ResearchOnline@JCU

This file is part of the following reference:

Pennington, Ryan (2016) *A grammar of Ma Manda a Papuan language of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea.* **PhD thesis, James Cook University.**

Access to this file is available from:

http://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/48926/

JAMES COOK
UNIVERSITY
AUSTRALIA

A grammar of
Ma Manda

A Papuan language of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea

by

Ryan Pennington

Thesis submitted to

The Language and Culture Research Centre

College of Arts, Society and Education

James Cook University, Cairns, Australia

in fulfilment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the discipline of Linguistics

May 2016

Disclaimer

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

As the copyright owner of this thesis, I grant James Cook University a permanent non-exclusive licence to store, display or copy any or all of the thesis, in all forms of media, for use within the University, and to make the thesis freely available online to other persons or organisations. I do not wish to place any restriction on access to this work.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee on 4 Feb 2015, Approval ID H6045.

Ryan Pennington

For my Cs—

For the one I lost
in dusk and doubt.
For the one who came
in mourning.

For the three who held me
through the night.
And the One who gave
me morning.

Acknowledgements

A correlation exists between the magnitude of an achievement and the number of people required to realize that achievement. As my dreams and successes have multiplied, so has the web of interconnected relationships which supports me. I am the recipient of far too many benefactors to name. These people and organizations have given me advice, knowledge, money, trust, encouragement, forgiveness, and especially that eternally hoarded resource—time.

First and foremost, I thank my supervisors at the Language and Culture Research Centre of James Cook University. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald has been my most generous advocate and mentor during my time in Cairns. She is unparalleled in her knowledge of even the most intricate of linguistic details in the literature, and was openhanded with her encyclopedic knowledge. R. M. W. Dixon has been an ever-present source of firm guidance in a constantly-changing field of research. It is his monumental research in Basic Linguistic Theory which enabled my own research to be transparent and linked to the worldwide body of knowledge built up over millennia. Valérie Guérin is a friend who offered frequent encouragement, always reminding me that my life does not hinge on a single analysis, chapter, or thesis. These three supervisors deserve much of the accolades from this thesis, as it is only by their prodding that I am finished with the project today.

Second, I thank SIL International, a praiseworthy organization composed of many sacrificial and honorable men and women. As a member of SIL (particularly its Papua New Guinea branch) for the duration of my research and study, I can say with authority that their work is valuable. I simply cannot begin to list everyone within SIL who has served me and my family during my last nine years as an SIL member. I would like to single out René van den Berg, however, for his gracious mentorship in my life.

Next, I thank the Ma Manda people. They welcomed me and my wife into Saut Village in 2009, and forged the deepest of ties with us over the following months and years. They patiently taught us to speak their language, to cook their food, to walk barefoot, to heal wounds with stinging nettle, to carry our babies in string bags, and, especially, to slow down and relax. Saut is a magical place in my eyes, so disconnected from much of the stressors of my own life wrapped in my western baggage. As I slept in the moonlight and listened to laughter through bamboo walls, I saw the splendidly simple joys of humanity. I am forever changed by these people who took me in and gave me so much more than I can repay.

Abstract

This is a grammar of Ma Manda, a language of Papua New Guinea, which covers major aspects of this previously undescribed language. The analysis is supported by culturally-embedded examples from a recorded text corpus. The result is a comprehensive preservation of this endangered language for its speakers, and for linguistic and anthropological scholars working in the Papuan arena.

Table of Contents

List of tables

Lists of figures, maps, and pictures

Conventions

The grammar and spelling primarily follows the conventions of American English. In prose, Ma Manda words and phrases, as well as other foreign languages (and English citations) are written in *italics*. Foreign words and phrases are followed by glosses within single 'quotation marks', and punctuation marks such as commas are placed outside. Quotes from cited references are marked with double "quotation marks".

Interlinear examples are numbered throughout, with the numbering restarted at the beginning of each chapter. Numbering for texts in the appendix restarts with each new text. Numbering for tables, figures, and pictures are restarted with each new chapter as well, and the chapter number is included (e.g. Table 20.5 is the fifth table in Chapter 20). Cross-references to chapters are labeled as such, while sections are marked with the section symbol (§) for brevity.

Interlinear examples have four lines. The first line is orthographic, which is based predictably on the phonology. On this line the constituents which are being discussed are bolded. Pause breaks are marked with commas, while sentences are closed with full stops (i.e. periods) (.). These are only used when the grammatical and phonological correlates of the sentence align. The ellipsis symbol (…) is used when a sentence is curtailed for the example, or when a sentence is left unfinished by the speaker due to discourse-stylistic reasons. Exclamation points (!) are only used when a sentence is expressed with raised intonation. Commands only co-occur with this punctuation mark when the intonation is high or rising. Question marks (?) are used when the phonological and morpho-syntactic correlates of the interrogative mood are present. Extended examples which are broken up onto several lines are usually broken at pause breaks. In the appendix texts, a few clauses which were added during transcription are flagged by enclosing them within double [[square brackets]].

The second line breaks up each word into morphemes. A number of symbols are used on this line. The hyphen (-) separates affixes, as well as serial verbs. The equal sign (=) separates clitics from their hosts. Square brackets enclose [multi-word phrases]. Curly brackets enclose finite sentences subordinated by demonstratives (as relative, adverbial, and complement clauses). They also include nominalized verbs and clauses. Double curly brackets enclose {{speech reports}}, as well as complements of sensory verbs. The tilde (~) separates reduplicated words. Verbal suffixes are displayed in their allophonic form, while clitics are displayed in their underlying (citation) form.

The third line provides morpheme-level glosses. Here SMALL CAPS are used for grammatical glosses. Proper names are not reproduced, but abbreviated with PN—except for certain place names that have different forms (e.g. *fatnaangût* 'Saruwaged Range'). The full stop (.) is used for many-to-one correspondences where multiple words or glosses correspond to a single morpheme. For verb stems that are suppletive based on their object, the object is included in the gloss (e.g. *sako-* 'hold.3SG'). When a morpheme consists of historically fused morphemes, a colon (:) is used to separate the glosses. Argument-agreement affixes are portmanteau, marking both person and number. These categories are not separated by full stops (e.g. 1SG). The terms "non-singular" (NSG) and "plural" (PL) are used carefully. "Non-singular" is used for those paradigms that only make a two-way number distinction. "Plural" is used for those paradigms that make a three-way number distinction, where "plural" means 'more than two' rather than 'more than one'.

The final interlinear line provides a free translation into English (and sometimes, when helpful, Tok Pisin). Translations are marked with single 'quotation marks'. In the appendix these are removed due to the frequent use of speech reports and embedded speech reports. Use of quotations in long texts tends to obscure these patterns. When a literal translation is beneficial, it is provided in parentheses after the translation (lit. 'like this'). Occasionally, words are separated by hyphens (e.g. 'awhi-ile'). This is meant to indicate a phonetic extension of the vernacular word in the natural language corpus. A vocalic extension often occurs, especially along with the durative aspect auxiliary verbs, and is glossed on the third line as EXT.

After each translation, a subscript [bracketed reference] is provided that identifies the source of the example. Examples taken from my field notes are marked with DN (for "data notebook"), and followed by three sets of numbers which identify the notebook, page, and line number. For example, DN04.03.56 identifies line number 56 from the third page of my fourth data notebook. The line number is the numbered example from that transcription session, which may have lasted for many pages. Examples taken from the text corpus are marked with "skc" (the ISO code for Ma Manda), as well as the year and number of the event. For example, [skc10_06] identifies the sixth recording from the year 2010. This is the method of identifying each event within the documented corpus, and therefore the convention remains consistent here.

A number of different symbols are used in tables; most of these are explained in the prose before the table, or in the table itself. Throughout, hyphens (–) are used to mean that a

particular feature or environment is ungrammatical (exceptions to this convention are overtly stated). Table cells are left blank when that particular feature or environment is not attested in the corpus data. In these instances I did not elicit data or ask pointed questions to discover whether or not the gaps in the data are meaningful.

A group of 27 texts are provided in the appendix, and these are organized by corpus reference number in order so that it is easy for interested readers to find the context for many of the examples in the grammar. Almost every example in the grammar is therefore verified as something I recorded or transcribed. Very few examples do not have a reference. These are ubiquituous phrases in MM culture, and are overheard on a frequent basis. Some of these were simply never written down. When elicited examples are used, this is expressly mentioned.

A small number of examples that were deemed ungrammatical are provided when they provide evidence for a particular analysis. These examples are marked with an asterisk (*). When an example is grammatical, but semantically infelicitous or pragmatically unacceptable, then it is marked with a hash (#).

Abbreviations

Ø	null morpheme	MM	Ma Manda
1	first person	N	nasal
2	second person	NEG	negator
3	third person	NMLZ	nominalizing suffix
A	subject of transitive clause	NOM	nominative case
		NP	near past tense
ABL	ablative case	NP	noun phrase
ADV	manner adverbializing suffix	NSG	non-singular number
		O	object of transitive clause
ALL	allative case	PFV	perfective aspect
ANA	anaphoric pronoun, discourse-anaphoric suffix	PL	plural number
		PN	proper name
		PNG	Papua New Guinea
BEN	benefactive case	POSS	possessive suffix
CMPL	completive aspect	POT	potential modality
COM	comitative case	PRF	perfect aspect
COND	conditional	PROG	progressive aspect
DAT	dative case	PROSP	prospective aspect
DISJ	disjunctive enclitic	PROX	proximal
DIST	distal	PRS	present tense
DS	different-subject suffix	RHET	rhetorical question marker
DU	dual number		
DUB	dubitative enclitic	RP	remote past tense
DUR	durative aspect suffix	RSTR	restrictive adverbial suffix
EMPH	emphatic suffix		
EP	epenthetic consonant	S	single argument of intransitive clause
EXT	extension/sound stretch		
FH	Finisterre-Huon	SG	singular number
FRST	frustrative suffix	SS	same-subject suffix
FUT	future tense	SVC	serial verb construction
GEN	genitive case	TERM	terminative aspect
HAB	habitual aspect	TNG	Trans-New Guinea
INST	instrumental case	TP	Tok Pisin
IPFV	imperfective aspect	V	vowel
IRR	irrealis status	VBLZ	verbalizing suffix
LK	linker	VCC	verbless clause complement
LOC	locative case		
LVC	light verb construction	VCS	verbless clause subject
MIR	mirative suffix	VP	verb phrase

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Part I sets the stage for the thesis by providing the geographical, cultural, and linguistic background necessary for understanding the analysis put forth in later chapters. Chapter 1 addresses the Ma Manda culture, geographical environment, and linguistic context. Chapter 2 addresses the thesis itself, providing discussion of the scope, methodology, and structure of the grammatical description. This chapter also provides a typological overview of the MM language.

1 *The language and its people*

Ma Manda [iso: skc] is a Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) language spoken by people located in the southern slopes of the Saruwaged Range, in the Huon Peninsula of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. The Ma Manda people number approximately 1600, spread out among seven villages which are situated at the tops of narrow mountain ridges, each visible from its closest neighbors. This chapter provides the geographical, linguistic, and cultural background needed to understand the description of the fascinating Ma Manda language. First, §1.1 addresses the geographical context and population figures. Next, §1.2 discusses the culture of the Ma Manda people, addressing, among other topics, their social structure, worldview, kinship system, political organization, and material culture. Finally, §1.3 discusses the linguistic environment, providing information about the language name, genetic affiliation, language vitality, and multilingualism. Here I also outline the previous linguistic research conducted in the region.

1.1   Geography & demography

The Ma Manda language group is situated on the western edge of the Huon Peninsula, and, more specifically, on the southwestern slopes of the Saruwaged Mountains.

MAP 1.1: FINISTERRE-HUON LANGUAGES

The Huon Peninsula belongs to Morobe, PNG's most populous province—with a population of 674,810, accounting for 9.3% of the country's 7,275,324 people, as of the 2011

census (National Statistical Office 2013). Morobe Province in turn belongs to the "Momase Region", which also includes East Sepik, Madang, and Sandaun Provinces. The Province is broken up into nine administrative districts, divided based upon distinct geographical characteristcs (such as mountain ranges and rivers), and cultural characteristics (such as major linguistic divisions). These districts are further divided into 33 local-level government (LLG) councils. LLGs are headed by council presidents, elected every five years from members who are standing in local wards. Wards, which are the lowest political subdivision in PNG, number 600 in Morobe Province. The MM-speaking area is located within the Wain-Erap LLG, one of three that belong to the Nawae (AKA Nawaeb) District—the other two are Labuta and Nabak. The Ma Manda villages are clustered in the "Kesengen Two" and "Saut" wards. Nawae District, as of the 2011 census, has 9,030 households and a population of 44,556 (6.6% of the Province's total). The Wain-Erap Rural LLG is the largest of Nawae, with 4,302 households and a total population of 20,787 (3% of the province's total).

The MM language is spoken primarily in five villages—Saut, Lemang, Kesengen, Maulak, and Yangaran. The area also includes two hamlets—Mosa (a break-off from Kesengen) and Gisapin (a break-off from Lemang). Finally, two neighboring villages are quasi-MM-speaking, either containing a large group of MM speakers, or mixing MM with a neighboring language whereby mutual intelligibility is maintained. These are Nandot (between Saut and the neighboring Gusan language) and Sawana (between Kesengen and the neighboring Numanggang language).

PICTURE 1.1: SAUT VILLAGE

Though the ward populations for the 2011 census have not been released, the population can be estimated as follows. Taking the 2000 population figures (National Statistical Office 2002), and applying an annual growth rate of 2% (2011 census), the estimated 2016 population of the Ma Manda language area is 1,340 people. Additionally, a portion of the estimated 323 people from Nandot and Sawana villages may be included, as well as an estimated 100 people in external settlements, producing a total of roughly 1,600 people.

TABLE 1.1: MA MANDA POPULATION FIGURES (2000)

Ward name (Ward no.)	Village	Households	Males	Females	Total people
Saut (2)	Saut	29[1]	85	86	171
	Lemang	34	110	99	209
	Nandot	23	82	86	168
Kesengen Two (9)	Kesengen	46	155	143	298
	Maulak	28	79	72	151
	Sawana	15	45	32	77
Rabisap (5)	Yangaran	38	95	92	187
TOTAL (excluding Nandot & Sawana)			**524**	**492**	**1,016**

The Ma Manda area is located about 50km (31 miles) northwest of Lae, Morobe's capital city. Lae is the logistics and transport hub of the country, and represents a major pull for MM speakers to access produce markets and other goods and services. Therefore many MM speakers live in diaspora communities around Nadzab Airport, and in settlements (such

---

[1] By our count, Saut Village actually had 49 separate houses in 2009.

as "Tent City") north of Lae. Access to the MM-speaking area is entirely by road. Speakers in the area must hike to Kesengen village, where a dirt road provides the long and winding access to the Lae-Madang Highway. Turning East onto the highway, speakers immediately pass Nadzab airport, and continue past a multiplicity of settlements on their way into the city. Speakers of other languages further removed from the highway often travel through Saut, Lemang, and Kesengen villages in order to have access to the road—frequently even meeting *wantoks* (general TP term for 'kinsman' or 'friend') in Kesengen who have driven four-wheel-drive vehicles from Lae to meet them.

The Ma Manda-speaking villages are located between 1077 M (3500 ft) and 1587 M (5200 ft) in elevation. For large portions of the year, cloud cover and intense rainfall make the steep road from Kesengen impassable to all but the most rugged four-wheel-drive vehicles. Still, due to frequent landslides, flooded rivers, and broken bridges, all vehicle traffic is often suspended for weeks on end. In the appendix, text skc09_01 addresses some of the obstacles travelers face on that road.

Road access ends in Kesengen Village, with residents from other villages required to hike there first. However, a project is currently underway attempting to extend the road further up the river toward Saut and Lemang villages. The government has recently committed to investing more than 30M Kina ($9.9M USD) into the Nawae District's infrastructure, primarily focused on transportation. Though airstrips populate the district, the MM-speaking area has no local access to air travel. Upon the promise of road access, houses were built onto the now-defunct Kesengen airstrip, and the airstrip near to Saut Village was left unfinished. The nearest functioning airstrip is located at Nadzab. The closest government station is located in Boana, the Nawae District headquarters.

Research was conducted solely in the Ma Manda villages of Saut, Lemang, Kesengen, and Maulak. Directly between these villages runs the Nambut River, part of the headwaters that feed into the Erap River, which flows down into the Markham Valley below. The map below overlays some of the local area villages on a topographical map. The white circles which have lines through them show airstrips which are now inoperational. One of these is located in Kesengen, as seen in small print. Saut Village, where a majority of the research was undertaken, is labelled "7PENN", the name of the helipad given by the aviation staff of SIL. Note that Kesengen and Saut are on opposite sides of a major river, and Saut is divided by this same river from Lemang Village. A final note is that many commercial aircraft fly directly over Saut village. This is because directly to the north of Saut is the Kisengam Gap, a

narrow thoroughfare between extremely high mountain peaks. Saut Village is located at S06.320650 E146.709350. Kesengen is located at S06.359117 E146.702333.
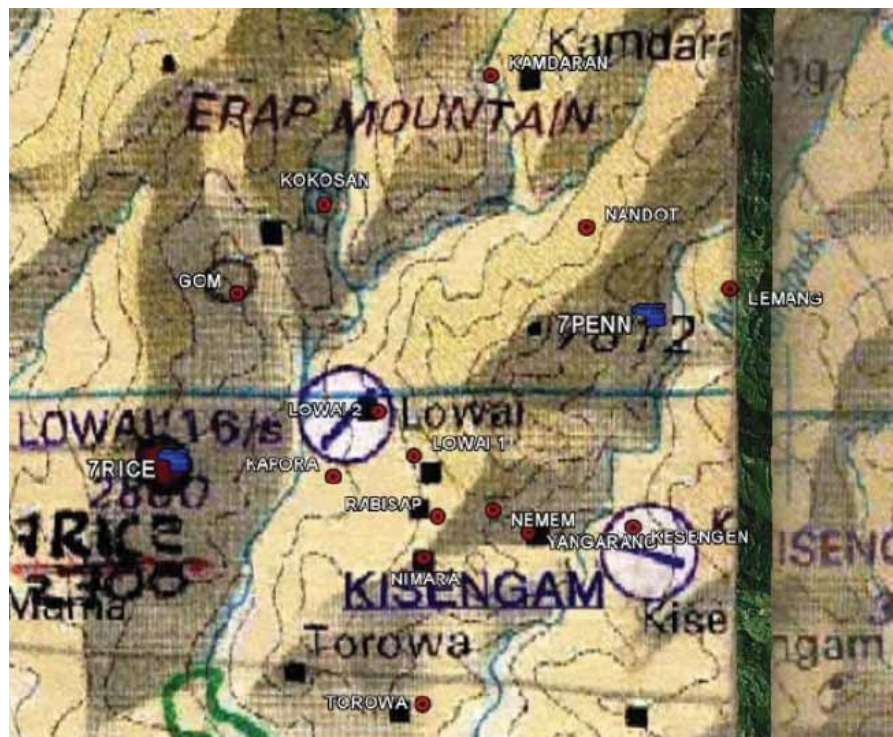
MAP 1.2: LOCAL VILLAGES AND AIRSTRIPS

MM people live in villages atop high and narrow mountain ridges, separated by steep valleys with raging rivers. Almost no level ground exists, with cultivated gardens very steep or even vertical. This geography has a number linguistic correlates. For example, a set of demonstratives ("topographical demonstratives") identify referents based on their distance, as well as their relative location—above, level with, or below deictic center. The top of a garden is called its *bûkngaan* 'neck'.

PICTURE 1.2: TERRAIN BETWEEN SAUT AND MARKHAM VALLEY

The climate is wet and tropical, with a pronounced rainy season between February and June. During these months, cloud cover hangs over Saut Village for weeks on end, with very little visibility of the surrounding area. Generally, residents of Saut can see the Markham River 1000 M below. However, when the clouds roll in, speakers are frequently unable to see even the next house from the veranda of their own. In the appendix, text skc12_01 alludes to this fact, describing how an ancestor settled the area by building a house at the edge of the world, only to have the clouds lift enough for him to see that the world extended just a bit further. During the "dryer" months—between August and December—much less rainfall occurs. Between the wet and dry seasons, however, the mornings are often hot and arid, and by one or two o'clock in the afternoon heavy rains, sometimes torrential, slam the area. These produce freqent landslides and impassable rivers, the topic of multiple texts in the appendix. The rainfall totals appear to be somewhat similar between wet and dry seasons, though I have no measurements to support this intuition.

PICTURE 1.3: CLOUDS ENCIRCLING SAUT VILLAGE

All around the villages are dense cloud rainforests. These are teeming with an incredible number of species of birds, cassowaries, tree-kangaroos, wallabies, cuscus, frogs, snakes, and insects. I have collected over 200 names of specific animal and insect species. The jungle also contains a wealth of plant, tree, moss, and fungi species, each with their own names, local histories, and medicinal properties. In all, the traditional ecological knowledge of the MM people is incredible, though this knowledge appears to be rapidly disappearing.

1.2   Culture

1.2.1   The village

Villages and gardens have been cut out of the surrounding rainforest, and they are constantly maintained in order to keep from *bûdûmpaak* 'becoming bush' again. The gardens are located on steep slopes throughout the area, often several hours' walk from the village. This separation between the central village location and the all-important gardens is prevalent. This is due to the piecemeal inheritance of gardens between generations, and the frequent intermarriage between clans and language groups of the area. Speakers generally prefer to spend a majority of their time in their gardens. Everyone owns one or several *bûdûmang yot* 'bush house(s)', and when the climate permits, speakers will spend weeks on end in those gardens, only returning to the village for community gatherings, community-related work projects, church functions, and political or educational events. Papua New Guineans are frequently portrayed as being highly communal. While the MM people are certainly

egalitarian, they are also highly individualistic. Many garden houses can be found in which single individuals live, separated by great distances from their community. Familial ties do produce a lot of culturally-defined roles and responsibilities. However, speakers do not naturally group themselves into village-level units. MM people are loyal first to their immediate families and clans, and these form the foundations for all economic, political, and business arrangements. As widely described for New Guinea, it was only due to the need for census data, as well as missionary activities such as educational pursuits, that the central village was formed. The only people who spend a majority of their time in the village are the elderly and the infirm. During my time in Saut village, when the weather was best, I would often fail to see a single individual during daylight hours. At nightfall many speakers would return to the village, bringing garden produce as gifts to maintain relationships upon their re-entry.

Saut Village has a small, partially-functioning preschool, but beyond that, children must travel to either Nandot or Kesengen for their primary education. Beyond grade eight, speakers must travel to a secondary school. The price of education is forbidding for many MM speakers. They tend to send one child to school one year, and then another the next, until their children finish grade eight as teenagers. The price of secondary education is higher still, and few people in the area have anything above a tenth-grade education level.

Houses are built primarily with natural materials. The materials for a house-building project are collected, hewn, and woven over many months. Once the materials are ready, post holes are aligned with pegs and string and then dug with shovels purchased from Lae. The posts and frame are taken from local trees, and so are the woven bamboo walls and floors, as well as the kunai grass roofs. For speakers who take particular pride in their houses, and who have the wealth of land to support it, many trees are cut down and hewn into planks with axes. These are then used for the walls instead of woven bamboo. These last much longer than the thatched homes, which seem to only last about 10–15 years before being replaced. Many families do this for only the exterior walls, or a portion of them. MM speakers take particular pride in the exterior design of their homes. People are known to decorate the woven bamboo with the acid taken from used batteries. The people of Lemang are particularly adept at building houses with two levels and intricate designs. For most houses, speakers use jungle-cut vines to fasten posts, frames, and walls to each other. Few speakers use nails—*gelûngan fatnang* 'white (person) vines'. In the past, before government kiaps (i.e. Australian patrol officers) and Lutheran missionaries caused people to cluster into central villages, MM

speakers built lean-to houses on the ground. Now, almost every house is built on stilts, with the area underneath reserved for storage. See text skc10_11 in the appendix for information about how MM speakers replace the rotting kunai grass from the roofs of their bush houses. They call this 'breaking the house' due to the bending of kunai grass in-half onto wooden slats.

PICTURE 1.4: HOUSE DESIGN IN LEMANG VILLAGE

Kesengen Village has six houses which were built in the late 1990s by Habitat for Humanity. Stationed in Boana, this non-profit organization built a significant number of houses throughout the district, and local residents were allowed to bid on them. Some of those houses now remain empty, since some speakers defaulted on their payments. Kesengen also has a number of houses with corrugated iron roofs, a mark of wealth in the community. This is particularly prevalent in one area where all the teachers live with their families. All of the teachers at Kesengen Community School are from other parts of the country, and therefore it is a mark of hospitality to provide houses for the community's teachers—a common community-oriented work project. The buildings which receive the most amount of attention are the schools and churches. The church in Lemang is noteworthy in this regard, since the community gathered enough money to charter a helicopter to transport cement and other materials for the project.

Domesticated animals are a part of village life. Dogs, cats, chickens, and baby pigs are seen daily in the village. People sleep next to baby dogs, chickens, and pigs. As pigs grow, people only allow them in the village on a leash, which is attached to a leg. The larger pigs

are relegated to fenced areas outside of the village. Dogs are named, often with kin terms. In one text a boy's dog is named *Mengga Bega* 'Your Parents' (lit. 'your mother your father').

1.2.2   Economy

Arabica coffee is the primary cash crop in the area—in addition to peanuts and local produce, which is consumed as well as sold. Large and overgrown patches of vanilla can frequently be found, left untouched since the vanilla market took a plunge. It is coffee, however, that produces the prime source of income for MM speakers. Coffee is an ever-present reality in the area, with numerous coffee gardens surrounding Saut and Kesengen villages. It is the schedule of this crop which produces the most amount of travel for the men, who after shelling, washing, and drying it, carry it in bags on their shoulders to Kesengen, and then transport it for sale to middle-men in Nadzab and in Lae. Nawae District is a coffee-growing hub, producing a full third of the total coffee which comes out of Morobe Province. The income from this crop is what enables MM speakers to pay for material goods, including tools such as machetes and axes, hardware such as locks and hinges, clothing from second-hand stores, pots and dishes for cooking, and some food goods such as rice, sugar, salt, oil, tinned fish, and instant coffee. The coffee income also allows a majority of MM children to attend one of several schools in the area.

Each village has one, or several, trade stores. These sell basic staples like salt, oil, rice, and batteries which were purchased in town and carried in. In Lemang one industrious family runs a store selling sporting goods like soccer cleats, balls and pumps. Stores are typically run by enterprising families, but they do not bring in any real income—selling for almost exactly the price for which it was purchased. These stores are a service to the community rather than as a capitalistic enterprise. They also provide status to those who run them.

1.2.3   The Church & the Ma Manda worldview

The Lutheran Church is an ever-present reality in the MM-speaking area. While traditionally people would gather for various harvest and spiritual festivals, nowadays it is the Church which facilitates most community gatherings. Lutheran church buildings are located in Kesengen, Saut, Lemang, and Yangaran. The pastor of the local Lutheran parish is based in Kesengen, and travels on a regular rotation to the different village-level churches in his parish. The rest of the time, he preaches each Sunday in Kesengen, and other church leaders lead services at the other churches. Every Sunday morning church services are held, initiated by

ringing a bell (an old fuel tank from a crashed war plane). After the first bell, people head to the local gender-restricted bathing areas. This is the most communal of activities, with all the men sitting, smoking, and chewing betel nut while one man at a time steps down under the showers. The women are somewhat less social as they bathe, due to a higher felt need for privacy, as well as the responsibility of washing clothes and dishes. At both men's and women's bathing areas, bamboo segments have been shoved into the mountainside to funnel out natural spring water.

It is at the third bell when the service begins, and the Lutheran liturgical process begins. The service in Saut is typically conducted primarily in the Ma Manda language, but due to the presence of a number of Kâte speakers and other non-native-speakers (including myself), Tok Pisin is interspersed as well. Men sit on the left, and women and a majority of children sit on the right. After church, community members often lay around in the sun and talk, and eventually a further bell is rung by a church leader, who initiates a community gathering in the center of the village. This is where speakers discuss upcoming church functions, and initiate work-gatherings beginning in the upcoming week. It is also where general village news is passed out to the community, though sometimes this is also done at night by "big men" who are not associated with the church. It is through the church's initiative that the elderly, the infirm, the teachers, and myself, receive garden produce and firewood.

The Lutheran church has its own hierarchical structure, and at the bottom of its hierarchy is the parish. The parish where Saut Village is located is called Masiba, named after the Lutheran missionaries who first introduced the Lutheran Church to the area (their three first names began with Ma, Si, and Ba). Crucially, the Lutheran Church parishes do not align with the political divisions of district and ward, or the linguistic divisions of language or dialect. This produces a certain amount of friction, with members of the community experiencing at-times conflicting loyalties. Ma Manda speakers have closer relationships with the fellow members of their parish than other divisions, since it is parish functions such as yearly women's conferences and youth camps that foster a lot of shared time together. These parish divisions are very sociolinguistically strong. Speakers associate themselves with other villages who belong to the same Parish so strongly that they perceive them to be more linguistically related than people from outside their parish. For example, while Saut and Yangaran villages share an 81% lexical similarity (Hiley, Hurst & MacKenzie 2008), and Saut and Nandot share a 40% lexical similarity, Saut speakers think Nandot residents as far

more linguistically similar to themselves than Yangaran residents! Parish loyalty greatly exceeds the perceived importance of linguistic relatedness.

While many parts of New Guinea have a wide range of conflicting Christian denominations, the MM-speaking area is almost entirely Lutheran. However, the village of Maulak consists entirely of members from the New Apostolic Church, a relative newcomer which produced a great deal of fighting and anger when it came into the area.

The presence of the Lutheran church has nearly resulted in the complete loss of traditional ritual practice. Many traditional drums, masks, and other decor remain stacked in the rafters of houses, having been basically outlawed by church. The Lutheran Church often views traditional behavior with a significant amount of skepticism, since it it associated with traditional religion which they attempt to quash. However, at the local level it is clear that such practices continue in covert ways. Sorcery, while outlawed by both the church and the government, is claimed by community members to be a rampant part of daily life. Sickness and death, for example, are always directly linked to an act of sorcery. "People do not die of natural causes."

A number of names exist for spiritual forces at work in their daily lives, whether it is the good *minamina* spirits, who follow the water and typically hide in the fog, or the *bako kekaak*, the extremely tall bad spirit who walks about over the mountaintops looking to kill. The *bep yabap* is an angry spirit who has a long tail and is claimed by speaker to be the ancestor of the tree-kangaroo, and still looks after them. This produces a lot of fear in MM speakers during hunting. Others include:

- *sengkong* (lit. *se-kong-* 'cook-throw')—a bad spirit known for stealing food, cooking it, and throwing the remnants along with the ashes at people's doorsteps; they are claimed to look just like people and to live in caves
- *natûpmûngka*—two kinds; one a kind spirit, and one an angry dwarf spirit that breaks people's arms and legs
- *tûgem*—a spirit who looks like a man with very smooth (baby-like) skin, and dresses in a red cape; called "superman" as a nickname
- *botol na* / *botol taamûng*—"bottle man" / "bottle woman"—an attractive spirit who tricks the opposite sex to have sex, but has a bottle inside its genitalia; after climax the victim will receive many cuts and subsequently die

The fear of harm from maleficent spirits is a regular part of daily life for MM speakers. When an unexplained noise occurs in a house, this means that someone will die. When they enter certain parts of the rainforest, they yell out certain discourses to ward them off. Speakers also avoid certain terminologies when in the jungle. Text skc12_04 describes a

story where a spirit kills a girl who asked for water to drink. Therefore now MM speakers do not refer to water or thirst while in the jungle, but *bakuyak* 'passing by'). Text skc12_16 is a story about a man's capture by the *minamina* spirits and his subsequent escape. Text skc11_04d tells about a woman's dream, where a spirit attacks her. Text skc12_06 is a prayer to God for protection from evil spirits. Many other beliefs have pronounced roles in MM culture as well. For example, when kids get sick, it is often related to their parents fighting; peace between the parents will bring physical wellness to the child. When a dispute occurs, one side will make food for the other. If they eat it and get sick, it means they haven't yet made peace.

1.2.4   History

The Ma Manda people in Saut Village place their origin in Yolang, an area a mere 30 minutes' walk from Saut Village. Therefore the village of Saut is considered by many speakers to be right in the heart of their traditional homeland. The ancestral texts I've gathered seem to show a general agreement on this history.

Other than the arrival of the German missionaries in the early twentieth century, and the subsequent dramatic changes to village structure, education, and ritual, I know very little about the modern history of the MM people. Some of the changes that occurred due to the presence of Western missionaries are addressed in text skc12_01. See Wagner & Reiner (1986) for a detailed history of the first 100 years of Lutheran missionary activities in the area, beginning in 1886. See Paris (2012) for a fine description of the sociolinguistic effects of church languages—Kâte and Yabêm—in Morobe Province.

Speakers often tell stories passed down from the time of World War II, however. One particular example details a plane crash in which one man died, and the other they nursed back to health and delivered to Lae (see text skc12_15). A number of old war plane wreckages remain, and have been pilfered for pieces of metal, fuel tanks, gas caps, and even dog tags of American soldiers.

More research is needed to determine the specific details of the missionary activities, as well as the happenings of soldiers, both Japanese and American, and Australian kiaps.

1.2.5   Gardening & hunting

The all-important part of MM culture, however, is the garden. It is where MM people spend a majority of their time, where they retreat to copulate, where children learn to use machetes,

and of course, where their livelihood is grown. Ma Manda people practice slash-and-burn subsistence agriculture, as alluded to in many stories in the appendix, especially the procedural texts skc09_17 and skc12_05. The staple crops with the most cultural significance are the yam (*tet*)—with 15 varieties denoted by different lexemes—and the banana (*ilobû*)— with 24 varieties denoted by different lexemes. Other staples include taro, sweet potato, squash, chayote, corn, beans, cabbage, edible bamboo, and a wide selection of green-leafy vegetables. Ma Manda people also highly prize the pandanus fruit (*beng*), as well as the nut from the pandanus tree (*maafu*). They call this nut "the coconut of the mountains." They commonly use the dark red grease from the pandanus fruit to oil their boiled greens, a practice which has a lot of spiritual and historical significance. This is a highly-communal affair.

Regarding fruit, MM speakers also eat citrus fruit, passion fruit, pineapple, mango, and especially cucumber. Cucumber (*kaamûng*) grows in such large quantities that locals pile them up at resting areas along trails for passers-by to consume. MM speakers also smoke tobacco (*bim*), chew betel nut (*kodûp*), and snack on peanuts (*pinat*). They also season their food with onion and various species of ginger, in addition to the commercial goods of oil and salt. Traditionally, oil was produced by chewing up seeds from the *sesuwak* (*se-su-* 'cook-spit') tree and spitting them onto their greens. Ma Manda speakers also previously used the leaves from the *fangfang* tree to flavor their food. This has been replaced with modern-day salt (*fang*).

Cooking is typically done by boiling water over an open flame in a *wamsang*, the mud fireplace which sits in the center of every house. The fire on these fireplaces is constant, keeping people warm, keeping away insects, keeping the grass roofs cured, and drying out tobacco hanging from the rafters above. Speakers also love to cook food inside segments of bamboo, a common practice across New Guinea. One delicacy is the *songsong*, a cake made from shredded taro baked inside of bamboo. Cooking food inside bamboo is particularly common out away from the village due to the easy access to bamboo, instead of pots and pans which remain in their houses. When cassowaries or tree-kangaroos are killed, their meat is usually simply boiled. While chickens are everywhere in the village, they are a status symbol rather than a common source of food. Only for rare feasts (instituting peace, or for deaths) are chickens sometimes killed. When a neighbor had a baby, the family traveled to Lae and purchased packages of chicken from the store for their feast, rather than killing and cooking their own chickens.

PICTURE 1.5: COOKING FOOD IN BAMBOO WHILE HEWING TIMBER FOR A HOUSE

Hunting in the jungle is another important aspect of village life. They hunt for birds with bow-and-arrow, and they set various types of traps—for rodents (*kandam*), for bigger animals such as cassowaries and tree-kangaroos (*kaas*), and for fish (*didi*). Speakers also enjoy eating wild fowl and their eggs, and cassowary eggs, as well.

1.2.6   Kinship

Above all else, kinship holds a central role in MM culture. When a newcomer is introduced, speakers must place them in a family so that community members know what are their responsibilities to that person, and how to address them. Upon my own entrance to Saut, I was given to the family on whose land the community built my house. Out of respect, I was called the firstborn male. As described in §8.1.1, Ma Manda has separate birth order terms for the first four males and the first four females of each family, and combines these words with *pinin* 'likeness' to accurately refer to up to eight members of each sex. However, my place as firstborn did not supplant Doyang, who is also referred to as *Tuwa*. Holzknecht (1989:45; 1992) claims that these terms are adopted from the Austronesian languages down in the Markham Valley. However, Sarvasy (2014a) argues that the system may be an innovation of the Erap language family, emanating outward and being reshuffled in both the southern Austronesian languages, and the northern Uruwa languages.

The term for father (*bep*) has wider scope than it does in English, referring also to all of one's father's brothers. One's mother's brothers are given their own term, *kaako* 'uncle'. The

sisters of one's parents, both of father and mother, are given the same name, *taa* 'aunt', and all their children are given the same name, *nimi* 'cousin'. One calls the children of their same-sex sibling *nanak* 'child', while the children of opposite-sex siblings are called *tadep* 'nephew/niece'. The term for same-sex sibling is *not* (and is therefore glossed either as 'brother' or 'sister' depending on the context). This term also denotes one's great-grandparent or great-grandchild. Opposite-sex siblings each have separate terms.

One must be careful to refer correctly to their in-laws, since calling them by their names is a taboo. My village brother is required to call my wife *naam*, just as I am required to call his wife the same. There are separate terms for parents-in-law for both males and females, as well as separate terms for daughter-in-law and son-in-law. These matters are discussed in §8.1.1. Descent is patrilineal, and residence also follows the male line (patrilocal). Marriage is primarily exogamous, with MM females often traveling to neighboring language groups in the Wain-Erap District, or even into the Markham Valley, wherever ties have been established.

Families these days tend to stay smaller, with no more than four or five children. Often, families try to have as few as two, even using birth control pills to facilitate this. Families hope for one male to pass down the family inheritance, and if they do not achieve this goal, they frequently become the beneficiaries of a male child from a larger family. Adoption is a common part of MM life. If a family does not have at least one female child, then they will often become the recipient of a female child from another family. This appears to be for practical day-to-day reasons, and is less common.

1.2.7 Names

Names are an important part of MM culture. Everyone amasses a significant number of names throughout their lives. They are given traditional names first, which are namesakes of a kinship relation from another generation—often two generations removed. Sometimes living members of the community are honored by giving a child their namesake. This results in a number of cultural expectations for both parties. Speakers are also given "Christian names" that are used for official documents and with outsiders. These names are given at baptism.

Speakers are also often given more secretive names which are not shared with outsiders such as myself. Throughout childhood and adolescence, people are generally referred to by nicknames, given due to some physical characteristic, personality trait, or humorous event.

Since everyone can be identified with a birth order term, the use of *tuwa* 'firstborn male' or *mok* 'firstborn female' causes a number of heads to turn. So the first two males and females from each family often attract additional nicknames to differentiate them. However, when someone is a fourthborn male *saawa* or a fourthborn female *daabû*, these terms have a strong value due to their infrequent ability to be used.

Once people become parents, they are frequently identified by their children's names instead. For example, upon the birth of my daughter Chloe, people stopped calling me *Tuwa*, and began calling me *klowi be* 'Chloe's father'. The names of the dead are not spoken out loud, as this is a taboo. However, while collecting kinship information speakers were willing to say these names in quiet, or at least by asking an unrelated person to utter the name.

Speakers are able to recall a great deal of family history. One speaker, with some help, was able to list every descendent of his great-grandfather, a great deal of names! Beyond that, he was only able to provide each father for an additional four generations. Some of the names of these ancestors seem to blend into pre-history, with names such as *kaadûp sasak* 'tree grass' and *taba* 'tree sp., bow'.

1.2.8   Marriage

The traditional betrothal custom is for the parents of a man to approach the parents of a woman and express interest in the arrangement. If the women's parents are amenable, they then ask the two young people, who may express interest or reject the proposal. These days, often relationships are established in town or settlements, far away from the family unit, and this custom breaks down. It is also preferred that the woman will go and stay with the man's parents for a trial period of a few weeks (to a few months), working in their gardens with them to prove she is strong and hard-working. If the parents are deceased or away, other family takes on this role. After the trial period, a village leader or pastor will marry them during a ceremony. For the ceremony the couple will prepare food and bring firewood to bless the pastor upon his arrival to the village. They will also gather a large amount of garden produce, and kill a pig for the community celebration. It is a nice touch for hunted animal meat to be served as well. Marriage certificates are offered for PGK 2 ($0.66 USD). The MM people do not pay brideprice.

After living with family for a while, the couple will eventually establish their own home, the man building the house and the woman collecting kunai grass with which to construct the roof. When divorce occurs, each partner moves to stay with their own families.

Widows and widowers (both called *kadak*) occasionally marry one another. Not everyone in the community marries; I tend to see more men than women who remain unwed. It appears to be a source of ridicule for women, but not for men.

The marriage ceremony is a construct of the church, and not a traditional rite. Therefore people often unofficially marry prior to the ceremony. In fact, it is somewhat common for couples to have a child before the wedding. Since the pastor comes so seldom, this allows him to both officiate the wedding, and to perform the baptism, at once. As far as I can tell, when children are born out of wedlock, this produces no negative consequences or backlash from the community. Either way, it is often the goal to have children as soon as possible. Men are not considered real men until they have produced a child. When I first arrived with my wife, it was a constant source of confusion that we had not yet had children—having been married for over two years already. Men and women do not share the same rooms in their homes. Generally, men sleep in one room, and women sleep in another, with a kitchen between. It has been received with much whispering, my own culture of sharing a room (and bed) with my spouse.

Before the presence of the Lutheran Church, a number of other marriage customs took place. First of all, polygamy was a regular aspect of MM culture—always with men marrying two or three women. Now it is relegated to few modern instances, and it is kept rather quiet. Previously, a man would take a young girl as young as three or four years old and look after her until she was old enough for him to marry—at approximately 11 years old, from what I gather.

When women move into their husband's village, they are expected to learn the MM language if they do not already know it, and are derided if they do not take it seriously. A number of native Kâte-speaking women have married into the village, and live in a section of the village reserved just for them. They do not seem to have learned the language, and remain on the outskirts of village life. One man left his home in the Nabak area to live with his wife in the MM-speaking area. He and his wife are both a frequent target of snickering due to this fact, and people seem to be unable to place him in their cultural system. Since land is inherited through the male line, he and his wife do not have access to their own gardens. He has also not managed to learn the local language, causing him to be further ostracized. Their children are ridiculed as well.

1.2.9   Birth

Pregant women are culturally required to bear lots of heavy loads in order to strengthen them and increase their pain threshold. If, during pregnancy, a woman gains weight and a man loses weight, the baby is expected to be a boy. If the woman loses weight and the man gains weight, however, the baby is expected to be a girl. It is said that the girl has sucked out all of the energy and fat from her mother. If a firstborn child gets sick near to the time of the secondborn's birth, then some say it will have the same sex as that firstborn child. If the husband of a pregnant woman is present during the planting of house posts, the superstition is that his wife will then miscarry. In order to protect my offspring during my own wife's pregnancy, men who were building a house would not progress until I went inside my home.

When they go into labor, they must move to a child-bearing house (*nanak yot* 'child house'), a temporary structure built for that one birth. The father builds the house two months before the expected due date, and he does this on the outskirts of the village, on the side where his family lives. If a woman's husband dies during the pregnancy, the man's brother is expected to build the house. The houses are quite small, only large enough for a small fire, with barely enough room for the woman to lie down. No one is allowed to enter the house except, nowadays, a local midwife (two are trained in Saut Village). Young men are especially forbidden from nearing the house. In the past, young unmarried women were disallowed from going near, because the community feared they would choose not to marry. However, doctors have instructed midwives to allow the practice so that women can gain knowledge about the process of childbirth. Family members bring food for the new mother, and members of the community will bring gifts of clothes, blankets, nappies, and money to the father. The new mother's mother will make a bilum in which to carry the baby. Finally, three days after delivery, the mother and baby are allowed to bathe with water brought by family. After approximately two weeks, they are reinstituted back into society.

Names are given to the new baby immediately, by the mom and dad, or an aunt or uncle. The name is usually picked out beforehand. The Christian name is not given until when the baby is baptized. If the mother has trouble nursing, then a wet nurse is used. If the baby dies—a frequent occurrence—then they will bury him or her at a local cemetery, and the mother can exit the birth house right away. If the mother dies during childbirth, then someone is selected who is capable and in need of a baby. Ma Manda has terms for multiple births—*katap* 'twins' and *nabak* 'triplets'.

1.2.10   Death

When a person dies, MM speakers immediately inform relatives, and set the next day for gathering and mourning. For relatives who are far away, word is sent after the burial so that they can visit the cemetery once they've arrived. A mourning house (TP *haus krai*, MM *baagût yot*) is established for gathering mourners. Anyone and everyone attends, and the ceremony lasts through the night. A casket is quickly built, and it is left open at the deceased's house until dawn of the day after the death. During this entire time mourning is conducted, and all aspects of village life are halted. On the second day after death, the casket is carried to the church, where the community performs a Lutheran worship service before men take the casket outside, nail on the lid, and carry it to the cemetery, where others have dug a hole. Some leaders speak at various times, intermixed with various Christian-themed songs from the Ma Manda, Tok Pisin, and Kâte languages.

It is the deceased's family's responsibility to gather food and firewood to prepare a feast for the mourners. Women prepare the bodies of deceased women for burial, while men prepare the bodies of deceased men. Graves are marked with crosses on which are etched the deceased's name. If a body was never recovered, for example because a river swept it away, then stones or sand from the area is taken to the cemetery instead. No coffin is used, and no cross is placed at the grave site. Around Christmas each year, people light candles and place them on the graves of their deceased relatives out of respect. It is the children of a deceased adult who are responsibile for dividing up their belongings. The name of the dead is used by some speakers for the first few years after the death, but then falls into disuse, and taboo. Any debts which the deceased had become transferred to the family, who then have the responsibility to pay them back. Text skc09_18 discusses the mourning and burial process for a child who died in the Nambut River between Saut and Lemang.

Ma Manda speakers used to wrap their dead in tree bark and sew them up into bags. They would then hang them from trees to rot deep in the jungle. They would also collect the putrefaction from the rotting bodies, as well as the accompanying maggots, for consumption. In order to gather the pus, they would place greens underneath the bags. This process is described in text skc12_02.

1.2.11   Other ceremonies

Firstborn children are not allowed to eat pandanus or yams until they are three or four years old, when a "birthday" celebration is conducted. They invite family members to come, and

they prepare a feast including yam and pandanus, as well as other produce. The child is decorated, and a ceremony is held where the child's uncle (i.e. a brother of his/her mother) will come and cut some of the child's hair.

In the past, when a young girl experienced her first menstruation (*emak bagone* 'lit. moon sickness'), she would be kicked out of the women's house and sent to a house by herself. This was of similar size to the childbearing houses used today. After menstruation finished, her mother and other female family would bring water for her to bathe, and then she was allowed to re-enter society. I am unaware whether this still occurs today.

Now, menstruating females do not incur other taboos. While in the past special parts of particular trees were used as sanitary napkins, these days feminine products are bought in Lae. Sexual intercourse is a taboo during menstruation.

1.3 Ma Manda language

This section considers the Ma Manda language in its linguistic context. The language name is discussed in §1.3.1, and its genetic affiliation is addressed in §1.3.2. Next, §1.3.3 addresses the language's vitality, and §1.3.4 briefly describes the dialect situation and addresses multilingualism. Finally, §1.3.5 outlines the previous linguistic research undertaken in the region.

1.3.1 Language name

The name "Ma Manda" is used in this work to identify the group of approximately 1600 people who speak that same Papuan language, including those whose dialects differ, but maintain mutual intelligibility. In Cysouw & Good's terminology, Ma Manda is the doculect ("documented lect")—"a linguistic variety as it is documented in a given resource" (2013:342). That is, I use this term to identify the version of the language to which I was exposed between 2008 and 2014, among the villages of Saut, Lemang, Maulak, and Kesengen. No attempt has been made to collect divergent data across the dialect chain, or to interact with people who have been separated from the language area for some time.

The people under study in this work do not traditionally have an endoethnonym—a name for themselves. Their loyalties lie at the level of the clan, as well as the Lutheran Church parish, and less strongly the administrative ward, local level government council, and provincial district. This means that Ma Manda speakers in Saut have no allegiance to those in

Yangaran, unless trade relationships and clan ties are in place. On the other hand, Saut residents are very closely affiliated with their Masiba Lutheran parish partners in Nandot, Kamdaran, Boropan, and Sawana, even though those villages are primarily associated with different linguistic groupings.

Across the Erap area, people identify external local linguistic groups by their interrogative lexeme 'what'. This means that they refer to the northwestern neighbor Gusan [iso: gsn], to which Nandot belongs, as Nema. They refer to their southeastern neighbor Numangang [iso: nop] Manggang. They refer to their southern neighbor Uri [iso: uvh] as Naasi. And they refer to their southwestern neighbor Nimi [iso: nis] as Naasi. Since Yangaran Village happens to have a different word for 'what'—Masong—they are identified by this term.

During the phase of our work in which we initiated the establishment of a trial orthography, much discussion took place about what name should be used on their books and publications. I heard a majority of people say *ma* 'what' or *maasû* 'which'—as these are the names other groups use to identify them. At this time, the Ethnologue identified the language name as Sauk, a remnant of the past with absolutely no current recognition in the area. (However, clearly this name—perhaps a result of Lutheran work, or Australian kiap surveys—is related to the village name of Saut, especially due to the frequent *t/k* alternation in Erap and FH languages.) Currently, *sauk* is a name for a particular plant species only.

During the discussion, elders from Saut Village argued for the name *Saut Manda* 'Saut talk/language'. This stems from the belief that Saut Village lies just near to their origin, Yolangan, where people first learned to speak. Yolangan is a mere thirty minutes' walk from Saut. Most people in Lemang and Kesengen agree that Saut is basically their homeland. However, this name was eventually rejected due to its role in identifying one village name over and above the others. Therefore, in an inclusive move, the leaders ended up choosing to identify themselves with the name *Ma Manda* 'What Talk'.

It is claimed that people in Yolangan were gathered whose arms and legs were all curled inwards, and who did not have eyes, noses, or mouths. They would eat by placing food into the tops of their scalps. A magical man, who smelled their presence and followed their scent along the river, came and repaired this malady through a magical ritual. The result was that the Ma Manda people's mouths opened up, and they all started yelling out, *Ma! Ma! Ma!* 'What! What! What!' This legend is the source of the name Ma Manda, which has as its

literal meaning 'What Talk', but has a legendary meaning as well. See text skc11_16 for the full story.

The 'what' names are utilized to differentiate the Erap languages from one another only. When traveling beyond their immediate environment, the speakers do not identify themselves or their neighbors with these names. Instead, they refer to themselves as 'Erap', named after the large river which runs through the language family. Erap is also part of the name of their local-level government division, the Wain-Erap Rural LLG. Therefore this name has a significant amount of name recognition around Morobe Province, and especially in Lae City.

1.3.2   Genetic affiliation

Ma Manda can be described as a Papuan language. However, the term "Papuan" designates languages which are not a member of the Austronesian family. That is, Papuan languages do not constitute a genetic grouping (Foley 1986:3). It is a term of convenience. These "Papuan languages" are found across the main island of New Guinea, as well as in East Timor, the Torres Strait, and the Louisiade, Bismarck, and Solomon archipelagos. One of the realities in the Papuan linguistic scene is the tendency for areal diffusion, causing many genetically unrelated languages to share many typological features.

More narrowly, Ma Manda belongs to the Erap family, which in turn belongs to the Finisterre branch of the Finisterre-Huon family. Ross (2005) posits the following classification, with the Finisterre-Huon family belonging to the larger putative Trans-New Guinea family.
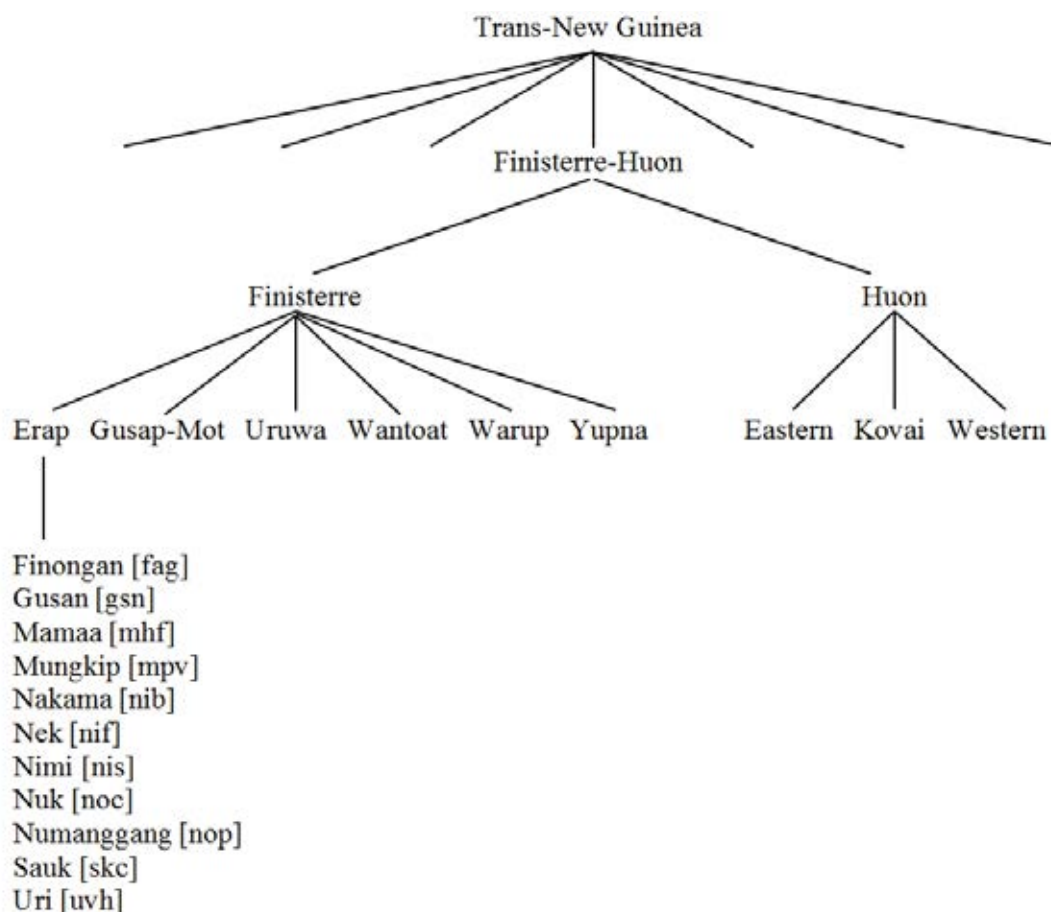
FIGURE 1.1: GENETIC CLASSIFICATION OF ERAP LANGUAGES (ROSS 2005)

While Trans-New Guinea (TNG) is argued to have over 470 languages stretching across the central cordillera of the island, this analysis has also received significant criticism (Aikhenvald & Stebbins 2007). It is only a working hypothesis, and this work does not take for granted that Trans-New Guinea represents a valid historical grouping. Therefore here the highest grouping considered is that of the FH family, which was first posted by Hooley & McElhanon (1970). As shown in the map in §1.1, the FH family is a large group of approximately 70 Papuan languages, spoken across the Finisterre Range to the eastern edge of the Huon Peninsula. The FH group was established by a lexicostatistical approach (Hooley & McElhanon 1970; Claassen & McElhanon 1970; McElhanon & Voorhoeve 1970), and then subsequently supported by comparative work in pronouns and verbal inflections, among other features (McElhanon 1973). Suter (2012) has compared the verbal object-agreement morphology for FH languages.

The Erap grouping was first noted by Wurm (1964). The cohesion of the Erap languages as a family within the broader Finisterre-Huon family, however, was established through a series of publications in 1970. McElhanon & Voorhoeve (1970) reported on a

wordlist survey conducted across the Finisterre-Huon family, including every Erap language. Hooley & McElhanon (1970) added to this knowledge base with a summary of census information regarding the various villages known to exist in the Erap area. Claassen & McElhanon (1970) is the first publication to provide a synthesis of the phonological patterns being described by fieldworkers throughout the Finisterre-Huon family.
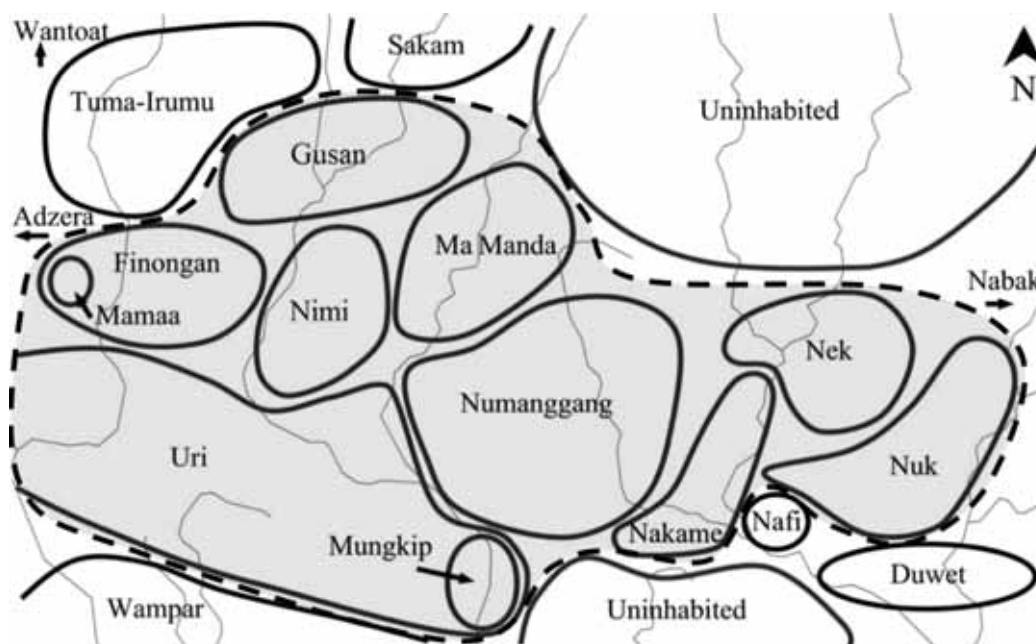
MAP 1.3: ERAP LANGUAGES

Both Mungkip and Mamaa are on the verge of extinction, being absorbed by more dominant languages—Uri and Finongan respectively (Claassen & McElhanon 1970:56; Rice 2010; Retsema, Potter & Gray 2009). The four eastern Erap languages surrounding the Boana government station are grouped together as a tighter linguistic and cultural unit (Claassen & McElhanon 1970:56; Hooley & McElhanon 1970)—the "Wain subfamily" (Hynum 1980:1).

It is beyond the scope of this work to provide original historical-comparative analyses to substantiate previous groupings. This section has simply outlined the hypotheses that are already in place.

1.3.3   Language vitality

PNG is home to a richness of linguistic, anthropological, and natural diversity that is unparalleled on our planet. Unfortunately, the linguistic diversity is rapidly deteriorating due to the global influence of English, as well as the overbearing invasion of Tok Pisin, the dominant lingua franca of the country. These external languages produce unstable diglossic

and triglossic patterns, often resulting in the loss of vernaculars (Aikhenvald & Stebbins 2007:242).

Due to its distance from major thoroughfares and overall isolation, the Ma Manda language has retained surprising vitality in comparison with many other FH languages. Ma Manda is spoken fluently by all people of the language group who are participants in village life, and it is being used by children as their first language. This establishes Ma Manda as a Level 6 on the GIDS scale (Fishman 1991:92–95). More specifically, it is at Level 6a on the expanded (EGIDS) scale: "This is the level of ongoing oral use that constitutes sustainable orality. Intergenerational transmission of the language is intact and widespread in the community. The language use and transmission situation is stable or gaining strength" (Lewis & Simons 2010:112).

Even with these positive factors for the vitality of Ma Manda in view, the low population figures and encroachment of Tok Pisin on all sides predicts a fairly negative outlook. Additionally, in 2012 the use of indigenous languages in educational programs was categorically disallowed by the Papua New Guinean government—a further indicator of the struggle to come.

Additionally, an increasing number of children in Kesengen are not learning Ma Manda as their first language. This is due to the presence of the school, which is run by teachers from other language groups, as well as the church, whose pastor does not know the local language.

1.3.4 Dialects & bilingualism

The villages of Saut, Lemang, Kesengen, and Maulak are linguistically homogenous. MM speakers in Kesengen are more likely to lenite *s* to [h], a pattern that is found in Numanggang, which borders them to the east. I have never visited the village of Yangaran, and am therefore not qualified to comment on the situation there. Speakers believe the variety spoken there is signficantly divergent, but I believe this is due more to sociolinguistic factors than linguistic structure and the lexicon. Ma Manda is part of a vast dialect chain, where each village tends to share a number of phonological and lexical characteristics with their neighboring villages. This means that Saut and Nandot are quite similar in many respects, even though Nandot is the southeastern border village of Gusan. It is the sociolinguistic aspects such as parish boundaries that have a profound influence on whether speakers purposefully intensify, or minimize, the phonological distinctions between themselves and their neighbors (see §1.2.3).

The Ma Manda people are highly multilingual. The only demographic which appears to be monolingual are elderly women. Additionally, in Saut and Lemang villages young children who have not yet entered school do not master external languages. However, they are typically capable of obeying commands or answering questions posed in Tok Pisin.

Tok Pisin represents a major force in the area, with speakers needing to master it in order to conduct trade with other groups, as well as at markets in Lae City. It is also the language which facilitates their communication with outsiders such as teachers and pastors. I have not met a single local who is able to speak with any real confidence in English. However, a number of speakers—those who have progressed beyond eighth grade—are able to understand a significant amount of vocabulary, and follow along with English movies and music. The community school in Kesengen teaches in English, but in reality it is intermixed with Tok Pisin, and students utilize vernacular to help each other follow along.

Men are commonly quite adept with the neighboring Erap languages. They are quite proud of this fact, and frequently jump at the chance to share their knowledge of those vocabularies. Those who have served in local level government roles, or as local magistrates, have even deeper knowledge of these languages, and even languages which are located two or three groups away. All speakers tend to know a number of basic frozen expressions from the language which borders their village. For example, in Saut most speakers are able to say 'You come and go down', and other traditional greetings in the Gusan language, since Nandot residents frequently travel through.

1.3.5   Previous research

Ma Manda has been the topic of several publications, all produced by myself: a phonological description (2013a; 2015), a description of morpho-phonological influences on orthography development (2013c), an analysis of nominative case and information structure (2013b), and a description of non-spatial setting (2014a).

Linguistic description and analysis of the Erap family has thus far only been carried out by members of SIL, at least with regard to published and known works. There are phonological descriptions available for Nek, Numanggang, and Uri, although they are all unpublished manuscripts. In addition, there are Organised Phonology Data (OPD) descriptions available for each of these languages and for Finongan as well. OPDs are normally created by SIL for each New Guinea language in which fieldwork is carried out. They are brief overviews of the segmental phonology, stress placement, syllable structure,

and miscellaneous pertinent facts regarding the phonology and orthography. Finally, SIL-internal surveys have been conducted on all the Erap languages. These surveys provide prospective fieldworkers with relevant data regarding language vitality, linguistic relatedness, and much more. These surveys are the only information that I am aware of for Nema, Mungkip, Nakame, Sama, and Nuk. For lists of these references, organized by each language and year, along with brief descriptions, see Pennington (2015:28–31).

Only a few published sources are available. Many phonological and grammatical sketches have been undertaken for this group of languages, but a vast majority remain in manuscript form. Wordlist recordings were first gathered by Ken McElhanon in 1968 for the Uri language (1968a; 1968b), and later Uri became the first Erap language for which a grammar sketch was available (Webb 1980). Additionally, Klaus-Peter Koepping (1973) produced a report as a result of an ethnographic survey through the Erap area. Since that time, unpublished grammar sketches have only been written for the Erap languages of Numanggang (Hynum 1995) and Nek (Linnasalo 1993). A dictionary has recently been created for the Finongan people (Rice 2016).

I have also benefited greatly from a volume on non-spatial setting in four FH languages (Nek, Nungon, Awara, Ma Manda), edited by Sarvasy (2014b), as well as Sarvasy's own grammar for Nungon (2014d). Other notable grammars of FH languages include Nabak (Fabian, Fabian & Waters 1998), Awara (Quigley & Quigley 2011), Wantoat (Davis 1964a; Davis 1964b), and Selepet (McElhanon 1970).

2 Scope, methodology, overview

This chapter addresses the present descriptive work. The scope of the project, including limitations and prospects for future research, is provided in §2.1. The methodology, timeline, and materials are described in §2.2. The structure of the description is outlined in §2.3. Finally, §2.4 provides a typological overview of the MM language.

2.1 Scope

The purpose of this thesis is to document a synchronic description of the Ma Manda language. The grammar addresses all aspects of the language's structure. Regarding phonology, I only provide a summary of the 2013 phonological description, along with revisions and updates as a result of morpho-syntactic analysis. The thesis also addresses morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and discourse—in order to "see beautiful systems in all their richness and complexity, to watch their interactions, and to appreciate the language as a whole" (Mithun 2014:25). Semantic details are provided where appropriate, but a large-scale analysis of the lexicon is reserved for the future.

Only one dialect is in focus throughout this thesis—that spoken in the villages of Saut, Lemang, Kesengen, and Maulak. A majority of my time was spent in Saut, but this data is supplemented with texts spoken by speakers from those other villages as well. This dialect was chosen because it is more distant from a main road, and therefore is less affected by pidginization. Additionally, due to the increased isolation of Saut and Lemang, fewer outsiders are present, and therefore the effects of code-switching are reduced. Dialectical differences are observed, however, especially when they are relevant for potential differences of opinion regarding a particular analysis.

As described more fully in the next section, texts were gathered from a large variety of people, young and old, male and female, married and single, educated and uneducated. The analysis presented here is primarily concerned with spoken Ma Manda, since the written modality is only an incipient part of their culture. Nonetheless, a number of written texts were provided to me from a writer's workshop, and since that time as well, and these are incorporated into the analysis. No distinction appears to exist between these two modalities—even bridging constructions occur with equal frequency in the written form. This is due to the

fact that even written texts are based on their established oral format. That is, speakers currently write their spoken variety, rather than utilize a marked written style.

A number of limitations should be mentioned which are now prospects for further studies in the future. While phonology, morphology, word classes, and clause-level syntax are described thoroughly, complex clauses are given less attention in this work. Conditional constructions and subordinate clauses (including speech reports and complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses) are each briefly described and illustrated, but are not given a focused look with a view to cross-linguistic typologies. Serial verb constructions, though holding a prominent role in MM predicate structure, are not analyzed at the depth that is needed. The lexicon is a fascinating area that needs further attention. My current database consists of almost 2000 lexemes, lexical phrases, and morphemes. The various shades of meaning between sets of lexemes would shed a great deal of light on the language; an example is the numerous words for 'carry' (*blaam-* 'carry on shoulder', *tamet-* 'carry hanging from head', *tage-* 'carry hanging from shoulder', *taabaa-* 'carry on outstretched forearms', etc.).

2.2   Methodology and materials

In my role with the non-profit organization SIL, I began working among the Ma Manda people in 2008. Over the next three years, I spent a total of six months in the village with my wife, and eventually with my daughter as well. My wife and I went through an SIL-facilitated Tok Pisin course in Madang. This resulted in my fluency in Tok Pisin and my ability to communicate with almost every Papua New Guinean with whom I came into contact.

However, during those years of coming-and-going between Saut and Ukarumpa (SIL's PNG headquarters in the Eastern Highlands), much of my communication with the Ma Manda people was entirely monolingual. I was taught that the best way to learn a language was to avoid using another language as a crutch. Therefore I instructed our friends in Saut Village to not speak to us in Tok Pisin. We quickly learned the most important phrases, such as *bûgebû taabe* 'say it again', *baagût taabe* 'speak it slowly', and *dom naandûlat* 'I don't understand'. We learned how to greet, how to express leave-taking expressions, how to ask questions, how to get around the village, et cetera. In order to facilitate language-learning, I would record MM speakers telling stories, and then I would memorize those stories. This loosened my tongue, and helped me to grasp the flow of the language, and learn lots of vocabulary quickly. Often I would ask the speakers to first summarize their story in Tok Pisin,

and this knowledge would help me to work out what was being said in the vernacular narrative.

The bulk of this time was spent recording, transcribing, and interlinearizing texts. Participant observation was very important—participating in daily village life, recording spontaneous utterances, and improving my fluency in the language. These activities strengthened my knowledge of how the Ma Manda language is used practically, and served to confirm and disqualify my hypotheses. This is referred to as the Participant Observation Model (Dixon 2010a). The development of relationships and participation in culture helped to form a complete picture of the grammar's embedment in Ma Manda culture.

During this time I always had data notebooks in my bilum[2] as I walked around the village. In the first days after our arrival, my wife and I would sit in the center of Saut Village, surrounded by MM speakers, and we would point at body parts and write what people told us. This often produced errors which were later discovered. For example, one time I pointed at someone's hip to collect the word, and I wrote down [d͡ʒin]. Later I realized that this affricate is not a part of their segmental phonology, and came to understand that the MM speaker thought I was pointing to her jeans. Every time I heard a new phrase or vocabulary item, I would open to the next page and transcribe the new material. Every once in awhile, I would go back through the data I had collected and write on the opposite side any corrections that speakers could provide, including better phonetic detail as my ears were honed to the suprasegmental and segmental features of the language. Often I would hear people speaking about miscellaneous topics, and I would simply ask them to repeat it again slowly for me to write it. As a form of back-up, being away from computers, I would take pictures of pages. Later, the set of six notebooks were scanned and placed within the documentary corpus database.

---

[2] A bilum is a handmade string bag that is ubiquitous across PNG. Traditionally they were made of hand-woven plant materials, but are now often made from store-bought string and yarn, or even from flour or rice bags.

Later, as I prepared to describe the phonology for my Master's thesis, I began to elicit morphological paradigms. At first, these were all done by hand, collecting large numbers of nouns in all their possessive forms, and large amounts of verbs in different tense, person, and number combinations. This was my first foray into morpho-phonemics, as I saw patterns recur among classes of words—e.g. inalienable nouns, or the *t*-final verb class.

In addition to my data notebooks, I would also carry a digital recorder and microphone. In the evenings especially, I would frequently record people telling me about their daily activities, or about hunting trips or their gardening habits. As I came to study the best practices in language documentation, I learned about proper recording techniques, and about the need to collect texts from various genres and various types of speakers. I enacted these principles gradually. In the beginning, I had collected primarily narrative texts by single speakers. By the end of my time there, I amassed a number of genres, including procedural discourse, legends in addition to personal narratives, and future plans, sermons, songs, and prayers.

As time progressed, I learned of my need to keep accurate records. Therefore, I borrowed and expanded a documentation notebook which another SIL colleague, John Hatton, shared with me. I would carry it along with my recording equipment in order to be reminded

to collect all of the necessary metadata, such as the setting, names of participants, details about the recording equipment, etc. An example of this is shown below. This method allowed me to go long periods without access to computers. I would take pictures of each page as a back-up.

Language: Date: ___ / ___ / ___
                                    Day   Month   Year
Session ID: Time:
LWC Title:
Vernacular Title: Consent?
Participants: ☐
                                          ☐
                                          ☐
Setting:
Location:
Region:
Genre: Sub-Genre:
Situation:

Description:

Photo? ☐ File Name/Media ID:
Involvement: Social Context:
Planning Type: Interactivity:
Research Focus:
Other Comments:
Other Contributors: Oral ———————— Written ————————
         Name   Careful Translation Discussion Transcription Translation
                        ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
                        ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

AUDIO 1 ——————————— AUDIO 2 ———————————
Device: Device:
Mic: Internal | Mic: Internal |
Placement: Placement:
Channels: Mono | Dual Mono | Stereo   Channels: Mono | Dual Mono | Stereo
Gain: Format: Gain: Format:
Sample Rate: Bit Depth: Sample Rate: Bit Depth:
Bit Rate: Mode: Bit Rate: Mode:
Media ID: Type: Media ID: Type:
Duration: Duration:
File Name: File Name:
VIDEO ——————————————————————————
Device: Mic: Internal |
File Name: Placement:
Resolution: FPS: Bit Rate: Mode:
Gain: Format: Media ID: Type:
RESEARCHERS ——————— ROLES ———————

SETUP NOTES ——————— DIAGRAM ———————

FIGURE 2.1: DOCUMENTATION NOTEBOOK

I also learned about informed consent, and developed a notebook to gather this information as well. It was very important to me that the Ma Manda speakers were treated with respect, and that my own research motivations would not overshadow their own ownership of their language. I took great care to provide them with as much information as possible. For many Ma Manda people, however, the concepts of recorders, computers, the Internet, and archives are foreign. I searched to find the balance between overloading people with too much unhelpful information, and providing insufficient background for them to make an informed decision. It is an important ethical consideration to find an appropriate method of helping people to be adequately informed, and I feel that I have been faithful to the Ma Manda people in this endeavor.

It was never the case that the people were forced to read the form and sign without any discussion. Rather, I would spend a fair amount of time in discussion with MM speakers,

helping them to understand the various issues involved. Generally, I would bring along someone who I had already informed, and they would help to translate into Ma Manda. This was often done not with a sole participant, but with a group of would-be recording participants.

The collection of written and recorded data was discussed with the various village leaders of Saut. No one expressed any aversion to this process at any time. Unfortunately, no official record of that consent was made with these leaders. Instead, signatures have been obtained for all the people who have allowed themselves to be recorded. Each form contains a statement of full disclosure about the ways that their language data may be used. This statement was written in Tok Pisin, followed by an English translation. Below I provide an example of this form. Note that speakers were provided with the opportunity to provide different levels of access to their products. This fine-grained approach allowed me to find compromises with people about what they were willing to share.

In my early days of recording, I failed to collect many consent statements. As I learned about this important ethical step, I attempted to go back and collect consent from those speakers at a later date. I managed to gather consent statements from a majority of the MM speakers. I keep track in my own database the metadata and consent for each text I have recorded. Those for which I have not collected consent will not be deposited into an archive. However, I still use those stories for analysis, and so individual clauses from those texts often surface as examples throughout the thesis. For all of the texts provided in the appendix, I have signed consent statements. I also managed to take pictures of each person from whom I gathered consent, and these pictures are linked to each person, as well as their texts, within the corpus database.

CONSENT FOR MY RECORDED AND WRITTEN SPEECH

Please mark each line to show your consent. Then below print your name and language, and provide a signature and date.

I allow my recorded and written speech to be shared on the Internet and in publications. ☐

I allow my recorded and written speech to be associated with my name. ☐

I allow my recorded and written speech to be translated into other languages so that wider audiences can understand them. ☐

I agree not to claim any compensation for my recorded or written speech. ☐

I allow myself to be photographed and for those pictures to be shared on the Internet and in publications. ☐

I understand that I can disallow any whole or partial recording from being shared, and I can remove my name from any particular recording. ☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw these permissions in the future without any penalty. ☐

ORAIT BILONG TOK MI RIKODIM NA RAITIM (TOK PISIN)

Makim wanwan lain bilong givim orait. Oke, aninit raitim nem na tok ples, na sainim nem na putim de.

Mi larim tok mi rikodim na raitim i ken stap ples klia long Internet na long buk. ☐

Mi larim tok mi rikodim na raitim i ken i gat nem bilong mi wantaim, olsem na ol arapela manmeri i ken save, em tok bilong husait. ☐

Mi larim tok mi rikodim na raitim i ken kamap long arapela tok ples na manmeri i ken tanim bilong helpim ol arapela i ken klia long tok ples bilong mi. ☐

Mi no inap kisim kompensesen bilong tok mi rikodim na raitim. ☐

Mi larim arapela i ken kisim piksa bilong mi na piksa i ken stap ples klia long Internet na long buk. ☐

Mi klia long mi ken rausim orait bilong wanpela tok o wanpela hap tok, o mi ken rausim nem bilong mi long wanpela tok. ☐

Mi klia long bihain mi ken rausim orait bilong mi na nogat rong. ☐

Name: _____ Language: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

FIGURE 2.2: CONSENT NOTEBOOK

The texts were recorded onto both digital audio and video recorders. Audio recordings were collected using a variety of devices, as well as an external microphone (for one-on-one recordings I utilized an omnidirectional headset mic, and for other recording types I utilized directional mics). After many of these recordings were collected, I would sit down with one

36

of a few MM speakers (who had shown themselves adept at this task) and carefully transcribed and translated the text, paying particular attention to new structures and vocabulary. This careful transcription was usually conducted with pen and paper in order to avoid the trappings of electronic equipment (battery life, hardware malfunctions, discomfort of participants). The goal was to remain as inconspicuous as possible, especially with those who were unfamiliar with me. Additional equipment such as video recorders were at times used in order to ensure the high quality collection of certain texts. Such recordings supplement the audio data due to the inclusion of extra-linguistic information such as gestures, facial expression, and environment, as well as phonological information based on the shape of the mouth. It is widely known within the field of language revitalization that speakers interact with video documentation much more intimately than with audio alone.

Life in the village is difficult, with minimal access to electricity via solar power, and also due to the daily demands of gardening, village leadership, and other important tasks. Due to the restrictions imposed by this lifestyle, I spent a portion of time at SIL's Ukarumpa Centre with Ma Manda speakers. Ukarumpa is located one to two days' travel away from the MM area. In this location I own a house, and have access to an office. This allowed the unchecked use of electronic technologies, including laptop computers, printers, and digital recorders. This style of work was done several times for short one-month bursts. Additionally, for particularly poor original recordings careful phrasal re-speaking ("oral annotation") was elicited, as described for the BOLD (Basic Oral Language Documentation) methodology (Reiman 2010).

PICTURE 2.2: COLLECTING A SLOW RE-SPEAKING ("ORAL TRANSCRIPTION")

It is a primary focus of this research project to produce a description which is intimately paired with culturally-embedded examples. In order to foster this, it was imperative that a database of language materials was organized and supplemented by adequate metadata. All audio and video recordings, written texts, and observed and elicited data were kept in the language documentation software program SayMore (Moeller 2014). From here, many texts were transcribed and time-aligned in the program ELAN (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics) before being exported into the lexicon-building program Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) (Bryson 2010). This allowed the text to be glossed and translated with help from the growing dictionary. The file was then exported back into ELAN for final processing before being stored and tagged in SayMore. The result is a corpus of searchable, time-aligned texts which is ready to be pulled into the grammar and to be uploaded to an archive. The complete workflow can be found in Pennington (2014b). These steps were followed for some of the most frequently used, valuable textual resources. However, I never completed the full workflow for the entire corpus of texts. These remain in SayMore—pictures of original written texts, and original audio and video recordings—with little more than the metadata which accompanies them.

