Topographical Deixis:

The Slideshow
Based on an article by:
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Topographical Deixis in Trans-Himalayan (Sino-Tibetan) Languages

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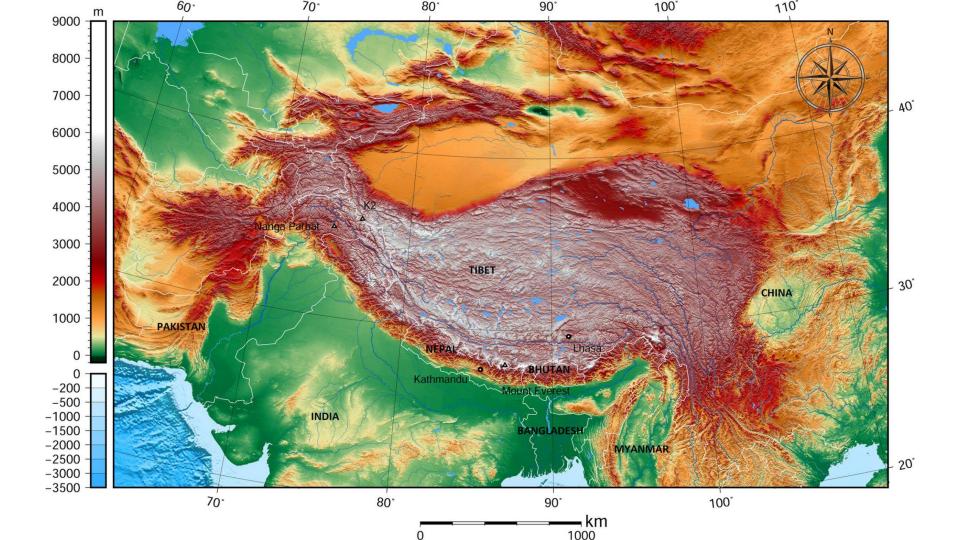
Article Overview

- Introduction
- TD
- Topographical deixis in Trans-Himalayan languages
 - Previous descriptions
 - Lexico-grammatical domains
 - Semantic domains
- The distribution of topographical deixis in Trans-Himalayan languages
 - Methods and organization
 - Results
 - Discussion

Glossary of Geography

- Kiranti
- Bodish (Himalayish)
- Qiangic (rGyalronig)
- Burmish (Lolo-Burmese)
- Macro-Tani





What is Topographical Deixis (TD)?

- Spatial-environmental deixis
- Shifting reference on inclined (topographically-anchored) plane of reference
- Most often:
 - Upward
 - Downward
 - On the same level

The Thesis/The Goal

- Paper tries to compare different languages within family & tries to find cross-linguistic trends
- "The primary goal of this paper is therefore to provide a benchmark account of [TD] from a pan-Trans-Himalayan perspective, to the maximum extent possible on the basis of existing descriptions"
- "Also contributes to cross-linguistic typologies of spatial deictic systems and their environmental-interactional motivations more generally"

Example: Galo

(1) ŋôk tôk^{ə ʔ}êjⁱ gò lâajⁱ takèe!

ŋó-k**à tokà** [?]ejì=go làa-jí-tà(a)=kée

1.sg-gen **DST.ABL.UP** clothing=IND take-APPL.BEN-IPTV.MOT=HORT.POL

'Go get me my shawl from up there!' (LN, GL05_ToopoGonv_0001)³

- SG = subject
- Toke =
 - o genitive + ablative pronoun component
 - o distal upward-sloping component
- Galo
 - o Macro-Tani
 - NE Indian Himalayas

Non-Sino-Tibetan Languages with TD

- Papua New Guinea/Madang
- Pama-Nyugans/Dyribal (Aboriginal Australian group)
- Mayan languages
- Southeast Tepehuan/Uto-Aztecan languages
- Languages of Caucasus
- Trans-New Guinea

Table 1. Demonstratives in Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 102), as presented in Diessel (2014: 124)

