



Kalamang *opa*: from time adverbial to attention-managing demonstrative

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Adverb *opa*

Yeni, opa ka karengat kona

Y. just 2SG frog see

‘Yeni, did you just see that frog?’

Demonstrative *opa*

ma canam **opa** me koluk

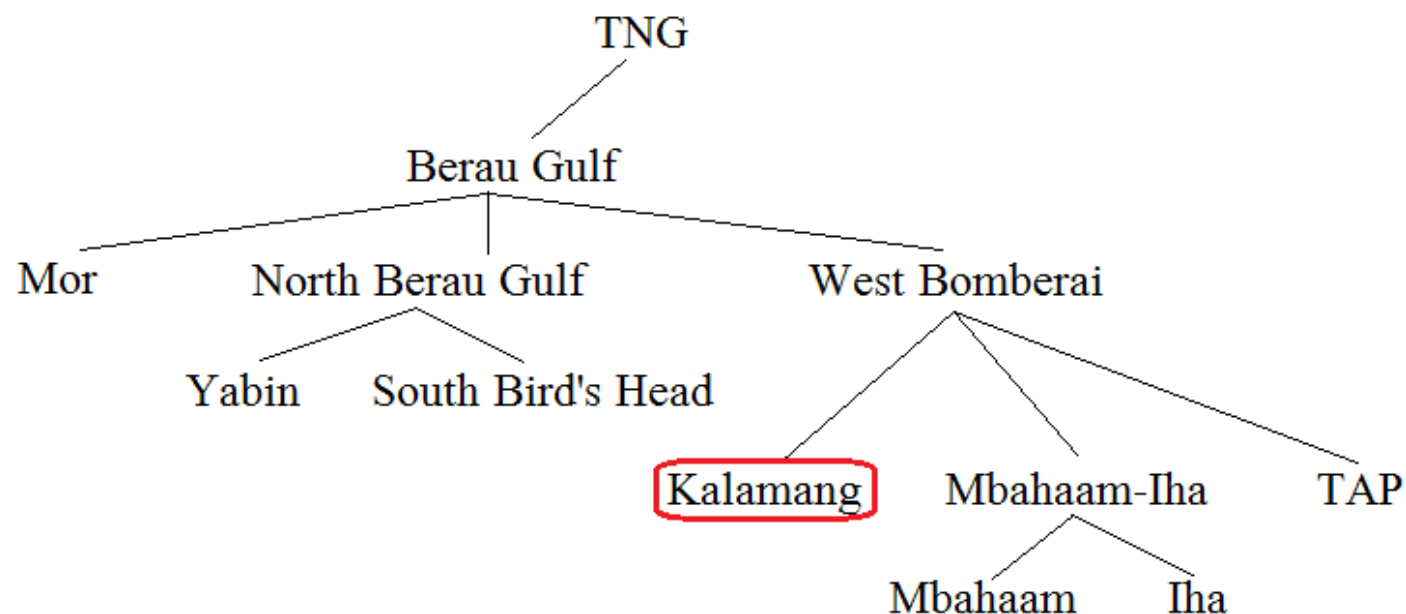
3SG man DEM TOP meet

‘She meets that man (that I’ve mentioned before).’

About Kalamang



Classification (Usher 2018)



Theoretical background

Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognition use (Himmelman 1996)

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- attention-drawing
 - Turkish bu/o/şu (Özyürek 1998)

	PROX	DIST
+/0 ATT	bu	o
- ATT	şu	şu

Demonstratives theory

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 - Diesel (2006): joint focus of attention

Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognition use (Himmelman 1996)
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 - Turkish bu/o/şu (Özyürek 1998)
 - Diessel (2006): joint focus of attention
- accessibility/shared knowledge
 - Tiriyo (Meira 2018)
 - Jahai (Burenhult 2003)