The most important aspect of this methodology was the analysis of data. Detailed analysis was undertaken of the data in light of worldwide linguistic expectations and especially other related, typologically informed, grammars. This analysis was undertaken scientifically, proceeding from the simple to the complex. Each discovery fed back into all

other aspects of the description. That is, the data itself was used to answer questions, and those answers were used to further test hypotheses. The final description, therefore, attempts to be internally consistent and reliable. This is, in essence, the workflow prescribed by Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a; Dixon 2010b; Dixon 2012), a cumulative framework which aims to provide clear analyses without theoretical formalisms. "To write a grammar that will be interpretable for centuries to come requires incorporation of the set of theoretical terms and conventions that have emerged internationally through the practice of grammar writing (i.e. basic linguistic theory)" (Genetti 2014:133).

In summary, the formulation of a quality grammar can only be accomplished by means of careful scrutiny of natural texts. The focus of the project, therefore, was the collection, interlinearization, and subsequent analysis of numerous texts. The corpus of these texts underlies the grammatical description, which is then an internally coherent document based on a wealth of culturally-informed examples. The appendix at the back of this grammar includes 27 separate texts from a number of different genres: narrative, legend, procedural, future plans, dialogue, and prayer. These include both spoken and written modalities, from multiple men and women of various ages and educational backgrounds. Some of the speakers have traveled widely, while others remained in the village environment most of their lives. These 27 texts account for 5,323 words. The entire corpus consists of 115 separate documentation "sessions". Audio and/or video recordings account for 57 of these sessions. Unfortunately, it was very difficult to get MM speakers to give extended recordings. The longest text is only 15 minutes, and several others last 7–8 minutes each. In total, the recorded corpus only consists of 2 hours and 20 minutes of running Ma Manda speech. This is supplemented by 7 sessions of wordlists and morphological paradigms, each consisting of tens or hundreds of individual files. Finally, the corpus is filled in by an additional 51 texts written by MM speakers. The SayMore corpus also includes the scanned pages of six data notebooks, totalling 495 pages.

2.3   Structure of the grammatical description

The grammar is structured in such a way as to balance form-driven and function-driven description. While form-driven description is helpful for morphological paradigms, it tends to "discretize open-ended functional space" (Payne 2014:99). Therefore the areas of the grammar that are very controlled, systematic, and rule-driven are organized by form. This includes Part II on phonology, as well as the descriptions of possessive morphology (Chapter

15), case enclitics (Chapter 16), and verbal morphology (Chapter 21)—subject-agreement, object-agreement, tense, reality status, and non-finite verb suffixes. On the other hand, a function-first approach is taken for those areas that cross-cut structural levels. This is the case, for example, for Chapter 24 on aspect. Aspectual distinctions are conveyed adverbially, through verb serialization, and through auxiliary verb constructions. However, this chapter is function-driven, and addresses each category in turn.

After the phonology is addressed in PART II, I turn to a description of word classes in PART III, walking through the open classes before discussing the closed classes. This is a large unit, especially the first chapter which describes the multiplicity of noun sub-classes. Next, PART IV addresses the noun phrase, including chapters on the structure of the NP, possessive morphology, grammatical relations, the expression of number, and NP coordination. In PART V I turn to deixis, with a chapter on pronouns followed by a very lengthy description of demonstratives, which hold a pivotal role in the language. PART VI is the longest of the grammar, first addressing the verbal morphology and complex predicates before turning to descriptions of the various categories expressed in the predicate—tense, aspect, pluractionality, reality status, and modality. In PART VII I turn to a discussion of the clause, including clause types, grammatical mood, and clause-linking. PART VIII addresses higher-level discourse phenomena, focusing on information structure, rhetorical devices, and bridging constructions. Finally, the appendix consists of a large number of interlinear texts which form the backbone of the analysis presented in the grammatical description.

2.4   Typological overview

Phonologically, MM has 14 consonants broken up into six natural classes—three each of voiceless stops, voiced stops, and nasals; two fricatives, a liquid, and two glides. The back voiceless stop is pronounced at the uvular point of articulation. Consonants undergo a robust nasal harmony process whereby NV sequences trigger nasalization targeting a following tautomorphemic voiced stop, or a following heteromorphemic voiced or voiceless stop. MM has 7 vowels, one of which is the high central vowel. This vowel serves as the default epenthetic vowel to break up disallowed consonant clusters, and to rescue disallowed word-final voiced stops, fricatives, and the liquid. It is also a reduced allophone of the high peripheral vowels *i* and *u*, and has become phonologized as a phoneme in its own right. The phonological foot is a moraic trochee, so the word-level stress pattern is left-headed, and sensitive to both quantity (coda consonants) and quality (vowel aperture). The intonational

phrase places prominence on the leftmost stress, and each successive stress is subordinated as secondary stress. The highest amount of intonational prominence is aligned with this phrasal stress, and then exhibits a declination from that point, only reset at the start of each IP.

Five word classes are open—nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and light verb complements. Nouns are the largest word class, and exhibit a wealth of sub-classes based on various morpho-syntactic criteria. Possessed nouns may be marked for one of three numbers. Otherwise, number is typically covert, unless speakers choose to express it via adjectival reduplication. Grammatical relations are expressed via case enclitics, as well as subject- and object- cross-referencing affixes on the verb. Ma Manda has seven case forms which express eight grammatical relations—nominative/ablative, dative, comitative, benefactive, instrumental, locative, and allative. The case-markers are prominent in MM, also functioning to mark subordinate finite clauses (typically occurring on a demonstrative). The genitive case enclitic functions with the other cases in this way as well. The nominative case is optional, being omitted when the object is topical. The case-markers have also taken on extended roles in marking the habitual aspect (locative), the potential modality (dative), and several of the non-finite verb suffixes.

Adjectives form a large class from several semantic domains, but almost never co-occur in natural speech. A large heterogenous class of adverbs is distinguished, broken into a number of sub-classes: local, temporal, phasal, and manner, as well as some others that do not fit those categories. Light verb complements ("adjunct nominals") are also distinguished as a major class, open to both derivation and borrowing. The closed word classes are pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, interrogatives, conjunctions, postpositions, interjections, the negator, and particles. The pronouns are divided into a basic and emphatic set, with various irregular case-marked forms.

The demonstratives are fundamentally important in the grammar of MM. This class consists of 10 forms, divided into three sub-classes, all of which exhibit a binary division between proximal and distal forms. The two spatial demonstratives identify topical and definite referents. The two anaphoric demonstratives identify referents with regard to their discourse proximity (e.g. 'this aforementioned'). When referents have lost salience, speakers utilize these demonstratives to instruct addressees to search the preceding discourse or context. The six topographic demonstratives identify inaccessible referents, providing elevational information as well, with separate forms for above, level with, and below the deictic center. Demonstratives function adnominally, pronominally, and locative adverbially.

41

Demonstratives are also used to subordinate finite clauses, mark non-finite clauses as given, and produce non-embedded nominalizations. They take a wealth of morphology, including the case enclitics, an anaphoric suffix that allows spatial demonstratives to refer back to discourses rather than participants, and a manner adverbial suffix.

Ma Manda has associative plural and dual particles. These also function to produce inclusory constructions. Noun phrases may be coordinated via apposition, with the associative dual particle, with the benefactive enclitic, or they may be marked with disjunction using the dubitative modality enclitic. The noun phrase can be quite long, with possessors and modifying nouns preceding the head noun, and all other modifying elements following the head noun.

Clauses are composed of sequences of non-finite ("medial") clauses, and finish with a finite ("final") clause. A series of non-finite verbal suffixes mark whether each medial verb stands in a coordinate or subordinate relationship with the next, and mark whether its subject is co-referential with the next. If not, switch-reference morphology marks a distinction between first- and non-first-person, as well as two numbers in the first person. One subordinate non-finite suffix marks only duration, and not person. Finite verbs are marked with subject-agreement suffixes, a paradigm of three numbers and three persons, with the second- and third- persons exhibiting neutralization in the non-singular numbers. Finite verbs may be realis or irrealis. Irrealis verbs are marked for one of three irrealis suffixes depending on whether the subject is singular, dual, or plural. Realis verbs take tense, a paradigmatic set exhibiting a singular and non-singular form for each of four tenses—remote past, near past, present, and future. Additionally, a serialized verb structure is used for an additional restricted present tense, and the irrealis inflection is typically used for situations located beyond the day of speaking ("remote future").

Verbs fall into four transitivity classes: intransitive, transitive, ambitransitive, and ditransitive. Transitive and ditransitive verbs are set apart by their object-agreement morphology, falling into three morphological classes depending on whether they take object-agreement prefixes, undergo stem suppletion to agree with the number of the object, or both. The object-agreement paradigm exhibits two numbers and three persons, though the third person singular form is either unmarked, or suppletive.

Verbs fall into five morpho-phonological classes (based on the structure of their stem), these classes then taking different tense suffixes. They may also be marked with a number of

different nominalizing markers, may of which are transparently related to case postpositions. The MM predicate can be extremely complex. First, a class of light verb complements license particular light verbs, bleached of their semantic content and operating simply to hold inflection for the complement. MM has nine separate light verbs which occur in these constructions, four of which are frequently occurring. All light verbs have lexical function as well. Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are also very prevalent in Ma Manda, being used to produce causatives and benefactives, to carry directional meaning, to mark several aspectual distinctions, and to produce a "negative wish" modality. Otherwise, many verbs are simply serialized because they are perceived as belonging to a single event, and many of these have over time undergone reduction into compounds, the line being very fuzzy between these categories.

Finally, auxiliary constructions are utilized to carry aspectual and pluractional meaning. These constructions consist of the lexical verb marked with same-subject medial morphology, and followed by an auxiliary verb that can receive a full array of finite or non-finite morphology. This is used to convey the progressive and durative aspects, as well as pluractionality, whereby an event, rather than a participant, is pluralized. Other aspects are more complicated. For example, when the habitual aspect occurs outside the present tense, the verb is marked not only with the locative case enclitic (an example of de-subordination), but also with one of two serialized verbs that indicate perfectivity or imperfectivity. Ma Manda predicates can consist of a vast number of grammatical elements, many of which are spoken within a single phonological word. This agglutinativity often undergoes fusion, with object-agreement morphology seeming to be in the process of fusing with verb stems, and with tense and subject-agreement morphology fusing as well.

Verbless clauses frequently occur as well, often utilizing an anaphoric demonstrative in a topic–comment structure. These include equative, attributive, locative, possessive, negative existential, and adverbial clauses.

While non-finite clauses are naturally linked via their switch-reference morphology, finite verbs are linked via apposition, or using an auxiliary verb or demonstrative conjunction. These have stemmed from the prevalent discourse phenomena of bridging linkage, where almost every finite verb is restated a second time, either verbatim or as a synonym in recapitulative linkage, or replacing the verb with a light verb or demosntrative as a summary linkage. These forms have grammaticalized into a few clausal conjunctions.

PART II: PHONOLOGY

Part II is concerned with the sound system of Ma Manda. This represents a summarized and updated look at the previously completed phonological description (Pennington 2013a; Pennington 2015). Chapter 3 describes the segmental phonology. This also includes a description of the tentative orthography which is used for the textual material in this work. Chapter 4 focuses on phonotactic behavior and discusses the make-up of the syllable, including the epenthetic high central vowel which is prevalent in the language. Chapter 5 addresses morphophonemic behavior, with a focus on the prominent role of nasal harmony. Chapter 6 addresses prosody, describing word- and phrase-level stress patterns, and intonational behavior. Finally, Chapter 7 addresses the defining properties of the phonological word, and the various mismatches between phonological and grammatical words.

3 Phonemes & orthography

Ma Manda has 21 distinct phonemes, which are described and illustrated in the following sections. Consonants are discussed in §3.1, followed by vowels in §3.2. Finally, §§3.3 describes the tentative orthography, including a discussion of the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors involved in the decisions of various graphemes.

3.1 Consonants

Ma Manda has 14 consonant phonemes, which can be divided into six natural classes: voiceless stops, voiced stops, nasals, fricatives, liquids, and glides. All three series of stops consist of labial, alveolar, and velar/uvular places of articulation. Due to the frequency of the voiceless uvular stop, this has been analyzed to be the underlying form. MM has only two fricatives, both of them voiceless, and they are produced at the labial and alveolar places of articulation. There is a single liquid phoneme, and two glides.

The inventory of consonant phonemes is displayed in Table 3.1. Under each phoneme is listed every phonetic variant.

TABLE 3.1: CONSONANT PHONEMES

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
voiceless stop	p [p] [pʰ] [p˺] [pᵐ]	t [t] [tʰ] [t˺] [tⁿ] [t̪] t̪ʰ [t̪˺] [t̪ⁿ]			q [q] [qʰ] [q˺] [qᴺ] [k] [kʰ] [k˺] [kⁿ] [ʁ] [χ]
voiced stop	b [b] [ᵐb] [mb] [β]	d [d] [ⁿd] [nd] [d̪] [ⁿd̪] [nd̪]		g [g] [ᵑg] [ŋg] [ɣ]	
nasal	m [m]	n [n] [n̪]		ŋ [ŋ] [ɴ]	
fricative	f [f]	s [s] [ʃ] [h]			
liquid		l [l] [ɾ]			
glide	w [w]		j [j]		

Each natural class is addressed briefly in turn below. This is done with little illustration. See the phonological description (Pennington 2013a; Pennington 2015) for these details.

3.1.1   Voiceless stops

The voiceless stops are often aspirated in onset position of the syllable. Word-finally, they are almost always unreleased. Utterance-finally they often surface with a nasal release. The alveolar stop is in free variation with the dental place of articulation. All of the dorsal consonants—chief among them the uvular stop—undergo lenition much more frequently than their coronal and labial counterparts. Intervocalically, the voiceless uvular stop often lenites to a voiced uvular fricative, or (less often) a voiceless uvular fricative. It can also be pronounced at the velum, though the uvular pronunciation is more natural and preferred for MM speakers. A transitional vowel is sometimes inserted between a front vowel /i e/ and this stop, though this process is not represented orthographically. Before this consonant the mid central vowel /ə/ also lowers to [a], and the high back vowel /u/ lowers to [ʊ]. These changes are sometimes represented orthographically—with *aa* and *û*, respectively.

Additionally, the glottal stop [ʔ] occurs in borrowed words, especially the group of names taken from the Kâte language. Some speakers also insert the phone predictably before word-initial vowels. One clan in Saut Village inserts glottal stops predictably after all vowels at pause breaks—frequently therefore accompanying same-subject medial verb suffixes.

3.1.2   Voiced stops

Word-intially, all voiced stops are optionally prenasalized. Intervocalically, the labial and velar stops lenite to voiced fricatives: [β] and [ɣ], respectively. The alveolar stop does not undergo lenition, though it can surface from the dental place of articulation. All voiced stops are prenasalized when preceded by an NV (nasal–vowel) sequence, as discussed in Chapter 5. The inserted nasal is pronounced with the full length and robustness of a nasal phoneme, and operates as a coda of the preceding syllable. Voiced stops are unequivocally disallowed from word-final position. This restriction results in the epenthesis of the high central vowel word-finally. However, since this vowel is often a reduction of phonemic high central vowels, it is often difficult to determine when a voiced stop is underlyingly final or not. For example, below the verb *teb-* 'bring.SG' is shown to have a final voiced stop when followed by the irrealis singular suffix, forming a command:

(1) **tebû**   *tûwe.*   **tebe**
     teb   tû-be   teb-be
     bring.SG   put.SG-IRR.SG   bring.SG-IRR.SG
     'Bring and put it'   'Bring it'

3.1.3   Nasals

Nasals have few allophonic variations. The labial and velar nasals do not undergo any variation (except for /n/ being in free variation with its dental counterpart). The velar nasal can be pronounced at the uvular point of articulation [ɴ] before or after the voiceless uvular stop. The velar nasal does not usually occur in word-initial position. It is notably present in a number of vowel-initial verbs, but the underlying nasal typically only surfaces after vowels. Examples include *ngat-* 'be', *ngaatûku-* 'remain', and *ngaawe-* 'finish'. These nasals are only represented in the orthography when demonstratives—which are all vowel-final—cliticize to the front of these verbs, causing the nasals to surface. Nasals are the most frequently occurring class of consonants, with /m/ being the most common consonant phoneme overall.

Nasals—especially the velar nasal—tend to be ambisyllabic. That is, they operate both as the coda of one syllable and the onset of the next. When spoken slowly, people struggle to break up nasals because they cannot decide where to place the nasal segment. Due to this fact, speakers tend to write nasals twice in their own authored texts. I have removed this from the included written texts, however.

3.1.4   Fricatives

The dearth of fricative phonemes is common cross-linguistically, and this is true of Papuan languages as well. In most Papuan languages, fricatives are frequently allophones of other phonemes (Foley 1986:56). The labial fricative does not undergo any variation. It occurs word-initially, intervocalically, and—once in the corpus—word-finally. Though rarer than other consonants, it is certainly phonemic in MM. The sibilant occurs in all environments, though it rarely occurs word-finally. When preceding or following a high vowel, it can surface at the palatal point of articulation, and between two high vowels, it is almost exclusively pronounced this way. Furthermore, [ʃ] is always in free variation with the voiceless glottal fricative intervocalically. For many speakers, though, [s] and [h] are freely interchangeable in all word-medial environments. The phoneme /s/ in Ma Manda is mostly coextensive with the /h/ phoneme of Numanggang. For instance, 'fourthborn son' in Numanggang is *hawa* (Hynum 2001:3), while it is *saawa* [sawə] in Ma Manda.

3.1.5   Liquid

The liquid is in free variation with its flap allophone intervocalically (as it is in most of the Erap and Finisterre-Huon languages). The flap is preferred before the front vowels [i, e], as

well as post-consonantally. Word-initially only the liquid surfaces. Just as with the fricatives, /l/ rarely occurs word-finally—a common prohibition, especially in the Erap languages. *Songgaal* [soŋgal] 'Huon Bowerbird' is the only word that surfaces with a word-final liquid that is not an obvious loanword. Word-finally, liquids initiate epenthesis of the high central vowel, just as voiced consonants do.

3.1.6   Glides

The glides occur word-initially and intervocalically. Word-finally, off-glides are analyzed as vowels, in keeping with the native intuitions of MM speakers. A certain ambiguity arises in interpreting glides and high peripheral vowels, regarding whether to analyze them as underlying vowels or glides. Regarding /w/ and /j/, Foley (1986:56) claims that "these semivowels are present in all Papuan languages, but their phonemic status varies widely according to the phonetic features of the individual languages and, to some extent, according to the analyst's preferences in analysing diphthongs and other complex vocalic nuclei." It is widely known that decisions between competing glide and vowel analyses often have to be made arbitrarily (Parker 2012:120ff). It is not always possible to defend a particular analysis, and linguists must maintain consistency throughout their description of a particular language, all the while holding the analysis with an open hand. Every linguist who has worked on an Erap language has claimed there to be both a /w/ and a /j/ phoneme, though often with rather limited distribution. See Pennington (2015:56ff) for evidence to support the treatment of these as phonemes in MM. Vocalic onsets are analyzed as glides, while vocalic segments in coda position are treated as vowels. This is consistent with the phonotactic restrictions in MM, whereby only voiceless stops and nasals are freely permitted in that position of the syllable.

3.2   Vowels

Ma Manda has seven vowel phonemes. They can be divided into a set of three high vowels, a set of three mid vowels, and a single low vowel. This represents the most common seven-vowel system of Papua New Guinea (Foley 1986:54).

The vowel phones, along with their phonetic variants, are displayed in Table 3.2. Below I address each vowel height in turn. As with the consonants, this description is brief. See the phonological description for further detail.

TABLE 3.2: VOWEL PHONEMES

	front	central	back
high	i [i] [ɪ] [ɨ]	ɨ [ɨ] [ɪ] [ɯ] [ʊ] [ə]	u [u] [ʊ] [ɯ] [ɨ]
mid	e [e] [ɛ]	ə [ə] [a]	o [o] [ɔ]
low		a [a] [ə]	

3.2.1　High vowels

The high peripheral vowels /i u/ occur in all environments. They are particularly susceptible to reduction to more central location, in varying degrees, in unstressed environments. In certain instances, this reduction has occurred consistently over a long enough period of time that the original vowel quality has been lost. This has led to the phonologization of the high central vowel. The high central vowel does not occur in word-initial position, a fact that is consistent with the preference for word-initial stress in MM, as well as a general rarity of word-initial vocalic segments. This also aligns with the hypothesis that this vowel has been reanalyzed as the epenthetic vowel used to break up consonant clusters. The high central vowel is the second most frequently occurring vowel phoneme, outnumbered only by the mid central vowel. However, it is impossible to determine with certainty the underlying status of many occurrences of the vowel.

3.2.2　Mid vowels

The three mid vowels occur freely in all environments. The lax allophones of /e/ and /o/ occur in free variation with their tense counterparts, particularly around sonorants. The mid central schwa vowel [ə] does not undergo much variation, except that it has a tendency to be lowered in anticipation of a following low central vowel /a/ (e.g. /səlefəqa/ 'gust' → [səlefaqa]). It also usually surfaces as [a] before the voiceless uvular stop. These processes are represented to varying degrees in the orthography. The mid central vowel is the most frequently occurring phoneme in the MM language.

3.2.3　Low vowel

The low central vowel occurs freely in all three environments (i.e. word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally), though it is rarer than other vowels word-initially. Just like the mid central vowel, this vowel has a tendency to harmonize with the height of a following non-high central vowel.

49

The contrast between this vowel and the mid central vowel /ə/ is quite clear in many minimal pairs and in short monosyllabic and bisyllabic wordforms. However, in trisyllabic words and in utterances where context clarifies the word choice, the height of this vowel loses its importance. Outside of minimal pairs, the vowels /a/ and /ə/ are almost completely interchangeable. Native speakers are often unable to tell me which pronunciation is preferable for any particular word. By and large, though, the pattern is that the low central vowel simply reduces to schwa when contrast between the non-high central vowels is unimportant.

3.3   Orthography

In May 2011 the trial orthography was created during a local orthography development workshop (led by myself). Since that time, a few stories have been written using the alphabet that was developed. In that process several further changes have been made. The current tentative orthography is listed in Table 3.3. The phonemes are included underneath the lower-case and upper-case graphemes. Below, I address these choices in turn.

TABLE 3.3: TENTATIVE ORTHOGRAPHY

<	a	aa	b	d	e	f	g	i	k	l	m	n	ng	o	p	s	t	u	û	w	y	>
<	A	Aa	B	D	E	F	G	I	K	L	M	N	NG	O	P	S	T	U	Û	W	Y	>
/	ə	a	b	d	e	f	g	i	k	l	m	n	ŋ	o	p	s	t	u	ɨ, [ɨ]	w	j	/

3.3.1   Sociolinguistic issues

The orthography is patterned after the Roman symbols with which MM speakers are familiar due to their knowledge of Tok Pisin and English. In the choice of these graphemes, the important criteria for MM speakers were as follows.

First and foremost, young speakers wanted to be able to use their alphabet with texting applications on mobile phones. For each phoneme that does not exist in English, when a symbol was offered as a choice, several speakers pulled out their mobile phones in order to determine the ease with which they could type that letter. This provided a push against most diacritics and difficult symbols. See Temple (2011) for a discussion of vernacular texting in PNG.

Second, speakers wanted to associate themselves with languages of high prestige such as English and the church language of Kâte, while at the same time disassociating themselves from neighboring languages with established orthographies such as Numanggang and Uri.

For example, at first a number of speakers preferred the symbol <ŋ> for the velar nasal, since it is used for the same Kâte phoneme. However, this phoneme is used in Numanggang, which led others to dislike the choice. In the end, since this was difficult for them to find on their phones, it was unanimously rejected.

Third, speakers tended to prefer shorter words with more frequent word-breaks. This was problematic with the <ng> digraph, since the velar nasal is extremely common. Also, since speakers tended to prefer to include prenasalization in their writing, this resulted in many sequences such as <ngg>. Even worse, nasals concatenate at morpheme boundaries, resulting in repeated velar nasals (and therefore repeated velar nasal digraphs). It was eventually decided to abstain from writing such <ngng> combinations. See Pennington (2013c) for a detailed discussion of the sociolinguistic and linguistic factors in developing the MM orthography.

3.3.2   Grapheme choices

In this section I provide a lengthy discussion of the choices for each grapheme. This includes changes which have been made throughout the analytical process. This is included in order to provide a clear understanding of the methodology underpinning the transcription in this work. This discussion will also facilitate the future analysis of the Ma Manda corpus. Many written texts, as well as my own data notebooks, utilize these varied approaches at various times. Therefore, in presenting a timeline of the changes made to the tentative orthography, the corpus will be made transparent and approachable.

For a majority of the phonemes, speakers simply chose to utilize the comparable Roman symbol. For the consonants, only the velar nasal was a matter of much discussion. Also, as mentioned above, prenasalization (both tautomorphemic and heteromorphemic) is written across the board. Since the prenasalization is blocked in certain instances, writing it helps to differentiate minimal pairs.

The vowels were a source of a great deal of discussion. While <i>, <e>, <o>, and <u> were straightforward, the central vowels produced many differing opinions, as well as several changes since that time. Originally, the participants at the workshop chose to underdifferentiate the low and mid central vowels. However, a number of very important minimal pairs exist (e.g. /tə-/ 'do' vs. /ta-/ 'say'). Since the low central vowel /a/ is most similar to the English <a> vowel, speakers wanted to mark them the same. Unfortunately, this leaves the mid central vowel /ə/—the most common phoneme in the language—to be marked

via digraph or addition of a diacritic. Since MM speakers esteem the Kâte language, they decided to use the <â> symbol for the mid central vowel. Over time, this choice was seen to be problematic due to the frequency of this phoneme. The diacritic simply produced too much "visual crowding" (Roberts 2009). Therefore it was decided to represent this phoneme with the simple grapheme <a>, and to symbolize the low central vowel /a/ with the digraph <aa>. However, in longer words the contrast between the phonemes is often lost. Also, the mid vowel lowers before the voiceless uvular stop. Due to these factors, in polysyllabic words and before uvular stops there is some variation in the chosen graphemes.

The other vowel that produced difficulty was the high central vowel /ɨ/. In a great many environments, it is epenthetic, and only a portion of speakers seem to be aware of its presence. Due to the preference for shorter words, some speakers preferred not to represent it graphically whatsoever. This produced words such as <gtnem> [gɨtnem] 'skin'. The problem with this approach was the inability of determining where epenthesis occurs, since t+n consonant sequences are phonotactically acceptable. It also produced a problem with the <ng> grapheme, since this could represent either an n+g gluster, or the /ŋ/ phoneme. Finally, attempting to write prenasalization, while also avoiding the epenthetic vowel, results in words which are extremely difficult to parse, such as /nɨnɨŋgɨŋ/ (/n-nɨ-gɨ-ng/ '1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL'). Should this be written as <nngng> or <nnnggng>? Though this dispreference for writing the symbol has been noted for other languages as well—including Kalam (Blevins & Pawley 2010) and Haruai (Comrie 1991)—for MM this position is untenable. However, since all vowel symbols from the Roman alphabet are already taken, no perfect choice was immediately apparent. The next choice of the workshop participants was <ê>. The diacritic provides a nod to Kâte, while also pointing to the front mid position of the epenthetic vowel as it surfaces in Kesengen village—where the workshop was held. However, the extreme frequency of the symbol once again produced visual crowding. It also did not accurately represent the way the vowel is spoken in many other MM villages, since it is high and central, or backed toward [ʊ] or [u].

Several months after the workshop, the <h> grapheme was chosen. Since [h] is only an infrequent allophone of /s/, the symbol was free to be used for a vowel phoneme. This had the benefit of having a lack of association with any particular place of articulation. This allowed speakers to pronounce the phone(me) with whatever quality the environment required. Unfortunately, over time I have learned that its frequency produces words that are extremely difficult to read. Taking the example 'tell us' from above—/nɨnɨŋgɨŋ/ (/n-nɨ-gɨ-ng/ '1NSG.O-

tell-RP-23PL')—this produces <nhnhngghng>. Since it is a vowel phoneme, it frequently comes in direct contact with similarly-shaped consonant graphemes such as <m>, <n>, <ng>, <b>, and <d>. Therefore, since that time in my own analysis I have made the change to <û>. This re-introduces the diacritic, but at least the symbol closely represents the quality of the epenthetic vowel, the reduced high vowels, and the phonemic high central vowel. It is used for all three of these, except for when the underlying peripheral high vowel is discoverable in certain environments.

In the transcription throughout this work, I attempt to maintain a constant word image. The primary method of reading involves memorization of the most commonly-used words: "We read in two ways: a new or unknown word is spelled out letter by letter; but a common, ordinary word is embraced by a single glance, independently of its letters, so that the image of the whole word acquires an ideographic value" (de Saussure 1916). This means that, even though /ku-gɨ-m/ 'go-RP-1PL' is actually pronounced as [kugum], I transcribe it as *kugûm*. Perhaps some transcriptions are inconsistent in this regard, however.

Finally, note that several other graphemes are utilized in borrowed words, primarily proper names from Kâte and English. These are listed below, and illustrated in §8.2.4.

TABLE 3.4: GRAPHEMES IN BORROWED WORDS

<	c	h	j	r	rr	v	z	>
<	C	H	J	R	RR	V	Z	>
/	ʔ	h	d͡ʒ	ɾ	r	v	ʒ, t͡s	/

4   Phonotactics

In analyzing the syllable, the most readily apparent pattern is that tautosyllabic consonant clusters are almost exclusively disallowed. Though reduced vowels may be elided altogether—and in this way produce certain consonant clusters—the majority of syllables do not have such a pattern. This disallowance of consonant sequences is seen in loanword adaptations, where the high central vowel is inserted to break up underlying clusters from English. The freely occurring consonant clusters take place across syllable boundaries. This reveals the existence of an active syllable template which regulates the syllabification of wordforms in the MM language.

This chapter summarizes Chapter 5 of the phonological description (Pennington 2015:67ff). Illustrations of the analyses are not replicated here.

4.1   The syllable

The maximal syllable template is CLVVC, where L stands for the liquid. This allows for the production of nine syllable types: CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CLV, CLVV, CLVC, V, and VC. CLVVC is predicted to be possible, but the data set does not contain any examples. This would be the maximal projection of the syllable template, and therefore it is expected to be the most limited in distribution. Similarly, only one example of CLVV is found in the data. CV is considerably more common than the others. The CVC and CLVC types are drastically limited since only voiceless stops and nasals can freely occur in coda position. The V and VC types only occur word-initially in monomorphemic words. The CVV and CVVC types require the first vowel to be non-high and the second vowel to be high. Additionally, with a mid vowel the backness specification of the two vowels must be different (i.e. /eu/, /oi/). The separate vowel segments are spoken as a single complex nucleus.

The dialect under investigation does allow liquids to surface as the second element in an onset cluster, when the first segment is an obstruent. The CL pattern is in free variation with syllables containing the epenthetic high central vowel (i.e. CɨLV). For instance, the CLVC allative postposition /floŋ/ may surface as either [floŋ] or [fɨ.loŋ].[3] Ma Manda also

---

[3] Throughout the remaining portions of this chapter, a broad phonetic transcription is utilized. Stress is only indicated when in focus, while lenition, laxing, nasal assimilation, unrelease, and aspiration are not shown. This means that the high central vowel, which varies from [ɪ]–[ɨ]–[ɯ]–[ʊ]–[ə], is written

occasionally allows nasals to occur as a syllable nucleus when preceded by a homorganic voiceless plosive (e.g. /kekɨng/ 'cry' → [qeqɴ]). This pattern stems from the complete elision of a remnant high vowel. Syllabic nasals are therefore not included as a syllable type because they arise from an optional process of elision. For more discussion see the appropriate section in the phonological description (Pennington 2015:67).

4.2   Consonant sequences

Eleven unambiguous consonant clusters are allowed tautomorphemically, as seen in Table 4.1. The initial column provides the first segment of each sequence, while the initial row provides the second segment.

TABLE 4.1: TAUTOMORPHEMIC CONSONANT SEQUENCES

	p	t	q	b	d	g	m	n	ŋ	f	s	l	w	j
p__	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
t__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	*	-	-
q__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	*	-	-
b__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
d__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
g__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
m__	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n__	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ__	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
f__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
s__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
l__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
w__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

✓ Allowed
* Allowed, but often broken up with epenthesis

In summary, the sequences that are freely allowed always involve a nasal and a stop, and the involved nasal is homorganic with the adjacent stop in all cases except for /md/ and /mg/ (which are infrequent). The sequences involving /l/ as the second onset segment are often broken up by epenthesis. It appears this type of cluster is becoming less preferred though.

Table 4.2 shows the types of sequences that occur across morpheme boundaries.

---

exclusively as [ɨ] unless its particular quality is relevant to the discussion. Syllable breaks [.] are included in phonetic transcriptions.

TABLE 4.2: HETEROMORPHEMIC CONSONANT SEQUENCES

	p	t	q	b	d	g	m	n	ŋ	f	s	l	w	j
p__	*	*	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	*	*	*
t__	*	-	*	*	*	✓	*	✓	-	*	✓	*	*	*
q__	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	*	*	*
b__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m__	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	*	*	*
n__	*	✓	*	*	*	✓	*	✓	-	-	✓	*	*	*
ŋ__	*	*	✓	*	*	✓	-	-	-	*	✓	*	*	*
f__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
w__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

✓Allowed

* Allowed only in reduplication and compounds

With the exception of compounds and reduplicated forms, there is a paucity of consonant sequences allowed even across morpheme boundaries. Note the absence of clusters when a voiced stop, fricative, or liquid is the first segment. Additionally, the liquid never surfaces as the second element. This is due in large part to the susceptibility of /l/ to morphophonemic alternations. It is the nasals and voiceless stops that tend to occur in clusters, as these are the only consonants that are freely allowed in root- and word-final position.

4.3 Vowel sequences

Ma Manda allows only five tautomorphemic vowel sequences, where V_1 is always non-high, and V_2 is always high. Also, V_1 and V_2 cannot have the same specification for backness: The front vowel /e/ and central vowel /ə/ can only be followed by the back vowel /u/, while the back vowel /o/ can only be followed by the front vowel /i/. These patterns are shown in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3: TAUTOMORPHEMIC CONSONANT SEQUENCES

	i	ɨ	u	e	ə	o	a
i__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɨ__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
u__	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
e__	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-
ə__	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-
o__	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
a__	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-

✓ Allowed

The diphthongs /oi/, /ai/, and /au/ are frequently occurring, while /eu/ and /əu/ only occur in a few wordforms. Vowel sequences in which a high vowel is followed by a non-high vowel are analyzed as V.GV sequences (e.g. *mukuwang* /mukuwəŋ/ 'fog'), since these sequences always exhibit an onset glide between the two vowels.

The comparatively frequent heteromorphemic vowel sequences are shown in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4: HETEROMORPHEMIC CONSONANT SEQUENCES

	i	ɨ	u	e	ə	o	a
i__	-	-	*	-	-	-	-
ɨ__	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-
u__	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
e__	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	*
ə__	✓	-	*	-	-	-	-
o__	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
a__	✓	-	-	*	-	-	-

✓Allowed
*Allowed only in
 reduplication and compounds

Heteromorphemic vowel sequences are somewhat rare, since there are no vowel-initial suffixes or enclitics. A majority of the allowable sequences seem to arise in names for species of flora and fauna, which often involve a base form compounded to a fossilized form.

All tautosyllabic vowel sequences involve a non-high vowel followed by a high vowel off-glide. These vowel sequences are not analyzed as belonging to separate syllables, or as being phonemic diphthongs. Instead, they are composed of separate phonemic segments that have come together to form derived diphthongs (i.e. complex nuclei). This is supported by the data in several ways.

First, stress is never contrastive between the first and second vowels of a vowel sequence. The first vowel, which is always non-high, is always stressed, while the second vowel is shorter, behaving more like a glide. Second, the second vowel does not appear to be

a phonemic glide either. Evidence against treating these high vowels as phonemic glides (i.e. /w/ and /j/) is found in heteromorphemic patterns. Sonorants are prone to alternate in MM when they are brought into contact with other consonants across morpheme boundaries. However, words like *baai* /bai/ 'flute' and *saateu* /sateu/ 'rat sp.' do not undergo any alternations when suffixed with the nasal-initial first person possessive affix *-na* /nə/ or the liquid-initial nominative enclitic *=lû* /lɨ/. If these were analyzed as glides, they would be the only examples of sonorants that fail to undergo alternations in this environment (in fact, the labiovelar glide is particularly susceptible to such changes). Finally, it is simply not advantageous to posit these five diphthongs as separate phonemic units. Since there are no examples of phonemic vowel length, and the phonetic diphthongs are limited to just a few particular types, it is simplest to assume that these complex nuclei are in fact composed of two vowel phonemes.

4.4   Epenthesis

The high central vowel is used to resolve phonotactic and syllable template violations. The following loanword adaption is illustrative. Clues to the syllable structure of a language are commonly found in the incorporation of borrowed words into the vernacular lexicon.

(2)   *kaalû*   [qá.lɨ]   'car'

Since the liquid cannot occur word-finally, the high central vowel (or an environmentally-conditioned variant) is inserted. This is known as "paragoge" (word-final epenthesis). These epenthetic vowels are alluded to in descriptions of loanword adaptations in both Numanggang and Uri as well. Hynum (1980:7) gives [sɪpak] as an example of an adaptation of a loanword into Numanggang. It comes from Tok Pisin *spak* 'drunk'. Here the word-initial /sp/ cluster is disallowed and therefore [ɪ] is inserted. Webb (1974:95) provides equivalent examples for Uri: Tok Pisin *slip* 'sleep' becomes [siɾip] and *snek* 'snake' becomes [sinek]. These epenthetic vowels are analogous to the high central vowel of Ma Manda.

It has been established that, at the very least, the high central vowel is epenthesized to force loanwords to meet the phonological requirements of the language. Morphological evidence provides support for a broader understanding of the process of epenthesis. The same-subject dependent form of the verb *laab-* 'come up' surfaces with epenthesis. This is blocked when the irrealis suffix is attached.

(3)   *laabû*   /lab/   [lá.bɨ]   'come.up'
(4)   *laabe*   /lab-be/   [lá.be]   'come.up-IRR.SG'

In their discussion of "predictable vowels" in Kalam, which are very similar to these MM vowels, Blevins & Pawley (2010) respond to the typology set forth in Hall (2006). Hall provides a cross-linguistic survey of inserted vowels, dividing them into two types:

> In *vowel epenthesis*, a vowel segment is added, along with a vocalic gesture, and this segment forms the nucleus of a new syllable. In *vowel intrusion*, the articulatory gestures associated with existing segments are phased in a way that creates an acoustically vocalic period, but no phonological segment is inserted, and hence no new syllable is created. The primary diagnostic for distinguishing intrusive vowels from epenthetic vowels is to check whether the vowel behaves as a syllable nucleus, both for phonology and for speaker intuitions. (2006:424)

In response, Blevins & Pawley argue that the barred-i vowel of Kalam does not fit neatly into either the epenthetic or the intrusive category of Hall's typology:

> We will refer to predictable vowels with Kalam-like properties as 'remnant' vowels. Remnant vowels are historical traces of vowel reduction and loss, found sometimes in their historical positions, and sometimes elsewhere. Though synchronically, their distribution can be predicted by insertion algorithms, diachronically they reflect inversion of unstressed reduced vowel loss. Since remnant vowels evolve from reduced vowels, they share many of the properties of reduced vowels: they are typically unstressed, very short and greatly influenced by coarticulatory effects. … Like epenthetic vowels, remnant vowels do involve synchronic 'insertion' in the generative sense, leading to true vowel-zero alternations. … Unlike epenthetic vowels, remnant vowels may not serve any obvious function: as in Kalam, they may simply reflect former positions of unstressed reduced vowels, and nothing more. (Blevins & Pawley 2010:28–29)

Blevins & Pawley claim that the source of Kalam's epenthetic vowel is vowel reduction. This involves a restructuring of the phonology:

Our working hypothesis is that historical vowel reduction/deletion led to a restructuring of parts of the Kalam phonological system, with its many predictable vowels. Some predictable vowels in Kalam are true remnants of once-present reduced vowels, while others are non-etymological consequences of reanalysis. (2010:29)

Kalam predictable vowels are analyzed to be the result of vowel loss and subsequent rule inversion, inserting reduced vowels where full vowels never existed in prior stages of the language's development. It appears to be the case that the same explanation can be given for the epenthetic segment in Ma Manda. Once a great number of the high vowels were reduced a majority of the time, the high central vowel became more frequent on the surface than any other vowel except the mid central vowel. At this point, the MM sound system underwent a reanalysis, where the reduced vowels replaced the former full-vowelled words as the new underlying forms. Regarding Kalam, Blevins & Pawley (2010:34) suggest that "at the stage where every (or nearly every) consonant-to-consonant transition within the word has a reduced transition vowel, the language learner may reverse the historical process of vowel loss/reduction, and assume that these transition vowels are inserted."

Since most consonant sequences are precluded from occurring in MM phonotactics, and many others now have a reduced high vowel in between them (stemming from unstressed /i/ and /u/), MM speakers have begun to think of these vowels as epenthetic segments rather than reductions of full high vowels. This explains the fact that when MM people want to write their language, they often try to write certain words without these reduced vowels at all. For instance, one man, when attempting to write *tûk* /tɨq/ 'clothing', insisted on writing it as <tk>. It seems that the vowel is currently understood to be epenthetic between sC and CL clusters (among others), as well as paragogically after voiced stops and liquids. For more information see Pennington (2015:103).

Due to the ambiguity involved in interpreting whether a given high central vowel is phonemic, epenthetic, or reduced (see §6.2), they are all transcribed as *û* in this work. The only exceptions are in CL and sC clusters, where it is obvious that there is no underlying vowel present. Speakers also prefer to write these clusters without the vowel, since this shortens a number of words. When a particular word surfaces with the high central vowel, but then loses it when marked with a suffix (cf. (3)–(4) above), it is still written with *û* when occurring on its own.

5 Morphophonemics

This chapter addresses the phonological processes which occur across morpheme boundaries. Most of these interactions are discussed later in sections on morphological paradigms, and therefore these are not exhaustively listed here. After addressing these matters in §5.1, I turn to a description of the nasal harmony process in §5.2—first in monomorphemic words, and then in polymorphemic words.

5.1   Heteromorphemic consonant interactions

A number of interactions occur when morphemes are brought into contact with one another. A few of these processes are robust enough to occur across word classes, including degemination of successive nasals, and elision of voiceless stops before voiced stops. Others are restricted to specific paradigms. These include nasal assimilation of possessive suffixes, lenition of the /b/ from the irrealis suffix after vowels, elision of the /l/ from the present tense suffix after nasals, and the alternation from /t/ to [k] before the different-subject suffix. Rather than exhaustively list the various processes, see the phonological description for the details (Pennington 2015:132ff). Additionally, see §15.2.1 for a discussion of the morpho-phonological behavior of possessive suffixes. This is illustrated with lists of inalienable nouns in §8.1. See §21.6 for the morpho-phonological verb classes which exhibit a great deal of alternations, some phonologically-motivated, and others historical. For the phonological alternations involving case postpositions, see §15.1.1 (genitive enclitic) and §16.1 (case enclitics). These undergo a great deal of alternations involving the processes of fortition and place assimilation.

5.2   Nasal harmony

Ma Manda displays a variety of consonant agreement—or harmony—that is somewhat unique among the world's languages. The system is described below.

5.2.1   Literature & definitions

> Harmony is the widespread phenomenon in the world's languages whereby all phonological segments of a particular type (e.g. all vowels, all obstruent consonants, all sibilant consonants) that occur within a particular domain— such as the word, the stem, or the morpheme—are required to agree with respect to some property. (Hansson 2010)

In his typology, Hansson provides a useful working definition of *consonant harmony* in particular:

> Any assimilatory effect of one consonant on another consonant, or assimilatory co-occurrence restriction holding between two consonants, where:
>
> • the two consonants can be separated by a string of segmental material consisting of at the very least a vowel; and
> • intervening segments, in particular vowels, are not audibly affected by the assimilating property. (2010:4)

Hansson defines "consonant harmony" as an assimilatory process between two non-adjacent consonants. In order to bring attention to the *non-adjacency* of the participating consonants, Rose & Walker (2004:476) label this phenomenon "long distance consonant agreement" (or LDCA): "Agreement for an articulatory or acoustic property that holds between consonants separated by at least one segment." In both of these definitions, there is a line drawn between *adjacent assimilation* on the one hand, and *agreement at a distance* on the other.

According to Rose & Walker (2004:84), there are five main types of consonant agreement: nasal, liquid, laryngeal, coronal, and dorsal. Since nasal harmony is the relevant type, it is the sole focus of the ensuing discussion. The following is a definition of nasal harmony: "Nasal harmony refers to phonological patterns where nasalization is transmitted in long-distance fashion. The long-distance nature of nasal harmony can be met by the transmission of nasalization either to a series of segments or to a non-adjacent segment" (Walker 2011:1838). This definition of nasal harmony refers to two similar, but theoretically distinct, processes: (i) nasal vowel-consonant harmony and (ii) nasal consonant harmony.

In nasal vowel-consonant harmony (Walker 2011:1837, 57) nasalization is triggered by a segment and proceeds to spread until it is blocked by some segment or boundary. Both vowels and consonants can participate as triggers and/or targets of the assimilatory process.

Vowels can never be skipped by the process, and typically any consonants that do not become nasalized block the spreading instead. These are called opaque segments.

In nasal consonant harmony (Walker 2011:1854, 57) nasalization is triggered by a segment and then another (highly similar) target segment assimilates in nasalization. In this type, intervening segments are unaffected by the agreeing feature and do not block the agreement (these are called transparent segments). Only consonants participate in the assimilatory process, and these consonants are always phonologically similar to one another. This type, which is most strongly exhibited in the Bantu family, characterizes the phenomena at work in MM morphophonemic alternations and tautomorphemic phonotactic restrictions.

Finally, the following terms are important: In this work a *trigger* is a segment that initiates nasal harmony, an *opaque segment* blocks nasal harmony, and a *transparent segment* is impervious to nasalization, but it does not halt the harmony from transmitting beyond it either (Walker 2011:1838).

5.2.2   Nasalization in related languages

Prenasalization is extremely prevalent in the FH languages, and across PNG as a whole. In fact, every documented language of the Erap family contains prenasalization to some degree. Regarding Nek, Linnasalo (2003:7) notes that the voiced plosives /b/, /d/, and /g/, along with the voiced sibilant /z/, are prenasalized after vowels, and word-initially they are slightly prenasalized. Webb (1981:11) contends that Uri contains "remnants of prenasalization". Cursory glances at data in Numanggang and Finongan reveal similar, though less structured, prenasalization patterns. Sarvasy (2014d:92) discusses intervocalic prenasalization of voiced stops in Nungon.

Regarding long distance nasal agreement, however, there has been much less written. It is a rare phenomenon in the first place, and this is true in PNG as well. In southeast New Guinea, something quite similar to MM's pattern exists. In Oro Province, the Binanderean language family exhibits a form of nasal harmony. In Korafe (Farr & Farr 1974:8) all obstruents have prenasalized allophones. When a nasal occurs as the syllable onset, it initiates the nasalization of the following vowel and the prenasalization of a following obstruent. Regarding Binandere, Wilson (1992:4) writes that "the allophones [^{m}b ^{n}d ^{ŋ}g ^{n}dʒ] result when /b d g/ or the allophone [dʒ] follow a syllable with a nasal plosive onset." He goes on to write that "non-phonemic nasalization occurs on all vowels contiguous to a nasal consonant." It is claimed for both of these languages that nasal onsets cause the initiation of the process. Due

to the nasalization of intervening vowels in these cases, however, this seems to be a case of nasal vowel-consonant harmony rather than outright consonant harmony at a distance.

Most similarly to MM, Fabian et al. (1998:8) mention that in Nabak, another FH language, "When a morpheme ends with a syllable having the shape: nasal consonant plus vowel, and the next morpheme begins with a voiced stop or *z,* another nasal consonant homorganic to the following voiced stop or *z* is added to the end of the NV syllable."

5.2.3   Tautomorphemic agreement

Within morphemes, harmony manifests itself merely as a static phonotactic generalization, prohibiting disharmonic co-occurrences but allowing harmonic ones... When the harmony domain extends beyond the confines of individual morphemes, harmony can be directly observed as an active process of assimilation. A potentially disharmonic combination is made harmonic by forcing one segment to agree with another in the phonological feature in question... (Hansson 2010:1)

Though the strongest evidence for nasal agreement in MM comes from suffixation, it is advantageous to first account for tautomorphemic nasalization patterns. Though many FH and other Papuan languages require intervocalic voiced obstruents to be prenasalized, this is not the case in Ma Manda. Voiced stops are not prenasalized by default, as shown below.

(1)   *dabugum*   /dəbugum/   [də.bu.gum]   'star'
(2)   *kadang*   /qədəŋ/   [qə.dəŋ]   'bamboo'
(3)   *fagat*   /fəgət/   [fə.gət]   'stretcher'

Voiced stops can also follow both homorganic and heterorganic nasal stops:

(4)   *tandon*   /təndon/   [tən.don]   'night'
(5)   *amdaa*   /əmda/   [əm.da]   'nose'

Voiced stops cannot, however, follow nasal+vowel (NV) sequences. Any voiced stop after an NV sequence will always have a homorganic nasal preceding that voiced stop. The second nasal operates as the coda to the first syllable, and not solely as the prenasalization to the stop.

(6)	*momba*	/mombə/	[mom.bə]	'leech'
(7)	*manda*	/məndə/	[mən.də]	'talk'
(8)	*nanggat*	/nəŋgət/	[nəŋ.gət]	'blood'

Only one monomorphemic word in the lexicon has an NV sequence that not trigger nasalization of a voiced stop: *nabing* [nəbiŋ] 'banana sp.'. I assume that this is a loanword. In all other cases, a homorganic nasal is inserted in order to satisfy the language-internal phonotactic constraints. This has been especially evident in discussions regarding the development of the MM orthography. The elderly men with whom I consulted consistently preferred to spell *manda* [mənda] 'talk' as <mada>, while younger men and women preferred <manda> (even though they all pronounce the word identically). This reveals an interesting clue regarding phonologization of these nasal segments: As speakers have learned to speak Tok Pisin and English, they have begun to hear things in their own language that went unnoticed in previous generations. MM speakers of the past were unaware of the prenasalization of plosives, while MM speakers of the present are hearing the nasalization as a separate phonemic segment.

Since prenasalized voiced stops are a prevalent phonological feature of Erap languages, it is safe to hypothesize that MM has seen a reanalysis of prenasalization. It appears to be the case that at one time all voiced stops were prenasalized. Eventually, much of the nasalization dropped out. However, in the post-nasal environment nasalization would have been less easily lost. In this environment alone prenasalization has remained, though not as a short non-phonemic segment. Instead, these sounds have been phonologized into segments in their own right (see Smallhorn (2009:34) for a similar discussion regarding the simplification of prenasalized segments into segment sequences in her Binanderean reconstruction). It is also interesting to note an example of a cognate between MM and neighboring Numanggang. The MM word *membû* /membɨ/ [membɨ] 'head' is /mebi/ [me:bi] in Numanggang. Where nasalization has been lost completely in Numanggang, it remains in Ma Manda.

The intervening vowels may nasalized, but this is purely phonetic, since it is optional, especially in slow, deliberately careful speech. Thus, it is not the case that a nasal stop is initiating a spreading of nasalization across a vowel and into a voiced stop. Though the nasalized allophones of vowels are more common when they are adjacent to nasal stops, they are in free variation at all times.

Three other characteristics of tautomorphemic nasal agreement in MM are as follows. First, nasalization only targets the first voiced stop after the NV sequence. Second,

nasalization only targets voiced stops. Third, the directionality of nasal agreement is left-to-right. These features are illustrated in turn below.

(9) *mandogu* /məndogu/ [mən.do.gu] 'tree sp.'
(10) *mukuya* /muqujə/ [mu.qu.jə] 'pig'
(11) *ugem* /ugem/ [u.gem] 'sharp'

5.2.4   Heteromorphemic agreement

Having set forth the characteristics of tautomorphemic nasal agreement, this section illustrates and describes the effects of nasal agreement across morpheme boundaries. Through heteromorphemic alternations the productivity of the nasal agreement phenomenon becomes much clearer.

Triggers, targets, and transparent segments

In Ma Manda nasals are the only triggers for long distance nasal agreement. If a nasal stop is followed by a vowel + voiced stop sequence, then agreement occurs. This can be compared with the verb stems *lo-* 'go up' and *mo-* 'go down', taking suffixes beginning with both voiced and voiceless stops.

(12) /lo/ + /-go/ 'RP' + /-t/ '1SG' → *logot* [lo.got] 'I went up'
(13) /lo/ + /-qə/ 'SS'   → *loka* [lo.qə] 'go up and…'
(14) /mo/ + /-go/ 'RP' + /-t/ '1SG' → *monggot* [moŋ.got] 'I went down'
(15) /mo/ + /-qə/ 'SS'   → *mongka* [moɴ.qə] 'go down and…'

Especially noteworthy is the fact that voiceless stops are targeted for nasal agreement just as readily as voiced stops. Walker (2011:1856) suggests the following implicational relationships among place of articulation and voicing: "(i) patterns that target voiceless stops with the same place of articulation as the nasal trigger also target voiced stops with the same place of articulation, and (ii) patterns that target voiced stops with a different place of articulation from the nasal trigger also target voiced stops with the same place of articulation as the nasal." This can be interpreted to mean that nasal consonant harmony favors targets that are similar to nasals. If a segment is targeted for nasal agreement, then any segment that is more similar to the nasal should be targeted as well.

This implicational relationship is borne out in Ma Manda. Nasal agreement in MM is not related to place of articulation at all. All stops, no matter their place, can be targeted by every nasal. Based on the implications above, *mongka* [moɴ.qə] above exhibits agreement between stops that are as far apart as possible (i.e. /m/ and /q/ are pronounced in opposite

66

ends of the mouth, and /m/ is voiced while /q/ is voiceless). This suggests that all other combinations occur as well, and this is the case. With regard to voicing, nasals target both voiceless and voiced stops for nasal agreement. This is not in itself all that remarkable, except recall that tautomorphemically voiceless stops do not undergo nasal agreement. It appears that only the prenasalization of voiced stops has been phonologized into lexical wordforms. The fact that both voiced and voiceless stops are targeted heteromorphemically suggests that this type of nasal agreement has not been phonologized as it has in tautomorphemic forms.

"Long distance nasal agreement" is quite rare in the world's languages. In Hansson's (2001; 2010) cross-linguistic typology of consonant harmony systems, only 24 languages are found to exhibit nasal consonant harmony (21 of which are substantiated). Of these, only six are found outside of the Bantu family.[4] Due to its rarity, this phenomenon has not been documented as well as nasal harmony (or other types of consonant harmony, for that matter). Of the relatively few languages in which long distance nasal agreement is found, only Ma Manda is known to target only voiced stops tautomorphemically, and both voiced and voiceless stops heteromorphemically.

Finally, as previously alluded to, in order for nasal agreement to occur, only one segment can intervene between the trigger and target, and this segment must be a vowel. I consider this vowel to be transparent, since its nasalization is optional. Additionally, the nasalization of vowels is somewhat less common heteromorphemically than tautomorphemically. Any other intervening segment blocks nasal agreement from transpiring.

Directionality and domain

Just like tautomorphemic nasal agreement, heteromorphemic agreement occurs in left-to-right fashion, as illustrated with the verb *ba-* 'come' below.

(16) /bə/ + /-ne/ 'IRR.PL' + /-ng/ '23PL' → *baneng* [bə.neng] 'come'

Long distance nasal agreement in Ma Manda is *progressive*. This is interesting, because a majority of the long distance consonant agreement systems around the world are *regressive* (anticipatory, right-to-left) rather than progressive (perseveratory, left-to-right) (Rose &

---

[4] Outside of the Bantu family, the following languages are known to have long distance nasal agreement: Izere (Plateau; Nigeria), Ngbaka (Adamawa-Ubangi; D.R.C., Congo), Nyangumarta (Pama-Nyungan; Australia), Sawai (Austronesian; Indonesia), Ulithian (Oceanic; Federated States of Micronesia), and Yabem (Oceanic; Papua New Guinea). See Hansson (2010:381ff.) for the references therein.

Walker 2004:490; Hansson 2010:138). In fact, regressive agreement is considered the primary tendency, whereas progressive agreement is often considered only to arise due to other phonological factors. It is logical that anticipatory agreement is considered the norm, since it is considered to have a basis in speech planning and physical execution (Walker 2011:1856). For instance, anticipatory consonant agreement is found in the palatalization of /s/ in the tongue-twister "Sally sells seashells by the seashore." Progressive harmony is only considered the norm for long distance *nasal* agreement (Rose 2011), and this is evidenced by the fact that progressive directionality is canonical is in the Bantu family.

The domain of MM agreement is very limited. Whereas in many languages targets are found to occur at great distances, sometimes several syllables, away from the trigger segments, in MM only an NV sequence can initiate nasal agreement. Other Bantu languages such as Bemba (Hyman 1995) and Lamba (Odden 1994; Piggott 1996) also show agreement over a single intervening vowel. These cases are also considered "long-distance", but they operate over a shorter span due to a restriction on the proximity of the participant segments (Rose & Walker 2004:479). Hansson (2010:87) refers to this restriction as "transvocalic" harmony. This is exactly the case in Ma Manda. One and only one vowel must intervene between participant segments in order for nasal agreement to surface.

Nasal agreement also occurs when monosyllabic words cliticized to their neighbor. This extension of the nasal agreement process is not as robust as the more typical word-internal type. Between stems and their suffixes, nasalization is required. Across word boundaries the nasalization is optional and is only noticed by MM speakers upon close inspection.

(17) /nə   bən/
      man   a
      na   ban   [nəm.bən] ~ [nə bən]
      'a man'

(18) /mi   qu-go-t/
      water go-RP-1SG
      mi   kugot   [miɴ.qu.got] ~ [mi qu.got]
      'I went to the water.'

Further characteristics

A few ordering restrictions prevent nasal agreement from transpiring. First, when a voiceless stop is elided before a voiced stop across a morpheme boundary, this process is ordered after

nasal hamony. In this derivational approach, this signals the serial ordering of these processes in an opaque interaction, where nasal agreement counterfeeds stop elision.

(19) /not/ 'brother' + /-gə/ '2SG.POSS' → *noga* [no.gə] 'your brother'

Second, /b/ lenites to [w] when preceded by a heteromorphemic vowel. This process is blocked by NV sequences. Compare *lo-* 'go up' with *mo-* 'go down' below. In a derivational approach, this signals that nasal agreement bleeds /b/-lenition. This also confirms that the nasal operates phonologically as a coda, rather than a prenasalization.

(20) /lo/ + /-be/ 'IRR.SG' → *lowe* [lo.we] 'go up'
(21) /mo/ + /-be/ 'IRR.SG' → *mombe* [mom.be] 'go down'

Third, [ɨ]-epenthesis precedes, and feeds, nasal agreement. When the high central vowel is inserted to break up disallowed consonant clusters, this often produces NV sequences which then trigger nasal harmony. This also confirms that the epenthetic vowel operates as a full vowel nucleus.

(22) /m-/ 'give' + /-be/ 'IRR.SG' → *mûmbe* [mɨm.be] 'give it to him'

Finally, a few environments simply do not exhibit nasal harmony as expected. For example, the adverb *mo* 'already' triggers harmony before verbs beginning in voiced stops. Yet when it is marked with the "restrictive" adverbial suffix *-gût*, this does not occur. It also does not occur between object-agreement prefixes and certain verb stems, as described in §21.3.1.

6 Prosody

This chapter addresses prosody. The primary focus is places on word-level stress, which is described in §6.1. Next, §6.2 describes the prominent reduction of high vowels in unstressed environments, and §6.3 describes stress at the phrasal level. Finally, §6.4 summarizes the intonational patterns.

6.1   Word-level stress

The accent system has been difficult to pinpoint due to a lack of convergence of the prototypical indicators of stress such as pitch, intensity, and duration. The presence of the short high-central vowel has led to a great deal of confusion as well. In his grammar of a Sepik language which also possesses both a phonemic and an epenthetic barred-i vowel, Bruce (1984:59) comments: "The syllable is not easy to define in many cases for Alamblak." This issue arises for most linguists who struggle to describe languages that have this particular vowel. With this in mind, I turn to an overview of the Ma Manda stress-accent system, including definitions and references to the broader body of relevant literature.

Ma Manda has a quantity- and quality-sensitive, left-headed stress system. Stress is not contrastive, but it is not entirely predictable either. The preference is for word-initial stress, though stress can occur on any syllable, depending on syllable weight. The phonological foot is a moraic trochee. This means that it is composed of a sequence of two light syllables, the first of which is stressed (ĹL), or one heavy syllable (H́). The words below all have two light syllables with the same quality of nuclei.

    (1)   *qawa*   /qəwə/   [qə́.wə]   'in-law'
    (2)   *musu*   /musu/   [mú.su]   'yam sp.'
    (3)   *sawa*   /səwə/   [sə́.wə]   'duck sp.'
    (4)   *keke*   /qeqe/   [qé.qe]   'roots'

This is one of the few reliable patterns in the MM stress system. Things become much more complicated because vowels have different weights. Various types of open and closed syllables interact with the qualities of their nuclei to produce surprising and complex results.

Stress is defined as "prominence", meaning that one syllable of each word is felt to be stronger than all of the others. This prominence is realized by a number of phonetic properties, including syllable duration, vowel quality, intensity, aspiration of voiceless stops, and

alignment with phrasal stress. To be more precise, a syllable that receives primary stress in Ma Manda may surface in the following manner:

Gradient properties of stressed syllables in Ma Manda

- lengthened vowel duration;
- vowel articulated close to its target value;
- syllable is pronounced with greater overall intensity;
- higher pitch than surrounding syllables;
- fortification or lengthening of onset consonants;
- increased aspiration of onset voiceless stops;
- attracts phrasal stress.

Stress often involves "a rather heterogeneous collection of phonetic properties" (Hulst 2010:12). It is true, however, that there are often one or two primary cues to stress placement. Unfortunately, these properties seldom align with one another in MM. For instance, it is often the case that one syllable seems to be marked for primary stress in terms of pitch, while another seems marked for stress in terms of intensity. It does not seem to be the case that any indicator can be relied upon more than the others. This is the primary difficulty in disentangling the phonological system of stress from the phonetic properties of the language.

Gordon (2011:926) refers to this as a "split-cue" stress system. In this type of language, "potential phonetic markers of stress do not converge on a single syllable but rather are shared between multiple, often, though not always, adjacent syllables." For example, in Ma Manda, a stressed word-initial high central vowel vowel is still shorter (by up to 50ms) than a following unstressed vowel, and a word-final unstressed vowel tends to be longer than preceding stressed vowels.

In his typology of word-prosodic systems, Hyman (2006:231) provides a definition of stress-accent: "A language with stress accent is one in which there is an indication of word-level metrical structure meeting the following two central criteria:

- obligatoriness: every lexical word has at least one syllable marked for the highest degree of metrical prominence (primary stress);
- culminativity: every lexical word has at most one syllable marked for the highest degree of metrical prominence."

These properties, especially culminativity, are seen throughout the literature on metrical stress theory. The property of culminativity means that a word can have no more than one primary stress, while the property of obligatoriness means that a word can have no less than one primary stress. Thus, it is claimed that in a stress-accent language every word must have one and only one syllable marked for primary stress. These notions have been

argued to be too strong for a few "barred-i" languages of Papua New Guinea. Kalam, for instance, is said to have primary stress on the final syllable of each word as well as all full vowels throughout the word (Blevins & Pawley 2010:17–18). One of the issues seems to arise from the lack of distinction between primary and secondary stresses.[5] This appears to be part of the problem in Ma Manda as well. For instance, in a three syllable word there is often no apparent way of determining whether the first or the third syllable has primary stress. This confusion is attested by native speakers as well. It does seem that, generally, Ma Manda words have secondary stresses. Whether this hypothesis can be supported with acoustic measurements is left for future research.

Ma Manda is an unbounded stress-accent language. Rhythmic systems can be roughly divided into bounded and unbounded types. In a bounded stress system, the stresses fall within a particular distance of a boundary or other stress. In an unbounded system, stress can fall an unlimited distance from a boundary or another stress, provided the appropriate conditions are met (Hayes 1995:32). Stress in MM is attracted to the first syllable, but if a "heavier" syllable is further to the right, then stress is often attracted to that syllable instead. Hulst (2010:41) remarks that:

> [F]rom a functional point of view, unbounded systems are curious because the location of accents provides no information about word edges. It must be concluded that in systems of this sort the 'greed' of heavy syllables in snatching the word accent has overtaken the edge-based preference of the accents that have fallen victim to their attraction.

Since heavy syllables can pull stress away from the initial syllable, the question must be asked, "How are words demarcated?" In many other languages, stress is often seen to serve a demarcative function in utterances. It seems that words are simply not demarcated in this way in Ma Manda, at least not entirely. It is still true that most words are stressed on or near their initial syllables. Recall also that Ma Manda only allows vowels, voiceless stops, and nasals to occur word-finally. It appears to be the case that positional restrictions on segments, along with stress placement, serve to demarcate phonological words from one another.

As previously mentioned, MM stress is attracted to "heaviness". Hulst (2010:47) points out that, "In systems that use prominence to determine whether syllables are heavy or light,

---

[5] Regarding neighboring Uri, Webb (1974a:87) suggests that all "long vowels" attract equal stresses.

certain *properties* of the segments in the syllable count towards weight, not their mere presence." The most important property for determining the weight of syllables in Ma Manda is vowel aperture. Typically, when vowel quality is relevant in stress placement, the more open (low) the vowel is, the more prone it is to attract stress, and this is exactly the case in Ma Manda. According to Kenstowicz (1997:183), two properties contribute to the determination of prominence in "quality-sensitive" systems: vowel height and vowel peripherality. Thus, "lower vowels are more prominent than higher vowels, and peripheral vowels are more prominent than central vowels" (1997:157).

Both vowel quality (quality-sensitivity) *and* coda consonants (quantity-sensitivity) contribute to a syllable's weight in Ma Manda. Though there are tendencies, the system is complicated and somewhat unreliable. A few examples are provided below.

(5)	*katap*	/qətəp/	[qə.tə́p]	'twins'
(6)	*gabe*	/gəbe/	[gə.bé]	'tail feathers'
(7)	*gumaa*	/guma/	[gu.má]	'smooth'
(8)	*kûda*	/qɨdə/	[qɨ.də́]	'greens'
(9)	*baagût*	/bagɨt/	[ba.gɨ́t]	'slowly'
(10)	*laamut*	/lamut/	[lá.mut]	'poison'

In each example except (10), stress is pulled away from the first syllable onto a heavier second syllable. The second syllable is heavier due either to the presence of a coda consonant, or a more open vowel. Comparing (9) and (10), however, it is apparent that some lexical idiosyncracies occur. In (9) the heavier second syllable attracts stress, while in (10) a similar environment does not attract stress away from the first syllable. *Baagût* 'slowly', though synchronically simplex, is historically an adverbial derivation with the *-gût* suffix (see §11.6).

Related Erap languages Nek, Finongan, and Uri have also been analyzed as having versions of word-initial quality-sensitive stress systems, as well as nearby Nankina. Regarding closely-related Numanggang, Hynum (2001:3) claims that stress is contrastive. However, the examples provided suggest a similar behavior to that of Ma Manda. For instance, a pair is given: *túo* 'firstborn son' and *tuót* 'enough'. It appears that a heavy second syllable attracts stress. Compare this with the Ma Manda pair: *túwə* 'firstborn son' and *tuwóŋ* 'firstborn son (3SG.POSS)'.

In the default case, Ma Manda has word-initial stress. However, a heavy second syllable pulls the stress away from a light initial syllable. In addition to coda consonants, vowel aperture directly affects stress placement. This establishes the prosodic system as

"quality-sensitive" in addition to "quantity-sensitive." The hierarchy of vowel heaviness—and thus the likelihood for attracting stress—is shown below.

Hierarchy of vowel heaviness (weight) in Ma Manda

- /a/ > /e o/ > /ə/ > /i u/ > /ɨ/

This hierarchy is coextensive with the relative openness of the vocal tract. The more sonorous a vowel is, the more likely it is to attract stress. It is important that the MM vowel hierarchy is analyzed to be different than Kenstowicz's prediction. In analyzing Kobon's (Davies 1989) quality-sensitive system (i.e. /a/ > /e o/ > /i u/ > /ə/ > /ɨ/), Kenstowicz hypothesizes that "the Kobon vowel system is first sorted in terms of peripheral vs. central and then in terms of height" (1997:164). Thus, in the first step the central vowels (i.e. /ə ɨ/) are outranked by all the others, and in the second step height determines the rest of the hierarchy. One way to handle the Ma Manda hierarchy is to hypothesize that height is ranked above peripherality. By dividing the vowel system first by height, we get the following: /a/ > /e ə o/ > /i ɨ u/. Then, by applying the peripherality condition we get: /a/ > /e o/ > /ə/ > /i u/ > /ɨ/. This correctly predicts the hierarchy, but, importantly, implies a reversal of the sonority ranking proposed by Kenstowicz, de Lacy (2004), and Parker (2002; 2008; 2011). These proposals all rank schwa as less sonorous then the high peripheral vowels, and thus less likely to attract stress in a quality-sensitive system. Therefore, this analysis is theoretically unexpected. Another potential hypothesis is to analyze the schwa vowel as a caret ([ʌ]) instead. This has the added benefit of explaining its stressability, as well as relating it to other Finisterre-Huon languages that have the more-similar /ɔ/ vowel. A detailed acoustic study is needed to verify the quality of this mid vowel.

The words below further illustrate MM stress patterns, showing the interaction between vowel quality and coda consonants in tri- and quadri-syllabic words.

(11) *kobûse*   /qobɨse/   [qó.bɨ.sè]   'chicken'
(12) *dabugum*   /dəbugum/   [də́.bu.gùm]   'star'
(13) *gisiba*   /gisibə/   [gí.si.bə̀]   'bat'
(14) *sendaapok*   /sendapoq/   [sén.da.pòq]   'cocoon'
(15) *gûglûk*   /gɨglɨq/   [gí.gɨ.lìq]   'gums'
(16) *kafedap*   /qəfedəp/   [qə.fé.dəp]   'claw upwards (by cassowary)'
(17) *kusuwat*   /qusuwət/   [qù.su.wə́t]   'tree sp.'
(18) *lagamaandû*   /ləgəmandɨ/   [lə̀.gə.mán.dɨ]   'dream'

In (11)–(15) stress behaves as expected in a language with moraic trochees assigned left-to-right. The first syllable has primary stress, while the third syllable has secondary stress—though it is debatable whether there is any reliable distinction between primary and

secondary stresses. Example (16) has a word with a (LĹ)(H) foot structure. Here the /e/ of the second syllable pulls stress from /ə/ of the first syllable, and then the closed final syllable is not stressed, probably due to stress conflation. Example (17) has a (L̀L)(H́) structure, where the final heavy syllable attracts the primary stress, and the first foot is left-headed and given secondary stress. This is common with words involving high vowels, since they seldom attract stress.

The interaction between codas and vowel aperture is a major complicating issue with regard to stress placement. Another complication results from a general variability of stress placement when a word is spoken in isolation. Many clear-cut examples always seem to be spoken in the same way, while others (e.g. /təndon/ 'night') vary. This variability suggests that the language may be in a state of change in this area, perhaps moving toward—or perhaps away from—a pitch-accent system. Another possibility with examples like *tandon* is that the nasal is optionally seen as a prenasalization of the voiced alveolar stop, which would lead to the optional movement of stress onto a heavier second syllable.

Finally, the stress system appears to be consistent across different word classes. The only exception to this is postpositional enclitics which tend not to attract stress. Nominal and verbal suffixes do not cause stress to move unless they have a heavier syllable than the noun or verb root onto which they are attached, as seen below. Note how stress is pulled onto heavier syllables in (21) and in (23).

(19)	*kelû*	/qelɨ/	[qé.lɨ]	'hand'
(20)	*kelûna*	/qelɨ-nə/	[qé.lɨ.nə̀]	'hand-1SG.POSS'
(21)	*kelûnek*	/qelɨ-neq/	[qè.lɨ.néq]	'hand-1NSG.POSS'
(22)	*taka*	/tə-qə/	[tə́.qə]	'do-SS'
(23)	*tagot*	/tə-go-t/	[tə.gót]	'do-RP-1SG'

6.2   Vowel reduction

The two high peripheral vowels /i u/ are susceptible to reduction in unstressed environments. This reduction involves the centralization and shortening of /i/ and /u/ to the shortest and most central spot in the high vowel space, producing the high central vowel [ɨ]. This is a form of "centripetal reduction" (Harris 2005).

High vowel reduction is not an uncommon phenomenon in PNG. Many languages of the Sepik and Madang Provinces, as well as some Austronesian languages, are known to have some form of vowel reduction (Blevins & Pawley 2010:36–38). In many of these languages there is a short high-to-mid central vowel [ə→ɨ] that wreaks havoc on phonological

descriptions. This vowel tends to be highly variable, quite short in duration, and often found in place of high vowels in the cognate forms of neighboring languages. Additionally, it is often analyzed as epenthetic—inserted in order to break up disallowed consonant clusters. Some linguists consider the barred-i vowel to be a phoneme, while others consider it to simply be a "linking vowel". It may even be the case that the vowel length distinction claimed in a number of Erap languages actually stems from this issue: Full vowels are considered long, while reduced vowels are considered short.

In MM full high vowels are rare in words of three syllables or more. In words of this length, the high vowels (even when stressed) are reduced. The greater the number of syllables in a word, the more likely that the high vowels will be pronounced from a centralized location.

(24) *nimin* /nimin/ [ní.min] 'cousin (3SG.POSS)'
(25) *nûmûna* /nimi-nə/ [nɨ̀.mɨ.nə́] 'cousin-1SG.POSS'

High vowels are also reduced in words with fewer than three syllables. This occurs primarily in unstressed syllables.

(26) *sûbat* /sibət/ [sɨ.bə́t] ~ [si.bə́t] 'food'
(27) *kaabûng* /qabuŋ/ [qá.bɨŋ] ~ [qá.buŋ] 'smell'

These unstressed high vowels then have a propensity for reduction. The stress rules also explain the fact that in (25) the first vowel is reduced and yet still it attracts secondary stress. Ma Manda prefers to have one of the first two syllables stressed. If both of the first two syllables are reduced, then the first one is still given some prominence, even though its nucleus is pronounced with shorter duration than a full high vowel.

The high central vowel, then, is primarily a phonetic reduction of the phonemic high vowels. This is especially true of the high back vowel /u/. It seems that there is a particular pull in Ma Manda to reduce this vowel as much as possible, or at the least to remove the rounding, thus producing a high back unrounded vowel [ɯ]. There are several minimal pairs between [i] and [ɨ], as shown below.

(28) *bim* /bim/ [bím] 'tobacco'
(29) *bûm* /bɨm/ [bɨ́m] 'corpse'

There are no such minimal pairs between [u] and [ɨ]. This is due to the higher proportion of reduced /u/ vowels to reduced /i/ vowels. Generally though, there are very few examples of minimal pairs between [i] and [u] at all. One example shown below:

(30) *min*   /min/   [mín]   'pus'
(31) *mun*   /mun/   [mún]   'roundness'

This perhaps shows a relation to the barred-i languages of the Sepik, like the Ndu language family (Laycock 1965), which are analyzed as having three-vowel systems. Interestingly, in these languages the barred-i vowel is analyzed as phonemic, while /i/ and /u/ are allophones of this one phoneme.

The high back rounded vowel /u/ is particularly resistant to remaining a full vowel in Ma Manda. In monosyllabic words, for instance, one would expect that the full high vowels would remain. However, /u/ is not typically found before a /q/ in mono- or bisyllabic words. Instead, [ɯ] occurs in its place, which is unrounded and slightly more central than [u]. In monosyllabic words that do not end in /q/, the full /u/ vowel remains.

(32) *mûq*   /muq/   [mɯ́q]   'enemy'
(33) *mut*   /mut/   [mút]   'grub'

The high central vowel is not purely a phonetic reduction, however. In some instances it is phonemic. In these cases, [ɨ] is not in a relationship of free variation or complementary distribution with [i] or [u]. Unlike reduced high vowels, even when these vowels are spoken slowly and carefully, the full vowel quality does not return; instead, the high central vowel is just drawn out awkwardly.

(34) *bûm*   /bɨm/   [bɨ́m]   'corpse'
(35) *blaagût* /blagɨt/ [blá.gɨt] 'sorry'
(36) *kûda*   /qɨdə/   [qɨ.də́]   'greens'
(37) *kûtlû*   /qɨtlɨ/   [qɨ.tɨ́.lɨ]   'bone'

I contend that, in these instances, the reduction has occurred for long enough that the original full vowel quality has been completely lost. In this case, the vowel has become phonemic. Consistent reduction has led to "remnant vowels". This hypothesis is supported by a similar treatment for the Kalam barred-i vowel. Blevins & Pawley (2010:29) argue that in Kalam, "remnant vowels evolve from reduced vowels, [and] they share many of the properties of reduced vowels: they are typically unstressed, very short and greatly influenced by coarticulatory effects."

Remnant vowels develop from repeated and consistent reduction over a long period of time. Long words provide a perfect environment for this to occur; however, this is not the only impetus for the permanent reduction of these high vowels. Lexical stress placement is subordinate to phrasal stress. This means that only the final stress of a phrase may remain,

while the other stresses are reduced or eliminated altogether. Therefore in compounds and other types of frequently occurring combinations of lexemes, the reduced vowels are heard with greater frequency than elsewhere. Over time, the new reduced quality becomes phonologized.

6.3   Phrasal stress

As described in the previous section, MM stress is phonological. That is, with few exceptions, Ma Manda does not have lexical accents which attract prominence. Instead, stress is a structural and syntagmatic (Hyman 2006:231) feature of the language. It is metrical, parsing words into syllables, and these syllables into binary left-headed feet. These feet (i.e. trochees) are moraic—composed of either a sequence of two light syllables, the first of which is stressed (ĹL), or one heavy syllable (H́). The entire word is parsed in this manner, and all stresses are subordinated to the leftmost stress. This produces secondary stress patterns which typically fall on alternating syllables—though the pattern is made more complex due to the presence of heavy syllables and stress clash.

The same metrical pattern is borne out across each phrase. The leftmost stress in a noun phrase is accorded the highest amount of prominence, and each successive stress—even across three or more words—is subordinated to this primary stress. The result is that phrases are easily demarcated due to stress placement, while individual words are primarily demarcated due to phonotactic constraints (e.g. no final voiced stops). It it this prominent phrasal syllable that attracts the phrasal pitch accent—the highest pitch of the phrase.

