

## DEIXIS AND LOCATION

### KEI (EWAU)

#### Questionnaire

1. Which language is this questionnaire on and where is it spoken?

Ewaw, Kei-Islands, SE Maluku

2. Are this language and its speech community indigenous to the region? If not, where do they originally come from?

Perhaps; tradition has it, that Ewaw comes from Tanimbar

3. Describe the pronominal system of the language. Does it distinguish singular from plural (cq Leti does, but Maccassarese does not). Does it have separate forms for dualis or trialis? Does it display an exclusive-inclusive distinction (as in Malay kami-kita)? Are there separate deferential pronouns (as for example Malay Beliau). If not, does one of the pronouns have a deferential or honorific function (f.e. ita 'we inclusive' in Tetun for 'you'). Does it use special nouns as deferentials (f.e. Leti aanmu 'your child' instead of 'I', or Classical Malay hamba 'slave' instead of 'I'). Does it use lexical parallelism, for example for honorific address (see the section on parallelism in the questionnaire on oral traditions)? Does it have a special set of possessive pronouns relating to the categorisation of the possession noun (f.e. alienable nouns have a preposed pronoun, whereas inalienable nouns are suffixed; in some languages, f.e. Buli (North Maluku) and Selaru (SE Maluku), nouns referring to food have separate possessive pronouns).

	full pronouns	verbal prefix A (verb: know)	verbal prefix B (verb:forget)	suffix (noun: father)	possessive pron (noun: house)
1sg	ya'au	ya-kai	ya-blufan	yam-ong	nung rahan
2sg	o	om-kai	mu-blufan	yam-om	mu rahan
3sg	i	in-kai	na-blufan	yam-an	ni rahan
1plinc	it	it-kai	ta-blufan	yam-ad	did rahan
1plex	aim	aim-kai	ma-blufan	yam-am	mam rahan
2pl	im	im-kai	mi-blufan	yam-ab	bir rahan
3pl	hir	hir-kai	ra-blufan	yam-ar	rir rahan

4. Is the language's deictic system related to the environment in which this language is spoken (coastal, mountainous, riverain)? Is the system maintained or modified when the language is spoken outside its indigenous location. Motion verbs in Ewaw on Kei (SE Maluku) require a directional indicating whether motion is seaward (=downward) or landward (upward). This is not encoded by Ewaw speakers in Zwolle (The Netherlands)

where the environment lacks sea and mountains. Meher speakers in The Netherlands rely on the deictic terms meaning ‘left’ and ‘right’. In the original setting on Kisar Island (SW Maluku) they prefer the seaside-land-side axis, using ‘left’ and ‘right’ exclusively for left-handedness and right-handedness, respectively.

Ewaw has a seaward-landward opposition that parallels the downward-upward opposition: ro ‘seaward’ = su ‘downward’ : ra ‘landward’ = rat ‘upward’

5. How many sets of deictic terms does the language have (1, 2, 3 or more?). Do they encode number and/or noun class? Are the deictic categories (person, spatial, temporal and ‘psychological’) encoded by separate sets (as in Leti), or are they combined (f.e. Tetun *ne’e* (East-Timor) indicates the referent’s proximity to the Speaker in space and time (discourse) and its being known to the Speaker).

Ewaw uses the 3sg pronoun *i* as the main demonstrative meaning ‘near the Speaker (= this).

Gloss	term	Gloss	Example: yahau ‘dog’
Demonstrative	I	‘the one known to S’ (THIS)	Yahau i
	Ini	‘the other one, not THIS’	Yahau ini
Same level spatial	ya	‘the one near S’	Yahau ya
	wyl	‘the one not near S’	Yahau wyl
	ro’oi	‘the one near the sea’	Yahau ro’oi
Different level spatial	Ryt	‘the one above S’	Yahau ryt
	Rat	‘the one above’	Yahau rat
	Wow	‘the one beneath S’	Yahau wow
	Waw	‘the one below’	yahau waw

6. If the deictic categories are encoded by means of separate sets, do they co-occur in stacks of separate morphemes (f.e. Leti *Kus-dó-di* ‘cat-there-discussed now’ versus *Kus-dó* and *Kus-di*.)

I may co-occur with all spatialials that are not linked to S.

		GLOSS
Same level + i	yahau wyl i	‘the dog overthere’
	yahau ro’oi ( ro’o + i)	‘the dog near the sea’
Different level + i	yahau rat i	‘the dog up there’
	yahau waw i	‘the dog down there’

Is this feature preserved when the speakers switch to local Malay (f.e. SW Malukan Malay *itu kucing ni nya* ‘that cat here once discussed’, see the questionnaire on language contact)?

-no.

7. How is location encoded, by means of prepositions, postpositions or so-called ‘circumpositions’: prepositions and postnominal location nouns (as in Ewaw and Leti). What is the origin of the ‘spatial grams’? Some may be linked to body-parts (f.e. Leti *ùò:ne* ‘its face’ = ‘in front’), others may not (f.e. Ewaw *ratan* ‘top’ = ‘on’ from the verb *rat* ‘to go up’).