Data

15 hours of transcribed recordings

- stimuli kits
- narration
- conversation

ELAN 5.1 - conv_nenekneke.elf

File Edit Annotation Tier Type Search View Options Window Help

Grid Text Subtitles Lexicon Comments Recognizers Metadata Controls

Text-Speaker 1

Nr	Annotation	Begin Time	End Time	Duration
1	(inaud) pier garungda me me mena ma nebaet	00:00:01.500	00:00:04.200	00:00:02.700
2	manadu naun temtemun eh	00:00:23.010	00:00:25.630	00:00:02.620
3	neba wanggara je to	00:00:33.025	00:00:34.455	00:00:01.430
4	pasargara yie	00:00:39.030	00:00:40.390	00:00:01.360
5	dian emun toni neba	00:00:44.185	00:00:45.675	00:00:01.490
6	ripi purap me goni kon	00:00:50.050	00:00:52.670	00:00:02.620
7	mu toni uriap nempa owatko	00:00:52.685	00:00:55.810	00:00:03.125
8	ehhe	00:01:02.650	00:01:03.750	00:00:01.100
9	rafin	00:01:15.585	00:01:16.385	00:00:00.780
10	ka kalamangmangunat komahal kamun garungnin o	00:01:16.860	00:01:20.660	00:00:03.800
11	eba metko an ne- eba neba	00:01:27.615	00:01:30.555	00:00:02.940
12	in se bo watko mu toni wowa kain se boet	00:01:30.900	00:01:34.370	00:00:03.470
13	parambura ge na sasat ma he bo pakpao mu toni ma keweo	00:01:34.460	00:01:39.760	00:00:05.300
14	iva ma urukmanode pakpaka bot	00:01:42.520	00:01:45.860	00:00:03.340

Selection: 00:10:18.069 - 00:10:23.266 5197

Selection Mode Loop Mode

Timeline view showing transcription layers:

- Gloss-Speaker 1 (1982)
- Free Translation-S (1982)
- Free Trans EN Spe (1982)
- Text-Speaker 2 (221)
- Words-Speaker 2 (1982)
- Gloss-Speaker 2 (1982)
- Free Translation-S (1982)
- Free Trans EN Spe (1982)

Transcription example:

emun toni an se mat gonggung emun se baran-l kasur opa yua-bon

Words-Speaker 2: emun toni an se mat gonggung emun se baran-l kasur opa yua-bon

Gloss-Speaker 2: mother.3poss say 1sg iam 3sg.acc call mother.3poss iam go.down-cmpl tomorrow ana.dem prox.dem-com

Free Translation-S: dia pu mama bilang saya panggil dia, dia pu mama suda turun besok dengan hari ni

Free Trans EN Spe: her mother says I've already called her, her mother comes down tomorrow and today

Kalamang demonstratives

Kalamang demonstratives

“deictic expressions used to direct the hearer’s attention to entities within a domain” (from Schapper’s Bunaq grammar)

PROX.DEM wa

DIST.DEM me

DEM opa adnominal only

Distal demonstratives

Q: *HP* ***wa*** *HP* *kain*
 phone PROX.DEM phone 2SG.POSS
 ‘Is this phone yours?’

A: *HP* ***me*** *HP* *anggon*
 phone DIST.DEM phone 1SG.POSS
 ‘That phone is mine.’

Opa

- (1) *bal-un opa kome sara~sara*
dog-3SG.POSS DEM look go.up~RED
'His dog (that I've mentioned before) looked up.'

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(2) *[beginning of story]*
pas opa me
woman DEM TOP
'That woman...'

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(2) *[beginning of story]*
pas opa me
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 ‘That woman...’

(3) *inier opa hadi opa to*
 1EX.DU DEM H. DEM TAG
 ‘We two, with Hadi, you know him, don’t you?’

(1) *bal-un opa kome sara~sara*
dog-3SG.POSS DEM look go.up~RED
'His dog (that I've mentioned before) looked up.'
→ SPR+ADR known, foregrounding

(2) *[beginning of story]*
pas opa me
woman DEM TOP
'That woman...'
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(3) *inier opa hadi opa to*
1EX.DU DEM H. DEM TAG
'We two, with Hadi, you know him, don't you?'
→ SPR+ADR known, foregrounding

Woman opa, because we saw *that woman*, she's maybe a kind of ghost or an ancient person. Then, she's holding a *vase*. She comes from home. She comes from home, holding a *vase*. *Vase opa* is white, she walks on, then there's a butterfly flying, and flowers. She walks until the middle. She meets a *man*. *That man* has a bow. *That man* is also a kind of ghost or ancient person. She looks like this in the water at *fish* that swim with their fins. *Fish* of all colours. Looking... *fish opa* are swimming back and forth. Maybe while she's looking *vase opa* falls. (...) She walks back to the middle, she meets *man opa*.

