

Spatial orientation in Western Pantar (Lamma)

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1. Introduction

This paper describes the system of spatial orientation in Western Pantar (also known as Lamma), a non-Austronesian language spoken by approximately ten thousand people on the island of Pantar. The information presented here derives from first hand field work conducted between 2004 and 2007, relying both on text analysis and elicitation. The system of spatial orientation in WP permeates several distinct syntactic areas, including deictic pronouns, deictic adverbs, locational nouns, and directional verbs.

2. Deictic pronouns

(1) Deictic pronouns

	visible		non-visible	
	SPEC	NON-SPEC	SPEC	NON-SPEC
proximal (PROX)	<i>saiga</i>	<i>aiga</i>	<i>sigamme</i>	<i>igamme</i>
distal (DIST)	<i>saina</i>	<i>aina</i>	<i>sinamme</i>	<i>inamme</i>
above (ABOVE)	<i>sraugu</i>	<i>daugu</i>	<i>sraume</i>	<i>daume</i>
below (BELOW)	<i>spaugu</i>	<i>paugu</i>	<i>spaume</i>	<i>paume</i>
same level (LEVEL)	<i>smaugu</i>	<i>maugu</i>	<i>smaume</i>	<i>maume</i>

(2) morphology of deictic pronouns

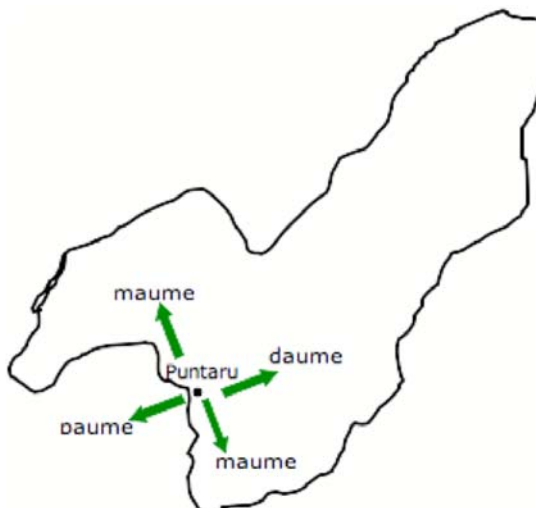
s- specific cf. *si* 'this'
-me visible cf. *me* 'to be located'

The final *-(m)e* may be dropped in casual speech. Thus, *sinam* is a shortened form of *sinamme*, *daum* is a shortened form of *daume*, etc.

Although the system includes only three directional distinctions, in practice the equal level term (*mau*) is treated as an axis perpendicular to the up-down (*dau-pau*) axis.

Crucially, this is not a water-based system. That is, the system does not reorient when the deictic center is moved with respect to water. Thus, from inland Puntaru is *paume* 'below', and from Puntaru (near the coast) the beach is also *paume*.

(3) Use of directionals relative to the village of Puntaru, Pantar Island



2.1 Syntactic status

The deictic pronouns are true pronouns. That is, they can stand alone to represent an NP. In fact, they may co-occur with demonstrative determiners *si* 'this' and *sing* 'that'.

- (4) saiga si
PROX.SPEC this
'this here'
- (5) siga hala yalu saiga si geri
PROX FOC usually PROX.SPEC this continually
'this is what always happens'

As with personal pronouns, may occur with co-referential nouns or pronouns as adjuncts.

- (6) ging spaugu si kuang i-paring ma pi-nia eu gu'e pi-haggi
3PL DOWN this moko 3PL-surrender come 1INC-give woman price 1INC-take
'them down there will hand over the mokos so that we receive the bride price'
- (7) kabi Sirabai Kita Buta spaugu si, Kailawallang gi kabi
trad.house S.K.B. down this K. 3PL.POSS trad.house
'the traditional house named Sirabai Kita Buta down there belong to Kailawallang'

In my data the non-visible forms (those containing *me*) do not occur as adjuncts with co-referential nouns in an NP.

- (8) hasi luang alaku gar pia bai lappar sing ta maiyang gob
CL lath two with descend pig corral that before place thus
'(they) brought two palm thatch lath and placed them in the pig-sty'
- ga-tikang spaum ti'ang
3SG-order down.there sleep
'he was order to sleep down there'
- (9) aname ye daum is tang ti'ang kor id-dia
person one down banyan on sleep snore PROG-go
'someone is down there sleeping in a banyan tree snoring away'

Easily mistaken for determiners.

