

Deictic-Marked Adpositions in Ap Ma and Waran

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LSPNG 2021

Ukarumpa, 21–22 September 2021

... this and that ...

- **Deixis** is often associated with pronouns and determiners
- Sometimes adverbs or verbs may encode deixis
- But can there be deictic-marked **adpositions**?

Ap Ma and Waran

- Two neighboring languages of the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea
- Distantly related members of the Keram-Ramu family
- In both languages, postpositions that govern nouns are obligatorily marked with deictic prefixes

Overview of presentation

- Introduction to Ap Ma and Waran
- Deixis and postpositions
- Possible origins of this unusual feature
- Conclusion

Geography of Ap Ma and Waran

- Closely neighboring, in East Sepik Province, PNG
- Along the Keram River
 - Yuat River to the west
 - Ramu River to the east



Sandoun

East Sepik

Madang

Ap Ma

Waran

New Guinea

Hela

Enga

Mount Hagen

Jiwaka



Sepik R.

Manam

Porapura R.

Ramu R.

Ap Ma

Keram R.

Yuat R.

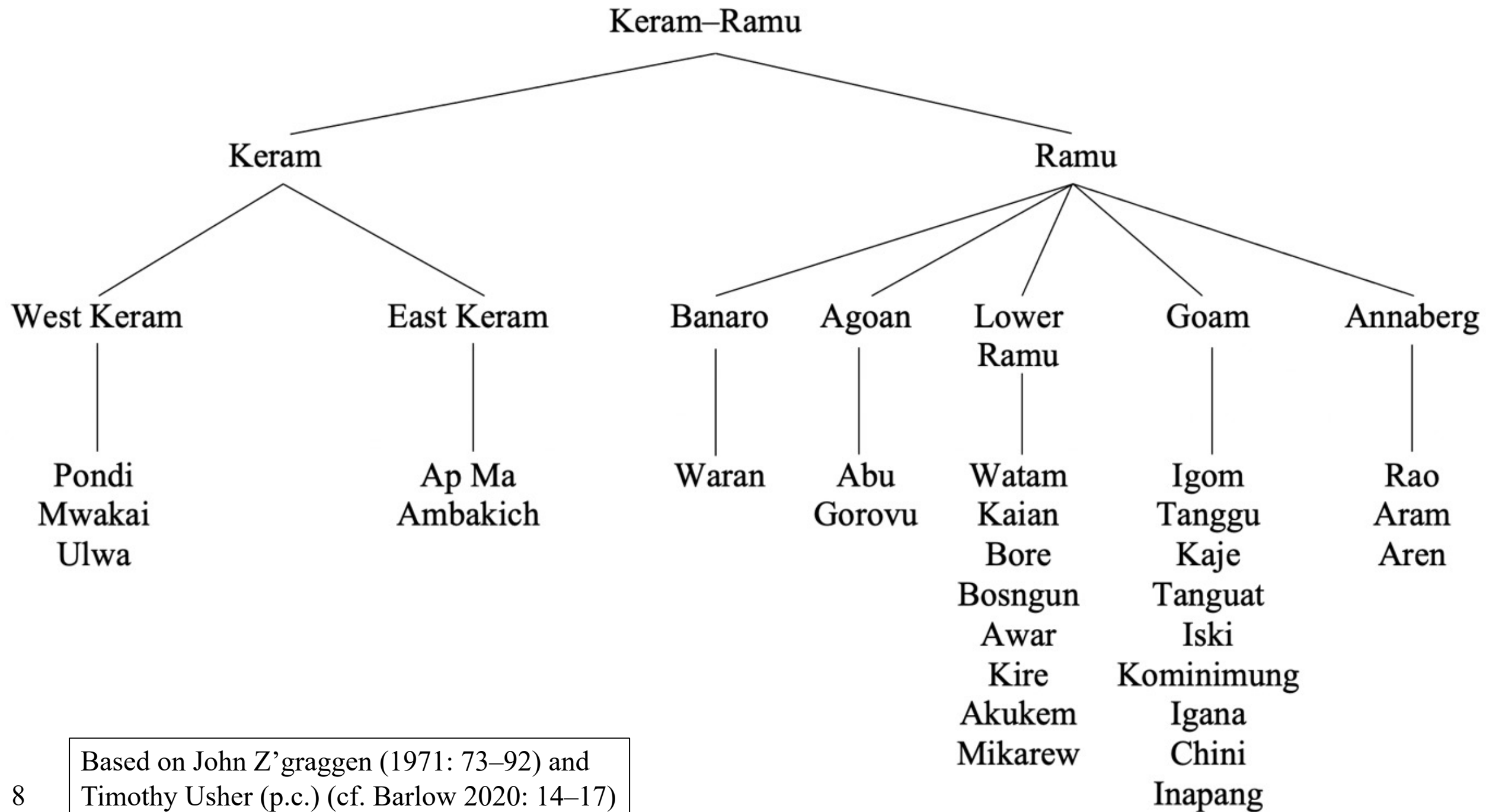
Waran

Keram R.

