

Typologising spatial coordinate demonstrative systems
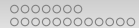
1. Language sample

2. A typology of demonstrative systems
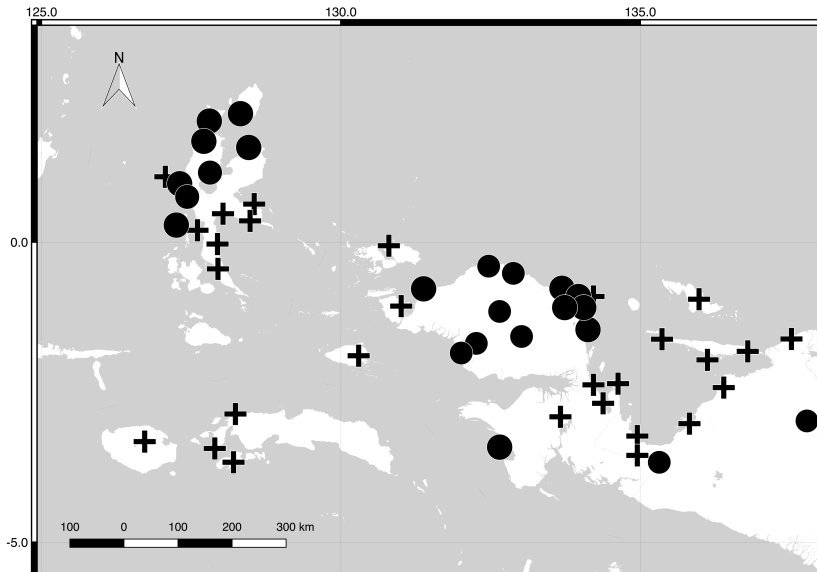   Criteria
    The types

3. Strata of contact

4. Summary

Typologising spatial coordinate demonstrative systems

Criteria

- ▶ Are there spatial coordinate demonstratives?

- ▶ Are they paradigmatic or syntagmatic with other, non-spatial coordinate demonstratives?

- ▶ What are the categories distinguished?
    - ▶ Elevationals (UP, DOWN, ACROSS, SLOPING, etc)
    - ▶ UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, GENERAL
    - ▶ UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, IN, OUT, etc

The types

Spatial coordinate
demonstratives?

N — Type 1

Y — Paradigmatic with other
demonstratives?

Y:
- Elevationals — Type 2
- UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, GENERAL — Type 3

N:
- UP, DOWN, LAND, SEA, IN, OUT, etc — Type 4
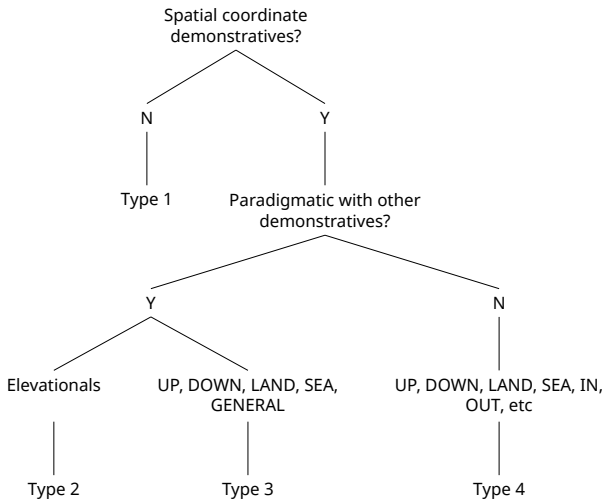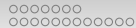
Type 1

▶ No spatial coordinate demonstratives

Wamesa (Aɴ, SHWNG)

nini	this
yani	that (middle distance)
wani	that (far distance)

Type 2

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

Meyah (Pap, East Bird's Head)

=if	near speaker
=uma	away from speaker
=unj	more distant from speaker
=inda	**above**
=imba	**below**

"They [the elevationals *=inda* and *=imba*] cannot occur with the distance clitics [='vanilla' demonstratives] mentioned earlier in this section" (Gravelle 2004: 147)

Type 3

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

Tobelo (Pap, North Halmahera)

	Punctual	Areal
proximal	*nenanga*	*naanga*
distal	*genanga*	*gaanga*
seaward	***danenanga***	***danaanga***
landward	***dinenanga***	***dinaanga***
upward	***dakenanga***	***dakaanga***
downward	***daenanga***	–
general	***dokenanga***	***dokaanga***

Type 3

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

"While **they ['vanilla' and spatial coordinate demonstratives] have identical syntactic distribution**, they may be differentiated primarily because directional demonstratives function as part of a larger directional system which includes both directional locative adverbs and directional suffixes..." (Holton 2003: 17)

Type 4

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

Ambel (Aɴ, SHWNG)

