Deixis in Wano

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This paper is a succinct description of a feature of Wano grammar: deixis. Wano is a Trans-New Guinea language with approximately 7,000 native speakers residing in the interior of Papua, in the regency of Puncak Jaya. The language is closely related to Dani, Walak, and Nggem. While Wano marks a sex distinction of possessors of certain kin terms as deixis, four spatial dimensions are morpho-syntactically coded in elevative deictics, which are: steepness/non-steepness, proximity/distality, adverbial/attributive expressions, and vertical plane.

1. Introduction

Deictics are linguistic forms that indicate person, spatial location, and temporal reference (Anderson and Keenan 1985:259–308). This paper describes Wano deixis as outlined in Table 1: the proximal (i.e. near-to-speaker) and the medial (medial-to-speaker) deictic forms are monosyllabic with alveolar nasal syllable-onsets, while the distal (far-from-speaker) forms are disyllabic with bilabial nasal syllable-onsets in the first syllable. Since the elevative deictics have different grammatical distributions, they are described in Section 3.2.

Table 1. WANO DEIXIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>MEDIAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td>{n(d)V(t)}</td>
<td>{n(d)V(t)}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMONSTRATIVE</td>
<td>mi, ndi, ndit</td>
<td>ne, nde, ndet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>this.far</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>'this far'</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>na, nda</td>
<td>ne, nde, ndet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>there.far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>'yonder'/over there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANNER</td>
<td>no, ndo</td>
<td>mono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.way</td>
<td>that.way</td>
<td>'like that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELEVATION</td>
<td>see Table 3 in</td>
<td>Section 3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deictics expressing location and manner are not discussed in this paper. Section 2 describes person deictics. Section 3 describes spatial deictics comprising demonstratives (section 3.1) and elevative deictics (Section 3.2), expressed in proximal, medial, and

1 This paper is based on Burung (2017:273–93). §3.2 of the paper was presented at the International Conference on Languages in Papua, Universitas Negri Papua, Manokwari (20–24 Jan. 2013). My sincere gratitude goes to Nick Evans, Mary Dalrymple, Wolfgang de Melo, Peter Austin, Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, and two anonymous NUSA reviewers – any shortcomings in this paper are entirely mine. The research was funded by Clarendon Funds Scholarship, University of Oxford, United Kingdom.
distinct forms. Further in this respect, the elevative deictics include steepness/non-steepness (section 3.2.1) and proximity/distality (section 3.2.2) domains. Regarding their grammatical functions, they may encode attributive and adverbial roles (section 3.2.3). They also distinguish a vertical plane dimension (section 3.2.4).

2. Person deixis

In Burung (2017:114), I pointed out that “sex-based differentiation of a language is not uncommon,” as evidenced in Kirton’s (1988) observation on Yanyuwa, an Aboriginal language in Australia, and Evans’ (1994) study on body parts and noun class membership of Australian languages, among others. The same is true for some Austronesian languages, when we consider Bugenhagen’s (1986, 1990, 1995) studies on Mangap-Mbula, the language found in the Umboi and Sakar islands of the Morobe province in Papua New Guinea. Like Australian and Austronesian languages, this feature is also found in Trans-New Guinea languages, at least in the Dani phylum (cf. Bromley 1973:9; Burung, ibid.). My investigation on Wano follows.

Taking Anderson and Keenan’s (1985:259) definition, “person deictics are expressions which make essential reference to the speaker (Sp) or the addressee (Adr) of utterance”, I will show that Wano marks sex distinction of possessors of certain kin terms as deictics. Even though, in Wano person deixis does not express information concerning the sex of its referents, there is a clear distinction encoding the sex of referents for the kin term ‘child’. The term is determined by the sex of its possessor, i.e. abut is used for a male possessor, which is roughly translated ‘his child of male’ and ayak for a female possessor, translated ‘her child of female’. Thus, abut points to the male possessor, ayak to the female; or when the possessor is a male person, the term abut is used as the possessum, and when the possessor is a female person, the term ayak is applied. The plural form of abut is aburi ‘his children of male’ and ayak is acui ‘her children of female’ (for details, see Burung (2017:95–102 and 2018:37–65)). Consider the following examples.

The narrator in (1) is a male person and, therefore, when mentioning his child, in NP2 uses the inalienable noun nabut ‘my child of male’, and for his brother’s child, in NP3, uses the inalienable noun abut ‘his child of male’ (in bold).