Clay R.

Genealogy of Ap Ma and Waran

- Keram-Ramu family
- Distantly related
 - Ap Ma (Keram branch)
 - Waran (Ramu branch)



Based on John Z'graggen (1971: 73–92) and Timothy Usher (p.c.) (cf. Barlow 2020: 14–17)

Ap Ma

- Also known as Kambot or Botin [kɒx]
- 10,000 speakers? (2010 PBT*)
- Researched by Martha Wade in the 1980s
- And by John & Bonita Pryor; Cindi Farr

Waran

- Also known as Banaro [byz]
- 4,000 speakers? (2019 PBT*)
- Researched by William Butler (1980s onward)
- New Testament completed in 2019

If you have access to this, please let us know!!!

Deixis and adpositions: Introduction

- Diessel (1999)'s typological work recognizes four basic types of demonstratives:
 1. **pronoun**: a pronoun being used to replace a noun, e.g., *I like **this***.
 2. **determiner**: a determiner used in apposition to a noun, e.g., *I like **this** book*.
 3. **identifier**: a non-verbal predicator used in non-verbal clauses, e.g., ***This** is John*.
 4. **adverb**: an adverb that modifies a verb, e.g., *He read the book **here***.
- Guérin (2015) and Breunese (2019) expand on this by adding the category of **verbs**, a type also mentioned in Dixon (2003)
- Killian (2021) expands on **predicative demonstratives**

Deixis and adpositions: Introduction – II

- One category of demonstratives that has not been discussed in the literature is that of **adpositions**
- Deictic distinctions in adpositions are extremely rare
- However, they are found in some Austronesian and Atlantic languages

Deixis and adpositions: Introduction – III

e.g., Begak (Malaysia; Austronesian):

(1a) *kəmmi* *gərə-i-dagang* *kaset* *di'* *Indonesia*
1PL.EXCL.NOM AV.DSTP-COMPL-buy cassette PREP.DIST Indonesia
'We bought cassettes in Indonesia.'

(1b) *-u-rənna'* *kat* *nupi* *key nong* *monay*
-DEP-descend CDM dream FOC PREP.PROX young.man
'A dream came down to Young Man.'

Deixis and adpositions: Introduction – IV

- Deictic adpositions not only relate the nominal argument to the clause (i.e., normal adpositional function)
- They also carry deictic information, relating the construction to the speaker or deictic center

Deixis in Ap Ma and Waran

- Far more elaborate system seen in **Ap Ma** and **Waran**
- Postpositions in both languages obligatorily index spatial deixis of all nominal referents that they govern

Deixis in Ap Ma and Waran – II

- Both languages exhibit a three-way contrast among deictics
- Deictic markers can be used to make distinctions in spatial reference

(2a) *kamin ga-dik gora na-ng ra-pa-se-Ø*
bow PROX-with bird MED-DEM shoot-COMPL-PRS-N3SG
'With this bow I shot a bird.' (The bow is close to the speaker.)

(2b) *kamin na-dik gora na-ng ra-pa-se-Ø*
bow MED-with bird MED-DEM shoot-COMPL-PRS-N3SG
'With that bow I shot a bird.' (The bow is close to the hearer.)

(2c) *kamin da-dik gora na-ng ra-pa-se-Ø*
bow DIST-with bird MED-DEM shoot-COMPL-PRS-N3SG
'With that bow I shot a bird.' (The bow is not close to the speaker or the hearer.)

Deixis in Ap Ma and Waran – III

- But deictic markers are used, no matter what, to mark *every* postpositional phrase with a nominal referent
 - They are not used with pronominal referents

(3a) *ni-ŋga nindan ape nda-nin ta-p*
1SG-PROX yesterday **father** DIST-with walk-PFV
‘Yesterday I walked around with father.’

(3b) *ape ndi ni-nin ta-p*
father FOC **1SG-with** walk-PFV
‘Father walked around with me.’