➡ **Woman opa**, because we saw **that woman**, she's maybe a kind of ghost or an ancient person. Then, she's holding a **vase**. She comes from home. She comes from home, holding a **vase**. **Vase opa** is white, she walks on, then there's a butterfly flying, and flowers. She walks until the middle. She meets a **man**. **That man** has a bow. **That man** is also a kind of ghost or ancient person. She looks like this in the water at **fish** that swim with their fins. **Fish** of all colours. Looking... **fish opa** are swimming back and forth. Maybe while she's looking **vase opa** falls. (...) She walks back to the middle, she meets **man opa**.

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(4) *ma bo gowienkier opa bal-un opa*
3SG go beehive DEM dog-3POSS DEM
'He goes to that beehive, that dog of his, ...'

(5) *lek opa me afokat opa me kona*
goat DEM TOP avocado DEM TOP see
'That goat sees that avocado.'

- (6) *Desi* ***opa*** *me* *yal~yalte* *yawe*
D. DEM TOP paddle~RED down.there
‘Desi is paddling down there.’

Demonstrative *opa* summary

- homophonous with time adverbial
- known referents
- focuses ADR's attention
- several referents can be foregrounded
- not for disambiguating only
- endophoric AND exophoric
- can be used for
 - maintaining
 - reintroducing