(1)  
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pinica</th>
<th>nirak,</th>
<th>np1</th>
<th>nagwe</th>
<th>me,</th>
<th>np2</th>
<th>nabut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pin-i-tja</td>
<td>n-it-ak</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>n-akwe</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>n-abut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP</td>
<td>go-1s.SBJ-then</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1s-wife</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>1s-child.OM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>n-awot</td>
<td>o-abut</td>
<td>ambui</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>1s-younger.sibling.oss</td>
<td>3s-child.OM</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wumu</td>
<td>nerak,</td>
<td>“yok ta, turumo nauid-ә!”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wun-u</td>
<td>n-et-ak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jok</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tutumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exist-1p.SBJ</td>
<td>go-1p.SBJ-then</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>go-INCEP=PAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In order to reach (Lukibesi), I said to my wife and child, and a child of my younger brother, (together) we travelled, ‘Now let us go to Turumo!’” [Text 67:3.4; Burung 2013b:255, 265]
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In addition to this, we also know that nawot ‘my younger sibling of same sex’ is a male person, (hence the free translation in (1): ‘my younger brother’), by two clues: firstly, the narrator is a male person, who himself used the term nabut ‘my child of male’ when
referring to his child (NP₂), and secondly, he used the term *abut* ‘his child of male’ when referring to his younger sibling’s child (NP₃). Supposing his younger sibling were female, the phrase in NP₃: *nawot abut ambui me* ‘and a child of my younger brother’ (2a) would be *niri ayak ambui me* ‘and a child of my sister’ (2b), with the inalienable nouns *niri* ‘my sister/brother’ and *ayak* ‘her child of female’. For the difference between *nawot* ‘my younger brother/sister’ (lit. ‘my younger sibling of same sex’) and *niri* ‘my sister/brother’ (lit. ‘my sibling of different sex’) see Burung (2017:112–29).

(2) a. *nawot abut ambui me,*
   1s-younger.sibling.oss 3s-child.oM one and
   ‘and a child of my younger brother’ (lit. ‘and one child of my younger sibling of same sex’)

   b. *niri ayak ambui me,*
   1s-sibling.oDS 3s-child.oF one and
   ‘and a child of my sister’ (lit. ‘and one child of my sibling of different sex’)

MK in (3), however, is female, which is apparent from the use of the female term, *acui* ‘her children of female’.

(3)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>at</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>acui,</th>
<th>anduk</th>
<th>ta,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ø-ajui</td>
<td>ø-antuk</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>3s-children.oF</td>
<td>3s-back</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   *indiq ta, W.*
   ø-intiq ta | W |
   3s-name SPEC PN

   ‘He, the first one of MK’s children, his name was W’ [Text 37:1.4; Burung 2013b:220, 228]

What is special in Wano, and is probably specific to this language, is that when speaking of a child of both the *speaker* and the *addressee* of both sexes, the two terms are combined to indicate that the child belongs to both the *speaker* and *addressee*. Thus, *ninyayak-ninyabut* ‘our child’ (lit. ‘our child of female our child of male’) is used when the male *speaker* is speaking to the female *addressee*, i.e. his wife, as in (4a). Interestingly, when the female *speaker* is addressing the male *addressee*, i.e. her husband, the compounded term is reversed: *ninyabut-ninyayak* ‘our child’ (lit. ‘our child of male our child of female’), as shown in (4b).

(4) a. *ndi ta, nit ninyayak-ninyabut*
   nti ta | nit nin-ajak_nin-abut
   this SPEC we 1p-child.oF_1p-child.oM
   ‘this is our child’ (lit. ‘this specific our child of female our child of male’)

   b. *ndi ta, nit ninyabut-ninyayak*
   nti ta | nit nin-abut_nin-ajak
   this SPEC we 1p-child.oM_1p-child.oF
   ‘this is our child’ (lit. ‘this specific our child of male our child of female’)

Moreover, the term *ninyaburi* ‘our children of male’ is used when the male *speaker* is addressing his brother(s)/kin-related male sibling(s), or is used in a general sense, e.g. in a communal meeting (5a). Likewise, *ninyacui* ‘our children of female’ is applied only in
a general sense or when the female speaker is addressing her sister(s)/kin-related female sibling(s), as shown in (5b).