Feature	Form	Meaning
UPWARD+PROXIMAL	pise-me	'up here'
UPWARD+DISTAL	pise-2e	'up there'
DOWNWARD+PROXIMAL	tofe-me	'down here'
DOWNWARD+DISTAL	tofe-2e	'down there'

Table 2. Demonstratives in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 48), as presented in Diessel (2014: 124)

Feature	Form	Meaning
DOWNHILL+PROXIMAL	-bay ợ i	'short distance downhill'
DOWNHILL+MEDIAL	-bay ḍ a	'medium distance downhill'
DOWNHILL+DISTAL	-bay ợ u	'long distance downhill'
UPHILL+PROXIMAL	-dayi	'short distance uphill'
UPHILL+MEDIAL	-daya	'medium distance uphill'
UPHILL+DISTAL	-dayu	'long distance uphill'
DOWNRIVER+MEDIAL	-balbala	'medium distance downriver'
DOWNRIVER+DISTAL	-balbulu	'long distance downriver'
UPRIVER+MEDIAL	-dawala	'medium distance upriver'
UPRIVER+DISTAL	-dawulu	'long distance upriver'
ACROSS THE RIVER	-guya	'across the river'

Study of Conventionalized Paradigms

- Evidence for closed classes of terms
 - For simple demonstratives
 - For relational markers
 - Tables 1 and 2
- Key idea:
 - TD cases that show systematic organization
 - Difference between TD classes
 - Directional prefixes/suffixes/relational markers
 - Demonstratives

Previous Research and Descriptions

- Significant TD research for Sino-Tibetan
 - Himalayish
 - rGyalronig & Qiangic
 - Lolo-Burmese
 - Macro-Tani
- Incomplete information
- TD prominence

Previous Research and Descriptions

- Terms coined by others
 - 'Vertical dimension'
 - 'Geomorphic mapping'
 - 'Environmental space' deixis
 - 'Altitudinal case'
 - 'Vertical case'
 - 'Vertical verbs'
 - 'Geomorphic orientational system'
- Reasoning behind TD
 - Contrast between topography and altitude/verticality

Lexico-Grammatical Domains

- TD across grammatical domains
- Four main domains
 - Simple demonstratives
 - Relational demonstratives (i.e. adverbs)
 - Relational adpositions
 - Motion verbs / directional verb modifiers (e.g. affixes)
- Evidence for TD as "unified cognitive paradigm"
 - Shared sensitivity to context
 - Example: Eastern Tani lingual shift

- Found in wide range
 - Lolo-Burmese
 - East- & Macro-Tani
 - East Bodish
- TD restricted to distal



Table 3. Simple demonstratives in Lahu (Lolo-Burmese, Matisoff 1973: 51)

Form	Meaning	
chò	PRX	
nô	DST.UP	
mô	DST.DOWN	
ô	DST.SLEV	
cô	HDST.SLEV	



Table 4. Simple demonstratives in Kurtöp (East Bodish, Hyslop 2017: 161)

Meaning	
PRX	
PRX 7	
DST.UP	
DST.DOWN	
DST.SLEV	
	PRX 7 PRX DST.UP DST.DOWN



Table 5. Simple demonstratives in Tangam (Macro-Tani, Post 2017: 78)

Meaning	
PRX	
MED	
DST.UP	
DST.DOWN	
DST.SLEV	
	PRX MED DST.UP DST.DOWN

Relational Demonstratives (Adverbs)

Example: an adverb form that modifies another word

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(2) to=na khim

UP=ART house

'the (specific) house up there' (Belhare (Kiranti), Bickel 2001: 227)
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(3) to=kha khim _{\mathsf{UP}=\mathsf{N}}{8} \qquad \qquad \text{house} 'a (any) house up there' (Belhare (Kiranti), Bickel 2001: 227)
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Relational Adpositions (Markers)

Both Macro-Tani and Kiranti have the following markers:

- Locative
 - o "of, relating to, or being a grammatical case that denotes the place where someone or something is present or the place where an event occurs" (Merriam Webster)
- Allative
 - "denoting motion to or toward" (Merriam Webster)
- Ablative
 - "being a grammatical case that typically marks a person, place, or thing from which someone or something else is separated or the source from which someone or something comes, and is also frequently used to indicate the cause of an event or condition or the instrument by which an action is accomplished" (Merriam Webster)
- Genitive
 - o "of, relating to, or being a grammatical case (see <u>case entry 1 sense 3a</u>) that typically marks a person or thing that possesses someone or something else or the source from which someone or something comes"
 - "expressing a relationship that in some inflected languages is often marked by a genitive case —used especially of English prepositional phrases introduced by of" (Merriam Webster)
- Semblative
 - 'like that' (Post 239)

Relational Adpositions (Markers)

Table 6. Locative suffixes in Bantawa (Kiranti, Doornenbal 2009: 84)

Form	Meaning	
-da	LOC	
-du	LOC.UP	
-yu	LOC.DOWN	
-уа	LOC.SLEV	

 Table 7. Locative demonstrative postpositions in Galo (Macro-Tani, Post 2007: 361)

Form	Meaning
hogò	SPRX.LOC
ogò	APRX.LOC
tolò	DST.SLEV.UP
bolò	DST.SLEV.DOWN
aló	DST.SLEV.LOC

Motion Verbs and Directional Modifiers

Table 8. Topographical-deictic andative motion verbs in Yakkha (Kiranti, Schackow 2015: 200)

 Specific andative (going) verbs by TD position

Form	Meaning
ke?	'come up'
uks ~ uŋ	'come down'
ар	'come on the same level'

Table 9. Topographical-deictic motion verbs in Galo (Macro-Tani, Post 2011)

Form	Meaning	
càa-	'move up'	
ìi-	'move down'	
áa-	'move on the same level'	



Motion Verbs and Directional Modifiers

- Lolo-Burmese: modifying functions
 - Lahu tâ? 'go up; ascend'
 - dû tâ? 'dig upwards'
 - yà? 'go down; descend'
 - o pu yà? 'roll down'
- Galo: predicate derivations

Table 10. Topographical-deictic predicate derivations in Galo (Macro-Tani, Post 2011)

Form	Meaning	
-càa	'UPHILL'	
-lòo	'DOWNHILL'	
-áa	'ACROSS (ON THE SAME LEVEL)'	

- Semantic association
- Semantic differences to topography vs altitude
- Sino-Tibetan languages have different sentences

(4) tudûu tokèe!

tú-**dúu**-tó=kèe

kick-vertically.up-IPTV.ODIR=HORT.POL

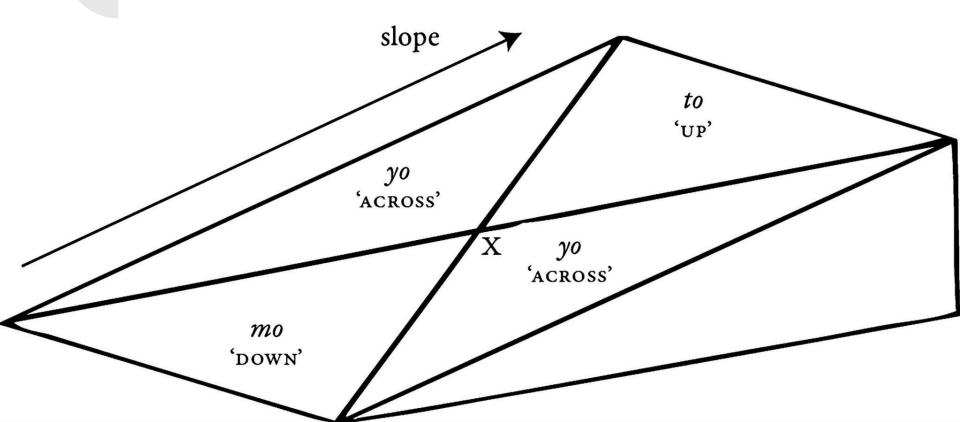
'Kick (the ball) **upward** (**vertically**, such that it comes back down again)!' (Galo, Macro-Tani; data from Ili Riba)

(5) tucâa tokèe!