One of the characteristics of stressed syllables is that they are spoken with nearly their ideal phonetic value. Onsets are aspirated to strengthen the syllable-initial position, vowels are lengthened to fully meet their intended target in aperture and quality, etc. Stressed syllables are clear and easy to interpret by hearers. Unstressed syllables are subject to the opposite processes. Rather than extended vowel length, unstressed vowels are often reduced to central position—as shown with high peripheral vowel reduction in §6.2—and lose their contrastive quality—as described with *aa* and *a* in §3.2.3. Additionally, unstressed syllable onsets are less likely to undergo fortifying process, but instead exhibit lenition, or even complete elision. This frequently occurs in Ma Manda as well. In unstressed syllables, the voiceless uvular stop often lenites to the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] or the voiceless uvular fricative [χ]. Further, in fast unmonitored speech, when /q/ occurs between identical vowels, it is prone to complete elision. The verbs *taka* /tə-kə/ 'do-ss' and *baka* /bə-kə/ 'come-ss', for

78

example, often surface as [ta] and [ba], respectively. This also occurs with other stops, though less frequently. For example, *taawaamang* /ta-wa-m-nəŋ/ 'say-PRS-1PL-HAB' can surface as [taməŋ]. The velar nasal is prone to elision as well, but often co-occurs with vocalic nasalization. This is why *bûkngaan* /bɨqŋan/ 'neck' often surfaces as [bɨqãn], and why *maangûtta* /maŋit-tə/ 'sit-SS' surfaces as [mããtə]. Some speakers pronounce it with a [w] in fast speech, so that, for example, *kungat-* /kungat/ 'go around' is pronounced [kuwat].

More research is needed for predicate stress. Ma Manda predicates often consist of long streams of words, including adverbs, light verb constructions, serial verb constructions and compounds, and auxiliary verb constructions. While single verbs undergo stress just like all other word classes, sequences of verbs behave differently at times. This behavior in synthetic languages is common. Regarding long verbs in particular, Hulst (2014:25) remarks that:

> [W]e must reckon with the effect of highly complex morphological systems that occur in so-called polysynthetic languages. It is to be expected that languages with very 'long words' will show certain effects (such as the division of long words into several prosodic domains) that are absent in languages with shorter words. It is striking that many of the cases in which Hayes (1995) reports that words have 'no primary stress', or 'multiple equal stresses', occur in languages with very long words.

Upon further research, it may turn out that serial verbs, though single morphological words, may be broken up into various prosodic subparts for the purpose of stress assignment.

6.4   Intonation

Intonation is a large and complex area that is ripe for study. However, this falls largely outside the scope of the present work. Interested readers are referred to the appropriate section of the phonological description (Pennington 2015:90ff) for a bit more information. Here I only summarize the most salient intonational behavior.

Ma Manda intonation units are characterized by initial High boundary tones (H%), and final Low boundary tones (L%). Each successive H% tone exhibits downstep, such that intermediate medial clauses never match the initial H. The boundary tone at the end of final (finite) clauses is a steep falling L.

Each phrase is accorded one primary stress, which coincides with the first metrical foot. This word bears a pitch accent (H*L). The H falls on the stressed syllable, leaving the L to

fall on the next syllable. Thus, phrasal stress is accompanied by the prototypical indicators of stress indicated above, as well as the H*L tone. Each time a pause break occurs, a new pitch accent is placed on the first stressed syllable. The pattern can be illustrated as follows:

$$\text{H\%} \quad \ldots \quad \text{H*L} \quad \ldots \quad \text{L\%}$$

FIGURE 6.1: SCHEMATIC DEPICTION OF PHRASAL INTONATION

The focused phrase receives the greatest intonational prominence within each clause. Take the sentence below as an example, where the intonational contour is aligned with the interlinearized text above it. This consists of a nominative-marked subject NP in the first intonational phrase (IP). The second IP consists of the object and predicate. The third IP includes the entire second medial clause, which comprises a single medial verb. The final IP includes only the final clause, which comprises a single finite verb. Note the following: a general H to L contour within each phrase, the alignment of the phrasal stress and pitch accent with the leftmost foot of each phrase, an extra-H tone on the focused second phrase, slight intonational resets after each medial clause, and the deep falling L at the end of the sentence.

(38) *nalû   kanek   sopmûngka   bangatta   waapmûngaam.*
     na=lû   kanek   isopm-ka   ba-ngat-ta   waapm-gaa-m
     man=NOM   stick   hold.NSG-SS come-be-SS   plant.yams-PRS-1PL
     [nə́lɨ   qənéq   sópmɨɴqə̀   bə́ŋəttə̀   wápmɨŋgàm]
     'The men grab the digging sticks and come and we plant (the yams).' [skc12_05]
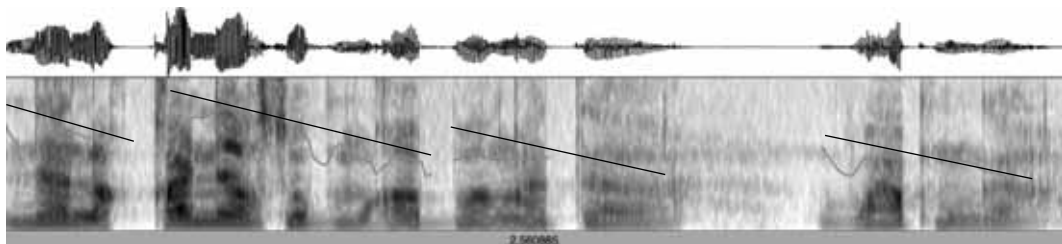
FIGURE 6.2: INTONATIONAL CONTOUR OF (38)

All speech act types exhibit this same intonational pattern. The only difference between questions and statements is that in questions it is the interrogative word which receives focus, and therefore gets the extra-H intonational prominence. Polar questions are expressed with the dubitative enclitic. Enclitics do not receive stress in MM. Instead, the phrase to which they attach receives that focused prominence. Commands tend to exaggerate the H*L accent, so that the H is very high, and the L is very low.

A final noteworthy pattern is that demonstratives frequently follow verbs within the same intonation unit. In this case the IP does not reset until the following word. The boundary L which accompanies the finite verb is extended throughout the demonstrative, including any case enclitic which accompanies it. The placement of demonstratives in this position produces finite subordinate clauses. Below the ablative-marked clause is a recapitulation of a previous mainline clause, and serves as the setting for the next mainline series of events (see the discussion on bridging constructions in Chapter 32).

(39) *ba*   *bayaang*   *dogot*   ***walû***   *siyangûlû…*
      {ba   bayaang   do-go-t   wa=lû}   siya-ng-lû
      come   PN   sleep-RP-1SG that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
      'Coming I slept in Bayang, and from there in the morning…' [skc09_01]

The anaphoric demonstratives do this too. The proximal anaphoric demonstrative *idi* frequently follows medial verbs in this fashion, even tending to cliticize to it. As shown below, this pattern is used when the speaker wants the addressee to take a medial clause as given. Therefore it often serves to recapitulate events as well, except in this case the clause occurs on the mainline a second time.

(40) *siyang*   *saandela*   ***aakngkaidi,***   *geksap*   *taka*
      siya-ng   saandela   aakng-ka=idi   geksap   ta-ka
      dawn-DS   Sunday   arise-SS=this.ANA   hunt   do-SS

      wa   *kungagûmot.*
      wa   kungat-gû-mot
      that   go.around-RP-1DU
      'Getting up at dawn on Sunday, we hunted and went around.' [skc09_02]

Both of these patterns stem from the language-wide discourse preference for stating the subject of a clause after the verb of the previous clause—finite or non-finite. That is, the general preference is for a verb to be immediately followed by the subject of the next clause, and then followed by pause. This is exemplified below.

(41) *nonang*   *nanak*   *kodaa*   *genangkaka*   *attak.*   ***mona,***
      [nonang   nanak   kodaa]   genangka-ka   at-ta-k   mona
      1SG:GEN   child   new   appear-SS   be-PRS-3SG   secondborn

      waagût   *genangkaka*   *attak.*
      waagût   genanka-ka   at-ta-k
      now   appear-SS   be-PRS-3SG
      'My new child is being born, now Mona is being born.' [skc09_18]

This pattern has grammaticalized as method of clause subordination. Perhaps it is also the source of the switch-reference morphology, which appears to be historically composed of demonstrative and case enclitic combinations.

7 Phonological word

This chapter defines the phonological word. This is accomplished by summarizing phonotactic, morphophonemic, and prosodic behavior at the word level (§7.1). It also differentiates the phonological word from the grammatical word, since mismatches occur due to reduplication, compounding, serial verb constructions, and cliticization (§7.2).

7.1   General properties

Two criteria are crucial in the demarcation of phonological words: stress and phonotactics.

Every phonological word is parsed into moraic trochees, and the leftmost foot is accorded primary stress. The stress of each subsequent foot is then subordinated into alternating secondary stresses. Therefore phonological words are generally discernible due to the fact that their initial syllables are often stressed. However, since stress is pulled away from initial syllables due to heavier second-, or sometimes third-, syllables, this criterion is only moderately productive. In quality-sensitive stress languages stress is less powerful in its demarcative function.

Phonotactics supplement the metrical system in distinguishing phonological words from one another. Words may only end in vowels, nasals, and voiceless stops. Voiced stops, fricatives, and liquids initiate word-final epenthesis, and glides never occur in this position.

The process of nasal harmony provides a further clue. Tautomorphemically, nasalization only targets voiced stops, while across morpheme boundaries, nasalization targets both voiced and voiceless stops. While these process are not optional, across word boundaries they are.

7.2   Mismatches with the grammatical word

While phonological and grammatical word boundaries prototypically coincide, certain processes—chiefly reduplication and compounding—are known to constitute instances of mismatching (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002). While these environments instantiate mismatches where multiple phonological words align with a single grammatical word, SVCs and cliticization result in multiple grammatical words being realized with a single phonological word. These two possibilities are described below.

7.2.1 Multiple phonological words in one grammatical word

Single grammatical words are realized by multiple phonological words in two environments—reduplication and compounding. These are addressed below.

Reduplication

Reduplication is one area where a grammatical word is composed of more than one phonological word. Three reduplicative processes occur in MM.

First, verb stems may be reduplicated in order to nominalize them (§8.2.7). When monosyllabic verb stems are reduplicated, they are spoken without a pause break and with a single primary stress. However, the voiceless stop does not lenite to a flap or the liquid, as would be expected of /t/ intervocalically at a morpheme boundary.

(1) ***atatga***   *aaweaawenit*   *dom*   *kaat.*
     {{at~at-ga   aawe~aawe-nit   dom}}   ka-a-t
     be~be-2SG.POSS   finish~finish-3SG.POSS:COM   NEG   see.3SG-PRS-1SG
     'I see that your presence has no end.' [skc09_26]

When the reduplicated verb stem is polysyllabic, the verb stems are spoken with separate stresses.

(2) *goin*   ***yaabaa yaabaanang***   *sûmbang*   *tawanggûm.*
     [goin   yaabaa~yaabaa=nang   sûmbang]   tawang-gû-m
     sin   leave.NSG~leave-NSG=GEN   liturgy   follow-RP-1PL
     'We followed the liturgy of repentance.' (lit. 'We followed the sins-leaving's liturgy') [skc11_03b]

While (1) exhibits mixed properties of phonological wordhood, the reduplication in (2) clearly comprises two phonological words. Yet in both cases, grammatically they function as single words. In (1) this means that the entire word receives one possessive suffix, and in (2) the entire word is modified by one pre-head noun—marked with the genitive enclitic and functioning as the possessor of the following noun.

The same phonological patterns are seen with mono- and polysyllabic reduplication of nouns or their modifiers. These reduplications convey explicit plurality of their noun phrases (Chapter 14). The reduplications in these examples consist of two phonological words, and one grammatical word.

(3) *manggat*   *ya*   **wala wala**   *isopmbaan.*
    [manggat   ya]   {wala~wala   isopm-baan}
    thing   this   image~image   hold.NSG-NMLZ
    'This thing is a camera.' (lit. 'This thing is an images-holder.') [DN03.305.14]

(4) *notnaye*   **saakûm saakûm**   *yaalû,*   *enaanggûtta,*
    [not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
    brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
    'I got my two little sisters…' [skc09_10]

Finally, verbs can be reduplicated and followed by a light verb in the expression of pluractionality (i.e. verbal number) (§25.2). These words receive separate stresses, yet they receive a single causative prefix:

(5) *bûge*   **efaale faale**   *taka,*   *bot*   *beka,*
    bûge   ef-faale~faale   ta-ka   bot   be-ka
    again   CAUS-turn~turn   do-SS   group   put.NSG-SS

    sengûda   *dûwangang.*
    se-ng-da   dû-wa-ng-nang
    cook-DS-1NSG   cook-PRS-23PL-HAB
    '(We) rotate [the dried branches] again, and heap them, and we light them on fire.'
    [skc09_17]

The reduplication can consist of complex words, and can include more than two repetitions of the verb stem. Yet they are only followed by a single light verb which carries the inflection for the entire reduplicated (grammatical) word.

(6) *mi*   *ko*   **bakung bakung**   *tang,…*
    mi   ko   ba-ku-ng~ba-ku-ng   ta-ng
    water   side   come-go-DS~come-go-DS   do-DS
    'The water passing by on (both) sides,…' [skc12_13]

(7) *kosaan kosaan*   *ba*   **bot bot bot**   *taka*   *imo,…*
    kosaan~kosaan   ba   bot~bot~bot   ta-ka   idi=mo
    side~side   come   group~group~group   do-SS   this.ANA=already
    'Coming to each side, they formed groups,…' [skc12_01]

One further type of repetition occurs in Ma Manda, in the expression of the extended durative aspect (§24.3). However, this consists of full repeated verb forms that are repeated two or more times in the iconic temporal and/or locational extension of an event. This is the difference between repetition, consisting of multiple grammatical words, and reduplication, consisting of a single grammatical word.

(8) *tang* *nimin* *ban* *kunsûlû* ***alûmgok*** ***alûmgok****.*
     ta-ng [nimin ban kun-s=lû] at-m-go-k at-m-go-k
     do-DS cousin a up.DIST-LK=NOM be-give-RP-3SG be-give-RP-3SG
     'And the other cousin above waited and waited on [him].' [skc12_11]

Compounds

In many compounds, the grammatical and phonological criteria coincide. For example, *nantaam* 'people' is composed of *na* 'man' and *taam* 'wife'. Other elements cannot occur between them, and the entire word is modified as a unit.

(9) *naai* *wasûlong* ***nantaam*** *den* *yolangan*
     [naai wa=slong] [nantaam den] yolangan
     time that=LOC people some PN

     aatigûngang.
     at-i-gû-ng-nang
     be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
     'At that time some people were living at Yolangan.'

In many other cases, compounds consist of two or three phonological words. An example is *bot yot* 'meeting house', which is composed of *bot* 'group, meeting' and *yot* 'house'. Though these are completely separate phonological words, with separate stresses, grammatically they are a unit. No words may intervene, and postpositional enclitics go only at the end of the compound. Many more examples are provided in Chapter 14.

(10) *tebû* ***bot*** ***yotnang*** *tûka* *imo,*
     teb [bot yot=nang] tû-ka idi=mo
     bring group house=LOC put.SG-SS this.ANA=already
     'Bringing him we put him in the meeting house and…' [skc09_18]

A number of verbal compounds exist as well, but these exhibit alignment between phonological and grammatical words. For example, the verb *sûna-* 'cook and eat' is a compound of *se-* 'cook' and *na-* 'eat'.

(11) *wadûng* *yenûngka* ***sûnanggûng*** *beng.*
     wa-dûng ye-nû-ka sûna-gû-ng beng
     that-ADV 3NSG.O-tell-SS cook.eat-RP-23PL pandanus
     'He told them like that and they cooked and ate, the pandanus.' [skc11_16]

The same can be said for noun-verb compounds. For example, *genang* is a locational noun meaning 'clearing, open space', while *ka-* is a verb meaning 'see (3SG.O)'. Together they mean 'appear':

(12) *bedûlak* **genangkangak**.
  bedûlak genangka-nga-k
  sore appear-NP-3SG
  'A sore surfaced (earlier today).' [DN04.81.04]

One area that needs further study is light verb constructions (§22.1). These consist of noun-like complements which license particular light verbs, and the two occur together to carry a particular meaning. These appear to function like a single grammatical constituent, though they surface as two phonological words. More research is needed here.

(13) *yot* **kam** **taat**.
  yot kam ta-a-t
  house clean do-PRS-1SG
  'I am cleaning the house.' [DN03.291.49]

7.2.2 Multiple grammatical words in one phonological word

Two situations occur whereby multiple grammatical words are realized as single phonological words. These are serial verb constructions and cliticizations, as described in turn below.

Serial verb constructions

A number of concepts are expressed through verb serialization in MM (§22.2). SVCs produce causatives and benefactives, and they carry directional and aspectual meanings. MM also has a number of symmetrical SVCs, where the verbs simply convey multiple sub-components of a perceived whole event. For example, the following directional SVC is common:

(14) *gelûmsek* *flong* *mi* *ima* **bakuyak**.
  [gelûm-sek flong] [mi idi-ma] ba-ku-ya-k
  spot-23DU.POSS ALL water this.ANA-EMPH come-go-PRS-3SG
  'This very water was passing by their (DU) spot!' [skc12_13]

However, elements may separate serialized verb stems. For example, object-agreement morphology may occur between words with the benefactive applicative construction.

(15) *naknge!* *yenggûlong.* *sidawa* **febûnaamûlang**?
  nak-nge yengglong sida=wa feb-naa-m-la-ng
  1SG-MIR thank.you sweet.potato=DUB bring.NSG-1SG.O-give-PRS-2SG
  'Oh my! Thank you. You've brought me sweet potato?' [DN04.039.02]

SVCs typically consist of single primary stresses, and no pause breaks are allowed between them. They are single phonological words.

Clitics

The case postpositions attach to the final element of a noun phrase (§16.1). They undergo morphophonemic alternation based on the final segment of their host, and they are never stressed.

(16) *kobûse*   ***bantû***   *kobûse*   *ban*   *yan*   *nûnggok,*
     [kobûse   ban=lû]   [kobûse   ban]   ya-n   nû-go-k
     chicken   other=NOM   chicken   other   this-ANA   tell-RP-3SG
     'The other chicken told the other chicken this…' [skc12_11]

The same is true for the genitive enclitic (§15.1.1):

(17) *beng*   *sambami*   ***mengkûnang***   *ban*   *gaalûka…*
     [beng   sambami   meng=lûnang   ban]   gaalû-ka
     pandanus   PN   mother=GEN   a   steal-SS
     'I stole (one of) Sambami's mother's pandanus and…' [skc09_21]

Additionally, Ma Manda has a general dispreference for light phonological words. Therefore monosyllabic words with open syllables typically cliticize to the following word. This is common, for example, with the word *na* 'man'.

(18) *walû*   *ba*   ***nanden***   *efûtefaalok…*
     wa=lû   ba   {[na=den]   ef-tefaa=lok}
     that=NOM   come   man=some   CAUS-damage=POT
     'Coming to mess up some men…' [skc12_06]

Adverbs such as *mo* 'already' and *maa* 'wholly', as well as the demonstratives, frequently cliticize to a following verb for this same reason. When one of these nasal-initial adverbs attaches to a verb, prenasalization is required.

(19) *eng.*   ***mombaat.***
     eng   mo=ba-a-t
     yes   already=come-PRS-1SG
     'Yes, I've already come.' [skc09_23]

A group of verbs have underlying velar nasals in initial position, but only recover these nasals when preceded by a vowel. Thus, when the demonstratives attach to these verbs, the nasal surfaces and the entire complex is a single phonological word.

(20) *yaalû yaalû*   *buntuk*   *tawaang*   ***kunatta***   *idi*
     yaalû~yaalû   [buntuk   tawaang]   kun=at-ta   idi
     two~two   PN   mountain   up.DIST=be-SS   this.ANA

     wangatta   *tagûmok…*
     wa=ngat-ta   ta-gû-mok
     that=be-SS   do-RP-23DU
     'Both were up on Buntuk Mountain, and they were there together.' [skc12_01]

Therefore, clitics, though they are separate grammatical words, surface together with their hosts as single phonological words. Occasionally, when case enclitics follow proper names, they stand alone as phonological words with their own stress. However, their initial segment is still required to undergo alternation based on the last segment of the preceding name.

(21)   *ta*   *nanak,*   *u*   *kosaan*   *yangaagû*   *kansok*   ***kût***...
         ta   nanak   udu   kosaan   ya=ngat-gû   [kansok   lit]
         but   child   that.ANA   side   here=be-DUR   PN   COM
         'But the child, he was on this side with Kansok, …' [skc09_18]

Phonologically light verbs also cliticize to the next verb. When they unable due to the presence of an intervening word, or due to a pause break or other factor, then the vowel of the verb is frequently extended.

(22)   *mulin*   *tamaakong,*   *bûge*   ***kuu***   *wolûka*   *semaakongka*...
         mulin   ta-maa-kong-ng   bûge   ku~u   wolû-ka   se-maa-kong-ka
         dry   do-CMPL-TERM-DS   again   go~EXT   gather-SS   cook-CMPL-TERM-SS
         'After completely drying, going again we gather it and cook them all and…'
         [skc12_05]

7.3   Orthography and the phonological word

The orthography follows the phonological demarcation of words, rather than the grammatical division. This means that reduplications and compounds are only written as single words when their components are monosyllabic. It also means that clitics are written together with their hosts, and serial verb constructions are written as single units.

PART III: WORD CLASSES

Part III is concerned with a description of the word classes found in the Ma Manda language. Word classes, otherwise known as "parts of speech", are defined by their syntactic, morphological, and phonological properties. Thus, words which behave identically in every environment are grouped together into a single class and then named in a manner that fosters cross-linguistic comparison. However, it must be borne in mind that these sorts of divisions are often a matter of analytical perspective. Payne (2014:95) remarks that, "with a little reflection, it becomes clear that classes such as 'Noun' and 'Verb' are no more than convenient approximations, rather than absolute categories. They are imprecise generalizations that help readers understand something important about a language, but which do not directly correspond to fixed categories in even one language." That is, the boundaries of such classes can be exceedingly fuzzy. For example, when only a subset of criteria are met for a given word, the analyst must choose whether to posit a sub-category of a larger class, or to posit a new top-level class. In this work I utilize broad sets of criteria to define a limited set of major word classes, and then I further divide these classes to account for the minutiae of morpho-syntactic behaviors which do not necessarily align across the class as a whole. Following Aikhenvald (2014:52), I identify two essential criteria for establishing word classes: (i) morphological structure and grammatical categories—obligatory or optional, and (ii) syntactic funtions of a member of the class. This is the set of criteria to which I primarily appeal in the following chapters.

I begin by first addressing the open word classes. These are classes whose members cannot be listed exhaustively, due to their propensity to synchronically accept derived forms, words borrowed from other languages, or both. The open word classes in Ma Manda include nouns (Chapter 8), adjectives (Chapter 9), verbs (Chapter 10), adverbs (Chapter 11), and light verb complements (Chapter 12). The verb chapter addresses verb classes, but complex verbal morphology is reserved for Chapter 21.

After these large classes are described, I next turn to the closed classes in Chapter 13. Classes of words are considered closed when they have not been found to synchronically accept new forms. Though borrowed and derived forms appear to exist to different degrees within these word classes, at present no mechanics are available for productively

incorporating new words. The closed classes include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, interrogatives, conjunctions, postpositions, interjections, the negator, and particles.

8 Nouns

Nouns form the largest word class in Ma Manda. Minimally, nouns are distinguished by their primary function as the head of a noun phrase (NP). While other word classes (e.g. demonstratives and quantifiers) may also occur as NP heads, it is not their primary function. For nouns, this is their primary role. The large class of nouns is extremely complex in its make-up, with numerous sub-classes due to morphological and syntactic behavior. After discussing the morpho-syntactic and phonological characteristics of the noun class as a whole, I discuss the sub-classes of nouns: noun possession classes are described in §8.1, and then in §8.2 the alienable noun class is further sub-divided based on various morphological and syntactic criteria.

Most nouns may be modified by adjectives, quantifiers, and even other nouns. When nouns serve as modifiers, they precede the head noun. Other classes of modifiers always follow the head noun. Example (1) illustrates this pattern.

(1) ***sûbat   baasûng***   *kusamba*
     sûbat   baasûng   kusamba
     [food   table   big]
     'big food table'

Here *sûbat* 'food' is not the head noun; it modifies *baasûng* 'table', meaning that the table is meant for food (whether or not food is actually on the table at the time). The adjective *kusamba* 'big' follows the head noun and modifies it. It is not the food, but the table, that is big. Nouns may also modify pronouns, and in this function they always precede the pronoun, unlike other classes which follow the pronoun.

(2) ***taamtaam   nûndû***   *laabûka,...*
     [taamtaam   nûndû]   laab-ka
     women   1NSG   come.up-SS
     'We women came up and…' [skc09_28]

Verbal agreement provides evidence of the fact that the right-most noun in a complex noun phrase is the head. In (3) the head noun is *taba* 'resident', and this is modified by the place name *Mup*. It is this head noun which is modified by the numeral, and this is reflected by the dual verbal agreement in both the adverbial and mainline clauses.

(3) *mup* **taba** *yaalû ba ya dongaamokngang ya kungaamok.*
[mup taba yaalû] ba {ya do-ngaa-mok=nang ya} ku-ngaa-mok
PN resident two come here sleep-NP-23DU=LOC this go-NP-23DU
'The two Mup residents came and went here where they had slept.' [skc09_02]

Nouns may also serve in non-verbal clauses as both a subject (4) and as a complement (5).

(4) **plit** *idi waagem.*
plit idi waagem
passion.fruit this.ANA bad
'This passion fruit is bad.' [DN05.31.02]

(5) **na** *udu* **bepma.**
na udu bep-na
man that.ANA father-1SG.POSS
'That man is my father.' [DN02.195.21]

The class of nouns is the largest word class in the language, and it is open to derivations and loanwords, both of which are shown below. Example (6) has the loanword *sip* 'ship', as well as a nominalized form of the complex verb *kapape-* 'look after well'. Example (7) provides another example of the nominalizing suffix *-baan*. This suffix is described in §21.4.6.

(6) **sip** **kapapewaan** *kadek walû…*
[sip ka-pape-baan kadek wa=lû]
ship see.3SG-well-NMLZ group that=NOM
'The ship crew…' (lit. 'The ship-look-after ones') [skc12_14]

(7) *manggat ya walawala* **isopmbaan.**
[manggat ya] {wala~wala isopm-baan}
thing this image~image hold.NSG-NMLZ
'This thing is a camera.' (lit. 'This thing is an images-holder.') [DN03.305.14]

Borrowed nouns often assimilate to meet the phonotactic requirements of the MM language. For example, English 'car' is borrowed as *kaalû*, with an epenthetic vowel in final position due to the dispreference for word-final liquids.

Since modifiers can head an NP on their own, no nominalizing derivations exist for these forms, as shown for the quantifier *den* 'some' in (8).

(8) **dentû** *kamatta…*
den=lû kam=at-ta
some=NOM down.PROX=be-SS
'…some were below…' [skc10_11]

Morphologically, all nouns may bear case enclitics, as in (9), and also the genitive enclitic, as in (10). The case enclitics primarily attach to the final word of the NP, and the genitive enclitic attaches to the possessor in a possessive construction.

(9)   *nolû*   *ban*   *kaamgok*   *wa*   **kûngkûnaanûkga**
         {[nolû   ban]   kaam-go-k   wa}   kûngkûnaanûk=ga
         brother.3SG.POSS   other   die-RP-3SG   that   sand=INST

         pûlaasûka   *tûgok.*
         plaas-ka   tû-go-k
         cover-SS   put.SG-RP-3SG
         'He covered his brother who died with sand.' [skc12_15]

(10)   **malompûnang**   *klaklen*   *got*   *alûtaak.*
         [malom=lûnang   klaklen]   got   at-taa-k
         lord=GEN   peace   2SG:COM   be-FUT-3SG
         'The Lord's peace be with you.' [DN02.225.06]

The locative case enclitic =*nang* is unique in that it attaches to the head noun or adjectival modifier, but not other modifiers.

(11)   *mukuya*   *yodûka*   *fangang*   **kadetnang**   *ya*   *kungaam...*
         mukuya   yodû-ka   [fangang   kadet=nang   ya]   ku-ngaa-m
         pig   search.for-SS   PN   road=LOC   this   go-NP-1PL
         'We searched for pigs and went along the Fangang road...' [skc09_10]

Many nouns can also be marked with possessive suffixes, as in (5) above. These suffixes mark the possessed noun with a bound pronominal form which identifies whether the possessor is first, second, or third person, and singular or non-singular number (and dual in the non-first person). Body parts and plant parts require such morphology; and kinship terms typically take these suffixes, but do not take them in vocative function. Most other noun sub-classes can also take possessive suffixes, depending on the environment. Personal names, however, have never been found to bear possessive suffixes. An additional non-singular affix -*ye*/*ye*- may inflect kinship terms, human alienable nouns, and domesticated animals, but only when also marked for possession. These morphological characteristics are further described in §8.1, and possessive morphology is addressed in Chapter 15.

Some nouns may be reduplicated to indicate plurality (see *walawala* 'images' in (7)), though occasionally such reduplication is lexicalized with new meaning:

(12)   *sap*   *sapsap*
         'dog(s)'   'beetle sp.'

Nouns also often form compounds, sometimes as single phonological words (13) and sometimes as multiple phonological words (14).

(13) *nantaam*
      na-taam
      man-wife
      'people'

(14) *amdaa   daai*
      nose   eye
      'face'

Phonologically, nouns vary quite widely with regard to their length, syllable count, and phonotactics. It is often true that place names, and flora and fauna names, are complex phrases, as in (15).

(15) *daai   sûglen*
      eye   strong
      'fly sp.'

This is also true for neologisms, which frequently pair two or three nouns and become lexicalized as such, like the phrase in (16).

(16) *gelûm   na*
      hole   man
      'confessor' (i.e. one to whom sins are confessed)

Flora and fauna names often exhibit peculiar characteristics such as reduplication and compounding, with the base form being absent from the synchronic lexicon, as in (17)–(18).

(17) *bantumuttumut*
      'goshawk sp.'

(18) *blabla*
      'frog sp.'

These lexemes also occasionally exhibit onomatopoeic forms, with phonotactic sequences that are not seen elsewhere in the lexicon. No other phonological generalizations seem to be possible regarding the noun class. For more information about compounding and reduplication in nouns, see Pennington (2015:54ff).

Nouns are typically vague with respect to number, with the verbal subject- and object-agreement affixes, along with some verb stem suppletion, providing the bulk of this information. A small group of nouns do have separate plural forms, but these are irregular and must be memorized. This is most commonly seen with nouns referring to people, as well

as a few plant parts. When a speaker chooses to be explicit about number within a noun phrase, they generally provide this information through quantifiers or numerals, and sometimes through reduplicated adjectival forms. Where relevant, number is discussed within the various sections below.

8.1   Noun possession sub-classes

Ma Manda displays two categories of nouns with regard to whether they are inherently possessed. Inalienable nouns are always possessed, and this is generally overtly marked via pronominal suffixes, or by irregular third person possessive forms. As discussed below, however, certain syntactic environments preclude the inclusion of these affixes. The inalienable category can be subdivided into two further sub-categories: kinship terms, and then a general category I call "Other inalienable terms". The kinship terms (which also include birth order terms) are set apart by two features: (i) they may take an overt affix which marks number, and (ii) they may be used as terms of address. This possession class is discussed in §8.1.1. The 'other' category consists of human body parts, animal body parts, parts of plants and objects, and abstract nouns such as 'name' and 'reflection, image'. This class is discussed in §8.1.2. The posssession paradigm is described later in §15.2.

The two classes of inalienable nouns are unified by the fact that they are always understood by native speakers as being inherently possessed. Mothers, eyes, and names are understood as having an inherent and permanent connection with their owners. This permanent ownership is encoded linguistically by the permanence of possessive morphology which accompanies such lexemes. This is most evident in the third person. Inalienable nouns in MM often have irregular third person possessive forms. This can be seen in (19) with *be/bep-* 'father' (a kinship term) and in (20) with *daai/daau-* 'eye' (a body part term). On the other hand, many other inalienable nouns are completely regular, as seen in (21) with *kelû* 'hand'.

(19) *be*   *bepma*
      be   bep-na
      father.3SG.POSS   father-1SG.POSS
      '(his) father'   'my father'

(20) *daai*   *daauna*
      daai   daau-na
      eye.3SG.POSS   eye-1SG.POSS
      '(his) eye'   'my eye'

(21) *kelû*   *kelûna*
      kelû   kelû-na
      hand   hand-1SG.POSS
      '(his) hand'   'my hand'

Since inalienable nouns are always possessed, when they occur without an overt possessive suffix, they are automatically interpreted as possessed by a third person referent, as with *meng* 'mother' in (22). Related to this is the fact that overtly-expressed possessors of inalienable nouns do not receive genitive marking. Compare (22) and (23), where the possessor of the alienable noun *yot* 'house' is marked with the genitive enclitic. On the other hand, the longer the possessor NP, the more likely it is to bear the genitive marker to disambiguate—an identical pattern is found in Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:481). An example of this is shown in (24). Here even though the possessed NP is inalienable, the complex possessor NP is marked with the genitive.

(22) *gagamdi*   *meng*
      [gagamdi   meng]
      PN   mother
      'Gagamdi's mother' [skc09_35]

(23) *laayantûnang*   *yot*
      [laayan=lûnang   yot]
      PN=GEN   house
      'Ryan's house' [DN02.173.33]

(24) *manggat*   *wa,*   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *yalûnang*
      [manggat   wa]   [taamûng   nanak-sû   ya=lûnang
      demon   that   woman   child-23NSG.POSS this=GEN

      membû   *kûtlû*   *tukungak.*
      membû   kûtlû]   tuku-nga-k
      head.3SG.POSS   bone.3SG.POSS   take.SG-NP-3SG
      'The demon took their daughter's head.' [skc12_04]

Less often, speakers mark the possessor of inalienable nouns with the genitive for emphatic effect:

(25) **yesunang**   **wo**   *sakoka*   *saanûlat...*
      [yesu=nang   wo]   sako-ka   saa-nû-la-t
      Jesus=GEN   name.3SG.POSS   hold.3SG-SS   2NSG.O-tell-PRS-1SG
      'I take the name of Jesus and ask you…' [skc12_06]

Alienable nouns are those which are not inherently possessed. That is, their ownership can be traded or sold, or they can be free of ownership altogether. Nonetheless, when they are possessed, speakers can choose to add possessive suffixes to many of the alienable noun sub-

97

classes, as shown in (26). In posessive non-verbal clauses, both strategies (genitive enclitic and possessive suffix) co-occur, as in (27). However, proper nouns, locational nouns, temporal nouns, and nominalizations do not seem to occur with possesssive affixes. The large class of alienable nouns is further divided into sub-classes in §8.2.

(26) *yenggûlong,* **sidana** *febû naamûlang.*
yenggûlong sida-na feb naa-m-la-ng
thank.you sweet.potato-1SG.POSS bring.NSG 1SG.O-give-PRS-2SG
'Thank you, bringing my sweet potato you've given it to me.' [DN04.39.02]

(27) *na udu, nonang* **finana.**
na udu [nonang fi-na-na]
man that.ANA 1SG.GEN work-man-1SG.POSS
'That man is my workman.' [DN05.31.06]

Table 8.1 summarizes the primary characteristics which separate these noun possession sub-classes.

TABLE 8.1: NOUN POSSESSION CLASS FEATURES

		Always possessed	Possessor marked with GEN	Marked for number	Used as term of address	Open class
Inalienable	Kinship terms	+	–/+	+	+	–
	Other	+	–/+	–	–	–
Alienable		–	+	–/+	–/+	+

8.1.1 Kinship terms

The growing lexical database includes at least 34 nouns which are clearly kinship terms. This list consists of 13 consanguineal (related by blood) terms, and 8 affinal (related by marriage) terms. These are listed in Table 8.2 and Table 8.3, respectively. This also includes 13 birth order terms—which exhibit some unique characteristics. Most of these terms are shown in Table 8.4. These tables list every possessive and vocative form. The vocative forms are the noun stems without possessive suffixes. The tables also provide the third person singular possessive forms, which are often irregular. The shaded fields highlight irregular forms which are not predictable, though some patterns are observable (e.g. many vowel-final stems are suffixed with -*n*). The parts of the paradigm which are not found in the corpus are left blank. It is not known whether such forms are absent due to the limitations of the corpus, or due to absence of the forms altogether. More research is needed in this regard.

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	23DU	23PL	3SG	vocative
father, father's brothers	*bepma*	*bepmek*	*bega*	*besek*	*besû*	*be*	*bep*
mother	*menga*	*mengek*	*mengga*		*mengsû*	*meng*	*meng*
uncle (mother's brothers)	*kaakona*	*kaakonek*	*kaakoga*		*kaakosû*	*kaakon*	*kaako*
aunt (mother's & father's sisters)	*taana*	*taanek*	*taaga*		*taasû*	*taaung*	
cousin	*nûmûna*	*nûmûnek*	*nûmûngga*		*nûmûsû*	*nimin*	*nimi*
nephew/niece (children of opposite-sex sibling)	*tadepma*	*tadepmek*	*tadepga*		*tadepsû*	*tadep*	*tadep*
child, son, nephew/niece (children of same-sex sibling)	*nanaknga*	*nanakngek*	*nanakga*	*nanaksek*	*nanaksû*	*nanaa*	*nanak*
daughter	*wetna*	*wetnek*	*wega*		*wetsû*	*welû*	*wet*
brother (same-sex sibling), great-grandparent, great-grandchild	*notna*	*notnek*	*noga*		*nosû*	*nolû*	*not*
brother (opposite-sex sibling of female)[6]	*sabena*	*sabenek*	*sabega*		*sabesû*	*sabe*	
grandfather, grandson	*fafana*	*fafanek*	*fafaga*		*fafasû*	*fafaan*	*fafa*
grandmother, granddaughter	*mamana*	*mamanek*	*mamangga*		*mamasû*	*mamaan*	*mama*
grandchild	*lana*	*lanek*	*langa*		*lansû*	*laan*	

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	23DU	23NSG	3SG	vocative
husband	*aapma*	*aapmek*	*aapga~aaga*		*aapsû*	*nge*	
wife	*taama ~ taamna*	*taamnek*	*taamga*		*taamsû*	*taamin*	*taam*
in-law	*kawana*	*kawanek*	*kawaga*		*kawasû*		
parents-in-law (of male), son-in-law	*yepmana*	*yepmanek*	*yepmangga*		*yepmasû*		
father-in-law (of female)	*fedûna*	*fedûnek*	*fedûga*		*fedûsû*		
mother-in-law (of female)	*maana*	*maanek*	*maanga*		*maansû*	*maan*	*maan*
daughter-in-law	*naambûna*	*naambûnek*	*naambûga*		*naambûsû*		
brother-in-law, sister-in-law	*naamna*	*naamnek*	*naamga*		*naamsû*	*naamin*	*naam*

---

[6] Sister (opposite-sex sibling of male) is a complex NP. It consists of *nanak* 'child', followed by the modifier *yabe*. The possessive morphology modifies *nanak* only.

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	23DU	23NSG	3SG	vocative
firstborn male	*tuwana*		*tuwaga*		*tuwasû*	*tuwong*	*tuwa*
second-born male	*monana*		*monangga*		*monasû*	*monang*	*mona*
third-born male	*gûknga*		*gûkga*		*gûksû*		*gûk*
fourth-born male	*saawana*		*saawaga*		*saawasû*	*saaung*	*saawa*
firstborn female	*moknga*		*mokga*		*moksû*	*mok*	*mok*
second-born female	*wenana*		*wenangga*		*wenasû*	*wenang*	*wena*
third-born female	*kayapma*		*kayapga*		*kayapsû*		*kayap*
fourth-born female	*daabûna*		*daabûga*		*daabûsû*	*daabûng*	*daabû*

Kinship terms are set apart from other inalienable nouns by two features. First, they can be used as terms of address. They share this feature with all nouns that have human referents, such as *na* 'man'. In this function, kinship terms occur in their basic (non-third person possessive) form, without possessive morphology. Thus, the vocative form of kinship terms is their unmarked form. An example is shown in (28). Note that the demonstrative *ya* 'this, here' cannot modify *bep* 'father' in this sentence, since the vocative form of the kinship term forces it to be interpreted as a standalone vocative NP. A vocative birth order term is shown in (29).

(28)   **bep**   *ya*   *adaampawet.*
      bep   ya   adaampa-be-t
      father   here   rest-IRR.SG-1SG
      'Dad, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

(29)   **tuwa,**   *mi*   *flong*   *kutaangka?*
      tuwa   [mi   flong]   ku-taa-ng=wa
      firstborn.male   water   ALL   go-FUT-2SG=DUB
      'Tuwa, will you go to the water?' [DN04.76.58]

The second feature which separates kinship terms from the rest of the inalienable nouns is that they are obligatorily marked for number by way of a singular/non-singular affix *-ye*, as in (30)–(32).Without the *-ye* affix, these possessed nouns cannot be interpreted with plural referents.

(30)   *nûmûnaye*
      nimi-na-ye
      cousin-1SG.POSS-NSG
      'my cousins' [skc09_38]

(31)   *bepmekye*
      bep-nek-ye
      father-1NSG.POSS-NSG
      'our fathers' [DN02.221.10]

(32) *klistal   nanaaye*
    [klistal   nanaa-ye]
    PN   child.3SG.POSS-NSG
    'Crystal's children' [DN02.221.16]

In contrast, other classes of nouns are generally left unmarked for number, with only the verb providing this information. When overtly marked for possession, however, almost any noun may be marked with *-ye*, as shown in (33). In these cases, the morphology is used for emphasis and is not required. An example is shown in (34), where the compound alienable human noun *nantaam* 'people' already requires a plural referent. Here the addition of *-ye* causes the plural noun to be interpreted as a collective whole, which is then pluralized, just as in English with 'peoples'.

(33) *kobûsesûye*
    kobûse-sû-ye
    chicken-23NSG.POSS-NSG
    'their chickens' [DN02.221.09]

(34) *nantaamgaye*
    na-taam-ga-ye
    man-woman-2SG.POSS-NSG
    'your peoples' (speaking to God) [skc11_06c]

While the previous examples have all illustrated *-ye* as a suffix, it instead attaches as a prefix when it co-occurs with another suffix or clitic, as in (35).

(35) *klowi   yetaaungût*
    [klowi   ye-taaung-nit]
    PN   NSG-aunt.3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS:COM
    'Chloe and her aunts' [DN04.74.48]

The noun *meng* 'mother' is the only kinship term which may follow a head noun as an adjective. As an adjective it operates with augmentative function, meaning 'big' or 'main'. Nearby Nungon has the same pattern (e.g. 'pig mother' → 'car') (Sarvasy 2014d:144). In MM this is productive in examples like (36). The process is old enough that it has been lexicalized in many words. The lexicalization is transparent in examples like (37), where the *kadet meng* is being reanalyzed as *kadepmeng*, seemingly with the same referential value. In (38) we see that sometimes *meng* is present but its augmentative meaning is not present. Sometimes the base form is completely meaningless without *meng*, as with *gwakmeng* 'cuscus sp.' (*gwak).

(36) *bûse   meng*
     bush   mother
     'deep jungle'

(37) *kadet   meng   → kadepmeng*
     road   mother
     'main road'

(38) *tibiyaam   tibiyaameng*
     'frog sp.'   'fly sp.'

The kinship terms also comprise some complex NPs that may be in the process of lexicalization. For example, *meng be* means 'parents'. Whether these are simply apposed nouns, or a complex lexeme, needs more research. However, phonologically they are spoken with a single accent, on *meng*. Another example is provided in (39). Here the possessed NP consists of two terms in third person singular form, yet the possessor is third person dual. Additionally, the *-ye* non-singular suffix only marks the second possessed noun. These irregularities suggest that the words have formed a compound.

(39) *yenalam   yaalû   wasit   welû   nanaaye…*
     [ye-nalam   yaalû   wasit   welû   nanaa-ye]
     NSG-couple   two   that:COM daugher.3SG.POSS son.3SG.POSS-NSG
     'The couple with their male and female children…' [skc12_16]

The birth order terms have several peculiarities. First of all, their most common function is vocative, as terms of address or as proper names. The birth order terms each belong in separate sets, male and female. That is, the third-born male term *gûk* is used for males who have been preceded by two other males (whether living or dead). The number of sisters which preceded him do not affect the chosen term. Thus, the first- and second-born terms are exceedingly common, since almost every family has these. On the other hand, the fourth-born terms are rare. These come to serve as nicknames, since their use excludes a majority of the population. For example, it is common to witness a birth order term in a listed series of names, as in (40).

(40) *fode   flong,   fode   taamengsla, raaji   bazakiec,*
     [fode   flong]   [fode   taamengsla] [raaji   bazakiec
     Thursday   ALL   Thursday morning   PN   PN

     mainsen,   wili   daabû,   fûka   mo,
     mainsen   wili   daabû]   fû-ka   mo
     PN   PN   fourthborn.female   come.down-SS   already
     'On Thursday, Thursday morning, after Ragi, Bazakiec, Mainsen, Wili and Dabu came down…' [skc09_21]

102

Three other lexemes function as birth terms: *tuplek* 'fifth-born male', *kayak* 'eighth-born male', and *kansok* 'tenth-born male'. Actually, two other kinship terms are worth noting as well: *nimilo* 'firstborn male cousin' and *namok* 'firstborn female cousin'. Since these are very infrequently used, and do not seem to function with the basic paradigm, they are not listed in Table 8.4. Some of the eight terms have separate modifying forms, which are shaded below.

TABLE 8.5: BIRTH ORDER MODIFIERS

firstborn male	*tu*
second-born male	*mon*
third-born male	*gûk*
fourth-born male	*saa*
firstborn female	*mok*
second-born female	*wen*
third-born female	*kayap*
fourth-born female	*daabû*

An example is provided in (41). Here *saa* 'fourth-born male' modifies 'father'. The word *bep* 'father' denotes not only one's own biological father, but all of that father's brothers (i.e. uncles). Therefore, this identifies which 'father' is being discussed. When following irregular third person singular nouns, the third-person singular form occurs as a modifier, as shown in (42) (e.g. after a first-person noun, *tuwong* would be replaced with *tu*).

(41) *bepma*   **saa**   *bûge*   *laabûgok.*
      [bep-na   saa]   bûge   laab-go-k
      father-1SG.POSS   fourthborn.male   again   come.up-RP-3SG
      'My fourthborn father came up again.' [skc12_01]

(42) *be*   **tuwong**   *musavenangkû*   *aamutta,*
      [be   tuwong   musavenang=lû]   aamut-ta
      father.3SG.POSS   firstborn.3SG.POSS   PN=NOM   be.furious-SS
      'His firstborn father Musaveneng was furious and…' [skc09_18]

The paradigmatic set of birth order terms may also occur with the lexeme *pinin*, which appears to mean 'likeness'. This word produces a second round of counting. That is: *tu pinin* is the fifth-born male (synonymous with *tuplek*), *mon pinin* is the sixth-born male, *gûk pinin* is the seventh-born male, and *saa pinin* is the eighth-born male (synonymous with *kayak*). On the female side: *mon pinin* 'fifth-born female', *wen pinin* 'sixth-born female', *kayap pinin* 'seventh-born female', and *daabû pinin* 'eighth-born female'. It is more typical for the modifying forms to occur in these compounds, but the full forms can be used as well (e.g. *tuwa pinin*). Finally, the word *manden* 'back' can follow the firstborn terms: *tu(wa) manden* refers to the last-born male of a big family, and *mok manden* refers to the last-born female.

Finally, both the kinship and birth order terms can take the endearment suffix *-no*, which appears related to the first person singular suffix *-na*. For example, *wenano* means 'my dear Wena'. This feature is shared with the class of proper names as well.

8.1.2   Other inalienable terms

The second, larger, class of inalienable nouns consists of body parts (both human and animal), parts of plants, parts of objects, and abstract nouns such as 'name' and 'reflection, image'. Just as with the kinship terms, these nouns are always possessed, and an unmarked form is automatically interpreted as possessed by a third person singular referent (whether overtly expressed or not). This class also shares the feature that a number of third person singular forms are irregular. Unlike kinship terms, the words of this class do not bear the number suffix *-ye*, and are not capable of being used as terms of address. Both of these features are only used with nouns denoting animate beings.

The largest member of this possession class is the semantic group of human body part terms. Table 8.6 displays a large portion of the class, including every possessive form found in the corpus. Blanks indicate that the form is not represented in the corpus, and not whether they are ungrammatical. The irregular third person singular possessive forms are shaded.

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	23DU	23NSG	3SG
abdomen						tagaalû
back	mandena		mandega		mandesû	manden
back of neck	babotna					babolû
body	flona	flonek	floga		flosû	flon
bone	kûtûtna		kûtûga		kûtûsû	kûtûlû
bone (large)	kudaalûna ~ kudatna	kudaalûnek	kudaalga ~ kudaga		kudaalûsû	kudaalû
breast	noma		nomga		nomsû	nom
buttocks	gaasûknga		gaasûga		gaasûsû	gaasû
calf	pûsonga					pûsong
cheek	faaunga		faaungga		faaungsû	faaung
chest	diyoknga		diyoga		diyoksû	diyok
chin	genga		gengga		gengsû	geng
ear	dunga	dungek	dungga		dungsû	dung
eye	daauna		daaungga		daausû	daai
forehead						damaan
genitals						yaabi
gums	gûgûlûknga					gûgûlûk
hand, arm	kelûna	kelûnek	kelûga		kelûsû	kelû
head	membûna		membûga		membûsû	membû
hip	gaadûnga					gaadûng
knee	mûndaana					mûndaan
knee hollow	ganeknga					gane
leg, foot	kayonga		kayongga		kayongsû	kayong
lip	dûnoma		dûnomga			dûnom
liver, heart	walena		walega		walesû	walen
mouth	mena		menga		mensû	men
navel	kulebina					kulebi
neck	bûkngaan					bûkngaan
nose	amdaana		amdaaga		amdaasû	amdaa
penis						yome
privates, perineum						kumuk
ribcage						selaang
scalp	kanga		kangga			kang
shoulder						pempang
skin	gûtnema		gûtnemga		gûtnemsû	gûtnem
thigh	baana					baan
throat	kodûleknga		kodûlega		kodûleksû	kodûle
tongue						mambem
torso						bamop
underarm	bayaaknga		bayaaga		bayaaksû	bayaa
vagina						kaabi

The body part terms frequently occur in compounds, as illustrated in (43).

(43)　*kûtûtna*　　　　　*taawaa*
　　　kûtût-na　　　　taawaa
　　　bone-1SG.POSS　ridge
　　　'my shin' (lit. 'my bone's ridge') [DN01.48.69]

105

The noun *taawaa* 'ridge' does not mean 'shin' by itself. Instead, the inalienable noun *kûtût-* 'bone' must precede it. This is a prevalent pattern for various body parts in particular. Other examples are illustrated below.

(44) *daai*   *bung*
daai   bung
eye.3SG.POSS   edge
'(his) eyebrow' (lit. 'eye's edge') [DN01.41.13]

(45) *men*   *naain*
men   naain
mouth   egg
'(his) teeth' (lit. 'mouth's egg') [DN01.41.06]

(46) *kangga*   *fedû*
kang-ga   fedû
scalp-2SG.POSS   nail
'your fingernail' [DN01.44.36]

(47) *kelû*   *meng*
kelû   meng
hand.3SG.POSS   mother
'(his) thumb' (lit. 'hand's mother') [DN01.45.37]

It is clear from examples such as (47) that the second noun is possessed by the first (i.e. we know that *meng* 'mother' is an inalienable noun). However, many other terms which occur in this slot are never marked with a possessive suffix. I hypothesize that many of these are inalienable nouns, but since they occur exclusively in the third person singular form, it is difficult to test.

Many body part terms have a broader function, especially in toponymic function. For example, while *faaung* has a primary meaning of 'cheek', it also refers to the ocean shore or the beach, as in (48). *Faaung* also occurs with the locative enclitic *=nang*, as in (49). In its locative role, it is best translated into English as 'on the side'. Body part terms commonly serve in this locative NP role.

(48) *tap*   **faaung**
tap   faaung
ocean   cheek
'shore, beach' [DN01.75.40]

(49) *kabot*   *ta*   **faaungang**   *tûwe.*
kabot   ta   faaung=nang tû-be
pot   get.SG   cheek=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
'Getting the pot put it beside (lit. 'on the side') [the fire].' [DN04.59.15]

Another example is *daai* 'eye', which means 'source' in toponyms (e.g. *Kaaimbe Daai* refers to the source, or spring, of the Kaimbe River). The word *manden* 'back.3SG.POSS' commonly occurs with the locative clitic in temporal NPs (50), or in locative NPs (51).

(50) *wasûnang*   ***mandenang***   *baalus*   *kusamba*   *bantû*
     [wa-s=nang   manden=nang]   [baalus   kusamba   ban=lû]
     that-LK=GEN   back.3SG.POSS=LOC   plane   big   a=NOM

     laai   *kum*   *aakngka*   *bagok.*
     laai   kum   aakng-ka   ba-go-k
     PN   down.DIST   arise-SS   come-RP-3SG
     'After that (lit. 'at that's back'), a big plane took off down in Lae and came.'
     [skc12_15]

(51) *yokep*   *ta*   *kabot*   ***mandenang***   *tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   manden=nang]   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   back.3SG.POSS=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Getting the tong[s] put it behind the pot.' (lit. 'at the pot's back') [DN04.59.15]

A number of phrases use three or even four inalienable nouns to describe a particular body part, as shown below. Here, *yot* 'house' has an irregular third person singular form. (Examples such as this show that 'house' can be inalienable in MM. On the other hand, it surfaces as *yot* when no possession is in focus. Therefore, some nouns are shown to occur within both possession classes.)

(52) *yaabi*   *naain*   ***yolû***
     yaabi   naain   yolû
     genitals   egg   house.3SG.POSS
     '(his) scrotum' (lit. 'genitals' egg's house') [DN01.53.113]

Many of the body part terms have very generic meanings. This is what forces them to occur in complex phrases—to winnow down their semantics. For example, the noun *naain* has a primary meaning of 'egg' when occurring by itself. Yet it means 'tooth' in (45), 'testicle' in (52), and 'catkin' in (53).

(53) *kalak*   ***naain***
     kalak   naain
     betel.pepper   catkin
     'betel pepper catkin' [DN01.23.09]

Other examples include *nanak* 'child' and *welû* 'seed', as shown below in (54)–(55).

(54) *kelû*   ***nanaa***   *taba* ***nanaa***   ***nanaksû***
     kelû   nanaa   taba   nanaa   nanak-sû
     hand.3SG.POSS   child.3SG.POSS   bow   child.3SG.POSS   child-23NSG.POSS
     'finger' [DN01.45.35]   'arrow' [DN01.79.64]   'their children' [DN02.173.38]

107

(55) **wetna**   *kaamûng*   **welû**
      wet-na   kaamûng   welû
      daughter-1SG.POSS   cucumber   seed.3SG.POSS
      'my daughter' [skc12_04]   'cucumber seed' [skc09_17]

Below, the three-noun NP consists of the most general term ('hand') on the left, followed by the more specific 'child, finger', and then the head is *skulaa* 'knuckle'. *Skulaa* actually refers to the pronimence produced at joints, such as at the kneecap, elbow, or ankle. If the most generic term *kelû* 'hand' is left out below, then the construction could refer to the knob on a wooden or bamboo arrow. Without *nanaa* 'child', the construction could refer to the 'wrist'.

(56) *kelû*   *nanaa*   **skulaa**
      kelû   nanaa   skulaa
      hand.3SG.POSS   child.3SG.POSS   joint.3SG.POSS
      '(his) knuckle' (lit. 'hand's child's knuckle')

The plant part terms are all simple inalienable nouns in third person singular form—having no need to occur in any other form in the corpus. Another example is *tamelû*, which is the third person singular possessive form of a noun meaning either 'leaf' or 'earlobe'. For the former meaning it is preceded by *kaadûp* 'tree', and for the latter meaning it is preceded by *dung* 'ear'. However, if context makes it clear these modifying nouns are not required. In these complex noun phrases, the more general term typically occupies the left (modifying) slot. For example, compare the role of *manden* below. It is the head noun modified by *kelû* 'hand' and then it is a modifying noun of *kudaalû* 'bone'.

(57) *kelû*   **manden**   **manden**   *kudaalû*
      kelû   manden   manden   kudaalû
      hand.3SG.POSS   back.3SG.POSS   back.3SG.POSS   bone.3SG.POSS
      'back of (his) hand' (lit. 'hand's back')   '(his) spine' (lit. 'back's bone')

A particular feature of plant parts is that many of them exhibit irregular plural forms. *Tamelû* 'leaf' in plural form is *tamek* 'leaves', and *ke* 'root' in plural form is *keke*. *Tangaan* 'branch' is reduplicated as well to mark plural, while *bamo* 'trunk' does not receive any plural derivation.

Body part terms which belong to only animals include: *gabe* 'tailfeather', *uyaang* 'tail', *dûfaa* '(fish) tail', and *denaan* '(cassowary) claw'. The word *flu* means both 'wing' and 'eyelashes', the word *fedû* means 'talon, claw' in addition to 'fingernail', and the word *kûtlû* refers to a chicken's leg in the corpus, though it normally simply means 'bone'. Other non-body part terms that fall into this class include *wop-/wo* 'name', *wala-/walaan* 'image,

108

reflection', *mandaan* 'sound', *malom* 'owner', and *kameng* 'property' (which is also a locational noun).

A particular class of inalienable nouns denote possessed parts of objects, such as *kapmaalû* 'bottom', *debûng* 'front', *bane* 'inside', and *kadedûng* 'side'. These are marked with the locative case (§16.7) when they serve as the destination or goal. Otherwise, they are left unmarked. In both cases, they are inherently possessed, and always in third person singular form.

(58) *yokep*   *ta*   *kabot*   **kapmaalûnang**   *tûwe.*
       yokep   ta   [kabot   kapmaalû=nang]   tû-be
       tongs   get.SG   pot   bottom=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
       'Get the tongs and put them under the pot.' (lit. 'at the pot's bottom') [DN04.57.10]

(59) *kabot*   *tefaaleka*   **kadedûng**   *tûwe.*
       kabot   tefaale-ka   kadedûng   tû-be
       pot   turn-SS   side   put.SG-IRR.SG
       'Turn the pot and put it on (its) side.' [DN04.59.19]

Some common nouns have inalienable forms as well. This was shown with *yolû* 'house' in (52), and with *kadelû* 'road, trail, track' below.

(60) *nimin*   *bantû*   *mukuya*   **kadelûnang**   *wompa*   *agok.*
       [nimin   ban=lû]   [mukuya   kadelû=nang]   wom-pa   at-go-k
       cousin   a=NOM   pig   track=LOC   watch-SS   be-RP-3SG
       'The other cousin was watching on the pig track.' [skc11_12b]

It is outside the scope of this work to compile a comprehensive list of all inalienable nouns.

8.2   Alienable noun sub-classes

The class of alienable nouns is very large, and many of its sub-classes are open to borrowing and derivation. The primary feature which separates this class from the inalienable class is that when an alienable noun is possessed by an overt possessor, that possessor must be marked with the genitive enclitic *=(lû)nang*. Though explicit possessors of inalienable nouns sometimes bear this marker—due to emphatic possession or disambiguation (within long NPs)—this is not required. Other than this, few morphological characteristics group the entire class. As a general rule, all nouns can take the full array of case enclitics, and all nouns can occur as both subject and complement of non-verbal clauses. They also can take the locative clitic *=nang*, a feature only shared with adjectives. These characteristics are described in the introduction to Chapter 8. In the following sections I describe each noun sub-class in turn.

8.2.1 Common nouns

The largest class of nouns is common nouns. This class cannot be exhaustively listed, being composed of various flora and fauna species, artifacts, borrowed terms, derivations, and neologisms. Semantically, these words denote physical objects, as well as some abstract concepts. Syntactically, they do not typically function as terms of address (except in unique discourse contexts), they are modifiable, they may be counted, and many of them can be utilized as modifiers preceding a head noun. They can also function as either the subject or the complement of verbless clauses, as shown in (61).

(61) *gulam   udu   kûda.*
     gulam   udu   kûda
     aibika   that.ANA   greens
     'Those aibika are greens.' [DN02.195.20]

This noun class is composed of flora and fauna species. These groups are often phonologically complex, exhibiting compounding and reduplication—often with base forms that are synchronically meaningless. These facts are illustrated in the introduction to this chapter. These species also often illustrate phonotactic sequences unseen elsewhere in the lexicon. For example, *songgaal* is the term for the Huon Bowerbird. This word contains the only word-final liquid in the entire lexicon. All others require epenthesis of the high central vowel (*û*) word-finally—even loanwords such as *kaalû* 'car' exhibit this epenthetic constraint. Terms for fauna are often onomatopoeic—for example *kutûwit baatûwit* denotes the 'Great Cuckoo-dove'.

Loans are easily accommodated into the class of common nouns. These loanwords come from the church languages of Kâte (e.g. *kokaasu* 'teacher') and Yabêm (e.g. *aanutu* 'God'), as well as the trade languages of Tok Pisin (e.g. *baalus* 'plane'—TP *balus*) and English (e.g. *femili* 'family'). As time progresses, the loanwords assimilate to meet the phonotactic demands of the language. This is why 'car' (*kaalû*) and 'school' (*skulû*) exhibit word-final epenthesis, and why *saako* 'choko, chayote' has replaced its alveo-palatal affricate with an alveolar fricative. Loanwords are fully capable of being possessed, as well as taking case enclitics, as illustrated below.

(62)   *tandonta*   *naain*   *kilok*   *tangûlû*   *ba*
          tandonta   [naain   kilok]   ta-ng-lû   ba
          night   nine   o'clock   do-DS-23   come

          sûbat   *sûnamaanggûm,*   ***femililit.***
          sûbat   sûna-maa-gû-m   femili=lit
          food   cook.eat-CMPL-RP-1PL   family=COM
          'Coming at nine o'clock at night we cooked and ate the food, with family.' [skc09_38]

Neologisms are often phrasal, utilizing the lexicon to creatively describe new technologies. For example, when *kusamba* 'big' follows *ip* 'bird', this means 'airplane', though it can also refer to a large bird. Some noun phrases are still more complex. For example, *gegût* 'story' forms a compound phrase with *manda* 'talk' to mean 'news'. When followed by *yot* 'house', the construction is one way to say 'church'.

The class of common nouns also includes a few abstract terms, such as *tûngka* 'metaphor', *elang* 'lie, joke', *ugem* 'pain', *goin* 'sin', and various types of spirits (though these are not considered abstract at all in their worldview). Other terms are historically complex, but appear to function as single units today, including *daaung daaung* 'envy' (from 'eye eye'), *daampa daampa* 'happiness' (from *daampa-* 'be happy'), *atat* 'presence' (from *at-* 'be'), and *tata* 'custom' (from *ta-* 'do'). These lexemes may be followed by postpositions or possessive morphology as well.

A slight division can be made between mass and count nouns in MM. While a typical count noun such as *nong* 'knife', when modified by a numeral, is simply interpreted as many instantiations of the object, a mass noun has a different semantic effect. When mass nouns— e.g. *mi* 'water', *kame* 'land', *sûbat* 'food', and *isit* 'grass'—are modified by a numeral, then the interpretation is that the items are separated into different groups, or that the items are composed of various substances. For example, *kame* 'land, ground' can be reduplicated to indicate plurality, but this is interpreted to mean 'countries'. When *mi* 'water' is modified by a quantifier (e.g. *ban* 'a' or *mamam* 'many') or a numeral, the interpretation is 'body of water', generally a specific river.

While a small number of common nouns may be reduplicated to indicate plurality—as with *kame kame* 'countries' mentioned above—this is atypical of the class. Reduplication is frequently seen in lexemes, but these usually have non-compositional semantics. For example, while *gi* means 'rain', *gigi* denotes the Papuan Lorikeet. Other reduplications are historical nominalizations of verbal roots, as with *tata* 'custom' from *ta-* 'do'. Instead, number is typically covert within the noun phrase, being marked exclusively on the verb. When

speakers choose to be explicit, quantifiers and numerals are used, and sometimes modifying adjectives are reduplicated. Other reduplications have a diminutive effect in the lexicon—for example *gamat* means 'snake', and *gamat gamat* means 'caterpillar'.

Just like kinship terms and human nouns, domesticated animals may be marked with the *-ye* non-singular suffix. It is not required, but simply expresses overt number, since generally nouns are left vague with respect to number.

(63) *kobûsesûye*
      kobûse-sû-ye
      chicken-23NSG.POSS-NSG
      'their chickens' [DN02.221.09]

8.2.2   Human nouns

The next nominal sub-class consists of alienable nouns denoting people (excluding the inalienable kin nouns). This class includes four simple terms, as well as a non-singular counterpart for each. This is unique to the human nouns. The set is listed below.

TABLE 8.7: HUMAN NOUNS

	SG	NSG
man	*na*	*nangkadek*
woman	*taamûng*	*taamtaam*
youth	*sabe*	*sabesabe*
child	*nanak*	*nanaksû*

The non-singular forms of these terms are not consistent. While 'woman' and 'youth' exhibit reduplication, 'man' is followed by the group plural particle *kadek (*see §17.1), and 'child' is followed by the non-first person non-singular possessive suffix *-sû*. These forms must be memorized, and are not considered complex by MM speakers. Note too that two of the forms are also kinship terms—*sabe* means 'brother' and *nanak* means 'son, child'. However, in many contexts it is clear that these do not always function as inalienable nouns with those semantics. For example, in neither of the two examples below does *sabe* function as an inalienably possessed noun.

(64) *baka*   ***sabesabe***   *bot*   *atta*   *kap*   *yenggûlong*   *taagûm.*
      ba-ka   sabesabe   bot   at-ta   [kap   yenggûlong]   taa-gû-m
      come-SS   youth.NSG   group   be-SS   sing.dance   thanks   say-RP-1PL
      'We came and joined the youths and we sang praise songs.' [skc11_03b]

(65) *tang*   *kaka*   *agûm*   **aagû**   *idi,*
     ta-ng   ka-ka   at-gû-m   at-gû   idi
     do-DS   see.3SG-SS   be-RP-1PL   be-DUR   this.ANA

     sabe   *yot*   *kum*   *kuka*   *imo,*
     [sabe   yot]   kum   ku-ka   idi=mo
     youth   house   down.DIST   go-SS   this.ANA=already
     'And we were watching him until, we went to the young men's house (i.e. 'house boy') below and,' [skc09_18]

Also note that *taamûng* is very similar in form to the third person singular possessive form of 'wife', *taamin*. Additionally, the non-singular form *taamtaam* is *taam-* 'wife' reduplicated.

Several other complex terms fall within this class. First, *nantaam* 'people' is a compound of *na* 'man' and *taam* 'wife'. This is different from the coordinate NP *na taamûng*, as exemplified in (66). The complex NP refers to the two sexes separately, while the compound refers to men, women and children, all grouped together. In (67) we see that, even though *nantaam* denotes a plural referent, it can be further pluralized in possessive constructions. This has the effect of grouping 'people' into separate groups, just like English 'peoples'.

(66) *nangkadekkû*   *kaadûp*   *dûnûmaakongûlû,*
     [nangkadek=lû]   kaadûp   dûnû-maa-kong-ng-lû
     men=NOM   tree   chop-CMPL-TERM-DS-23

     na   **taamûng**   *faleleka,*
     [na   taamûng]   falele-ka
     man   woman   lop-SS
     'The men chop down all the trees, and the men and women lop off (the branches) and…' [skc09_17]

(67) *nûndû*   **nantaamnûye**.
     nûndû   nantaam-nûng-ye
     1NSG   people-3SG.POSS.EMPH-NSG
     'We are his own peoples.' [skc11_08b]

Syntactically, the class of human nouns functions in all the same ways as common nouns with two exceptions. First, they can function vocatively, as illustrated in (68).

(68) **taamtaam**,   *maasû*   *tawang?*
     taamtaam   maasû   ta-wang
     women   which   do-PRS:23PL
     'Girls, what are you doing?' [skc11_11b]

Second, they serve as modifiers of pronouns.

113

(69)   **na**   *nûnûng*   *palak*   *tûwaam...*
       [na   nûnûng]   palak   tû-waa-m
       man   1PL.EMPH   bridge   put.SG-PRS-1PL
       'We men are putting in a bridge…' [skc12_06]

Human nouns can be marked with possessive suffixes as well.

(70)   *na*   *udu*   *nonang*   ***finana***.
       na   udu   [nonang   fi=na-na]
       man   that.ANA 1SG:GEN   work=man-1SG.POSS
       'That man is my workman.' [DN05.31.06]

Morphologically, when possessed with a suffix, the human nouns may be marked with the *-ye* non-singular suffix. While the kinship terms require this affix for non-singular number referents, the human nouns do not require it. The morpheme is only used for emphasis with human nouns.

8.2.3   Dyads

Dyads are nouns that refer to relational opposites between two (or sometimes more) people. They "denote relationally linked groups" (Evans 2006), and are commonly morphologically or syntactically complex constructions. Dyad constructions are concentrated in the language families of the Western Pacific, with dedicated dyad roots being thus far unique to the Papuan languages (Evans 2006:27). Three terms comprise the set of lexical dyads in Ma Manda, as displayed below.

TABLE 8.8: DYADIC TERMS

	SG
father and child	*beut*
mother and child	*mengût*
married couple	*nalam*

The major syntactic feature which differentiates dyads from kinship terms is that, when a proper name precedes a dyad, the denoted referent is interpreted as a member of the pair. For example, *klowi beut* means 'Chloe and her father', while *klowi be* means 'Chloe's father'. Example (71) is illustrative, with *nalam*.

(71)   *laayan*   ***nalampûnang***   *yot*
       [laayan   nalam=lûnang   yot]
       PN   married.couple=GEN house
       'Ryan and his wife's house' [DN02.171.32]

Dyads are very similar to both kin terms and human nouns. In fact, *beut* 'father-child' and *mengût* 'mother-child' are transparent derivations of the kinship terms *be*

'father.3SG.POSS' and *meng* 'mother'. When the father-child and mother-child dyads are preceded by a proper name, it may only be the child, as illustrated in (72). When the married couple dyad is preceded by a name, this can be either member of the couple.

(72) ***sumbua   mengût***   *doktalit*   *agang.*
[sumbua   mengût]   dokta=lit   at-gang
PN   mother-child   doctor=COM   be-PRS:23PL
'Sumbua and her mom are with the doctor.' [DN05.65.08]

They derive from comitative constructions. However, a dyad is not necessarily an oblique argument, as revealed in (72). Comitative noun phrases convey the accompaniment of the oblique argument with the focused participant. In the dyad construction both participants are part of the same noun phrase. In (73) 'father' is a comitative NP. In (74), 'mother' is marked with the comitative enclitic—note that *=kût* is formally very similar to *-ût* in (72). This sentence can have two interpretations: either the focused participant Chloe is accompanied by her mother, an oblique NP, or, more likely, an unnamed participant is accompanied by 'Chloe's mother'.

(73) ***belit***   *agaamok.*
be=lit   at-gaa-mok
father.3SG.POSS=COM   be-PRS-23DU
'(He) is with his father.' [DN05.67.10]

(74) *klowi*   ***mengkût***   *kuwaamok.*
klowi   meng=lit   ku-waa-mok
PN   mother=COM   go-PRS-23DU
'(He) went with Chloe's mother'
'Chloe went with her mother'

Semantically, it is clear from examples such as (75) that the parent-child dyads do not encode the sex of the child. Here 'man' is followed by the associative dual particle *kaang*, and subsequently by the construction *beut yaalû*. The story involves a man hunting with his daughter.

(75) *nangkaang*   ***beut***   *yaalû*   *geksap*   *kugûmok.*
[na=kaang   beut   yaalû]   geksap   ku-gû-mok
man=two   father-child   two   hunt   go-RP-23DU
'A father and child went hunting.' [skc12_04]

It is common for dyads to be followed by the numeral *yaalû* 'two', as shown above, as well as below in (76).

115

(76) *waagût* *gulat* *yalong,* *2009* *yalong,* *fatnaang* **nalam**,
waagût [gulat ya=long] [2009 ya=long] [fatnaang nalam]
now year this=LOC 2009 this=ALL white married

bombo **nalam** *yaalû* *bangaamok* *ya,…*
[bombo nalam yaalû] ba-ngaa-mok ya
westerner married two come-NP-23DU this
'Now in this year, in 2009, the white couple, the western couple who came, …'
[skc09_18]

Morphologically, dyads frequently take the non-singular affix, but as a prefix instead of the suffix that typically occurs with other noun classes. Below, the *ye-* prefix occurs with the dyad, and the *-ye* suffix occurs with the kinship term *nanaa* 'child'.

(77) **yenalam** *yaalû* *wasit* *welû* *nanaaye…*
[ye-nalam yaalû wasit welû nanaa-ye]
NSG-couple two that:COM daugher.3SG.POSS son.3SG.POSS-NSG
'The couple with their male and female children…' [skc12_16]

Ma Manda also utilizes a productive method for creating dyad pairs. Possessive and comitative morphemes have fused to produce a limited paradigm (discussed in §16.5). As noted in Evans (2006), many dyad construstions derive from possessive and comitative morphology. More research is needed to determine what, if any, morpho-syntactic features differentiate the lexical and morphological dyads.

Mengût 'mother-child' is analyzed as a lexical dyad due to its frequency and speakers' perception about the term. However, it is transparently derived from *meng* 'mother' and the third person possessive-comitative suffix *-nit*. Below, the form is further marked with the comitative enclitic, and the first person plural verbal agreement means that the speaker must be included. Thus, both the proper name and dyad occur within the same oblique NP.

(78) *klowi* **mengûttit** *agaam.*
[klowi mengût=lit] at-gaa-m
PN mother-child=COM be-PRS-1PL
'(I) am with Chloe and her mom.' [DN04.74.47]

A number of other morphological dyads have been found in the corpus, including *niminit* 'cousins' below. It is clear that this is a dyad, since the noun phrase is actually marked with the nominative case—which is incompatible with the comitative case. Again, note the *ye-* prefix. Also, note that this prefix only seems to occur with the dyads which denote symmetrical relationships, excluding those like *beut* 'father-child'.

(79)   *tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   **yenûmûnit**   *yaalûlû*   *mukuya*   *moin*
        [tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [ye-nimin-nit   yaalû=lû]   [mukuya   moin]
        before-RSTR   real   NSG-cousin-3SG.POSS:COM   two=NOM   pig   wild

        dong   *bûsenang*   *kugûmok.*
        dong   bûse=nang   ku-gû-mok
        search   jungle=ALL   go-RP-23DU
        'A very long time ago two cousins, went searching (for) wild pigs in the jungle.'
        [skc11_12b]

Other examples in the corpus include *kaakonit* 'uncle-nephew/neice', *nolit* 'brother-brother' (also 'friend-friend' or 'great.grandfather-great.grandchild'), *mamanit* 'grandmother-grandchild', *fafanit* 'grandfather-grandchild', and *naaminit* 'siblings-in-law'.

8.2.4   Proper names

Proper names are the open sub-class of nouns which identify specific people, places or things. They are inherently definite, and are the prototypical terms of address. As mentioned in §8.1.1, kinship terms and birth order terms often function as proper names—occurring in the vocative slot of a sentence.

Phonologically, proper names are unique due to the occurrence of phonemes and phonotactic sequences which are not elsewhere seen in the lexicon. Many names are borrowed from the Kâte and English languages, among others, and therefore utilize their phonemic contrasts. Examples are listed below:

- glottal stop [ʔ] (written as *c*): e.g. *Bazakiec*
- glottal fricative [h] (*h*): e.g. *Honeo*
- voiced labio-velar fricative [ʒ] (*z*): e.g. *Zilayu*
- voiced labio-velar affricate [d͡ʒ] (*j*): e.g. *Raji*
- voiceless alveolar affricate [t͡s] (*z*): e.g. *Bazakiec*
- voiced labio-dental fricative [v] (*v*): e.g. *Musavenang*
- alveolar flap [ɾ] (*r*): e.g. *Garambon*
- alveolar trill [r] (*rr*): e.g. *Gerri*

Many place names and abstract names are phrasal. For example, *Ma Manda* literally means 'what talk', yet it obviously functions as a unit. In (80) it precedes the head noun *na* 'man', the slot for all modifying nouns. This is unlike the interrogative word *ma* 'what', which follows head nouns. The name for the Tok Pisin language is *Ip Manda*, which literally means 'bird talk'. However, this is actually a calque, since in TP *pisin* means 'bird' in addition to 'pidgin'.

(80) *nak,*   ***Ma Manda***   *na*   *kodaa*   *genangkaka*   *attat.*
   nak   [Ma Manda   na   kodaa]   genangka-ka   at-ta-t
   1SG   Ma Manda   man   new   appear-SS   be-PRS-1SG
   'I am becoming a new Ma Manda man.' [skc11_07c]

Place names frequently consist of a phrasal compound, made up of an areal name followed by a geographical feature, as in (81)–(83).

(81) *nak*   *febû*   ***senang***   ***kubalang***   *wa*   *yaabaaka*
   nak   feb   [senang   kubalang]   wa   yaabaa-ka
   1SG   bring.NSG   PN   valley   that   leave-SS
   'Bringing them, I left them in the Senang Valley…' [skc09_21]

(82) *tebû*   ***melinang***   ***tawaang****,*   *sabe*   *yot*   *kum*
   teb   [melinang   tawaang]   [sabe   yot]   kum
   bring.SG   PN   mountain   youth   house   down.DIST

   tûka   *ngatta*   *tagûng*
   tû-ka   at-ta   ta-gû-ng
   put.SG-SS   be-SS   do-RP-23PL
   'Bringing him, together they were putting him down in the young men's house on Melinang Hill'. [skc09_18]

(83) *yodûka*   *ngaatûkugû*   *idi,*   *yukuppû*   *mo,*
   yodû-ka   at-ku-gû   idi   yukup=lû   mo
   search.for-SS   be-go-DUR   this.ANA   PN=NOM   go.down

   kubalang   ***menggon***   ***yotyot***   *kum*   *kaka*   *idi,*
   [kubalang   menggon   yotyot]   kum   ka-ka   idi
   valley   PN   headwaters   down.DIST   see.3SG-SS   this.ANA
   'While they were continuing to search for him, Yukup going down, saw him down in the valley of the Menggon Headwaters and…' [skc09_18]

Morphologically, proper names may be marked with the endearment suffix *-no* (e.g. *laayano* 'dear Ryan') just like the kinship and birth order terms. However, unlike those inalienable nouns, proper names can never take possessive suffixes or the non-singular affix. This is a primary feature which separates these classes. Proper names are often marked with case enclitics, as well as the genitive enclitic. However, unlike all other word classes, the postpositions often surface as separate phonological words, with a pause break between the name and clitic. A number of place names are historical fusions involving the locative case-marker *=nang*, as with *Kaasingang*, *Yolang*, *Nayang*, *Onang*, and *Senang*. Additionally, they do not take further allative postpositions (see (84)), and therefore appear to function as locational nouns, as described in the next section.