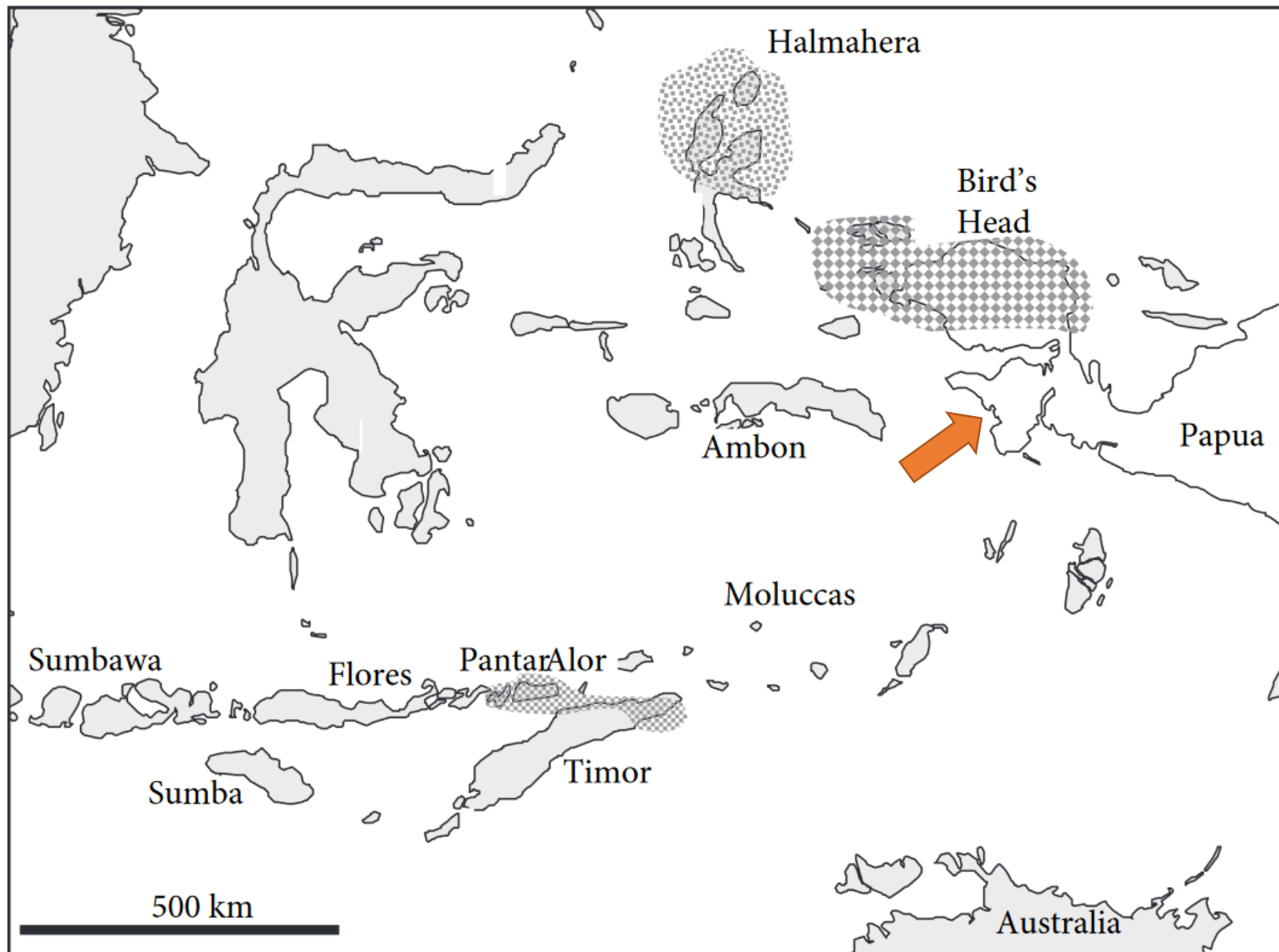
Kalamang demonstratives

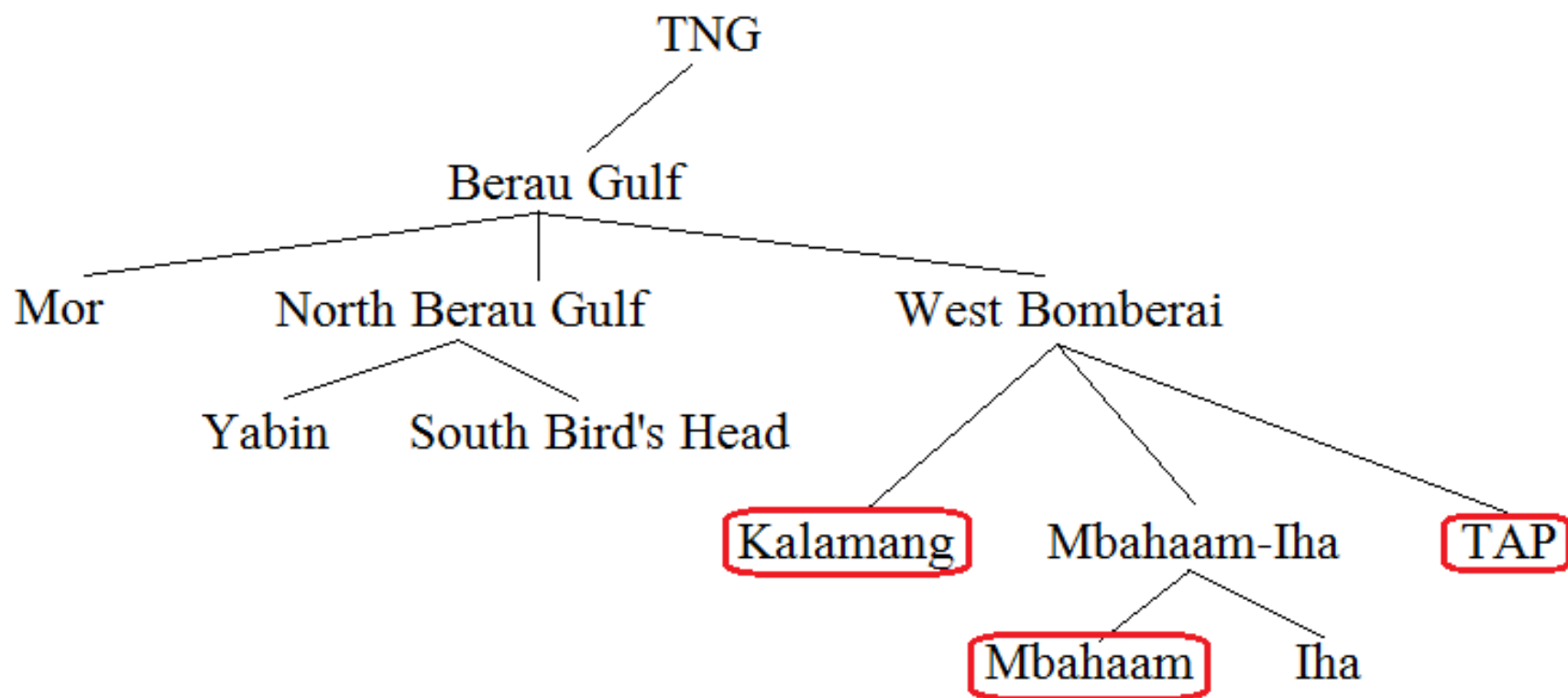
	PROX	DIST
-accessible?	wa	me
+accessible?	opa	

