Elevative Deixis in Wano

Exploring Human Social Cognition in Grammar

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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 a 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.

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

Introduction

Human language is built upon acceptable sounds strung together (phonetics) that in turn makes sense in a structural manner (phonology), and that then form meaningful words (morphology) and sentences (syntax). Furthermore, such meaningful words and sentences must in turn make sense in their application. For examples, *John loves eating bananas* is an acceptable expression in English but not **Bananas love eating John*. In the last example, even though the structure of the sentence is perfectly correct, it is not acceptable by English speakers because it conveys an odd type of meaning (semantics). Furthermore, the use of the language by its speakers must be understood also in a pragmatic context also. The expression *I am allergic to coffee* may simply be a statement, or may imply a polite refusal to a question *What about a cup of coffee?*

Human language is also built up on social cognition (cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics), and the worldview of its speakers (anthropology-linguistics and socio-cultural norms of life).

Across languages, mostly similar meanings are expressed in a rather different way of grammatical coding or expression that involves all aspects of linguistics mentioned above. The English speakers will have the way of saying: **What** is your name when asking for the person’s name. The Indonesian speakers will say: **Siapa** nama Anda, which literally means *Who name you* in English. Likewise, while in English we are accustomed to: *John runs the business*, in Indonesian we have: *John menjalankan bisnis*, which, again, literally means *John walks the business*.

In one culture, we would point to a direction or point at someone by using our index finger, while in the other the thumb is used; yet, in another, we would simply protrude our lower lip towards a certain direction to

someone, or towards someone as a way of pointing. Furthermore, speakers may direct to or point at someone or something using their minds. This is a cognitive spatial sense of mind, which we will explore further here.

Four spatial dimensions are grammatically coded in elevative deixis:¹ 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” (as shown in example (1)) serves as the basic forms for the elevative deixis. Both deixis are found either with or without final glottal stop with no semantic value.

Example (1) *ei* ~ *eiq* “up”
ou ~ *ouq* “down”

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

Example (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.”
 [Burung, in progress]

Example (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

¹ For definition of deixis (deictic), see Crystal (1997, p. 107), Trask (1999, pp. 75-76). Detail discussion is found in Anderson and Keenan (1985, pp. 259-308) and Lyons (1996) chapters 9 and 10.

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 marks “steepness” and “non-steepness” distinction as well as “proximity-distality”, which we will see in the following sections respectively.

Steepness and Non-steepness

The marking of the “steepness” notion is indicated by the prefix *d-* on the basic forms (as shown in example (4)).

- Example (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 example (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 in example (2) would then be reproduced as given in example (5).

- Example(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.” [Burung, in progress]

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 example (6). When it is “**far** from speaker”, the suffix *-dum* (or *-dom*) “DIST” is applied as we have in example (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 example (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.

Example (6)	a.	<i>einya</i>
ei- na
up-PROX	“up.proximal”
	b.	<i>oungga</i>
ou- nka
down-PROX	“down.proximal”
Example (7)	a.	<i>einyadum</i>
ei- na-dum
up-PROX-DIST	“up.proxital”
	b.	<i>ounggadum</i>
ou- nka-dum
down-PROX-DIST	“down.proxital”
Example (8)	a.	<i>eidum</i>
ei- dum
up-DIST	“up.distal”
	b.	<i>oudum</i>
ou- dum
down-DIST	“down.distal”

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 example (2) was, at the time the elicitation took place, **near** to the speaker, 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 *doudum* < *d-ou-dum* {steep-down-DIST} “steep.down.distal” and *deiqdum* < *d-eiq-dum* {steep-up-DIST} “steep.up.distal” as illustrated in example (9)b. The illustration in example (5) can now be modified in example (9).

- Example (9) a. *ando* *ra*, *dounggadum* *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
- deiqnyadum* *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.**proximal** to Acodi, then went up.steep.**proximal**, scattering away, they went.”
 [Burung, in progress]
- b. *ando* *ra*, *doudum* *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
- deiqdum* *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.”
 [Burung, in progress]

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/ > [ŋ] / V_ N_ *ou + na* >*ounga* “down.proximal”
 | |
 [+high] [+alveolar]
 [-front] [+nasal]

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 example (10), and the adverbial function requires *n-*, as in example (11).

- Example (10) *wano* *ap* *adei* *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]

Example (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 |

ma one ATTR-steep-down 3s.U.hit=PAUS

n two

ndoumunga, *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.” [Burung, in progress]

The elevative deixis can be outlined in Table 1.