(84) *laai*   *(*flong)*   *kutaat.*
      laai   flong   ku-taa-t
      PN   ALL   go-FUT-1SG
      'I will go to Lae.' [DN04.73.44]

Syntactically, proper names do not appear with modification in the corpus. Perhaps under the right discourse environment, such as when two people of the same name need to be differentiated, this would be possible. However, speakers generally utilize nicknames in this situation, or the shared knowledge of the community makes it clear. As with all other noun classes, proper names occur freely in the complement slot of non-verbal clauses:

(85) *na*   *udu*   ***laayan***.
      na   udu   laayan
      man   that.ANA   PN
      'That man is Ryan.' [DN05.31.04]

Proper names, though not modifiable, can function as a modifying noun preceding a head noun, as illustrated in (80) above, as well as (86) below. Proper names are particularly common in the possessor slot immediately before inalienable and dyad terms, as illustrated in (87). As shown here, in this slot proper names are not usually marked with the genitive. However, the genitive can be used for emphatic effect, as illustrated in (88).

(86) *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   ***saaut***   *nanaksûlû*   *lemang*   *kugûng.*
      [naai   ban   flong]   [saaut   nanaksû=lû]   lemang   ku-gû-ng
      time   a   ALL   PN   children=NOM   PN   go-RP-23PL
      'One time the Saut children went to Lemang.' [skc12_13]

(87) *beng*   ***sambami***   *mengkûnang*   *ban*   *gaalûka*
      [beng   sambami   meng=lûnang   ban]   gaalû-ka
      pandanus   PN   mother=GEN   a   steal-SS
      'I stole (one of) Sambami's mother's pandanus and…' [skc09_21]

(88) ***klistal***   *nanaa*   ***klistal***   *nang*   *nanaa*
      klistal   nanaa   klistal   nang   nanaa
      PN   child.3SG.POSS   PN   GEN   child.3SG.POSS
      'Crystal's child' [DN02.221.14]   'the child of Crystal's' [DN02.221.17]

When an individual's name is followed by the associative plural particle *kadek*, the meaning is 'X and associates', where the associates are any of various people associated with that person (family, friends, younger or older). When a name denotes a group, such as the type of spirit called *minamina*, then the associative plural simply indicates a gathering composed of members of the group. The two are compared below. See Chapter 17 for more on this topic.

(89) **fukunan** kadek **tataait** kadek... yenaanggûtta kugûm.
[fukunan kadek tataait kadek] ye-naanggût-ta ku-gû-m
PN group PN group 3NSG.O-get-SS go-RP-1PL
'I got Fukunan's group and Tatait's group and we went.' [skc09_04]

(90) **minamina** kadekkû laabû doka ngalatnang,...
[minamina kadek=lû] laab {do-ka ngat-a-t=nang}
PN group=NOM come.up sleep-SS be-NP-1SG=LOC
'The Minamina (spirits) coming up to where I was sleeping,…' [skc12_16]

8.2.5 Locational nouns

Ma Manda exhibits a somewhat small class of locational nouns. Semantically, this class consists of words with purely locational meaning. Syntactically, the class is prohibited from being marked with a locative or allative case-markers. Morphologically, many members of this class are historically complex, exhibiting fusion with the *=nang* locative enclitic (a feature shared with many place names, as mentioned in the previous section).

Ma Manda has two morphemes that have locative meaning. As described in §16.6, *flong/=(s)long* is the allative case-marker, used primarily to mark destinations. The locative clitic *=nang*, on the other hand, is generally used to convey stative location. Though MM exhibits some historical idiosyncracies with regard to the choice between these forms in particular constructions, historically *=nang* has fused with a number of nouns to produce these locational nouns. Members of the class include, among others: *gebûng* 'inside', *kagang* 'village, outside', *fing* 'garden', *kubalang* 'valley', *amun* 'ground', *kameng* 'property', *bûdûmang* 'overgrown garden', *genang* 'clearing', *tawaang* 'mountain', *kosaan* 'side', *bûsenang* 'jungle', and *kelang* 'in hand'. Note that every word listed here ends in *-ng*, and many end in *-ang* or *-nang*. Several of these words are very similar to non-locational counterparts, e.g. *kagat* 'village', *fi* 'garden', *kubat* 'valley', *bûse* 'jungle', and *kelû* 'hand'.

As mentioned above, locational nouns do not take locative or allative case-markers, as shown below.

(91) tamek ban sakoka **kagang** monggok.
[tamek ban] sako-ka kagang mo-go-k
bed a hold.3SG-SS village go.down-RP-3SG
'He grabbed a bed and went outside.' [skc11_02e]

(92) naa **kameng** maa longat.
[nak-nga kameng] maa lo-nga-t
1SG-1SG.POSS property wholly go.up-NP-1SG
'I went up to my own place.' [skc09_10]

(93) **tawaang**   *longkadopmûngka*   *adaampagûm.*
    tawaang   lo-kadopm-ka   adaampa-gû-m
    mountain   go.up-arrive-SS   rest-RP-1PL
    'We went on top of the mountain and rested.' [skc09_29]

(94) *yokep*   *ta*   **amun**   *tûwe.*
    yokep   ta   amun   tû-be
    tongs   get.SG   ground   put.SG-IRR.SG
    'Getting the tongs put it on the ground.' [DN04.59.16]

This contrasts with other nouns, which all require a locative postposition (excepting place names):

(95) *nambut*   **mi**   **flong**   *kum*   *mangka*   *monggok.*
    [nambut   mi   flong]   kum   mang-ka   mo-go-k
    PN   water   ALL   down.DIST   fall.down-SS   go.down-RP-3SG
    'It crashed down in the Nambut River.' [skc12_15]

(96) *molû*   *gem*   *sakoka*   **glup**   **flong**   *tûwe.*
    [molû   gem]   sako-ka   [glup   flong]   tû-be
    citrus   ripe   hold.3SG-SS   plate   ALL   put.SG-IRR.SG
    'Grab a citrus fruit and put it on the plate.' [DN03.273.05]

(97) *bûdûmang*   **yotnang**   *kanduwaan*   *kun*   *aatigûngang.*
    [bûdûmang   yot=nang]   kanduwaan   kun   at-i-gû-ng-nang
    overgrown.garden   house=LOC   PN   up.DIST   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
    'They lived in a garden house up in Kanduwan.' [skc12_16]

It is clear that such nouns cannot be analyzed as irregular case-marked nouns, however. Evidence comes from the fact that locational nouns occur in the same form even when they do not have a locative function. For example, in (97) *bûdûmang* 'overgrown garden' functions as a modifier of *yot* 'house'. Here the phrase means 'garden house'. Interestingly, the head noun is then free to take the locative case-marker.

Some nouns appear to operate as either locational or common nouns. For example, *kadet* 'road' does not take a locative postposition in (98). In its locational role it means 'garden' (it appears to have a more generic meaning than *fing*). However, it means 'road' with both postpositions.

(98) *taamin*   *welû*   *nanaa*   **kadet**   *kugûng.*
    [taamin   welû   nanaa]   kadet   ku-gû-ng
    wife.3SG.POSS   daughter.3SG.POSS   son.3SG.POSS   garden   go-RP-23PL
    'His wife and children went to the garden.' [skc12_16]

(99) *gamat   kusamba   ban   kaadûp   flong   gûgaanengka*
[gamat   kusamba   ban]   [kaadûp   flong]   gûgaane-ka
snake   big   a   tree   ALL   wrap.around-SS

*membû   ta   mukuya   **kadet   flong**   tûka   agok.*
membû   ta   [mukuya   kadet   flong]   tû-ka   at-go-k
head   get.SG   pig   road   ALL   put.SG-SS   be-RP-3SG
'A big snake wrapped around a tree and put its head onto the pig track.' [skc11_12b]

(100) *mukuya   yodûka   fangang   **kadetnang**   ya   kungaam...*
mukuya   yodû-ka   [fangang   kadet=nang   ya]   ku-ngaa-m
pig   search.for-SS   PN   road=LOC   this   go-NP-1PL
'We searched for pigs and went along the Fangang road.' [skc09_10]

Other evidence comes from the fact that locational nouns can be reduplicated to convey a distributive effect. When this occurs, the entire form is repeated (including any fused =*nang* markers):

(101) ***bûsenang bûsenang***   *daa   agang   wa   fentagût*
bûsenang~bûsenang   {daa   at-gang   wa}   fentagût
jungle~jungle   where   be-PRS:23PL   that   all

kungatmaakongka...
kungat-maa-kong-ka
go.around-CMPL-TERM-SS
'He went around all over the jungle to where [the springs] were…' [skc12_04]

Other iconic reduplications are illustrated below:

(102) *ba   kaasingangkû   kameng   weknggût   kam   baka*
ba   kaasingang=lû   [kameng   wekng-gût]   kam   ba-ka
come   PN=ABL   property   middle-RSTR   down.PROX   come-SS

*wakaaka   **amun amun**   nambut   kubat   ya   tawanggok.*
wakaa-ka   amun~amun   [nambut   kubat   ya]   tawang-go-k
destroy-SS   ground~ground   PN   valley   this   follow-RP-3SG
'Coming, from Kesengen it came right in the middle below and got damaged and followed along the ground along the Nambut Valley.' [skc12_15]

(103) *tang   taamtaampû   bidami   dobûka*
ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka
do-DS   women=NOM   edible.grass.sp   cut-SS

kelang kelang   *isopmûngka   monggûng.*
kelang~kelang   isopm-ka   mo-gû-ng
in.hand~in.hand   hold.NSG-SS   go.down-RP-23PL
'And the women were cutting *bidami* grass and holding it in their hands as they went down.' [skc12_16]

A similar treatment is provided for Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:148), except that in Nungon the ability to take the locative suffix is what separates locational nouns from other

122

nominal sub-classes. In Ma Manda other nouns can take the locative marker *=nang*, but only a small class is required at all times to have locational meaning.

Some locational nouns are inherently possessed, like *kapmalang* 'underneath' below. This form contrasts with *kapmaalû*, the inalienable form of the noun, which can then be marked with the locative suffix.

(104) *baka   sabe   yot   **kapmalang**   wa   agûng.*
  ba-ka   [sabe   yot   kapmalang   wa]   at-gû-ng
  come-SS   youth   house   underneath   that   be-RP-23PL
  'They were underneath the house boy.' [skc11_09c]

(105) *yokep   ta   kabot   **kapmaalûnang**   tûwe.*
  yokep   ta   [kabot   kapmaalû=nang]   tû-be
  tongs   get.SG   pot   bottom=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
  'Get the tongs and put them under the pot.' (lit. 'at the pot's bottom') [DN04.57.10]

I do find some examples in the corpus of possessed locational nouns. Interestingly, these are then further marked with the locative enclitic.

(106) ***kagangekngang***   *ya   bagûm.*
  kagang-nek=nang   ya   ba-gû-m
  place-1NSG.POSS=LOC   here   come-RP-1PL
  'We came here to our village.' [skc09_19]

(107) *nak   **kaganganang**   kuka   nanak   naanggûlet.*
  nak   kagang-na=nang   ku-ka   nanak   naanggût-e-t.
  1SG   place-1SG.POSS=LOC   go-SS   child   get-IRR.SG-1SG
  'I will go to my place and deliver a child.' [DN03.297.16]

8.2.6   Temporal nouns

Ma Manda has a number of nouns which are grouped together semantically by their role in marking time. Though the function of these words overlap significantly with temporal adverbs, these stand out by their nominal characteristics. For example, the days of the week—which are all borrowed from Tok Pisin—take case-markers and vary as to which one they take. 'Sunday' and 'Monday' take the benefactive enclitic *=la*,[7] while 'Wednesday', 'Thursday', and 'Saturday' take the free allative postposition *flong*. The corpus does not contain the other two days of the week.

---

[7] The case is termed "benefactive" due to some functions, but the case marks a number of unrelated semantic roles and constructions (see §16.9).

		postposition
Sunday	*saande*	=*la* 'BEN'
Monday	*maande*	=*la* 'BEN'
Tuesday		
Wednesday	*trinde*	*flong* 'ALL'
Thursday	*fode*	*flong* 'ALL'
Friday		
Saturday	*saalele*	*flong* 'ALL'

The two patterns are contrasted below. Note that (109) shows 'Sunday' without the enclitic, since here it is an object and not functioning as a temporal noun phrase.

(108) *siyang*   **saandela**   *aakngka*   *idi,*   *geksap*   *taka*
      siya-ng   saande=la   aakng-ka   idi   geksap   ta-ka
      dawn-DS   Sunday=BEN   arise-SS   this.ANA   hunt   do-SS

      wa   *kungagûmot.*
      wa   kungat-gû-mot
      that   go.around-RP-1DU
      'Getting up at dawn on Sunday, we hunted and went around.' [skc09_02]

(109) **saande**   *kaka*   **trinde**   **flong**   *kudem.*
      saande   ka-ka   [trinde   flong]   ku-de-m
      Sunday   see.3SG-SS   Wednesday   ALL   go-IRR.DU-1NSG
      'We'll see Sunday and go on Wednesday.' [DN03.309.02]

The class of temporal nouns also includes times of the day, as laid out below.

TABLE 8.10: TIMES OF DAY

		postposition
dawn	*siyasiyang*	=*la* 'BEN'
morning	*taamengsla*	none
afternoon	*tafala*	none
night	*tandon*	=*la* 'BEN'
midnight	*tafet*	none

These words also exhibit unusual case-marking characteristics. While *siyasiyang* 'dawn' and *tandon* 'night' take the benefactive enclitic in temporal noun phrases, as in (110), the other terms do not, as in (111). It is interesting to note that *tandon* means 'night' as well as 'dark'. On the other hand, *taamengsla* 'morning' and *tafala* 'afternoon' have both clearly absorbed the benefactive enclitic into their stems (e.g. *taameng* 'tomorrow' + =*la* 'BEN'→ 'morning').

(110) **tandonta**   *kutaat.*
      tandon=la   ku-taa-t
      night=BEN   go-FUT-1SG
      'Tonight I will go.' [DN02.197.05]

(111) **tafet**   *aakngka*   *taba*   *isopmûngka*   *kugûmok.*
tafet   aakng-ka   taba   isopm-ka   ku-gû-mok
midnight   arise-SS   bow   hold.NSG-SS   go-RP-23DU
'They got up at midnight and grabbed their bows and left.' [skc11_12b]

Siyasiyang is a reduplication of *siya-*, which is the verb referring to the sun's rising. This is in opposition to *yabone-* 'dusk', which refers to the sun's setting. *Tandon* 'night' can also function verbally, as in (112), and so can 'morning' and 'afternoon'.

(112) *kadet*   *menang*   *baka*   *ngakngatnang*   **tandontagok.**
[kadet   men=nang]   ba-ka   ngat-ng-tnang   tandonta-go-k
road   mouth=LOC   come-SS   be-DS-1NSG   night-RP-3SG
'While we were coming on the main road (it) became night.' [skc09_38]

Other temporal nouns include *yadûngka* 'time like this' and *kepma* 'day'. *Kepma* is interesting in that it can be followed by a locative-marked demonstrative, as in (113), and it can also occur without a postposition, as in (114).

(113) *waagût*   **kepma**   **yalong**,   *kadet*   *kungat.*
waagût   [kepma   ya=long]   kadet   ku-nga-t
now   day   this=ALL   garden   go-NP-1SG
'Today on this day, I went to the garden.' [skc09_10]

(114) *taameng*   *siyang*   *ba*   *kaalû*   *sakoka*   **kepma**   *wekng*
taameng   siya-ng   ba   kaalû   sako-ka   [kepma   wekng]
tomorrow   dawn-DS   come   vehicle   hold.3SG-SS   day   middle

mo   *laabûngkadopmûnggûmot.*
mo   laab-kadopm-gû-mot
already   come.up-arrive-RP-1DU
'The next morning we came and got a car and came up and arrived at mid-day.'
[skc09_38]

Some temporal concepts which were introduced with missionization by the Lutheran church have become semantic extensions of other nouns. These include *go* 'sun, day', *emak* 'moon, month', and *gulat* 'harvest, year, Christmas'. *Saande* has been extended from just 'Sunday' to mean 'week' as well. An example is shown below, where *emak* 'moon' is followed by an allative-marked demonstrative.

(115) **emak**   *ban*   *kansûlong*   *laai*   *kuwet.*
[emak   ban   kan=slong]   laai   ku-be-t
moon   a   up.PROX=ALL   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG
'Next month I will go to Lae.' [DN01.65.08]

Finally, temporal nouns can be marked with the *-gût* restrictive suffix, as illustrated in (116). See §11.6 for discussion of the semantic and syntactic effects of this morpheme.

125

(116) **tandontagût,** *nolû* *ban* *walû* *bulûnap*
tandon=la-gût [nolû ban wa=lû] bulûnap
night=BEN-RSTR brother.3SG.POSS a that=NOM pineapple

sakobekka *taka* *kosaan* *kesuwanggok.*
sako-be-k=la ta-ka kosaan kesuwang-go-k
hold.3SG-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN do-SS side reach.for-RP-3SG
'Still in the night, the other brother reached out to grab the pineapple.' [skc11_05b]

Other temporal concepts such as relative time words are temporal adverbs (see §11.2). In the rest of this work the benefactive marker is assumed to be historical, and therefore terms like *tandonta* are glossed simply as 'night'.

8.2.7 Deverbal nominalizations

Ma Manda possesses a small class of deverbalized nouns. These are all reduplications of the verbal stem, resulting in nouns which are typically abstract in nature. More research is needed to determine how synchronically productive this nominalization process is. Frequently occurring nominalizations include *atat* 'presence' (from *at-* 'be'), *tata* 'custom' (from *ta-* 'do'), *aaweaawe* 'end' (from *aawe-* 'finish'), and *daampa daampa* 'happiness' (from *daampa-* 'be happy').

Deverbal nominalizations can bear possessive morphology, as shown below.

(117) **atatga** **aaweaawenit** *dom* *kaat.*
{{at~at-ga aawe~aawe-nit dom}} ka-a-t
be~be-2SG.POSS finish~finish-3SG.POSS:COM NEG see.3SG-PRS-1SG
'I see that your presence has no end.' [skc09_26]

(118) *goin* **yaabaa yaabaanang** *sûmbang* *tawanggûm.*
[goin yaabaa~yaabaa=nang sûmbang] tawang-gû-m
sin leave.NSG~leave-NSG=GEN liturgy follow-RP-1PL
'We followed the liturgy of repentance.' (lit. 'We followed the sins-leaving's liturgy') [skc11_03b]

Syntactically, this class of nouns may be modified, as in (119). However, these nouns have not been frequently observed with modification, including no examples of numeral modification.

(119) **tata** **kaalin** *taka* *ngaatûkuneng.*
[ta~ta kaalin] ta-ka ngat-ku-ne-ng
do~do good do-SS be-go-IRR.PL-23NSG
'Do good works (from now on).' [skc12_14]

These words occur in object position, as shown in (119), as well as in subject and non-verbal complement positions, as shown in (117). They can also be used to modify other

nouns, and in this function they precede the head noun, as shown below. This is a primary diagnostic for identifying these as nominalizations.

(120) *eng*   **kaamkaam**   *naai*   *flong*   *gelûm*   *flong*
eng   [kaam~kaam   naai   flong]   [gelûm   flong]
yes   die~die   time   ALL   hole   ALL

dom   *daasûwaagûngang*   *tûmang*   *idi.*
dom   daasû-waa-gû-ng-nang   tûmang   idi
NEG   put.in-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   before   this.ANA
'Yeah, at the time of death they wouldn't put them in holes, before.' [skc12_02]

Sometimes the nominalization is less abstract, as with *daasûdaasû* 'pocket' (from *daasû-* 'put in') below. Again, the nominalized form serves as a pre-head modifier.

(121) *tuwa nak*   *talok*   *kaauda*   *wa*   *ta*
{tuwa nak   ta=lok}   [kaauda   wa]   ta
grocery.shopping   do=POT   money   that   get.SG

daasûdaasû   *yak*   *flong*   *daasûwe.*
[daasû~daasû   yak   flong]   daasû-be
put.in~put.in   bilum   ALL   put.in-IRR.SG
'Getting the money for grocery shopping put it into your pocket.' [DN03.303.07]

9 Adjectives

Adjectives are a fairly large class in Ma Manda. Their core function is to modify a noun within a noun phrase. In this role they always follow the noun they modify. This is the major characteristic which separates adjectives from nouns, which precede the head noun in their modifying function. For example, *kusamba* in (1) modifies the head noun *mi* 'water'.

(1) *yalû,   mi   **kusamba**   kum   mongkadopmûngka,*
    ya=lû   [mi   kusamba]   kum   mo-kadopm-ka
    this=ABL   water   big   down.DIST go.down-arrive-SS
    'From here we went down to the big river…' [skc09_29]

Adjectives, like the closed classes of modifiers (see Chapter 13), may also function as the head of a noun phrase. In this role, the adjective denotes a person or thing that is characteristic of the quality denoted by the adjective. Syntactically, adjectives in this role cannot be further modified by other adjectives or nouns. However, they can be modified by demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers, as shown in (2). Certain adjectives have come to be used so frequently in this way that they have become nouns in their own right. An example is *kusamba* 'big' (3), which is a calque from Tok Pisin *bikpela*—a colloquial term for God.

(2) ***fatnaang**   bantû   mi   yaampa*
    [fatnaang   ban=lû] mi   yaam-pa
    white   a=NOM   water   cross-SS
    'A white (man) crossed the river…' [skc11_09a]

(3) *na   nettû   **kusambala**   mitaka   takasepnûng   manda   wa*
    [na   net=lû]   kusamba=la   mita-ka   [takasep-nûng   manda   wa]
    man   who=NOM   big=BEN   fear-SS   closed-3SG.POSS.EMPH   talk   that

    yawantak,   na   walû   gelû   daampawek.
    y-tawang-ta-k   [na   wa=lû]   gelû   daampa-be-k
    3PL.O-follow-PRS-3SG   man   that=NOM alright   happy-IRR.SG-3SG
    'Whatever man fears the Lord and follows all his laws, that man will be blessed.'

    [skc12_18: translation of Psalms 112:1]

Adjectives also frequently occur as non-verbal clause complements, producing attributive clauses, as in (4).

(4) *plit   udu   **waagem**.*
    plit   udu   waagem
    sugar.fruit   that.ANA   bad
    'That sugar fruit is bad.' [DN05.31.03]

Another common syntactic function of many adjectives is the adverbial modification of the verb, usually with the *-gût* adverbializing 'restrictive' suffix (§11.6).

(5) **kaalinggût**   *dom*   *naandûlat.*
     kaalin-gût   dom   naandû-la-t
     good-RSTR   NEG   know-PRS-1SG
     'I don't understand.' [DN01.03.10]

Adjectives do not receive possessive or non-singular affixes, as illustrated in (6). The head noun is marked with this morphology. However, a couple examples in the corpus exhibit just this pattern when the adjectives function as NP heads. More research is needed to determine whether these patterns are possible for the entire class, or only for those terms which exhibit polysemy between adjectival and nominal classes. An example is provided in (7).

(6) *notnaye*   **saakûm saakûm**   *yaalû,*   *enaanggûtta,*
     [not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
     brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
     'I got my two little sisters…' [skc09_10]

(7) **fatnaangek**   *bangûlû*   *i…*
     fatnaang-nek   ba-ng-lû   idi
     white-1NSG.POSS   come-DS-23   this.ANA
     'Our white (man) came and…' [skc09_19]

As shown in (6) above and also (8) below, adjectives frequently exhibit reduplication in order to express non-singular number. It appears that almost every time a plural noun is modified by an adjective, that adjective is reduplicated. When adjectives function adverbially to modify other adjectives, then they are reduplicated rather than the primary adjective, as in (9). Example (8) also illustrates the fact that some adjectives have irregular reduplicated forms (i.e. *kusamba kusamba for 'big~big').

(8) *tangaan*   *kaa*   **kusang kusang**   *waga*
     [tangaan   kaa   kusang~kusang   wa=ga]
     branch   somewhat   big~big   that=INST

     kaadûp   *membûnang*   *klonggût*   *beka,*
     [kaadûp   membû=nang]   klong-gût   be-ka
     tree   base=LOC   stand-RSTR   put.NSG-SS
     'They stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree…' [skc09_17]

(9) *kaadûp*   *saakûm*   **sûnûk sûnûk**
     [kaadûp   saakûm   sûnûk~sûnûk]
     tree   small   real~real
     'very small trees'

129

Adjectives sometimes take the locative enclitic *=nang*, but not very often. An example is provided in (10). Often locative NPs simply do not take modification.

(10) *kadet* ***kusambanang*** *tawangka* *fem* *taaka* *taka* *kugûmot.*
[kadet kusamba=nang] tawang-ka fem taa-ka ta-ka ku-gû-mot
road big=LOC follow-SS whistle say-SS do-SS go-RP-1DU
'We followed on the big road and each whistled as we went.' [skc09_02]

Adjectives are frequently followed by the light verb *ta-* 'do', forming light verb constructions. This is one syntactic feature of adjectives that separates them from other classes of modifiers. When the other modifiers—quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives—precede *ta-*, the lexical meaning of the verb is conveyed.

(11) ***mulin*** ***tamaakong,*** *bûge* *kuu* *wolûka* *semaakongka...*
mulin ta-maa-kong-ng bûge ku~u wolû-ka se-maa-kong-ka
dry do-CMPL-TERM-DS again go~EXT gather-SS cook-CMPL-TERM-SS
'After completely drying, going again we gather it and cook them all and…'
[skc12_05]

(12) *kukagûm* *imo* *kaampa* ***sûglen*** ***taka*** *idi,*
ku-ka-gû-m idi=mo kaam-pa sûglen ta-ka idi
go-see.3SG-RP-1PL this.ANA=already die-SS strong do-SS this.ANA
'Going we saw that he had died and gone into rigor and…' [skc09_18]

Adjectives may derive verbs with the suffix *-la* 'to become X', as illustrated in the following three examples. Potentially this is a grammaticalization of the light verb construction seen above, where *ta-* has been pulled into a suffix, with the alveolar stop undergoing place assimilation, and lenition to *l* after vowels. This process only applies to adjectives, and therefore serves as a primary diagnostic for differentiating adjectives from other word classes.

(13) *tandonta* *doka* *kodûle* ***bûkompang***
tandonta do-ka kodûle bûkom-la-ng
night sleep-SS throat.3SG.POSS dry-VBLZ-DS

mi *nila* *naandûka...*
{mi ni=la} naandû-ka
water 3SG.EMPH=BEN feel-SS
'At night she was asleep and, her throat becoming dry, she was thirsty and…'
[skc12_04]

(14) *gitin   yabappû   sûbat   glup   dûdûgût*
     [gitin   yabap=lû]   [sûbat   glup]   dûdûgût
     holy   spirit=NOM   food   plate   how.many

     tanggûdempaka   tûngak.
     tanggûdem-la-ka   tû-nga-k
     ready-VBLZ-SS   put.SG-NP-3SG
     'The Holy Spirit has readied however many plates of food.' [DN04.05.07]

(15) *mo   **kompaak**.*
     mo   kom-pa-a-k
     already   warm-VBLZ-PRS-3SG
     'It has become warm.' [DN04.80.77]

Though there exist a fairly large number of adjectival forms—primarily collected via elicitation—very few adjectives occur with any frequency in the corpus. When they do occur, they are used sparingly, and not in series with other adjectives. It appears that, in general, adjectives form a closed class. However, I discuss in §9.2 the class of adjectives derived from nouns via the possessive comitative contraction. More research is needed to determine how productive this process is. First, however, I divide the class into a series of semantic sub-classes.

9.1   Semantic sub-classes of adjectives

Adjectives can be divided into a number of semantic sub-classes. I briefly address these each in turn in the following sections. Adjectives do not ever co-occur. Only two examples in the corpus exhibit two adjectives, and both are problematic. The first—shown in (16)—was elicited. Here the color term *goin* 'black' follows the numeral, which in turn follows the adjective of dimension. I suspect that the color term is the object NP, while 'three black stones' are in topic position. The second—shown in (17)—exhibits a denominalized adjective as the first modifier, the only example of such a pattern.

(16) *waagût   nak   kaauda   **kusang kusang**   yaalanang   **goin**   isopmûngat.*
     waagût   nak   [kaauda kusang~kusang   yaalanang]   goin   isopm-nga-t
     now   1SG   stone   big~big   three   black   hold.NSG-NP-1SG
     'Today I grabbed three big black stones.' [DN02.195.23]

(17) *nak   nong   **menit**   **yupmalaan**   sakongat.*
     nak   [nong   men-nit   yupmalaan]   sako-nga-t
     1SG   knife   mouth-3SG.POSS:COM   long   hold.3SG-NP-1SG
     'I grabbed a long sharp knife.' [DN02.195.24]

9.1.1 Color

The only color term which occurs in the natural speech corpus is *fatnaang* 'white', as illustrated in (18). Due to the absolute scarcity of color terms in natural speech, very little can be said about this sub-class with any authority. However, I offer a few comments below.

(18) *na* ***fatnaang*** *walû* *kaauda* *flong* *kum*
  [na fatnaang wa=lû] [kaauda flong] kum
  man white that=NOM stone ALL down.DIST

  maangûtta *ngagok.*
  maangût-ta ngat-go-k
  sit-SS be-RP-3SG
  'The white man was sitting down on a stone.' [skc12_15]

The full list of color terms are listed in the table below, with the questionable terms shaded. While not occurring in natural speech, *goin* 'black' and *gemin* 'red' are certainly legitimate color terms. *Goin* functions more commonly in its nominal role, meaning 'sin'. *Gemin* is related to the adjective *gem* 'ripe'. The remaining color terms appear to be complex, exhibiting reduplication, compounding, and derivations. *Gaagût* refers to the sunset and functions as a verb according to MM speakers. It therefore has a natural extension to referring to yellow colors. Compounded with *nenggût*, a word with no meaning outside the color terms, it refers to a different shade of yellow. *Nenggût* also combines with *gulat* 'harvest, year' to mean 'green, blue'. *Gointaang* appears to be verbal in form—and related to *goin* 'black'. *Blublu* is only used in the compound with *gemne* to refer to 'brown'. *Gaablumpawaan* appears to be derived, taking the *-baan* suffix which attaches to verbs. However, *gaamblum* or *gaamplumpa* do not occur in the corpus either.

TABLE 9.1: ADJECTIVES: COLOR

word	gloss
fatnaang	white
goin	black
gemin	red
gemin gemin	dark red
gulat nenggût	green, blue
gaagût	pale yellow
gaagût nenggût	yellow
gemne blublu	brown
gaablumpawaan	orange
gointaang	pitch black

9.1.2 Dimension

A few adjectives refer to dimension, including the frequent *kusamba* 'big' and *saakûm* (also *saakûmpa*) 'small'. These freely occur modifying nouns within an NP, and as non-verbal clause complements.

(19) *toba*   **saakûm**   *yakngang*   *dûsûwe.*
      [toba   saakûm]   yak=nang   dûsû-be
      small.knife   small   bilum=LOC   take.out-IRR.SG
      'Take out the small knife from inside the bilum.' [DN04.59.18]

(20) *naanang*   *yot*   *udu*   **kusamba**.
      [nak-nga=nang   yot]   udu   kusamba
      1SG-EMPH=GEN   house   that.ANA   big
      'My house is big.'

Of the other collected terms which refer to dimension, only *dlupmok* 'short', *tupmungka* 'short', and *yupmalaan* 'long' occur in the natural speech corpus:

(21) *kadang*   *faaka*   **dlupmok / yupmalaan**.
      [kadang   faaka]   dlupmok / yupmalaan
      bamboo   bamboo.piece   short / long
      'The piece of bamboo is short / long.' [DN01.71.06 / 05]

(22) *kagang*   *manda*   **yupmalaan**,   *ip manda*   **tupmungka**.
      [kagang   manda]   yupmalaan   [ip manda]   tupmungka
      village   talk   long   Tok Pisin   short
      'Vernacular (TP: *tok ples*) is longer than Tok Pisin.' [DN02.179.18]

As with the color terms, the remaining adjectives were elicited, and also appear to be compounds and complex forms. More research is needed to determine their morpho-syntactic status. The full set is displayed below, once again with the unattested forms shaded.

word	gloss
kusamba	big
saakûm(pa)	small
dlupmok	short
tupmun(ka)	short, shallow
yumalaan	long
tapan	short
tupmun domba	very long
yumalaan basamba	very long
blublin	thick
iyangen	thin

9.1.3   Age

Four adjectives, all of which are found in the corpus, refer to age. These are shown below.

TABLE 9.3: ADJECTIVES: AGE

word	gloss
kodaa	new
gemin	young
tûmen	old
taang	elderly

A very common adjective is *kodaa*, which is used for new things (and sometimes young people), as in (23). It appears to be a derivation from *koda-* 'be alive', as shown in a relative clause in (24). *Gemin*, a derivative of *gem* 'red, ripe' refers to young babies, etc.

(23) *na   taamûng   fi   **kodaa**   fepmaangkongka   tûka,*
      [na   taamûng]   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
      man   woman   garden new   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS put-SS
      'The men and women finish clearing the whole new garden and put it, and…'
      [skc09_17]

(24) *nolû   **kodaak**   ya   blaampa   laabûgûng.*
      {nolû   koda-a-k   ya}   blaam-pa   laab-gû-ng
      brother   alive-PRS-3SG   this   carry-SS   come.up-RP-23PL
      'They carried the brother who was alive and came up.' [skc12_15]

The adjective *taang* 'elderly' only occurs in the corpus with human nouns. It also tends to cliticize to the noun, rather than stand as a phonologically independent word:

(25) ***nantaang***   *wasûlû   aatûmpa   fentagût   kaamgok.*
      [na=taang   wa-s=lû]   aatûm-pa   fentagût   kaam-go-k
      man=elderly   that-LK=NOM   startle-SS   completely   die-RP-3SG
      'The old man got startled and completely died.' [skc11_02e]

134

9.1.4   Direction

Two adjectives denote directions: *kaalin* 'right' and *kapmak* 'left'. However, neither occur in the natural speech corpus. Note that *kaalin* is much more frequently occurring with its other sense, 'good'.

9.1.5   Position

Two terms refer to position: *maang* 'far' and *kaapmûnggem* 'near'. Only *kaapmûnggem* occurs in the natural speech corpus:

(26) ***kaapmûnggem***   *kam*   *mongak*
    {{kaapmûnggem   kam   mo-nga-k}}
    near   down.PROX   go.down-NP-3SG

    dopa   *kangaamok?*
    dom:wa   ka-ngaa-mok
    NEG:DUB   see-NP-23DU
    'You (DU) didn't see it go down nearby?' [skc09_23]

9.1.6   Value

Five adjectives convey value judgments, as listed below. These are all very frequent in the corpus.

TABLE 9.4: ADJECTIVES: VALUE

word	gloss
kaalin	good
waagem	bad
moin	wrong, wild
sûnûk	real, very
bin	true

Both *waagem* 'bad' and *kaalin* 'good' are illustrated in (27).

(27) *tata*   ***waagem***   *wa*   *yaabaaka*
    [tata   waagem   wa]   yaabaa-ka
    custom   bad   that   leave.NSG-SS

    tata   ***kaalin***   *taka*   *aatûkuneng.*
    [tata   kaalin]   ta-ka   aatûku-ne-ng
    custom   good   do-SS   remain-IRR.PL-23NSG
    'Leave the bad works and do good works (from now on).' [skc12_14]

The adjective *bin* means 'true', as illustrated below. Note that, while *kaalin* and *waagem* do not reduplicate to indicate plurality, *bin* does (and so does *moin*). The first example below also illustrates that sometimes adjectives can modify a modifying noun.

135

(28) *nangkadekkû*   *kaadûp*   **bin**   *bamo*   *waga*   *fangaakngka*
     [nangkadek=lû]   [kaadûp   bin   bamo   wa=ga]   fangaakng-ka
     men=NOM   tree   true   trunk   that=INST   lift.NSG-SS
     '…the men lift up the actual tree trunks and…' _[skc09_17]

(29) *tang*   *saaut*   *taba*   *na*   **binbin**   *walû*
     ta-ng   [saaut   taba   na   bin~bin   wa=lû]
     do-DS   PN   resident   man   true~true   that=NOM

     baalus   *wakaagok*   *wa*   *kanengka*
     {{baalus   wakaa-go-k   wa}   ka-ne-ng=la}
     plane   destroy-RP-3SG   that   see.3SG-IRR.NSG-23PL=BEN

     monggûng.
     mo-gû-ng
     go.down-RP-23PL
     'And the leaders (lit. 'the true men') of Saut went down to see the plane that
     crashed.' _[skc12_15]

Value adjectives frequently function as the head of noun phrases, as exemplified with the possessed NP *bin* 'truth' below.

(30) *sûbat*   *glup*   *walûnang*   **bin**   *tebûgenangkantaam.*
     [sûbat   glup   wa=lûnang   bin]   teb-genangka-ntaa-m
     food   plate   that=GEN   truth   CAUS-appear-FUT-1PL
     'We will bring out the truth from this plate of food.' _[DN04.07.00]

While a great many adjectives can function adverbially to modify the verb, only one seems to be capable of modifying other adjectives—*sûnûk* 'real, very'. As an adjective it means 'real', as shown in (31). But when adverbially modifying another adjective, it means 'very, really', as in (32)–(33). Note that in adjectival phrases the adjective in adverbial function is reduplicated to indicate plurality rather than the adjective which modifies the head noun.

(31) *bûsenang*   **sûnûk**   *kugûmot.*
     [bûsenang   sûnûk]   ku-gû-mot
     jungle   real   go-RP-1DU
     'We went into the real bush.' _[skc09_02]

(32) *taamengsla*   *kaalin*   **sûnûk**.
     taamengsla   kaalin   sûnûk
     morning   good   real
     'Very good morning.'

(33) *kaadûp*   *saakûm*   **sûnûk sûnûk**
     [kaadûp   saakûm   sûnûk~sûnûk]
     tree   small   real~real
     'very small trees'

Sûnûk also frequently modifies adverbs, such as the temporal adverb below.

(34) **tûmanggût   sûnûk**   *yenûmûnit*   *yaalûlû   mukuya   moin*
    [tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [ye-nimin-nit   yaalû=lû] [mukuya moin]
    before-RSTR   real   NSG-cousin-3SG.POSS:COM   two=NOM   pig   wild

    dong   bûsenang   kugûmok.
    dong   bûsenang   ku-gû-mok
    search   jungle   go-RP-23DU
    'A very long time ago two cousins, went searching (for) wild pigs in the jungle.'
    [skc11_12b]

9.1.7   Physical property

A number of adjectives relate to physical property. Many of these terms are listed below. Note that, due to the relative infrequency of adjectives in the corpus, many of these glosses are identical. More research is needed in order to discover the shades of meaning which differentiate the qualities denoted by the terms.

TABLE 9.5: ADJECTIVES: PHYSICAL PROPERTY

word	gloss	word	gloss
baam	cold	*klaklen*	soft
baten	plain, flat	*kobudaan*	strong
bedin	wet	*kom*	warm, joyful
bin	real	*longgem*	light
bûkom	dry	*malap menggût*	heavy, difficult
bulung	dull	*molang*	nude
bum	rotten	*mongkalong*	hilly
didimen	straight	*mulin*	dried out
dudugun	dirty	*samap*	open, untied
glaglen	very sharp	*sibim*	cold, dull
gem	ripe	*sûglen*	strong
gemne gaablum	a bit ripe	*tangasep*	closed
gumaa	smooth	*tugum*	dull
gwang gwang	round	*ugem*	sharp
glang glang	loose	*ulumang*	pretty
ibabo	unstable, ugly	*waalin*	clean, nice
kemblong	crooked	*wagam*	empty

As with all other adjective sub-classes, the physical property adjectives do not frequently occur in the corpus. While everyone seems to know their meaning, they more frequently occur as one-word utterances than in complex noun phrases. It is very common for an adjective denoting a feeling to occur as the object of *naandû-* 'feel', as shown below. This word *sibim* 'cold' is different from *baam*, which refers to something being cold to the touch.

(35) **sibim**   *naandûlat.*
     sibim   naandû-la-t
     cold   feel-PRS-1SG
     'I feel cold.'

Many of these lexemes are polysemous. For example, *klaklen* means 'peace' (as a noun) in addition to 'soft', and *ugem* is a type of ginger, in addition to meaning 'sharp'. It also means 'pain' and 'aggressive'. *Wagam* means 'nothing, for no reason' in addition to 'empty'.

9.2 Denominalized adjectives

A group of adjectives are nominal forms which have taken the third person singular possessive comitative suffix *-nit*. For example, in (36) the word *kaadûp* 'wood, tree, fire' is marked with this suffix to mean 'hot'.

(36) *talaabû*   *saaut*   *kan*   *tûka*
     talaab   saaut   kan   tû-ka
     bring.up.SG PN   up.PROX put.SG-SS

     mi   **kaadûpmût**   *seka*   *mûng*   *topnanggok.*
     [mi   kaadûp-nit]   se-ka   m-ng   top=na-go-k
     water   fire-3SG.POSS:COM cook-SS give-DS drink=eat-RP-3SG
     'Bringing him up they put him up in Saut and heated some water and giving it to him, he drank it.' [skc12_15]

These derived adjectives can then receive further modification, as in (37). This is the only example in the corpus, and therefore more reseach is needed to determine whether other modifiers can occur here as well.

(37) *nak*   *nong*   **menit**   *yupmalaan*   *sakongat.*
     nak   [nong   men-nit   yupmalaan] sako-nga-t
     1SG   knife   mouth-3SG.POSS:COM long   hold.3SG-NP-1SG
     'I grabbed a long sharp knife.' [DN02.195.24]

The corpus also includes *wongût* 'steamy' (from *wong* 'steam') and *munit* 'bubbled up' (from *mun* 'roundness'), among others.

138

10 Verbs

The large class of verbs is thoroughly addressed in Part VI, including discussions of verbal morphology (Chapter 21) and complex predicates (Chapter 22), as well as tense, aspect, pluractionality, and reality status in Chapters 23–26. The aim of this chapter is to summarize the semantic, phonological, and morpho-syntactic criteria which distinguish verbs from the other word classes.

First and foremost, verbs are set apart by their complex morphology. No other word class in the MM language exhibits such a complex array of inflectional and derivational affixes. Verbs are the class of words whose primary function is to fill the predicate slot. In this role, verbs are marked with either tense or reality status suffixes, and then subject-agreement suffixes (and various aspectual markers as well). These paradigms are described in §21.1. Verbs also frequently occur in non-finite form, exhibiting "medial verb" morphology. A paradigm distinguishes between non-finite verbs which provide temporal and participant cohesion (i.e. coordinate suffixes), and those which only provide participant cohesion (i.e. subordinate suffixes). Thus, the paradigm provides switch-reference information, and also indicates the level of embedding of the medial (non-finite) clause. The non-finite verb suffixes are described in §21.2. Both the finite (tense, reality status, subject-agreement) and non-finite (switch-reference) paradigms undergo a significant amount of morpho-phonemic alternations, mostly related to the phonological makeup of the verb stem (i.e. the final segment of the verb). The morpho-phonological verb classes are discussed in §21.6. Additionally, transitive verbs bear object-agreement prefixes, with a subset exhibiting stem alternations based on the object argument's number. The object-agreement classes are described in §21.3. A number of other inflectional and derivational suffixes occur only on verbs, including the potential modality marker and the nominalizing suffix. These are discussed in §21.4

Phonologically, the most common verbs consist of single consonantal stems, or stems with CV or CVC sequences. That is, the most common simplex verbs are rarely polysyllabic. The polysyllabic verbs are frequently composed of multiple verb roots. It is a difficult matter to determine whether these verbs are synchronically monomorphemic, or whether they are compounds or serializations. Sometimes the matter is clear due to non-compositional semantics, but other times it is not clear at all. Much more research is needed in this area.

Note that compounds and serial verb constructions do not exhibit dependency-marking on the separate elements. The following example illustrates three types of complex verbs. First, the verb *dûnû-* 'chop' is followed be the verb *kapmang-* 'drop, leave'. No dependency-marking occurs on the first verb. Object-agreement morphology is present for the second verb. These verbs are conceived of as describing a single event 'chop down'. Second, the non-inflecting verb *fa* 'get.NSG' is serialized with *aakng-* 'arise' to produce 'lift them'. This word belongs to the class of verbs that exhibit different forms depending on the number of the object. It is analyzed in this way because many of the verbs are irregular in form. Finally, the verb *be-* 'put.NSG' is followed by the adverbial element *maa*, which means 'wholly' in the pre-verbal slot, but is grammaticalized here, and then the verb *kong-* 'throw.SG' which is grammaticalized as the terminative/cessative aspect.

(1) *kaadûp*   ***dûnûyapmangûda**,*   *fûngûlû,*   *mo*   *faleleka,*
     kaadûp   dûnû-y-kapmang-ng-da   fû-ng-lû   mo   falele-ka
     tree   chop-3NSG.O-drop-DS-1NSG   come.down-DS-23   already   lop-SS

     fangaakngka   *bot*   ***bemaakongka**,...*
     fa-ng-aakng-ka   bot   be-maa-kong-ka
     get.NSG-DS-arise-SS   group   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS
     'We chop down the trees, and then having lopped off (the branches), we lift them up and finish grouping them all, and…' [skc12_05]

These matters are discussed in the section on serial verb constructions (§22.2). This section addresses a number of productive SVCs, including the causative construction, the benefactive applicative, and directional and aspectual SVCs. All of these processes are only available to verbs and verbalized words from other classes.

Syntactically, verbs are set apart due to their placement as the final constituent of the clause. While some pragmatically-motivated right-dislocation exists for focused noun phrases (§30.3), this is fairly uncommon. While the predicate occurs last in a clause, it is not always the lexical verb. Frequently verbs are followed by auxiliary verbs, which are bleached of their semantic content and serve to carry aspectual information. Auxiliary verb constructions are discussed in §22.3. These are different from serializations and compounds, because they exhibit dependency-marking—the lexical verb is always marked with the same-subject medial verb suffix. Light verb constructions are also frequent. These consist of noun-like elements (light verb complements; see Chapter 12) followed by light verbs. The class of light verbs—many of the same verbs which serve as auxiliaries—is described in §22.1.

A prevalent cohesive device in Ma Manda is bridging (AKA "tail-head linkage"). Bridging constructions consist of a short summary that recapitulates the previous finite predicate. Bridging constructions are described in Chapter 32. This recapitulation often takes the form of a light verb in non-finite form, and has resulted in a number of verbal conjunctions. These are discussed as a class in §13.6, and along with coordination in §29.2.4.

Semantically, verbs can be divided into a number of semantic sub-classes according to various criteria. For example, three classes of verbs can be posited with regard to their behavior with the progressive aspect auxiliary construction. Stative verbs are unbounded and exhibit an internally homogenous semantic structure, such as *bagone-* 'be sick'. Dynamic verbs are bounded and exhibit an internally heterogenous structure, such as *sako-/isopm-* 'hold'. The third class is stative-dynamic, which are bounded but have an internally homogenous structure, for example *ku-* 'go'. These distinctions are described and illustrated in §24.1. With regard to pluractionality (i.e. verbal number), dynamic verbs receive an iterative interpretation, while stative verbs are simply intensified in their meaning. Motion verbs are interpreted as being distributed in different locations. These characteristics are described in §25.2. Aktionsart also comes in to play with other complex predicate structures. For example, motion verbs and states can be grouped into a class (called "activity" verbs in this work) due to their ability to be reduplicted to mark the extended durative aspect (§24.3).

Verbs form a large class that is open to derivation. The verb class is not open to borrowing, since instead borrowed verbs function as light verb complements. An example is shown with the Tok Pisin transitive verb *waasim* 'wash' in (2). In §10.2 I address the derivational process, which produces inchoative verbs from adjectives.

(2) | *nak,* | *glup,* | ***waasim*** | *taka* | *mo* | *bangaamot.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nak | glup | waasim | ta-ka | mo | ba-ngaa-mot |
| 1SG | dish | wash | do-SS | already | come-NP-1DU |

'After I washed the dishes, we came.' [skc09_10]

The class of verbs is divided into transitivity classes, along with various semantic groupings, in §10.1.

10.1   Transitivity classes

MM verbs may be divided into transitivity classes based on their argument structure and expression of grammatical relations. These are described in turn in the following sections.

10.1.1   Intransitive

Intransitive verbs license only one core argument, the subject (S). This class includes motion verbs (e.g. *ku-* 'go', *faale-* 'turn around'), stative verbs (e.g. *at-* 'be', *aatûku-* 'remain'), stance verbs (e.g. *maangût-* 'sit'), meteorological verbs (e.g. *siya-* 'dawn'), emotional state verbs (e.g. *belûfa-* 'be angry'), and phasal verbs (e.g. *aawe-* 'finish').

As with all verbs, the subject may be omitted, since it is marked on the finite verb through suffixation—as in (3). It can also be expressed explicitly, which is particularly common with newly introduced participants (§30.1), or before longer strings of medial clauses, which do not directly mark the subject with a suffix. This is illustrated in (4).

(3) ***filaangka   kuyak.***
     filaang-ka   ku-ya-k
     fly-SS   go-PRS-3SG
     'It is flying away.' [DN02.143.79]

(4) *raaji   mo   **belûfaka   aakngka**   mo...*
     raaji   mo   belûfa-ka   aakng-ka   mo
     PN   already   angry-SS   arise-SS   already
     'Ragi became angry and got up…' [skc09_19]

The subject is frequently topical and therefore unmarked for nominative case, as shown above. However, the nominative postposition is grammatical with S as well:

(5) *u   **nettû   attak**,   gebûng?*
     udu   net=lû   at-ta-k   gebûng
     that.ANA   who=NOM   be-PRS-3SG   inside
     'Who is that inside?' [DN02.149.04]

Weather and meteorological verbs are impersonal, taking no explicit S argument. These forms always occur with third person singular subject-agreement.

(6) *baka   akngatnang   akngatnang   akngatnang   mo,*
     ba-ka   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   mo
     come-SS   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   already

     *sanggaba   laabûngatnang   **siyagok**.*
     sanggaba   laab-ng-tnang   siya-go-k
     PN   come.up-DS-1NSG   dawn-RP-3SG
     'After coming and coming and coming, we came up to Sanggaba, and it was dawn.' [skc09_38]

Some intransitive verbs can derive transitive verbs with the causative serialization, as illustrated below (see §22.2.1).

(7) *aanutulû*   *manggamanggat*   ***ifûgenangkagok.***
     aanutu=lû   manggat~manggat   **ef**-genangka-go-k
     God=NOM   thing~thing   CAUS-appear-RP-3SG
     'God created everything.' [skc11_12a]

(8) *yupmûnggût*   ***ifûngaawewe.***
     yupmûng-gût   **ef**-ngaawe-be
     quickly-RSTR   CAUS-be.finished-IRR.SG
     'Finish it quickly.' [DN04.73.43]

10.1.2   Transitive

Transitive verbs license two core arguments, the subject (A) and the object (O). While all verbs cross-reference the subject, only transitive and ditransitive verbs cross-reference the object argument on the verb. This class can be divided into three morphological classes depending on whether the verb takes an object-agreement prefix, undergoes stem alternation according to the number of the object, or both. The object-agreement classes are described in §21.3.

Transitive verbs include perception verbs (e.g. *-b-/ka-* 'see'), some speech verbs (e.g. *kaafe-* 'scold'), transitive motion verbs (e.g. *tefû-* 'bring down'), and various other prototypically-transitive verbs including *tû-/be-* 'put', *ut-/idipm-* 'hit', *talaam-* 'shoot', *isopm-/sako-* 'hold', *kong-/lakong-* 'throw', and *e-/idû-/sû-* 'bite'.

Transitive verbs need not explicitly state the object argument, since the verb itself carries this information. First and second person free pronouns do not precede transitive verbs except for emphatic effect. The third person objects are often explicit, however—as proper names, demonstratives, and nouns. These patterns are illustrated below.

(9) *taaun*   *wa*   *kungaagû,*   *gaamiyong*   ***napmangka***…
     [taaun   wa]   kungat-gû   gaamiyong   n-kapmang-ka
     town   that   go.around-DUR   PN   1SG.O-leave-SS
     'After walking around town awhile Gamiyong left me…' [skc09_01]

(10) ***tamek***   ***ban***   ***sakoka***   *kagang*   *monggok.*
     [tamek   ban]   sako-ka   kagang   mo-go-k
     bed   a   hold.3SG-SS   village   go.down-RP-3SG
     'He grabbed a bed and went outside.' [skc11_02e]

Perception verbs align the subject with the semantic role of experiencer, and the object with the stimulus, as in (11). These verbs also frequently take complement clauses. However, the verb's object-agreement prefix always cross-references the subject argument of the complement clause, as in (12)–(13).

(11) *ku   lemang   taamtaam   kadepmenang   **yaabûgot.***
ku   [lemang   taamtaam]   kadepmen=nang   yaa-b-go-t
go   PN   women   main.road=LOC   3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG
'…going I saw the Lemang ladies on the road.' [skc11_04c]

(12) *mi   flong   kung   **yaabûka,**   **yawangka**   kungat.*
{{[mi   flong]   ku-ng}}   yaa-b-ka   y-tawang-ka   ku-nga-t
water   ALL   go-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS   3NSG.O-follow-SS   go-NP-1SG
'I saw them going to the water, and I followed them and went.' [skc09_10]

(13) *tang   **kaka**   i   meng   moknûng*
ta-ng   ka-ka   idi   {{[meng   mok-nûng]
do-DS   see.3SG-SS   this.ANA   mother   firstborn.female-EMPH.POSS

fûng   nûngka   idiga,
fû-ng}}   nû-ka   idi=ga
come.down-DS   tell-SS   this.ANA=INST
'And I saw his mother Mok come down and I told her…' [skc09_21]

When *-b-/ka-* 'see' takes an object noun phrase, rather than a complement clause, then it is marked with a demonstrative with the anaphoric suffix *-n*:

(14) *baka   ngaatûkugû   emak   yaalanangka   **wan**   yaabûka*
ba-ka   ngaatûku-gû   [emak   yaalanang=wa]   wa-n   yaa-b-ka
come-SS   remain-DUR   moon   three=DUB   that-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS

mo,   bûge   kuwaamang.
mo   bûge   ku-waa-m-nang
already   again   go-PRS-1PL-HAB
'(We) come, and after remaining for maybe a few months, we go again.' [skc09_17]

When the NP object of 'see' refers to an action, then the adverbialized demonstrative surfaces with the anaphoric suffix *-in*.

(15) *tang   taamtaampû   bidami   dobûka*
ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka
do-DS   women=NOM   edible.grass.sp   cut-SS

kelang kelang   isopmûngka   monggûng.
kelang~kelang   isopm-ka   mo-gû-ng
in.hand~in.hand   hold.NSG-SS   go.down-RP-23PL

*na   walû   **wadûngin**   yaabûka…*
[na   wa=lû]   wa-dûng-in   yaa-b-ka
man   that=NOM   that-ADV-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS
'And the women were cutting *bidami* grass and holding it in their hands as they went down. The man saw them doing that…' [skc12_16]

The verb 'bite' frequently occurs in impersonal corporeal constructions. While no subject argument is licensed, the object is the experiencer. For example, in (16) the experiencer is the first person singular, though it is actually the possessed *mande-* 'back'

which experiences the pain. These constructions are always marked with a third person singular subject. It is possible that *mandena* 'my back' can be treated as the subject, but more research is needed. Crucially though, noun phrases in this position cannot be marked with the nominative case.

(16) *mandena*   *ugem*   **nelak**.
     mande-na   ugem   n-e-la-k.
     back-1SG.POSS   pain   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG
     'My back hurts.' [DN02.143.70]

Though a number of other verbs may take two arguments, they are analyzed as ambitransitive. It is difficult to tease apart the transitive/intransitive distinction, since object arguments can simply be ellipsed. In this work I treat only those verbs which bear object-agreement morphology and/or stem alternations as fully transitive. The rest have different interpretations depending on whether or not an object is made explicit, as described in the next section.

10.1.3   Ambitransitive

A large class is composed of ambitransitive verbs. These verbs can license either one (intransitive) or two (transitive) arguments. The class is composed of speech verbs (e.g. *taa-* 'say'), corporeal verbs (e.g. *nangge-* 'choke', *kot-* 'cry'), verbs of consumption (e.g. *na-* 'eat'), verbs of perception (e.g. *naandû-* 'know, perceive, feel, hear'), and many others. The class of ambitransitive verbs can be further divided into S=O ("patientive") ambitransitives, and S=A ("agentive") ambitransitives, depending on the shared identity of arguments between intransitive and transitive functions.

S=O ambitransitive verbs are those whose objects (in their transitive role) coincide with the subject (in their intransitive role). The English verb *break* is a good example: I_A *broke the glass*$_O$ versus *The glass*$_S$ *broke*. That is, the same semantic role occurs as an object in the transitive function, and as the subject in the transitive function. A smallish group of verbs follows this pattern, including *mang-* 'fall down, erect'. In its intransitive role, this verb licenses an experiencer subject, as in (17). In its transitive role, this verb licenses an experiencer object, as in (18). Other examples include *laat-* 'shave, scrape', *naandû-* 'know, hear', *tefaa-* 'upset, be damaged', *fiyat-* 'be open, open', and *tamang-* 'be loose, loosen'.

(17) *tagû*   ***mambûtaang.***
ta-gû   mang-b-taa-ng
do-DUR   fall.down-EP-FUT-2SG
'Doing (it) you will fall down.' [DN02.183.43]

(18) *fatnaangût*   *gagaang*   *kungkadopmûngka*   *yot*   *ban*
fatnaangût   gagaang   ku-kadopm-ka   [yot   ban]
Saruwaged   mountainside go-arrive-SS   house   a

manggûm.
mang-gû-m
erect-RP-1PL
'We went by mountainside into the Saruwaged (Mountains) and erected a house.'
[skc12_01]

S=A ambitransitive verbs are those whose transitive agents coincide with intransitive subjects. This can be illustrated with the English verb *eat*: I_A *have eaten dinner*$_O$ versus I_S *have eaten*. Thus, the same semantic role occurs as the subject in both intransitive and transitive functions of the verb. S=A ambitransitives are far more frequent than S=O ambitransitives. For example, in (19) *fûdût-* 'blow' is intransitive, while in (20) it is transitive, with *kaadûp* 'fire' left implicit. Other examples include *na-* 'eat', *blaam-* 'shoulder-carry', *taale-* 'breathe, pull', *odû-* 'shake hands, hang', *te-* 'sing/dance', and *yodû-* 'look around, search for'. It is often very difficult to determine whether a verb from this class is functioning intransitively, or whether its object is left implicit. The same difficulty occurs with verbs such as *eat* in English.

(19) *salefakaa*   *fûdûlak.*
salefakaa   fûdût-a-k
gust   blow-NP-3SG
'A gust blew.' [DN04.70.27]

(20) *fûdûle.*
fûdût-e
blow-IRR.2SG
'Blow [on the fire].' [DN05.01.13]

The verb *taa-* 'say' can be intransitive, or it can take an object which is an NP or a complement clause. The complement clause can occur before the verb, but the longer the clause, the more likely it will follow the verb instead, as in (21).

146

(21)   *...adaampawaanang*   *wa*   *baka*   *welûlû*
      {adaampa-baan=nang}   wa   ba-ka   welû=lû
      rest-NMLZ=LOC   there   come-SS   daughter.3SG.POSS=NOM

        taagok,   *bep,*   *ya*   *adaampawet.*
        taa-go-k   {{bep   ya   adaampa-be-t}}
        say-RP-3SG   father   here   rest-IRR.SG-1SG
        '(They) came there to the resting-place and his daughter said, "Dad, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

When 'say' takes an object NP, it is marked with a demonstrative with the anaphoric suffix (see §29.4 for speech reports).

(22)   *wan*   *taang*   *gisûmpû*   *nûnggok...*
      wa-n   taa-ng   gisûm=lû   nû-go-k
      that-ANA   say-DS   bird.sp=NOM   tell-RP-3SG
      'Saying that, the *gisûm* bird asked him, …' [skc12_12]

Finally, a few verbs, when taking an object, require a noun with the same meaning as the verb. For example, *do-* 'to sleep' often occurs intransitively in the corpus. When an object does occur, it is always *dapmon* 'sleep'. Another example is *kot-* 'to cry' with the noun *makat* 'cry'.

(23)   *busanim*   *nûpmang*   *wa*   **dogûmot**.
      busanim   n-kapma-ng   wa   do-gû-mot
      PN   1NSG.O-leave-DS   there   sleep-RP-1DU
      '[A bus] left us at Busanim and we slept there.' [skc09_38]

(24)   *nak*   *mo*   **dapmon**   **dowetta**   *kuyat.*
      nak   mo   {dapmon   do-be-t=la}   ku-ya-t
      1SG   already   sleep   sleep-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN   go-PRS-1SG
      'I am going to sleep (a sleep) now.' [DN02.157.24]

10.1.4   Ditransitive

Finally, just two verbs are ditransitive, taking three core arguments. These are *m-* 'give' and *nû-* 'tell'. Both ditransitive verbs take an object-agreement prefix which cross-references the recipient or addressee, respectively. When expressed with an explicit noun phrase, the direct object of 'give' is marked with the dative case, as in (25). This is a common pattern in the world's languages (Haspelmath 2005), and in Papuan languages in particular (Reesink 2013).

(25)   *nak*   *nantaam*   **walok**   **empa**   *kutaat.*
      nak   [nantaam   wa=lok]   ye-m-pa   ku-taa-t
      1SG   people   that=DAT   3NSG.O-give-SS   go-FUT-1SG
      'I will give (it) to the people and go.' [DN02.247.07]

The direct object of *nû-* 'tell' is unmarked, as is typical of direct objects:

(26) **nanaksû** **taamtaam** **enûnggot,** *mo,* *kap* *nunum*
[nanaksû taamtaam] ye-nû-go-t {{mo [kap nunum]
children women 3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG already song prayer

tanûm. **wadûng** *enûngka* *idi,*
ta-nû-m}} wa-dûng ye-nû-ka idi
do-IRR.PL-1NSG that-ADV 3NSG.O-tell-SS this.ANA

kap *nunum* *tagûm.*
[kap nunum] ta-gû-m
song prayer do-RP-1PL
'I told the girls, "Okay, let's worship." After telling them like that, we worshiped.'
[skc09_21]

The secondary object of both ditransitive verbs—the gift of 'give' and the topic of 'tell'—can be left implicit, as in (25) above and in (27). When expressed, the secondary object always precedes (unless in pragmatic right-dislocated focus position) the verb 'give', as in (28).

(27) *talaabû,* *meng* *kaang* *kansokkok* **yemûng**
talaab [meng kaang kansok=lok] ye-m-ng
bring.up.SG mother two PN=DAT 3NSG.O-give-DS

imo, *naanggûtta* *bagûmok.*
idi=mo naanggût-ta ba-gû-mok
this.ANA=already get-SS come-RP-23DU
'Bringing him up, after giving him to his mother and Kansok, they got him and came.' [skc09_18]

(28) *wangatta* *welû* **gaamgok.**
wa=ngat-ta welû gaa-m-go-k
there=be-SS daughter.3SG.POSS 2SG.O-give-RP-3SG
'He stayed there and gave you his daughter (in marriage).' [skc12_01]

Just like other speech verbs (see the discussion about *taa-* 'say' in the previous section), the object of *nû-* 'tell' can precede the verb, but when the object is a complement clause, this generally follows the verb—especially longer complement clauses. This is illustrated below.

(29) *nuka* *lû* **nûnggok,** *eng.* **uma** *wa!*
[nuka lû] nû-go-k {{eng udu-ma wa}}
PN NOM tell-RP-3SG yes that.ANA-EMPH that
'Nuka told him, "Yes. That's it!"' [skc11_09c]

When the secondary object of 'tell' is expressed with a resumptive demonstrative, then it is marked with the anaphoric suffix.

(30) *kobûse*   *bantû*   *kobûse*   *ban*   **yan**   *nûnggok,...*
     [kobûse   ban=lû]   [kobûse   ban]   ya-n   nû-go-k
     chicken   other=NOM   chicken   other   this-ANA   tell-RP-3SG
     'The other chicken told the other chicken this, …' [skc12_11]

10.2 Verbalization

Ma Manda has a suffix *-la* (alternating with *-pa*, *-ta*, and *-ka* according to the final segment of the verbal stem), which productively attaches to adjectives to form inchoative verbs. This derivational morpheme carries the meaning, 'to become X', where X is the quality denoted by the adjective.

(31) *tandonta*   *doka*   *kodûle*   **bûkompang**
     tandonta   do-ka   kodûle   bûkom-la-ng
     night   sleep-SS   throat.3SG.POSS   dry-VBLZ-DS

     mi   *nila*   *naandûka...*
     {mi   ni=la}   naandû-ka
     water   3SG.EMPH=BEN   feel-SS
     'At night she was asleep and, her throat becoming dry, she was thirsty and …'
     [skc12_04]

(32) *gitin*   *yabappû*   *sûbat*   *glup*   *dûdûgût*
     [gitin   yabap=lû]   [sûbat   glup]   dûdûgût
     holy   spirit=NOM   food   plate   how.many

     tanggûdempaka   *tûngak.*
     tanggûdem-la-ka   tû-nga-k
     ready-VBLZ-SS   put.SG-NP-3SG
     'The Holy Spirit has readied however many plates of food.' [DN04.05.07]

(33) *mo*   **kompaak**.
     mo   kom-pa-a-k
     already   warm-VBLZ-PRS-3SG
     'It has become warm.' [DN04.80.77]

The *-la* derivational suffix applies to one noun in the corpus, but it appears that the noun has adjectival semantics here. More research is needed to determine whether other nouns can undergo this derivation. At present, it appears that this derivation is a good diagnostic for differentiating adjectives from other word classes.

(34) *bûselangak.*
     bûse-la-nga-k
     jungle-VBLZ-NP-3SG
     'It has become bush.' (i.e. the grass and plants have become overgrown) [DN05.11.68]

11 Adverbs

Adverbs are a fairly large class of words in Ma Manda. A majority of adverbs function to modify either the verb, or the clause as a whole. They are morphologically restricted, being unable to bear case enclitics, or nominal or verbal morphology.

Phonologically, most adverbs are short, monosyllabic words. Manner adverbs are different. They are frequently polysyllabic, often being compounds, reduplications, and including frozen morphemes.

Syntactically, adverbs can be distinguished from adjectives by the fact that they do not modify nouns. While a number of adjectives function adverbially to describe the manner of an action (e.g. *kaalin* 'good'→ 'well'), their primary function is to modify nouns. Also, even though one adjective (*sûnûk* 'real') intensifies other adjectives (meaning 'very'), it still functions to modify nouns as well. Adverbs simply do not serve this function in MM.

Adverbs exhibit greater freedom of movement than other word classes. Prototypically, however, manner adverbs immediately precede the constituent which they modify. Example (1) shows a manner adverb immediately preceding a verb, while (2) shows the adverb *kaa* 'somewhat' immediately preceding the adjective it modifies. Note that, in adverbial function, the adjective *sûnûk* 'very' follows the adjective or adverb it modifies. This pattern is another difference between adverbs and adjectives.

(1) ***baagût*** *yotnambelak.*
   baagût   yotnambe-la-k
   slowly   chew-PRS-3SG
   'He is chewing slowly.' [DN04.68.12]

(2) *tangaan*   ***kaa***   *kusang kusang*   *waga*
   [tangaan   kaa   kusang~kusang   wa=ga]
   branch   somewhat   big~big   that=INST

   kaadûp   *membûnang*   *klonggût*   *beka,*
   [kaadûp   membû=nang]   klong-gût   be-ka
   tree   base=LOC   stand-RSTR   put.NSG-SS
   'They stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree…' [skc09_17]

Example (3) shows a temporal adverb in initial position, modifying the entire clause. Temporal adverbs tend to follow topical and subject noun phrases, but precede objects and other oblique arguments. This is illustrated in (4).

(3) **mandeng**   *imamaang*   *yot,*
     mandeng   [imamaang   yot]
     next   grass.sp   house

     imamaang   *yot*   *mangka*   *tûka*   *idi,*
     [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   tû-ka   idi
     grass.sp   house   erect-SS   put.SG-SS   this.ANA
     'Next an *imamang* grass house, he erected an *imamang* grass house…' [skc12_01]

(4) *sowek*   *i*   **tûmang**   *flunit*   *aatigokngang.*
     [sowek   idi]   tûmang   flu-nit   at-i-go-k-nang
     cassowary   this.ANA   before   wing-3SG.POSS:COM   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-3SG-HAB
     'Cassowaries, (they) used to have wings before.' [skc12_12]

In (5) the temporal adverb in the first clause is added after the verb, while the adverb in the second clause precedes the verb.

(5) *dom*   *kung,*   **kogût**.   **met**   *kuntaang.*
     dom   ku-ng   kogût   met   ku-ntaa-ng
     NEG   go-NP:23PL   not.yet   later   go-FUT-23PL
     'They did not go, yet. They will go later.' [DN02.177.03]

Few other statements can be made regarding the group as a whole, since the class represents a heterogenous mix of words. The following sections describe the various types of adverbs.

11.1   Local adverbs

The class of local adverbs is primarily made up of demonstratives. In this function they are not required to bear any morphology. These adverbs usually immediately precede the verb, though they can also be postposed. The behavior of adverbial demonstratives is described in §20.3.2.

(6) *busanim*   *nûpmang*   **wa**   *dogûmot.*
     busanim   n-kapma-ng   wa   do-gû-mot
     PN   1NSG.O-leave-DS   there   sleep-RP-1DU
     '[A bus] left us at Busanim and we slept there.' [skc09_38]

(7) **ya**ngale.   *mo*   *kuyat.*
     ya=ngat-e   mo   ku-ya-t
     here=be-IRR.SG   already   go-PRS-1SG
     'Stay here. I'm going now.' [DN04.41.04]

The restrictive suffix *-gût* can be added to restrict the reference of the adverbs (see §11.6):

(8)   *nûnûng*   **yanggût**   *taawaam.*
       nûnûng   ya-gût   taa-waa-m
       1PL.EMPH   here-RSTR   say-PRS-1PL
       'Just us are speaking right here.' [DN02.179.17]

Ma Manda possesses one other local adverb, *usung* 'above'. While the upper topographical demonstratives *kun* and *kan* identify specific locations, *usung* is used for a general area.

(9)   *yokep*   *ta*   *kabot*   *flong*   **usung**   *tûwe.*
       yokep   ta   [kabot   flong]   usung   tû-be
       tongs   get.SG   pot   ALL   above   put.SG-IRR.SG
       'Hold the tongs above the pot.' [DN04.59.17]

Evidence for its adverbial status comes from the fact that it either precedes the verb, or it comes first in the clause. It also comes after locative noun phrases in the corpus.

(10)   *gisim*   *tagat*   *amun*   *dom*   *kulaakngang,*
       gisim   tagat   amun   dom   kula-a-k-nang
       bird.sp   faeces   ground   NEG   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB

       kaadûp   *flong*   **usung**   *kulaakngang.*
       [kaadûp   flong]   usung   kula-a-k-nang
       tree   ALL   above   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB
       'The *gisim* bird does not defecate on the ground, it defecates up in the trees.'
       [skc12_12]

11.2   Temporal adverbs

Ma Manda has a number of temporal adverbs. These are differentiated from temporal nouns by the fact that they are never marked with case morphology, and are not usually modified. One cohesive group of temporal adverbs is the paradigm of seven relative time adverbs. Each of these adverbs denotes a specific day. Specific terms exist for today, yesterday, and tomorrow. The remaining terms indicate the number of days removed from the present, but do not encode whether it is past or future. For example, *sisa* '±2 days' refers to 'the day before yesterday' in (11), but 'the day after tomorrow' in (12). The full set is listed in Table 11.1.

(11) **sisa,**   *gaamiyongkût,*   *laai*   *kuntaamot*
     sisa   gaamiyong=lit   {{laai ku-ntaa-mot}}
     ±2days   PN=COM   PN   go-FUT-1DU

     taaka   *kugûmot.*
     taa-ka   ku-gû-mot
     say-SS   go-RP-1DU
     'The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.'
     [skc09_01]

(12) **sisa**   *kuwet.*
     sisa   ku-be-t
     ±2days   go-IRR.SG-1SG
     'The day after tomorrow I will go.' [DN02.205.10]

TABLE 11.1: RELATIVE TIME ADVERBS

-5 days & up	*yangen*
-4 days	*baanta yangen*
-3 days	*(sisa) baan*
-2 days	*sisa*
yesterday	*kep*
now, today	*waagût*
tomorrow	*taameng*
+2 days	*sisa*
+3 days	*(sisa) baan*
+4 days	*baanta yangen*
+5 days & up	*yangen*

Regarding these forms, *yangen* is often reduplicated for intensification, or followed by *met* 'later' (though this modification only occurs in the future tense). *Sisa baan* '±3 days' occurs with or without *sisa*, and both seem to have the same meaning. *Waagût* means 'now' in addition to 'today'.

Taameng is generally used to mark the day after speaking, but in narrative the temporal reference is shown to be relative, below meaning 'the next day'.

(13) **taameng**   *siyang*   *ba*   *kaalû*   *sakoka*   *kepma*   *wekng*
     taameng   siya-ng   ba   kaalû   sako-ka   [kepma wekng]
     tomorrow   dawn-DS   come   vehicle   hold.3SG-SS   day   middle

     mo   *laabûngkadopmûnggûmot.*
     mo   laab-kadopm-gû-mot
     already   come.up-arrive-RP-1DU
     'The next morning we came and got a car and came up and arrived at mid-day.'
     [skc09_38]

Other temporal adverbs include *bûge* 'again', *met* 'later', *mandeng* 'next, after', *tûmang* 'first, before'. *Tûmang* means 'first', and it can be reduplicated to mean 'very first', as compared below.

(14) *sûbat*　　*tûmang*　　*walû*　　*segok.*
　　 sûbat　　tûmang　　wa=lû　　se-go-k
　　 food　　first　　that=NOM　　cook-RP-3SG
　　 'First he cooked the food.' [skc09_21]

(15) *nak*　　*tûmang tûmang*　　*bagot.*
　　 nak　　tûmang~tûmang　　ba-go-t
　　 1SG　　first~first　　come-RP-1SG
　　 'I came very first.' [skc09_21]

With the *-gût* suffix it means 'before', and when this is reduplicated it means 'a long time before'. Thus, both temporal adverbs are reduplicated for intensity (like *yangen*), but the *-gût* suffix changes the meaning. Note that, at other times, *tûmang* and *tûmanggût* seem to switch their meanings. Perhaps this is dialectical, or perhaps another contrast is being conveyed.

(16) *tûmanggût*　　*bagûm.*
　　 tûmang-gût　　ba-gû-m
　　 before-RSTR　　come-RP-1PL
　　 'We came a long time ago.' [skc09_19]

(17) *tûmanggût tûmanggût*　　*sûnûk*　　*kagat*　　*wasit*
　　 [tûmang-gût~tûmang-gût　　sûnûk]　　[kagat　　wasit
　　 before-RSTR~before-RSTR　　very　　place　　that:COM

　　 nantaam　　*ya*　　*dom*　　*agûng.*
　　 nantaam]　　ya　　dom　　at-gû-ng
　　 people　　this　　NEG　　be-RP-23PL
　　 'A very long time ago, the village and the people were not here.' [skc11_16]

Mandeng 'next, after' is reduplicated below.

(18) *nak*　　*mandeng mandeng*　　*yawangka*　　*fûgot.*
　　 nak　　mandeng~mandeng　　y-tawang-ka　　fû-go-t
　　 1SG　　after~after　　3NSG.O-follow-SS　　come.down-RP-1SG
　　 'I followed right behind them and came down.' [skc09_35]

Bûge 'again' is illustrated below.

(19) *wa   dogûmot   walû   siyangûlû,*
       {wa   do-gû-mot   wa=lû}   siya-ng-alû
       that   sleep-RP-1DU that=ABL dawn-DS-23

       bûge   *monggûmot   walû   mongka   kasuka   kuka...*
       {bûge   mo-gû-mot   wa=lû}   mo-ka   kasuka   ku-ka
       again   go.down-RP-1DU that=ABL go.down-SS PN   go-SS
       'After we slept there, in the morning, after we went down again, we went down
       and went to Kasuka…' [skc09_01]

Finally, note that temporal adverbs often follow the first clausal constituent, as shown in (14), (15), and (18) above.

11.3   Phasal adverbs

A small class of temporal adverbs consists of words which frequently occur as interjections, and which refer to different phases of completion of an event. Following Sarvasy's treatment of Nungon (2014d:187), I identify this group as "phasal adverbs". They are listed below, and described in turn below.

<p align="center">TABLE 11.2: PHASAL ADVERBS</p>

already	*mo*
not yet	*kogût*
wholly	*maa*
partially	*mun*

The adverb *mo* 'already' is one of the most frequently occurring words in the MM language. It functions adverbially, as in (20). It also functions to indicate the perfect aspect (21) (see §24.5). It can function as a non-verbal complement (22). It also means 'enough' when used as an interjection, and has an episodic function in discourse (similar to 'okay' or 'now' in English). See (25) below for examples of this episodic function, here translated as 'after' in both cases.

(20) *mi   **mo**   wingat.*
       mi   mo   wi-nga-t
       water already bathe-NP-1SG
       'I've already bathed (today).' [DN199.07]

(21) *nak   fluna   **mo**   wobûlat.*
       [nak   flu-na]   mo   ob-la-t
       1SG   wing-1SG.POSS already break-PRS-1SG
       'I've just broken my wings.' [skc12_12]

(22) *nak* ***mo***.
    nak   mo
    1sg   already
    'I'm done.' [DN02.237.06]

Mo is unique among the phasal adverbs in its ability to take the *-gût* intensifying suffix (see §11.6). Interestingly, prenasalization does not occur here. The word stands out for this reason.

(23) ***mogût***   *siyangak.*
    mo-gût   siya-nga-k
    already-RSTR   dawn-NP-3SG
    '(The sun) has long since risen.' [DN03.305.09]

(24) *tebûlongka*   *fi*   ***mogût***   *taangang.*
    [tebûlongka   fi]   mo-gût   ta-a-ng-nang
    service   work   already-RSTR do-PRS-2SG-HAB
    'You are always doing favors.' [skc09_21]

The adverb *kogût* primarily occurs as an interjection, meaning 'not yet!'. However, it can also function adverbially, as shown in (5). It is historically complex, but synchronically indivisible.

The adverb *maa* means than an action is completed 'wholly', as illustrated in (25). Here the going is done with finality, such that if the speaker does not at least stay the night, the addressee would be surprised. This adverb has been pulled into the predicate and operates aspectually, as described in the section on "completive aspect" in §24.7.

(25) *baka*   *mo,*   *tebû*   *gebûng* *tûka*   *mo,*
    ba-ka   mo   tebû   gebûng tû-ka   mo
    come-SS   already bring inside   put-SS already

    naa   *kameng*   ***maa***   *longat.*
    [nak-nga   kameng]   maa   lo-nga-t
    1SG-EMPH   property   wholly   go.up-NP-1SG
    'After coming, after bringing (her) home, I went up to my own place (for the night).' [skc09_10]

The adverb *mun* means that an action is only partially completed, and left unfinished. When preceding motion verbs, it is the opposite of *maa*—it means the actor will not remain at his destination.