tú-**càa**-tó=kèe

kick-uphill-IPTV.ODIR=HORT.POL

'Kick (the ball) **upward** (**uphill**, such that it reaches a goal located higher than the place of speaking)!' (Galo, Macro-Tani; data from Ili Riba)





- Association with topography and riverine orientation
- Multiple usage across different contexts
 - contexts are cognitively associated
- Association sensitive to geography

Table 11. An unusual 5-way distinction among Tamar Khole Limbu directionals (Michailovsky **2015**: 115)

Meaning	Form
UPHILL/UPSTREAM	tho
OVERHEAD/VERTICALLY UP	thaŋ
DOWNHILL/DOWNSTREAM	yo
UNDER/VERTICALLY DOWN	mu
ACROSS/SAME LEVEL	na

Similar association with topography and cardinal directions

Table 12. Syncretism among topographical-deictic meanings cross-cutting grammatical categories in Galo (Macro-Tani, Post **2011**)

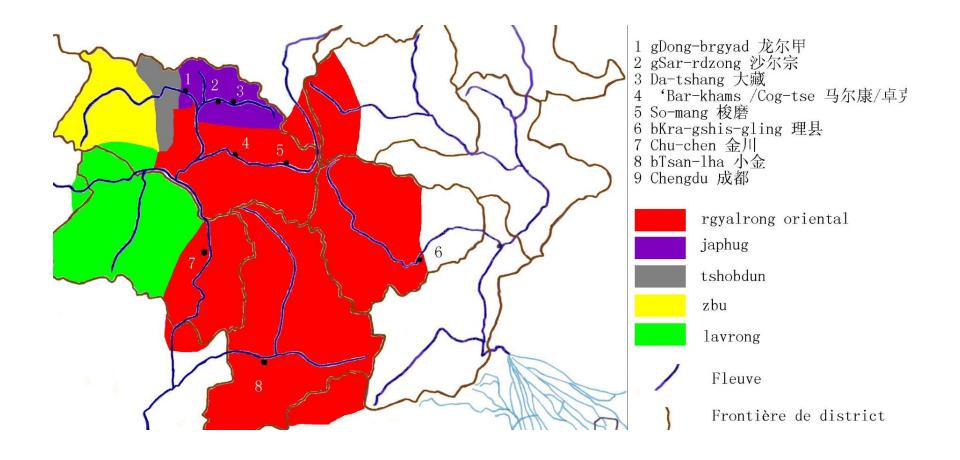
Meaning	DEM	DEM.POSP	V	PDER
upward/upstream/northward	tèa	tolò	càa-	-càa
downward/downstream/southward	bè∂	bolò	ìi-	-lòo
same level/not along river course (?) 9 /east or west	áa	aló	áa-	-áa



- Independent forms
- Evidence of language evolving with topography
 - Shared spelling in eastward and upward

Table 13. Directional prefixes in Japhug rGyalrong (Jacques 2004: 358–60)

Direction	Japhug
upward	tr-
downward	рш-
upstream	/x-
downstream	th u -
eastward	kr-
westward	nw-
without direction	j r -



Methods and Organization

- Focused on demonstratives
- Issues in discovering TD in non-demonstratives
 - Example comparison:
 - I went to the Blue Mountains last weekend
 - I went up to the Blue Mountains last weekend
 - NOT I ascended to the Blue Mountains last weekend
 - Galo
 - Distinct verbs
 - Sentence 3 grammatical
 - Other languages
 - Might use TD more as adverbs

"Given these facts, unless one has a fairly detailed understanding of the distribution, frequency, and contexts of use of a given motion verb or directional modifier, as well as some understanding of its semantic and grammatical relationships to forms in the same or other classes, it would not appear safe to equate the simple presence of a pair of verbs or directional modifiers with upward or downward semantics in a given Trans-Himalayan language with the instantiation of topographical deixis."