Table 1

Elevative Deixis

	Basic forms	Proximal	Proxital	Distal
“up”	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei-nya</i>	<i>ei-nya-dum</i>	<i>ei-dum</i>
“steep.up”	<i>d-ei</i>	<i>d-ei-nya</i>	<i>d-ei-nya-dum</i>	<i>d-ei-dum</i>
“ATTR.steep.up”	<i>a-d-ei</i>	<i>a-d-ei-nya</i>	<i>a-d-ei-nya-dum</i>	<i>a-d-ei-dum</i>
“ADV.steep.up”	<i>n-d-ei</i>	<i>n-d-ei-nya</i>	<i>n-d-ei-nya-dum</i>	<i>n-d-ei-dum</i>
“down”	<i>ou</i>	<i>ou-ngga</i>	<i>ou-ngga-dum</i>	<i>ou-dum</i>
“steep.down”	<i>d-ou</i>	<i>d-ou-ngga</i>	<i>d-ou-ngga-dum</i>	<i>d-ou-dum</i>
“ATTR.steep.down”	<i>a-d-ou</i>	<i>a-d-ou-ngga</i>	<i>a-d-ou-ngga-dum</i>	<i>a-d-ou-dum</i>
“ADV.steep.down”	<i>n-d-ou</i>	<i>n-d-ou-ngga</i>	<i>n-d-ou-ngga-dum</i>	<i>n-d-ou-dum</i>

ATTR = Attributive, ADV = Adverbial

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 example (12).

- Example (12) a. *ouguei*
ou-k-ei
down-REAL-up
“up and down” [Burung, in progress]
- b. *dougueidum*
d-ou-k-ei-dum
steep-down-REAL-up-DIST
“up.steep and down.steep.distal” [Burung, in progress]
- c. *adougueingga*
a-d-ou-k-ei-na
ATTR-steep-down-REAL-up-PROX
“is up.steep and down.steep.proximal” [Burung, in progress]

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.

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”	<i>wenom</i>	<i>wenyom</i>
	<i>wenom</i>	<i>wɛɲom</i>
“up.high.VERT”	<i>wunom</i>	<i>wunjom</i>
	<i>wunom</i>	<i>wuɲom</i>

- Example (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.” [Burung, in progress]

- Example (14) *at ne urukuma baneq wunjom*
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.”

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 Planedeixis

	Basic	Attributive	Adverbial
“away.HORZ.PROX”	<i>deru</i>	<i>aderu</i>	<i>nderu</i>
	<i>detu</i>	<i>a-detu</i>	<i>n-detu</i>
“away.HORZ.DIST”	<i>derudum</i>	<i>aderudum</i>	<i>nderudum</i>
	<i>detu-dum</i>	<i>a-detu-dum</i>	<i>n-detu-dum</i>

The following example illustrates the case (as shown in example (15)).

Example (15)	<i>wonok</i>	<i>nuerik</i>	<i>mbaren</i>	<i>banuk</i>	<i>ka,</i>	<i>yoan</i>	<i>ne</i>
	<i>wo-nok</i>	<i>n-uet-ik</i>	<i>mpaten</i>	<i>ban-nuk</i>	<i>ta </i>	<i>joan</i>	<i>ne</i>
	<i>carry-3s.A.INCEP</i>	<i>go-3p.A-PROG</i>	<i>knot</i>	<i>set-next</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>S.REF</i>
	<i>ra, digo</i>	<i>turu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>nderudum</i>		<i>narago</i>	
	<i>ta dik=o \</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>n-detu-dum</i>		<i>n-at-ak=o</i>	
	<i>who no= PAUS</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>ADV-away.HORZ.DIST</i>		<i>go-3s/p.A-then= PAUS</i>	

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!’” [Burung, in progress]

Finally, as an accidental consequence of Wano to pographical 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 example (16).

Example (16) a.	<i>o</i>	<i>poiya</i>	<i>we</i>
	<i>o</i>	<i>poiya</i>	<i>w-e</i>
	<i>place</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>come-3s.A</i>
	<i>“east”</i>		
b.	<i>o</i>	<i>poiya</i>	<i>ne</i>
	<i>o</i>	<i>poiya</i>	<i>n-e</i>
	<i>place</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>go-3s.A</i>
	<i>‘west’</i>		

Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen how human language is built up that involves all aspects of linguistic studies while embracing social cognition and world view of native speakers of each language under studied. The

elevative deictic system of Wano, a Papuan language spoken in Papua, gives proof to the above notion. While similar features can be found among Papuan languages, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this can also be found in other languages as well.

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Appendix A

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 (morphophonology)
N	nasal (morphophonology)	VERT	vertical
p, PL	plural		