(26) ***mun***   *yodalat.*
    mun   yodat-a-t.
    partly   debark-NP-1SG
    'I partially debarked it.' [DN02.237.11]

(27) *flanggon   blaampa   **mun**   logûmot.*
flanggon   blaam-pa   mun   lo-gû-mot
axe   carry-SS   partly   go.up-RP-1DU
'We (DU) carried the axes and went up (for a bit).' [skc09_35]

Occasionally these adverbs co-occur. Example (28) shows *mo* and *maa* co-occurring, and (29) shows *mo* occurring with *mun*. More research is needed to determine whether any scope effects occur due to the ordering of these adverbs.

(28) *sap   ya   tawanggûmot   tawanggûmot   **mo**   **maa**   kugok.*
[sap   ya]   tawang-gû-mot   tawang-gû-mot   mo   maa   ku-go-k.
dog   this   follow-RP-1DU   follow-RP-1DU   already   wholly   go-RP-3SG
'We (DU) followed and followed this dog, but it had already gone.' [skc09_23]

(29) ***mun   mo***   *tangat.*
mun   mo   ta-nga-t
partly   already   do-NP-1SG
'I've already done some.' [DN02.212.27]

11.4   Manner adverbs

The largest group of adverbs are manner adverbs. The class is particularly fluid, exhibiting a great deal of reduplication and suffixation by the restrictive affix *-gût*, sometimes seeming to have little semantic influence. For example, the adverb *baagût* 'slowly' occurs a single time in (30), yet is almost always reduplicated, as shown in (31).

(30) ***baagût***   *yotnambelak.*
baagût   yotnambe-la-k
slowly   chew-PRS-3SG
'He is chewing slowly.' [DN04.68.12]

(31) *nûndû   **ulap ulap**   dopa   kuyangang   nûngka*
nûndû   {{ulap~ulap   dom:wa   ku-ya-ng=nang}}   nû-ka
1NSG   quickly~quickly   NEG:DUB   go-PRS-2SG=LOC   tell-SS

*tangûda   **baagût baagût**   baneng*
ta-ng-da   {{baagût~baagût   ba-ne-ng}}
do-DS-1NSG   slowly~slowly   come-IRR.PL-23NSG

wan   nûnûngka   taaka...
wa-n   n-nû-ka   taa-ka
that-ANA   1NSG.O-tell-SS   say-SS
'We asked him, "You aren't going there too fast?", and he told us and said, "You all come slowly"... [skc09_29]

Ulap 'quickly' is another manner adverb which is frequently reduplicated (see above). It also optionally takes the *-gût* suffix (unlike *baagût*, which cannot occur without it). It is

difficult to make any strong claims about the semantic differences here, except to say that, in general, reduplicated manner adverbs are intensified in their meaning.

(32) **ulap**   *lowe.*
ulap   lo-be
quickly   go.up-IRR.SG
'Go up quickly.' [DN02.223.05]

(33) **ulapgût**   *bangkadopmûngka   ba   kaalû   flong   logûmot.*
ulap-gût   ba-kadopm-ka   ba   [kaalû   flong]   lo-gû-mot
quickly-RSTR   come-arrive-SS   come   vehicle   ALL   go.up-RP-1DU
'We arrived quickly and coming we got up on a car.' [skc09_38]

More research is needed to determine what specific effect the *-gût* suffix has on manner adverbs. Some adverbs like *baagût* seem to have incorporated it into their lexemes. Others like *ulap* optionally take it for some kind of intensifying effect (see §11.6). Still others allow *-gût* to occur twice in a row. For example, the adverb *longgût* 'lightly' can be modified with the restrictive suffix, as shown below. This makes it clear that *-gût* has multiple uses. Historically, it appears that many manner adverbs were derived from adjectives with this suffix. Synchronically, it still operates with varying semantic effects. *Longgût* appears related to the adjective *longgem* 'light'.

(34) **longgûtgût**   *kuwe.*
longgût-gût   ku-be
lightly-RSTR   go-IRR.SG
'Go lightly' (i.e. 'with light footing') [DN01.108.77]

The lexicon contains a good number of manner adverbs, including: *dûfûgût* 'slightly', *dûfûk dûfûk* 'clinging', *gelû* 'alright', *munmun* 'temporarily', and *pasûp* 'almost'. A number exhibit varying shades of meaning relating to fast speed, including: *plangplang*, *plûmplûm*, *saansaan*, *saksak*, *tumtum*, *ulap*, *wanwan* (a TP calque), and *yupmung*. Slow speed adverbs include *baagût* and *sangaanggût* (which also means 'quietly'). Excepting *ulap* and *yupmung*, the other fast speed manner adverbs all exhibit inherent reduplication.

Sangaanggût is often negated, but this sequence is idiomatic, meaning 'not (just) a few':

(35) *sûbat*   *saansaantû*   *sangaanggût   dom   agûng.*
[sûbat   saan~saan=lû]   sangaanggût   dom   at-gû-ng
food   piece~piece=NOM   slowly   NEG   be-RP-23PL
'There were not just a few crumbs.' [skc12_11]

158

A number of adjectives and quantifiers can function adverbially to express manner. For example, the quantifier *fentagût* 'all' means 'completely' in (36), and the adjective *kaalin* 'good' means 'well' in (37).

(36) *nantaang   wasûlû   aatûmpa   **fentagût**   kaamgok.*
     [na=taang   wa-s=lû]   aatûm-pa   fentagût   kaam-go-k
     man=elderly   that-LK=NOM   startle-SS   completely   die-RP-3SG
     'The old man got startled and completely[8] died.' [skc11_02e]

(37) ***kaalinggût***   *dom*   *naandûlat.*
     kaalin-gût   dom   naandû-la-t
     good-RSTR   NEG   know-PRS-1SG
     'I don't understand.' (lit. ' I don't know well.') [skc12_16]

Manner adverbs are the only adverbs which are negated in the corpus. Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether negation applies to the adverb, or the entire predicate, since the negator must follow an adverb, and precede a verb. Examples like the following clearly reveal adverbial negation, however. Here the action denoted by the verb (*taa-* 'talk') is definitely undertaken. It is only the adverb which is negated.

(38) *manda   daam   **sangaanggût   dom**   taakata   monggûng.*
     [manda   daam]   sangaanggût   dom   taa-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
     talk   blare   quietly   NEG   say-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
     'Talking noisily (lit. 'not quietly') [the demons] went down.' [skc12_16]

However, in examples like the following the adverb actually does precede the adjective *sûnûk* 'real, very'. This may be an idiomatic expression, however.

(39) *nantaang   bantû   bagonengka   **dom**   sûnûk   naandûka*
     [nantaang   ban=lû]   bagone-ka   [dom   sûnûk]   naandû-ka
     old.man   a=NOM   sick-SS   NEG   well   feel-SS

     tamek   ban   sakoka   kagang   monggok.
     [tamek   ban]   sako-ka   kagang   mo-go-k
     bed   a   hold.3SG-SS   village   go.down-RP-3SG
     'An old man was sick and felt unwell and (so) he grabbed a bed and went outside.'
     [skc11_02e]

One area that needs more research is the difference between manner adverbs and light verb complements (Chapter 12). While light verb complements also precede the verb, they only license particular light verbs. Manner adverbs, on the other hand, can precede any verb

---

[8] This may be a calque of the Tok Pisin phrase *dai olgeta* 'die completely'. This TP phrase describes permanent death, as opposed to a faint or deep sleep, both of which can be described by *dai* 'die'. This is a productive adverbial function of *olgeta*, but it is unclear how productive MM *fentagût* is as an adverb.

which, semantically, is capable of being performed in the manner described. However, a grey area exists between the two classes. Some words which I consider light verb complements actually license a number of verbs. For example, *dong* 'search' (as shown in (40)) can precede every motion verb. One possible difference is that it does not appear that light verb complements can be negated separately from their predicate. If this test is accurate, it provides a major diagnostic test between the two classes.

(40)   *yalû*   *sida*   ***dong***   ***monggûng***.
        ya=lû   sida   dong   mo-gû-ng
        this=NOM   sweet.potato   search   go.down-RP-23PL
        'They went down searching for sweet potato.' [skc09_35]

One definitive test that differentiates the two classes is that manner adverbs may be directly questioned in polar interrogative sentences, while light verb complements cannot. These are illustrated in turn below.

(41)   ***gelûwa***   *naandûlang?*
        gelû=wa   naandû-la-ng
        alright=DUB   know-PRS-2SG
        'Are you hearing alright?' [DN02.184.50]

(42)   *galang*   ***tabûtaangka****?*
        galang   ta-b-taa-ng=wa
        play   do-EP-FUT-2SG=DUB
        'Will you play?' [DN02.207.04]

Some manner adverbs occur in the complement slot of non-verbal clauses:

(43)   *nak*   ***gelû***
        nak   gelû
        1SG   alright
        'I'm alright.' [DN02.237.05]

(44)   *ta*   *wa*   *bangaamok*   *udu,*   ***dûdû****?*
        ta   {wa   ba-ngaa-mok   udu}   dûdû
        do   there   come-NP-23DU   that.ANA   how
        'But how did you come there?' (lit. 'But your having coming there, how?') [skc09_38]

(45)   ***wadûng***.
        wa-dûng
        that-ADV

        yagusuwa   *kaang*   *kobûsenang*   *ulaksek*   ***wadûng***.
        [yagusuwa   kaang   kobûse=nang   ulak-sek]   wa-dûng
        wild.fowl.sp   two   chicken=GEN   story-23DU.POSS   that-ADV
        'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

160

Shown above, the suffix *-dûng* derives manner adverbs from the two spatial demonstratives, as well as from the interrogative word *dûdû* 'how'. See §20.3.3 for discussion.

(46) **yadûng**   *tabe*
     ya-dûng   ta-be
     this-ADV   do-IRR.SG
     'Do it like this!'

These forms can precede many different verbs, including light verbs such as *ta-* 'do' (46) and *at-* 'be' (47), as well as other verbs like *nû-* 'tell' (48).

(47) *stoli*   *taabet*   *naandûngat*   *ba*   **wadûng**   *attak.*
     {{stoli   taab-be-t}}   naandû-nga-t   ba   wa-dûng   at-ta-k
     story   say-IRR.SG-1SG   think-NP-1SG   come   that-ADV   be-PRS-3SG
     'The story I thought to tell comes to be like that.' [skc09_18]

(48) *nanaksû*   *taamtaam*   *enûnggot,*   *mo,*   *kap*   *nunum*
     [nanaksû   taamtaam]   ye-nû-go-t   {{mo   [kap   nunum]
     children   women   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG   already   song   prayer

     tanûm.   **wadûng**   *enûngka*   *idi,*
     ta-nû-m}}   wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   idi
     do-IRR.PL-1NSG   that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   this.ANA

     kap   *nunum*   *tagûm.*
     [kap   nunum]   ta-gû-m
     song   prayer   do-RP-1PL
     'I told the girls, "Okay, let's worship." After telling them like that, we worshiped.' [skc09_21]

11.5   Other adverbs

The adjective *bin* means 'true', but adverbially it has an epistemic meaning with the suffix *-gût*: *bûgût* 'truly'. It functions as the conventionalized way to say Amen:

(49) *u*   **bûgût.**
     udu   bûgût
     that.ANA   truly
     'Amen' [skc12_06]

The adverb *fom* means 'together', and occurs both with and without the restrictive suffix *-gût*:

(50) *wasûlû*   *i*   **fom**   *faalegûm.*
     wa-s=lû   idi   fom   faale-gû-m
     that-LK=ABL   this.ANA   together   turn.around-RP-1PL
     'From there we turned around together.' [skc09_35]

161

(51) *yambayong*   ***fomgûtta***   *kaainentuwa*   *laabûntaang?*
   [yambayong   fom-gût=wa]   kaainentu=wa   laab-ntaa-ng
   PN   together-RSTR=DUB   PN=DUB   come.up-FUT-23PL
   'Will you come up to Kainantu, together with Yambayong?'

Both *sûnûk*—the adjective meaning 'real, very'—and *kaa* 'somewhat' can modify adjectives—as in (52)–(53)—and adverbs—as in (54)–(55). Note that *kaa* only precedes the word it modifies, just like other adverbs, while *sûnûk* always follows the words it modifies, just like other adjectives.

(52) *kagok*   *i*   *ip*   ***kusamba***   ***sûnûk***   *ip*   *den*
   ka-go-k   idi   {{[ip   kusamba   sûnûk]   [ip   den]
   see.3SG-RP-3SG   this.ANA   bird   big   real   bird   some

   gelû   *ilûpmûngka*   *namaalok,*
   gelû   ilûpm-ka   na-maa=lok}}
   alright   hit.NSG-SS   eat-CMPL=POT
   'It saw a bird big enough that it could kill some birds and eat them up…' [skc12_12]

(53) *tangaan*   ***kaa***   ***kusang kusang***   *waga*
   [tangaan   kaa   kusang~kusang   wa=ga]
   branch   somewhat   big~big   that=INST

   kaadûp   *membûnang*   *klonggût*   *beka,*
   [kaadûp   membû=nang]   klong-gût   be-ka
   tree   base=LOC   stand-RSTR   put.NSG-SS
   'They stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree…' [skc09_17]

(54) ***dûdû***   ***sûnûk***   *taka*   *makobûtaat?*
   dûdû   sûnûk   ta-ka   mako-b-taa-t
   how   real   do-SS   run.away-EP-FUT-1SG
   'What really can I do (to) escape?' [skc12_16]

(55) *yalû*   *tûmang*   *kuka*   *laayantû,*
   ya=lû   tûmang   ku-ka   laayan=lû
   this=ABL   before   go-SS   PN=NOM

   baagût baagût,   *kuka,*   ***kaa***   ***yanggût yanggût***   *maangûtta*
   baagût~baagût   ku-ka   kaa   ya-gût~ya-gût   maangût-ta
   slowly~slowly   go-SS   somewhat   here-RSTR~there-RSTR   sit-SS
   'From here he went first and Ryan went very slowly and kept sitting down here and there…' [skc09_29]

The noun *membû* is an inalienable body part term meaning 'head', and also refers to the 'base' of various natural entities. However, it also functions adverbially meaning 'just', as in (56)–(57). It often occurs as the closing word of texts, as in (58).

(56) *wadûng*   **membû**.
     wa-dûng   membû
     that-ADV   just
     'It (was) just like that.' [skc09_02]

(57) *mila*   *taawaam*   *udu,*   **membû** *yadûng.*
     {mi=la   taa-waa-m   udu}   membû   ya-dûng
     water=BEN   say-PRS-1PL that.ANA just   this-ADV
     '(What) we say for water, is just like this.' [skc12_04]

(58) *wa*   **membûgût**.
     wa   membû-gût
     that   just-RSTR
     'That's it.' [skc09_10]

The adverb *wadûgût* means 'also', as illustrated below.

(59) *sûdot*   **wadûgût**   *alûtaak.*
     sûdot   wadûgût   at-taa-k
     2NSG:COM   also   be-FUT-3SG
     '(May) it be with you also.' [DN03.295.12]

(60) *ilaailû*   *aatûmpa*   *wa=lû*   **wadûgût** *yaayaa* *taagok.*
     ilaai=lû   at-m-pa   wa=lû   wadûgût   yaayaa taa-go-k
     PN=NOM   be-give-SS that=NOM   also   scream say-RP-3SG
     'Eli was shocked and (so) he also screamed.' [skc11_04d]

The adverb *bû* is a reduced form of the temporal adverb *bûge* 'again'. It means 'too', and appears to have a very similar meaning to *wadûgût*. Due to its shortness, it cliticizes to a neighboring element. It often co-occurs with *bûge*, though seeming not to have any semantic affect.

(61) *nak*   *bûbaat.*
     nak   bû=ba-a-t
     1SG   too=come-PRS-1SG
     'I'm coming too.' [DN04.70.23]

(62) *bûge(bû)*   *taabe.*
     bûge=bû   taa-be
     again=too say-IRR.SG
     'Say it again.' [DN01.98.44]

The adverb *yeudat* expresses the epistemic meaning 'anyway'.

(63) *tang   mongkaka   mitaka   tagûng*
      ta-ng   mo-ka-ka   mita-ka   ta-gû-ng
      do-DS   go.down-see.3SG-SS   fear-SS   do-RP-23PL

      tagû   yeudat   monggûng.
      ta-gû   yeudat   mo-gû-ng
      do-DUR   anyway   go.down-RP-23PL
      'And (DS) going down they saw him and were all afraid, but they went down
      anyway.' [skc12_15]

11.6   Adverbial functions of *-gût*

The "restrictive" suffix *-gût* has a number of functions. Historically, it appears to have fused with a number of terms to form manner adverbs (see §11.4). Synchronically, it still productively performs this function with both adjectives and nouns (see *membûgût* in the previous section). It also occurs with verbs and many other parts of speech including demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals (e.g. it changes *yaalû* 'two' to mean 'several'). Much more research is needed in order to disentangle the various syntactic and semantic effects of this morpheme. Here I briefly address some productive synchronic functions.

First and foremost, the morpheme adverbializes adjectives, as in (64).

(64) *wasûlû   mumung   kaalingût   dom   gaaigok.*
      wa-s=lû   mumung   kaalin-gût   dom   gaai-go-k
      that-LK=NOM   loincloth   good-RSTR   NEG   fasten-RP-3SG
      'He didn't fasten his loincloth well.' [skc11_02e]

It also adverbializes words from other word classes, including quantifiers and numerals:

(65) *manda   mamamgût   taaneng.*
      manda   mamam-gût   taa-ne-ng
      talk   many-RSTR   say-IRR.PL-23NSG
      'Talk a lot.' [DN02.187.66]

(66) *nûnggûtgût,   fi   tanak   taka   kaadûp   dûnûngka,*
      nûnggût-gût   [fi   tanak]   ta-ka   kaadûp   dûnû-ka
      one-RSTR   work   gardening   do-SS   tree   chop-SS
      'They will garden as one and chop trees…' [skc09_16]

When it marks demonstratives, the meaning is restricted to exactly one place or thing. This focusing effect is shown with the locative adverbial demonstrative in (67) and the adnominal demonstrative in (68).

(67) *wanggût   ale!*
      wa-gût   at-e
      there-RSTR   be-IRR.SG
      'Stay right there!' [DN02.188.49]

(68) *nak*   *yase*   *baka*   *mani*   **wanggût**   *naamûlakngang,*
     nak   yase   ba-ka   [mani   wa-gût]   naa-m-la-k-nang
     1SG   PN   come-SS   money   that-RSTR   1SG.O-give-PRS-3SG-HAB
     "Yase comes and gives me that very money.' [skc09_21]

It can also follow the allative postposition (both the enclitic =*long* and the free postposition *flong*). It refers to a specific point in time in (69), and it has a spatially durative meaning (i.e. 'along') in (70).

(69) **walonggût**,   *tritointû*   *kekng*   *taagok...*
     wa=long-gût   tritoin=lû   kekng   taa-go-k
     that=ALL-RSTR   PN=NOM   call   say-RP-3SG
     'At that moment, Tritoin called out,…' [skc11_10c]

(70) *kaka*   *blaampa*   **mi**   **flonggût**   *kugok.*
     ka-ka   blaam-pa   [mi   flong-gût]   ku-go-k
     see.3SG-SS   carry-SS   water   ALL-RSTR   go-RP-3SG
     'He saw and carried him (on his shoulder) and went along the water.' [skc12_15]

When it marks nouns, a number of semantic effects are possible, but all related to its restrictive meaning. This includes restriction to 'one's own' with a kinship term in (71), and restriction to a location in (72), and to mean 'only a joke' in (73).

(71) *tebûlongka*   *fi!*   *wadûgût*   **fafagagût**
     [tebûlongka   fi]   wadûgût   fafa-ga-gût
     service   work   too   grandfather-2SG.POSS-RSTR

     kaadûp   *ulemûlok!*
     kaadûp   ule-m=lok
     wood   break-give=POT
     'Favors! You must break firewood for your own grandfather too!' [skc09_21]

(72) **taawaagût**   *walû*   *bûsenang*   *kungkadopmûngka...*
     taawaa-gût   wa=lû   bûsenang   ku-kadopm-ka
     ridge-RSTR   that=NOM   jungle   go-arrive-SS
     'Just along the ridge they went into the jungle…' [skc11_12b]

(73) **elanggût**   *met*   *kutaat.*
     elang-gût   met   ku-taa-t
     lie-RSTR   later   go-FUT-1SG
     'Just kidding I'll go later.' [skc11_04c]

One example in the corpus reveals a noun functioning adverbially, but crucially takes the nominative case morpheme as well. The same process occurs in Nungon, and serves as evidence for a "focus" analysis of the postposition, instead of a nominative case analysis. However, this appears to be an idiosyncratic function of the =*lû* morpheme in MM.

(74) kaalû   flong   loka   aakûtna
      [kaalû   flong]   lo-ka   at-ng-tna
      vehicle   ALL   go.up-SS   be-DS-1NSG

      kaalû   tefaaleka   imo   **mandelûgût**   baka...
      kaalû   tefaale-ka   idi=mo   mande=lû-gût   ba-ka
      vehicle   turn.around-SS   this.ANA=already back=NOM-RSTR   come-SS
      'While we were getting up on the car, the car turned around and reversed…'
      [skc09_38]

Next, the morpheme intensifies adverbs, as with *mo* 'already' in §11.3. This is also shown to occur with the temporal adverbs in §11.2 (e.g. *tûmang* 'first' comes to mean 'before'), and with manner adverbs in §11.4.

Next, when attached to constituents which modify the clause as a whole, the morpheme has a durative meaning (i.e. 'still'). This is shown with a temporal noun in (75), verbs in (76)–(77), and a negator in (78).

(75) baka   mo   kagang   bangkadopmûnggûm,   **tafalagût**.
      ba-ka   mo   kagang   ba-kadopm-gû-m   tafala-gût
      come-SS   already   village   come-arrive-RP-1PL   afternoon-RSTR
      'I came, and then we arrived at the village, while it was still afternoon.' [skc09_21]

(76) i   kame   mun   kun   **aatûkugokgût**   kun.
      idi   [kame   mun]   kun   aatûku-go-k-gût   kun
      this.ANA   ground   partial   up.DIST   remain-RP-3SG-RSTR   up.DIST
      'That part of the land still kept going up.' [skc12_01]

(77) kudem   **kudemgût**   wa   nûngkata   bagûmok.
      {{ku-de-m   ku-de-m-gût}}   wa   nû-ka=ta   ba-gû-mok
      go-IRR.DU-1NSG   go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RSTR   that   tell-SS=do   come-RP-23DU
      'Keeping telling (her) "Let's go! Let's keep going!" they came.' [skc12_04]

(78) **domgût**   laabûng   kaka   kekng   taagok...
      {{dom-gût   laab-ng}}   ka-ka   kekng   taa-go-k
      NEG-RSTR   come.up-DS   see.3SG-SS   call   say-RP-3SG
      '(He_i) saw (he_j) still hadn't come up so he_i called out…' [skc12_11]

Some nouns can be marked with the *=la* enclitic to produce temporal nouns (see §8.2.6). When this occurs, the form can be suffixed with *-gût* to mean 'still', just like with (75) above.

(79) **gilagût**,   laabûka   baka,
      gi=la-gût   laab-ka   ba-ka
      rain=BEN-RSTR   come.up-SS   come-SS
      'While it was still raining we came up and came…' [skc09_21]

Finally, the emphatic pronouns can occur with this =*la-gût* sequence to carry an autoreflexive meaning, as described in §19.2.

(80) *kep*   *logûmang,*   ***naalagût***   *fûgot.*
     {kep   lo-gû-m=nang}   nak-nga=la-gût   fû-go-t
     yesterday   go.up-RP-1PL=LOC   1SG-EMPH=BEN-RSTR   come.down-RP-1SG
     'Only I came down from where we went up yesterday.' [DN02.251.21]

I follow Sarvasy (2014d:467) in the choice of the "restrictive" terminology. For Nungon, she identifies the two same semantic functions of the morpheme *-gon*—exclusivity and durativity:

> The semantics of the postposition =*gon* are two-fold: exclusivity and durativity. The word class membership and grammatical role of the element marked by =*gon* determine which of these meanings is primary. With locational nouns and demonstratives, adverbs, and oblique verbal arguments, the durational sense of =*gon* is primary, while with non-locational nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and core verbal arguments, the exclusive sense of =*gon* is primary.

12 Light verb complements

Light verb complements are a large open class of words which occur within light verb constructions. The words in this class primarily license only one light verb, and together the two function as a predicate. Light verb constructions are described in §22.1, so here I simply describe the class of light verb complements and show how they form a separate class. Note that this class of words is also known as "adjunct nominals" in the literature (Foley 1986; Donohue 2005:191).

Semantically, light verb complements "serve to restrict the range of meaning of the generic verb" (Foley 1986:117). This is different from nouns, which identify a specific person, place, or thing. Semantically, the class behaves similarly to manner adverbs. It was described in §8.1.2 that nouns often have very generic meanings, and thus require nominal modification much of the time. A number of verbs are similar, carrying very generic meanings. These are called "light verbs". While they all have specific lexical meaning, this meaning is bleached in light verb constructions, allowing the complex predicate as a whole to carry a specific meaning. The light verb complements then provide intricate nuances of meaning. For example, *mûndlam ta-* refers to 'shivering', while *glûglû ta-* refers to 'trembling'.

Morpho-phonologically, light verb complements appear nominal in form. They are morphologically restricted, bearing no morphemes whatsoever. The class varies in the shape of its members, with many monosyllabic and many polysyllabic forms. A number of the complements are onomatopoeic, and therefore exhibit reduplicative forms or strange phonotactic sequences. For example, *nlam nlam ta-* refers to 'vaporization' and *nlit nlit ta-* refers to 'pins and needles' (i.e. 'paresthesia'). *Yaayaa* 'scream' is illustrated below:

(1)   *ilaailû*   *aatûmpa*   *wa=lû*   *wadûgût*   **yaayaa**   *taa-gok.*
       ilaai=lû   at-m-pa   wa=lû   wadûgût   yaayaa   taa-go-k
       PN=NOM   be-give-SS   that=NOM   also   scream   say-RP-3SG
       'Eli was shocked and (so) he also screamed.' [skc11_04d]

Light verb complements differ from manner adverbs in several specific ways. First of all, many manner adverbs exhibit the *-gût* suffix, while light verb complements do not. Also, though both classes often exhibit reduplication, this is not productive with light verb constructions. Some manner adverbs exhibit productive reduplication (for intensity), while others exhibit inherent reduplication like light verb complements.

Second, manner adverbs are generally able to precede a wide array of verbs. This is because the verbs they precede retain their lexical meaning, and therefore the manner adverb only adds the manner by which the action is undertaken. A majority of light verb complements select only a single light verb. Thus, light verb constructions often function much more like phrasal verbs.

Some light verb complements license more than one light verb. This ability to precede different verbs represents a fuzzy arena between the class of light verb complements and the class of manner adverbs. For example, *dong* means 'gather' before the *ta-* 'do' light verb, but 'search for' before all motion verbs. More research is needed to determine what syntactic role words like these play. One possibility is polysemy, with *dong* a light verb complement before *ta-*, but a manner adverb before motion verbs.

(2)   *nantaam*   *isit*   ***dong***   *tagûng.*
      nantaam   isit   dong   ta-gû-ng
      people   kunai   search   do-RP-23PL
      'The people gathered kunai grass.' [skc10_01]

(3)   *na*   *walû*   *beng*   ***dong***   *kugok.*
      [na   wa=lû]   beng   dong   ku-go-k
      man   that=NOM   pandanus   search   go-RP-3SG
      'The man went searching for pandanus.' [skc11_16]

(4)   *yalû*   *sida*   ***dong***   *monggûng.*
      ya=lû   sida   dong   mo-gû-ng
      this=NOM   sweet.potato   search   go.down-RP-23PL
      'They went down searching for sweet potato.' [skc09_35]

Dong has also been found separated from the verb by locative nouns:

(5)   *tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   *yenûmûnit*   *yaalûlû*   *mukuya*   *moin*
      [tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [ye-nimin-nit   yaalû=lû]   [mukuya   moin]
      before-RSTR   real   NSG-cousin-3SG.POSS:COM   two=NOM   pig   wild

      dong   ***bûsenang***   ***kugûmok***.
      dong   bûsenang   ku-gû-mok
      search   jungle   go-RP-23DU
      'A very long time ago two cousins, went searching (for) wild pigs in the jungle.'
      [skc11_12b]

Another example is *kam*, which means 'clean, tidy up' before *ta-* 'do', but 'sweep' before *ne-* 'dig'. This is an example of a prototypical light verb complement, but one that licenses two separate light verbs with different shades of meaning.

(6) *yot*   ***kam***   *taat.*
     yot   kam   ta-a-t
     house   clean   do-PRS-1SG
     'I am cleaning the house.' [DN03.291.49]

(7) *gebûng*   ***kam***   *nelat.*
     gebûng   kam   ne-la-t
     inside   clean   dig-PRS-1SG
     'I am sweeping the house.' [DN05.37.04]

One way to differentiate light verb complements from nouns is shown in (2). There the object noun phrase *isit* 'kunai grass' precedes the complement. Examples like that prove that light verb complements are not direct objects of the verbs with which they co-occur. With intransitive LVCs, however, it is more difficult to make this distinction.

A further criterion which differentiates light verb complements from both nouns and manner adverbs is that in polar questions light verb complements do not get marked with the dubitative enclitic. Instead, the verb receives the enclitic. Manner adverbs and object NPs receive the marking directly (see §28.2.2).

(8) *galang*   ***tabûtaangka****?*
     galang   ta-b-taa-ng=wa
     play   do-EP-FUT-2SG=DUB
     'Will you play?' [DN02.207.04]

(9) ***gelûwa***   *naandûlang?*
     gelû=wa   naandû-la-ng
     alright=DUB   know-PRS-2SG
     'Are you hearing alright?' [DN02.184.50]

At the same time, light verb complements occasionally appear to be modified. *Klûngklûng* 'rake' is always followed by *ta-* 'do', except below where it is modified by the indefinite quantifier *ban* 'a'. More research is needed to determine whether *ban* functions adverbially here, meaning something like 'another time', or whether it directly modifies *klûngklûng*.

(10) ***klûngklûng***   ***ban***   *tawaam.*
     klûngklûng   ban   ta-waa-m
     rake   a   do-PRS-1PL

     klûngklûng   *taka,*   *lakomaangka…*
     klûngklûng   ta-ka   lakong-maa-ka
     rake   do-SS   throw.NSG-CMPL-SS
     'We rake them up another time. We rake them all up …' [skc12_05]

Finally, the light verb *ne-* 'dig' has a particular role in incorporating borrowed verbs. Tok Pisin verbs are frequently pulled into the predicate, and rather than undergoing inflection, they are simply placed into a light verb construction with *ne-*. These verbs often retain their TP transitive suffix *-im* as well their predicate marker *i*.

(11) *kaalû   wa   senisim   nengka   baas   flong   logûmot.*
     [kaalû   wa]   senisim   ne-ka   [baas   flong]   lo-gû-mot
     vehicle(TP)   that   change(TP) dig-SS   bus(TP) ALL   go.up-RP-1DU
     'We changed cars and went up on a bus.' [skc09_38]

(12) *wangatta   laayan   i lingim   nenggûmot.*
     wa=ngat-ta   laayan   i lingim   ne-gû-mot
     there=be-SS   PN   call(TP)   dig-RP-1DU
     'We were there and we called Ryan.' [skc09_38]

(13) *dlaawaa   kaalû   staatim   nengûlû...*
     dlaawaa   kaalû   staatim   ne-ng-lû
     driver(TP)   vehicle(TP) start(TP)   dig-DS-23
     'The driver started the car, and…' [skc09_38]

See §22.1 for the group of light verbs, and examples of the complements which license them.

171

13 Closed classes

The closed classes include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, interrogatives, conjunctions, postpositions, interjections, the negator, and particles. None of these classes of words may productively incorporate new members. Each is described in turn in the following sections.

13.1   Pronouns

The class of pronouns is described in Chapter 19. Here I briefly address the morphosyntactic characteristics of the class which separate it from other classes.

The entire class of pronouns comprises a morphological paradigm. Additionally, many of the case-marked forms are irregular, having experienced fusion over time. This separates them from nouns, which behave quite systematically with regard to case-marking. Additionally, while nouns and demonstratives can be marked with nominative case, MM has no nominative pronominal forms. The pronoun class is divided into two primary subclasses: basic pronouns (§19.1) and emphatic pronouns (§19.2). The basic set is formally quite similar to the bound possessive suffixes (§15.2) and to the object-agreement prefixes (§21.3). Pronouns are also (rarely) found with a mirative suffix *-nge*, a property which no other class exhibits.

The basic pronoun paradigm does not contain a member which refers to the third person. Demonstratives are used instead, which allow a greater level of detail regarding the availability of the referent in the speech context, and regarding the location of the referent. Semantically, pronouns are shifters. Their reference changes depending on the speech context.

Syntactically, pronouns prototypically function as full NPs. They are rarely modified, though the corpus does contain examples of modification by quantifiers, numerals, and interrogatives—as shown below. It is possible though, since these word classes can all function as NP heads, that in such cases they are resumptively referring back to topical pronominal NPs.

(1) *sûdû*   ***fentagût***   *kapa*   *kuntaangka.*
     [sûdû   fentagût]   kapa   ku-ntaa-ng=wa
     2NSG   all   worship   go-FUT-23PL=DUB
     'Will you all go to worship?' [DN02.177.04]

(2) *gak* ***nûnggût*** *gaabûmaangka...*
[gak   nûnggût]   gaa-b-maa-ka
2SG   one   2SG.O-see-CMPL-SS
'They look at you alone…' [skc12_06]

Human nouns may modify pronouns, as shown below.

(3) ***taamtaam*** *nûndû* *laabûka,...*
[taamtaam   nûndû]   laab-ka
women   1NSG   come.up-SS
'We women came up and…' [skc09_28]

(4) ***na*** *nûnûng* *palak* *tûwaam...*
[na   nûnûng]   palak   tû-waa-m
man   1PL.EMPH   bridge   put.SG-PRS-1PL
'We men are putting a bridge…' [skc12_06]

It does not appear possible for pronouns to serve as modifiers, though emphatic pronouns occasionally do follow NPs, as shown below. A pause break generally occurs between the elements, with intonational focus placed on the pronoun. This suggests that the proper name or full NP is topical, with the emphatic pronoun serving a resumptive role.

(5) *klowi* ***ni*** *lowek.*
klowi   ni   lo-be-k
PN   3SG.EMPH   go.up-IRR.SG-3SG
'Let Chloe herself go up.' (lit. 'Chloe, let HER go up.') [DN04.77.63]

(6) *tang* *na* *kusang kusang* ***nisûng*** *mi* *tawangka...*
ta-ng   [na   kusang~kusang]   nisûng   mi   tawang-ka
do-DS   man   big~big   3PL.EMPH   water   follow-SS
'And the big guys, they followed the water…' [skc12_13]

13.2   Demonstratives

The class of demonstratives is described in Chapter 20. Here I briefly address the morphosyntactic characteristics of the class.

The entire class of demonstratives comprises a single paradigm, though this can be divided into three subclasses: spatial demonstratives (§20.1.1), anaphoric demonstratives (§20.1.2), and topographic demonstratives (§20.1.3). Each sub-class exhibits a binary division between proximal and distal forms, which is phonologically reflected by sound symbolism. The topographic set is further divided into three elevations: up, level, and down.

Morphologically, demonstratives are capable of being marked with the full array of case enclitics (with some fusion and irregularities). Demonstratives are the only class which

takes the emphatic suffix *-ma*. The demonstratives are also the only class which takes the allative case-marker *=long*. When other classes need to be marked for this case, the free postposition *flong* is used.

Syntactically, demonstratives frequently occur in both adnominal and pronominal function. They also function as locative adverbs and as manner adverbs (though in this function they require the suffix *-dûng*, a feature they share with interrogatives). Demonstratives are also utilized for both participant and textual anaphora—textual anaphora requires the anaphoric suffix *-(i)n*. Demonstratives have a further prevalent function of marking subordinate clauses, including complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

Semantically, demonstratives are generally utilized to identify specific referents which are discoverable either through locality, the speech context, or the common knowledge shared between interlocuters.

Phonologically, the demonstratives are prone to cliticization to following verbs, especially in their locative adverbial function. They also exhibit a fair amount of fusion with certain case enclitics, a feature only shared with pronouns.

13.3   Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a small class of words whose function is to qualify a noun phrase with an inexact number. The full class is displayed below.

TABLE 13.1: QUANTIFIERS

word	gloss
ban	a
den	some
yaalûgût	few
mamam	many
fentagût	all

Syntactically, quantifiers can head their own noun phrase, as shown in (7)–(8). In this role they cannot be modified by a noun or adjective. They can only be modified by a demonstrative when they head a noun phrase.

(7) *gulat*   *kansûlong*   **fentagût**   *naandûmaandem.*
     [gulat   kan=slong]   fentagût   naandû-maa-de-m
     year   up.PROX=ALL   all   know-CMPL-IRR.DU-1NSG
     'Next year we will know it all.' [DN03.279.04]

174

(8) **dentû**   obûlok   kunakngûlû...
     den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun=at-ng-lû
     some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST=be-DS-23
     'Some were above so they could break it…' [skc10_11]

They can also modify pronouns (a feature shared with numerals and interrogatives), as in (9).

(9) sûdû   **fentagût**   kapa   kuntaangka.
     [sûdû   fentagût]   kapa   ku-ntaa-ng=wa
     2NSG   all   worship   go-FUT-23PL=DUB
     'Will you all go to worship?' [DN02.177.04]

The primary syntactic function of quantifiers is to modify an NP head. Within the noun phrase, quantifiers precede demonstratives, as shown in (10). The quantifier *ban* 'a' is by far the most common, frequently utilized as a generic marker of indefiniteness. See §20.1.1 for a discussion of its use in participant reference, and §30.1 for a full discussion of participant reference.

(10) molû   **ban**   **wa**   naambe.
     [molû   ban   wa]   naa-m-be
     citrus   a   that   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
     'Give me one of those oranges.' [DN04.043.02]

In (11) we see that *ban* also has an adjectival reading of 'other'. This is very common.

(11) tang   nimin   **ban**   kunsûlû   alûmgok.
     ta-ng   [nimin   ban   kun-s=lû]   at-m-go-k
     do-DS   cousin.3SG.POSS   other   up.DIST-LK=NOM   be-give-RP-3SG
     'And his other cousin above waited on him.' [skc12_11]

Quantifiers also follow numerals. It is quite common for the quantifier *ban* to follow the numeral *nûnggût* 'one', as in (12). The meaning is 'one', but with indefinite reference. When *ban* follows the numeral *yaalanang* 'three', the phrase means 'four'.

(12) kep   nak   ip   nûnggût   **ban**   talaamgot.
     kep   nak   [ip   nûnggût   ban]   talaam-go-t
     yesterday 1SG   bird   one   a   shoot-RP-1SG
     'Yesterday I shot a single bird.' [DN01.115.04]

Fentagût 'all' is unique in its ability to also function as an adverb meaning 'completely', as in (13). This is potentially a calque of the Tok Pisin quantifier *olgeta*, which functions in the same manner. *Mamam* 'many' functions as an adverb 'a lot' with the restrictive suffix, as in (14).

175

(13) *nantaang   wasûlû   aatûmpa   fentagût   kaamgok.*
     [na=taang   wa-s=lû]   at-m-pa   fentagût   kaam-go-k
     man=elderly that-LK=NOM shock-give-SS completely   die-RP-3SG
     'The old man got startled and completely died.' [skc11_02e]

(14) *manda   **mamamgût**   taaneng.*
     manda   mamam-gût   taa-ne-ng
     talk   many-RSTR   say-IRR.PL-23NSG
     'Talk a lot.' [DN02.187.66]

Morphologically, *yaalûgût* 'few' and *fentagût* 'all' appear complex—containing the *-gût* restrictive suffix. As with many adjectives and adverbs, it appears that *fentagût* is synchronically simplex. *Yaalûgût* is a transparent derivation though, since *yaalû* means 'two'.

13.4   Numerals

Numerals (AKA "number words") are a small class of words that identify a specific number of their referent. Ma Manda has six members of this class, as displayed below. For all other numbers, the Tok Pisin words are used. In fact, many speakers choose to use Tok Pisin numerals in place of these words a majority of the time. Only *nûnggût* 'one' and *yaalû* 'two' are frequently used in everyday discourse and narrative. The MM numerals are not really used for counting (a western concept). Thus, speakers tend to use Tok Pisin number words when actually counting items. For example, children and youth often enjoyed coming and practicing their incipient counting skills by counting our pieces of laundry that were hanging in the sun.

TABLE 13.2: NUMERALS

word	gloss
nûnggût	one
yaalû	two
yaalanang	three
yaalûyaalû	four
keko	five
keko keko	ten

Historically, it appears that Ma Manda did not have a class of number words. Each form appears to be derived. *Nûnggût* 'one' is derived from *ni*, the third person singular emphatic pronoun, and the restrictive suffix *-gût*. However, synchronically the *-gût* suffix is meaningless here. In fact, it can be added a second time to adverbialize the word, carrying the meaning 'as one'. See §11.6 for more on this suffix.

(15) **nûnggûtgût,**   *fi*   *tanak*   *taka*   *kaadûp*   *dûnûngka,*
nûnggût-gût   [fi   tanak]   ta-ka   kaadûp   dûnû-ka
one-RSTR   work   gardening   do-SS   tree   chop-SS
'They will garden as one and chop trees…' [skc09_16]

Yaalû, though not derived, can also synchronically mean 'both' or 'a pair'. *Yaalanang* appears to be a compound of 'two' and 'one', and *yaalûyaalû* is a clear reduplication of 'two'. *Keko* 'five' actually refers to the fist, and *keko keko* (also surfacing as *kekoko*) is a reduplicated form, referring to both fists. Speakers have also said that *keko nûnggût* (lit. 'fist one') means 'six', though this has never been witnessed in natural speech.

The following picture was taken on the wall of a preschool in Lemang Village, where the teacher was teaching his students the five numerals. (Here <i:> represents *û*, while <ng:> represents *ng* /ŋ/.)

PICTURE 13.1: TEACHING NUMERALS AT LEMANG VILLAGE PRESCHOOL

Thus, though these forms do seem to operate as a closed class with their own syntactic characteristics, they are closely related to the class of quantifiers. In fact, currently in order to produce 'four' in the vernacular, MM speakers can use either *yaalûyaalû, yaalanang ban* 'three another', or *yaalanang nûnggût* 'three one'. Sarvasy (2014d:169) also treats Nungon numerals as quantifiers (which she analyzes as a subclass of adjective).

Syntactically, the MM numerals have a primary function of modifying an NP head, as shown below. They can also head a noun phrase just like the other modifiers, and in this role can only be modified by demonstratives.

(16) *baalus   wasûnang   banenang   na   yaalû   walû   agûmok.*
[baalus   wa-s=lûnang   bane=nang]   [na   yaalû   wa=lû]   at-gû-mok
plane   that-LK=GEN   inside=LOC   man   two   that=NOM   be-RP-23DU
'The two men were inside the plane.' [skc12_15]

Numerals precede quantifiers and follow adjectives within the NP structure:

(17) *kep   nak   ip   nûnggût   ban   talaamgot.*
kep   nak   [ip   nûnggût   ban]   talaam-go-t
yesterday   1SG   bird   one   a   shoot-RP-1SG
'Yesterday I shot a single bird.' [DN01.115.04]

(18) *notnaye   saakûm saakûm   yaalû,   enaanggûtta...*
[not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
'I got my two little sisters, and...' [skc09_10]

Numerals may modify pronouns, just like quantifiers and interrogatives:

(19) *kaauda   wa   nûndok   yaalû   nûmbe.*
[kaauda   wa]   [nûndok   yaalû]   n-m-be
stone   that   1NSG:DAT   two   1NSG.O-give-IRR.SG
'Give that stone to both of us.' [DN04.45.02]

Reduplication has a different semantic effect with numerals than with other word classes. As shown in (18), adjectives are frequently reduplicated in order to show plurality of an NP. Quantifiers are not reduplicated in the corpus—though I believe *fentagût* 'all' can be reduplicated to show intensity. However, when some numerals are reduplicated this produces a distributive reading: *nûnggût nûnggût* 'one by one', *yaalû yaalû* 'two by two'. Note that *yaalûyaalû* also means 'four', or 'both', depending on the context.

As mentioned in the introduction to the section, speakers often utilize numerals borrowed from Tok Pisin. This is especially common for numbers three (TP: *tri*) and up.

(20) *dom   yaabûngûtna   sap   tri   walû   nûpmangka...*
dom   yaa-b-ng-tna   {{[sap   tri   wa=lû]   n-kapmang-ka}}
NEG   3NSG.O-see-DS-1NSG   dog   three   that=NOM   1NSG.O-leave-SS
'We did not see the three dogs leave us...' [skc09_02]

13.5   Interrogatives & indefinites

Ma Manda has a closed class of approximately seven interrogatives (AKA "content question words", or "wh-words"). These words comprise a word class that is utilized to elicit information. However, in spite of this semantic grouping, syntactically they each belong to one of the other available word classes in the language. Regarding this cross-linguistic tendency, Dixon (2012:409) remarks that interrogative words "are linked together as another kind of class, which is overlaid across the basic set of word classes." While §28.2 discusses the interrogative mood, including the syntax of content questions, this section provides an extensive look at each of the interrogative words. Since each word belongs to a separate word class, the syntactic and morphological characteristics of each are here contrasted. Additionally, these forms may derive indefinites through reduplication and suffixation. In the following discussion I address the interrogative words first, followed by the indefinites.

13.5.1   Interrogatives

The set of primary interrogative words are displayed below.

TABLE 13.3: INTERROGATIVE WORDS

Word	Gloss	Word class
ma	what	noun (common)
maasû	which	noun (common)
net	who	noun (human)
daa	where	noun (locational)
de	where	interjection
dûdû ~ di	how	adverb
dûdûgût	how many times	adverb

_ma_ 'what'

The most frequently occurring interrogative word is *ma* 'what'. Generally *ma* functions on its own as head of a noun phrase (21). It also occurs in predicate position (22), and also on its own as an interjection. It passes the test for nounhood by preceding the head noun which it modifies, as with the name of the language *Ma Manda* 'what talk'. Another example of this positional restriction is in the phrase *ma naai* 'what time' (23). All non-nominal modifiers (e.g. adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers) follow their head nouns, but *ma* always precedes them.

(21) *ya* **malû** *attak?*
      ya   ma=lû   at-ta-k
      this what=NOM be-PRS-3SG
      'What is this (here)?' (lit. 'This, what is?') [DN01.03.11]

(22) *ya* **ma***?*
      ya   ma
      this what
      'What is this?' (lit. 'This, what?') [DN01.01.02]

(23) **ma**   *naai* *flong* *bagong?*
      [ma   naai   flong]   ba-go-ng
      what   time   ALL   come-RP-2SG
      'When did you come?' (lit. 'At what time did you come?') [DN02.153.14]

Ma 'what' can also precede both *ta-* 'do' and *taa-* 'say', and in these cases the result is a single phonological word. Since the meaning is completely predictable, I analyze such complex forms as divisible, though it is possible such complex predicates are incipient interrogative verbs. However, I suspect *ma* simply cliticizes to the following verb due to the preference against monosyllabic phonological words (§7.2.1), in addition to the nasal harmony process which glues the words together (§5.2). An example is shown in (24).

(24) *na* *u*   **mantaak***?*
      [na   udu]   ma=ta-a-k
      man   that.ANA   what=do-PRS-3SG
      'What is that man doing?' [DN01.03.11]

Morphologically, *ma* has been observed with both nominative and benefactive case enclitics. Nominative case is shown in (21) above, while benefactive case is shown in (25). The benefactive-marked interrogative questions the purpose of an action, and is therefore easily translated as 'why' in English. No simple 'why' form exists in Ma Manda.

(25) **mala**   *taang?*
      ma=la   ta-a-ng
      what=BEN   do-PRS-2SG
      'Why are you doing (that)?' (lit. 'For what are you doing (it)?') [DN05.41.07]

Note that, when *ma* (or *maasû*—see below) precedes the noun *naai* 'time' to form an interrogative temporal noun phrase, it is followed by the allative postposition *flong* (see (23) above). However, when a speaker addresses the present time, then the postposition is omitted:

(26) **ma**   *naai* *attak?*
      [ma   naai]   at-ta-k
      what   time   be-PRS-3SG
      'What time is it?' [DN02.188.35]

180

maasû 'which'

The interrogative word *maasû* 'which' is very similar in meaning to *ma*. However, its use implies a choice from a restricted set. In practice, many situations allow for free variation between the use of *ma* and *maasû*, as shown with *maasû naai* 'which time' in (27). This example betrays a slightly different nuance from (23), with a set of possible options being implied rather than an open-ended question. In other cases, *maasû* is required instead of *ma*. For example, for *wo* 'name', only *maasû* is grammatical, as in (28). And this is only possible for entities below humans on the animacy hierarchy (i.e. animals, plants, inanimate objects). For humans, *net* 'who' is required (see below).

(27) ***maasû***   *naai*   *flong*   *kunûm?*
      [maasû   naai   flong]   ku-nûm
      which   time   ALL   go-IRR.PL:1NSG
      'When will we go?' (lit. 'At which time will we go?') [DN02.153.13]

(28) *yasûnang*   *wo*   ***maasû?***
      [ya-s=nang   wo]   maasû
      this-LK=GEN   name   which
      'What is it's name?' (lit. 'This's name, which?') [DN04.13.04]

Syntactically, *maasû* is a noun which occurs with the same distribution as *ma*: in predicate position of non-verbal clauses (29), preceding head nouns (30), as head of an NP (31), and as an interjection (though more rarely than *ma* 'what').

(29) *kudu*   ***maasû?***
      kudu   maasû
      level.DIST   which
      'Which (one) is that over there?' (lit. 'That (over there), which?') [DN04.13.03]

(30) *ya*   ***maasû***   *kaadûp?*
      ya   [maasû   kaadûp]
      this   which   tree
      'What kind of tree is this?' (lit. 'This, which tree?') [DN04.13.02]

(31) *i*   ***maasû***   *genangkaak,*   *sap*   *kayongnang?*
      idi   maasû   genangka-a-k   [sap   kayong=nang]
      this.ANA   which   appear-PRS-3SG   dog   leg=LOC
      'What is this that's surfaced, on the dog's leg?' (lit. 'This, which (one) is appearing, on the dog's leg?') [skc11_04d]

Maasû occasionally occurs before the light verb *ta-* 'do'. It appears to function as an object NP in these cases, but it seems to be interpreted as questioning the reason for an action, as shown in (32). This has led me in the past to analyze *maasû* as polysemous, with 'why' functioning as a light verb complement. However, (33) illustrates how *maasû* still functions

as an NP even when it carries a 'why' interpretation. In this example the answer replaces *maasû* with the noun *lagamaandû* 'dream'.

(32) **maasû** *taka* *naanûobang?*
maasû ta-ka naa-nû-ob-wa-ng
which do-SS 1SG.O-tell-break-PRS-23PL
'Why are you (NSG) forbidding me?' (lit. 'Doing which and you are forbidding me?') [skc09_21]

(33) Q: *nantaampû* *naandûka* *banûnûnggûng,*
nantaam=lû naandû-ka ba-n-nû-gû-ng
people=NOM hear-SS come-1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL

maasû *taka* *taawaamok?*
{{maasû ta-ka taa-waa-mok}}
which do-SS say-PRS-23DU
'The people heard and came asking us, "What happened [for] you (DU) to scream?" '

A: *dom.* *lagamaandû* *taka* *tawaamot.*
dom lagamaandû ta-ka ta-waa-mot
NEG dream do-SS say-PRS-1DU
'No. (I) had a dream and we (DU) screamed.' [skc11_04d]

Morphologically, *maasû* has been observed with both nominative and benefactive enclitics, just like *ma*. A benefactive example is provided below, illustrating that *maasûla* questions which of a set of purposes one has for undertaking an action.

(34) **maasûla** *laai* *kuka* *baang?*
maasû=la laai ku-ka ba-a-ng
which=BEN Lae go-SS come-PRS-2SG
'Why have you gone to Lae and come?' (lit. 'For which (purpose) have you gone to Lae and come?') [DN02.153.17]

net 'who'

The interrogative word *net* 'who' is also a noun. It functions as a noun phrase (35), as predicate of a verbless clause—see (36)–(37)—and as an interjection. It does not appear to ever occur in complex NPs, though (38) is a possible counter-example. However, I analyze the pronoun here as a topicalized NP, with the nominative-marked interrogative as the subject NP.

(35) **net** *kaang?*
net ka-a-ng
who see-PRS-2SG
'Who do you see?' [DN04.75.56]

(36) *wa*   ***net****?*
     wa   net
     that   who
     'Who is that?' (lit. 'That, who?') [DN02.149.01]

(37) *fi*   *u*   ***netnang****?*
     [fi   udu]   net=nang
     garden   that.ANA   who=GEN
     'Whose garden is that?' (lit. 'That garden, whose?') [DN02.148.05]

(38) *gak*   ***nettû***   *baang?*
     gak   net=lû   ba-a-ng
     2SG   who=NOM   come-PRS-2SG
     'Who are you (that's) coming?' (lit. 'You, who is coming?') [DN02.183.42]

Net is used to question only human and spirit noun phrases. Animals, plant species, and inanimate objects have not been found to be questioned with this interrogative. Interestingly, when questioning a person's or spirit's name, *net* is used rather than *maasû* 'which', as in (39).

(39) *wopga*   ***net****?*
     wop-ga   net
     name-2SG.POSS   who
     'What's your name?' (lit. 'Your name, who?')

Net allows the largest variety of case enclitics, including nominative (38) and comitative (40). It has not been observed with the dative (i.e. *nettok* 'to whom'), but this is presumably a limitation of the corpus and not a grammatical restriction. *Net* can also be marked with the genitive, as shown in (37) above.

(40) ***nettit***   *bangaamok?*
     net=lit   ba-ngaa-mok
     who=COM   come-NP-23DU
     'With whom did you come?' [skc09_38]

daa 'where'

The interrogative word *daa* 'where' is a locational noun. It is very restricted in distribution: it is only ever observed directly preceding the predicate, and it never occurs in complex noun phrases. Since it is a location noun, it does not bear locative or allative cases, or any others for that matter.

(41) *figa*   ***daa***   *attak?*
     fi-ga   daa   at-ta-k
     garden-2SG.POSS   where   be-PRS-3SG
     'Where is your garden?' [DN02.153.15]

183

de **'where'**

The interrogative word *de* 'where' is only used as an interjection. This frequently occurring word is used to question a location which has already been stated. It is used to ask for a specific location, taking for granted that the place is visible. Take the following conversation as an example.

(42) Q$_1$: *tuwa*   *meng*   *daa*   *attak?*
                [tuwa   mother]   daa   at-ta-k
                firstborn.male mother   where   be-PRS-3SG
             'Where is Tuwa's mom?'

       A$_1$: *kosaan*   *kudu*   *attak.*
                kosaan   kudu   at-ta-k
                side   level.DIST   be-PRS-3SG
             'She is there on that side.'

       Q$_2$: ***de?***
                de
                where
             'Where (exactly)?'

       A$_2$: *kuduma.*
                kudu-ma
                level.DIST-EMPH
             'Over *there*.'

    Another example of *de* is provided below.

(43) *ta*   *de?*   *na*   *gûtnemsû*   *fatnaang.*
       ta   de   na   [gûtnem-sû   fatnaang]
       do   where   man   skin-23NSG.POSS white
       'But where? The men with white skin.' [skc12_01]

A final note regarding *de* is that it may be related to the verb *de-* 'gaze'. Interestingly, in neighboring Numanggang (Hynum 1995:60), *de* is a specific locative interrogative, while *dang* is a general locative interrogative, similar to the contrast found in MM. However, in that language both interrogatives may take case markers, while in MM neither can.

dûdû **'how'**

The interrogative word *dûdû* 'how' is an adverb of manner, and therefore always immediately precedes the predicate, as in (44)—unless a second adverb modifies it, as in (45). It cannot bear case enclitics. It can also occur as an interjection if the specific action is understood from context.

184

(44) **dûdû**   *usutaat?*
  dûdû   usu-taa-t
  how   plant-FUT-1SG
  'How should I plant (it)?' [DN02.180.22]

(45) **dûdû**   *sûnûk   taka   makobûtaat?*
  dûdû   sûnûk   ta-ka   mako-b-taa-t
  how   real   do-SS   run.away-EP-FUT-1SG
  'What really can I do (to) escape?' [skc12_16]

Example (46) shows that *dûdû* need not modify an action, but can modify states as well. *Dûdû* simply questions the manner an action is performed or a state is experienced.

(46) *waleganang*   **dûdû**   *naandûlang?*
  wale-ga=nang   dûdû   naandû-la-ng
  liver-2SG.POSS=LOC   how   feel-PRS-2SG
  'How do you feel?' (lit. 'In your liver how do you feel?') [DN04.69.15]

Dûdû can also occur in predicate position (47). Here a clause is taken as a given topic (i.e. followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *udu*), and this is questioned with the manner interrogative.

(47) *ta   wa   bangaamok   udu,   **dûdû**?*
  ta   {wa   ba-ngaa-mok   udu}   dûdû
  do   that   come-NP-23DU   that.ANA   how
  'But *how* did you (DU) come there?' (lit. 'But your having coming there, how?')
  [skc09_38]

A shortened form of the adverbial interrogative is *di*. It is rare, and appears to have an identical meaning. I hypothesize that the older form is *di*. All the interrogatives can be reduplicated to form plural indefinites (see below), and therefore a reduplicated *di~di* would naturally reduce to *dûdû* due to the common process of vowel reduction (see §6.2). Perhaps the following example occurs simply as a sort of contrast preservation, because *sûdû dûdû* is difficult to pronounce:

(48) *sûdû   **di**   taka   agaamok?*
  sûdû   di   ta-ka   at-gaa-mok
  23NSG   how   do-SS   be-PRS-23DU
  'What are you (DU) doing?' [DN03.301.05]

dûdûgût 'how many (times)'

The interrogative word *dûdûgût* 'how many (times)' is also an adverb, used to question the number of times an action is performed, as in (49).

(49) *kaadûp*   *sang*   ***dûdûgût***   *fengang?*
      [kaadûp   sang]   dûdûgût   fe-nga-ng
      wood   timber   how.many   hew-NP-2SG
      'How many planks did you cut?' (lit. 'How many times did you cut planks?')
      [DN03.289.43]

This appears to be a historically complex form, combining *dûdû* 'how' and the adverbializing suffix *-gût* (§11.6). For some time, I analyzed this form as a quantifier, since it always follows object arguments in the corpus. However, this slot between object NP and verb is also where manner adverbs are placed. The corpus contains no examples of *dûdûgût* marked with case enclitics, as would be expected from the final word of an NP. Furthermore, it contains no examples of *dûdûgût* anywhere except immediately preceding the verb. *Dûdûgût* can also occur as an interjection, just like *dûdû* 'how'. This also points to the recent innovation of the numeral word class.

Other interrogatives

A few forms have been rarely observed and therefore are not considered as belonging to the primary basic interrogatives. They appear to be complex forms, but it is questionable whether they are synchronically complex.

First, the interrogative word *mandong* 'why' seems to be an adverb. Its occurrence is exceedingly rare, due to the fact that questioning another's motives directly is considered very rude and confrontational. This appears to be a historically complex form, from *ma* 'what' and the reduced verb *dong* 'search, look for'. *Dong* often functions like an adverb or light verb complement. However, it can function as a predicate on its own, always with dependent morphology. Due to this fact, it is possible that *mandong* is actually a full dependent clause, with *ma* cliticizing to the following word (as seen in (24) above). Either way, the meaning of the unit would seem to be, literally, 'searching for what?'. An example is provided in (50).

(50) ***mandong***   *makowaamok?*
      mandong   mako-waa-mok
      why   run.away-PRS-23DU
      'What are you (DU) running away for?' (or: 'Why are you (DU) running away?')
      [DN03.293.59]

Second, via elicitation I have collected the word *dûdûng* '(do) how'. This appears to be a light verb complement, operating very similarly to the adverbial interrogative *dûdû*. This form was offered to me, but without context or natural observation I am hesitant to argue for its legitimacy. The form *dûdûngin* has also been proffered without elicitation. This appears to

186

be have the anaphoric suffix *-in*, which also marks demonstratives in discourse-anaphoric function. *Dûdûngin* was translated by a native speaker as 'what kind?'. It is possible that both are separate interrogative forms, or that they are simply complex forms synchronically based upon *dûdû*. More research is needed in order to substantiate either analysis.

13.5.2   Indefinites

Several of the interrogatives can function with indefinite reference outside of the interrogative mood. In their bare form, these can function as non-specific indefinites (e.g. *net* 'whoever'). Two of them—*ma* 'what' and *dûdû* 'how'—can be reduplicated for non-specific referents with non-singular number. Next, a majority of the interrogatives can take the suffix *-gat* to produce specific indefinite nouns—referring to unnamed people, objects or places (e.g. *danggat* 'somewhere'). These referents are unnamed because either the speaker chooses to avoid using the name, or because he does not know the proper name or term. These forms are not entirely predictable. The words can also be reduplicated for non-singular specific indefinites (e.g. *manggat~manggat* 'things'). Note that this is not a grammatical requirement with non-singular referents, but used only when the speaker chooses to be explitic about number.

The indefinites present in the MM corpus are shown below. Blanks simply indicate that the form has not been observed. Below I describe and illustrate each form.

TABLE 13.4: INTERROGATIVE WORDS WITH INDEFINITE REFERENCE

base	gloss	Non-specific			Specific		
		SG	NSG	gloss	SG	NSG	gloss
ma	what	*ma*	*ma-ma*	whatever	*manggat*	*mangga(t)-manggat*	thing
maasû	which				*maanûnggat*		something
net	who	*net*		whoever	*nenggat*		someone
daa	where	*daa*		wherever	*danggat*		somewhere
dûdû~di	how	*dûdû*	*dûdû-dûdû*	however			
dûdûgût	how many times	*dûdûgût*		however many	*dûgat*		a number (of)

ma 'what(ever)'

As an indefinite modifier, *ma* may occur by itself after a noun phrase to mean 'whatever'. This can then be reduplicated (*ma~ma*) to indicate plurality. Potentially these could be analyzed as headless relative clauses. This is not typical in MM, but may be a grammatical calque from Tok Pisin, where *wanem* 'what(ever)' and *husat* 'who(ever)' have this function.

(51) *gek   kankan **ma** fukunap waagempa fukunap kaalin **mama***
{[gek   kankan ma] [fukunap waagem=wa] [fukunap kaalin ma~ma]
animal insect what spirit bad=DUB   spirit   good   what~what

yangattak   udu   gak   nûnggût   gaabûmaangka...
ya=ngat-ta-k   udu}   [gak   nûnggût] gaa-b-maa-ka
here=be-PRS-3SG that.ANA 2SG   one   2SG.O-see-CMPL-SS
'Whatever animals and insects and whatever bad spirits or good spirits which are
here, they look to you alone…' [skc12_06]

It can occur as the head of an NP (just like other modifiers):

(52) *ta   ip   kusamba kun   bakuyak,   ka*
ta   {[ip   kusamba] kun   ba-ku-ya-k   wa}
yes bird   big   up   come-go-PRS-3SG DUB

mamawa   *taawaam...*
ma~ma=wa   taa-waam
what~what=DUB   say-PRS-1PL
'And the planes which pass by above, or whatever we say …' [skc12_04]

Ma may be suffixed with -*gat* to derive a specific indefinite noun, *manggat*, meaning
'thing'. This can then be reduplicated (*manggat~manggat*) to indicate plurality.

(53) *kame kame   udu,   **manggat** bantû   dom   agok.*
[kame~kame   udu]   [manggat ban=lû] dom   at-go-k
ground~ground that.ANA thing   a=NOM   NEG   be-RP-3SG
'The earth, not a thing was (on it).' [DN05.39.02]

The specific indefinite derivative is also a euphemism for 'demon':

(54) *kangala   **manggat** bantû   kap   tete   takata*
ka-ng-la   {{[manggatban=lû] kap   te~te   ta-ka=ta
see-DS-1SG   demon   a=NOM   dance   dance~dance   do-SS=do

bagok.
ba-go-k}}
come-RP-3SG
'I saw a demon shuffling as he came.' [skc11_04d]

maasû 'which(ever)'

Maasû 'which' has not been observed with indefinite reference in its bare form. Taking
the -*gat* suffix, *maanûnggat* is a specific indefinite noun meaning 'something', or literally,
'whichever thing'. Reduplication has not been observed, but plurality can still be intended, as
in (55).

(55) ***maanûnggat***   *watnang*   *taangaam...*
  [maanûnggat   wa=tnang]   taa-ngaa-m
  something   that=GEN   say-NP-1PL
  'Whichever things we talked about...' [skc12_02]

naai 'time, whenever'

The word meaning 'time', *naai*, is used with indefinite temporal reference (i.e. 'whenever').
No reduplicated or derived forms have been observed. This may be a calque from Tok Pisin
temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *taim* 'time'—these function in the same manner and
exhibit the same syntactic structure.

(56) ***naai***   *palang*   *wa*   *dûnûmbetta,*
  {naai   [palang   wa]   dûnû-be-t=la}
  time   plank   that   chop-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN

  palang   *mosaa*   *taba*   *kameng*   *wa*   *dûnûmbet...*
  palang   [mosaa   taba   kameng   wa]   dûnû-be-t
  plank   PN   resident   property   that   chop-IRR.SG-1SG
  'Whenever I want to chop planks, I like to chop them on Mosa residents'
  property...' [skc09_35]

net 'who(ever)'

Net 'who' may occur with indefinite reference. Overt plurality has not been observed in the
corpus.

(57) ***net***   *kudu,*   *tuwa*   *be*   *kudusûlû*
  [net   kudu]   [tuwa   be   kudu-s=lû]
  who   level.DIST   firstborn.male   father.3SG.POSS   level.DIST-LK=NOM

  bamonggok.
  ba-mo-go-k
  come-go.down-RP-3SG
  'Whoever there, Tuwa's father there, went down this way.' [skc09_34]

While *net* cannot function as a modifier in interrogative clauses, it may function as a
modifier when it has indefinite reference:

(58) *na*   *nettû*   *kusambala*   *mitaka*   *takasepnûng*   *manda*   *wa*
  [na   net=lû]   kusamba=la   mita-ka   [takasep-nûng   manda   wa]
  man   who=NOM   big=BEN   fear-SS   closed-EMPH.POSS   talk   that

  yawantak,   *na*   *walû*   *gelû*   *daampawek.*
  y-tawang-ta-k   [na   wa=lû]   gelû   daampa-be-k
  3PL.O-follow-PRS-3SG   man   that=NOM   alright   happy-IRR.SG-3SG
  'Whatever man fears the Lord and follows his laws, that man will be blessed.'

  [skc12_18: translation of Psalms 112:1]

189

Taking the *-gat* suffix, *nenggat* is a specific indefinite noun meaning 'someone, person'. Plurality may be overtly indicated with a following numeral or quantifier, as shown in (59). This example also illustrates that indefinites can bear case enclitics. Reduplication of the form has not been observed in the corpus.

(59) **nenggat**   *den,*   **nenggat**   *yaalû*   *u,*   *yaalûwek,*
      [nenggat   den]   [nenggat   yaalû   udu]   yaalû=wek
      someone   some   someone   two   that.ANA   two=DISJ

      den   **nenggattûgût**   *kugûng*   *dom*   *yaabûgûmot.*
      den   nenggat=lû-gût   ku-gû-ng   dom   yaa-b-gû-mot
      some   someone=NOM-RSTR   go-RP-23PL   NEG   3PL.O-see-RP-1DU
      'Some people, two people, either two or… just some of us went but we didn't see them.' [skc09_02]

daa 'where(ver)'

Daa 'where' may occur in its bare form with indefinite reference. This form has not been observed with quantifiers or reduplication, though plurality is possible, as in (60).

(60) *bûsenang bûsenang*   **daa**   *agang*   *wa*   *fentagût*
      bûsenang~bûsenang   {daa   at-gang   wa}   fentagût
      jungle~jungle   where   be-PRS:23PL   that   all

      kungatmaakongka...
      kungat-maa-kong-ka
      go.around-CMPL-TERM-SS
      'He went around all over the jungle to where [the springs] were…' [skc12_04]

Taking the *-gat* suffix, *danggat* is a specific indefinite noun meaning 'somewhere'. This term has not yet been provided in natural speech, but only proferred during elicitation.

dûdû 'how(ever)'

Dûdû may be used for a non-specific indefinite action, carrying the meaning 'however'. It may be pluralized with reduplication.

(61) *ta,*   *bagonewa*   **di**   *tang...*
      ta   bagone=wa   di   ta-ng
      do   sick=DUB   how   do-DS
      'Yes, if they were sick or however they were doing…' [skc12_02]

(62) **dûdû dûdû**   *tagot*   *wasûnang*   *taabûtaat.*
      {dûdû~dûdû   ta-go-t   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
      how~how   do-RP-1SG   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
      'I will talk about all that I did.' [skc09_35]

190

dûdûgût **'how(ever) many'**

As a modifier, *dûdûgût* may occur in its bare form as an indefinite adverb.

(63) *gitin*   *yabappû*   *sûbat*   *glup*   **dûdûgût**
      [gitin   yabap=lû]   [sûbat   glup]   dûdûgût
      holy   spirit=NOM   food   plate   how.many

      tanggûdempaka   *tûngak.*
      tanggûdem-pa-ka   tû-nga-k
      ready-VBLZ-SS   put.SG-NP-3SG
      'The Holy Spirit has readied however many plates of food.' [DN04.05.07]

   With the *-gat* suffix, *dûgat* is a specific indefinite modifier meaning 'however many'.

(64) *gulat*   **dûgat**   *wa*   *agûmot.*
      [gulat   dûgat   wa]   at-gû-mot
      year   number   that   be-RP-1DU
      'We've been [in mourning] for however many years.' [skc09_18]

13.6   Conjunctions

Ma Manda has a few words which can legitimately be analyzed as conjunctions, along with some verbal elements which operate with this function. I call the latter "light verb conjunctions". First I address noun phrase conjunctions, and then clausal conjunctions.

13.6.1   Noun phrase conjunctions

Noun phrases are frequently coordinated with the associative dual particle *kaang*. This only occurs where the participants are animate. Structurally, it occurs between two coordinated participants, as in (65), or between the first and second coordinated participants in a series of three or more, as in (66)–(67).

(65) *mukuya*   *yodûka*   *kaafeng*   *ganang*
      mukuya   yodû-ka   [kaageng   ganang]
      pig   search.for-SS   coffee   plot

      kudu   *kungalaam,*   *esi*   **kaang**,   *jeni.*
      kudu   ku-ngat-aa-m   [esi   kaang   jeni]
      level.DIST   go-be-NP-1PL   PN   two   PN
      'We looked for the pigs and went around there in the coffee garden, (with) Esi and Jeni.' [skc09_10]

(66) *saailas*   **kaang**   *kevin,*   *maanu,*   *nangkadek*   *wa*   *enaanggûtta...*
      [saailas   kaang   kevin   maanu]   [nangkadek   wa]   e-naanggût-ta
      PN   two   PN   PN   men   that   3NSG.O-get-SS
      'Silas, Kevin and Manu, after (he) got those men…' [skc09_18]

(67) *muk   kusamba   amelika   **kaang**   jepen   aastlelia*
[muk   kusamba]   [amelika   kaang   jepen   aastlelia]
fight   big   PN   two   PN   PN

walû   papua niugini   ya   mûkaamgûng.
wa=lû   [papua niugini]   ya   mûkaam-gû-ng
that=NOM   PN   here   fight-RP-23PL
'The big fight—America, Japan and Australia, they fought here in Papua New Guinea.' [skc12_15]

More rarely, *kaang* occurs between the final two participants in a list (like English *and*):

(68) *kep   nak,   gerri,   tateng   **kaang**   garambon gebûng   kugûm.*
kep   [nak   gerri   tateng   kaang   garambon] gebûng   ku-gû-m
yesterday   1SG   PN   PN   two   PN   inside   go-RP-1PL
'Yesterday I, Gary, Tateng and Garambon went home.' [skc11_10c]

Kaang most often coordinates people, but it also coordinates places which refer to their people (as in (67) above), as well as animals, as in (69).

(69) *yagusuwa   **kaang**   kobûsenang   ulaksek   wadûng.*
[yagusuwa   kaang   kobûse=nang   ulak-sek]   wa-dûng
wild.fowl.sp   two   chicken=GEN   story-23DU.POSS   that-ADV
'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

13.6.2   Clausal conjunctions

First, the forms *wala* and *walataka* mean something like 'therefore'. Both are a grammaticalization of the spatial demonstrative *wa* 'that', and the benefactive enclitic *=la*. Additionally, the second form is compounded with taka ('do-SS'), a light verb conjunction (see Chapter 32). Both forms appear to be in complementary distribution, and are described in §20.5. Below I illustrate them before a pause break in (70) and after a pause break in (71)–(72).

(70) *raaji   kayong   yolak   **walataka**,*
[raaji   kayong]   yot-a-k   walataka
PN   leg   poke-NP-3SG   therefore

kayong   bedû   ngattak.
kayong   bedû   ngat-ta-k
leg   sore   be-PRS-3SG
'Ragi's leg got poked, so his leg is sore.' [skc09_21]

(71) **walataka**   *mo,*   *fatnaang*   *bagok*   *wasit,*
      walataka   mo   {fatnaang   ba-go-k   wasit}
      therefore   already   white   come-RP-3SG   that:COM

      yenolit   *taka*   *ya*   *aatûkuntaam.*
      yenolit   ta-ka   ya   aatûku-ntaa-m
      become.brothers   do-SS   here   remain-FUT-1PL
      'Okay so, I've become friends with the white man who came and we will remain here.' [skc09_19]

(72) **wala**   *waagût*   *kantaangang*
      wala   waagût   ka-ntaa-ng-nang
      so   now   see.3SG-FUT-23PL-HAB

      gisim   *tagat*   *amun*   *dom*   *kulaakngang.*
      {{gisim   tagat   amun   dom   kula-a-k-nang}}
      bird.sp   faeces   ground   NEG   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB
      'So now you will see that the *gisim* bird does not defecate on the ground.' [skc12_12]

Next, a couple of complex forms have coordinative function, each with their own relational meaning. More research is needed, but these are somewhat rare in the corpus. The form *gamû* appears to be a causal conjunction. It is often preceded by a demonstrative, but not always. It also sometimes has the instrumental enclitic attached to it as well.

(73) *tang*   *kaka*   **igamû,**
      ta-ng   ka-ka   idi=gamû
      do-DS   see.3SG   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)

      kame   *mowek*   *ba*   *aawengak*   *yeka*   *idi,*
      {{kame   mo=wek   ba   aawe-nga-k}}   ye-ka   idi
      ground   already-DISJ   come   finish-NP-3SG   imagine-SS   this.ANA

      imamaang   *yot*   *mangka*   *agok.*
      [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   at-go-k
      grass.sp   house   erect-SS   be-RP-3SG
      'And he looked at it, and since he thought that the land came to finish there, he erected an *imamang* grass house and stayed (there).' [skc12_01]

The form *sûla* appears to be a conjunction that marks result, as shown in (74). Both conjunctions co-occur in (75).

(74) *sûbat*   *glup*   *nûnggût*   *nanûmpa*   *taka*
      {[sûbat   glup   nûnggût]   na-nûm=la}   ta-ka
      food   plate   one   eat-IRR.NSG:1PL=BEN   do-SS

      gak   *gaanûngkawaam.*
      gak   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
      2SG   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
      'We call on you in order to eat the one plate of food.'

sûla	*gaknga*	*baka*	*gitin*	*yabappû*
sûla	gak-nga	ba-ka	[gitin	yabap=lû]
CONJ(BEN)	2SG-EMPH	come-SS	holy	spirit=NOM

sûbat	*glup*	*dûdûgût*	*tanggûdempaka*	*tûngak…*
[sûbat	glup]	dûdûgût	tanggûdem-pa-ka	tû-nga-k
food	plate	how.many	ready-VBLZ-SS	put.SG-NP-3SG

'So you yourself come and the Holy Spirit has readied however many plates of food…' [DN04.05.07]

(75)
tang	*gamû*	*nûndûnang*	*fafanek*	*walû*
ta-ng	gamû	[nûndû=nang	fafa-nek	wa=lû]
do-DS	CONJ(INST)	1NSG=GEN	grandfather-1NSG.POSS	that=NOM

igamû,		*na*	*yaalû*	*bagûmok*	*sûlaidi,*
idi=gamû		{[na	yaalû]	ba-gû-mok	sûla=idi}
this.ANA=	CONJ(INST)	man	two	come-RP-23DU	CONJ(BEN)=this.ANA

bantû	*wangakng*	*i*	*bantû*	*iga*	*atta*	*kugok.*
ban=lû	wa=ngat-ng	idi	ban=lû	idi=ga	at-ta	ku-go-k
a=NOM	there=be-DS	this.ANA	a=NOM	this.ANA=INST	be-SS	go-RP-3SG

'And since our grandfathers, since two men came, so one stayed there, but one went on.' [skc12_01]

Finally, a few light verbs which frequently occur in recapitulative and summary linkage contexts (Chapter 32) seem to be in the process of reanalysis into conjunctions. These are called "discourse conjunctions" by de Vries (2005:376). For example, the light verb *ta-* 'do' frequently introduces new sentences, thus producing participant and temporal continuity with the previous discourse. With the different-subject subordinate suffix (*-ng*), it simply indicates that the subject of the new sentence is not co-referential with the previous subject. With the durative subordinate suffix (*-gû*), it express the duration of an ongoing event, but with no participant continuity. This form (i.e. *tagû*) frequently follows a finite verb without an intervening pause break. Both of these options are illustrated in (76).

(76)
tang	*mongkaka*	*mitaka*	*tagûng*
ta-ng	mo-ka-ka	mita-ka	ta-gû-ng
do-DS	go.down-see.3SG-SS	fear-SS	do-RP-23PL

tagû	*yeudat*	*monggûng.*
ta-gû	yeudat	mo-gû-ng
do-DUR	anyway	go.down-RP-23PL

'And (DS) going down they saw him and were all afraid, but they went down anyway.' [skc12_15]

The same-subject coordinate form produces both temporal sequence and participant continuity, as in (77). Interestingly, the bare verb stem *ta* provides no temporal or participant continuity, and is therefore often used for interruptions to the mainline discourse. Example

(78) provides an aside to a narrative, with both the preceding and following sentences being set in another place with another subject (though occurring simultaneously with the events denoted by this sentence).

(77) ***taka***   *sesumpa*   *tukungakngûlû*   *tukungakngûlû...*
      ta-ka   sesu-m-pa   tuku-ngat-ng-lû   tuku-ngat-ng-lû
      do-SS   heat-give-SS   take.SG-be-DS-23   take.SG-be-DS-23
      'And then (SS) they washed him with hot water all over and…' [skc12_15]

(78) ***ta***   *nak*   *takase*   *kumaagû*   *kosaan*   *laabûgot.*
      ta   nak   takase   kum=at-gû   kosaan   laab-go-t
      but   1SG   PN   down.DIST=be-DUR   side   come.up-RP-1SG
      'But staying down in Takase I came up the other side.' [skc09_18]

A very clear example of the contrast between the interjection function of *ta* and the contrastive conjunction function of *ta* is shown below.