- (10) bla saiga tabba ara odong bla smaugu
house PROX.SPEC very big than house LEV.SPEC
'house here is larger than house over here'

Tendency for non-visible forms but not visible ones to be used predicatively. Thus, in response to a question about where an object is located a speaker may respond *spaume* '(it is) down there' but generally not *?spaugu*, even though in other contexts both *spaume* and *spaugu* may be glossed as 'that one down there'.

2.2 Visibility

Visible forms used when speaker expects that the hearer is able to see the referent. Returning to the example of a speaker responding to a question about the location of an object, the form *spaugu* could in fact be felicitous, provided the speaker was indicating the location of an object which was visible to the addressee. For example, underneath a table which is visible to the addressee. In this context *spaugu* could be glossed as 'down there'.

Non-visible forms used when speaker expects the hearer is not able to see location. For example, the following was uttered while speaker and listener were walking along the beach. The speaker wishes to indicate the location at which he wants to turn into the forest to follow a trail inland. The trail is not yet visible but the speaker knows well the location of the trail, though the hearer does not.

- (11) smaume ta pi-mia
LEVEL.SPEC before 1INC-ascend
'let's ascend from that (precise, non-visible) place over there'

2.3 Specificity

The speaker uses specific pronouns when she wishes to emphasize a particular location rather than a more general, non-specific location. Note that visible does not imply specific, but almost. The visible non-specific pronouns are much less frequent in text. Quick search of a 9400 word corpus reveals 88 tokens of *saiga* but only one token of *aiga*. And yet, the latter term *aiga* is heard very commonly in every-day speech as an imperative meaning ‘come here!’

In extended discourse specificity linked to identifiability (definiteness). Initial reference is often made using an non-specific pronoun, while continuing reference is made using a specific pronoun.

- (12) gang mittung si maum bukkus me
 3SG.AGT first this LEV.NSP room be.located
 eu gai bukkus me smaume gar halli
 woman 3SG.POSS room LOC LEV.SPEC with cry
 ‘at first the woman is in a room [then] she cries in her room’ [marriage146]

Speakers describe the distinction between specific and non-specific pronouns as an epistemic distinction concerning addressee knowledge. Non-specific forms are used to refer to referents whose location is known to the speaker but not to the hearer. That is, speakers use non-specific forms when they assume that the hearer does not know the location of the referent. This epistemic analysis can be seen to derive readily from the identifiability analysis presented here. A referent which the speaker assumes the hearer has no knowledge of are clearly not yet contextually salient or sufficiently verbalized. That is, it is non-identifiable and so will be coded with an non-specific pronoun. That is, this referent is not yet contextually salient. Non-specific forms indicate that the speaker assumes the referent to be not yet contextually salient

Specificity often corresponds to precise knowledge, as in example (11). In contrast, the non-specific forms are commonly used to express that a speaker knows only the general location, not the precise location of a referent. For example, in reply to a question about the location of a certain thing or person, a speaker may use the non-specific form *paume* ‘down there (somewhere)’ or *inamme* ‘there (somewhere)’. If the precise location is known, such as the specific house where the person or thing is located, then the speaker will use the specific forms *smaume* or *sinamme* instead.

- (13) ga-niaka allang bila kalla ye inam a-lelang inam i-ti’ang
 3SG-see then cliff small one DIST.NSP INCP-sheltered DIST.NSP PROG-stay
 ‘(they) saw a small sheltered protrusion sitting there’
- (14) sinam kaweni ging tang saukang kalung allang
 DIST.SPC children 3PL.AGT on look here.and.there then
 ‘they looked around at the children there’ [bm152]

2.4 do

The term *do* means ‘where a distant place’. It is unspecified for direction up or down or over. Indeed, it may be used in combination with any of the deictic pronouns.

- (15) do daum Kupang me
 from.there ABOVE.NSP K. LOC
 ‘from down there in Kupang’
- (16) do paum Jakarta me
 from.there DOWN.NSP J. LOC
 ‘from down there in Jakarta’

The term *do* is probably historically related to the non-specific deictic adverb *dau* ‘above’ (see below). However, *do* does not specify a downward direction or location. This is demonstrated in the following text excerpt. Here *do* is used in the same phrase as going to Kupang, but Kupang is clearly indicated as being in the downward direction, both through the use of the verb *pia* ‘descend’ and the deictic pronoun *paum*.