(5) a. *ninyaburi*
   nin-abut-i
   lp-child.oM-PL
   ‘our children of male’ (male speaker addressing his brothers/kin-related male siblings)

b. *ninyacui*
   nin-atjui.oF
   lp-children.oF
   ‘our children of female’ (female speaker addressing her sisters/kin-related female siblings)

What can generally be found cross-linguistically, as in Melayu Papua and/or Indonesian (both Austronesian), is that the social status and relationship of participants are not morphologically marked in Wano. It is more culturally determined, such as *nova* ‘my father’, or *nica* ‘my mother’, may be used to address an elderly person or a respected one. Also, a man may call his wife *nica*, instead of *nagwe* ‘my wife’, and/or a woman may call her husband *nova*, instead of *noiny* ‘my husband’ in an intimate or otherwise respectful relationship, as shown in:

(6) SINGULAR   PLURAL
a. *agwe* {o-akwe} \3s-wife\   *agwevi* {o-akwe-vi} \3s-wife-PL\
   ‘his wife’   ‘his wives’

b. *oiny* {o-oin} \3s-husband\   *oinyi* {o-oin-i} \3s-husband-PL\
   ‘her husband’   ‘her husbands’

Furthermore, the inalienable nouns *nova* and *nica* are commonly used to express deep gratitude. Thus, expressions like *nova wa-o*, *kaye nak-o*, given in (7), indicate deep gratitude to the addressee, who is older than and is respected by the speaker. This is equivalent to ‘from the bottom of my heart, I thank you’.

(7) *nova* wa-o,   *kaye* nak-o.
    n-ova wa=o  |   k-aje n-ak=o
    1s-father   INTERJ=PAUS  2s-penis consume-then=PAUS
    ‘from the bottom of my heart, I thank you my father!’ (lit. ‘thanks my father, wish to eat your penis!’) [Burung 2017:257]

Finally, Anderson and Keenan (1985:266) note that only some reflexive forms are distinct from ordinary anaphoric pronouns in many languages. Reflexivity in Wano is encoded not by specialized proforms that encode canonical grammatical relations, as in English, but by derivation of reflexive verb forms. Obviously, Wano makes a clear morphological distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms. The reflexive morpheme precedes the subject suffix. On the one hand, while *nokacak* in (8b) is ill-formed, *wakirak* in (8a), always involves two separate referents that carry two different grammatical functions, i.e. A (transitive subject) and O (object) where A ≠ O. Here, A is indicated by the subject suffix *it* {it} ‘3s.SBJ’, and O by the portmanteau root *wat* {wat-} ‘3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ’. On the other hand, *wakodirak* and *nokodacak*, in (8a’ and b’), involve one referent with two different grammatical roles, i.e. A and O where A = O, see Burung (2017:263–66) for a description of the reflexive forms.
**AFFIRMATIVE**

a.  *wakirak*
wat-k-it-ak
3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then
‘he hit him and then’

b.  *nokacak*
no-o-k-atj-ak
1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then
*I hit me and then’

**REFLEXIVE**

a’.  *wakadirak*
wat-k-*od*-it-ak
3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-3s.SBJ-then
‘he hit himself and then’

b’.  *nokadacak*
no-k-*od*-atj-ak
1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-REFL-1s.SBJ-then
*I hit myself and then’

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3. **Spatial deixis**

Spatial deixis involves demonstratives (section 3.1) and elevative deictics (section 3.2). Elevative deixis involves proximal-medial-distal distinction.

### 3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are outlined in Table 2. The basic demonstratives are *ndi* ‘this’, *nde* ‘this far’ and *muni* ‘that’; they are virtually always, but not necessarily, accompanied by a pointing gesture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROOT {n(d)V(t)}</td>
<td>{n(d)V(t)}</td>
<td>{mVni/na/no}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMONSTRATIVES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ni, ndi, ndit</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nde</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this far’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nede</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ndet</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| muni            |          |        |        |
| this            |          |        |        |
| ‘this’          |          |        |        |
| ‘that’          |          |        |        |

These demonstratives can be used predicatively, as shown in:

(9) a.  *ndi*  ap
*ndi*  ap
*this*  man
‘this is (a) man’
They can also function as attributives in NPs, thus modifying nouns or pronouns. They can also be the only element of an NP, as given in (10) and (11).