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

Typologising spatial coordinate demonstrative systems

1. Language sample

2. A typology of demonstrative systems
    Criteria
    The types

3. Strata of contact

4. Summary

Strata of contact

- Stratum 1: Type 1 > Type 2

- Stratum 2: Type 1 > Type 3

- Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4
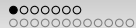
Stratum 1: Type 1 > Type 2
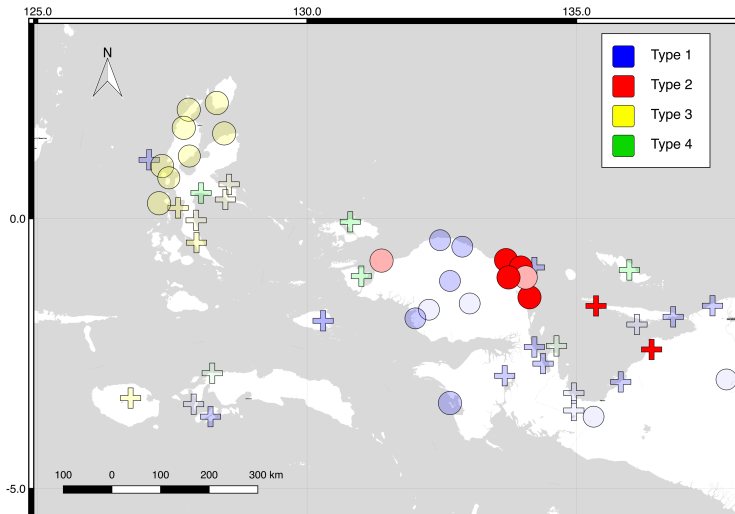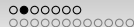
Stratum 1: Type 1 > Type 2?

▶ Papuan:

| | | **East Bird's Head** | | | | | **Hatam-Mansim** | |
		Meyah		**Moskana**		**Sougb**		**Hatam**	
Non-SCDs	*=if*	PROX	*=ef* ∼ *=ka*	PROX	*gini*	PROX	*ni*	PROX
	=uma	MID	*=ma*	MID			*ma*	MID
	=unj	DIST	*=maj*	DIST	*ingga*	DIST	*mo*	DIST
SCDs	*=inda*	UP	*=da*	UP	*gada*	UP	*nyo*	sloping up
							hu	vertically up
	=imba	DOWN			*gaih*	DOWN	*mu*	down
			=ba	ACROSS				

Stratum 1: Type 1 > Type 2?

▶ Austronesian (SHWNG):

	Wooi (Aɴ, SHWNG)		**Waropen** (Aɴ, SHWNG)	
Non-SCDs	*ne*	PROX	*ni*	PROX
	vaw	MID	*wako*	MID
	pa	DIST	*gha*	DIST
SCDs	*pe*	UP	–	
	vaw	DOWN	*wako*	DOWN

Stratum 1: Type 1 > Type 2?
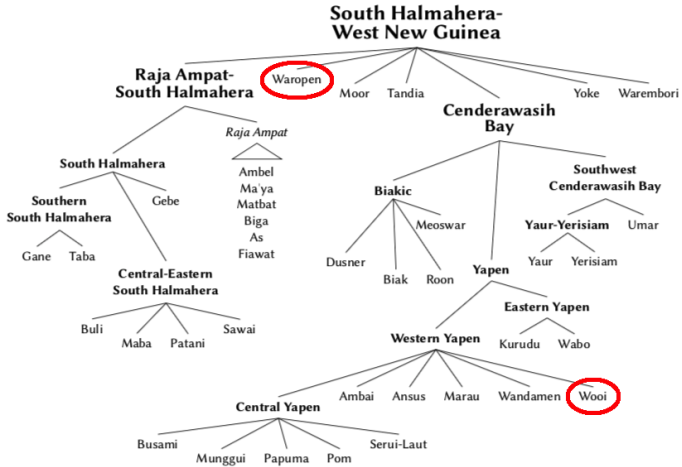
After Kamholz (2014)
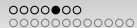
Stratum 2: Type 1 > Type 3
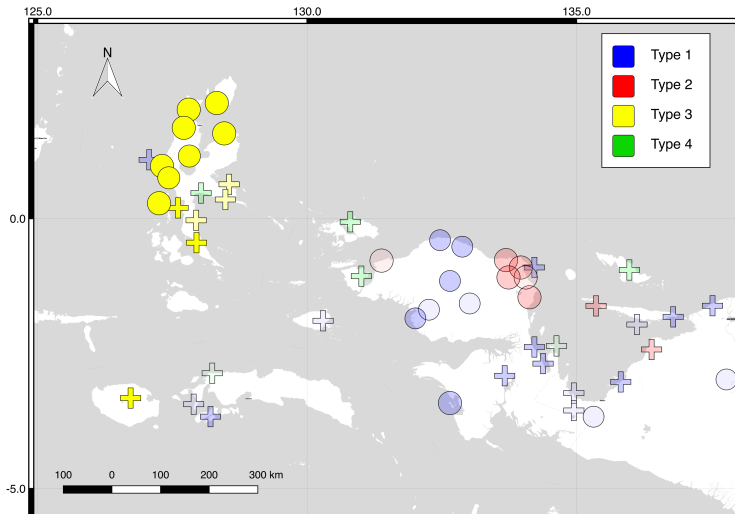
Stratum 2: Type 1 > Type 3

- ► Holton (2017): Spatial orientation systems of Papuan North Halmahera languages due to a pre-NH substrate?