Ap Ma

- Large set of postpositions with obligatory deictic markers
- Personal pronouns fill the same slot as deictic markers

Gloss	Root	Proximal	Medial	Distal
		g(i)-	m(i)-	d(i)-
‘with’ (comitative)	-nin	ganin	manin	danin
‘with’ (inanimate comitative)	-pa	gipa	mipa	dipa
‘with’ (instrumental)	-n	gan	man	dan
‘for’ (beneficiary)	-ayak	gayak	mayak	dayak
‘at, from’	-aak	gaak	maak	daak
‘from’	-uk	guk	muk	duk
‘in’	-in	gin	min	din
‘to’	-ada	gada	mada	dada
‘under’	-abe	gabe	mabe	dabe
‘on’	-aal	gaal	maal	daal
‘near’	-el	gel	mel	del
‘through’	-okol	gokol	mokol	dokol
‘above’	-atiyel	gatiyel	matiyel	datiyel

Table 1: Ap Ma postpositions (adapted from Pryor 1990: 5).

Ap Ma – II

- Deictic roots carry a high functional load in Ap Ma
- Used not only for physical distance, but also referent tracking and attitude of speaker towards referent (Pryor 1990)
- Deictics do not occur on their own as independent words, however
- May attach to verbs, case and topic/focus markers, other deictics, and postpositions
 - But not to nouns!

Ap Ma – III

(4a) *nyimi-ba Astilelia d-okol wis*
some-EPIS Australia DIST-**through** come.PFV
'Some come from Australia.'

(4b) *73 da-yen o Mis Rop ba-lup nyi-tin-a*
73 DIST-TOP INJ Miss Rop turn-PFV 1SG-get-IRR
'In 1973 Miss Rop was again coming to get me ...'

(4c) *neg da-n dinat da-ma*
woman DIST-OBL heavy DIST-MED
'It is that woman's problem.'

Ap Ma – IV

- Origin of constructions appears to be rooted in phonology
- Postpositions are **enclitics** that require **proclitics** to make well-formed words
- Proclitics that can function in this way are personal pronouns and deictics

Waran

- Less is known about Waran
- Similar adpositional system to Ap Ma, but somewhat simpler

Gloss	Root	Proximal	Medial	Distal
		ga-	na-	da-
‘with’ (instrumental)	-dik	gadik	nadik	dadik
‘on’ (temporal)	-jin	gajin	najin	dajin
‘at’	-wa	gawa	–	dawa
‘to’	-na	gana	–	dana
‘from’	-ka	gaka	–	daka
‘from’ (animate source)	-gin	?	?	dagin
[unknown meaning]	-kin	?	?	dakin

Table 2: Waran postpositions (adapted from Butler 1981a: 49).

Waran – II

(5a) *kas pep nginang enebu Angoram da-wa kaje-∅*
dog black two big Angoram DIST-at get.PRS-N3SG
'I bought two big black dogs at Angoram.'

(5b) *gu klorowom da-ka paye-∅*
1SG Klorowom DIST-from come-N3SG
'I came from Klorowom.'

(5c) *ñaka gu krung ga-na yi-riyu-ñ*
yesterday 1SG village PROX-to come-PST-N3
'Yesterday I came to the village.'

A diachronic explanation?

- Some influential Keram-Ramu grammatical features
- Ap Ma phonology and the proliferation of deictics
- Diffusion from Ap Ma to Waran

Keram-Ramu grammatical features

- “Articles”
 - NP-final determiners derived from medial deictics and/or 3rd person pronouns
 - In some languages used extensively to indicate definiteness or specificity, or to serve as topic markers or focus markers
- A postposition-like oblique marker *-n
 - Seems to “prefer” pronominal or deictic hosts ...
 - ... and disfavor nominal hosts

Ap Ma phonology

- Extensive loss of word-initial syllables, resulting in many CV nouns
- Aversion to ending prosodic units with (unaffixed) vowel-final monosyllabic words?
- Development of a class of “semi-free nouns” (Wade 1983b)
 - Phonologically dependent on the following word
 - Include many high-frequency words:
 - e.g., ‘house’, ‘village’, ‘water’, ‘fire’, ‘dog’, ‘pig’, ‘talk’, ‘name’ ...