(10) a. muni ne, kamu ban-o enak-o. muni ne | k-amu ban=o enak=o \ that S.REF 2s-home put down:3s.SBJ=PAUS go.2s.SBJ=PAUS

‘that (specific) one, you (sg.) keep in your (sg.) house’ or ‘as for that, you (sg.) keep in your (sg.) house’

b. ndi ne, nambit tariak ta, bok-a nti ne | n-ampit tat-iaq ta | bok=a this S.REF 1s-sake roast:3s.SBJ-then SPEC good=YN.Q

‘this (specific) one, could (you) roast it for me, please!’ or ‘as for this, could (you) roast it for me, please!’

(11) ap nde tu we, muni ta, ap nte tu w-e| muni ta| man this.far way come-3s.SBJ that SPEC

an nombane-o. an n-ompane=o \ I 1s-friend=PAUS

‘(the) man (who) is coming, (is) my friend.’ (lit. ‘that specific man, he comes/ is coming this far way, is my friend.’) [Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016]

These demonstratives may be followed by the ‘specifier’ particle ta ‘SPEC’ or the ‘pausal’ clitic =o ‘PAUS’. In (12), we notice that demonstratives can also function attributively in NPs – cf. muni ta in the first clause and ndi in the second one.

(12) yok yugo tetik. muni ta ndi jok j-u=k=o t-et-ik muni ta | ndi, now say-REAL=PAUS intend-1s.SBJ-PROG that SPEC This

an nova ta. | T muni won-e

‘What I truly want to tell now is that, this, my father’s name was, that T, he was then ...’ [Text 37:1.2; Burung 2013b:220, 228]
Finally, in addition to the demonstratives (section 3.1), there is a particle that seems to function deictically, although its grammatical status is still unclear. The deictic word _aret_ could be an inflection of *at ‘he’* plus *et ‘?*’. At present, the meaning of the suffix _et_- is not certain, since it is restricted in its distribution, i.e., it is only suffixed to third person pronouns and seems to mark an actor or agent. Therefore, to describe _aret_, I will first consider the status of third person pronouns in Wano.

The pronoun _at ‘he’_ in Wano supports Foley’s (1986:65–74) view of the third person pronouns; _at ‘3s’_ does not necessarily refer to the third person singular but rather to participant(s) in a given event or context, i.e., in natural speech as it is normally featured in oral texts or narratives; see _muni at_ in (9b). Thus, expressions with the composition of *aret {an-et} \an-?\ ‘I-?’ or *karet {kat-et} \kat-?\ ‘you.sg-?’ are not found in Wano, whilst _aret {at-et} \he-?\ ‘he-?’_ is in common use. Together they form the anaphoric deictic _aret_, and therefore, will be glossed as _ANA_. Hence, in the interlinear presentation of _aret_, as in _Nggweri aret_, is ‘PN _ANA_’, which can be translated as ‘Nggweri it is’ or ‘Nggweri the one’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13)</th>
<th>dagaid</th>
<th>ne</th>
<th>ta,</th>
<th>nngweri</th>
<th>aret</th>
<th>puduk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dakaid</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ta,</td>
<td>nkweti</td>
<td>aret</td>
<td>puduk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>S.REF</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td><em>ANA</em></td>
<td>assemble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_okouguarar-o._

it-k-ou-k-at-ak=0\^

do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

‘Dagai it was (then), they (went and) assembled in Nggweri.’ or ‘From Dagai, they went on and assembled in Nggweri.’ [Text 35:2.6; Burung 2013b:228, 237]

Like _aret ‘ANA_’ in (13), _kit aret_ ‘you.pl _ANA_’ is: ‘you.pl are the ones’, shown in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(14)</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>wa</th>
<th>kat</th>
<th>ta,</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>ne,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>you.sg</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>as such</td>
<td>as such</td>
<td>S.REF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekendak,</td>
<td>dik</td>
<td>nome,</td>
<td>adoumaq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-k-ent-ak</td>
<td>dik</td>
<td>nome</td>
<td>a-d-ou-maq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>ATTR-steep-down-at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_wonendik_, _kat_ | no | kawot | kimbirak |
| won-ent-ik | no | k-awot | k-impirak |
| exist-2s.SBJ-PROG | you.sg | S.REF | 2s-younger.sibling.oSS | 2s-together |

_wonendik_ | nome, | _kit_ | aret | nenggepak. |
| won-ent-ik | nome | _kit_ | aret | nen-k-ep-ak \ |
| exist-2s.SBJ-PROG | therefore | you.pl | _ANA_ | eat-REAL-2pA-then |