- (17a) lama dia daum Kalabahi me,
 walk go ABOVE.NSP K. LOC
 ‘(they) walked up to Kalabahi,’

- b. do Kupang me wa i-pia ganung.
 from.there K. LOC go PROG-descend all
 ‘from there they were all going down to Kupang.’
- c. pia paum Kupang me, ...
 descend BELOW.NSP K. LOC
 ‘having gone down to Kupang, ...’

3. Deictic adverbs

The deictic adverbs indicate location but are not pronominal. That is, they do not refer but are instead used as adverbs to indicate a location.

- (18) Deictic adverbs (Tubbe dialect)

	SPEC	NON-SPEC
proximal	<i>sigā</i>	<i>igā</i>
distal	<i>sina</i>	<i>ina</i>
above	<i>srau</i>	<i>dau</i>
below	<i>spau</i>	<i>pau</i>
same level	<i>smau</i>	<i>mau</i>

- (19) habbang mau aname horang sauke-yabe
 village LEV.NSP people make.noise lego-lego.dance
 ‘over there in the village people were making noise dancing lego-lego’
- (20) nai aname lamuli marung siga kan tar gaddi-b gi-ttang doki ga'ai
 1POSS person hero PLURAL PROX.SPC also how do-REL 3PL-hand vaccinate 3SG.GEN
 ‘I have men, heroes whose arms have been vaccinated’
- (21) niu asang hori ta pi-alaku ir mua siga-b pi-alaku pi-asang ga'ai
 mother say eat IMPF 1INC-two land earth PROX.SPC-REL 1INC-two 1INC-say 3SG.GEN
 ‘mother said, eat first then we will discuss the land boundaries here’
- (22) mantri dau gang gar ti'ang tulis
 official ABOVE.NSP 3SG.AGT continue stay write
 ‘the official up there just kept writing’

Scope over the entire verb phrase and hence can occur in other locations within the verb phrase. For example, the above sentence could be rendered equally as

- (23) dau mantri gang gar ti'ang tulis
 ABOVE.NSP official 3SG.AGT continue stay write
 ‘the official up there just kept writing’

Sometimes the deictic adverb may even be repeated within the same phrase.

- (24) dau mantri dau gang gar ti'ang tulis
 ABOVE.NSP official ABOVE.NSP 3SG.AGT continue stay write
 ‘the official up there just kept writing’

This is not the case with deictic pronouns, which always occur following the adjunct noun. Thus, *bla saiga* ‘the house here’ but not **saiga bla*. Thus, while deictic adverbs may move around in the clause, the position of the deictic pronouns is fixed within the NP.

The proximal and distal deictic adverbs *sigā* and *sina* serve as a base from which the adverbs *sigaddi* ‘like this’ and *sinaddi* ‘like that’ are (at least historically) derived. The morph *-ddi* is not synchronically productive but is likely to derive from the verb *gaddi* ‘to resemble’.

4. Locational nouns

Express location of N_{LOC} with reference to another object, denoted by NP_{REF}

(25) Locational noun construction

(NP_{REF} ga-)N_{LOC}

Distinguished from postpositions in that they are true nouns.

(26) ma butang ya *ma tang ya
 come area.above head.toward
 'head toward the area above'

(27) tiaku mea tang migang *tiaku mea butang migang
 glass table on set
 'set the glass on the table'

(28) a-raung daum luppū butang tang garung,
 4SG-climb ABOVE.NSP bale-bale area.above on lepas
 'climbed up on a tall raised bamboo platform and set her there'