-by means of ‘circumpositions’:

Ewaw has one neutral preposition indicating location: *na’a* ‘at’. For directions it uses verbs that indicate whether motion is seaward or landward, or, if it can not be linked to the sea, whether it is toward or away from the Speaker. Directional verbs and locational nouns may have the same ‘spatial-adverbial’ origin.

gloss	location	motion	Source
On	<i>rata-n</i>	<i>rat</i>	-
Behind	<i>muri-n</i>	<i>muir</i>	‘back(bone)’
In front	<i>waha-n</i>	-	‘face’
Under, in	<i>tena-n</i>	<i>su</i>	-
Below	<i>wowa-n</i>	-	‘trunk’
Beside	<i>ruhu-n</i>	-	‘rib’
Inside	<i>raa-n</i>	-	‘inner part’
Between	<i>lean afruan</i>		

gloss	motion
seaward	<i>ro/do</i>
landward	<i>da</i>
toward S	<i>ma</i>
away from S	<i>ti</i>

8. What landmarks does the language prefer in its spatial expressions. In how far is it deictically anchored to the Speaker/Hearer? Does it also use landmarks in the environment, for example a mountain or a mountain ridge (Kedang, Lembata, NTT), rivers (Paulohi, Seram, Central Maluku).

-The main landmark in Ewaw is the sea; if it cannot be used (because there is no sea, for example), it uses the Speaker as the main landmark.

9. Does the language distinguish separate levels or dimensions (f.e. Leti uses *vavna* for the notion ‘on’ if the referent is on the same level with the Speaker, but uses *vuvnu* (actually meaning ‘skull’) if the referent is located above the Speaker)?

-Yes, directly above and below the Speaker is *ryt* and *wow*, whereas otherwise it is *rat* and *waw*.

10. Which cardinal directions (North, South etc.) exist in the language? How does it encode the direction if it does not exist in the lexicon (f.e. on Leti one says eastward or westward depending on one’s position on the island; on Pura (NTT) the island of Alor

to its east is ‘up’, whereas Ujungpandang (Sulawesi) is ‘down’). Is it encoded in the language franca?

Ewaw does not have a term for North. In fieldwork, cardinal terms were used as abstract entities (Kei lies in the south of Maluku: Nuhu Ewaw na’a Maluku Taranan). Using Kei-Besar as the main landmark, north-south is indicated as down-up (waw-rat), whereas east-west may use the terms for the east- and west monsoons, respectively mair and hirin.

Standing in Tutrean (South Kei-Besar), Ambon is ‘down’ (den waw), Australia is ‘up’ (den rat), Java is in a ‘west direction’ (kidin hirin) and Fiji is in an ‘east direction’ (kidin mair).

timur	east
warat	west
taranan	south
mair	east(monsoon)
hirin	west(monsoon)

10a. Are the cardinal directions linked to other axes? (f.e. In Leti (SW Maluku): East=front - West=back, Ewaw (SE Maluku): South=up - North=down, Paulohi (C. Maluku): towards Ambon (w-sw)=up, Buli (N. Maluku) towards Ternate (w-nw)=up.

-On Kei South is up and North is down.

11. Does the language have a deictic and/or an inherent reference frame? Is the front or back region of an object always determined with reference to a landmark in the environment (f.e. the eastside of a house on Leti is always perceived as the front) or with reference to the Speaker (f.e. the front of a tree in Dutch is the side the Speaker looks at). Do all or some objects have a front and back region of their own that is not related to the Speaker and/or an environmental landmark. Are there objects that lack a front or back region (f.e. speakers of Indonesian, but not necessarily speakers of Dutch, perceive the labelled side of a bottle as its frontside). For more details, see Levinson 1996.

-Most objects seem to have a front and back region of their own. The front of boats and houses is called u, whereas their back regions are tauw, sometimes ren. The general terms are wahan (face) and murin (back) for front and back region, respectively.

12. How does the language encode direction in motion events: by means of serial verb constructions (f.e. Ewaw (SE Maluku): *Noit in lek watuk kokat* ‘The wind **blew away** (lit. blow throw) the rice), deverbal or denominal adverbs (f.e. Leti (SW Maluku): *N-vaul-seri vatu* ‘He **threw** (lit. throw-side) the stone aside’) or other devices (f.e. prepositions or postpositions)? Which axes must be encoded (f.e. on Pura (NTT) both seaward-landward and up-down seem obligatory: *qana hu met ma bakung da* ‘he lifted (lit. take come.on.same.level rise come.upward) his spoon’). Which axes are complementarily distributed (f.e. on the Leti coast seaward-landward is preferred over the East-West axis, whereas outside the island or on sea the latter is preferred).

-In Ewaw seaward-landward and upward-downward are obligatory and mutually exclusive. When seaward-landward cannot not be applied (as in Zwolle where there is no sea), towards S - away from S is used instead.

A speaker of Ewaw is compelled to specify motion by means of adverbs/serial verbs, as exemplified in the following table

'the bird flew MOTION SPECIFIER the house'	GLOSS
maun in or TI rahan.	reaching
maun in or WEW rahan	around
maun in or TOIK rahan	not-reaching
maun in or SU rahan	downward to
maun in or RAT rahan	upward to
maun in or RO rahan	seaward to
maun in or DA rahan	landward to
maun in or TALIK rahan	away from
'he threw MOTION SPECIFIER the stone '	GLOSS
in tew HAM waut	apart
in tew WATUK waut	away
in tew HALING waut	asunder
'he threw MOTION SPECIFIER at the bottle	
in tew HANG badu	in the direction of
in tew WEAK badu	to pieces
in tew LAUK badu	passed
in tew NORANG yahau	after the dog

13. Are the deictic and locative expressions in the first language copied into the contact language? Is the 'social' or temporal deictic function of lexical parallelism, if any in the indigenous language, pursued maintained in the contact language?

-no.