From phonology to morphology

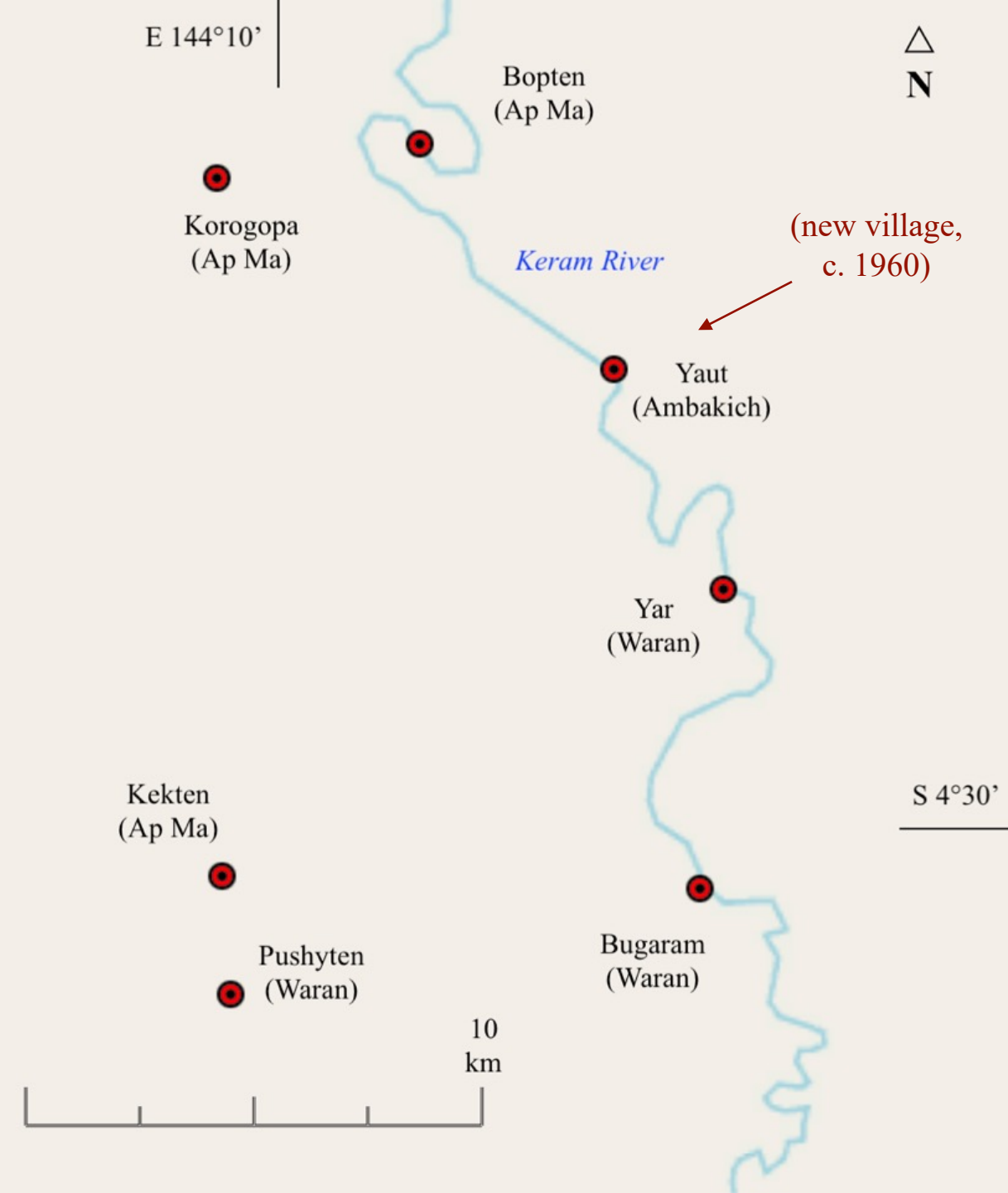
- A postposition is **not a phonological word** in Ap Ma
- So it cannot – by itself – serve as a host for a **semi-free noun**
- But adding a **deictic proclitic** creates a **proclitic-enclitic** combination which *is* a phonological word
- This then allows a semi-free noun to occur with a postposition
- This pattern of (semi-free) noun + deictic + postposition could have then been **generalized** to include *all* nouns

Diffusion to Waran

- Phonology helps explain the deictics in Ap Ma, but not in Waran
- However, Waran has a long history of contact with Ap Ma ...

Contact between Ap Ma and Waran

- Lexical loans attested in both directions
- Shared cultural traits (Thurnwald 1916: 254)
- The Keram River as important conduit



Loans between Ap Ma and Waran

Gloss	Ap Ma	>	Waran
‘arrow’	peu	>	peʌp
‘paddle’	napug	>	nap
‘betel nut’	au	>	o
‘pandanus’	lam	>	nam

Table 3: Likely loans from Ap Ma into Waran.

Gloss	Waran	>	Ap Ma
‘woman’	miñak	>	neg
‘basket’	uman	>	wumɪn
‘spirit sp.’	koñim	>	konyim
‘spirit sp.’	mərɔm	>	molobi

Table 4: Likely loans from Waran into Ap Ma.

Conclusion

- Obligatory deixis marking in adpositions is extremely rare
- Certain morphosyntactic features in the Keram-Ramu family may have encouraged its emergence in Ap Ma and Waran
- But it was most likely triggered by particular phonological requirements that had developed in Ap Ma
- Likely spread from Ap Ma to Waran due to contact
- Attests to the diversity and degree to which languages can encode deixis

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Tenkyu tru!

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