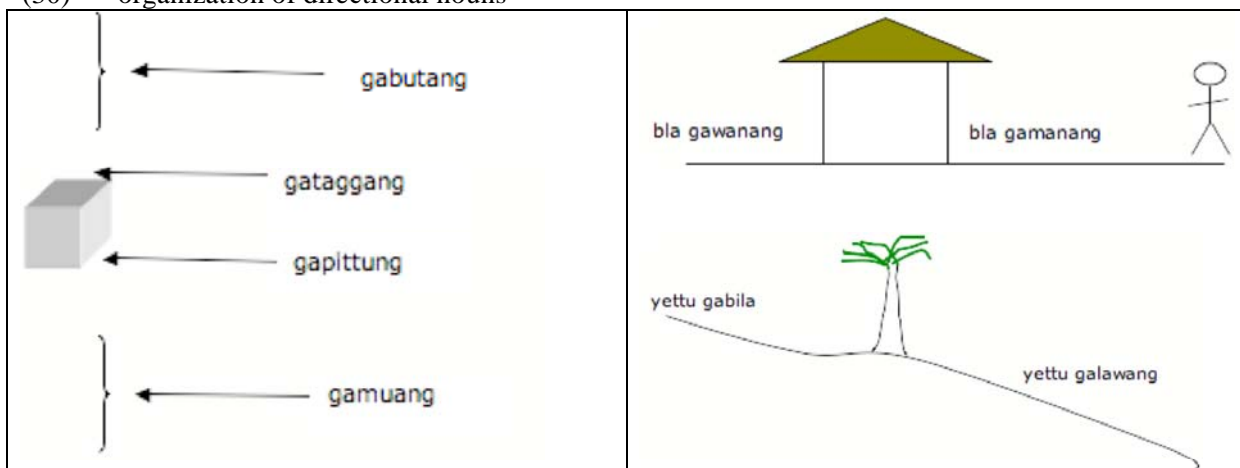
Prefix is obligatory when a locational noun occurs with a noun

(29) Locational nouns (prefixed with *ga-*)

gawanang	'behind, other side' (same level)
gamanang	'in front, this side' (same level)
gabutang	'above' (not touching)
gataggang	'above' (in contact)
gapittung	'below' (in contact)
gamuang	'below' (not touching)
galawang	'downhill'
gabila/gadimmang	'uphill'

The forms *butang*, *taggang*, *pittung*, and *muang* refer to vertical height above or below and object. The forms *taggang* and *pittung* indicate physical contact, while the forms *butang* and *muang* indicate lack of physical contact.

(30) organization of directional nouns



taggang and *pittung* indicate location directly next to another object.

(31) taggang lama
 above walk
 'walk on the higher side of the path'

(32) bai kakus ga-lawang ga-laking
 pig toilet 3SG-area.downhill 3SG-tie
 'the pig is tied up in the area downhill of the toilet'

- (33) kuri bla ga-manang natar
 marongga.tree house 3SG-front stand
 ‘the marongga tree stands in front of the house’
 (between the speaker and the house)

Some locational nouns clearly derive from nouns referring to geographic entities. For example, the locational noun *bila* ‘uphill’ is homophonous with a noun mean ‘cliff, steep slope’.

- (34) ga-niaka allang bila kalla ye inam alelang inam i-ti’ang
 3SG-see then cliff small one DIST.NSP 4SG-heap DIST.NSP PROG-stay
 ‘and saw a small cliff, heaped up there, placed there’

5. Directional verbs

- (35) Directional verbs

<i>wa</i>	go (not far, any direction)	<i>ma</i>	come (not far, any direction)
<i>middang</i>	return from below (west)	<i>yang</i>	return from above (east)
<i>pia</i>	descend (gentle slope)	<i>mia</i>	ascend (gentle slope)
<i>diakang</i>	descend	<i>raung</i>	ascend
<i>dia</i>	go (rather far)		

Often combined in SVC to indicate more complex directions. For example, *ma middang* ‘come back from below’ or *middang raung* ‘return from below ascending’.

For the directional verbs *wa* and *ma* the deictic center is hearer-based. The verb *wa* ‘go’ indicates motion away from the speaker (translocative), while the verb *ma* ‘come’ indicates motion toward the speaker (cislocative). Thus, the form *ma ta!* ‘come here!’ (*ta* is the imperfective aspectual particle) is commonly used as an imperative to instruct someone to come toward the speaker. The speaker-centered deixis of the verb *ma* perhaps facilitates its extension to a verb of transfer serial constructions, indicating the speaker as source.

- (36) nang maggi gar wa ma ga-nia
 1SG.AGT banana 3SG-with go come 3SG-give
 ‘I went to get a banana for him’

For the other directional verbs the deictic center is not necessarily speaker or addressee based but is instead relative. For example, in the following the deictic center is specified as at the house (*bla*), even though at the time of utterance neither speaker nor addressee are located at the house.

- (37) ga-r middang bla-m ta gob pi-ba’ai
 3SG-with return.from.below house-LOC before thus IINC-drink
 ‘we’ll bring it back to the house and then drink’
- (38) mia gatta na-yang
 ascend SEQ 1SG-return.from.above
 ‘I’ll go up then come back down’

6. Conclusions ...

... must await a more thorough analysis of the data.

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