‘Great! You are the ones who did it, no one else there, you stayed below there, you and your brother were here. You just ate (it) together.’ [Note: The narrator describes the thinking of EW’s grandfather] [Text 35:2.41; Burung 2013b:238-9, 247-8]

Regarding its structure within the noun phrase, _aret_ occurs following an NP, where the phrase can be (i) an NP (14), (ii) a proper noun as in (13) above, (iii) a pronoun as in (14), or (iv) a numeral as in (15). It may also follow a clause, as in (16).
Another form of *aret* ‘ANA’ is *ari*, which can be found in a few places in the texts, as shown in:

(17)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{tu} & \\ 
\text{koro} & \\ 
\text{ekena} & \\ 
\text{ari} & \\ 
\text{nu} & \\
\end{array}
\]

3.2 Elevative deictics

There are four spatial dimensions in Wano which are grammatically coded in elevative deictics: steepness/non-steepness, proximity/distality, adverbial/attributional expressions, and vertically. A two-term system of *ei* ‘up’ and *ou* ‘down’ serves as the base for the elevative deixis. Both deictic forms are found either with or without final glottal stop with no semantic difference.
Let me begin with Table 3. Note that the morpheme for ‘medial’ is a combination of the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ morphemes.

**Table 3. Wano elevative deixis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei-nya</td>
<td>ei-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘steep.up’</td>
<td>d-ei</td>
<td>d-ei-nya</td>
<td>d-ei-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ATTR.steep.up’</td>
<td>a-d-ei</td>
<td>a-d-ei-nya</td>
<td>a-d-ei-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ADV.steep.up’</td>
<td>n-d-ei</td>
<td>n-d-ei-nya</td>
<td>n-d-ei-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>ou-ngga</td>
<td>ou-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘steep.down’</td>
<td>d-ou</td>
<td>d-ou-ngga</td>
<td>d-ou-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ATTR.steep.down’</td>
<td>a-d-ou</td>
<td>a-d-ou-ngga</td>
<td>a-d-ou-dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ADV.steep.down’</td>
<td>n-d-ou</td>
<td>n-d-ou-ngga</td>
<td>n-d-ou-dum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** **ATTR** = **Attributive**, **ADV** = **Adverbial**

These deictic particles may be prefixed to a verb as illustrated in (19). Verbal elements are underlined.

(19) a. **dougotik**
    d-ou-k-ot-ik
    steep-**down**-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG
    ‘I am falling down steep’ (*lit.* ‘I am downing steep’)

b. **deinyagon dik**
    d-ei-na-k-ont-ik
    steep-**up**-PROX-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG
    ‘You.sg are climbing up steep (near to speaker)’ (*lit.* ‘you.sg are up steep near to speaker’)

These deictic particles may also carry a locative marker me/mu {-me/-mu} ‘LOC’ as shown in:

(20) **ndoumunggadum**
    n-d-ou-mu-nka-dum
    ADV-stEEP-**down**-LOC-PROX-DIST
    ‘Steeply down medial to speaker’ (*lit.* ‘steeply down at medial to speaker’)

Deixis that express the motion of ‘up and down’ are also found, as listed in:

(21) a. **ouguei**
    ou-k-ei
    **down**-REAL-**up**
    ‘up and down’ [Text 2:5-6; Text 35:2.40; Burung 2013b:238, 247]

b. **douguedum**
    d-ou-k-ei-dum
    steep-**down**-REAL-**up**-DIST
    ‘up steep and down steep far from speaker’ [Text 35:2.45; Burung 2013b:240, 249]
Further, these deictic particles can be used adverbially and attributively, as shown in (22) and (23) respectively. It is useful to provide some topographic background for the example in (22), which is taken from recorded text 35. It was recorded in Biricare. It is about how the Wanos’ ancestors travelled from Tiagai and Kiagai, which are at about 1,500m altitude (NGK, see Burung (2017:266)), spreading down to Biricare (± 650 alt, Stuber in Burung (ibid.)) and its surroundings. The narrator uses the phrase *ou Acodi ‘down (to) Acodi*, which, at 650m high, is lower than Tiagai (Stuber, in Burung (ibid.)). Akbiri, Tukmid, and Yinggeo are mountains.