(79) ***ta***   *u*   *tûmang*   *wan*   *tawaagûngang*
      ta   udu   tûmang   wa-n   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
      do   that.ANA   before   that-ANA   do-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

      ta   *waagût*   *idi*   *nûndû*   *wan*   *dom*   *tawaamang.*
      ta   waagût   idi   nûndû   wa-n   dom   ta-waa-m-nang
      but   now   this.ANA   1NSG   that-ANA   NEG   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
      'Yeah, before they would do that, but now we don't do that.' [skc12_02]

Ta is illustrated again below in a question, the first sentence in the new turn by this speaker.

(80) ***ta***   *de?*   *na*   *gûtnemsû*   *fatnaang.*
      ta   de   na   [gûtnem-sû   fatnaang]
      But   where   man   skin-23NSG.POSS   white
      'But where? The men with white skin.' [skc12_01]

Other light verbs operate in this way too, including *at-* 'be' and *aatûku-* 'remain'. Both of these verbal conjunctions very frequently occur with the durative suffix, as shown in (81).

(81) *tang*   *kaka*   *agûm*   ***aagû***   *idi,*
      ta-ng   ka-ka   at-gû-m   at-gû   idi
      do-DS   see.3SG-SS   be-RP-1PL   be-DUR   this.ANA

      sabe   *yot*   *kum*   *kuka*   *imo,*
      [sabe   yot]   kum   ku-ka   idi=mo
      youth   house   down.DIST   go-SS   this.ANA=already
      'And we were watching him until, we went to the young men's house below and,…' [skc09_18]

The *ta* conjunction is unique in its grammaticalization in this role. This can be seen by the fact that the bare verb stem can initiate a sentence with a same or different subject as the

195

previous sentence. All other bare verb stems function as same-subject subordinate verbs (§21.2.2), and can never be followed by a non-co-referential subject. This grammaticalization can also be seen in (82). Here the switch-reference morphology on the verbal conjunction does not match the previous sentence. It should take a first person non-singular suffix instead.

(82) *kugûmot* ***tangûlû**,* *nantaampû* *kadepmang*
  ku-gû-mot ta-ng-lû nantaam=lû kadepmang
  go-RP-1DU do-DS-23 people=NOM main.road

  kam *nûnûnggûng,* *kadet* *wakaangak.*
  kam n-nû-gû-ng {{kadet wakaa-nga-k}}
  down.PROX 1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL road damaged-NP-3SG
  'We went, but the people down on the road told us, the road got damaged.' [skc09_01]

13.7 Postpositions

Ma Manda has a small closed class of postpositions which are used to mark the grammatical relationship of a noun phrase, or to combine clauses. These eight words are listed below.

TABLE 13.5: POSTPOSITIONS

word	grammatical gloss
=*lû*	NOM / ABL
flong ~ =(s)long	ALL
=*nang*	LOC
=*lok*	DAT
=*ga*	INST
=*la*	BEN
=*lit*	COM
=*(lû)nang*	GEN

Functionally, all eight postpositions group together in their responsibility of marking grammatical relations, as described in Chapter 16. They do not co-occur. These markers always occur at the end of the phrase or clause which they mark, except for the locative, which marks the head noun or adjective, but precedes other modifiers. The genitive marks the head of a possessor noun phrase, and is also used to mark the ablative grammatical relation, and an 'about' relation.

Phonologically, the postpositions primarily cliticize to the final word of the constituent, as shown below. In (83) the nominative case enclitic attaches directly to a noun, the sole member of the subject NP. In (84) the instrumental case enclitic attaches to the demonstrative, the final member of the oblique causal NP.

(83) **nangkadekkû**   kaalûnûpmangka   tûmang   kugûng.
    nangkadek=**lû**   kaalû-n-kapmang-ka   tûmang   ku-gû-ng
    men=NOM   pass-1SG.O-leave-SS   first   go-RP-23PL
    'The men passed us and went first.' [skc09_29]

(84) *tangaan tangaan*   ***waga***   *bot*   *beka,…*
    [tangaan~tangaan   wa=**ga**]   bot   be-ka
    branch~branch   that=INST   group   put.NSG-SS
    'They make a heap with the branches, and…' [skc09_17]

The allative case is unique. Typically it occurs as a free pronoun *flong*, as illustrated in (85). However, a shortened version of the postposition attaches to the demonstrative as an enclitic, forming a single phonological word—as shown in (86). After demonstratives ending in nasal segments, the initial consonant of the free postposition is lenited (*f* lenites to *s*) and retained, as in (87).

(85) *saalele*   ***flong***   *kaasingang*   *kugûm*   *wasûnang*   *taabûtaat.*
    {[saalele   flong]   kaasingang   ku-gû-m   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
    Saturday   ALL   PN   go-RP-1PL   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
    'I will talk about about [when] we went to Kesengen on Saturday.' [skc09_29]

(86) *waagût*   *kepma*   ***yalong***,   *kadet*   *kungat.*
    waagût   [kepma   ya=**long**]   kadet   ku-nga-t
    now   day   this=ALL   garden   go-NP-1SG
    'Now on this day, I went to the garden.' [skc09_10]

(87) *ukalampa*   *men*   *get*   *kusamba*   ***kamslong***   *yangattat.*
    [ukalampa   men   get   kusamba   kam=**slong**]   ya=ngat-ta-t
    PN   main   gate   big   down.PROX=ALL   here=be-PRS-1SG
    'I am here at Ukarumpa's big main gate below.' [skc09_38]

The postpositions undergo a large amount of morpho-phonological variation, depending on the segment to which they attach. Note that only the instrumental and locative postpositions do not begin with *l*. The *g* consonant (instrumental) is resilient in MM, undergoing no morphophonemic alternations. The initial liquid of the locative undergoes place assimilation and is elided after nasals. The liquid undergoes a plethora of changes depending on its environment. Each of the nominative, dative, benefactive and comitative postpositions have four separate forms: after vowels the underlying liquid surfaces, after labials *l→p*, after alveolars the *l→t*, and after velars the *l→k*.

While the postpositions generally occur as bound forms, attached to the final constituent of the respective clause or noun phrase, occasionally they surface as free forms. This is common after names, as in (88).

(88) *klistal* **lit** *taamtaam* *mik* *wiwangang,* *longaamot.*
    [klistal lit] {taamtaam mik wi-wang=nang} lo-ngaa-mot
    PN COM women bathe bathe-PRS:23PL=LOC go.up-NP-1DU
    'I went up with Crystal to where the women were bathing.' [skc09_10]

The case postpositions are described more fully in Chapter 16. Note that MM has other enclitics (the dubitative and disjunctive markers). However, these do not have the same morpho-syntactic behavior. They are considered particles.

13.8   Interjections

Ma Manda has a number of small words which classify as interjections. These are described and illustrated in turn below.

The form *aa* means 'nevermind'. Speakers use it before replacing a noun phrase or clause with a correction, as shown below.

(89) *sindamang* *nanak,* *aa,* *maaulak* *nanak* *ban,*
    [sindamang nanak] aa [maaulak nanak ban]
    PN child nevermind PN child a
    '…a Sindamang kid, I mean, a Maaulak kid,…' [skc09_18]

The interjection *metau* means 'wait a second!'. It is used to tell the addressee to wait for the speaker to perform the anticipated action. Another colloquial translation would be 'hold on a minute'. It has a unique phonotactic sequence, and ends with a glottal stop. The first part—*met*—is an adverb meaning 'later'.

The words *eng* 'yes' and *dom* 'no' are used as interjectory one-word answers to polar questions, and sometimes to introduce clauses. The verb *ta-* 'do', which has a number of functions as a clausal coordinator, also functions as an interjective positive response, somewhat stronger than *eng*.

The interjection *aai* is used to garner attention from potential addressees. It is often heard in calls at distance, as well as for urgent demands, as shown below.

(90) **aai***!* *gak* *ip* *wa* *talaambe!*
    aai gak [ip wa] talaam-be
    hey! 2SG bird that shoot-IRR.SG
    'Hey! You shoot that bird!' [DN01.119.16]

The adverb *mo* 'already' is used as an interjection to mean 'that's enough' or 'stop'. For example, it would be used to indicate when the addressee should stop filling the speaker's plate with food.

The interjection *oo* is used when a speaker is about to initiate a leave-taking statement. It carried a semantic overtone of endearment.

(91) *oo,   atta   kuwe.*
    oo   at-ta   ku-be
    okay   be-SS   go-IRR.SG
    'Okay, get on your way.' [DN04.37.03]

Oo is also used a marker of lament:

(92) *mo   naandûgok,   **oo**   manggat   wa,*
    mo   naandû-go-k   oo   [manggat   wa]
    already   know-RP-3SG   oh   demon   that

    taamûng   nanaksû   yalûnang   membû   kûtlû   tukungak.
    [taamûng   nanak-sû   ya=lûnang   membû   kûtlû]   tuku-nga-k
    woman   child-23NSG.POSS this=GEN   head   bone   take.SG-NP-3SG
    'So he realized, Ohh the demon, it took their daughter's head.' [skc12_04]

The interjection *o* is occasionally used by some speakers as a pause filler, somewhat like 'um' in English.

The lengthened expressive *iii* is often heard, especially by women, in the expression of excitement, enjoyment, and humor. It is often cried out by multiple people in unison.

The word *wanak* is used as a sort of honorific, but only in prayers. It seems to function like an interjection, with pause breaks before and after it. Examples are provided in §20.5.

13.9   Negator

The negator *dom* is unique in Ma Manda. Negation is a fruitful area of research for the MM language, but it largely falls outside the scope of the present work. Here I illustrate the primary syntactic functions of the word.

First, as described above, it is used as an interjection in response to polar questions. Perhaps its most basic function is to negate a clause, as in (93). In this function it always directly precedes the predicate.

(93) ***dom**   gutntaam!*
    dom   g-ut-ntaa-m
    NEG   2SG.O-hit-FUT-1PL
    'We won't hurt you!' [skc12_15]

Interestingly, sometimes the negation has scope over previous clauses. For example, below the negator has scope over the entire habitual sentence except for the non-finite subordinate clause at the beginning.

(94)   *na   kaamûng   gelûm   nengka   kum   **dom**   flaasûgûngang.*
         na   kaam-ng   gelûm   ne-ka   kum   dom   flaasû-gû-ng-nang
         man   die-DS   hole   dig-SS   down.DIST NEG   cover-RP-23PL-HAB
         'When a man (would) die they would not dig a hole and bury him.' [skc12_02]

The negator is also used to negate adverbs. Since it occurs between an adverb and verb, more research is needed to determine whether this is clausal negation, or whether only the adverb is being negated.

(95)   *kaalinggût   **dom**   naandûlat.*
         kaalin-gût   dom   naandû-la-t
         good-RSTR   NEG   know-PRS-1SG
         'I don't understand.' [skc12_16]

(96)   *manda   daam   sangaanggût **dom**   taakata   monggûng.*
         [manda   daam] sangaanggût dom   taa-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
         talk   blare   quietly   NEG   say-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
         'Talking noisily (lit. 'not quietly') [the demons] went down.' [skc12_16]

Below, it negates the adjective *sûnûk* 'real, very'. More research is needed in order to determine whether it is functioning like an adverb here, or whether this is an idiomatic expression.

(97)   *nantaang   bantû   bagonengka **dom**   sûnûk   naandûka*
         [na=taang   ban=lû] bagone-ka   [dom   sûnûk] naandû-ka
         man=elderly a=NOM   sick-SS   NEG   well   feel-SS

         tamek   ban   sakoka   kagang   monggok.
         [tamek   ban]   sako-ka   kagang   mo-go-k
         bed   a   hold.3SG-SS village   go.down-RP-3SG
         'An old man was sick and felt unwell and (so) he grabbed a bed and went outside.'
         [skc11_02e]

The negator also frequently occurs in the predicate slot, as a non-verbal negation. This is shown in (98), and also with a locative clause in (99) and coordinated possessive clauses in (100).

(98)   *wadûng   **dom**.*
         wa-dûng   dom
         that-ADV   NEG
         'Not like that.' [DN02.223.04]

(99) *mi   kaapmûnggem   **dom**,   walataka...*
     mi   kaapmûnggem   dom   walataka
     water   near   NEG   therefore
     'The water was not nearby, therefore…' [skc12_04]

(100) *nantaam   mensit   **dom**   daausit   **dom***
      nataam   men-sit   dom   daau-sit   dom
      people   mouth-23PL.POSS:COM NEG   eye-23PL.POSS:COM NEG
      'The people did not have mouths or eyes.' [skc11_16]

The negator may also negate desiderative constructions, producing frustratives. Here the negator occurs after the light verb *ta-* 'do' (see §26.1.1).

(101) *fatnaang   bantû   mi   yaampa   namboko   lowekka*
      [fatnaang   ban=lû]   mi   yaam-pa   {namboko   lo-be-k=la}
      white   a=NOM   water   cross-SS   other.side go.up-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN

      *tagok   **dom**   milû   taalegok.*
      ta-go-k   dom   mi=lû   taale-go-k
      do-RP-3SG   NEG   water=NOM   pull-RP-3SG
      'A white (man) crossed the river and tried to go up the other side but the water pulled him.' [skc11_09a]

Predicative negation is produced by following the negator with the light verb *ta-* 'do'. This can be used to mean 'instead' as in (102), or to indicate inability when co-occurring with the potential modality, as in (103).

(102) *glompa   bemaangkongka   dogûmotnang   uledem*
      {glom-pa   be-maa-kong-ka   do-gû-mot=nang}   ule-de-m
      chop-SS   put-CMPL-TERM-SS   sleep-RP-1DU=LOC   break-IRR.DU-1NSG

      *tagûmot.   **dom   tang**   yabaaka   bagûmot.*
      ta-gû-mot   dom   ta-ng   yabaa-ka   ba-gû-mot
      do-RP-1DU   NEG   do-DS   leave.NSG-SS   come-RP-1DU
      'When we (DU) (had) chopped [planks] and finished putting them all and slept, we were about to break them. Instead (lit. 'no and'), we left them and came.' [skc09_35]

(103) *tang   sowek   filaantok   **dom   tang**   nûnggok...*
      ta-ng   sowek   {filaang=lok} dom   ta-ng   nû-go-k
      do-DS   cassowary   fly=POT   NEG   do-DS   tell-RP-3SG
      'And the cassowary was unable to fly and [the *gisim* bird] told it…' [skc12_12]

When noun phrases are coordinated with the dubitative enclitic, the negator can occur between the conjoined constituents. This produces an 'either…or' emphatic disjunction effect.

(104) *klistal   gak   **kaadûppa**   dom   **kaaudawa**   sakoka*
      klistal   gak   kaadûp=wa   dom   kaauda=wa   sako-ka
      PN   2SG   wood=DUB   NEG   stone=DUB   hold.3SG-SS

laayantok   mûmbe.
laayan=lok   m-be
PN=DAT   give-IRR.SG
'Crystal you grab a piece of wood or otherwise a stone and give it to Ryan.'
[DN03.277.12]

Morphologically, the negator can take the dubitative enclitic, as in (105). Here, the bilabial nasal is typically elided, the two being used frequently enough to exhibit some fusion.

(105) ***dopa***   *kaang?*
dom:wa   ka-a-ng
NEG:DUB   see-PRS-2SG
'You don't see it?' [skc11_11b]

The negator may also be marked with the restrictive suffix *-gût*. Here it intensifies the negation, carrying durative meaning: 'still not':

(106) ***domgût***   *laabûng*   *kaka*   *kekng*   *taagok...*
{{dom-gût   laab-ng}}   ka-ka   kekng   taa-go-k
NEG-RSTR   come.up-DS   see.3SG-SS   call   say-RP-3SG
'(He$_i$) saw (he$_j$) still hadn't come up so he$_i$ called out…' [skc12_11]

13.10   Particles

In this section I briefly describe a few particles which do not fit neatly into another word class.

The associative plural particle *kadek* and the associative dual particle *kaang* are described in Chapter 17.

The particle *usûk* only occurs in second person present tense clauses, and marks rhetorical questions. It is described in §28.2.4, but illustrated once below.

(107) ***usûk***   *kaang?*
usûk   ka-a-ng
RHET   see-PRS-2SG
'You see it? (I know you do).'

The particle *maan* means 'lest'. However, since complex clauses are largely outside the scope of this work, and due to the infrequency of the word, I do not offer further comment.

(108) **maan**   *mambek*   *taaka*
     {{maan   ma-be-k}}   taa-ka
     lest   fall.down-IRR.SG-3SG   say-SS

     nalû   *gaalû gaalû*   *tang*   *monggok.*
     na=lû   gaalû~gaalû   ta-ng   mo-go-k
     man=NOM   be.against~be.against   do-DS   go.down-RP-3SG
     'To keep him from falling the men huddled around him and he went down.' (lit.
     '"Lest he falls" they said and the men huddling around (DS) (he) went down.')
     [skc12_16]

(109) *naandûgok,*   *tagû*   *yak,*   *ta*   *tûtaak*   *wa,*
     naandû-go-k   {{ta-gû   {yak   ta   tû-taa-k   wa}
     think-RP-3SG   do-DUR   bilum get.SG put.SG-FUT-3SG that

     u   *bûkngaan*   **maan**   *tamangka...*
     udu   bûkngaan   maan   tamang-ka}}
     that.ANA   neck   lest   loosen-SS
     'He thought, "Doing it, when she puts on the bilum, lest her neck comes loose…' "
     [skc12_04]

Finally, the particle =*wa* marks the dubitative modality, producing doubt about whatever constituent is marked. It also serves as a disjunctive conjunction along with =*wek*, as described in Chapter 18. The dubitative marker =*wa* also marks polar interrogative clauses, as described in §28.2.2.

PART IV: NOUN PHRASE

Part IV is concerned with the noun phrase. I begin with a discussion of noun phrase structure in Chapter 14. Next in Chapter 15 I turn to possession, discussing the genitive enclitic and possessive suffixes. In Chapter 16 I address the form and structure of case-marking postpositions, and the grammatical relations which they mark. In Chapter 17 I discuss number, focusing on associative plural and dual constructions, as well as inclusory constructions. Finally, I discuss noun phrase coordination in Chapter 18.

14 Noun phrase structure

Topical noun phrases tend to be omitted in Ma Manda. When a number of participants are part of the discourse context, pronouns and demonstratives generally serve to differentiate them. When new topics are introduced, a full noun phrase is utilized. Thus, very rarely are complex noun phrases used within narrative discourse. It is more common to hear adjectives and quantifers in brief dialogues and commands. This section aims to provide a description of the slots within the noun phrase. However, due to the scarcity of long noun phrases within the corpus, much has to be left for future research.

When new topics are introduced, this is generally done so with the least amount of vocabulary needed. That is, a simple noun is most likely to be used. Preceding that noun, other nouns may occur. Since many nouns have a fairly broad semantic range, modifying nouns are used to narrow down the semantics. For example, *nanaa*, the third person possessive form of 'child, son' has several meanings. After 'hand', it means 'finger'; after 'bow' it means 'arrow', and by itself it means 'child' or 'son'.

(1)   *kelû*   ***nanaa***   *taba* **nanaa**   **nanaksû**
        kelû   nanaa   taba   nanaa   nanak-sû
        hand.3SG.POSS child.3SG.POSS   bow   child.3SG.POSS   child-23NSG.POSS
        'finger' [DN01.45.35]   'arrow' [DN01.79.64]   'their children' [DN02.173.38]

These noun-noun structures are possessive constructions, where the head noun is possessed by its neighbor to the left. Further embeddings can take place, as shown below. Here it is the leftmost noun which is possessed by the unexpressed topical participant. In turn, it possesses its rightward neighbor, and this second word possesses the final noun.

(2)   *kelû*   *nanaa*   *skulaa*
        kelû   nanaa   skulaa
        hand.3SG.POSS   child.3SG.POSS   joint.3SG.POSS
        '(his) knuckle' (lit. 'hand's child's knuckle')

Other nouns are simply phrasal lexemes. In the following example, *daai* mean 'eye' has lost this meaning. The species of fly was given this name due to its large eyes, but nonetheless this does not comprise a possessive NP.

(3)   *daai*   *sûglen*
        eye   strong
        'fly sp.'

Other examples include: *mi kankan* 'water species' (lit. 'water insect'), *gi gufut* 'storm' (lit. 'rain wind'), *tagat sang* 'outhouse' (lit. 'faeces fence'), *bagone yot* 'clinic' (lit. 'sick house'), *bubuk gamat* 'ground snake' (lit. 'mud snake'), *bot yot* 'gathering house' (lit. 'group house'), *galang kagat* 'field' (lit. 'play place'), *go daai* 'watch' (lit. 'sun eye'), *amdaa daai* 'face' (lit. 'nose eye'), *takasep manda* 'rule, law' (lit. 'closed talk'), *tagaalû batekût* 'marsupial sp.' (lit. 'stomach yam.sp'), *emak bagone* 'menstruation' (lit. 'moon sick'), *kap nunum* 'worship' (lit. 'song/dance prayer') and *aniyan tamelû* 'scallion' (lit. 'onion leaf').

Many of these are transparent compounds. Other compounds involve a member which is absent from the synchronic lexicon, including *fabam sobusobu* 'Streak-headed Mannikin (finch)' (lit. 'cane.grass.sp ???'), *geng tutu* 'kiss' (lit. 'jaw ???'), and *sap men dlap* 'dog tooth ornament' (lit. 'dog mouth ???'). In all cases these compounds behave like single units. For example, only the right word of these compounds is marked with possessive or case morphology.

Below the locational noun *kapmalang* 'underneath' is the NP head, modified by the demonstrative. It is also possessed by the compound *sabe yot* 'house boy' (lit. 'youth house').

(4) *baka*   *sabe*   *yot*   **kapmalang**   *wa*   *agûng.*
     ba-ka   [sabe   yot   kapmalang   wa]   at-gû-ng
     come-SS   youth   house   underneath   that   be-RP-23PL
     'They came underneath the house boy.' [skc11_09c]

Modifiers come after the head noun—which can be composed of up to three separate phonological words. One of the criteria which differentiates the modifying word classes is their strict placement within the noun phrase. The order is as follows: adjective, numeral, quantifier, and then demonstrative.

The associative plural and dual particles immediately follow nouns, but precede demonstratives. They do not occur with other modification in the corpus, and therefore it is unknown whether they precede or follow adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers.

(5) *sip*   *kapapewaan*   **kadek**   *walû...*
     [sip   ka-pape-baan   kadek   wa=lû]
     ship   see.3SG-well-NMLZ   group   that=NOM
     'The ship crew…' (lit. 'The ship-look-after ones') [skc12_14]

When present, adjectives immediately follow the noun. No natural examples in the corpus show multiple adjectives co-occurring.

(6) *yalû,   mi   **kusamba**   kum   mongkadopmûngka,*
    ya=lû   [mi   kusamba]   kum   mo-kadopm-ka
    this=ABL   water   big   down.DIST   go.down-arrive-SS
    'From here we went down to the big river…' [skc09_29]

When present, numerals follow adjectives. When numerals co-occur, they function as single constituents (e.g. *yaalû~yaalû* 'four' (lit. 'two~two')).

(7) *notnaye   saakûm saakûm   **yaalû**,   enaanggûtta,*
    [not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
    brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
    'I got my two little sisters…' [skc09_10]

Next, quantifiers follow numerals.

(8) *kep   nak   ip   nûnggût   **ban**   talaamgot.*
    kep   nak   [ip   nûnggût   ban]   talaam-go-t
    yesterday   1SG   bird   one   a   shoot-RP-1SG
    'Yesterday I shot a single bird.' [DN01.115.04]

Demonstratives, when present, are always the last constituent of the noun phrase.

(9) *molû   ban   **wa**   naambe.*
    [molû   ban   wa]   naa-m-be
    citrus   a   that   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
    'Give me one of those oranges.' [DN04.043.02]

Number is generally covert on nouns, though possessed nouns may take the non-singular affix -*ye*, and some human and plant nouns have irregular plural forms. The verb conveys number through bound pronominal agreement for both subject and object. However, when a plural noun is modified by an adjective, then the adjective may be reduplicated in order to express explicit non-singular number. This is illustrated in (7) above.

Two words may be used to adverbially modify adjectives. The adjective *sûnûk* 'real' can follow an adjective to produce an adjectival phrase, here meaning 'very'. In this instance, explicit number is expressed by its reduplication, rather than reduplicating the adjective it modifies. Thus, the principle is that the right-most adjective within the noun phrase is reduplicated for number.

(10) *kaadûp   saakûm   **sûnûk sûnûk***
     [kaadûp   saakûm   sûnûk~sûnûk]
     tree   small   real~real
     'very small trees'

The adverb *kaa* 'somewhat' may precede an adjective to mean 'somewhat'. It is not reduplicated in plural noun phrases, however.

(11) *tangaan* **kaa** *kusang kusang* *waga*
[tangaan   kaa   kusang~kusang   wa=ga]
branch   somewhat   big~big   that=INST

kaadûp *membûnang* *klonggût* *beka,*
[kaadûp   membû=nang]   klong-gût   be-ka
tree   base=LOC   stand-RSTR   put.NSG-SS
'They stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree…' [skc09_17]

Any modifier can function as head of the noun phrase. In this case, no members to its left on the NP template may co-occur. For example, when a quantifier is head of an NP, no possessor NPs, nouns, or adjectives may precede it.

(12) *gulat* *kansûlong* **fentagût** *naandûmaandem.*
[gulat   kan=slong]   fentagût   naandû-maa-de-m
year   up.PROX=LOC   all   know-CMPL-IRR.DU-1NSG
'Next year we will know it all.' [DN03.279.04]

Pronouns can function as head of the noun phrase. They may be modified by adjectives, numerals, or quantifiers, though in the corpus multiple modifiers never occur with pronouns. Nouns may also modify pronouns, occurring before them.

(13) *sûdû* **fentagût** *kapa* *kuntaangka.*
[sûdû   fentagût]   kapa   ku-ntaa-ng=wa
2NSG   all   worship   go-FUT-23PL=DUB
'Will you all go to worship?' [DN02.177.04]

(14) **na** *nûnûng* *palak* *tûwaam…*
[na   nûnûng]   palak   tû-waa-m
man   1PL.EMPH   bridge   put.SG-PRS-1PL
'We men are putting a bridge…' [skc12_06]

Only the last member of the noun phrase may be marked with case, establishing the grammatical relation of the noun phrase as a whole. (Grammatical relations described in the next section.) The only exception to this is the locative case, which does not mark any constituents to the right of the adjective.

(15) *emak* *ban* **kansûlong** *laai* *kuwet.*
[emak   ban   kan=**slong**]   laai   ku-be-t
moon   a   up.PROX=ALL   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG
'Next month I will go to Lae.' [DN01.65.08]

(16) *kadet* **ginggemang** **wa** *mong*
[kadet   ginggem=nang   wa]   mo-ng
road   small.space=LOC   that   go.down-DS

kaadûp   *tangaan*   *wa*   *sakoka...*
[kaadûp   tangaan   wa]   sako-ka
tree   branch   that   hold.3SG-SS
'At that little piece of road (where) they are going down, I will grab that tree branch and…' [skc12_16]

Nouns marked with the locative case may be reduplicated for a distributive meaning.

(17) **kayongsûnang kayongsûnang**   *ya*   *bakungûlû...*
[kayong-sû=nang~kayong-sû=nang   ya   ba-ku-ng-lû
leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC~leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC   this   come-go-DS-23
'[The water] was passing by all around their feet…' [skc12_13]

The following example represents what I believe to be the longest noun phrase in the natural speech corpus. It consists of a head noun *kûtlû* 'bone' which is preceded by a possessor NP *membû* 'head'. This together means 'head' or 'skull'. Next, a further possessor noun phrase precedes it. This possessor noun phrase is composed of a head noun *nanak* 'child', which is modified by *taamûng* 'woman' to mean 'female child'. This possessor NP is then modified by a demonstrative *ya* 'this', which is marked with the genitive enclitic. The entire five-word NP (six grammatical words) is the object of the verb *tuku-* 'take.SG'.

(18) *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *yalûnang*   *membû*   *kûtlû*   *tukungak.*
[[taamûng   nanak-sû   ya=lûnang]   [membû   kûtlû]]   tuku-nga-k
woman   child-23NSG.POSS   this=GEN   head   bone   take.SG-NP-3SG
'It took their daughter's head.' [skc12_04]

Also note that relative clause constructions are somewhat frequent in the corpus. Below, a relative clause occurs in the possessor slot. As is typical of embedded clauses, it is marked with a case-marked demonstrative, here the genitive. The head of the entire noun phrase is *kûtlû* 'bone', which is the object of the clause.

(19) *notsû*   *kaamgok*   *wasûnang*   **kûtlû**   *wa*
[{not-sû   kaam-go-k   wa-s=nang}   [kûtlû   wa]
brother-23NSG.POSS   die-RP-3SG   that-LK=GEN   bone   that

kûndatta   *isopmûngka*   *maakugûng.*
kûndat-ta   isopm-ka   maa=ku-gû-ng
dig.out-SS   hold.NSG-SS   wholly=go-RP-23PL
'They dug out the bones of their brother who died and went back.' [skc12_15]

The structure of the NP is illustrated below:

-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
NP_{POSS} Noun_{MOD}	Noun_{HEAD} Pronoun	Adjective Group PL	Numeral	Quantifier	Demonstrative

One matter that requires more research is that, occasionally, possessor NPs can follow the possessed noun. It appears that this occurs when the possessor NP consists of more than one constituent. It is also possible, however, that the NP can be parsed differently. More examples are needed in order to determine the underlying structure.

(20) *beng   sambami   mengkûnang   ban   gaalûka...*
      [beng   [sambami   meng=lûnang]   ban]   gaalû-ka
      pandanus   PN   mother=GEN   a   steal-SS
      'I stole (one of) Sambami's mother's pandanus and…' [skc09_21]

15 Possession

Ma Manda utilizes two possessive strategies, often used in unison. The genitive enclitic marks a noun phrase in the role of possessor, while possessed nouns may be marked with bound pronominal suffixes identifying the possessor. These two patterns are described throughout Chapter 8, but here I address the formal characteristics of these morphemes. I begin with the genitive in §15.1, and then turn to the possessive paradigm in §15.2.

15.1   Genitive enclitic

The genitive enclitic has unique morpho-phonological and syntactic properties. Its form is addressed in §15.1.1, its syntax in §15.1.2, and its functions in §15.1.3.

15.1.1   Form

The genitive enclitic is somewhat unique in its form, varying between =*nang* and =*lûnang* depending on the environment. After vowels, the shorter =*nang* surfaces. This includes epenthetic vowels which are inserted word-finally after voiced stops. After consonants, the longer =*lûnang* form surfaces. However, the liquid fortifies to a voiceless stop and assimilates to the place of articilation of the preceding consonant (just like the other postpositions; see §16.1).

(1)   ***aanutunang***   *o*   *sakoka*   *wa*   *bagûng*   *wa.*
    [aanutu=nang   wo]   sako-ka   wa   ba-gû-ng   wa
    God=GEN   name.3SG.POSS   hold.3SG-SS   there   come-RP-23PL   that
    'They brought God's name there.' [skc12_01]

(2)   ***malompûnang***   *kûlakûlen*   *got*   *alûtaak.*
    [malom=lûnang   klaklen]   got   at-taa-k
    lord=GEN   peace   2SG:COM   be-FUT-3SG
    'The Lord's peace be with you.' [DN02.225.06]

The formal distribution is displayed below.

TABLE 15.1: FORMS OF GENITIVE ENCLITIC

underlying form	V __	p, m __	t, n __	k, ng __	b, d, g, l __
lûnang	*nang*	*pûnang*	*tûnang*	*kûnang*	*ûnang*

The genitive is therefore identical with the locative enclitic =*nang* when occurring post-vocalically. However, semantically the types of nouns which occur as possessors are

seldom the types which occur as locations. Syntactically, the genitive requires the addition of the possessed NP and the locative does not license a further NP. Below even the full sequence *lûnang* appears together, but crucially the liquid belongs to the noun, and not the postposition:

(3) *yokep   ta   kabot   kapmaalûnang   tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   kapmaalû=nang]   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   bottom=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Get the tongs and put it under the pot.' (lit. 'at the pot's bottom') [DN04.57.10]

It is only after demonstratives where confusion sometimes arises. This is due to the fact that the genitive-marked demonstratives can occur on their own as possessive NPs, meaning 'theirs'. In this way, the demonstratives behave just like their genitive pronominal counterparts.

(4) *baasûng   taka   bewaagûngang   walok   walûnang.*
     baasûng   ta-ka   be-waa-gû-ng-nang   wa=lok   wa=lûnang
     bed   do-SS   put.NSG-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   that=DAT   that=GEN
     'They would make beds and put theirs for them.' [skc12_02]

(5) *nûndûnang   igamûngga,   laabisap,*
     nûndûnang   idi=gamû=ga   laabisap
     1NSG:GEN   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)=INST PN

     tûmang   ba   laabisap   yot   manggok.
     tûmang   ba   laabisap   yot   mang-go-k
     first   come   PN   house   erect-RP-3SG
     'Since ours came to Rabisap first, he erected a house in Rabisap.' [skc12_01]

As addressed in §20.2, demonstratives often include a linking *s* segment before postpositional enclitics. This produces genitive demonstratives of the form *wasûlûnang* and *wasûnang*, due to phonological behavior.

The post-vocalic *=lûnang* form appears to be a combination of the nominative *=lû* and genitive postpositions. However, whatever the historical source, synchronically *=lûnang* is not related at all. This is shown by the fact that object possessors still allow the form. The nominative case-marker is absolutely restricted from marking objects.

(6) *manggat   wa,   taamûng   nanaksû   yalûnang*
     [manggat   wa]   [taamûng   nanak-sû   ya=lûnang
     demon   that   woman   child-23NSG.POSS this=GEN

     membû   kûtlû   tukungak.
     membû   kûtlû]   tuku-nga-k
     head.3SG.POSS bone.3SG.POSS   take.SG-NP-3SG
     'The demon took their daughter's head.' [skc12_04]

212

In fact, the morpheme appears to be in the process of being reduced. Since the high central vowel *û* is being reanalyzed as an epenthetic vowel, some speakers are beginning to leave it out. In this environment, it causes the liquid to fortify to a voiceless stop before the nasal:

(7) *maanûnggat* **watnang** *taangaam...*
    [maanûnggat wa=tnang] taa-ngaa-m
    something that=GEN say-NP-1PL
    'Whichever things we talked about…' [skc12_02]

15.1.2 Syntax

The genitive enclitic behaves just like other postpositions by attaching to the final element of the noun phrase. This means that it follows modifiers, and occurs at the end of the last conjoined NP.

(8) *nantaang* **bantûnang** *ulak*
    [na=taang ban=lûnang] ulak
    man=elderly a=GEN story
    'a story about an elderly man'

(9) *yagusuwa* *kaang* **kobûsenang** *ulaksek* *wadûng.*
    [yagusuwa kaang kobûse=nang ulak-sek] wa-dûng
    wild.fowl.sp two chicken=GEN story-23DU.POSS that-ADV
    'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

The enclitic may follow deverbal nominalizations as well:

(10) *goin* **yaabaa yaabaanang** *sûmbang* *tawanggûm.*
    [goin yaabaa~yaabaa=nang sûmbang] tawang-gû-m
    sin leave.NSG~leave-NSG=GEN liturgy follow-RP-1PL
    'We followed the liturgy of repentance.' (lit. 'We followed the sins-leaving's liturgy') [skc11_03b]

Occasionally the genitive enclitic occurs on nouns also marked with possessive suffixes:

(11) **sabenanang** *taamin* *nanak* *taamûng* *naanggûlek.*
    [sabe-na=nang taamin] [nanak taamûng] naangût-e-k
    brother-1SG.POSS=GEN wife.3SG.POSS child woman get-IRR.SG-3SG
    'My brother's wife will deliver a little girl.' [DN03.297.17]

Genitive-marked demonstratives also combine clauses; this discussion is reserved for the next section.

15.1.3 Functions

Genitive constructions are used most prototypically with alienably possessed nouns. When the possessor of an alienable noun is overtly expressed, that possessor must be marked with the genitive clitic.

(12) ***mitinang***   *tata*   *wa*   *tawangka...*
     [miti=nang   tata   wa]   tawang-ka
     Gospel=GEN   custom   that   follow-SS
     'We follow the the Gospel's customs…' [skc12_02]

(13) ***laayantûnang***   *yot*
     [laayan=lûnang   yot]
     PN=GEN   house
     'Ryan's house' [DN02.173.33]

However, the genitive also frequently marks the possessors of inalienable nouns as well. This occurs for two reasons. First of all, speakers may express emphatic possession in this way. This makes very explicit the possessive relationship between NPs.

(14) ***yesunang***   ***wo***   *sakoka*   *saanûlat…*
     [yesu=nang   wo]   sako-ka   saa-nû-la-t
     Jesus=GEN   name.3SG.POSS   hold.3SG-SS   2NSG.O-tell-PRS-1SG
     'I take the name of Jesus and ask you…' [skc12_06]

(15) ***nûndûnang***   ***daaminekye***   *wa,*
     {{[nûndûnang   daamin-nek-ye   wa]
     1NSG:GEN   ancestor-1NSG.POSS-NSG   that

     dûdû   *atta*   *bakugûng*   *taawangang.*
     dûdû   at-ta   ba-ku-gû-ng}}   taa-wa-ng-nang
     how   be-SS   come-go-RP-23PL   say-PRS-23PL-HAB
     '"…how our own ancestors went this way," they say.' [skc12_01]

The second, more common, reason for the genitive to precede inalienable nouns is shown below. The longer the possessor NP, the more likely it is to bear the genitive enclitic. The postposition serves to demarcate the NPs, making the structural relationship clear to addressees. When a possessor NP is followed by a modifier of any kind, then it is always marked with the genitive.

(16) *manggat*   *wa*   ***taamûng***   ***nanak***   ***yalûnang***   *membû*
     [manggat   wa]   [taamûng   nanak   ya=lûnang   membû
     demon   that   female   child   this=GEN   head

     kudaalû   *mo*   *dobûka*   *tukungak.*
     kudaalû]   mo   dob-ka   tuku-nga-k
     bone.3SG.POSS   already   cut-SS   take.SG-NP-3SG
     'The demon cut off this girl's head and took it away.' [skc12_04]

Semantically, the possessive relationship expressed with the genitive can be either permanent (13) or temporary possession (14).

The genitive is also used as an actual case, marking the ablative grammatical relation. Typically this is expressed with *=lû* (§16.3), however.

(17) *yak   pempangkûnang   blaambe.*
      yak   pempang=lûnang   blaam-be
      bilum   shoulder=GEN   shoulder.carry-IRR.SG
      'Carry the bilum from the shoulder.' [DN04.73.45]

In addition to temporary and permanent possession, and ablativity, the genitive also marks an 'about' relation within the clause. This associative role can be seen with the possessive NP in (8) above. It is also the meaning expressed in its clause-combining role. When a finite verb is followed (without a pause break) by a genitive-marked demonstrative, then this marks the sentence as a theme 'about' which the next sentence addresses.

(18) *saalele   flong   kaasingang   kugûm   **wasûnang**   taabûtaat.*
      {[saalele   flong]   kaasingang   ku-gû-m   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
      Saturday   ALL   PN   go-RP-1PL   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
      'I will talk about about [when] we went to Kesengen on Saturday.' [skc09_29]

(19) *dûdû dûdû   tagot   **wasûnang**   taabûtaat.*
      {dûdû~dûdû   ta-go-t   wa-s=lûnang}   taa-b-taa-t
      how~how   do-RP-1SG   that-LK=GEN   talk-EP-FUT-1SG
      'I will talk about what I did.' [skc09_35]

15.2   Possessive suffixes

The paradigmatic relationships between suffixes, and their morphophonemic alternations, are discussed in §15.2.1. Though the functions of possessive morphology are addressed primarily with inalienable nouns in §8.1, I summarize some of these characteristics in §15.2.2. Finally, in §15.2.3 I address the contraction of the possessive paradigm with the comitative case enclitic.

15.2.1   Form

The identity of the possessor may be expressed via bound pronominal suffixes on the possessed noun. The forms of these possessive suffixes are extremely similar to the free pronouns (Chapter 19), as well as the verbal object-agreement prefixes (§21.3). The paradigm is displayed below.

TABLE 15.2: POSSESSIVE SUFFIX PARADIGM

	SG	NSG
1	*na*	*nek*
2	*ga*	*sû*
3	-	

The paradigm marks first- and second-person singular, and makes a first-/ non-first-person distinction in the non-singular forms. MM has no third-person singular possessive suffix. When a possessor precedes an alienable noun, it is required to be marked with the genitive enclitic:

(20) *laayantûnang*   *yot*
      [laayan=lûnang   yot]
      PN=GEN   house
      'Ryan's house' [DN02.173.33]

Any time a noun precedes an inalienable noun, then the required interpretation is that the noun possesses the inalienable noun:

(21) *gagamdi*   *meng*
      [gagamdi   meng]
      PN   mother
      'Gagamdi's mother' [skc09_35]

A great many inalienable nouns have irregular third-person singular forms. These then mark covert possessors through their irregular forms:

(22) *be*   *bepma*
      be   bep-na
      father.3SG.POSS   father-1SG.POSS
      '(his) father'   'my father'

The possessive paradigm is supplemented by two additional forms. First of all, the suffix *-sek* marks a non-first-person dual possessor. This form is quite rare in the corpus. Crucially, it does not change the meaning of the *-sû* suffix: it marks non-first-person non-singular possessors. When the dual number is not in focus, speakers use *-sû*. Only when the duality needs to be explicitly conveyed does the *-sek* suffix become appropriate. Its scarcity in the corpus is shown by the very few inalienable nouns which occur with dual possessive morphology—see §8.1.1 and §8.1.2 for possessive paradigms of kinship terms and body part terms, respectively.

(23) **gelûmsek**   *flong*   *mi*   *ima*   *bakuyak.*
      [gelûm-sek   flong]   [mi   idi-ma]   ba-ku-ya-k
      spot-23DU.POSS   ALL   water   this.ANA-EMPH   come-go-PRS-3SG
      'This very water was passing by their (DU) spot!' [skc12_13]

216

Additionally, the suffix *-nûng* marks emphatic possession. It is formally similar to the plural emphatic pronoun suffixes (§19.2). It also does not occur with much frequency in the corpus.

(24) *nûndû*   ***nantaamnûye***.
     nûndû   nantaam-nûng-ye
     1NSG   people-3SG.POSS.EMPH-NSG
     'We are his own peoples.' [skc11_08b]

(25) *tang*   *kaka*   *i*   *meng*   ***moknûng***
     ta-ng   ka-ka   idi   {{[meng   mok-nûng]
     do-DS   see.3SG-SS   this.ANA   mother   firstborn.female-3SG.EMPH.POSS

     fûng   *nûngka*   *idiga,*
     fû-ng}}   nû-ka   idi=ga
     come.down-DS   tell-SS   this.ANA=INST
     'And I saw his mother Mok come down and I told her…' [skc09_29]

The emphatic possessive suffix can co-occur with a genitive construction:

(26) *klistalnang*   ***nanaanûngye***
     klistal=nang   nanaa-nûng-ye
     PN=GEN   child-3SG.EMPH.POSS-NSG
     'Crystal's very own children' [DN02.221.15]

The possessive suffixes undergo certain morphophonemic alternations. These can be seen in action in the lists of kinship and body part terms in §8.1. First of all, the first-person singular (*-na*) and non-singular (*-nek*) suffixes undergo place assimilation. They also elide after nasal-final nouns. Second, the second-person singular suffix *-ga* initiates prenasalization after NV sequences, as a consequence of the nasal harmony process (§5.2.4). The velar stop also causes the elision of some noun-final voiceless stops. This process is ordered after the nasal harmony process, as seen in examples like the following. Here nasalization is blocked due to the presence of the voiceless alveolar stop, even though it never surfaces.

(27) *noga*
     not-ga
     brother-2SG.POSS
     'your brother'

Voiceless stops are also lost before the non-first-person dual (*-sek*) and non-singular (*-sû*) forms:

(28) *besû*
     bep-sû
     father-23NSG.POSS
     'their father'

The morphophonemic alternations with this paradigm are not entirely regular, however. For example, compare (28) above with the following, where the voiceless bilabial stop is retained. With certain forms, these alternations are in free variation. See Pennington (2015:197ff) for a fuller discussion of these patterns.

(29) *aapsû*
aap-sû
husband-23NSG.POSS
'their husband'

15.2.2 Functions

The prototypical function of the possessive paradigm is to pronominally mark the possessors of inalienable nouns. These matters are discussed fully in §8.1, and not repeated here. There I also address the suffix *-ye* (also surfacing in certain environments as a prefix), which is required to mark non-singular kinship nouns.

In addition to this primary use, possessive suffixes also mark alienable nouns. This includes common nouns:

(30) *yenggûlong,*   ***sidana***   *febû*   *naamûlang.*
yenggûlong   sida-na   feb   naa-m-la-ng
thank.you   sweet.potato-1SG.POSS bring.NSG   1SG.O-give-PRS-2SG
'Thank you, bringing my sweet potato you've given it to me.' [DN04.39.02]

(31) *figa*   ***daa***   *attak?*
fi-ga   daa   at-ta-k
garden-2SG.POSS   where   be-PRS-3SG
'Where is your garden?' [DN02.153.15]

They also mark human nouns:

(32) *na*   *udu,*   *nonang*   ***finana***.
na   udu   [nonang   fi=na-na]
man   that.ANA   1SG:GEN   work=man-1SG.POSS
'That man is my workman.' [DN05.31.06]

All possessed animate nouns can be overtly marked with the *-ye* non-singular suffix. With inalienable kin terms, this is required for nouns with non-singular referents. Here, the morpheme is used to make number explicit, since nouns are typically vague with respect to number. For example, the animate noun *mukuya* 'pig' is not marked with *-ye* in (35). This suffix only marks humans and domesticated animals (found only with chickens and pigs in the corpus).

(33) *nantaamgaye*
na-taam-ga-ye
man-woman-2SG.POSS-NSG
'your peoples' (speaking to God) [skc11_06c]

(34) *kobûsesûye*
kobûse-sû-ye
chicken-23NSG.POSS-NSG
'their chickens' [DN02.221.09]

(35) *nonang*   **mukuyana**   *yaalanang.*
[nonang   mukuya-na]   yaalanang
1SG:GEN   pig-1SG.POSS   three
'I have three pigs.' [DN05.31.05]

Other classes of nouns that take possessive morphology include locational nouns and deverbalized nouns. Interestingly, when locational nouns are marked with possessive morphology, they are required to bear locative case-marking. This is in contradistinction to the characteristic which sets them apart from other nouns—that they normally disallow the locative and allative cases.

(36) *nak*   **kaganganang**   *kuka*   *nanak*   *naanggûlet.*
nak   kagang-na=nang   ku-ka   nanak   naanggût-e-t.
1SG   place-1SG.POSS=LOC   go-SS   child   get-IRR.SG-1SG
'I will go to my place and deliver a child.' [DN03.297.16]

(37) **atatga**   **aaweaawenit**   *dom*   *kaat.*
{{at~at-ga   aawe~aawe-nit   dom}}   ka-a-t
be~be-2SG.POSS   finish~finish-3SG.POSS:COM   NEG   see.3SG-PRS-1SG
'I see that your presence has no end.' [skc09_26]

Possessive morphology does not mark any other parts of speech. It is a strong test for nounhood in the MM language.

(38) *walû*   *waagût*   *nak*   *taamengsla*   **finek**   **ya**
wa=lû   waagût   nak   taamengsla   {{fi-nek   ya]
that=ABL   now   1SG   morning   work-1NSG.POSS   this

yolûfeka   *tanûmpa*   *taka*
yolûfe-ka   ta-nûm=la}   ta-ka
join-SS   do-IRR.PL:1NSG=BEN   do-SS
'Now from that I plan to join this work of ours this morning…' [skc12_06]

When bound possessive morphemes mark adjectives, it is clear they are functioning as nouns. For example, *fatnaang* 'white' has taken on a related meaning referring to caucasion people:

219

(39) **fatnaangek**   *bangûlû*   *i...*
     fatnaang-nek   ba-ng-lû   idi
     white-1NSG.POSS   come-DS-23   this.ANA
     'Our white (man) came and…' [skc09_19]

15.2.3   Possessive-comitative suffixes

The comitative case-marker has contracted with possessive suffixes to form a paradigm of "possessive comitative suffixes", as displayed in Table 15.3. Note that the paradigm contains no first-person non-singular form. The third person singular and non-singular suffixes even undergo the same vowel alternation that is common with the comitative enclitic (i.e. *it→ût*).

TABLE 15.3: POSSESSIVE COMITATIVE SUFFIX PARADIGM

	SG	NSG
1	*-naat*	-
2	*-gaat*	*-sit*
3	*-nit*	

Crucially, these suffixes do not mark oblique NPs. Instead, they allow a speaker to conjoin a participant with something else within one NP. In this way, these suffixes are coordinative in function. This morphological pattern is almost identical with the *-nit* morpheme of Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:221), which is referred to as the "pertensive associative plural". Sarvasy also treats it as a contraction between possessive and comitative markers.

This is especially productive with kin terms. For example, in (40) *meng* 'mother' is marked with the comitative case enclitic. This NP can be interpreted as simplex—'her mother'—or as possessed by the proper name which precedes it—'Chloe's mother'. Both translations are expressed below.

(40) *klowi*   **mengkût**   *kuwaamok.*
     klowi   meng=lit   ku-waa-mok
     PN   mother=COM   go-PRS-23DU
     'Chloe went with her mother'
     '(He) went with Chloe's mother'

On the other hand, when the possessive-comitative suffix is used, the kin term is required to be possessed by the preceding noun. Below a separate NP is marked with the comitative case. Proof that the possessive-comitative suffix does not have the same function as the case-marker is that both can co-occur, as shown in (42). In (43) we see that the suffix can be followed by further modifiers, and even take the nominative case.

(41) **sumbua   mengût**   *doktalit*   *agang.*
   [sumbua   mengût]   dokta=lit   at-gang
   PN   mother-child   doctor=COM   be-PRS:23PL
   'Sumbua and her mom are with the doctor.' [DN05.65.08]

(42) *klowi*   **mengûttit**   *agaam.*
   [klowi   mengût=lit]   at-gaa-m
   PN   mother-child=COM   be-PRS-1PL
   '(I) am with Chloe and her mom.' [DN04.74.47]

(43) *tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   **yenûmûnit**   *yaalûlû*   *mukuya*   *moin*
   [tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [ye-nimin-nit   yaalû=lû]   [mukuya   moin]
   before-RSTR   real   NSG-cousin-3SG.POSS:COM   two=NOM   pig   wild

   dong   *bûsenang*   *kugûmok.*
   dong   bûsenang   ku-gû-mok
   search   jungle   go-RP-23DU
   'A very long time ago two cousins, searching (for) wild pigs, went to the jungle.'
   [skc11_12b]

These suffixes allow MM speakers to produce dyad constructions. Three of these are lexicalized and frequently used, and are discussed in §8.2.3.

Below I illustrate the first person singular form. The verbal agreement cross-references both members denoted by the possessive NP.

(44) *gulat*   *ban*   *flong*   **bepmaat**   *geksap*   *kugûmot.*
   [gulat   ban   flong]   bep-maat   geksap   ku-gû-mot
   year   a   ALL   father-1SG.POSS:COM   hunt   go-RP-1DU
   'One year my father and I went hunting.' [skc11_10a]

There does not appear to be a first or second non-singular form. When asked, speakers proffer examples like (45). However, this can only be analyzed as an oblique NP.

(45) *bepmekkût*
   bep-nek=lit
   father-1NSG.POSS=COM
   'with our father'

These morphemes are also used in non-verbal possessive clauses ('have' constructions), as in (46)–(47). See Chapter 27 for verbless clauses.

(46) *mukuyanaat.*
   mukuya-naat
   pig-1SG.POSS:COM
   'I have pigs.' [DN02.223.06]

(47) *nantaam*   ***mensit***   *dom*   ***daausit***   *dom*
      nataam   men-sit   dom   daau-sit   dom
      people   mouth-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG   eye-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG
      'The people did not have mouths or eyes.' [skc11_16]

Finally, note that the third person singular form *-nit* is frequently found marking post-NP head nouns. It appears that it functions as an adjectivizing suffix, and is described briefly in §9.2. For example, *kaadûp* 'wood, fire' functions adjectivally below, modifying *mi* 'water'.

(48) *talaabû*   *Saaut*   *kan*   *tûka*   *mi*   ***kaadûpmût***
      talaab   saaut   kan   tû-ka   [mi   kaadûp-nit]
      bring.up.SG   PN   up.PROX put.SG-SS   water   fire-3SG.POSS:COM

      seka   *mûng*   *topnanggok.*
      se-ka   m-ng   top=na-go-k
      cook-SS   give-DS   drink=consume-RP-3SG
      '(They) brought (him) up and put him up in Saut and boiled hot water and giving it to him, he drank it.' [skc12_15]

222

16 Grammatical relations

Ma Manda utilizes a case system to establish the grammatical relation of each noun phrase within its clause. Case is marked with postpositions which attach to only the final constituent of the marked noun phrase. The locative case is an exception, since it attaches to only the head of the marked noun phrase. The small closed class of postpositions is discussed in §13.7.

Ma Manda overtly marks grammatical relations using six case-marking postpositions: the nominative and ablative (=*lû*), dative (=*lok*), comitative (=*lit*), allative (*flong*/=*slong*), locative (=*nang*), instrumental (=*ga*), and benefactive (=*la*). The nominative case (§16.2) marks subjects, though it is optional due to the pragmatic effects of focus. In its addition to this core argument function, it is also used to mark ablative NPs (§16.3). The dative case (§16.4) marks recipient NPs. The comitative case (§16.5) marks NPs in an accompaniment relation. The allative case (§16.6) marks allative phrases (with goal and destination roles) and temporal phrases. The locative case (§16.7) primarily marks stative locations. The instrumental case (§16.8) marks oblique instrumental NPs. The benefactive case (§16.9) is a generic case used for topics ('about'), complements of sensory verbs, and beneficiaries. Objects are unmarked in Ma Manda. The genitive (§15.1) marks the 'about' relation and is not addressed here.

Many of these postpositions are utilized not only with noun phrases, but also to establish relationships between clauses.

16.1   Form and structure of case postpositions

Case postpositions are realized primarily as enclitics, attached to the final constituent of the structure (NP or clause) within their scope. The locative case is an exception, attaching to the head noun, or a modifying adjective, rather than the final NP constituent (demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers). With the exception of the allative, locative and instrumental postpositions, the others all begin with the liquid consonant. Liquids undergo a large amount of morphophonemic alternations in MM (Pennington 2015:143). When preceded by a voiceless or nasal stop, the initial *l* of each enclitic fortifies to a voiceless stop and assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding segment. After vowels the underlying forms are retained. After voiced stops epenthesis fosters the underlying forms to surface as well. The instrumental enclitic has an initial *g*, which is strong and not open to alternation in MM. The

allative postposition is a free word and therefore does not undergo this behavior. It surfaces as both =*slong* and =*long* after vowel-final demonstratives, and just =*slong* after nasal-final demonstratives. The locative enclitic =*nang* undergoes nasal assimilation to the place of the preceding consonant, and also degeminates after nasals—though sometimes the full form remains after the velar nasal. The morphophonemic distribution is illustrated below.

TABLE 16.1: MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION OF POSTPOSITIONAL ENCLITICS

grammatical relation	underlying form	V __	p, m __	t, n __	k, ng __	b, d, g, l __
NOMinative / ABLative	*lû*	*lû*	*pû*	*tû*	*kû*	*ûlû*
DATive	*lok*	*lok*	*pok*	*tok*	*kok*	*ûlok*
COMitative	*lit*	*lit*	*pût*	*tit*	*kût*	*ûlit*
BENefactive	*la*	*la*	*pa*	*ta*	*ka*	*ûla*
INSTrumental	*ga*	*ga*	*ga*	*ga*	*ga*	*ûga*
LOCative	*nang*	*nang*	*(m)ang*	*(n)ang*	*ngang / (n)ang*	*ûnang*
ALLative	*flong / slong*	*flong / (s)long*	*flong / slong*	*flong / slong*	*flong / slong*	*flong*

The case markers generally cliticize to the final word of the noun phrase, as illustrated in (1). However, speakers do sometimes insert a pause break before a postposition. This is particularly likely after names, as in (2).

(1)   *ukalampa   men   get   kusamba*   **kamslong**   *yangattat.*
       [ukalampa   men   get   kusamba   kam=slong]   ya=ngat-ta-t
       PN   main   gate   big   down.PROX=ALL   here=be-PRS-1SG
       'I am here at Ukarumpa's big main gate below.' [skc09_38]

(2)   *nuka*   **lû**   *nûnggok,   eng.   uma   wa!*
       [nuka   lû]   nû-go-k   {{eng   udu-ma   wa}}
       PN   NOM   tell-RP-3SG   yes   that.ANA-EMPH   that
       'Nuka told him, "Yes. That's it!"' [skc11_09c]

The locative marker =*nang* is unique since it attaches only to the head noun or modifying adjective.

(3)   *mukuya   yodûka   fangang*   **kadetnang**   *ya   kungaam...*
       mukuya   yodû-ka   [fangang   kadet=nang   ya]   ku-ngaa-m
       pig   search.for-SS   PN   road=LOC   this   go-NP-1PL
       'We searched for pigs and went along the Fangang road.' [skc09_10]

(4)   *kadet*   **kusambanang**   *tawangka   fem   taaka   taka   kugûmot.*
       [kadet   kusamba=nang]   tawang-ka   fem   taa-ka   ta-ka   ku-gû-mot
       road   big=LOC   follow-SS   whistle   say-SS   do-SS   go-RP-1DU
       'We followed the big road and each whistled as we went.' [skc09_02]

It follows possessive morphology:

(5) *taamtaam*   *nûndû,*   **mandesûnang**   *yawangka…*
[taamtaam   nûndû]   mande-sû=nang   y-tawang-ka
women   1NSG   back-23NSG.POSS=LOC   3NSG.O-leave-SS
'We women followed behind them…' (lit. 'followed them at their backs') [skc09_29]

The postpositions are also frequently used to combine clauses. The semantics of the case-markers then apply to the clause as a whole. For example, below the first clause is marked with the allative enclitic *=(s)long*, and therefore establishes the temporal setting during which the subsequent clause applies.

(6) *bûsenang*   *kuwaam*   **walong**   *manggat manggat*   *den*
{bûsenang   ku-waa-m   wa=long}   [manggat~manggat   den]
jungle   go-PRS-1PL   that=ALL   thing~thing   some

tûngka   *flong*   *taawaamang.*
[tûngka   flong]   taa-waa-m-nang
metaphor   ALL   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
'Whenever we go into the jungle, we say some things in metaphor.' [skc12_04]

Ma Manda has separate pronominal forms for a majority of the grammatical relations. Only the nominative case is unmarked on pronouns. These issues are addressed in Chapter 19.

(7) **sûdot**   *wadûgût*   *alûtaak.*
sûdot   wadûgût   at-taa-k
2NSG:COM   also   be-FUT-3SG
[God be with you.] 'And also with you (NSG).' [DN03.295.12]

The following sections describe and illustrate each grammatical relation in turn.

16.2   Nominative

The primary function of the postposition *=lû* is to mark subjects, including the S argument of intransitive clauses (8) and the A argument of transitive clauses (9).

(8) **walû**   *kuwang.*
wa=lû   ku-wang
that=NOM   go-PRS:23PL
'They have left.' [DN01.025.07]

(9) **aanutulû**   *manggamanggat*   *ifûgenangkagok.*
aanutu=lû   manggat~manggat   ef-genangka-go-k
God=NOM   thing~thing   CAUS-appear-RP-3SG
'God created everything.' [skc11_12a]

However, topical noun phrases are not marked with nominative case. This is true of both S (10) and A (11) arguments.

(10) *taamin*   *welû*   *nanaa*   *kadet*   *kugûng.*

       [taamin   welû   nanaa]   kadet   ku-gû-ng

       wife.3SG.POSS   daughter.3SG.POSS   son.3SG.POSS   road   go-RP-23PL

       'His wife and children went to the garden.' [skc12_16]

(11) *kep*   *na*   *sap*   *ugok.*

       kep   na   sap   ut-go-k

       yesterday   man   dog   hit-RP-3SG

       'Yesterday the man hit a dog.' [DN01.67.15]

These patterns show that, even though the postposition marks nominative case, this is dependent upon pragmatics. In a number of Papuan languages with similar characteristics, authors have treated the marker as an optional ergative marker, with an extended semantic function in intransitive clauses. Below I summarize Pennington (2013b), providing discussion about alternative treatments of this optional case morpheme in other Papuan languages, as a backdrop to the nominative case analysis for MM.

16.2.1   Optional ergativity in Papuan languages

Several characteristics of "optional ergativity" recur in a number of Papuan languages. In most of these languages the A argument is routinely accorded ergative case. Each language seems to have idiosyncrasies with regard to the marker's obligatoriness and optionality. This variation is often said to be related to Silverstein's (1976) animacy hierarchy. In Fore (Scott 1986:169–70), for example, inanimate NPs must be marked with ergative case for them to be interpreted as agents. Conversely, the higher its animacy, the less likely it will be marked with ergative case. Non-human animates are likely to take ergative case, while human referents are disallowed from doing so. In the neighboring Erap language Numanggang, pronouns are never assigned ergative case (Hynum 2010:134). Every language has its own idiosyncratic restristrictions as to which levels on the hierarchy mandate the use or non-use of the ergative case-marker.

Optional ergative markers are often claimed to be required in atypical word order configurations, such as with fronted object arguments. McGregor (2010), in his typological survey of optional ergative languages, refers to this use of the ergative marker (i.e. when ambiguity is possible due to atypical word order configurations or due to low-animacy agents) as the "discriminative function". He points out though, that in optional-ergative languages "the ergative marker is used much more frequently than predicted by the discriminative theory, [often] used when there is no likelihood whatever of confusion of Agent and Undergoer roles" (2010:1619). The failure of the discriminatory hypothesis is seen, for

instance, when the bound pronominal agreement affixes on the verb uniquely cross-reference the two arguments. Additionally, if the ergative marker was primarily a tool for disambiguation, it would be unlikely for the speakers of so many distantly-related languages to choose to utilize it in precisely the same environments.

Some authors have pointed out that the patterns of case-marking are different depending on whether the clause in question is spoken in isolation or in a discourse context. Regarding Numanggang, Hynum (2010:138) mentions that, when an ergative enclitic marks the sole argument of an intransitive clause, in isolation the exact same sentence will be rejected as unacceptable unless the marker is removed. The identical situation is reported for Kâte (Suter 2010:436). Regarding Ku Waru, Rumsey (2010:1663) says that when typical transitive ("two-argument") clauses are elicited in isolation, "speakers almost always include the ergative marker on the subject NP. But in less self-conscious, connected speech, two-argument clauses are often found with subject NPs that are not ergatively marked." These patterns result in pragmatic explanations in the literature. In Korafe the marker is analyzed to be a mixture of a pragmatic marker indicating focus and a semantic marker indicating agency or force (Farr 1999:103).

The marker's optional usage in standard word orders is often attributed to semantics of the morpheme itself. Various specific explanations have been given in the literature, including: control in Folopa (Anderson & Wade 1988), Fore (Scott 1986:174), and Siane (Potts & James 1988:74); intent in Yongkom (Christensen 2010:9); force in Korafe (Farr 1999:103); and object-individuation in Ku Waru (Rumsey 2010). Dixon (1994:28–35) refers to these types of languages as having "semantically based [ergative] marking." He suggests that the semantic basis to the alternative marking schema is independence, self-motivation, and control of the actor.

16.2.2   Pragmatic role of nominative case in Ma Manda

As described in the introduction to this section, MM subjects—both S and A—are freely marked with =*lû*. However, as illustrated in (12), subjects are not grammatically required to bear nominative case. Topical referents—those which are already activated in the discourse, or those which are shared knowledge between speaker and addressee—do not take the enclitic. When participants are introduced, the noun phrase is often marked with a modifier, which is frequently the indefinite quantifier *ban* 'a'.

(12) *tamaangkongka*   *akngûda*   *idi,*   *sap*   **bantû**   *bagok.*
ta-maa-kong-ka   ak-ng-da   idi   [sap   ban=tû]   ba-go-k
do-CMPL-TERM-SS   be-DS-1NSG   this.ANA   dog   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
'(While) we were finishing doing it all, a dog came.' [skc09_23]

In subsequent clauses, no further noun phrases are necessary. The most highly salient NPs are dropped, since participant reference is tracked through finite verb subject-agreement suffixes, as well as non-finite switch-reference suffixes. However, once a participant has lost its salience, it may be reintroduced with a demonstrative. This demonstrative, if in subject position, will usually take the nominative enclitic.

(13) *tang*   *saaut*   *taba*   *na*   *binbin*   **walû**
ta-ng   [saaut   taba   na   bin~bin   wa=lû]
do-DS   PN   resident   man   true~true   that=NOM

baalus   *wakaagok*   *wa*   *kanengka*
{{baalus   wakaa-go-k   wa}   ka-ne-ng=la}
plane   destroy-RP-3SG   that   see.3SG-IRR.NSG-23PL=BEN

monggûng.
mo-gû-ng
go.down-RP-23PL
'And the leaders of Saut went down to see the plane that crashed.' [skc12_15]

Therefore, the nominative case is used for focused (i.e. non-topical) subjects, and for contrastive topics, as illustrated more clearly in (14). A similar relationship between a subject-marking enclitic and focus led Sarvasy to analyze the morpheme as a focus marker in the related FH language Nungon (2014d:428).

(14) *na*   **walû**   *beng*   *seng*
[na   wa=lû]   beng   se-ng
male   that=NOM   pandanus   cook-DS

nantaam   **walû**   *kûda*   *segûng.*
[nantaam   wa=lû]   kûda   se-gû-ng
people   that=NOM   greens   cook-RP-23PL
'(While) the man cooked pandanus, the people cooked greens.' [skc11_16]

In non-standard word order configurations, the subject is absolutely required to be marked with the nominative case enclitic. This is true when a topical object precedes the subject, as in (15), or when the subject is post-posed after the verb, as in (16). Note in that example that the nominative-marked NP is co-referential with the topical subject NP which precedes the verb.

(15) *sap*   **kaasûlû**   *sakolak!*   **kaasûlû**   *sakolak!*
    sap   kaas=lû   sako-la-k   kaas=lû   sako-la-k
    dog   trap=NOM   hold.3SG-PRS-3SG   trap=NOM   hold.3SG-PRS-3SG

    sowek   *kaasûlû*   *sakolak!*
    [sowek   kaas=lû]   sako-la-k
    cassowary   trap=NOM   hold.3SG-PRS-3SG
    'A trap caught the dog! A trap caught the dog! A cassowary trap caught it!' [skc09_35]

(16) *manggat*   *ban*   *bagok,*   **maasalai**   **walû**.
    [manggat   ban]   ba-go-k   [maasalai   wa=lû]
    demon   a   come-RP-3SG   spirit   that=NOM
    'A demon came, a *masalai* spirit.' [skc12_04]

In spite of the fact that =*lû* marks both S and A arguments, it does indeed occur more frequently in transitive clauses. I argue that this is a historical remnant of ergative case. When a language does not allow intransitive subjects to bear the marking, this establishes *bona fide* morphological ergativity. However, in languages like Ma Manda, where the marker has a broader range of functions, then its ergative role is in doubt. One test provides solid evidence that the marker does indeed function to mark nominative case. When interrogative words are used to question a subject, they are grammatically required to bear nominative case, as compared below:

(17) **nettû**   *baang?*
    net=lû   ba-a-ng
    who=NOM   come-PRS-2SG
    'Who are you (that) is coming?' [DN04.75.56]

(18) *****net**   *baang?*
    net   ba-a-ng
    who   come-PRS-2SG
    for: 'Who are you (that) is coming?' [DN04.75.56]

When interrogatives precede a transitive verb, the presence or absence of the case-marker changes the grammatical role of the argument:

(19) **nettû**   *kaang?*
    net=lû   ka-a-ng
    who=NOM   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
    'Who are you (that) sees him?' [DN04.75.56]

(20) **net**   *kaang?*
    net   ka-a-ng
    who   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
    'Whom do you see?' [DN04.75.56]

229

Interrogative words have inherent focus. With these words alone, nominative case is required for all subjects. Thus, when pragmatic factors are controlled, the case function becomes clear. In fact, interrogative agents only omit nominative-marking when they have indefinite reference. In the example below, *net* 'who' occurs in a declarative clause and denotes an unnamed, but specific person, who is elaborated upon (with nominative marking) in the resumptive subject slot.

(21)   ***net***   *kudu,*   *tuwa*   *be*   *kudusûlû*
         [net   kudu]   [tuwa   be   kudu-s=lû]
         who   level.DIST   first.male   father.3SG.POSS   across.DIST-LK=NOM

         bamonggok.
         ba-mo-go-k
         come-go.down-RP-3SG
         'Whoever there, that father of Tuwa's there came and went down.' [skc09_34]

Much of this discussion has revolved around the contrasting pragmatic domains of topic and focus. Certain examples in the corpus quite clearly show the topic constituent on the left-hand side of the clause. For example, the list of names in (22) is separated by pause, and then the noun phrase *nangkadek wa* 'those guys' refers back to it.

(22)   *saailas*   *kaang*   *kevin,*   *maanu,*
         [saailas   kaang   kevin   maanu]
         PN   two   PN   PN

         nangkadek   ***wa***   *enaanggûtta*   *i,*   *nambut*   *kugok.*
         [nangkadek   wa]   e-naanggût-ta   idi   nambut   ku-go-k
         men   that   3NSG.O-get-SS   this.ANA   PN   go-RP-3SG
         'Silas, Kevin and Manu, getting those guys, he went to Nambut.' [skc09_18]

16.3   Ablative

Not only does the *=lû* postposition function to mark the core argument of subject, it also marks ablative obliques. In the following example, the village of Kesengen is marked with the enclitic. It is clearly not a subject. Instead, here *=lû* conveys the locational meaning 'from'.

(23)   *ba*   ***kaasingangkû***   *kameng*   *weknggût*   *kam*   *baka*
         ba   kaasingang=lû   [kameng   wekng-gût]   kam   ba-ka
         come   PN=ABL   property   middle-RSTR   down.PROX   come-SS
         'Coming, from Kesengen it came right in the middle below...' [skc12_15]

The ablative case is especially common in narratives, especially marking pronominal demonstratives:

(24) **walû**   *lemang*   *kadetnang*   *tolûnang*   *kubalang*   *kum*
     wa=lû   [lemang   kadet=nang]   [tolûnang   kubalang]   kum
     there=ABL   PN   road=LOC   PN   valley   down.DIST

     mundung   *baasûng*   *ban*   *flong*   *yotta*   *wakaaka*
     [mundung   baasûng   ban   flong]   yot-ta   wakaa-ka
     tree.sp   trunk   a   ALL   ram-SS   destroy-SS
     'From there it ran into a *mundung* tree trunk on Lemang Road down in the
     Tolûnang Valley and got damaged…' [skc12_15]

(25) **yalû**,   *mi*   *kusamba*   *kum*   *mongkadopmûngka,*
     ya=lû   [mi   kusamba]   kum   mo-kadopm-ka
     this=ABL   water   big   down.DIST   go.down-arrive-SS
     'From here, we went down to the big river…' [skc09_29]

The nominative case can never occur twice in the same clause. However, the marker can occur twice if one its uses is ablative, as shown below. Interestingly, here the ablative enclitic co-occurs with the allative free postposition *flong*. Though this pattern is abnormal in the language, it does provide support for the ablative analysis of *=lû* in these examples.

(26) **walû**   *waama*   *baasûng*   *flongka*   **malû**   *flong*   *beka,*
     wa=lû   [waama   baasûng   flong=wa]   [ma=lû   flong]   be-ka
     that=NOM   tree.sp   trunk   ALL=DUB   what=ABL   ALL   put.NSG-SS
     'They would put them in *wama* trees or (hang) them from whatever [kind of
     tree]…' [skc12_02]

Often, the ablative marker has an extended function in narrative. As shown below, it expresses the setting from which a new event transpires. Here it functions to embed the preceding finite clause two separate times. An ablative meaning is not intended here, but a general setting.

(27) *wa*   *dogûmot*   **walû**   *siyangalû,*
     {wa   do-gû-mot   wa=lû}   siya-ng-alû
     that   sleep-RP-1DU   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23

     bûge   *monggûmot*   **walû**   *mongka*   *kasuka*   *kuka...*
     {bûge   mo-gû-mot   wa=lû}   mo-ka   kasuka   ku-ka
     again   go.down-RP-1DU   that=ABL   go.down-SS   PN   go-SS
     'Sleeping there, in the morning, going down again, we went down and went to
     Kasuka…' [skc09_01]

The ablative function of *=lû* may have arisen out of the tendency to immediately follow a verb with the subject of the next sentence, before the pause break. Currently, this results in many occasions where demonstratives marked with *=lû* can be interpreted as either nominative (establishing the subject of the next clause) or ablative (establishing the setting for the next clause). More research is needed in this area.

(28) *wa*   *logûm*   **walû**   *tawaang*   *kun*   *longkadopmûngka,*
      {wa   lo-gûm   wa=lû}   tawaang   kun   lo-kadopm-ka
      there   go.up-RP-1PL that=ABL   mountain   up.DIST   go.up-arrive-SS

      in   *lo*   *yaabûgûm*   *kûngempû*   *ba,*
      ya-n   lo   yaa-b-gû-m   {{kûngem=lû   ba
      this-ANA   go.up   3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL   echidna=NOM   come

      kame   *ya*   *waamut*   *tukugûng*
      [kame   ya]   waamut   tuku-gû-ng}}
      ground   this   burrow   take.SG-RP-23PL
      'Going up there, we went on top of the mountain, and going up like this we saw
      echidnas coming and burrowing all around the ground.' [skc09_34]

Bridging clauses are often composed of light verbs with different-subject morphology. These occur with the same phonological behavior as the demonstratives mentioned above. That is to say, they often follow finite verbs without a pause break between them. It is no coincidence that the suffix with the most generic switch-reference meaning (non-first person) has the same form as the nominative/ablative postposition. The correspondence between case and verbal morphology is briefly discussed in §21.5.

(29) **tangûlû**,   *sap*   *wa*   *yenûngkongka*   *tangaam.*
      ta-ng-lû   [sap   wa]   ye-nûngkong-ka   ta-ngaa-m
      do-DS-23   dog   that   3NSG.O-remove-SS   do-NP-1PL
      'They did it and we all kicked out the dogs.' [skc09_28]

One final pattern to note is that the ablative function is often repeated multiple times as an iconic spatial extension. Nominative case-marked forms are not repeated iconically.

(30) *kadepmenang*   *ya*   *kungaam*   **yalû**   **yalû**…
      [kadepmen=nang   ya]   ku-ngaa-m   ya=lû   ya=lû
      main.road=LOC   this   go-NP-1PL   this=ABL   this=ABL
      'We went along the main road and on and on…' [skc09_28]

16.4   Dative

The dative case enclitic =*lok* marks recipients, most typically of the verb *m-* 'give'. As discussed in §10.1.4, recipients are marked with object-agreement prefixes. I use this criterion to establish recipients as the primary object in ditransitive clauses. Nonetheless, when a recipient is made explicit in an NP, its semantic role is conveyed via use of the dative postposition.

The recipient may take possession of an object, as in (31), or a person, as in (32).

(31) *nak   nantaam   **walok**   empa   kutaat.*
    nak   [nantaam   wa=lok]   ye-m-pa   ku-taa-t
    1SG   people   that=DAT   3NSG.O-give-SS   go-FUT-1SG
    'I will give (it) to the people and go.' [DN02.247.07]

(32) *talaabû,   meng   kaang   **kansokkok**   yemûng*
    talaab   [meng   kaang   kansok=lok]   ye-m-ng
    bring.up.SG   mother   two   PN=DAT   3NSG.O-give-DS

    imo,   naanggûtta   bagûmok.
    idi=mo   naanggût-ta   ba-gû-mok
    this.ANA=already   get-SS   come-RP-23DU
    'Bringing him up, after giving him to his mother and Kansok, they got him and came.' [skc09_18]

Occasionally, dative noun phrases occur with other verbs such as *tû-/be-* 'put'. In this case, the phrase is an oblique, and not licensed as a core argument by the verb.

(33) *baasûng   taka   bewaagûngang   **walok**   walûnang.*
    baasûng   ta-ka   be-waa-gû-ng-nang   wa=lok   wa=lûnang
    bed   do-SS   put.NSG-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   that=DAT   that=GEN
    'They would make beds and put theirs for them.' [skc12_02]

The dative case also has a unique role in marking the potential modality, as described in §21.4.1 and §26.2.1. An example is provided below.

(34) *dentû   **obûlok**   kunakngûlû...*
    den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun=at-ng-lû
    some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST=be-DS-23
    'Some were above so they could break it...' [skc10_11]

16.5   Comitative

The comitative case enclitic *=lit* marks oblique noun phrases in an accompaniment relation with the subject of the clause. Comitative NPs are quite fluid in the clause. Most frequently, they follow the verb, as in (35)–(36), but other times they come at the beginning of the clause, as in (37), or anywhere in between.

(35) *ta   nanak,   u   kosaan   yangaagû   **kansok**   kût...*
    ta   nanak   udu   kosaan   ya=ngat-gû   kansok   lit
    but   child   that.ANA   side   here=be-DUR   PN   COM
    'But the child, he was on this side with Kansok, ...' [skc09_18]

(36) tandonta   naain   kilok   tangûlû   ba
     tandon   [naain   kilok]   ta-ng-lû   ba
     night   nine   o'clock do-DS-23   come

     sûbat   sûnamaanggûm,   femililit.
     sûbat   sûna-maa-gû-m   femili=lit
     food   cook.eat-CMPL-RP-1PL family=COM
     'Coming at nine o'clock at night we cooked and ate the food, with family.' [skc09_38]

(37) tuwa   wasit   kodûp   nangka manda manda taagûmot.
     [tuwa   wa-s=lit]   kodûp   na-ka manda manda taa-gû-mot
     first.male that-LK=COM betel.nut eat-SS talk   talk   say-RP-1DU
     'I chewed betel nut with Tuwa and we chatted.' [skc11_11a]

An important matter regarding comitative NPs is whether they are included in the cross-referencing morphology of the predicate. In MM both options are possible. When a comitative participant has low narrative salience, occurring in only one or two clauses, a speaker may choose to exclude them from the verbal subject- or object-agreement. For example, below Gamiyong is a topical participant throughout the narrative and this is marked with dual subject-agreement on the verb. However, since the speaker focuses primarily on himself, he places his friend in a comitative relation. This is the first line of the text, and throughout the rest of the story the subject-agreement cross-references both participants, and a majority of the time neither are marked with explicit NPs.