- ► Bowden (2005): Metatypic restructuring of the spatial orientation system of North Moluccan Malay

- ► Evidence for potential grammaticalisation in Ternate Malay? (cf. Bowden 2005)

(2) Ternate Malay

  ngana di ujung **dara**, kita di ujung **lau**
  2sg   in tip land   1sg in tip   sea

  "You [sleep] at that end, I [sleep] at this end!" (Litamahuputty 2012: 240)

Language sample
○

A typology of demonstrative systems
○○
○○○○○
○

Strata of contact
○○○○○○○
●○○○○○○○○○○○

Summary
○

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4
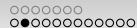
Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4
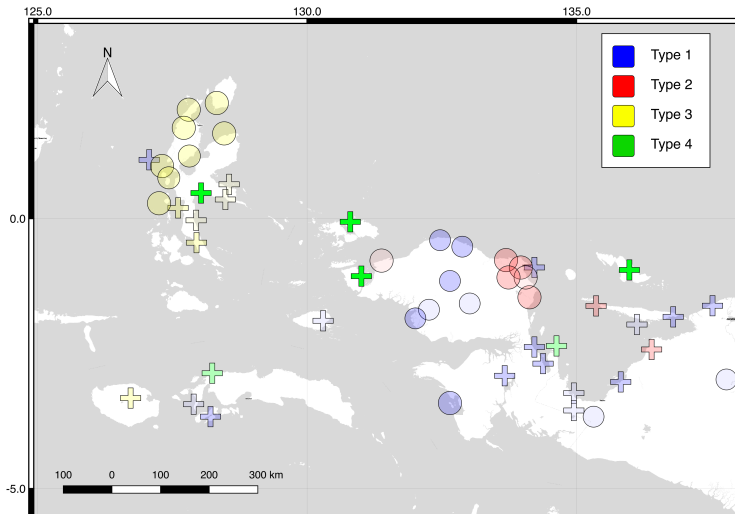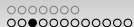
Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

► Austronesian:

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

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▸ Contact with languages with Type 3 systems?

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

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

1. Why are SCDs in these languages syntagmatic, not paradigmatic?

2. Whence the additional categories?

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▶ 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=tau=re
      3SG.F=upward=here

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

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▶ 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)

(4)   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."

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▶ The additional categories:

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

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▶ The additional categories:

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

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

- The additional categories:

  - **Ambel** (SHWNG, RASH)

SCD		Directional noun	
i-	UP	*il*	upwards direction
pu-	DOWN	*pul*	downwards direction
li-	LAND	*líl*	landwards direction
lu-	SEA	*lúl*	seawards direction
mu-	IN	*mul*	inside
i-	OUT	*li*	outside
pa-	SIDE	*pál*	side, sideways direction
ta-	FRONT		
mu-	BACK		
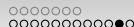
Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

- ▶ 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.

Stratum 3: Type 1 > Type 4

▶ The additional categories:

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

Typologising spatial coordinate demonstrative systems

1. Language sample

2. A typology of demonstrative systems
      Criteria
      The types

3. Strata of contact
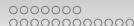
4. Summary

Summary

- ▶ This is an area of unusually high levels of typological diversity in spatial coordinate demonstrative systems

- ▶ Did Type 4 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?

Sources: Austronesian I

Branch	Language	Location	Type	Source
WMP	Ambonese Malay	C Maluku	1	van Minde (1997)
	Ternate Malay	N Maluku	1	Litamahuputty (2012)
	Papuan Malay	New Guinea	1	Kluge (2014)
	Serui Malay	Yapen	1?	van Velzen (1995)
CMP	Buru	C Maluku	3	Grimes (1991)
	Alune	C Maluku	1?	Florey (2001)
	Larike	C Maluku	4?	Laidig (1993)
SHWNG	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)

Sources: Austronesian II

Branch	Language	Location	Type	Source
SHWNG	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)
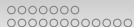
Sources: Papuan II

Family	Language	Location	Type	Source
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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Language sample   A typology of demonstrative systems   Strata of contact   **Summary**
○   ○○   ○○○○○○○   ○
     ○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
     ○

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Thank you!