- Demonstratives better for TD discovery
 - "Closed-class paradigms"
 - High in frequency
 - Prominent patterns
- Limited descriptions

Table 14. Simple demonstratives in Kera'a (Idu) (Kera'a-Tawrã, Pulu 1978: 15)

Form	Meaning given by the author	Gloss
eca-hruji	'They, these'	(s)PRX
aya-hruji	'They, those'	MED OF APRX
amaya-hruji	'They, those (down)'	DST.DOWN
atuya-hruji	'They, those (up)'	DST.UP
ahiya-hruji	'They, those (level distance)'	DST,SLEV

Methods and Organization: Practical Measures

- Ignored proximate/medial forms
- Four different Trans-Himalayan classification schemes
 - van Driem "fallen leaves" method
 - Identifying phylogenetic units through empirical evidence in literature
 - Hammarström et al., Matisoff, and Bradley methods
 - Progressive finding of higher-level macro-groups
 - Each identifies more and more of related words

Glossary of Geography

- Kiranti
- Bodish (Himalayish)
- Qiangic (rGyalronig)
- Burmish (Lolo-Burmese)
- Macro-Tani



Bodish Burmish Isolates

Karenic Kho-Bwa Kiranti

Kuki-karbi

Naga

Sal Sinitic

Tani

Qiangic

- General results
 - Survey of 92 languages
- General trend
 - All three TD
 - o none at all

- Bodic (or West Himalayish languages)
 - Mixed results; 3 out of 5 Tibetic languages had all three, 2 had no evidence; Nepal region languages had clear
 TD;
- Himalayish and Dhimalish (or Nepal +bordering regions)
 - All Kiranti languages had clear TD
- Mijic, Hrusish, and Kho-Bwa (or Northeast India + bordering regions)
 - Some had little literature descriptions. TD absent in some.
- o Macro-Tani, Kera'a-Tawrã (Digarish), Kman-Meyor (Midzuish) and Nung
 - Languages spoken in the area stretching Northeast India to northern Myanmar/southwest China. Majority had very clear downward/upward forms, but not same level. Some had little literature descriptions.

- o rGyalrongic-Qiangic and Naic
 - Southwestern China languages. Verb prefixes are closely analogous to Kiranti, Tani, Lolo-Burmese. Notable for a different connection between riverine orientation and upward/downward.
- Lolo-Burmese
 - Southwestern China, northern Thailand and Laos, and in Myanmar. TD clearly represented.
- Karenic
 - Eastern Myanmar, western Thailand languages. No TD whatsoever, although a large system of directional suffixes.



- Mruic
 - Eastern Bangladesh and Myanmar languages. Directional prefixes, but does not have obvious TD.
- Bodo-Garo, Jingpho-Asakian and Northern Naga
 - o From west-Northeast India through Assam state to Indo-Myanmar, northern Myanmar, and southwest China
 - o Garo has a clear TD. Jingpho does not. Northern Naga lacked data
- Kuki-Chin
 - o south-Northeast India, Indo-Myanmar border, and Bangladesh. A researcher reconstructed Proto-Kuki-Chin TD for uphill/downhill, and another found same level TD. Directionals tend to be expressed as verb prefixes.

- Ao, Angami-Pochuri, Tangkhulic, Meithei and Karbi
 - o No TD
- Sinitic
 - No TD
- Gongduk, Raji-Raute, Lhokpu, Pyu, and Zeme
 - Not enough data.

The Paper's Conclusion

"[TD], as indicated by demonstrative systems and/or comparable closed-class systems or likely cognate forms, is a pervasive feature of Trans-Himalayan languages, found in every major branch"

Connections to What We've Learned

- Universal Grammatical
 - Innate Component of humans; provides the baseline for all human languages and all languages are grown from it
- Morphemes
 - Lil' word is used to show the topographical deixis
- Suffixes
 - Topographical deixis is usually a suffix on a verb form
- Dialects
 - Dialects & languages reflect the underlying grammars and lexicons of their speakers (Fromkin et al 270)
 - Macro-Tani (Galo) & Home/Uphill different than all others
 - Differences in grammatical rules
 - Lexical choices -> Language evolving to topography
- Evolution of Language in General!!!!!!
 - Different Language groups

Questions & Answers?

Sources & Outline

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