(22) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anto} & \quad \text{ta}, \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{acodi} \quad \text{nok} \quad \text{mbonggu}, \quad \text{ando} \quad \text{ta}, \\
\text{other} & \quad \text{SPEC} \quad \text{down} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{next} \quad \text{cut-REAL-1p.SBJ} \quad \text{other} \quad \text{SPEC} \\
\text{come-3s.SBJ} & \quad \text{3s-with} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{forbid} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{cave-LOC} \quad \text{that} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The example in (23) is taken from text 39, which was recorded in Biricare (Stuber, ± 650 alt, in Burung (2017:266)). The narrator was a woman, talking about her life journey. She was from Puduk (NGK, ± 900 alt, Burung (ibid.)), so it made sense that she used the phrase *eiq ne ‘up there’* to refer to her birth place (Puduk), while sitting in Biricare.

(23) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \quad \text{ta}, \quad \text{kwa} \quad \text{manggu} \quad \text{muni} \quad \text{nome}, \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{SPEC} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{firstborn} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{therefore} \\
\text{wunumu} & \quad \text{ta}, \quad \text{eiq} \quad \text{ne}, \quad \ldots \\
\text{wun-u-mu} & \quad \text{ta} | \quad \text{eiq} \quad \text{ne} | \quad \ldots \\
\text{exist-1p.SBJ-LOC} & \quad \text{SPEC} \quad \text{up} \quad \text{There} \quad \ldots \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Since I was the firstborn girl, as we were living up there ...’ [Text 39:4.44; Burung 2013b:275, 285–6]
With reference to the speaker, deixis marks a steepness/non-steepness distinction as well as proximity/distality, as I will now discuss.

### 3.2.1 Steepness-non-steepness distinction

Marking of steepness is indicated by the prefix *d* {d-} on the basic forms, as outlined in Table 2, partly repeated here in Table 3a.

**Table 3a. Wano elvatives deixis: Steepness-non-steepness distinction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Steepness</th>
<th>Non-steepness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'up'</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>steep-up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'up steep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>steep-down</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'down steep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The degree of steepness depends on the speaker’s perception of his/her surroundings. For an illustration, if Acodi, a Wano village in (22) were situated on a steep location, based on the speaker’s intuitive topographic knowledge of the Wano surrounding area, then we would expect *dou ‘down steep’*. A similar assumption is true for Tukmid, another village; to describe a situation in which the people walked through Yinggeo along a steep ravine, then *dei ‘up steep’* would be expected. The first and the second clauses in (22) would then be:

(24)  

```
ando ta,  dou acodi  ...  ...  ...
anto ta  | d-ou atjodi  ...  ...  ...
other SPEC steep-down  PN  ...  ...  ...

...  ...  nok,  nu  tu  mbugu  deiq
d-eiq  steep-up
```

`nouguarak-o.
 n-ou-k-at-ak=0 \ 
go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS`

‘..., they went down steep to Acodi, ... then went up steep scattering away, ...
they went.’ [Artificial version of example (22)]

### 3.2.2 Proximity-Distality distinction

Consider Table 3b and Figure 1
Table 3b. Wano elevative deixis: Promity-distality distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>‘ei’</td>
<td>‘einya’</td>
<td>‘ei-dum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ei-na’</td>
<td>‘ei-na-dum’</td>
<td>‘ei-dum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>‘up-PROX’</td>
<td>‘up-PROX-DIST’</td>
<td>‘up-DIST’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>‘up proximal’</td>
<td>‘up medial’</td>
<td>‘up distal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>‘ou’</td>
<td>‘oungga’</td>
<td>‘oudum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ou-nka’</td>
<td>‘ou-nka-dum’</td>
<td>‘ou-dum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>‘down-PROX’</td>
<td>‘ou-PROX-DIST’</td>
<td>‘ou-DIST’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>‘down proximal’</td>
<td>‘down medial’</td>
<td>‘down distal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An elevative proximity-distality distinction with reference to the speaker’s relation to the referent at three different distances, is also found. When the referent is near-to-speaker, i.e. proximal, the basic form is suffixed by nya/ngga ‘PROX’. When it is far-from-speaker, i.e. distal, the suffix dum/dom ‘DIST’ is applied. Finally, when it is somewhere between near-to-speaker and far-from-speaker, i.e. medial, both nya/ngga ‘PROX’ and dum/dom ‘DIST’ are suffixed to the root ei ‘up’ and ou ‘down’. When the distinction is not a prior concern in the speaker’s mind, then the basic forms ei ‘up’ and ou ‘down’ are used, as in (22–3) – cf. also Figure 1.