(38) sisa,   gaamiyongkût,   laai   kuntaamot
     sisa   gaamiyong=lit   {{laai ku-ntaa-mot}}
     ±2days   PN=COM   PN   go-FUT-1DU

     taaka   kugûmot.
     taa-ka   ku-gû-mot
     say-SS   go-RP-1DU
     'The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.'
     [skc09_01]

The same pattern is seen in (39), where the speaker asks the addressee over the phone about who is accompanying him. One final example is provided in (40). Here the female is the oblique participant, yet both her and her male partner are cross-referenced on the verb. Note that the names are redacted for privacy.

(39) nettit   bangaamok?
     net=lit   ba-ngaa-mok
     who=COM   come-NP-23DU
     'With whom did you come?' [skc09_38]

(40) ——   ———*kût*   *kungagaamok.*
——   ——=lit   kungat-gaa-mok
PN   PN=COM   go.around-PRS-23DU
'—— is (sleeping) around with ——.' [DN05.09.59]

On the other hand, below the speaker chooses to demote the oblique participant and exclude him from focus, by using the first person subject-agreement suffix.

(41) ***monalit***   *attat.*
mona=lit   at-ta-t
secondborn.male=COM   be-PRS-1SG
'I am with Mona.' [DN04.74.46]

From the same text as (38), the speaker and Gamiyong sleep in Pande's house on their journey. Here the verbal cross-referencing only identifies the two topical participants, and excludes Pande.

(42) *yalû*   *kuka,*   *sibi*   *kum*   *dogûmot,*   ***pandelit***.
ya=lû   ku-ka   sibi   kum   do-gû-mot   pande=lit
here=ABL   go-SS   PN   down.DIST   sleep-RP-1DU   PN=COM
'From here we went, and we slept down in Sibi, with Pande.' [skc09_01]

Comitative case marks not only human participants, but also animals. In the corpus it marks dogs and snakes. Inanimate objects seem to only be marked with comitative case in comitative coordination constructions, as described below.

(43) ***gamattit***   *mûkaamgûmok.*   *yan*   *mûkaamgû*   *na*   *walû*
gamat=lit   mûkaam-gû-mok   ya-n   mûkaam-gû   [na   wa=lû]
snake=COM   fight-RP-23DU   this-ANA   fight-DUR   man   that=NOM

gamat   *wa*   *membûnang*   *sûbûlaakng*   *kaamgok.*
[gamat   wa]   membû=nang   sûblaat-ng   kaam-go-k
snake   that   head=LOC   bite.down-DS   die-RP-3SG
'…(he) fought with the snake. Fighting like this, the man biting down on the snake's head, it died.' [skc11_12b]

Sometimes, multiple coordinated NPs are each marked with the comitative postpositions. This is a type of noun phrase coordination, producing a reciprocal meaning. The same pattern is found in Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:478).

(44) *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   ***bantit***,   ***belit***,
[taamûng   nanak-sû   ban=lit   be=lit]
woman   child-23NSG.POSS   a=COM   father.3SG.POSS=COM

geksap   *kugûmok*
geksap   ku-gû-mok
hunt   go-RP-23DU
'Their daughter with her father went hunting.' [skc12_04]

Comitative coordination is common in MM. As described in §18.3, generally comitative coordination involves marking each coordinated noun phrase. However, it is possible to mark only only of the coordinated NPs. More research is needed to determine the semantic differences between these types of coordination.

(45) *laayan*   ***kuyangkût***   *nong*   *saakûm*   *klistalok*   *mûmbeng.*
laayan   [kuyang=lit   nong   saakûm]   klistal=lok   m-be-ng
PN   stick=COM   knife   small   PN=DAT   give-IRR.SG-2SG
'Ryan, give the stick and small knife to Crystal.' [DN03.273.07]

The comitative case can link clauses as well. It functions to subordinate the finite clause as a relative clause in an associative role.

(46) *walataka*   *mo,*   *fatnaang*   *bagok*   ***wasit***,
walataka   mo   {fatnaang   ba-go-k   wasit}
therefore   already   white   come-RP-3SG   that:COM

yenolit   *taka*   *ya*   *aatûkuntaam.*
yenolit   ta-ka   ya   aatûku-ntaa-m
become.brothers   do-SS   here   remain-FUT-1PL
'Okay so, I've become friends with the white man who came and we will remain here.' [skc09_19]

16.6   Allative

The allative case is marked by a free postposition *flong*. This is unique in the language, since all other postpositions are enclitics. However, the form does cliticize to demonstratives, producing either *=long* or *=slong* (the pattern is described in §20.2). The free and bound forms are contrasted below. They exhibit no semantic difference.

(47) *na*   *fatnaang*   *walû*   *kaauda*   ***flong***   *kum*
[na   fatnaang   wa=lû]   [kaauda   flong]   kum
man   white   that=NOM   stone   ALL   down.DIST

maangûtta   *ngagok.*
maangût-ta   ngat-go-k
sit-SS   be-RP-3SG
'The white man was sitting down on a stone.' [skc12_15]

(48) *dabam*   ***walong***   *dapmon*   *doka*   *agok.*
[dabam   wa=long]   dapmon   do-ka   at-go-k
cape   that=ALL   sleep   sleep-SS   be-RP-3SG
'He was sleeping on the cape.' [skc12_16]

(49) *ukalampa*   *men*   *get*   *kusamba*   ***kamslong***   *yangattat.*
[ukalampa   men   get   kusamba   kam=slong]   ya=ngat-ta-t
PN   main   gate   big   down.PROX=ALL   here=be-PRS-1SG
'I am here at Ukarumpa's big main gate below.' [skc09_38]

The allative case has two semantic functions. Primarily, it marks destinations, as shown below. However, when it marks demonstratives (=(s)long), then it marks both destinations and stative locations. Demonstratives cannot be marked with the locative enclitic, since it is only grammatical on the head noun. Therefore both roles are neutralized after dermonstratives. This stative locative role can be seen in (48)–(49) above.

(50) *gamat*   *kusamba*   *ban*   **kaadûp**   **flong**   *gûgaanengka*
     [gamat   kusamba   ban]   [kaadûp   flong]   gûgaane-ka
     snake   big   a   tree   ALL   wrap.around-SS

     membû   *ta*   **mukuya**   **kadet**   **flong**   *tûka*   *agok.*
     membû   ta   [mukuya   kadet   flong]   tû-ka   at-go-k
     head   get.SG   pig   road   ALL   put.SG-SS   be-RP-3SG
     'A big snake wrapped around a tree and put its head onto the pig track.' [skc11_12b]

The allative case can also convey the meaning 'on'. The vehicles MM people travel in are public motor vehicles (PMVs), which are often large utes (i.e. trucks) with benches in the back. Note that in this example the destination—Lae—is not case-marked. Proper names (§8.2.4) and locational nouns (§8.2.5) do not receive allative marking. It should be pointed out that this example appears to represent a contradiction to the basic destination role of allative NPs. However, I suspect the allative is grammatical because the speaker was talking about getting onto a PMV (i.e. 'public motor vehicle') in the future, not being on one at the time of speech. This is then a sort of destination. More research is needed in this regard.

(51) **kaalû**   **flong**   *laai*   *kutaat.*
     [kaalû   flong]   laai   ku-taa-t
     vehicle   ALL   PN   go-FUT-1SG
     'I will go to Lae on a car.' [DN04.73.44]

The allative case also marks location in time. As described in §20.1, the spatial demonstratives (i.e. *wa* 'that' and *ya* 'this') are used for specific points in time, or specific timeframes. The topographic demonstratives (e.g. *kun* 'up.DIST' and *kum* 'down.DIST') refer to general time-frames, with the 'up' terms denoting future time, and the 'down' terms denoting past time. The allative case is also licensed by a subset of temporal nouns (§8.2.6), while others license the benefactive case.

(52) *eng*   **kaamkaam**   **naai**   **flong**   *gelûm*   *flong*
     eng   [kaam~kaam   naai   flong]   [gelûm   flong]
     yes   die~die   time   ALL   hole   ALL

     dom   *daasûwaagûngang*   *tûmang*   *idi.*
     dom   daasû-waa-gû-ng-nang   tûmang   idi
     NEG   put.in-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   before   this.ANA
     'Yeah, at the time of death they wouldn't put them in holes, before.' [skc12_02]

(53) **gulat   ban   kumsûlong**   *laai*   *kugot.*
      [gulat   ban   kum=slong]   laai   ku-go-t
      year   a   down.DIST=ALL   PN   go-RP-1SG
      'A year ago I went to Lae.' [DN01.65.07]

Allative case is also used for metaphorical locations such as 'sorrow' and 'metaphor':

(54) *bûsenang*   *kuwaam*   *walong*   *manggat manggat*   *den*
      {bûsenang   ku-waa-m   wa=long}   [manggat~manggat   den]
      jungle   go-PRS-1PL   that=ALL   thing~thing   some

      tûngka   ***flong***   *taawaamang.*
      [tûngka   flong]   taa-waa-m-nang
      metaphor   ALL   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
      'Whenever we go into the jungle, we say some things in metaphor.' [skc12_04]

It is also used for both *kunum* 'sky' and *kame* 'ground' when functioning as names for 'Heaven' and 'Earth', respectively:

(55) *kunum*   ***flong***   *tata*   *kaalin*   *attak*
      [kunum   flong]   [tata   kaalin]   at-ta-k
      Heaven   ALL   custom   good   be-PRS-3SG

      wala   *nûndû*   *wadûgût*   *kame*   ***flong***   *tawangka*   *aatûkugû*
      wa=la   nûndû   wadûgût   [kame   flong]   tawang-ka   aatûku-gû
      that=BEN   1NSG   also   Earth   ALL   follow-SS   remain-DUR
      'In Heaven there are good customs, so we also must keep following him on Earth
      until…' [skc11_13]

The allative case-marker frequently links clauses. In this role, the marked clause becomes the temporal setting for the following clause, as shown above in (54), and below. Finite adverbial clauses with locational meanings are produced with the locative enclitic *=nang*, as described in §16.7.

(56) *sip*   *flong*   *tap*   *weknggût*   *sûnûk*   *kugûng*   ***walong*,**
      {[sip   flong]   [tap   weknggût   snûk]   ku-gû-ng   wa=long}
      ship   ALL   ocean   middle   very   go-RP-23PL   that=ALL

      aanutulû   *gi*   *gufut*   *kusamba*   *tantûng*   *bagok.*
      aanutu=lû   [gi   gufut   kusamba]   tantû-ng   ba-go-k
      God=NOM   rain   wind   big   send.SG-DS   come-RP-3SG
      'When they went on the ship to the very middle of the ocean, God sent a big
      storm.' [skc12_14]

Since the semantics are rather broad, an adverb may be used to further specify the semantics. For example, while the general allative case is used in (57) to refer to the destination 'onto the pot', in (58) the local adverb *usung* 'above' is used. Here the addressee is commanded to hold the object over the destination instead.

238

(57) *yokep*   *ta*   **kabot**   **flong**   *tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   flong]   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   ALL   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Put the tongs onto the pot.' [DN04.59.17]

(58) *yokep*   *ta*   **kabot**   **flong**   *usung*   *tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   flong]   usung   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   ALL   above   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Put the tongs above the pot.' [DN04.59.17]

More frequently, inalienable part-of-whole nouns are used. In this case, the locative enclitic =*nang* is used.

(59) *yokep*   *ta*   **kabot**   **kapmaalûnang**   *tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   kapmaalû=nang]   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   bottom=LOC   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Get the tongs and put them under the pot.' (lit. 'at the pot's bottom') [DN04.57.10]

Finally, the adverbial suffix *-gût* can occur with either the free or bound allative postpositions, as discussed in §11.6. The other case-markers do not allow this pattern.

(60) **walonggût**,   *tritointû*   *kekng*   *taagok...*
     wa=long-gût   tritoin=lû   kekng   taa-go-k
     that=ALL-RSTR   PN=NOM   call   say-RP-3SG
     'At that moment, Tritoin called out,…' [skc11_10c]

(61) *kaka*   *blaampa*   **mi**   **flonggût**   *kugok.*
     ka-ka   blaam-pa   [mi   flong-gût]   ku-go-k
     see.3SG-SS   carry-SS   water   ALL-RSTR   go-RP-3SG
     'He saw and carried him (on his shoulder) and went along the water.' [skc12_15]

16.7   Locative

The locative case enclitic =*nang* attaches to the head noun (or modifying adjective) of locative noun phrases. This is a unique pattern in the language, since other case-markers attach to the final element of the NP. This distributional pattern appears to be similar to what is found in Nungon, where Sarvasy analyzes it as a locative suffix (2014d:461). Below, the case-marker occurs at the end of the NP, since no modifiers follow the head noun. Note that, as with other oblique noun phrases, the location of locative NPs is fluid, occurring after the predicate in (63).

(62) *tangaan   kaa   kusang kusang   waga*
     [tangaan   kaa   kusang~kusang   wa=ga]
     branch   somewhat   big~big   that=INST

     kaadûp   membûnang   klonggût   beka...
     [kaadûp   membû=nang]   klong-gût   be-ka
     tree   base=LOC   stand-RSTR   put.NSG-SS
     'They stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree...' [skc09_17]

(63) *i   maasû   genangkaak,   sap   kayongnang?*
     idi   maasû   genangka-a-k   [sap   kayong=nang]
     this.ANA   which   appear-PRS-3SG   dog   leg=LOC
     'What is this that's surfaced, on the dog's leg?' (lit. 'This, which (one) is
     appearing, on the dog's leg?') [skc11_04d]

The locative marker occurs after modifying adjectives, but before demonstratives, as
shown below.

(64) *kadet   kusambanang   tawangka   fem   taaka   taka   kugûmot.*
     [kadet   kusamba=nang]   tawang-ka   fem   taa-ka   ta-ka   ku-gû-mot
     road   big=LOC   follow-SS   whistle   say-SS   do-SS   go-RP-1DU
     'We followed on the big road and each whistled as we went.' [skc09_02]

(65) *kuka   kami   kaalinang   kûngkûnaanûk   flong*
     ku-ka   [kami   kaalin=nang]   [kûngkûnaanûk   flong]
     go-SS   ground   good=LOC   sand   ALL

     wa   tûka   wangagok.
     wa   tû-ka   wa=ngat-go-k
     that   put.SG-SS   that=be-RP-3SG
     'He went and was putting him in the sand on good ground.' [skc12_15]

(66) *kadet   ginggemang   wa   mong*
     [kadet   ginggem=nang   wa]   mo-ng
     road   small.space=LOC that   go.down-DS

     kaadûp   tangaan   wa   sakoka...
     [kaadûp   tangaan   wa]   sako-ka
     tree   branch   that   hold.3SG-SS
     'At that little piece of road (where) they are going down, I will grab that tree
     branch and...' [skc12_16]

Finally regarding the form, note that the locative enclitic follows possessive
morphology, and both can be reduplicated together to express a distributive meaning.

(67) *taamtaam   nûndû,   mandesûnang   yawangka...*
     [taamtaam   nûndû]   mande-sû=nang   y-tawang-ka
     women   1NSG   back-23NSG.POSS=LOC   3NSG.O-leave-SS
     'We women followed behind them...' (lit. 'followed them at their backs') [skc09_29]

240

(68) ***kayongsûnang kayongsûnang***   *ya*   *bakungûlû...*
[kayong-sû=nang~kayong-sû=nang   ya]   ba-ku-ng-lû
leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC~leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC   this   come-go-DS-23
'[The water] was passing by all around their feet…' [skc12_13]

Semantically, while the allative case primarily marks destinations, the locative case primarily marks stative locations, and is varyingly translated as 'at', 'on', and 'in'. This can be seen in all of the examples above. It also frequently occurs with verbs of physical manipulation, such as *tû-/be-* 'put', *daasû-* 'put in', *dûsû-* 'take out'. In this role it is often translated as 'into' or 'from'.

(69) *toba*   *saakûm*   ***yakngang***   *dûsûwe.*
[toba   saakûm]   yak=nang   dûsû-be
small.knife   small   bilum=LOC   take.out-IRR.SG
'Take out the small knife from inside the bilum.' [DN04.59.18]

(70) ***baalûp***   ***yakngang***   *kum*   *daasûka*   *bagok.*
[baalûp   yak=nang]   kum   daasû-ka   ba-go-k
tree.sp   bilum=LOC   down.DIST   put.in-SS   come-RP-3SG
'He put it down inside his *baalûp* (tree bark) bilum and came.' [skc11_16]

However, sometimes the allative postposition can occur in very similar environments. Compare the following with (70) above. The semantic difference is slight, presumably mimicking the difference in English between *inside* and *into*, as reflected in the translations. Crucially, the locative and allative cases are in complementary distribution, never occurring together

(71) *tuwa nak*   *talok*   *kaauda*   *wa*   *ta*
{tuwa nak   ta=lok}   [kaauda   wa]   ta
grocery.shopping   do=POT   money   that   get.SG

daasûdaasû   ***yak***   ***flong***   *daasûwe.*
[daasû~daasû   yak   flong]   daasû-be
put.in~put.in   bilum   ALL   put.in-IRR.SG
'Getting the money for grocery shopping put it into your pocket.' [DN03.303.07]

Infrequently, the locative case is used with what appears to be legitimate allative meaning, such as before motion verbs. More research is needed, but note that this text is taken from Mosa, a village several hours' walk from Saut. It is possible that this is a dialectical variation.

(72) ***kagangekngang***   *ya*   *bagûm.*
kagang-nek=nang   ya   ba-gû-m
village-1NSG.POSS=LOC   here   come-RP-1PL
'We came here to our village.' [skc09_19]

Even though the locative case marks stative locations, the enclitic is not used to mark temporal noun phrases or temporal subordinate clauses. These environments require demonstratives, and as mentioned in the previous section, after demonstratives the roles of the locative and allative cases are neutralized. However, the allative case postposition is never used to subordinate *locative* clauses, only temporal. Only the locative enclitic forms locative adverbial clauses. In this function, the enclitic attaches directly to the subordinated finite verb. This also contrasts with the locative postposition, which must occur with a demonstrative when subordinating clauses.

(73) *klistal* **lit** *taamtaam mik* **wiwangang,** *longaamot.*
[klistal lit] {taamtaam mik wi-wang=nang} lo-ngaa-mot
PN COM women bathe bathe-PRS:23PL=LOC go.up-NP-1DU
'I went up with Crystal to where the women were bathing.' [skc09_10]

(74) *kep* **logûmang,** *naalagût* *fûgot.*
kep {lo-gû-m=nang} nak-nga=la-gût fû-go-t
yesterday go.up-RP-1PL=LOC 1SG-EMPH=BEN-RSTR come.down-RP-1SG
'Only I came down from where we went up yesterday.' [DN02.251.21]

The locative enclitic also frequently attaches to nominalized clauses:

(75) *kaadûp* **sewaannang,** *aanyaan welû usuka,*
{kaadûp se-baan=nang} [aanyaan welû] usu-ka
tree cook-NMLZ=LOC onion seed plant-SS
'We plant the onion seeds at the burned-down tree…' [skc09_17]

Infrequently, the locative is realized by a free postposition *mang*. This appears related to the locational noun *kadepmang* 'road'. More research is needed to determine whether this has a different meaning, or whether the marker is transitioning to or from this form.

(76) *kadet* **mang** *nambukmung kangût* *yaabûka*
[kadet mang] nambukmung kan-gût yaa-b-ka
road LOC PN up.PROX-RSTR 3NSG.O-see-SS
'On the road up in Nambukmung we saw them and…' [skc09_21]

Finally, the locative enclitic has been re-interpreted as a habitual aspect suffix when marking mainline verbs. This process of de-subordination is addressed in §24.8.

16.8   Instrumental

The instrumental enclitic =*ga* marks oblique instrumental noun phrases. It does not frequently occur on NPs in the corpus. Instead, generally such referents are introduced in a previous clause, and then identified as a subject via switch-reference morphology.

In every example of the corpus, the instrumental case marks inanimate NPs:

(77) ***nanggat   waga   kûtlûnang   tûflûka...***
[nanggat   wa=ga]   kûtlû=nang   tûflû-ka
blood   that=INST   leg.3SG.POSS=LOC   rub-SS
'[The chicken] rubbed on its legs with the blood…' [skc12_11]

(78) *nolû   ban   kaamgok   wa   **kûngkûnaanûkga***
{[nolû   ban]   kaam-go-k   wa}   kûngkûnaanûk=ga
brother.3SG.POSS   other   die-RP-3SG   that   sand=INST

plaasûka   tûgok.
plaas-ka   tû-go-k
cover-SS   put.SG-RP-3SG
'They covered his the brother who died with sand.' [skc12_15]

(79) ***tangaan tangaan   waga   bot   beka...***
[tangaan~tangaan   wa=ga]   bot   be-ka
branch~branch   that=INST   group   put.NSG-SS
'They make a heap with the branches, and…' [skc09_17]

Unlike the other cases, the instrumental marker occurs on adverbs as well, as shown with 'again' and 'already' below:

(80) ***bûgebûga***   *amun,   amun   walû   walû*
bûgebû=ga   amun   amun   wa=lû   wa=lû
again=INST   ground   ground   that=ABL   that=ABL

bagû   bagûû,   bayaang.
ba-gû   ba-gû~û   bayaang
come-DUR   come-DUR~EXT   PN
'So again by foot coming and coming, to Bayang…' [skc09_01]

(81) ***mongga***   *kagang,   laabûgot,   kaasingang.*
mo=ga   kagang   laab-go-t   kaasingang
already=INST   village   come.up-RP-1SG   PN
'So finally I came up to the village, (to) Kesengen.' [skc09_01]

It appears that =*ga* always carries a causal meaning, as shown by the translations above. More research is needed regarding its function in relating clauses in this way. It frequently occurs attached to an anaphoric demonstrative. Here it appears that it functions to establish the previous discourse (anaphorically marked by *idi*) as the cause of the next event.

(82) *tang   iga   mo,   sûbat   tûmang   walû   segok.*
ta-ng   idi=ga   mo   sûbat   tûmang   wa=lû   se-go-k
do-DS   this.ANA=INST   already   food   first   that=NOM   cook-RP-3SG
'So first he cooked the food.' [skc09-21]

A longer example is shown below. The causal conjunction is briefly addressed in §13.6.2.

(83)   *tang*   *kaka*   ***igamû*,**
        ta-ng   ka-ka   idi=gamû
        do-DS   see.3SG   this.ANA-CONJ(INST)

        kame   *mowek*   *ba*   *aawengak*   *yeka*   *idi,*
        {{kame   mo=wek   ba   aawe-nga-k}}   ye-ka   idi
        ground   already-DISJ   come   finish-NP-3SG   imagine-SS   this.ANA

        imamaang   *yot*   *mangka*   *agok.*
        [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   at-go-k
        grass.sp   house   erect-SS   be-RP-3SG
        'And he looked at it, and since he thought that the land came to finish there, he
        erected an *imamang* grass house and stayed (there).' [skc12_01]

16.9   Benefactive

The benefactive enclitic =*la* has a large number of unrelated functions. It marks beneficiaries, objects of sensory verbs, as well as desiderative and purposive constructions. It is also the licensed case-marker for a portion of the temporal nouns. In reality, it appears to have little semantic meaning on its own, but is instead a historical remnant in particular constructions. More research is needed, but it could just as easily be called the general "oblique" case, most often able to be translated with 'about' or 'concerning'. Interestingly, the "benefactive" case in Nungon marks a range of roles as well, including addressee, beneficiary, purpose, reason, and discussion topic (Sarvasy 2014d:447). Each separate function is described in turn below. See §26.1.1 and §26.1.2 for desiderative and purposive constructions, respectively.

16.9.1   Beneficiaries

True beneficiaries are marked with the benefactive applicative SVC (§22.2.2). However, the marker is clearly seen on two interrogative words, *ma* 'what' and *maasû* 'which'. These produce 'why' questions:

(84)   ***mala***   *taang?*
       ma=la   ta-a-ng
       what=BEN   do-PRS-2SG
       'Why are you doing (that)?' (lit. 'For what are you doing (it)?') [DN05.41.07]

(85)   ***maasûla***   *laai*   *kuka*   *baang?*
       maasû=la   laai   ku-ka   ba-a-ng
       which=BEN   Lae   go-SS   come-PRS-2SG
       'Why have you gone to Lae and come?' (lit. 'For which (purpose) have you gone to Lae and come?') [DN02.153.17]

    Below, *go* 'sun' is marked with the enclitic. Though this could be thought of as a destination; the meaning conveyed is that the clothes are put out 'for' the sun to dry them.

(86) *manda   tamaangkongka   tûkûyak   isopmûngka*
manda   ta-maa-kong-ka   tûkûyak   isopm-ka
talk   do-CMPL-TERM-SS   clothes   hold.NSG-SS

*fa   **gola**   bengat.*
fa   go=la   be-nga-t
get.NSG   sun=BEN   put.NSG-NP-1SG
'I finished talking and grabbed the clothes and put them in the sun.' [skc10_12]

16.9.2   Objects of sensory verbs

The most frequently occurring function of the benefactive enclitic is to mark the object of a sensory verb such as *mita-* 'fear':

(87) **sowekka**   *mitaka   wan   taakngang.*
sowek=la   mita-ka   wa-n   ta-a-k-nang
cassowary=BEN   fear-SS   that-ANA   do-PRS-3SG-HAB
'He is afraid of the cassowary and does that.' [skc12_12]

(88) *na   nettû   **kusambala**   mitaka   takasepnûng   manda   wa*
[na   net=lû]   kusamba=la   mita-ka   [takasep-nûng   manda   wa]
man   who=NOM   big=BEN   fear-SS   closed-3SG.POSS.EMPH   talk   that

yawantak,   na   walû   gelû   daampawek.
y-tawang-ta-k   [na   wa=lû]   gelû   daampa-be-k
3NSG.O-follow-PRS-3SG   man   that=NOM   alright   happy-IRR.SG-3SG
'Whatever man fears the Lord and follows his laws, that man will be blessed.'

[skc12_18: translation of Psalms 112:1]

It also occurs once in the corpus before the verb *tû-* 'put.SG'. Normally the verb *kawaa-* 'leave' would be used, which takes object-agreement morphology. The verb 'put' only undergoes stem-alternation, and therefore cannot directly mark a third-person singular subject. This pattern suggests that =*la* may be marking non-standard object arguments.

(89) **banta**   *buntuk   wanggût   tûka   igamû,*
ban=la   buntuk   wanggût   tû-ka   idi=gamû
a=BEN   PN   that:RSTR   put.NSG-SS   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
'He left the other (one) right there at Buntuk so…' [skc12_01]

Another example which suggests that =*la* marks non-standard objects is the following, where the emphatic pronoun *ni* is marked. Normally objects of *nû-* 'tell' are not marked with case.

(90) *tang*   *nolû*   *ban*   *walû*   **nila**   *nûnggok,*
    ta-ng   [nolû   ban   wa=lû]   ni=la   nû-go-k
    do-DS   brother.3SG.POSS   a   that=NOM   3SG.EMPH=BEN   tell-RP-3SG

    dom,   *gak*   *kuwe.*
    {{dom   gak   ku-be}}
    NEG   2SG   go-IRR.SG
    'And the other brother answered him, "No, you go."' [skc12_11]

In its sensory role, the benefactive enclitic can also nominalize verbs, behaving much like the potential modality (which takes the dative enclitic; see §21.4.1). This has only been observed with *na-* 'eat', and therefore more data is needed.

(91) *mi*   *nala*   *nelak.*
    {mi   na=la}   n-e-la-k
    water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG
    'I am thirsty.' [skc12_04]

16.9.3   Topics of discourse

The verb *taa-* 'say' often takes complement clauses. At other times, an anaphoric suffix is placed on a demonstrative (i.e. *wan* or *yan*) in discourse anaphoric function. Below, however, the noun *mi* 'water' is marked with the benefactive case. It functions like a marked topic of discourse.

(92) **mila**   *taaka*   *bakuyak*   *taawaamang*
    {mi=la   taa-ka   {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   taa-waa-m-nang
    water=BEN   say-SS   come-go-PRS-3SG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB

    wasûnang   *taantaam.*
    wa-s=nang}   taa-ntaa-m
    that-LK=GEN   say-FUT-1PL
    'We will talk about (how) we say "passing by" to talk about water.' [skc12_04]

16.9.4   Clause combination

In line with the other cases, the benefactive can function to combine clauses. This is accomplished by following a verb with a benefactive-marked demonstrative. This then establishes the previous sentence as the reason for the actions in the upcoming sentence.

(93) *kunum*   *flong*   *tata*   *kaalin*   *attak*
    {{kunum   flong]   [tata   kaalin]   at-ta-k
    Heaven   ALL   custom   good   be-PRS-3SG

    wala   *nûndû*   *wadûgût*   *kame*   *flong*   *tawangka*   *aatûkugû*
    wa=la}   nûndû   wadûgût   [kame   flong]   tawang-ka   aatûku-gû
    that=BEN   1NSG   also   Earth   ALL   follow-SS   remain-DUR
    'In Heaven there are good customs, so we also must keep following him on Earth until…' [skc11_13]

246

This form in particular seems to have taken on the role of clausal conjunction. It appears to be a grammaticalization, and is discussed further in §20.5.

16.9.5   Other benefactive functions

The benefactive marker is also licensed by a subset of temporal nouns (§8.2.6), the rest of which take the allative postposition. Seemingly related to this is that certain nouns can be derived into temporal adverbs with a combination of the benefactive and restrictive *-gût* suffix (see §11.6).

(94) ***gilagût,***   *laabûka*   *baka,*
     gi=la-gût   laab-ka   ba-ka
     rain=BEN-RSTR   come.up-SS   come-SS
     'While it was still raining we came up and came…' [skc09_21]

It also marks autoreflexive pronouns, also with the *-gût* suffix (see §19.2).

(95) *kep*   *logûmang,*   ***naalagût***   *fûgot.*
     kep   {lo-gû-m=nang}   nak-nga=la-gût   fû-go-t
     yesterday   go.up-RP-1PL=LOC   1SG-EMPH=BEN-RSTR   come.down-RP-1SG
     'Only I came down from where we went up yesterday.' [DN02.251.21]

17 Number

Number is vague with respect to nouns. Only a small subset of nouns—primarily human terms and plant parts—exhibit separate lexical forms to mark non-singularity. On the other hand, certain nouns may be reduplicated to express overt number. This is not true across the board, since many reduplications are lexical—some even with diminutive meanings. When nouns are possessed, they may be marked with the non-singular suffix *-ye*. This is required for non-singular kinship terms, but is optional with human terms and for nouns denoting domesticated animals. The non-singular morpheme surfaces as a prefix instead before words marked with the comitative enclitic or the possessive-comitative suffixes. When non-singular nouns are modified, number can be expressed through reduplicated adjectives. Reduplication of the adjective class has no other function than this. MM has no lexically reduplicated adjectival forms. If the adjective is modified by the adjective *sûnûk* 'very', then this is the form that undergoes reduplication instead. The principle, therefore, is that a speaker may only reduplicate the rightmost noun or adjectival modifier. All of these characteristics of number are addressed throughout Chapter 8 on nouns, Chapter 9 on adjectives, and in Chapter 14 on NP structure.

This chapter is concerned with the description of two associative plural constructions. Associative plurals are constructions "whose meaning is 'X and X's associate(s)', where all members are individuals, X is the focal referent, and the associate(s) form a group centering around X; and whose formal expression consists of a noun referring to X and one or more affix, clitic, and/or word so that these elements taken together do not spell out the entire meaning" (Moravcsik 2003:470–71).

The first involves the particle *kadek*, which is used for group plurals. Another construction involves the particle *kaang*, which is used for duals. In certain respects, the dyads (§8.2.3) and possessive-comitative constructions (§15.2.3) function similarly, but these are not described here. The primary difference between dyads and associative plural constructions is that dyads are nouns in every way. They can stand alone as NP heads, they are possessible, and they may be pluralized. The associative plural constructions use particles which can never occur by themselves. Note too that the associative plural particle *kadek* has been grammaticalized into *nangkadek*, the plural human term for 'man' (see §8.2.2).

17.1   Associative plural *kadek*

The associative plural construction is formed by placing the particle *kadek* after the NP head, as shown below. Here the particle follows the proper name Pandi. The construction denotes a group of associates, with Pandi as the focused member. The relationship between the associates is undefined, and so is the age. The other members of the group may be younger and/or older than Pandi, and may be related by blood or marriage, or completely unrelated. They are simply grouped together due to their being together spatially.

(1) *yaabûngûtnang*   *pandi* **kadek** *tûmang* *bagûng*   *wa.*
     yaa-b-ng-tnang   {{[pandi kadek]   tûmang   ba-gû-ng   wa}}
     3NSG.O-see-DS-1NSG   PN   group   first   come-RP-23PL   there
     'We saw Pandi and his group come there first.' [skc09_38]

That *kadek* identifies a group of multiple individuals can be seen by the fact that the verbal subject-agreement is plural. This is always the case. *Kadek* frequently follows proper names, sometimes in coordination with other group plurals:

(2) *fukunan*   **kadek**   *tataait* **kadek**… *yenaanggûtta*   *kugûm.*
     [fukunan   kadek   tataait   kadek]   ye-naanggût-ta   ku-gû-m
     PN   group   PN   group   3NSG.O-get-SS   go-RP-1PL
     'I got Fukunan's group and Tatait's group and we went.' [skc09_04]

Kadek is also frequently used after kinship terms. Below, the protagonist's mother is the focused member of a larger group of women.

(3) *meng*   **kadek**   *agûngang*   *kungkadopmûngka,*
     {{[meng   kadek]   at-gû-ng=nang}   ku-kadopm-ka
     mother   group   be-RP-23PL=LOC   go-arrive-SS
     'They went to where (her) mother's group was…' [skc12_04]

Kadek has a similar, but different semantic function from the *-ye* non-singular suffix. The *-ye* suffix pluralizes the group, producing a non-singular number of people with the identical relationship to the possessor. The associative plural particle denotes a group, only one of which needs to have that relationship with the possessor. The two are compared below. Nowhere in the corpus do the two morphemes co-occur.

(4) *beye*   *be*   **kadek**
     be-ye   be   kadek
     father.3SG.POSS-NSG   father.3SG.POSS   group
     'his fathers' [DN02.221.12]   'his father's group' [DN05.33.07]

Kadek is used frequently for other animate nouns as well. When marking the name of a group, then the particle simply denotes multiple members of that named group:

(5)   *minamina*   **kadekkû**   *laabû*   *doka*   *ngalatnang,...*
        [minamina   kadek=lû]   laab   {do-ka   ngat-a-t=nang}
        PN   group=NOM   come.up   sleep-SS   be-NP-1SG=LOC
        'The Minamina (spirits) coming up to where I was sleeping,…' [skc12_16]

Kadek is also found with animals, lower animates such as insects, as well as plants, and even inanimates such as 'water' and 'bilum'. However, semantically the marker functions differently. In these cases, *kadek* denotes a group of members identified by the noun. Often the group is heterogenous, but not necessarily. In this way, the form functions more like a typical plural, except that it identifies a collective whole. The verbal agreement still identifies plural participants.

When *kankan* 'insect' takes the particle, it denotes a group of heterogenous insects.

(6)   *ta*   *kankan*   **kadek**   *wa,*
        ta   [kankan   kadek   wa]
        do   insect   group   that

        udu   *febû*   *sûnaigûngang.*
        udu   feb   sû-na-i-gû-ng-nang
        that.ANA   bring.NSG   cook-eat-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
        'And the insects, bringing those they would be cooking and eating them (too).'
        [skc12_02]

When *mi* 'water' takes the particle below, it refers to the term "water", as well as other phrases that relate to it, for which the people use speech avoidance terms. For example, they not only avoid saying *mi* 'water' when in the jungle, but they also avoid saying they're thirsty.

(7)   *mi*   **kadek**   *u*   *dom*   *taawaamang,*
        {{[mi   kadek]   udu}}   dom   taa-waa-m-nang
        water   group   that.ANA   NEG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB

        bakuyak   *taawaamang.*
        {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   taa-waa-m-nang
        come-go-PRS-3SG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
        'We do not say "water" and such, we say "passing by".' [skc12_04]

Various plant species occur in a list below, followed by *kadek*. Here it refers to heterogenous groups of planted vegetables. The same thing is seen with *kûda*, the general term for greens, as well.

(8) *wa   taka   ngaatûkugûû   mo,   gulam,   gambom,   saanggom,*
    wa   ta-ka   ngat-ku-gû~û   mo   [gulam   gambom   saanggom
    that   do-SS   be-go-DUR~EXT   already   greens.sp   bean   corn

    kaamûng,   kadek   walû   idi,   tûmang   gelaawangang.
    kaamûng   kadek   wa=lû]   idi   tûmang   gelaa-wa-ng-nang
    cucumber   group   that=NOM   this.ANA   first   grow.up-PRS-23PL-HAB
    'After doing that for awhi-ile, the aibika, beans, corn, and cucumber, these ones
    mature first.' [skc09_17]

(9) *min   fûng   kûda   kadek   dobûka*
    min   fû-ng   [kûda   kadek]   dob-ka
    pus   come.down-DS   greens   group   cut-SS
    'When the pus [from corpses] came down, [people] would cut some greens…'
    [skc12_02]

The associative plural construction occurs with inanimate objects as well. In this case in particular, it appears that *kadek* simply marks a group of members, with no focusing effect.

(10) *haausik   kadek   kuka   tawaam*
    [haausik   kadek]   ku-ka   ta-waa-m
    clinic   group   go-SS   do-PRS-1PL
    'We go to clinics and do it.' [skc12_02]

(11) *sip   kapapewaan   kadek   walû...*
    [{sip   ka-pape-baan}   kadek   wa=lû]
    ship   see.3SG-well-NMLZ   group   that=NOM
    'The ship crew…' (lit. 'The ship-look-after ones') [skc12_14]

In (8) *kadek* produces an inclusory construction. This is defined as "a nominal plural that refers to a set of individuals and includes two explicit constituents, one being a plural referring summarily to all members and the other appositively identifying a subset of the members" (Moravcsik 2003:479).

17.2   Associative dual *kaang*

The associative dual construction is identical with the associative plural, except that the particle used is *kaang*. The associative dual is rather rare in comparison to the plural. Below it is illustrated with *na* 'man'. This noun takes the *kaang* particle more than any others.

(12) *nangkaang   yesit   ulak   taantaam.*
    [na=kaang   yasit]   ulak   taa-ntaa-m
    man=two   this:COM   story   say-FUT-1PL
    'I will tell the story with these two men.'

More often, *kaang* occurs in inclusory constructions such as the following. Here *nangkaang* identifies a focused man with another participant. This is then followed by the dyad construction *beut*, denoting a father-child pair. Interestingly, the child is a female.

(13)   *nangkaang*   *beut*   *yaalû*   *geksap*   *kugûmok.*
      [na=kaang   beut   yaalû]   geksap   ku-gû-mok
      man=two   father-child   two   hunt   go-RP-23DU
      'A father and child went hunting.' [skc12_04]

The most common function of *kaang* in MM is in coordinating animate NPs (see §18.2). This is similar to the use of *tupela* 'two' in Tok Pisin as a coordinator.

(14)   *talaabû,*   *meng*   **kaang**   *kansokkok*   *yemûng*
      talaab   [meng   kaang   kansok=lok]   ye-m-ng
      bring.up.SG   mother two   PN=DAT   3NSG.O-give-DS

      imo,   *naanggûtta*   *bagûmok.*
      idi=mo   naanggût-ta   ba-gû-mok
      this.ANA=already   get-SS   come-RP-23DU
      'Bringing him up, after giving him to his mother and Kansok, they got him and came.' [skc09_18]

18 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases may be coordinated in a number of different ways, depending on the animacy of the NP, the size of the NP, and whether conjunction or disjunction is needed. These are discussed in the following sections.

18.1   Apposition

When noun phrases are coordinated, they are often placed in apposition, with no marker of coordination between them. Take the following list of names as a prototypical example.

(1) *fode*   *flong,*   *fode*   *taamengsla,*   **raaji**   **bazakiec,**
   [fode   flong]   [fode   taamengsla]   [raaji   bazakiec
   Thursday   ALL   Thursday   morning   PN   PN

   mainsen,   **wili**   **daabû,**   *fûka*   *mo,*
   mainsen   wili   daabû]   fû-ka   mo
   PN   PN   fourthborn.female come.down-SS   already
   'On Thursday, Thursday morning, after Ragi, Bazakiec, Mainsen, Wili and Dabu came down…' [skc09_21]

Apposition also occurs with shorter noun phrases:

(2) **na**   **taamûng**   *fi*   *kodaa*   *fepmaangkongka*   *tûka,*
   [na   taamûng]   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
   man   woman   garden   new   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS put-SS

   bawaam.
   ba-waa-m.
   come-PRS-1PL
   'The men and women finish clearing the whole new garden and put it, and… we come.' [skc09_17]

When inalienable nouns are apposed, it is ambiguous whether the noun to the left is a possessor, or standing in a coordinative relationship. The following nouns are coordinated, but in another context it could also mean 'his wife's daughter and son':

(3) **taamin**   **welû**   **nanaa**   *kadet*   *kugûng.*
   [taamin   welû   nanaa]   kadet   ku-gû-ng
   wife.3SG.POSS   daughter.3SG.POSS   son.3SG.POSS   garden   go-RP-23PL
   'His wife and daughter and son went to the garden.' [skc12_16]

18.2   Animate conjunction *kaang*

The associative dual particle *kaang* (see §17.2) is often used to coordinate simple animate noun phrases. It occurs between two coordinated participants (4), or between the first and second coordinated participants of a series of three or more, as in (5)–(6).

(4) *mukuya   yodûka   kaafeng   ganang*
     mukuya   yodû-ka   [kaageng   ganang]
     pig   search.for-SS coffee   plot

   *kudu   kungalaam,   esi   **kaang**,   jeni.*
   kudu   ku-ngat-aa-m   [esi   kaang   jeni]
   level.DIST   go-be-NP-1PL   PN   two   PN
   'We looked for the pigs and went around there in the coffee garden, (with) Esi and Jeni.' [skc09_10]

(5) *saailas   **kaang**   kevin,   maanu,   nangkadek   wa   enaanggûtta...*
     [saailas   kaang   kevin   maanu]   [nangkadek   wa]   e-naanggût-ta
     PN   two   PN   PN   men   that 3NSG.O-get-SS
     'Silas, Kevin and Manu, after (he) got those guys…' [skc09_18]

(6) *muk   kusamba   amelika   **kaang**   jepen   aastlelia*
     [muk   kusamba]   [amelika   kaang   jepen   aastlelia]
     fight   big   PN   two   PN   PN

   walû   papua niugini   ya   mûkaamgûng.
   wa=lû   [papua niugini]   ya   mûkaam-gû-ng
   that=NOM   PN   here   fight-RP-23PL
   'The big fight—Americans, Japanese and Australians, they fought here in Papua New Guinea.' [skc12_15]

More rarely, *kaang* occurs between the final two participants in a list (like English *and*):

(7) *kep   nak,   geli,   tateng   **kaang**   garambon   gebûng   kugûm.*
     kep   [nak   geli   tateng   kaang   garambon] gebûng   ku-gû-m
     yesterday 1SG   PN   PN   two   PN   inside   go-RP-1PL
     'Yesterday I, Gerry, Tateng and Garambon went home.' [skc11_10c]

Kaang most often coordinates people, but it also coordinates demonymic functions of place names (see (6) above), as well as animals (8).

(8) *yagusuwa   **kaang**   kobûsenang   ulaksek   wadûng.*
     [yagusuwa   kaang   kobûse=nang   ulak-sek]   wa-dûng
     wild.fowl.sp two   chicken=GEN   story-23DU.POSS that-ADV
     'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

254

18.3 Comitative coordination

Most commonly, noun phrases are coordinated with the comitative case enclitic *=lit*. The enclitic generally attaches to the final element of each noun phrase.

(9) *kaauda*   ***wasit***   *kuyang*   ***wasit***   *naambe.*
    [kaauda   wasit   kuyang   wasit]   naa-m-be
    stone   that:COM   stick   that:COM   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
    'Give me that stone and that stick.' [DN04.47.09]

Comitative coordination is similar, but still different, from oblique comitative noun phrases. Comitative NPs are marked with the comitative enclitic, but crucially one NP will remain without the marking. This contrast between comitative case and comitative coordination, where the marker occurs on each coordinand, is seen in other Papuan languages as well—e.g. Tauya (MacDonald 1990:137).

(10) *tûmanggût tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   ***kagat***   ***wasit***
    [tûmang-gût~tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [kagat   wasit]
    before-RSTR~before-RSTR   very   place   that:COM

    nantaam   *ya*   *dom*   *agûng.*
    nantaam   ya   dom   at-gû-ng
    people   this   NEG   be-RP-23PL
    'A very long time ago, the people with this village were not here.' [skc11_16]

Comitative coordination also produces NPs with reciprocal meaning:

(11) *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   ***bantit,***   ***belit,***
    [[taamûng   nanak-sû   ban=lit]   [be=lit]]
    woman   child-23NSG.POSS   a=COM   father.3SG.POSS=COM

    geksap   *kugûmok*
    geksap   ku-gû-mok
    hunt   go-RP-23DU
    'Their daughter with her father went hunting.' [skc12_04]

18.4 Disjunction

Disjunction is accomplished in one of two ways. First of all, the dubitative enclitic *=wa* can attach to each disjunctive noun phrase, as shown below. More often, however, this enclitic is used to express the dubitative modality (§26.2.2), or to produce polar interrogatives (§28.2.2).

(12) *kagang   yangaatûkugû   mo,   emak   **yaalûwa   yaalanangka***
kagang   ya=ngat-ku-gû   mo   [emak   yaalû=wa]   yaalanang=wa
village   here=be-go-DUR   already   moon   two=DUB   three=DUB

wan   yaabûka...
wa-n   yaa-b-ka
that-ANA   3PL.O-see-SS
'After remaining here in the village for maybe two or three months,...' (lit. 'seeing two or three moons...') [skc09_17]

The second method of producing disjunction is more common. Each disjunctive noun phrase is marked with the disjunctive enclitic =*wek*.

(13) **kaaudawek   kuyangkek   yokeppek**   *naambe.*
kaauda=wek   kuyang=wek   yokep=wek   naa-m-be
stone=DISJ   stick=DISJ   tongs=DISJ   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
'Give me either the stone or the stick or the tongs.' [DN04.47.14]

When it only one noun phrase occurs, the result is elliptical. The effect is rhetorical, or sometimes allows the addressee to fill in the gap with the missing noun phrase.

(14) *kep   gak   ip   **bantek**   talaamgong?*
kep   gak   [ip   ban=wek]   talaam-go-ng
yesterday   2SG   bird   a=DISJ   shoot-RP-2SG
'Yesterday did you shoot a bird or?' [DN01.117.12]

PART V: DEIXIS

Part V provides a description of two deictic systems in Ma Manda. First, I address the independent ("free") pronouns (Chapter 19), including discussions of both a basic and an emphatic paradigm. Second, I discuss demonstratives (Chapter 20), identifying a bipartite division of forms for accessible and inaccessible referents. Accessible referents are identified with either spatial or anaphoric demonstratives, while entities which are outside of the immediate speech situation are identified with topographic demonstratives, a paradigmatic set that encodes the relative distance and elevation from the deictic center. Once these semantic and pragmatic characteristics are defined, I address their morpho-syntactic characteristics as nominal, adverbial, and verbal forms.

19 Pronouns

Two separate paradigms of personal pronouns are utilized in Ma Manda: a basic pronoun set (§19.1) and an emphatic pronoun set (§19.2). This opposition also occurs in the Erap languages Uri (Webb 1980:33) and Numanggang (Hynum 1995:1–3), as well as Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:399) and most other FH languages (McElhanon 1973:21). The basic pronoun set is functionally unmarked, while the emphatic set is used to mark contrast and focus. Both sets allow postpositional case enclitics which identify their grammatical relations within the clause. The main syntactic functions of pronouns are as NP heads and as possessors. They may be modified—as in (7)—but they have not been found to occur in the predicate slot.

The basic pronoun paradigm is impoverished in person and number, in comparison with the emphatic paradigm. In the basic set, first and second person are distinguished, as well as singular and non-singular number. That is, MM does not possess a third person basic pronoun, unlike most of its neighboring related languages. Instead, demonstratives are used with pronominal function to refer to third person referents. Therefore number is not distinguished in the third person either. In the emphatic set, singular, dual and plural number are distinguished for all three persons. Nungon also exhibits the addition of a dual number category in its emphatic set (Sarvasy 2014d:399).

19.1   Basic pronouns

The basic pronoun paradigm, which is the functionally unmarked set of independent pronouns, is presented in Table 19.1. These forms, with the exception of the second person plural, are diachronically related to the proto FH (McElhanon 1973) free pronouns (as well as the putative proto TNG (Ross 2005; Pawley 2012) forms).

TABLE 19.1: BASIC PRONOUNS

	SG	NSG
1	*nak*	*nûndû*
2	*gak*	*sûdû*

Two persons are distinguished, as well as two numbers, forming a symmetrical four-term set. The forms are illustrated below.

(1) *kep* **nak** *longala* **sûdû** *fûgûmok.*
kep nak lo-ng-la sûdû fû-gû-mok
yesterday 1SG go.up-DS-1SG 2NSG come.down-RP-23DU
'Yesterday I went up, (but) only you (DU) came down.' [DN03.269.09]

(2) **gak** *wika* *met* *bataang.*
gak wi-ka met ba-taa-ng
2SG bathe-SS later come-FUT-2SG
'You bathe and come later.' [DN04.70.25]

(3) **nûndû** *sûbat* *nawaam.*
nûndû sûbat na-waa-m
1NSG food eat-PRS-1PL
'We are eating.' [DN01.89.31]

Unlike the neighboring languages which have been described, MM does not have a third person pronoun—though nearby Tayatuk appears to lack a third person pronoun also (Valérie Guérin, p.c.). As is common for such "1/2 systems" (Dixon 2010b:190), demonstratives are used to refer to third person entities instead. The default distal spatial demonstrative *wa* 'that' is the most common choice, but any demonstrative may be used depending on the accessibility and location of the referent and the situational context of the speech event. This is illustrated in (4)–(5), with the distal spatial demonstrative *wa* identifying a singular and a plural referent, respectively. As shown here, the demonstratives do not take a plural marker. The portmanteau verbal suffixes identify the number of referents instead. These bound pronominal forms distinguish singular, dual, and plural number (cf. Chapter 21). Verbal prefixes also encode number for objects, as shown in (6) below.

(4) **wa** *kuyak.*
wa ku-ya-k
that go-PRS-3SG
'He has left.' [DN01.025.09]

(5) **wa** *bagûmok.*
wa ba-gû-mok
that come-RP-23DU
'They (DU) came.' [skc09_18]

Demonstrative pronouns may also be used to refer to inanimate objects, as shown in (6). Here the speaker discusses how happy his people become when they first see that their produce has sprouted up from the ground during harvest.

(6) **wa** *yaabû* *daampaka...*
wa yaa-b daampa-ka
that 3NSG.O-see happy-SS
'seeing them (we) rejoice and…' [skc09_17]

259

The use of third person pronouns for inanimate objects is rare in Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:401), and is categorically disallowed in Mauwake (Järvinen 1991:61) and Pamosu (Tupper 2012:124). In Pamosu, this type of anaphora is reserved for demonstratives instead. These facts further support the argument that these forms in Ma Manda are not pronouns, but demonstratives. The varied functions of demonstratives are addressed in more detail in Chapter 20.

Unlike the portmanteau verbal suffixes which cross-reference the subject, the basic free pronoun system does not have a dual category. Dual number is simply expressed on the verb, as shown above in (1). In order to explicitly identify a dual referent, and thus focus on its duality (i.e. in contrast to expectation), a complex noun phrase may be utilized, as in (7). Pronouns may also be modified by quantifiers, as in (8), as well by (pre-head) modifying nouns.

(7) ***nûndû***   ***yaalû***   *kaadûp*   *isopmûngatna,*
    [nûndû   yaalû]   kaadûp   isopm-ng-tna
    1NSG   two   wood   hold.NSG-DS-1NSG

    klistal   *lû*   *kapmalang*   *begok.*
    [klistal   lû]   kapmalang   be-go-k
    Crystal   NOM   underneath   put.NSG-RP-3SG
    'Both of us were holding the wood (while) Crystal put it under (the house).'
    [DN04.78.67]

(8) ***sûdû***   ***fentagût***   *kapa*   *kuntaangka.*
    [sûdû   fentagût]   kapa   ku-ntaa-ng=wa
    2NSG   all   worship   go-FUT-23PL=DUB
    'Will you all go to worship?' [DN02.177.04]

Of course, pronouns may fill a number of grammatical roles. The basic pronouns are not marked when in subject or object position, as shown in (9) and (10), respectively.

(9) ***nak***   *tetaat.*
    nak   te-taa-t
    1SG   dance-FUT-1SG
    'I will dance.' [DN01.083.12]

(10) *kep*   ***gak***   *gaabûgot.*
    kep   gak   gaa-b-go-t
    yesterday   2SG   2SG.O-see-RP-1SG
    'Yesterday I saw you.' [DN01.121.22]

Pronouns may also fill oblique NP slots, in which case they are required to be marked for case. The basic paradigm is shown in Table 19.2.

TABLE 19.2: CASE-MARKED BASIC PRONOUNS

	GEN (=*nang*)	DAT (=*lok*)	COM (=*lit*)
1SG	*nonang*	*nok*	*not*
2SG	*gonang*	*gok*	*got*
1NSG	*nûndûnang*	*nûndok*	*nûndot*
2NSG	*sûdûnang*	*sûdok*	*sûdot*

As shown in (9), pronouns do not take nominative marking. This pattern is in line with the disallowance of ergatively-marked pronouns in neighboring Numanggang (Hynum 2010:134) and Fore (Scott 1986:169–170). As discussed in §16.2 and in Pennington (2013b), the nominative case in Ma Manda appears to have formed from a previously ergative system. The fact that the *demonstratives* may be marked for nominative case when in subject position is further evidence that they are not pronouns.[9]

(11) **walû**   *kuwang.*
     wa=lû   ku-wang
     that=NOM   go-PRS:23PL
     'They have left.' [DN01.025.07]

The pronouns do take genitive, dative, and comitative case, while they have not been observed taking the instrumental, benefactive, locative, or allative cases. Interestingly, just as in Nungon, the first and second person singular pronouns have fused with their case enclitics (Sarvasy 2014d:401). For example, for the 1SG dative form we see *nok* instead of *nak=lok*. Unlike Nungon, however, the non-singular forms have also fused with the dative and comitative enclitics (e.g. *nûndû=lok → nûndok*). Additional evidence for the fusion of these forms is syntactic: case-markers are cliticized to the end of an NP, but pronouns with fused case enclitics remain in the same form even when followed by a modifier. This is shown in (12).

(12) *kaauda*   *wa*   **nûndok**   *yaalû*   *nûmbe.*
     [kaauda   wa]   [nûndok   yaalû]   n-m-be
     stone   that   1NSG:DAT   two   1NSG.O-give-IRR.SG
     'Give that stone to both of us.' [DN04.45.02]

The following examples illustrate the case-marked pronouns: genitive in (13), comitative in (14), and dative in (16).

---

[9] Comparing (4) with (11), it is clear that nominative case-marking is optional. In §16.2 I argue that this is directly related to information structure: only focused subjects bear nominative case. See Chapter 30 for a discussion of information structure in MM.

(13)   **nonang**   *mukuyana*   *yaalanang.*
       [nonang   mukuya-na]   yaalanang
       1SG:GEN   pig-1SG.POSS   three
       'I have three pigs.' [DN05.31.05]

The following common leave-taking statement illustrates the comitative case on the second person forms.

(14)   *malompûnang*   *klaklen*   **got / sûdot**   *alûtaak.*
       [malom=lûnang   klaklen]   got / sûdot   at-taa-k
       lord=GEN   peace   2SG:COM / 2NSG:COM   be-FUT-3SG
       'The Lord's peace be with you / you (NSG).' [DN02.225.06/07]

As a further illustration, the following minimal pair contrasts the use of the basic first person singular pronoun (15) with its dative counterpart (16).

(15)   **nak**   *naambe.*
       nak   naa-b-be
       1SG   1SG.O-see-IRR.SG
       'Look at me!' [skc12_10]

(16)   **nok**   *naambe.*
       nok   naa-m-be
       1SG:DAT   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
       'Give it to me!' [skc12_10]

Here, it is the difference in pronoun alone which differentiates the meaning of the verb. The verbal forms are homophonous due to prenasalization of the bilabial stop in (15), as well as degemination of its consecutive bilabial stops. Due to the homophonous verb forms, the pronouns are virtually indispensible here for disambiguation of the verb.

Note that (12), (14) and (16) show a mismatch in the sense that the verbs mark the first person as the primary object, and yet the first person recipients are marked, an atypical pattern for objects in Ma Manda. This is due to the preference for marking animate undergoers as primary objects, which is a common cross-linguistic pattern. These pronouns are marked with dative and benefactive cases.

Finally, the first person singular pronoun may take a mirative suffix *-nge,* which indicates delight and surprise. This form is quite similar to the singular emphatic pronoun suffix *-nga*. Such a term may be used, for example, when someone is suprised that another has brought them food. The suffix has not been observed with anything other than the first person singular pronoun.

(17) **naknge!** *yenggûlong.* *sidawa* *febûnaamûlang?*
     nak-nge   yengglong   sida=wa   feb-naa-m-la-ng
     1SG-MIR   thank.you   sweet.potato=DUB   bring.NSG-1SG.O-give-PRS-2SG
     'Oh my! Thank you. You've brought me sweet potato?' [DN04.039.02]

19.2   Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronoun paradigm is presented in Table 19.3.

TABLE 19.3: EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

	SG	DU	PL
1	*naknga ~ naa*	*nûnek*	*nûnûng*
2	*gaknga ~ gaa*	*sûdek*	*sûdûng*
3	*ni*	*nisek*	*(n)isûng*

In this richer paradigm, a dual category is added, as well as the third person, producing a symmetrical nine-term set. These forms are used in a number of ways, including contrast, focus, and (contrastive) possession. The first and second person singular forms are in the process of reduction, such that, e.g. *naknga* is losing the word-medial stops and forming *naa*, with heavy vocalic nasalization.[10] Synchronically, either form is equally acceptable, though the shorter forms are somewhat more preferred when case-marked (presumably due to the reduced word length). The third person singular *ni* appears related to the same forms in Numanggang (*nee*) and Nungon (*ino*).

Example (18) illustrates the contrastive function of both the first and third person singular forms.

(18) **ni** *beng* *segok* *taka* *yenûnggok,*
     ni   beng   se-go-k   ta-ka   ye-n-go-k
     3SG.EMPH   pandanus   cook-RP-3SG   do-SS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG

     sûdû *kûda* *seneng.* **naknga** *beng* *setaat.*
     {{sûdû   kûda   se-ne-ng   nak-nga   beng   se-taa-t}}
     2NSG   greens   cook-IRR.PL-23NSG   1SG-EMPH   pandanus   cook-FUT-1SG
     '*He* cooked the pandanus and told them, "You (NSG) cook the greens. *I* will cook the pandanus."' [skc11_16]

This excerpt is from a traditional legend that describes when a magical spirit man came and created a potion which opened the people's eyes, ears, and mouths, allowing them to speak for the first time. The most important part of the potion is the pandanus, and the story

---

[10] The loss of intervocalic consonants is a prevalent phenomenon in the fast speech register (Chapter 6), leading to phonologized vowel length over time.

focuses on the fact that the man, and not the people, was responsible for this part of the process.

Any time a subject is preceded by a topicalized argument—either coreferential with the subject, or an object—then the subject pronoun occurs in the emphatic form. This is the focusing function of emphatic pronouns. Example (19), taken from a recorded prayer, shows a topical object followed by the second person singular subject in emphatic form. Example (20) shows a topical subject followed by a resumptive third person singular emphatic pronoun, occupying the subject slot. Here, an optional pause break occurs between the topical proper noun and the resumptive pronoun. The same pattern, except with a full NP rather than a proper noun, is shown in (21).

(19) *kami   kunum   **gaknga**   tamaangka   begong.*
     [kami   kunum]   gak-nga   ta-maa-ka   be-go-ng
     land   sky   2SG-EMPH   make-CMPL-SS   put.NSG-RP-2SG
     'The heavens and the earth, *you* created them all.' [skc12_06]

(20) *klowi (,)   **ni**   lowek.*
     klowi   ni   lo-be-k
     PN   3SG.EMPH   go.up-IRR.SG-3SG
     'Chloe, *she* will go up.' [DN04.225.02]

(21) *tang   na   kusang kusang   **nisûng**   mi   tawangka*
     ta-ng   [na   kusang~kusang]   nisûng   mi   tawang-ka
     do-DS   man   big~big   3PL.EMPH   water   follow-SS
     'And the big guys, they followed the water…' [skc12_13]

Further, responses to questions about a pronominal S or A argument require emphatic forms, as in (22). The basic pronouns are infelicitous in such environments of inherent focus.

(22) *nettû   baang?*
     net=lû   ba-a-ng
     who=NOM   come-PRS-2SG
     'Who (are) you (that is) coming?' [DN04.075.56]

(23) **Attempted responses to (22):**
     a. naknga   baat.
        nak-nga   ba-a-t
        1SG-EMPH   come-PRS-1SG
        'I am coming.'

b. *#nak*   *baat.*
   nak   ba-a-t
   1SG   come-PRS-1SG

c. **nakkû*   *baat.*
   nak=lû   ba-a-t
   1SG=NOM   come-PRS-1SG

The emphatic forms have not been found to function reflexively. Instead, specific verb forms are used for reflexive meaning. For example, the lexeme *ufa-* 'hang oneself' does not need a reflexive pronoun due to its lexical reflexive meaning. More research is needed to determine whether reflexive meaning can be conveyed by these emphatic pronouns. However, autoreflexivity is conveyed with the use of the restrictive suffix (§11.6). This morpheme can attach to the emphatic pronouns to convey exclusivity, as illustrated in (24). Note that on pronouns a more complex form (*-lagût*) is used than the basic *-gût* restrictive clitic. The pronominal forms are shown in Table 19.4.

(24) *kep*   *logûmang,*   **naalagût**   *fûgot.*
      kep   {lo-gû-m=nang}   nak-nga-lagût   fû-go-t
      yesterday   go.up-RP-1PL=LOC   1SG-EMPH-RSTR   come.down-RP-1SG
      'Only I came down from where we went up yesterday.' [DN02.251.21]

TABLE 19.4: RESTRICTIVE PRONOUNS

	SG	DU	PL
1	*nakngalagût* *~ naalagût*	*nûnekkagût*	*nûnûngkagût*
2	*gaknalagût* *~ gaalagût*	*sûdekkagût*	*sûdûngkagût*
3	*nilagût*	*nisekkagût*	*(n)isûngkagût*

The emphatic pronouns have not been observed to occur in object position, presumably due to the rarity of focused objects. They may bear genitive, benefactive, and dative enclitics, however. As with the basic forms, the emphatic forms have not been found with nominative, instrumental, locative, or allative case-markers. They have also not been observed taking comitative case-markers and, with the exception of the third person singular form, the benefactive case-marker is lacking as well. More research is needed to determine which restrictions are due to a limited corpus, and which are due to grammatical requirements.

TABLE 19.5: CASE-MARKED EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

	GEN (=*nang*, =*lûnang*)	BEN (=*la*)	DAT (=*lok*)
1SG	*naknganang* ~ *naanang*		*nakngalok* ~ *naalok*
2SG	*gaknganang* ~ *gaanang*		*gakngalok* ~ *gaalok*
3SG	*ninang*	*nila*	*nilok*
1DU	*nûnekkûnang*		*nûnekkok*
2DU	*sûdekkûnang*		*sûdekkok*
3DU	*nisekkûnang*		*nisekkok*
1PL	*nûnûngkûnang*		*nûnûngkok*
2PL	*sûdûngkûnang*		*sûdûngkok*
3PL	*(n)isûngkûnang*		*(n)isûngkok*

As seen in Table 19.5, these forms are much more regular than their basic counterparts. The only variation occurs with the genitive case, but this is a result of idiosyncratic behavior of the case marker, and not the pronouns. Due to the regularity of case-marked emphatic pronouns, they are analyzed as morphologically divisible: the forms of these clitics behave the same on nouns. The emphatic pronouns appear to operate much more like common nouns than the basic pronouns. For example, without a pause break before *ni* in (20), the pronoun appears to function adnominally. More research is needed to determine whether the emphatic pronouns can productively modify NPs. No examples exist in the corpus of emphatic pronouns being modified, so this is one difference between emphatic pronouns and both pronouns and nouns.

The genitive forms are illustrated below. The use of the emphatic pronouns with genitive case carries either contrastive or reflexive possessive meaning. That is, rather than 'his' in (25), the meaning of *ninang* is 'his own' place—America, in contrast to Papua New Guinea where the prior events of the story occurred.

(25) *kagang*   **ninang**   *amelika*   *maangkugok.*
    [kagang   ni=nang   amelika]   maa=ku-go-k
    place   3SG.EMPH=GEN   America   wholly=go-RP-3SG
    'He went back to his own place, America.' [skc12_05]

(26) **nûnûngkûnang**   *manda*
    [nûnûng=lûnang   manda]
    1PL.EMPH=GEN   talk
    '*our* speech' [skc12_06]

The benefactive and dative forms are illustrated in (27) and (28), respectively.

266

(27) *mi*   ***nila***   *naandûka…*
       mi   ni=la   naandû-ka
       water   3SG.EMPH=BEN   feel-SS
       'She is thirsty… ' [skc12_04]

(28) ***naalok***   *naambe.*
       nak-nga=lok   naa-m-be
       1SG-EMPH=DAT   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
       'Give it to *me*.' [DN05.071.03]

267

20 Demonstratives

Ma Manda has a rich system of ten demonstratives which enable a speaker to communicate in great detail about particular referents, establishing both their physical location, and the presumed shared knowledge between the speaker and his/her addressees regarding such referents.

Pragmatically, the demonstratives are utilized both "exophorically" (i.e. "situational use" (Himmelmann 1996)), indexing referents within the physical environment, and "endophorically", indexing referents within the discourse environment (Halliday & Hasan 1976:57–76; Diessel 1999:6). Syntactically, they function nominally, adverbially and predicatively. They are also frequently utilized to subordinate clauses via nominalization ("domain-creating constructions" (Reesink 1994)). Morphologically, they bear one of eight case enclitics which identify their syntactic roles, though the anaphoric and topographic sets are heavily restricted in this regard. All demonstratives may bear the emphatic suffix just like pronouns, but with the unique function of increasing vividness during climactic points of a story.

The demonstratives form a symmetrical paradigm which may be divided into two sets based upon accessibility. The speaker chooses which demonstrative set to use depending on whether they believe the addressee is readily able to identify a particular referent. The first set, consisting of four forms, is used to identify referents which are deemed by the speaker to be immediately accessible to the addressee. This set can be further divided into spatial and anaphoric categories. The two "spatial demonstratives" are used to identify referents with regard to their physical proximity to the speaker ('this' vs. 'that'). Endophorically, these forms are used to exclusively identify referents which are already topical in the discourse context. The two "anaphoric demonstratives" are used to identify referents with regard to their discourse proximity to the current speech event ('this aforementioned' vs. 'that aforementioned'). They identify referents which are not topical at present, and activate them for further propositions. Though such entities are not currently activated, the speaker's assessment is that the addressee can retrieve the information due to the preceding discourse context, or due to the physical proximity of the referent.

The second set, consisting of six forms, is used to identify referents which are deemed by the speaker to be inaccessible to the addressee. That is, the speaker knows that such a

referent is not located within the immediate physical surroundings, and believes that it cannot be uniquely retrieved from the preceding discourse context. Since such entities are not located within the immediate speech situation, this system provides the mechanism for greater detail to be communicated, with both proximal and distal forms for three elevational categories—up, level and down. These are herein referred to as "topographic demonstratives".

The ten demonstratives are displayed in Table 20.1.

TABLE 20.1: DEMONSTRATIVE PARADIGM

		PROX	DIST
Spatial		*ya*	*wa*
Anaphoric		*idi*	*udu*
Topographic	Up	*kan*	*kun*
	Level	*kadû*	*kudu*
	Down	*kam*	*kum*

A number of comments are in order regarding the demonstrative forms. First, note the iconic relationship between front vowels and nearness, and back vowels and farness. This type of sound symbolism is quite common cross-linguistically (Diessel 1999:151; Dixon 2010a:69; Woodworth 1991; Ultan 1978; Traunmüller 1994). Tupper (2012:152) argues for a similar paradigmatic relationship in Pamosu between its "distance-based" and "knowledge-based" demonstratives.[11] Second, note that all the topographic forms begin with *k-*, and in that set the proximal/distal meanings are expressed by the *a/u* vowel alternation. Third, since there is a general tendency in MM for consonant elision between identical vowels (Chapter 6), three forms have shorter counterparts: *idi→i*, *udu→u*, *kudu→ku*. Finally, the anaphoric and level topographic demonstratives end in *-dV*. This appears to be a cognate of the ergative postposition *di* that operates in a number of neighboring languages, having undergone high vowel reduction, and subsequent vowel harmony. The form *di* is synchronically meaningless in MM—which is a reason behind its tendency for the elision described above. The form is also present in the 1NSG pronoun *nûndû*, though in this case *dû* cannot be elided.[12]

The semantics and pragmatic functions of each demonstrative category are described in the forthcoming sections: spatial demonstratives in §20.1.1, anaphoric demonstratives in §20.1.2, and topographic demonstratives in §20.1.3. This includes discussion not only of the

---

[11] Interestingly, Pamosu's demonstrative paradigm is a counter-example to the iconicity seen in MM. That is, the proximal forms have rounded back vowels with labio-velar approximants, while the distal forms have high, front and unrounded vowels with coronal consonants: proximal *we/wo*, *o*; distal *eye*, *ine*.

[12] In nearby Tayatuk, *nin* is the 1PL pronoun, while its focused form is *nindi* (Guérin 2015).

semantic differences between these demonstrative subcategories, but also their various functions in participant and textual anaphora. Note that, while all demonstratives have anaphoric functions, one pair in particular (*idi/udu*) are named "anaphoric demonstratives" due to their semantic characteristics. They are a separate formal pair, as shown in Table 20.1 above. The spatial forms can also function in discourse anaphora, with the anaphoric suffix *-(i)n*.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to addressing the morphosyntactic behaviors that demonstratives exhibit, conflating the demonstrative categories based on their syntactic distribution. After describing their morphological characteristics in §20.2, I identify three functions of demonstratives in MM—nominal (§20.3.1), adverbial (§20.3.2) and manner adverbial (§20.3.3). Next, I describe the behavior of the emphatic suffix, which can attach to every demonstrative to increase vividness of a salient event (§20.4), and then in §20.5 I briefly illustrate a number of ways in which the distal spatial demonstrative has been grammaticalized: an adverb *wadûgût* 'also', two clausal conjunctions (e.g. *wala* 'therefore'), and even what seems to be an honorific pronoun *wanak*.

The semantics, pragmatic functions, morphological characteristics, and syntactic behaviors of the demonstratives are summarized in preview below.

TABLE 20.2: DEMONSTRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS & FUNCTIONS

		Spatial	Anaphoric	Topographic
Semantics	Egocentric	+	+	+
	Physical distance	+	–	+
	Elevation	–	–	+
	Temporal extension	+	–	+
Anaphora	Participant anaphora	+	+	+
	Participant cataphora	–	–	–
	Textual anaphora	+	–	–
	Textual cataphora	+	–	–
	Event anaphora	+	–	–
	Event cataphora	?	–	–
Morphology	Case-marking	+	–	+
	Case restrictions	–	+	+
	Emphatic suffix	+	+	+
	Restrictive suffix	+	–	+
	Manner adverbial suffix	+	–	–
Syntax	Adnominal	+	+	+
	Pronominal	+	+	+
	Finite clause subordination	+	–	–
	Locative adverbial	+	–	+
	Manner adverbial	+	–	–
Grammaticalized functions	Adverb	+	–	–
	Conjunction	+	–	–
	Honorific pronoun	+	–	–

20.1 Types of demonstratives

20.1.1 Spatial demonstratives

MM has two "spatial" demonstratives *ya* 'this' and *wa* 'that'. The most basic function of these forms is to orient the addressee to the physical location of an entity—the exophoric function. This deixis is speaker-oriented, meaning that the forms identify the physical separation between speakers and the referents about which they speak. The form *ya* 'this' indexes a referent which is deemed to be near the speaker. This nearness is not exact, but is determined by its location relative to other possible referents. This means that it is naturally used for items in the speaker's hand, as in (1), as well as for visible referents some distance from the speech act participants, as in (2).

(1) *manggat*   ***ya***   *walawala*   *isopmbaan.*
    [manggat   ya]   wala~wala   isopm-baan
    thing   this   image~image   hold.NSG-NMLZ
    'This thing is a camera.' (lit. 'This thing is an images-holder.') [DN03.305.14]

(2) *yot*   ***ya***   *uyambûtaat.*
    [yot   ya]   uyang-bû-taa-t
    house   this   dismantle-EP-FUT-1SG
    'I'm going to dismantle this house.' [DN02.245.10]

The form *wa* 'that' indexes a referent which is deemed to be relatively far from the speaker, though again this is not exact, but in relation to other possible referents. This is illustrated in (3), where the referent is in the addressee's hands, and in (4), where the referent is some distance away from both speech act participants (a minimal pair with (2)).

(3) *molû*   ***wa***   *naambe.*
    [molû   wa]   naa-m-be
    citrus   that   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
    'Give me that orange.' [DN04.43.01]

(4) *yot*   ***wa***   *uyambûtaat.*
    [yot   wa]   uyang-bû-taa-t
    house   that   dismantle-FUT-1SG
    'I'm going to dismantle that house.' [DN02.245.11]

When no demonstrative is used, as in (5), then the speaker has determined that there is simply no need to focus on the referent. This means that the referent may be either indefinite, or so topical that no possibility for confusion exists.

(5) *molû*   *gem*   *sakoka*   *glup*   *flong*   *tûwe.*
    [molû   gem]   sako-ka   [glup   flong]   tû-be
    citrus   ripe   hold.3SG-SS   plate   ALL   put.SG-IRR.SG
    'Grab a/the ripe orange and put it on a/the plate.' [DN03.273.05]

A demonstrative may co-occur with the indefinite marker *ban* 'a, other' as well. Compare (6) with (3) above.

(6) *molû*   ***ban***   ***wa***   *naambe.*
    [molû   ban   wa]   naa-m-be
    citrus   a   that   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
    'Give me one of those oranges.' [DN04.043.02]

In almost all cases, the two spatial demonstratives are interchangeable, depending upon the particular contrast sought by the speaker. It is infelicitous, however, to use the distal form for an object located in the speaker's own hands.

(7) *#molû*   *wa*   *sakobe.*
    [molû   wa]   sako-be
    citrus   that   hold.3SG-IRR.SG
    for: 'Take this orange.' [holding the orange]

In practice, distal *wa* serves as the functionally unmarked form. It is utilized to identify a specific and definite topical referent, even when no spatial information needs to be conveyed. This is a common pattern in languages that lack an alternative means of reference tracking such as a definite article: "the demonstrative often loses its emphatic pointing function when used for tracking" (Cleary-Kemp 2007:337; Fox 1984:61). This is evident in (8), a common childrens' phrase about an imaginary monster that only children fear. Only one referent is possible, and the distal demonstrative is used to identify it as given, without deictic reference. In this way, it has lost its deictic role and functions like a definite article.

(8) *an*   ***wa***   *baak!*
     [an   wa]   ba-a-k
     bogeyman   that   come-PRS-3SG
     'The bogeyman is coming!' [DN05.41.01]

Further evidence for this as the default form is its ubiquity in clause nominalizations, as well as its exclusive use in several grammaticalizations. Due to the default use of the distal spatial demonstrative, the proximal form often carries a contrastive meaning. That is, while *wa* is used to identify definite topical referents, *ya* is typically reserved for a definite topical referent *to the exclusion* of other possible referents which are also topical. As such, it is significantly rarer.

The demonstratives can also function exophorically as manner adverbs, as in (9)–(10).

(9) ***yadûng***   *tabe.*
     ya-dûng   tab-be
     this-ADV   do-IRR.SG
     'Do like this!'

(10) ***wadûng***   *dom.*
     wa-dûng   dom
     that-ADV   NEG
     'Not like that.' [DN02.223.04]

As shown in (7), the frame of reference is necessarily the speaker. However, in a discourse, the deictic center often shifts to follow topical participants and scenes, and the choice of demonstrative shifts with it. This is Himmelmann's (1996:222) "imaginary deixis", a subtype of exophoric use, as opposed to the "simple" type shown thus far. Cleary-Kemp (2007:334) explains that "it involves a shift of perspective, whereby the real world in which the utterance occurs stands in for the narrated world. As such, the deictic center is no longer the actual speaker; rather it is something else, usually a participant in the narrative." Quoted speech constitutes the clearest example: in (11), a resting-place is indexed with the distal

273

demonstrative in locative adverbial function, and then immediately afterward in a quotation it is re-indexed with the proximal demonstrative.

(11) *...adaampawaanang*   ***wa***   *baka*   *welûlû*
{adaampa-baan=nang}   wa   ba-ka   welû=lû
rest-NMLZ=LOC   there   come-SS   daughter.3SG.POSS=NOM

taagok,   *bep,*   ***ya***   *adaampawet.*
taa-go-k   {{bep   ya   adaampa-be-t}}
say-RP-3SG   father   here   rest-IRR.SG-1SG
'(They) came there to the resting-place and his daughter said, "Dad, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

Though exophoric uses are often considered to be a demonstrative's fundamental role (Fillmore 1982; Anderson & Keenan 1985; Himmelmann 1996; Cleary-Kemp 2007), endophoric functions are exceedingly more common in daily language usage. As is cross-linguistically common, the same forms are used in Ma Manda for both exophoric and endophoric purposes (Diessel 1999).

While the spatial demonstratives encode physical distance from the speaker, they also encode discourse distance from the speech context. In this function, they do not relate to physical distance at all. The distal form is used to anaphorically identify topical (activated) referents, assuming a shared knowledge and familiarity of such referents by the addressee. The proximal form *ya*, just as with its exophoric use, serves a contrastive role to identify a particularly salient, topical referent to the exclusion of other activated referents. The exophoric near/far opposition is the source of the decision to use the "proximal" and "distal" terminology, even though the endophoric use abstracts away from physical distance. Once again note that, while this discussion addresses the participant anaphoric use of "spatial demonstratives", §20.1.2 addresses "anaphoric demonstratives". These names, while possibly misleading, reflect the underlying semantic contrast. All demonstratives may function anaphorically, but the "anaphoric demonstratives" are a pair of forms which are identified both formally and semantically.

In (12) a demon is the most salient participant of the immediately preceding discourse, and is therefore marked with *wa*. He comes and attacks a young girl, who is the other main participant, and is of primary importance for the plot; she is thus marked with *ya*.

