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

Eline Visser

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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)

TNG

Berau Gulf

Mor  North Berau Gulf  West Bomberai

Yabin  South Bird's Head

Kalamang  Mbahaam-Iha  TAP

Mbahaam  Iha
Theoretical background
Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996)
Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996)
- attention-drawing
  - Turkish bu/o/şu (Özyürek 1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>DIST</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+/0 ATT</td>
<td>bu</td>
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<tr>
<td>- ATT</td>
<td>şu</td>
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Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996)
- attention-drawing
  - Turkish bu/o/şu (Özyürek 1998)
  - Diessel (2006): joint focus of attention
Demonstratives theory

- tracking/recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996)
- attention-drawing
  - 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
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:  $\text{HP wa HP kain}$
    phone   PROX.DEM phone   2SG.POSS
    ‘Is this phone yours?’

A:  $\text{HP me HP anggon}$
    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.’
(1)  \textit{bal-un opa kome sara~sara} \\
    dog-3SG.POSS DEM look go.up~RED \\
    ‘His dog (that I’ve mentioned before) looked up.’

(2)  \textit{[beginning of story]} \\
    \textit{pas opa me} \\
    woman DEM TOP \\
    ‘That woman...’
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(2) [beginning of story]
pas opa me
woman DEM TOP
‘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) *pas opa me*
woman DEM TOP
‘That woman…’
→ SPR+ADR known, foregrounding

(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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Kalamang opa
Woman *opa me*, 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*.
(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

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<td>-accessible?</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+accessible?</td>
<td>opa</td>
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Grammaticalisation? Co-lexification?

- time adverbial > demonstrative = intuitive

- Indonesian *tadi*
East-Indonesian
<table>
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<td>tadi</td>
<td>co-lex adverb/adnominal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teiwa</td>
<td>(eran) waal</td>
<td>‘the one just mentioned’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaera</td>
<td>erang</td>
<td>ANA.DEM</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bunaq</td>
<td>mete</td>
<td>co-lex adverb/adnominal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mbaham</td>
<td>nteit</td>
<td>ANA.DEM</td>
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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 (Klammer 2010)

uyaq 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 (Klammer 2010)

Kalamang:

\textit{tumun} \hspace{1cm} \textit{opa} \hspace{1cm} \textit{me}

child \hspace{1cm} DEM \hspace{1cm} TOP

‘...that child just mentioned...’

Teiwa:

\textit{...rus waal} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ga’an}...

deer \hspace{1cm} that.mentioned \hspace{1cm} DEM

‘...that deer just mentioned...’
Kaera (Klamer 2014)

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

{kunang | masik | utug | erang | gu}
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

`hilaq [mete orel himo] g-ini gi-e`

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)

nggismo/kismo  ini  PROX.DEM
unggya  itu  DIST.DEM
nteit  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?