Grammaticalisation? Co-lexification?

- time adverbial > demonstrative = intuitive
- Indonesian *tadi*

East-Indonesian





Indonesian	<i>tadi</i>	co-lex adverb/adnominal
Teiwa	<i>(eran) waal</i>	‘the one just mentioned’
Kaera	<i>erang</i>	ANA.DEM
Bunaq	<i>mete</i>	co-lex adverb/adnominal
Mbaham	<i>nteit</i>	ANA.DEM

Indonesian (Sneddon 2010)

tadi

“it can follow a noun to refer back to someone or something recently mentioned or recently present”

Papuan Malay:

anak tadi su pi di situ

child ANA.DEM? PRF go over.there

‘that child has gone over there’

Teiwa (Klamer 2010)

- *(eran) waal* 'the one just mentioned'
- properties still unclear
- referents known to SPR and ADR
- adnominal

Teiwa (Klamer 2010)

u ya q waal gi tau

person that.mentioned go PRF

‘The person [we just mentioned] went [off] already.’

...rus waal ga’an...

deer that.mentioned DEM

‘...that deer just mentioned...’

Teiwa (Klamer 2010)

Kalamang:

<i>tumun</i>	<i>opa</i>	<i>me</i>
child	DEM	TOP

‘...that child just mentioned...’

Teiwa:

<i>...rus</i>	<i>waal</i>	<i>ga'an...</i>
deer	that.mentioned	DEM

‘...that deer just mentioned...’

Kaera (Klamer 2014)

erang “refers anaphorically to entities in space, time, or discourse”

<i>kunang</i>	<i>masik</i>	<i>utug</i>	<i>erang</i>	<i>gu</i>
child	male	three	that.ANAPH	that

‘those three boys (mentioned earlier)’

Bunaq (Schapper 2014)

mete

- w-o referent: 'now'
- redirect attention to established referent
- topic shift
- bridging antecedent (not literally mentioned)
- new referent; marking new stage in discourse

<i>hilaq</i>	<i>[mete</i>	<i>orel</i>	<i>himo]</i>	<i>g-ini</i>	<i>gi-e</i>
SURPRISE	NOW	monkey	CONTR.AN	3AN-CAUS	3-POSS

‘What a surprise, it was this monkey just now who had made (the child) his.’

Mbaham (Flassy 1983)

<i>nggismo/kismo</i>	ini	PROX.DEM
<i>unggya</i>	itu	DIST.DEM
<i>nteit</i>	tadi (itu)	ANA.DEM

pareeye nteit

‘perkataan (yang) tadi (itu)’

‘that word (that I just mentioned)’

Summary

- *opa* can be described in terms of foregrounding, accessibility and shared knowledge
- forms parallel to *opa* are found in East-Indonesia
- grammaticalisation? co-lexification?