Figure 1. Wano proximity-distality distinction of elevative deixis

Examples to illustrate the proximity-distality distinction are not easily found in texts. Take (24) again as an instance, supposing Acodi were, at the time the elicitation took place, near-to-speaker, we will have oungga ‘down proximal’ as shown in (25a). Here, Acodi is located somewhere proximally far from the speaker at a lower level than where speaker is. When it is somewhere between near-and-far, then ounggadum ‘down medial’, given in (25b), is used. Here, the speaker is referring to Acodi while having in mind that it is neither close to him nor far from him down. If it is far-from-speaker then oudum ‘down distal’ (25c), is used. Here, Acodi is somewhere down, far from the speaker.

(25)  
a. oungga
    ou-nka
    down-PROX
    ‘down proximal’ i.e. ‘down near to speaker’
b. *ounggadum*
   ou-\text{nka}-dum
   down-PROX-DIST
   ‘down medial’ i.e. ‘down medial to speaker’

c. *oudum*
   ou-\text{dum}
   down-DIST
   ‘down distal’ i.e. ‘down far from speaker’

Consider the examples in (26). When the referent is ‘far-from-speaker’, we would expect the deictics *ounggadum* ‘down steep medial’ and *deiqnyadum* ‘up steep medial’ in (26a) to be respectively changed to *doudum* ‘steep down distal’ and *deiqdum* ‘up steep distal’ as illustrated in (26b).

(26)  

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
  a. & *ando* & ta, & *ounggadum* & acodi, & ...
  \text{anto} & ta | & \text{d-ou-nka-dum} & atjodi | & ...
  \text{other} & SPEC & \text{steep-down-PROX-DIST} & PN & ...
  ...
  ...
  nok, & nu & tu & mbugu
  ...
  ...
  nok | n-u & tu & mpu-k-u
  ...
  ...
  then & go-1p.SBJ & way & scatter-REAL-1p.SBJ

\textbf{deiqnyadum} \quad \textbf{nouguarak-o.}
\textbf{d-eiq-na-dum} \quad \textbf{n-ou-k-at-ak=0} \\
\textbf{steep-up-PROX-DIST} \quad \text{go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS}

‘... they went down medial to Acodi, ... then went up steep medial, scattering away, they went.’ [further artificial version of (22, 24)]

b. & *ando* & ta, & *doudum* & acodi, & ...
  \text{anto} & ta | & \text{d-ou-dum} & atjodi | & ...
  \text{other} & SPEC & \text{steep-down-DIST} & PN & ...

\textbf{deiqdum} \quad \textbf{nouguarak-o.}
\textbf{d-eiq-dum} \quad \textbf{n-ou-k-at-ak=0} \\
\textbf{steep-up-DIST} \quad \text{go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS}

‘... they went down steep distal to Acodi, ... then went up steep distal, scattering away, they went.’ [further artificial version of (21, 23)]

3.2.3 Attributive and adverbial functions

Syntactic function is also morphologically marked. When the basic forms *ei* ‘up’ and *ou* ‘down’ are marked for degree of ‘steepness’ with the prefix *d* ‘steep’, and used attributively, the attributive function of the deictic requires a ‘ATTR’ before the steepness prefix, as illustrated in (27) below:
Not far up, there was one Wano man. He lived in a place alone (i.e., with his family), and wandered that path well.

Likewise, the adverbial function requires *n* 'ADV' before the steepness prefix, as in (28):

(28)  
\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{nit} & \text{ne} & \text{eve} & \text{it} & \text{inyoku} \\
\text{we} & \text{S.REF} & \text{also} & \text{they} & 3p.\text{OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ} \\
\text{dokniq} & \text{ta} & \text{ap} & \text{mbere} & \text{ambui} & \text{adouq} \\
\text{do-k-niq} & \text{ta} & \text{ap} & \text{mpete} & \text{ambui} & \text{a-d-ouq} \\
\text{stay-REAL-as such} & \text{SPEC} & \text{man two one} & \text{ATTR-steep-down} \\
\text{wat-o,} & \text{ndoumungga,} & \text{ambui} & \text{wim} \\
\text{wat}=o & \text{ampui} & \text{wim} \\
3s.\text{OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL=PAUS} & \text{ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX} & \text{one} & \text{arrow} \\
\text{kuni} & \text{wegirak,} & \text{muni} & \text{ap} & \text{kode} & \text{muni} \\
\text{kuni} & \text{we-k-it-ak |} & \text{muni} & \text{ap} & \text{kode} & \text{muni} \\
\text{war} & \text{come-REAL-3s.SBJ-then} & \text{that man old that} \\
\text{okouguarak-o.} & \text{o-k-ou-k-uat-ak}=o & \text{do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS} & \\
\text{‘As for us, we also killed them, two men. One we killed down steep (there), steeply downward. One was shot with an arrow(in the) fight. That was, the old man, who they killed.’}  \\
\end{array}
\]

3.2.4 Vertical plane

Deixis that refers to elevative locations encodes locations on a vertical plane. Those take the same structures and functions as the elevative deixis discussed above. They distinguish ‘low-high’ with reference to trees or mountains: *wenom* ‘up low’ and *wunom* ‘up high’. In Table 4, adverbial use is marked by the palatalization of /n/ [n]; *wenom* ‘low’ becomes /ny/ [ɲ] *wenyom* ‘in a low location’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTRIBUTIVE</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up.low.vertical</td>
<td><em>wenom</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up.high.vertical</td>
<td><em>wunom</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (29) and (30) illustrate their functional use in discourse.
(29)  it  ne  ta,  ap  waku
          it  ne  ta |  ap  wat-k-u
     3p  S.REF  SPEC  man  3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ

       narik,  wu  narik,  ta,  
     n-at-ik |  w-u  n-at-ik |  ta | 
    go-3s.SBJ-PROG  come-3p.SBJ  go-3s.SBJ-PROG  SPEC

       tu  wenom  enok,  ndi  narik,  ta, 
     tu  wenom  enok |  nti  n-at-ik |  ta | 
    way  ATTR.up.low.VERT  next  this  go-3s.SBJ-PROG  SPEC

       ndei  ne  koyon  awi.
     n-d-ei  ne  koyon  o-awi ||
    ADV-steep-up  S.REF  PN  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.’ [Text 35:2.75; Burung 2013b:249, 258]

(30)  at  ne  urukuma  baneq  wunyom
         at  ne |  utukuma  baneq  wunyom
     3s  S.REF  aircraft  INST  ADV.up.high.vertical

     ki  narak-o 
    very  go-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS

‘She went very high-up.vertical with the aircraft.’

4. Summary

The discussion in this paper has been on Wano deixis. Section 2 dealt with person 
deixis, where I demonstrated that Wano (Trans-New Guinea) marks the sex distinction 
of possessors. What is special and is possibly unique to Wano is that when a speaker 
and addressee possessors of two sexes are speaking of their child, the two terms of their 
possessum are combined to indicate that the child belongs to both. Wano makes a clear 
morphological distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms, not by 
specialized proforms that bear canonical grammatical relations, as in English, but by 
derivation of reflexive verb forms. Section 3, in turn, discussed demonstratives and 
elevative deictics. The former includes ndi ‘this’, nde ‘this.far’ and muni ‘that’ as three 
basic forms. The latter includes four spatial dimensions, namely: steepness/non-
steepness, proximity/distality, adverbial/attribution expressions, and vertical plane, 
where the two-term system ei ‘up’ and ou ‘down’ serves as the basic forms for the 
elevative deictics.

Symbols and abbreviations

Symbols and abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for 
interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses (2015) list. Those that are not found in the 
list are from Burung (2017).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOLS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>first, second, third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>morpheme break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>compounding break</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
clitic break; is & and
≠ is not *
/ or .
\ (short) closure in discourse : semantic break in a portmanteau morpheme
\ sudden cut in discourse {...} morphological representation

ABBREVIATIONS
A or A transitive subject PAUS pausal
Adr addressee PL nominal plural
ADV adverbia; adverb PN proper noun/name
ANA anaphoric pronoun PRED predicate; predicative; predication
ATTR attributive PROG progressive
DIST distal PROX proximal
G,REF (general) reference PROX-DIST medial
HAB habitual Q question
HORZ horizontal REAL realis
INCEP inceptive REFL reflexive
INST instrument REM remote
INTERJ interjection s pronominal singular
lit. literal translation/interpretation S,REF (specific) reference
LOC locative; location SBj subject
N nasal (morphophonology) SG nominal singular
NEG negative; negation Sp speaker
NGK Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal SPEC specifier
O or OBJ object STUT stutter
ods of different sex U undergoer
of of female V (harmonic) vowel
oM of male VERT vertical
oss of same sex YN yes-no
p pronominal plural

References