(12)   *manggat*   **wa**   *taamûng*   *nanak*   **ya**lûnang   *membû*
      [manggat   wa]   [taamûng   nanak   ya=lûnang   membû
      demon   that   female   child   this=GEN   head

      kudaalû   *mo*   *dobûka*   *tukungak.*
      kudaalû]   mo   dob-ka   tuku-nga-k
      bone.3SG.POSS   already   cut-SS   take.SG-NP-3SG
      'After the demon cut off this girl's head, (he) took it away.' [skc12_04]

The discussion to this point has revolved around the use of spatial demonstratives in the speech situation, as well as in participant anaphora (note that demonstratives have not been found to refer cataphorically to participants). Demonstratives are also used for textual anaphora ("discourse deixis" (Himmelmann 1996:224)), referring to an immediately adjacent proposition or discourse. They may be used anaphorically or cataphorically, referring backward, or forward, respectively. The spatial forms are used for this purpose, and in this function they occur with the anaphoric suffix *-n*.

Example (13) is taken from the opening line of a recorded text, referring cataphorically to what the speaker was preparing to say. The same form is used anaphorically in (14), taken from the final line of a text. Finally, *wan* is used in (15) to refer anaphorically to a direct speech quotation. While *wan* may function cataphorically in the opening of a discourse, it only functions anaphorically in the framing of speech reports.

(13)   *kep*   **wan**   *tagot.*
      kep   wa-n   ta-go-t
      yesterday   that-ANA   do-RP-1SG
      'Yesterday I did this.' [skc10_01]

(14)   *nonang*   *ulak*   *ba*   **wan**   *aawelak.*
      [nonang   ulak]   ba   wa-n   aawe-la-k
      1SG:GEN   story   come   that-ANA   finish-PRS-3SG
      'My story comes to finish like that.' [skc11_05b]

(15)   *nolû*   *bantû*   *nûnggok,*   *manggadom.*   *nak*
      [nolû   ban=lû]   nû-go-k   {{manggat:dom   nak
      brother.3SG.POSS   other=NOM   tell-RP-3SG   thing:NEG   1SG

      kuwet.   **wan**   *taaka*   *monggok,*   *yolang.*
      ku-be-t}}   wa-n   taa-ka   mo-go-k   yolang
      go-IRR.SG-1SG   that-ANA   say-SS   go.down-RP-3SG   PN
      'His other brother told him, "No problem. Let me go." He said this and went down, to Yolang.' [skc12_11]

The use of the proximal form *ya* conveys increased discourse-level salience, and therefore it occurs in climactic points of a text, as in (16). In this example a demon comes and chops off the protagonist's head and takes it away.

(16) *manggat   ban   bagok,   maasalai   walû.*
     [manggat   ban]   ba-go-k   [maasalai   wa=lû]
     demon   a   come-RP-3SG   spirit   that=NOM

     yan   *ba*   *bûkngaan*   *dobûka*   *blaampa...*
     ya-n   ba   bûkngaan   dob-ka   blaam-pa
     this-ANA   come   neck   cut-SS   carry-SS
     'A demon came, a *masalai* spirit. Coming like this it cut (her) neck and carried [her head away]…' [skc12_04]

In (17) *yan* surfaces as *in*, apparently a reduction.

(17) *wa   logûm   walû   tawaang   kun   longkadopmûngka,*
     {wa   lo-gûm   wa=lû}   tawaang   kun   lo-kadopm-ka
     there   go.up-RP-1PL   that=ABL   mountain   up.DIST   go.up-arrive-SS

     in   *lo*   *yaabûgûm*   *kûngempû*   *ba,*
     ya-n   lo   yaa-b-gû-m   {{kûngem=lû   ba
     this-ANA   go.up   3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL echidna=NOM   come

     kame   ya   waamut   tukugûng
     [kame   ya]   waamut   tuku-gû-ng}}
     ground   this   burrow   take.SG-RP-23PL
     'Having gone up there, we went on top of the mountain, and going up like this we saw echidnas coming and burrowing all around the ground.' [skc09_34]

The proximal form is much more commonly used cataphorically, however. It is most often used to refer to an immediately following discourse unit, typically a speech report. It cannot be used to close speech reports like *wan*. Thus, the two forms are in complementary distribution in the framing of speech reports. This cataphoric use is shown twice in (18), for both a speech report and an embedded speech report.

(18) *kobûse   bantû   kobûse   ban   yan   nûnggok,*
     [kobûse   ban=lû]   [kobûse   ban]   ya-n   nû-go-k
     chicken   other=NOM   chicken   other   this-ANA   tell-RP-3SG

     nimi,   nak   naandûsû   ban   yan   naandûsûlat.
     {{nimi   nak   [naandûsû   ban]   ya-n   naandûsû-la-t}}
     cousin   1SG   thought   a   this-ANA   think-PRS-1SG
     'The other chicken told the other chicken this, "Cousin, I'm thinking a thought like this…" ' [skc12_11]

The verbal demonstrative forms have the same effect as the anaphora-marked demonstratives. Due to their similarity, they are in complementary distribution, with either (but not both) being completely acceptable to introduce or close speech reports. It appears that the adverbial forms are less likely to be used for direct speech reports, but more research is needed in this regard. Just as with the anaphora-marked nominal forms, the proximal form

276

cataphorically introduces speech reports, as in (19)–(20), while the distal form closes them, as in (21)–(22).

(19)   *atta*   **yadûng**   *saanûlat,*
       at-ta   ya-dûng   saa-nû-la-t   {{…}}
       be-SS   this-ADV   2NSG.O-tell-PRS-1SG
       'I am (here) telling you (NSG) like this: "…" '

(20)   *mensûlû*   *manda*   **yadûng**   *taagûng,*   *Ma?*   *Ma?*
       men-sû=lû   manda   ya-dûng   taa-gû-ng   {{ma   ma}}
       mouth-23NSG.POSS=NOM   talk   this-ADV   say-RP-23PL   what   what
       'Their mouths said like this, "What? What?…" ' [skc11_16]

(21)   **wadûng**   *yenûngka*   *sûnanggûng,*   *beng.*
       {{…}}   wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   sûna-gû-ng   beng
              that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   cook.eat-RP-23PL   pandanus
       ' "…" He told them like that and they cooked and ate, pandanus.' [skc11_16]

(22)   *nanaksû*   *taamtaam*   *enûnggot,*   *mo,*   *kap*   *nunum*
       [nanaksû   taamtaam]   ye-nû-go-t   {{mo   [kap   nunum]
       children   women   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG   already   song   prayer

       tanûm.   **wadûng**   *enûngka*   *idi,*
       ta-nûm}}   wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   idi
       do-IRR.PL:1NSG   that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   this.ANA

       kap   *nunum*   *tagûm.*
       [kap   nunum]   ta-gû-m
       song   prayer   do-RP-1PL
       'I told the young women, "Okay, let's worship." After telling them like that, we worshiped.' [skc09_21]

Use of *wadûng* is extremely common in the final line of texts, referring back to the entire narrative or discourse. This is illustrated in (23), as well as with the conventionalized discourse-concluding statement in (24). Both the anaphora-marked demonstratives and verbal demonstratives are used to signal that the speaker's turn is complete. Next, (25) illustrates *yadûng* operating cataphorically in the beginning of a text that explains the use of *bakuyak* 'passing by' in place of *mi* 'water' as a speech avoidance term.

(23)   *stoli*   *taabet*   *naandûngat*   *ba*   **wadûng**   *attak.*
       {{stoli   taab-be-t}}   naandû-nga-t   ba   wa-dûng   at-ta-k
       story   say-IRR.SG-1SG   think-NP-1SG   come   that-ADV   be-PRS-3SG
       'The story I thought to tell comes to be like that.' [skc09_18]

(24)   **wadûng**   *membû.*
       wa-dûng   membû
       that-ADV   just
       'It (was) just like that.' [skc09_02]

(25) *mila   taawaam   udu,   membû **yadûng**.*
    {mi=la   taa-waa-m   udu}   membû ya-dûng
    water=BEN say-PRS-1PL that.ANA just   this-ADV
    '(What) we say for water, is just like this.' [skc12_04]

This anaphoric suffix *-(i)n* appears historically related to the similative form *=ina* found in Nukna (Taylor 2013:101).

Interestingly, the demonstrative manner adverbs may bear the anaphoric suffix as well. When this occurs, the demonstrative anaphorically refers to an event, rather than an entire proposition or discourse. This "event anaphora" is quite rare, and is only found preceding the sensory verb 'see', as shown in (26). The proximal form is claimed to be grammatical by speakers, but does not occur in the corpus.

(26) *tang   taamtaampû   bidami   dobûka*
    ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka
    do-DS   women=NOM   edible.grass.sp cut-SS

    kelang kelang   isopmûngka   monggûng.
    kelang~kelang   isopm-ka   mo-gû-ng
    in.hand~in.hand   hold.NSG-SS   go.down-RP-23PL

    *na   walû   **wadûngin**   yaabûka…*
    [na   wa=lû]   wa-dûng-in   yaa-b-ka
    man   that=NOM   that-ADV-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS
    'And the women were cutting *bidami* grass and holding it in their hands as they went down. The man saw them doing that…' [skc12_16]

To summarize these text anaphoric functions, Table 20.3 shows the adverbial and nominal demonstrative forms and whether each may be used anaphorically or cataphorically for whole discourses, for speech reports, or for events. *Wadûng* has been shown to occur cataphorically for gestures as well, as exemplified in (109) under §20.3.3, but not for any legitimate speech reports.

TABLE 20.3: ANAPHORIC FUNCTIONS OF SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	Adverbial		Nominal	
	PROX (*yadûng*)	DIST (*wadûng*)	PROX (*yan*)	DIST (*wan*)
Discourse anaphora	–	+	–	+
Discourse cataphora	+	–	–	+
Speech report anaphora	–	+	–	+
Speech report cataphora	+	?	+	–
Event anaphora	–	+	–	–
Event cataphora	–	–	–	–

The spatial demonstratives have an extended temporal usage when bearing the allative enclitic. The forms are used to identify a particular time ('at that time', 'at this time'), with

the distal form as the default, and the proximal form used for times or time periods which are contrastively near to the time of speech. The distal form *walong* is shown referring to past time in (27)–(28), as well as in (29) with the habitual present.

(27) *naai* **walong,** *takase kumaagû, laabûgot.*
[naai wa=long] takase kum=at-gû laab-go-t
time that=ALL PN down.DIST=be-DUR come.up-RP-1SG
'At that time (when I was) staying down in Takase, I came up.' [skc09_18]

(28) **walong** *gamattû mukuya sakodlûp tang makong*
wa=long gamat=lû {mukuya sako-dlûp} ta-ng mako-ng
that=ALL snake=NOM pig hold-FRST do-DS run.away-DS

mongka na bûkngaan flong sangengka flûsegok.
mo-ka [na bûkngaan flong] sange-ka flûse-go-k
go.down-SS man neck ALL bite.hold-SS constrict-RP-3SG
'Then [lit. 'at that'] a snake missed grabbing the pig and (the pig) ran away and (the snake) went down and bit down on the man's neck and wrapped (around) him.' [skc11_12b]

(29) *bûsenang kuwaam* **walong** *manggat manggat den*
{bûsenang ku-waa-m wa=long} [manggat~manggat den]
jungle go-PRS-1PL that=ALL thing~thing some

tûngka flong taawaamang.
[tûngka flong] taa-waa-m-nang
metaphor ALL say-PRS-1PL-HAB
'Whenever we go into the jungle, we say some things in metaphor.' [skc12_04]

The proximal form is shown referring to the recent past (earlier on the day of speaking) in (30)–(31), as well as the current year in (32). The topographic demonstratives are also used with temporal meaning, but in reference to future or past general time-frames (see (62)–(64)), rather than specific times as shown here.

(30) *waagût kepma* **yalong,** *kadet kungat.*
waagût [kepma ya=long] kadet ku-nga-t
now day this=ALL garden go-NP-1SG
'Now on this day, I went to the garden.' [skc09_10]

(31) *waagût naai* **yalong,** *taamtaam gebûng mongaam*
waagût [naai ya=long] taamtaam gebûng mo-ngaa-m
now time this=ALL women inside go.down-NP-1PL
'Now at this time, (we) women went to worship.' (lit. '…went down inside')
[skc09_28]

279

(32) *waagût   gulat   **yalong**,   2009   **yalong**,   fatnaang   nalam,*
    waagût   [gulat   ya=long]   [2009   ya=long]   {[fatnaang   nalam]
    now   year   this=ALL   2009   this=ALL   white   married

    bombo   nalam   yaalû   bangaamok   ya,...
    [bombo   nalam   yaalû]   ba-ngaa-mok   ya}
    westerner   married   two   come-NP-23DU   this
    'Now in this year, in 2009, the white couple, the western couple who came, …'
    [skc09_18]

Finally, as discussed more fully in §20.3.2, the spatial demonstratives function adverbially, meaning 'here' and 'there'. Just as with their nominal function, locational adverbial demonstratives are speaker-oriented, encoding relative separation from the speaker according to the pragmatic needs of the speech act.

(33) *gak   **ya**ngadeng.*
    gak   ya=ngat-de-ng
    2SG   here=be-IRR.DU-23NSG
    'You (DU) stay here.' [skc09_38]

(34) ***wa**   dogûmot.*
    wa   do-gû-mot
    there   sleep-RP-1DU
    'We (DU) slept there.' [skc09_38]

Though the nominal and adverbial forms are identical, it is clear in the above examples that they are not referring to entities, but locations. Since the subjects of both clauses are second and first person, respectively, demonstratives would not be used to identify them. Instead, bound pronominal affixes on the verb provide enough information, and then a speaker may also use a free pronoun. As far as I can tell, demonstratives are only used to identify third person referents.

In many cases, nominal and adverbial readings are simultaneously possible, as in (35), where the demonstrative index a particular participant, or a particular location.

(35) ***wa**   kuyak.*
    wa   ku-ya-k
    that/there   go-PRS-3SG
    'He is going.'
    '(He) is going there.' [DN01.25.09]

20.1.2   Anaphoric demonstratives

Ma Manda has two "anaphoric demonstratives"—*idi* 'this' and *udu* 'that'. The most basic function of these demonstratives is endophoric. Their use indicates that two conditions apply: (i) that the referent is not activated as a topic of the current discourse, but (ii) that the referent

is retrievable due to the preceding discourse or the immediate physical surroundings. Thus, a speaker uses an anaphoric demonstrative to identify an entity which is not salient, but which has either been a previous topic of the discourse, having lost salience over time, or is recoverable from the surrounding environment of the addressee. In this basic function, the forms are typically unstressed, and therefore reduce from *idi*/*udu* to *i*/*u*. These forms cannot refer *cataphorically* to entities.

Even though their basic function is endophoric, they still must be classified as demonstratives. Himmelmann (1996:210) argues that elements are demonstratives if they stand in paradigmatic relation with elements which, when used exophorically, locate entities on a distance scale. While the anaphoric demonstratives are morphologically restricted—they do not take case enclitics—syntactically they function very similarly to the other demonstratives. While they do not function adverbially, they function both adnominally and pronominally. They also serve to subordinate non-finite clauses into temporal adverbial clauses in a similar way that their spatial counterparts subordinate finite clauses. Additionally, sound symbolism is a constant throughout all sections of the demonstrative paradigm in MM.

Still, such demonstratives are rarely identified in Papuan language descriptions. Anaphoric affixes attach to demonstratives in the Madang language Usan (Reesink 1987:80) and the Pama-Nyungan language Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980:137), among others. Separate anaphoric forms are described for languages around the world, including the Oceanic language Tamambo (Jauncey 1997:108), the Yuman language Maricopa (Gordon 1986:55), and the Madang language Pamosu (Tupper 2012:158)—though note that in Pamosu they are termed "observational" and "recognitional" demonstratives. Recall that "spatial demonstratives" and "topographic demonstratives" may also be used to anaphorically index referents. This section addresses only the demonstrative sub-class called "anaphoric demonstratives". They are given this name due to their semantics, and not due to their function in participant anaphora, which they share with all demonstratives.

In a typical narrative with multiple participants, the introduction of a participant is often accompanied by the indefinite marker *ban* 'a, other', and in further clauses the participant is identified with a spatial demonstrative (e.g. *wa* 'that'). If that participant is deemed to have lost salience at some point, the speaker may re-introduce it with an anaphoric demonstrative. Successive mentions will then once again co-occur with spatial demonstratives. For example, in the hunting narrative from which (36) is taken, two dogs had run off to track wallabies, and the speaker tells about trying to follow them. Once he finally

heard them, he re-introduces them with *idi*, and then in the following clause (of the same sentence) he identifies them with the functionally unmarked spatial demonstrative *wa* (in its function as a third person pronoun).

(36)   *sap*   *yaalû*   *i*   *namboko*   *kadû*   *atta*
         [sap   yaalû   idi]   naboko   kadû   at-ta
         dog   two   this.ANA   other.side   level.PROX   be-SS

         wa   *taagûmok.*
         wa   taa-gû-mok
         that   say-RP-23DU
         'These two (aforementioned) dogs were there on the other side and they barked.'
         [skc09_02]

Example (37) illustrates the use of the distal form, identifying a referent who was highly salient in previous portions of the discourse, but had not been directly mentioned for a significant number of clauses. The distal form is chosen over the proximal form because the referent is in a legend, and therefore I as the addressee do not know her.

(37)   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *u*   *kaamgok.*
         [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kaam-go-k
         woman   child-23PL.POSS   that.ANA   die-RP-3SG
         'That (aforementioned) daughter of theirs died.' [skc12_04]

The distal form is again illustrated in (38), the second line of a recorded narrative about the death of the speaker's own son. This is the first mention of the referent in the narrative, but the speaker had already discussed with me in Tok Pisin the story he wanted to tell, and thus the information was not brand new. Still, the distal form is used due to the fact that I, the addressee, had never met the child. The next major participant to be introduced was the child's mother, with whom I had a relationship and about whom we had recently been conversing. Even though she was not present at the time of speaking, she is identified with the proximal form, as shown in (39). After these first mentions, throughout the rest of the narrative these participants remain topical and are primarily identified solely through verbal morphology, with the occasional lexical NP *nanak* 'child' or *meng* 'mother'.

(38)   *ta*   *nanak,*   *u*   *kosaan*   *yangaagû*   *kansok*   *kût...*
         ta   nanak   udu   kosaan   ya=ngat-gû   kansok   lit
         but   child   that.ANA   side   here=be-DUR   PN   COM
         'But the child, he was on this side with Kansok, …' [skc09_18]

(39) | *ta* | *meng* | ***i*** | *kosaan* | *lemang* | *kudu* | *logok* |
      | ta | [meng | idi] | kosaan | lemang | kudu | lo-go-k |
      | do | mother | this.ANA | side | PN | level.DIST | go.up-RP-3SG |

walû	*faaleka*	*idi…*
wa=lû	faale-ka	idi
that=NOM	turn.around-SS	this.ANA

'But his mother went up there to Lemang on the other side and turning around from there…' [skc09_18]

Exophorically these forms serve the same purpose. In (40) the distal demonstrative is used pronominally in topic position. The speaker and addressees had shared knowledge of there being a person inside a house, but the speaker did not know who that person was. While it is an exophoric use, it does not convey physical distance from the deictic center, but that the speaker is not aware of the demonstrative's referent.

(40) | ***u*** | *nettû* | *attak,* | *gebûng?* |
      | udu | net=lû | at-ta-k | gebûng |
      | that.ANA | who=NOM | be-PRS-3SG | inside |

'Who is that in the house?' (lit. 'That, who is, inside?') [DN02.149.04]

In (41) the speaker uses *udu* to identify a photographed referent. She was describing the activities occurring in a number of different pictures. The distal form is used because the photographed man was the subject of only one of a number of different photographs, and presumably due to the abstract distance of the photographed event in both space and time. The subjects of every picture were identified with the distal anaphoric demonstrative.

(41) | *na* | ***udu*** | *kaadûp* | *sang* | *felak.* |
      | [na | udu] | [kaadûp | sang] | fe-la-k |
      | man | that.ANA | wood | timber | hew-PRS-3SG |

'That man is hewing timber.' [skc10_09:17]

To summarize these distributional facts, the distal anaphoric demonstrative is used when two conditions apply: (i) the referent is not uniquely recoverable from the immediate context, and (ii) the referent is considered by the speaker to be contrastively distant from the addressee. This distance is not physical, but mental. The distance may be due to a lack of personal familiarity on behalf of the addressee, as in (37)–(38), or on behalf of the speaker, as in (40). Otherwise, the distance may be due to the physical distance of the referent in either space or time, as in (41).

While the functionally unmarked *spatial* demonstrative is the distal form, the functionally unmarked *anaphoric* demonstrative is the proximal form. As such, the distal anaphoric form *udu* is significantly rarer; it is often used to indicate a particular contrast, to

283

the exclusion of other possible referents. Further evidence for treatment of the proximal anaphoric form as functionally unmarked is its unique role in marking non-finite medial clauses as given—see §30.1. The distal form is not used in this way.

The distal anaphoric demonstrative also functions as an elliptical quote margin. That is, it stands in place of the text, allowing the addressee to fill in the quote with his previous knowledge. This is illustrated in (42), a text in which the speaker tells about the death of his son in a river. Though the speaker had already explained many of the circumstances surrounding the death, he never actually explicitly explained how the tragedy occurred. In this excerpt the speaker recounts how he discovered the news from a man named Molitak. Rather than finish the quote, he simply uses *u*, possibly in an effort to mask the more gruesome details. The demonstrative is accompanied by "sound stretch" (Fox 2010:1)—a common tactic in MM used for the iconic extension of events.

(42)   *nanak*   *mi*   *flong*   *kuyak.*   ***uu***   *molitakkû*
        {{nanak   [mi   flong]   ku-ya-k}}   udu~u   molitak=lû
        child   water   ALL   go-PRS-3SG   that.ANA~EXT   PN=NOM

        kudu   *naanûngalû...*
        kudu   naa-nû-ng-alû
        level.DIST   1SG.O-tell-DS-23
        ' "The child went to the water." Molitak told me it there...' [skc09_18]

The form also has a conventionalized use in closing prayers, as shown in (43). It occurs as the non-verbal clause subject, followed by *bûgût* 'true'.

(43)   ***u(du),***   *bûgût*
        udu   bûgût
        that.ANA   true
        'Amen.' (lit. 'That, true.') [skc10_08]

While these two forms are typically anaphoric in nature, they may be utilized to identify referents which have not been previously discussed. That is, they may be used for *first mention uses*. This is the "recognitional" function (Diessel 1999:105ff; Himmelmann 1996:230ff; Dixon 2003:84): the identification of referents "via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse" (Himmelmann 1996:230). Diessel (1999:106) argues that this type of demonstative is "specifically used to mark information that is discourse new (i.e. unactivated) and hearer old (i.e. pragmatically presupposed)." Recognitional functions of demonstratives have been described for a number of languages, including English. Himmelmann (1996:230) provides the following example of "recognitional *that*":

*…it was filmed in California, **those** dusty kind of hills that they have out here in Stockton and all, …so …*

The Diessel (1999) and Himmelmann (1996) typologies separate recognitional demonstratives from other types for several reasons: they (i) allow for first mention uses, (ii) they are only used adnominally (Diessel 1999:105), and (iii) they have been found with unique formal properties (i.e. specific forms or affixes). For Pamosu, Tupper (2012:158ff) identifies a "knowledge-based" pair of demonstratives, with an "observational" form—identifying referents that can be observed in the physical or interactional context—and a "recognitional" form—identifying referents based upon shared knowledge between speaker and addressee. Though the terminology is different, this is quite similar to the proximal and distal "anaphoric" forms in MM.

In MM the recognitional function is just one role of the anaphoric demonstratives, used to identify a previously unidentified referent (formally, these are no different from the anaphoric demonstratives, however). This function is illustrated in (44), the first line of a written legend explaining how cassowaries lost their ability to fly. This is not an anaphoric mention, but a first mention which appeals to the shared knowledge of such birds by everyone in the community. Here, as in many previous examples, the demonstrative is unstressed and reduced in form.

(44) *sowek*　*i*　*tûmang*　*flunit*
　　 [sowek　idi]　tûmang　flu-nit
　　 cassowary　this.ANA　before　wing-3SG.POSS:COM

　　aatigokngang.
　　at-i-go-k-nang
　　be-IPFV.HAB-RP-3SG-HAB
　　'These cassowaries used to have wings before.' [skc12_12]

While this recognitional function is accomplished with anaphoric demonstratives, they do not perform the similar "new information" function (Dixon 2003:85). This is the use of demonstratives to identify completely new information as discourse topics. In colloquial English this is accomplished via the "unstressed *this*" construction (Diessel 1999:109), as illustrated below (Prince 1981:233):

*A few years ago, there was **this** hippie, long-haired, slovenly. He confronted me…*

As described prior to (36), in MM new entities are introduced with the indefinite marker *ban*. However, if their presence can be assumed due to other circumstances, then the default spatial demonstrative may be used. For example, in a story about a plane crash during

World War 2, after describing the particulars of the crash, the participants are introduced for the first time with *wa* 'that':

(45) *baalus   wasûnang   banenang   na   yaalû   **walû**   agûmok.*
     [baalus   wa-s=nang   banenang]   [na   yaalû   wa=lû]   at-gû-mok
     plane   that-LK=GEN   inside   man   two   that=NOM   be-RP-23DU
     'The two men were inside the plane.' [skc12_15]

A prevalent function of the anaphoric demonstratives is in identifying the subjects of non-verbal clauses. Example (46) illustrates the proximal form, used to identify a passion fruit that the speaker was holding, but that was not previously a topic of discourse. This form can be used when the item is held by the speaker, located somewhere between the speaker and addressee, or some distance away. This is due to the fact that it is the default form. Therefore, the distal form is typically used only when distal information is deemed necessary.

(46) *plit   **idi**   waagem.*
     plit   idi   waagem
     passion.fruit   this.ANA   bad
     'This passion fruit is bad.' [DN05.031.02]

Example (47) illustrates the distal form in a statement that the *gulam* plant (TP: aibika) is a type of edible greens. The distal form is used because the speaker had been identifying a number of different items and plant species around the village, and at this point *gulam* was selected, in contrast to other possible referents located nearer the speech act participants.

(47) *gulam   **udu**   kûda.*
     gulam   udu   kûda
     greens.sp   that.ANA   greens
     'Those *gulam* are greens.' [DN02.195.20]

In non-verbal clauses, demonstratives are often stressed, and therefore unreduced. This is due to their ability to function either adnominally or pronominally. The stressed form is more frequent in pronominal function, while the unstressed (reduced) form is more frequent in adnominal function, as compared in (48). This pattern is reminiscent of Ambonese Malay, where the demonstratives *ini/itu* may be shortened to *in/it* in informal speech style (Cleary-Kemp 2007:331). These shortened forms cannot be stressed, while the full forms may or may not be stressed depending on the context. The anaphoric demonstratives in adnominal function also frequently cliticize to the last word of the noun phrase to which they belong, as discussed in §20.3.1. This cliticization is not possible for anaphoric demonstratives in pronominal function.

(48) *na* **udu** *bepma.* / *na* **u** *bepma.*
    na   udu   bep-na   /   [na   udu]   bep-na
    man   that.ANA   father-1SG.POSS   /   man   that.ANA   father-1SG.POSS
    'The man, he is my father.' / 'That man is my father.' [DN02.195.21]

When used exophorically, the anaphoric demonstratives have gestural counterparts as well. The proximal form often co-occurs with raised eyebrows and widened, down-turned eyes directed at the referent. The distal form co-occurs with lip protrusion and a slightly raised chin, directed in the general direction of the referent. The spatial forms do not so typically co-occur with such gestures, since they identify given referents.

The anaphoric demonstratives may not be used with temporal meaning, or as locative adverbials.

20.1.3   Topographic demonstratives

MM has six demonstratives which situate a referent according to the topographic environment of the speech event. These forms encode a binary opposition in distance (proximal vs. distal), as well as a three-way opposition in elevation (up vs. level vs. down).[13]

When a speaker uses one of the topographic demonstratives, it usually indicates that the referent or location is not uniquely retrievable from the preceding discourse, or from the immediate physical surroundings. Compare (49) with (2) & (4) in §20.1.1. In this example, the house was located on the other side of the village, surrounded by other houses. Its referent is specific, but not salient like NPs marked with 'that' or 'this'.

(49) *yot* **kudu** *uyambûtaat.*
    [yot   kudu]   uyang-bû-taa-t
    house   level.DIST   dismantle-EP-FUT-1SG
    'I'm going to dismantle the yonder house.' [DN02.245.12]

Topographic forms are also used when the speaker simply desires to express a location relative to the speech event or to a participant in a narrative. Example (50) is an excerpt from a text about two cousin birds—the chicken and the wild fowl. The entire text has only two participants, and this clause begins with a switch-reference verbal conjunction, conveying that the subject of the previous clause is not co-referential with the subject of this clause. As such, there is no referential ambiguity here. Still, the author chooses to emphasize the location of the object NP ('his cousin above') anyway.

---

[13] Throughout the examples the topographic forms are glossed as 'up', 'level' and 'down', followed by either PROX or DIST.

(50)

tang	yaabûka	sûbat	saansaan	wa	nangka
ta-ng	yaa-b-ka	[sûbat	saan~saan	wa]	na-ka
do-DS	3NSG.O-see-SS	food	piece~piece	that	eat-SS

nimin	**kun**	tebûkamalagok.
[nimin	kun]	teb-kamala-go-k
cousin.3SG.POSS	up.DIST	CAUS-be.ignorant-RP-3SG

'And he saw them and ate the crumbs and forgot his cousin above.' [sk12_11]

Cross-linguistically, it is somewhat common for languages spoken in rural locations to possess demonstrative systems that relate to the topographical environment (Burenhult 2008; Diessel 1999:41ff; Palmer 2002). In particular, languages spoken in mountainous regions sometimes refer to elevational contrast in their demonstrative paradigms. A number of Papuan languages have been shown to exhibit such systems, including (but not limited to) Hua (Haiman 1980:258), Tauya (MacDonald 1990:102), Manambu (Aikhenvald 2008a:209), Usan (Reesink 1987:76–81), and the FH languages Yupno (Yopno) (Núñez et al. 2012) and Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:408ff). The demonstratives of these languages are claimed to relate to the overall slope of the land, with terms such as 'uphill' and 'downhill' being used. In other languages, including Yale (Heeschen 1997) and Nimboran (Steinhauer 1997), the demonstratives are organized based upon a vertical axis, with terms such as 'up' and 'down' being used. Interestingly, Pamosu (Tupper 2012:174ff) exhibits both concepts within one complex system. Importantly, unlike the allocentric systems in languages like Yupno and Tzeltal (Mayan; Brown (2008))—where absolute spatial reckoning is based on the local topography—Ma Manda's demonstrative system is egocentric. That is, demonstratives are speaker-oriented, rather than landscape-oriented, referring not to an absolute location like 'upwards into the valley', but simply 'upwards from speaker'. The demonstrative system in MM is oriented exclusively to a vertical axis, with no relationship to the overall slope of the land. Before proceeding to illustrate this fact, it will be valuable to understand more about the topography of the MM-speaking region.

The MM language is spoken among the steep southern ridges of the Saruwaged Range. To get there from Lae, they first travel by PMV (Public Motor Vehicle) to Nadzab Market (70m, 230 ft), where MM speakers often sell produce. Next, they travel through the villages of Kasuka (236m, 774 ft) and Tinibi (510m, 1673 ft) before making the steep climb via switchbacks to Kesengen (1000m, 3281 ft), the lowest MM-speaking village. Next, they travel to Saut by hiking over another ridge, and then down to cross the Nambuk (MM: *Nambut*) River, before making the steep climb to 1571m (5154 ft). In spite of the forbidding

terrain, one can stand in Saut on a clear day and view the distant floor of the Markham Valley below.

PICTURE 20.1: VIEW OF MARKHAM VALLEY FROM SAUT VILLAGE

Speakers of other languages such as Gusan and Sakam bypass Saut and travel even higher into the mountains at the back of the MM area. The villages which are scattered about the terrain are generally situated atop ridges. In order to travel from one village to another, one usually must hike down a steep ravine and cross a river several hundred meters (~1000 ft) below, before ascending the other side. The upshot of this description is that the overall topographical contour is rising from the Markham Valley up into the Saruwaged Range. This rising elevation is the source of many slope-oriented demonstrative systems, leading Palmer (2002:145) to relate such allocentric slope-oriented systems to slowly-rising topographic contours. MM certainly exhibits a "regularisable overall fall of land," but its demonstrative orientation does not betray that fact. Instead, the system simply describes near and far referents which are above, level with, or below the frame of reference. Perhaps this is due to the rugged terrain, whereby the overall slope from the Markham Valley is less salient than the repetitive ups-and-downs which separate clans, dialects and languages in their local environment. Perhaps historically the demonstratives have shifted from a previously-allocentric system.

Mirroring the choice of the distal spatial demonstrative as the functionally unmarked form, the distal topographic terms are functionally unmarked as well. The distal forms are far more frequent, with speakers typically reserving the proximal forms for contrast or emphasis. This pattern is borne out with regard to spatial positioning, as well as temporal positioning, as described shortly. Additionally, the level category (*kudu*) is the unmarked elevation, as shown in (51), where the city of Lae, which is 1000m below Kesengen Village (where the

289

narrative was told), is described as being at the same level with *kudu*. Still, the downward movement is conveyed with the motion verb *mo-* 'go down'. No examples exist in the corpus of a demonstrative being used to describe a location outside of Papua New Guinea, though see Sarvasy (2014d:419) for evidence that the Nungon level demonstrative is unmarked, since it identifies places like Australia, America and China.

(51) *laai*   **ku**   *mongka,*   *kuka*   *taaun*   *wa*   *kungagûmot.*
     laai   kudu   mo-ka   ku-ka   [taaun   wa]   kungat-gû-mot
     PN   level.DIST go.down-SS go-SS   town   that   go.around-RP-1DU
     'We went down over there to Lae, and we went and walked around town.'[skc09_01]

The vertical axis orientation of demonstratives is illustrated particularly clearly when the topography is completely irrelevant, as in house-building. In (52) the speaker discusses how they 'break a house'—an idiom for putting kunai grass on a house. Some men stand on the joists and bend ('break') the kunai in half and wrap it around the slats which extend horizontally across the roof, while other men stand on the ground and throw individual bundles of kunai up to them. The men on the roof are located with *kun* 'up.DIST', while the men on the ground are located with *kam* 'down.PROX'.

(52) *nalû*   *lo*   *gekan*   *tamaakongka*   *dentû*   **kun**
     na=lû   lo   gekan   ta-maa-kong-ka   den=lû   kun
     man=NOM   go.up   slat   do-CMPL-TERM-SS   some=NOM   up.DIST

     atta   *dentû*   *obûlok*   **kun**   *akngûlû*   *dentû*
     at-ta   den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun   at-ng-lû   den=lû
     be-SS   some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST   be-DS-23   some-NOM

     kam   *atta*   *isit*   *lakong*   **kun**   *longûlû*
     kam   at-ta   isit   lakong-ng   kun   lo-ng-lû
     down.PROX   be-SS   kunai   throw.NSG-DS   up.DIST   go.up-DS-23

     yot   *obûwangang.*
     yot   ob-wang-nang
     house   break-PRS:23PL-HAB
     'Men go up and make all the roof slats and some stay on top to break (the kunai grass), and some stay below and throw the kunai grass up, and they break the house.' [skc10_11]

This text was recorded when no houses were having their kunai grass roofs repaired or replaced. That is, the choice of the topographic demonstratives was based on the shifting deictic center. The sentence began with the deictic center at ground-level, looking up to the men on the roof. Then it shifted to the roof, looking down at the men on the ground.

290

PICTURE 20.2: 'BREAKING' A HOUSE

Exophorically, the topographic demonstratives identify entities and locations relative to the location of the speaker. The speaker is the unmarked point of reference (Diessel 1999:41). This is shown in (53)–(55). The question in (53) can be posed when the referent is next to the addressee, or far from them. The crucial point is that the referent is far from the *speaker*. In (55) *kum* 'down.DIST' refers to the destination of a group of addressees, at a lower point than the speaker. The speaker does not use *mo* 'go down', but *ku* 'go (level)'. That is, he orders the addressees to go to another location which is level with their current location, but below the speaker's location.

(53) **kudu**   *maasû?*
       kudu   maasû
       level.DIST   which
       'What is that over there?' [DN04.13.03]

(54) *kuyang*   **kum**   *tûwe.*
       kuyang   kum   tû-be
       stick   down.DIST   put.SG-IRR.SG
       'Put the stick down.' [DN04.55.01]

(55) **kum**   *kuneng!*
       kum   ku-ne-ng
       down.DIST   go-IRR.PL-23NSG
       'Go down there!' [skc11_10c]

These forms cannot be used exophorically with reference to another frame of reference. Replacing *kum* with *kudu* in (55) can only mean that the addressees are at the same level as the speaker. In order to refer to a different frame of reference, a speaker must use a separate adverb (56) or a locative noun (57).

291

(56) *yokep*   *ta*   *kabot*   *flong*   **usung**   *tûwe.*
     yokep   ta   [kabot   flong]   usung   tû-be
     tongs   get.SG   pot   ALL   above   put.SG-IRR.SG
     'Put the tongs above the pot.' [DN04.59.17]

(57) *baka*   *sabe*   *yot*   **kapmalang**   *wa*   *agûng.*
     ba-ka   [sabe   yot   kapmalang   wa]   at-gû-ng
     come-SS   youth   house   underneath   that   be-RP-23PL
     'They came underneath the house boy.' [skc11_09c]

As discussed in §20.1.2 regarding spatial demonstratives, the deictic center often shifts in a discourse. In (58) the speaker refers to three participants: herself, two girls whom she sent to fetch firewood, and a man named Musavenang who threw them a piece of firewood from the opposite side of a ravine. The speaker identifies the girls as having gone down into a valley, and then refers to Musavenang as having been across from her. She was not referring to a location in the physical environment at the time of speaking, but his location in relation to hers *within the narrative*. The speaker had been across a ravine from Musavenang at the same elevation.

(58) *taamûng*   *yaalû*   *yenûngkongala*   *kubalang*   **kum**
     [taamûng   yaalû]   ye-nû-kong-ng-la   kubalang   kum
     woman   two   3NSG.O-tell-throw-DS-1SG   valley   down.DIST

     mongka   *akngûlû,*   *musavenang*   *namboko*   **kudu**   *alak*
     mo-ka   at-ng-lû   {musavenang   namboko   kudu   at-a-k
     go.down-SS   be-DS-23   PN   other.side   level.DIST   be-NP-3SG

     walû,   *kaadûp*   *dalo*   *ta*   *kongûlû*   *fûngak.*
     wa=lû}   [kaadûp   dalo]   ta   kong-ng-lû   fû-nga-k
     that=NOM   wood   tinder   get.SG   throw-DS-23   come.down-NP-3SG
     'I sent the two girls down to the water below, and Musavenang, who was across on the other side, threw a piece of firewood down.' [skc09_10]

In (59) the topical participant, a spirit, grabs a snake and puts it *kum* 'down.DIST' into a bag. The speaker does not relate the events to his own location, but to the location of the salient participant, the protagonist of the legend.

(59) *munggup*   *ban*   *sakoka*   *baalûp*   *yakngang*   **kum**
     [munggup   ban]   sako-ka   [baalûp   yak=nang]   kum
     snake.sp   a   hold.3SG-SS   tree.sp   bilum=LOC   down.DIST

     daasûka   *bagok.*
     daasû-ka   ba-go-k
     put.in-SS   come-RP-3SG
     'He grabbed a *munggup* snake and put it down inside the *baalûp* bilum and came.'
     [skc11_16]

Further, in (52) above *kam* 'down.PROX' relates not to the speaker's location, but it identifies the location of the men throwing up the kunai bundles, in relation to the men on the roof from the previous clause. The deictic center shifts even within the sentence.

The following excerpt comes from a third person narrative describing a time when a World War 2 plane crashed on the side of the Nambuk Valley below Saut Village. The narrative was written in Saut, and yet it discusses when their ancestors went down into the valley and brought the surviving crash victim and placed him 'up in Saut'. The demonstrative functions to describe the location of Saut in relation to the crash site, not in relation to the communicative event.

(60) | *talaabû* | *saaut* | ***kan*** | *tûka* | *mi* | *kaadûpmût* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| talaab | saaut | kan | tû-ka | [mi | kaadûp-nit] |
| bring.up.SG | PN | up.PROX | put.SG-SS | water | fire-3SG.POSS:COM |

seka	*mûng*	*top=nanggok.*
se-ka	m-ng	top=na-go-k
cook-SS	give-DS	drink=consume-RP-3SG

'(They) brought (him) up and put him up in Saut and boiled hot water and gave it to him and he drank it.' [skc12_15]

Finally, in a narrative about traveling from Kesengen Village to the city of Lae, the speaker recounts having slept in a settlement north of Lae. Here the level demonstrative *kudu* is used due to the previous events having taken place within Lae itself. This story was recounted in Kesengen, almost 1000m above the Lae settlement.

(61) | ***kudu*** | *dogot* | *walû* | *siyangûlû* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kudu | do-go-t | wa=lû | siya-ng-lû |
| level.DIST | sleep-RP-1SG | that=ABL | dawn-DS-23 |

'I slept there, and from there in the morning…' [skc09_01]

The four topographic demonstratives which refer to locations above or below the deictic center have an extended *temporal usage*. The 'up' terms denote future time, while the 'down' terms denote past time, similarly to the 'uphill' and 'downhill' construal of time in the FH languages Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:417ff) and Yupno (Núñez et al. 2012). In Yupno, the choice of both demonstratives and gestures shows that temporal concepts are aligned with the overall falling topographic contour of the Yupno Valley. No matter the placement of speakers, they point in the direction of the higher terrain when discussing the future, and vice versa. MM speakers, likewise, use demonstratives and gestures, but in a simpler fashion. Supporting the vertical axis analysis, speakers only gesture upwards or downwards to refer to future and past time, respectively. The distal forms identify, subjectively, further distance

from the time of the speech act, in relation to the proximal forms. In practice, the distal forms are functionally unmarked, and therefore the proximal forms identify contrastively short temporal distance from the present. In (62) a distal form is used for the previous year, while in (63) a proximal form is used for the following month.

(62) *gulat*   *ban*   **kumslong**   *laai*   *kugot.*
     [gulat   ban   kum=slong]   laai   ku-go-t
     year   a   down.DIST=ALL   PN   go-RP-1SG
     'A year ago I went to Lae.' [DN01.65.07]

(63) *emak*   *ban*   **kanslong**   *laai*   *kuwet.*
     [emak   ban   kan=slong]   laai   ku-be-t
     moon   a   up.PROX=ALL   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG
     'Next month I will go to Lae.' [DN01.65.08]

The temporal distance is shown to be subjective in (64), where the proximal form is also used for the following year (in contrast to the distal form in (62)).

(64) *gulat*   **kanslong**   *fentagût*   *naandûmaandem.*
     [gulat   kan=slong]   fentagût   naandû-maa-de-m
     year   up.PROX=ALL   all   know-CMPL-IRR.DU-1NSG
     'Next year we (DU) will know it all.' [DN03.279.04]

The level terms are not used temporally. Also, in contrast with the spatial demonstratives illustrated in (27)–(32), the topographic demonstratives do not identify a specific time, but a general time-frame.

Example (65) is particularly interesting, because it shows *kun* modifying the NP *fafaan* 'ancestors' to mean 'descendents'. The 'up' form, with its temporal function, is used adnominally to identify 'future ancestors', as opposed to the default interpretation of *fafaan*, which refers to those ancestors who have already died.[14]

(65) *aanutulû*   *kaalin*   *tayembek*   *na*   *kaalin*
     aanutu=lû   kaalin   ta-ye-m-be-k   [na   kaalin
     God=NOM   good   do-3NSG.O-give-IRR.SG-3SG   man   good

     wasûnang   *fafaanye*   **kun.**
     wa-s=nang   fafaan-ye   kun]
     that-LK=GEN   ancestor-NSG   up.DIST
     'God will do good for the descendents of good men.' (lit. 'God will do good for those good men's above ancestors.') [skc12_18]

---

[14] It is possible that the demonstrative is here functioning adverbially, but the interpretation is the same.

The examples of topographic demonstratives in this section have been predominantly adverbial, reflecting the lopsided function of these forms throughout the language. That is, the nominal function of topographic demonstratives is rather infrequent in comparison, since generally a location is established adverbially, followed by a reduced lexical NP or a pronominal demonstrative. This is due to the extreme preference for short noun phrases, free of descriptive modifiers unless they are contrastively necessary (or of particular narrative importance). In (66) *kadû* 'level.PROX' is expressed twice, first adverbially and then adnominally in an object noun phrase. Its placement in the NP is marked, here utilized to express contrast with the group of discourse-topical men who are the subjects of the clause headed by *yaabûka* 'see them'.

(66) *namboko* **kadû** *laabûka* *na* *yaalû* **kadû**
      namboko kadû laab-ka [na yaalû kadû]
      other.side level.PROX come.up-SS man two level.PROX

      yaabûka *mûndlam* *taka* *makoka* *laabûka...*
      yaa-b-ka mûndlam ta-ka mako-ka laab-ka
      3NSG.O-see-SS goose.bumps do-SS run.away-SS come.up-SS
      'They came up there to the other side and saw the two boys there and got goose bumps and ran away and came up...' [skc12_13]

This discussion has relied upon the predominant paradigmatic organization of six topographic demonstratives. However, another rare demonstrative may also be used. Some speakers use *kuda* for proximal level locations directly in front of deictic center, reserving *kadû* to refer to level locations to the side or back of deictic center, including locations which are not visible. Its rarity in the corpus precludes any firm hypotheses, but perhaps *kadû* is simply the functionally unmarked form, with *kuda* only being used to contrastively indicate a direction directly in front of deictic center. The form is illustrated in (67).

(67) *yalû* **kuda** *atta* *ku* *i* *sappû* *ku* *falibi*
      ya=lû kuda at-ka ku idi sap=lû ku [falibi
      this=ABL across.PROX be-SS go this.ANA dog=NOM go wallaby

      ban *ga* *yokep* *taka* *kam* *yepma* *taagûng.*
      ban ga] yokep ta-ka kam yepma taa-gû-ng
      a INST tongs do-SS down.PROX go.over say-RP-23PL
      'From here, after going from there the dogs went and almost caught a wallaby and chased them over (the ridge) and yelped.' [skc09_34]

20.2   Demonstrative morphology

Before illustrating the nominal use of demonstratives, it will be valuable to first discuss the morphological characteristics that they exhibit. All observed case-marked demonstrative

forms are displayed in Table 20.4. Blanks indicate not that a particular form is ungrammatical, but that it has not been observed. However, the gaps do tell a story of their own.

TABLE 20.4: CASE-MARKED DEMONSTRATIVES

		NOM	GEN	INST	BEN	DAT	ALL	COM
SPATIAL	*wa*	*wa(sû)lû*	*wa(sû)lûnang ~ wasûnang*	*waga*	*wala*	*wa(sû)lok*	*wa(sû)long*	*wasit*
	ya	*ya(sû)lû*	*ya(sû)lûnang ~ yasûnang*				*ya(sû)long*	*yesit ~ yasit*
ANA	*u(du)*	–						
	i(di)	–						
TOPOGRAPHIC	*kun*	*kunsûlû*					*kunsûlong*	
	kan	*kansûlû*	*kansûnang*				*kansûlong*	
	ku(du)	*ku(du)sûlû*					*ku(du)sûlong*	
	kadû	*kadûsûlû*					*kadûsûlong*	
	kum	*kumsûlû*					*kumsûlong*	
	kam	*kamsûlû*					*kamsûlong*	

A number of comments are necessary regarding these forms. First, it is immediately obvious that the spatial demonstratives exhibit the greatest morphological richness, as expected due to their overall frequency in MM. The only gap here is that the proximal form has not been observed with the instrumental, benefactive, or dative cases. The benefactive case rarely occurs on nouns (except for a couple particular constructions), since the benefactive applicative SVC is more productive. When it occurs with the spatial demonstrative *wa*, it functions as a conjunction 'therefore' (§20.5). Presumably, the absence of the instrumental and dative cases on the proximal form is simply a gap due to a limited corpus. Next, the proximal comitative form is usually pronounced as *yesit* rather than *yasit*.

The anaphoric demonstratives, on the other hand, exhibit a complete absence of morphology. Rather than indexing a referent with a case-marked anaphoric demonstrative, speakers tend to (re-)introduce a referent with an anaphoric demonstrative in topic position, and then use a case-marked spatial form resumptively. Finally, recall the discussion preceding (48), where it was argued that the reduction of these forms is related to their location in unstressed environments, as is typical of adnominal demonstratives. Consequently, the reduced forms may be in the process of reanalysis into demonstrative determiners, leaving the full forms as demonstrative pronouns. The exact nature of the environment which triggers reduction is yet unclear and requires more research.

The topographic demonstratives may bear nominative and allative cases. However, the other case-markers are absent in the corpus. It appears that MM speakers do not use such demonstrative forms to index oblique NPs. Whether this is ungrammatical, or simply dispreferred, remains to be seen. The fact that these terms can bear the locative case is unsurprising, since this case is utilized in scene-setting, both locatively and temporally. The demonstratives identify locations rather than discourse participants.

Another pattern to be discussed is the insertion of -*s*, along with the intrusive high central vowel (cf. §4.4). This necessarily occurs between all topographic demonstratives and case enclitics. It also optionally occurs between the spatial demonstratives and many of the case enclitics. It is a linker with absolutely no synchronic import. The loss of its function, whatever it may have been, is made evident through its frequent intervocalic lenition and elision. After the spatial demonstratives, the *s*-linker is frequently lenited to [h]. This is a common pattern across the MM language, with one dialect even having completely lost intervocalic /s/ in favor of [h]. This lenition has given way to (optional) elision of the sibilant in the nominative, genitive, dative and allative forms. The instrumental, benefactive and similative forms appear to have lost the consonant altogether, while the comitative has retained it as an obligatory segment. The topographic demonstratives, on the other hand, are completely ungrammatical without the linker. I suggest that the sibilant has remained due to the consonant-final topographic forms, with *kudu* and *kadû* maintaining the pattern by analogy. Regarding the locative marker, note its similarity to the free locative postposition *flong*. There must be some historical relationship between these forms. Finally, =*la* appears to have historically been a productive enclitic or suffix, producing temporal nouns such as *taamengsla* 'morning', *tafala* 'afternoon' and *tandonta* 'evening'. These are somewhat divisible (e.g. *taameng* 'tomorrow' and *tandon* 'night'). See §16.9 for a discussion of this case-marker.

Finally, three derivational suffixes are available for demonstratives: the restrictive morpheme -*gût* (cf. §11.6), the emphatic suffix -*ma* (§20.4), and the manner adverbial suffix -*dûng* (§20.3.3).

TABLE 20.5: DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

		RSTR	EMPH	ADV
SPATIAL	*wa*	*wanggût*	*wama*	*wadûng*
	ya	*yanggût*	*yama*	*yadûng ~ yedûng*
ANA	*u(du)*		*u(du)ma*	–
	i(di)		*i(di)ma*	–
TOPOGRAPHIC	*kun*	*kungût*	*kuna*	–
	kan	*kangût*	*kana*	–
	ku(du)		*ku(du)ma*	–
	kadû		*kadûma*	–
	kum		*kuma*	–
	kam		*kama*	–

It stands to reason that the restrictive clitic would be grammatical on all topographic demonstratives given the proper discourse conditions. The spatial forms have retained nasalization of the velar stop, contrary to the nasal harmony pattern at work throughout most of the rest of the phonology. This suggests fusion rather than synchronically divisible forms. The anaphoric demonstratives seem to disallow this morpheme, though future research will clarify.

All demonstratives allow the emphatic suffix *-ma*, which is used to increase the vividness of salient events in a narrative climax. It is related to the emphatic suffix that marks pronouns, though with a different function. The suffix *-dûng* may attach to spatial demonstratives to form manner adverbs. No other demonstratives may function in this way. Interestingly, the anaphoric suffix *-in* can attach to these forms to produce event anaphora (described in §20.1.1 and §20.3.2). While *wadûngin* occurs rarely in the corpus, *yadûngin* has never been observed, even though speakers claim it is grammatical. The suffix *-dûng* also produces a manner adverbial interrogative *dûdûng* '(do) like how', which can then also bear the anaphoric suffix: *dûdûngin*.

20.3   Demonstrative functions

20.3.1   Nominal function

MM demonstratives do not formally encode any differences between adnominal and pronominal uses. Therefore, separate grammatical categories such as "demonstrative determiner" and "demonstrative pronoun" need not be invoked. Still, in this section they are illustrated separately for the sake of transparency. Their clausal uses are handled last.

Adnominal

A primary syntactic function of all three sets of demonstratives is the modification of a noun within a noun phrase. When used adnominally, a demonstrative occurs as the final element of the NP. The demonstratives do not agree in number, gender or any other category with their noun. They simply identify the spatial or pragmatic information which the speaker intends to convey by use of the specific term over the use of another, as discussed at length in the previous sections. They pattern like adjectives, except that they cannot be reduplicated for the expression of plurality. Since they occur in final position in the NP, they are frequently marked with postpositional enclitics which identify the NP's grammatical relation. While nominative case-marking is optional, determined by information structure, all oblique grammatical relation-marking postpositions are required. Marked and unmarked nominative forms are shown in (68) and (69), respectively, followed by an object in (70).

(68) *tang   nimin   ban   **kunsûlû**   alûmgok.*
ta-ng   [nimin   ban   kun-s=lû]   at-m-go-k
do-DS   cousin.3SG.POSS   other   up.DIST-LK=NOM   be-give-RP-3SG
'And his other cousin above waited on him.' [skc12_11]

(69) *kep   na   **wa**   gak   gugok!*
kep   [na   wa]   gak   g-ut-go-k
yesterday   man   that   2SG   2SG.O-hit-RP-3SG
'Yesterday that man hit you!' [DN01.69.24]

(70) *saailas   kaang   kevin,   maanu,   nangkadek   **wa**   enaanggûtta...*
[saailas   kaang   kevin   maanu]   [nangkadek   wa]   e-naanggût-ta
PN   with   PN   PN   men   that   3NSG.O-get-SS
'Silas, Kevin and Manu, after (he) got those guys…' [skc09_18]

The oblique cases are illustrated below: genitive (71), instrumental (72), dative (73), locative (74), and comitative (75).

(71) *baalus   **wasûnang**   banenang   na   yaalû   walû   agûmok.*
[baalus   wa-s=nang   banenang]   [na   yaalû   wa=lû]   at-gû-mok
plane   that-LK=GEN   inside   man   two   that=NOM   be-RP-23DU
'The two men were inside the plane (lit. …were at the plane's inside).' [skc12_15]

(72) *nanggat   **waga**   kûtlûnang   tûflûka...*
[nanggat   wa=ga]   kûtlû=nang   tûflû-ka
blood   that=INST   leg.3SG.POSS=LOC   rub-SS
'[The chicken] rubbed on its legs with the blood…' [skc12_11]

299

(73) *nak   nantaam   **walok**   empa   kutaat.*
    nak   [nantaam   wa=lok]   ye-m-pa   ku-taa-t
    1SG   people   that=DAT   3NSG.O-give-SS   go-FUT-1SG
    'I will give (it) to the people and go.' [DN02.247.07]

(74) *dabam   **walong**   dapmon   doka   agok.*
    [dabam   wa=long]   dapmon   do-ka   at-go-k
    cape   that=ALL   sleep   sleep-SS   be-RP-3SG
    'He was sleeping on the cape.' [skc12_16]

(75) *nangkaang   **yesit**   ulak   taantaam.*
    [na=kaang   yasit]   ulak   taa-ntaa-m
    man=two   this:COM   story   say-FUT-1PL
    'I will tell the story with these two men.'

Finally, note that demonstratives in adnominal function more frequently cliticize to the last word of the noun phrase they mark. This is particularly frequent with the anaphoric demonstratives, most notably in non-verbal clauses.

Pronominal

Each demonstrative can also function pronominally, serving as the head of a noun phrase. In this role, accompanying modification is disallowed. Marked and unmarked subject forms are shown in (76) and (77), respectively, followed by an unmarked object in (78). Few unambiguous cases exist of pronominal demonstratives in object position, since these can also often be analyzed as locative adverbs. Example (77), reproduced from (35), illustrates this with two possible translations.

(76) *kep   longala   **walû**   fûgûng*
    kep   lo-ng-la   wa=lû   fû-gû-ng
    yesterday   go.up-DS-1SG   that=NOM   come.down-RP-23PL
    'Yesterday I went up, (but) they came down.' [DN02.251.19]

(77) ***wa**   kuyak.*
    wa   ku-ya-k
    that/there   go-PRS-3SG
    'He is going.'
    '(He) is going there.' [DN01.25.09]

(78) *taameng   sûdû   **wa**   kantaang.*
    taameng   sûdû   wa   ka-ntaa-ng
    tomorrow   2NSG   that   see-FUT-23PL
    'Tomorrow you (NSG) will see him.' [DN01.123.31]

The oblique cases are illustrated below: genitive (79), dative (80), locative (81), and comitative (82). No examples exist in the corpus of instrumental pronominal demonstratives.

300

(79) **yasûnang** *wo* *maasû?*
[ya-s=nang wo] maasû
this-LK=GEN name.3SG.POSS which
'What is this called?' (lit. 'This's name which?') [DN04.013.04]

(80) **walok** *yembe.*
wa=lok ye-m-be
that=DAT 3NSG.O-give-IRR.2SG
'Give it to them.' [DN05.071.03]

(81) **walong** *gamattû* *mukuya* *sakodlûp* *tang* *makong*
wa=long gamat=lû {mukuya sako-dlûp} ta-ng mako-ng
that=ALL snake=NOM pig hold-FRST do-DS run.away-DS

mongka *na* *bûkngaan* *flong* *sangengka* *flûsegok.*
mo-ka [na bûkngaan flong] sange-ka flûse-go-k
go.down-SS man neck ALL bite.hold-SS constrict-RP-3SG
'Then [lit. 'at that'] a snake missed grabbing the pig and (the pig) ran away and (the snake) went down and bit down on the man's neck and wrapped (around) him.' [skc11_12b]

(82) **wasit** *kutaat.*
wasit ku-taa-t
that:COM go-FUT-1SG
'I will go with him.' [DN02.247.08]

(83) *yot* *tûmen* *ufûmangka* *obûnengka*
{[yot tûmen] ufûma-ka ob-ne-ng=la}
house old remove.kunai-SS break-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN

wan *tawangang.*
wa-n ta-wa-ng-nang
that-ANA do-PRS-23PL-HAB
'They do this in order to remove kunai (from) old houses and replace [lit. break] it.' [skc10_11]

Clause subordination

Spatial demonstratives are also used to subordinate finite clauses. Anaphoric and topographic demonstratives have not been observed performing this type of function. Subordinate finite ("final") clauses serve as background information for main-line events. This is in essence what has been called a "domain-creating construction" (Reesink 1994), which consists of a full clause nominalized by a demonstrative and serving as the "domain" for a matrix clause. More research is needed in order to fully determine whether these clauses can be considered nominalized, however. These clauses provide information about particular referents (i.e. as a relative clause), serve as complements to complement-taking predicates (i.e. as a complement clause), or add adverbial information (i.e. as an adverbial clause). Thus, clause

nominalization is a strategy used for subordinate clauses, the type of which depends on its level of embedding: within an NP, it is interpreted as a relative clause; within a clause, it is interpreted as a complement clause; and within a sentence, it is interpreted as an adverbial clause. I briefly illustrate these possibilities below, leaving a fuller description for §29.3.

In (84) the domain clause is nominalized with an unmarked spatial demonstrative. The construction is interpreted as a relative clause modifying 'brother', which is taken as the object of the matrix clause. While this example uses the distal demonstrative, the proximal form is used in (85)—from the same story—to refer to the surviving member of the plane crash.

(84) *nolû*   *ban*   *kaamgok*   ***wa***   *kûngkûnaanûkga*
      {[nolû   ban]   kaam-go-k   wa}   kûngkûnaanûk=ga
      brother.3SG.POSS   other   die-RP-3SG that   sand=INST

      plaasûka   *tûgok.*
      plaas-ka   tû-go-k
      cover-SS   put.SG-RP-3SG
      'They covered his other brother who died with sand.' [skc12_15]

(85) *nolû*   *kodaak*   ***ya***   *blaampa*   *laabûgûng.*
      {nolû   koda-a-k   ya}   blaam-pa   laab-gû-ng
      brother   alive-PRS-3SG this   carry-SS   come.up-RP-23PL
      'They carried his brother who was alive and came up.' [skc12_15]

In (86) a complement clause is provided. Here the nominalizing demonstrative is marked with the genitive enclitic. It is extremely common for the demonstrative to be marked with an enclitic. These morphemes then identify the relationship between the complement clause and its matrix clause.

(86) *dûdû dûdû*   *tagot*   ***wasûnang***   *taabûtaat.*
      {dûdû~dûdû   ta-go-t   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
      how~how   do-RP-1SG   that-LK=GEN   talk-EP-FUT-1SG
      'I will talk about what I did.' [skc09_35]

In (87) an adverbial clause is used to situate the matrix clause in time. The demonstrative is marked with the locative case, here carrying a temporal meaning.

(87)   *sip*   *flong*   *tap*   *weknggût*   *sûnûk*   *kugûng*   ***walong,***
          {[sip   flong]   [tap   weknggût   snûk]   ku-gû-ng   wa=long}
          ship   ALL   ocean   middle   very   go-RP-23PL   that=ALL

          aanutulû   *gi*   *gufut*   *kusamba*   *tantûng*   *bagok.*
          aanutu=lû   [gi   gufut   kusamba]   tantû-ng   ba-go-k
          God=NOM   rain   wind   big   send.SG-DS   come-RP-3SG
          'When they went on the ship to the very middle of the ocean, God sent a big
          storm.' [skc12_14]

Below an adverbial clauses provides background to situate the main-line clause. This pattern is prevalent as a discourse-cohesive device in narrative, and often involves the use of the ablative case-marker =*lû*.

(88)   *wa*   *logûm*   ***walû***   *tawaang*   *kun*   *longkadopmûngka...*
          {wa   lo-gûm   wa=lû}   tawaang   kun   lo-kadopm-ka
          there   go.up-RP-1PL   that=ABL   mountain   up.DIST   go.up-arrive-SS
          'Going up there, we went on top of the mountain…' [skc09_34]

In all of these examples, the nominalized clauses contain fully inflected verbs. In §30.1 we see that the proximal anaphoric demonstrative is used similarly to mark non-finite (medial) clauses as given.

20.3.2   Locative adverbial function

The spatial and topographic demonstratives may function as locative adverbs. In this role they are unmarked, and either immediately precede the verb, or follow the verb. While this is somewhat common for the spatial set, it is the predominant role of the topographic set (cf. §20.1.3). As discussed in §20.3.1, individual uses are often ambiguous between nominal and locative adverbial readings (cf. (77)). However, the placement of pause breaks can disambiguate: a pause break is typically generally unacceptable between a locative adverb and a following verb, while it is perfectly acceptable between a pronoun and verb. In other cases, no ambiguity exists due to the bound pronominal markers on the verb. Take (89), where the verb agrees with a first person subject. Demonstratives are only used to index third person referents, so this must be an adverb which refers to the definite location—Busanim— mentioned in the previous clause. The proximal form is illustrated in (90). The topographic forms are adequately illustrated in §20.1.3.

(89)   *busanim*   *nûpmang*   ***wa***   *dogûmot.*
          busanim   n-kapma-ng   wa   do-gû-mot
          PN   1NSG.O-leave-DS   there   sleep-RP-1DU
          '[A bus] left us at Busanim and we slept there.' [skc09_38]

(90) *ya*ngale.   *mo*   *kuyat.*
ya=ngat-e   mo   ku-ya-t
here=be-IRR.SG   already   go-PRS-1SG
'Stay here. I'm going now.' [DN04.41.04]

One particularly frequent pattern is for a demonstrative to be placed before *at-* 'be', even when this offers no additional information to the addressee. This is directly related to the grammaticalized function of 'be' as an aspectual auxiliary in clause chains. Since 'be' may immediately follow another verb to indicate progressive aspect, interruption with a demonstrative forces a coordinate relationship between the predicates. For example, in (91) *wa* is inserted between the verbs, while in (92) no demonstrative occurs, thus allowing an aspectual reading.

(91) *yaabûka*   *wa*ngagok
     yaa-b-ka   wa=ngat-go-k
     3NSG.O-see-SS   there=be-RP-3SG
     'He watched them and he was there.' [skc12_15]

(92) *yaabûka*   *agok*
     yaab-ka   at-go-k
     3NSG.O-see-SS   be-RP-3SG
     'He was watching them.'

Locative adverbs quite commonly cliticize (as a proclitic) to the front of a following verb. This is especially common before *at-* 'be' (as in (91)). This verb, along with a few other vowel-initial verbs such as *aawe-* 'finish' and *aakng-* 'arise', have initial nasals which are dropped unless preceded by a vowel. This cliticization is due to the dispreference for monosyllabic words with light syllables to stand alone (see Chapter 7).

Finally, both spatial and topographic demonstratives may take the restrictive suffix *-gût*. This morpheme restricts the location to a particular point, rather than an undefined area, as shown in (93)–(95). The anaphoric demonstratives *idi*/*udu* cannot take the restrictive suffix.

(93) *wanggût*   *ale!*
     wanggût   at-e
     there:RSTR   be-IRR.SG
     'Stay right there!' [DN02.188.49]

(94) *nûnûng*   *yanggût*   *taawaam.*
     nûnûng   yanggût   taa-waa-m
     1PL.EMPH   here:RSTR   say-PRS-1PL
     'Just us are speaking right here.' [DN02.179.17]

(95) *gilagût,*   *laabûka*   *baka,*   *kadetmang*   *nambukmung*
     gi-lagût   laab-ka   ba-ka   kadetmang   nambukmung
     rain-RSTR   come.up-SS   come-SS   big.road   PN

   kangût   *yaabûka*   *enûnggûmot,*
   kan-gût   yaa-b-ka   ye-nû-gû-mot
   up.PROX-RSTR   3NSG.O-see-SS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1DU

   wadûng wadûng   *taka*   *bawaamot.*
   {{wa-dûng~wa-dûng   ta-ka   ba-waa-mot}}
   that-ADV~that-ADV   do-SS   come-PRS-1DU
   'While it was still raining we came up and came and saw them right up on the
   Nambukmung road and we (DU) told them , "We (DU) are doing this and that and
   coming." ' [skc09_21]

As discussed in §5.2, prenasalization of voiced stops is a productive process in MM, but only when preceded by a nasal stop in the onset of the previous syllable. Thus, intervocalic nasal harmony has no trigger in between *wa/ya* and *-gût*. This proves that the morphemes have been lexically fused. The *-gût* morpheme has lexicalized with numerous terms in MM, so this is of no surprise. Other terms are also potentially historically related, including *wangaanggût* 'right now' (*wa* 'there' + *ngaa* 'EMPH?' + *-gût* 'RSTR'). See §11.6 for discussion of this suffix.

Finally, as shown below, the *-gût* suffix may follow allative-marked demonstratives, producing a specific time at which an event occurred.

(96) **walonggût**   *tritointû*   *kekng*   *taagok*
     wa=long-gût   tritoin=lû   kekng   taa-go-k
     that=ALL-RSTR   PN=NOM   call   say-RP-3SG
     'At that moment Tritoin called out…' [skc11_10c]

20.3.3   Manner adverbial function

The MM spatial demonstratives (as well as the interrogative root *dû* 'how') may bear an adverbializing suffix *-dûng*. The resulting forms can function as predicates in non-verbal clauses, as shown in the discourse framers below: an anaphoric (frame opener) in (97), and a cataphoric (frame closer) in (98). As shown in (98), these forms can also occur by themselves.

(97) *mila*   *taawaam*   *udu,*   *membû*   **yadûng**
     {mi=la   taa-waa-m   udu}   membû   ya-dûng
     water=BEN   say-PRS-1PL   that.ANA   just   this-ADV
     '(What) we say for water, is just like this.' [skc12_04]

305

(98) *wadûng.*
　　　 wa-dûng
　　　 that-ADV

　　　 yagusuwa　　　 kaang　　 kobûsenang　　 ulaksek　　　　　 wadûng.
　　　 [yagusuwa　　　 kaang　　 kobûse=nang　　 ulak-sek]　　　 wa-dûng
　　　 wild.fowl.sp　　 two　　 chicken=GEN　　 story-23DU.POSS　 that-ADV
　　　 'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

Note that unmarked demonstratives may also occur in predicate position in non-verbal clauses, as shown below. However, this is quite rare and is only use for equative (99) and locative (100) clauses.

(99) *nuka　　　 lû　　　 nûnggok,　　　 eng.　　 uma　　　　　 wa!*
　　　 [nuka　　　 lû]　　 nû-go-k　　　 {{eng　 udu-ma　　　　 wa}}
　　　 PN　　　　 NOM　　 tell-RP-3SG　　 yes　　 that.ANA-EMPH　 that
　　　 'Nuka told him, "Yes. That's it!"' [skc11_09c]

(100) *kuduma　　　　　　 kudu.*
　　　 kudu-ma　　　　　　 kudu
　　　 level.DIST-EMPH　　 level.DIST
　　　 'That there.' [skc09_34]

Regarding word class, these demonstratives operate just like other manner adverbs, being capable of modifying any number of verbs. This is what separates them from light verb complements, which license only one or two specific light verbs (see Chapter 12). They do not inflect for the verbal categories of person, number, tense, or reality status. As shown above in (97)–(98), when occurring as the sole predicate, no inflection is grammatically necessary. Like light verb complements, these forms may be followed by a light verb which carries inflection, as shown in (101)–(102).

(101) *yadûng　　　 tabe*
　　　 ya-dûng　　　 ta-be
　　　 this-ADV　　 do-IRR.SG
　　　 'Do it like this!'

(102) *wadûng　　　 tawaamang,　　 tetwaap*
　　　 wa-dûng　　 ta-waa-m-nang　 tetwaap
　　　 that-ADV　　 do-PRS-1PL-HAB　 plant.yams
　　　 'We do like that, (to) plant yams.' [skc12_05]

This is similar to Urarina (isolate; Peru), where demonstratives surface in "participle form", which Olawsky claims could be characterized as a converb and that this form "is being lexicalized and used as an adverb" (Olawsky 2006:788).

The demonstrative verbs are shown preceding *nû-* 'tell' in (103) and *at-* 'be' in (104). In all of these examples, the verbal demonstratives are shown to encode manner. This is the primary purpose of these forms.

(103) *atta*   **yadûng**   *saanûlat,*
     at-ta   ya-dûng   saa-nû-la-t
     be-SS   this-ADV   2NSG.O-tell-PRS-1SG
     'I am (here) telling you (NSG) like this: "…" '

(104) *stoli*   *taabet*   *naandûngat*   *ba*   **wadûng**   *attak.*
     {{stoli   taab-be-t}}   naandû-nga-t   ba   wa-dûng   at-ta-k
     story   say-IRR.SG-1SG   think-NP-1SG   come   that-ADV   be-PRS-3SG
     'The story I thought to tell comes to be like that.' [skc09_18]

These demonstratives are negated just like manner adverbs, with the negator *dom* following it, as in (105). This is different from the typical verbal negation, where the negator precedes the verb.

(105) **wadûng**   *dom*   *(tabe).*
     wa-dûng   dom   ta-be
     that-ADV   NEG   do-IRR.SG
     'Don't (do it) like that.' [DN02.223.04]

These forms may also be reduplicated to encode pluractionality, as in (106) (see §25.2). The other demonstrative forms cannot be reduplicated.

(106) *gilagût,*   *laabûka*   *baa,*   *kadetmang*   *nambukmung*
     gi-lagût   laab-ka   ba-ka   kadetmang   nabukmung
     rain-RSTR   come.up-SS   come-SS   big.road   PN

     kangût   *yaabûka*   *enûnggûmot,*
     kan-gût   yaa-b-ka   ye-nû-gû-mot
     up.PROX-RSTR   3NSG.O-see-SS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1DU

     wadûng wadûng   *taka*   *bawaamot.*
     {{wa-dûng~wa-dûng   ta-ka   ba-waa-mot}}
     that-ADV~that-ADV   do-SS   come-PRS-1DU
     'While it was still raining we came up and came and saw them right up on the Nambukmung road and we (DU) told them , "We (DU) are doing this and that and coming." ' [skc09_21]

Regarding syntax, these adverbs may be directly questioned when they occur by themselves, as in (107).

(107) **yedûngka?**
     ya-dûng=wa
     this-ADV=DUB
     'Like this?'

Regarding deictic reference, the demonstrative adverbs serve exophorically to index actions or events which are unfolding at the moment of utterance, as shown in (101), (105), and (107). This separates their function from the anaphora-marked pronominal demonstratives, which cannot be used in this way. For example, when trying to teach someone a task, one cannot use the nominal form, as shown in (108). Rather, the verbal form is required, as in (101) above.

(108) *yan*   *tabe*
       ya-n   ta-be
       this-ANA   do-IRR.SG
       for: 'Do it like this!'

These forms do encode physical distance when used exophorically, with *wadûng* used for actions performed by someone other than the speaker, and *yadûng* used for actions performed by the speaker himself. The deictic center is the speaker, and not the combination of speaker and addressee, as discussed in §20.1.1. Only the two spatial demonstratives may undergo this derivation; anaphoric and topographic demonstratives do not have manner adverbial forms.

Regarding function, the distal form has a text anaphoric role, referring to an immediately preceding speech report, or to the immediately preceding discourse (as in (98), (102) & (104)). The proximal form functions cataphorically, referring to an immediately following speech report (as in (103)) or to an ensuing discourse (as in (97)). One example does exist in the corpus of the distal form being used in speech report cataphora, though in this example the speech was conveyed via gestures:

(109) *kelûsû*   *wala wala*   *wa*   *tagûng*   *wa*   *udu*
       kelû-sû   {[wala~wala   wa]   ta-gû-ng   wa}   udu
       hand-23NSG.POSS   image~image   that   do-RP-23PL   that   that.ANA

       wadûng   *tagûng,*   *wangaleng!*   *wangaleng!*
       wa-dûng   ta-gû-ng   {{wa=ngat-e-ng   wa=ngat-e-ng
       that-ADV   do-RP-23PL   there=be-IRR.SG-2SG   there=be-IRR.SG-2SG

       dom   *gutntaam!*
       dom   g-ut-ntaa-m}}
       NEG   2SG.O-hit-FUT-1PL
       'They made hand gestures which did like this, "Stay there! Stay there! We won't hurt you!"' [skc12_15]

The above examples illustrate the function of the verbal demonstratives to frame speech reports and entire discourses. In this way they are used to signal that the speaker's

turn is complete. These endophoric uses are described and exemplified further in §20.1.1, with their anaphoric capabilities summarized in Table 20.3.

Manner adverbial demonstratives may further bear the anaphoric suffix, which then produces a demonstrative pronoun. When this occurs, the demonstrative refers anaphorically to an event, rather than an entire proposition or discourse. That is, these forms anaphorically identify the action in a previous clause. This form is quite rare, and has only been found preceding the sensory verb 'see', as shown indexing an action in (110) and a state in (111). While the proximal form has been elicited as grammatical by native speakers, it does not occur in the corpus. Presumably it functions to cataphorically index an event.

(110)   *tang*   *taamtaampû*   *bidami*   *dobûka*
ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka
do-DS   women=NOM   edible.grass.sp   cut-SS

     kelang kelang   *isopmûngka*   *monggûng.*
kelang~kelang   isopm-ka   mo-gû-ng
in.hand~in.hand   hold.NSG-SS   go.down-RP-23PL

     na   *walû*   ***wadûngin***   *yaabûka…*
[na   wa=lû]   wa-dûng-in   yaa-b-ka
man   that=NOM   that-ADV-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS
'And the women were cutting *bidami* grass and holding it in their hands as they went down. The man saw them doing that…' [skc12_16]

(111)   *nantaam*   *mensit*   *dom*   *daausit*   *dom*
nataam   men-sit   dom   daau-sit   dom
people   mouth-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG   eye-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG

     kelûsû   *kayong*   *bûpmbaan.*   ***wadûngin***
kelû-sû   kayong   bûpm-baan   wa-dûng-in
hand-23NSG.POSS   leg   close-NMLZ   that-ADV-ANA

     yaabûka   *na*   *walû*   *beng*   *dong*   *kugok.*
yaa-b-ka   [na   wa=lû]   beng   dong   ku-go-k
3NSG.O-see-SS   man   that=NOM   pandanus   find   go-RP-3SG
'The people did not have mouths or eyes and their hands and legs were closed up. He saw this and the man went to find pandanus.' [skc11_16]

20.4   Emphatic suffix

All demonstratives may be followed by the emphatic suffix *-ma*. No other word class may take this morpheme, so this is a primary diagnostic for the demonstrative class. The first and second person singular pronouns have a suffix *-nga* that appears related, but is not synchronically productive.

The emphatic suffix is used to draw attention to a referent. As such, it is often used in the climax of a narrative discourse, frequently co-occurring with the narrative present tense, as in (113)–(116) below. The exact nature of the semantics associated with the suffix is yet to be determined, but it may be related to sudden discovery, with overtones of mirativity. More research is needed.

Demonstratives marked with *-ma* may function adnominally, as shown in (112)–(113).

(112) *na*   ***uma***   *taak.*
       [na   udu-ma]   ta-a-k
       man   that.ANA-EMPH   do-PRS-3SG
       'That very man is doing it!' [DN01.002.11]

(113) *gelûmsek*   *flong*   *mi*   ***ima***   *bakuyak.*
       [gelûm-sek   flong]   [mi   idi-ma]   ba-ku-ya-k
       spot-23DU.POSS   ALL   water   this.ANA-EMPH   come-go-PRS-3SG
       'This very water was passing by their (DU) spot!' [skc12_13]

Demonstratives marked with *-ma* may also function pronominally, as shown in (114)–(117).

(114) *kaas*   *flong*   ***yama***   *mongka*   *attak.*
       [kaas   flong]   ya-ma   mo-ka   at-ta-k
       trap   ALL   this-EMPH   go.down-SS   be-PRS-3SG
       'This very (one) went down into the trap!' [skc09_35]

(115) *tang*   *mo*   *pasûp pasûp*   ***ima***   *nanggeka*
       ta-ng   mo   pasûp~pasûp   idi-ma   nangge-ka
       do-DS   already   almost~almost   this.ANA-EMPH   choke-SS

       kaamtak!
       kaam-ta-k
       die-PRS-3SG
       '[A cassowary gets caught in a trap…] and it almost choked to death!' [skc09_35]

(116) *tebû*   ***kadûma***   *sengkaanggaamot.*
       teb   kadû-ma   sengkaang-gaa-mot
       bring   level.PROX-EMPH   burn.off.hair-PRS-1DU
       'We brought it and burned off its hair!' [skc09_35]

(117) *kubalang*   *menggon*   *yotyot*   ***kuma***   *kaka...*
       [kubalang   menggon   yotyot]   kum-ma   kaka
       valley   PN   headwaters   down-EMPH   see-SS
       'He saw him down in the Mengon Valley headwaters…' [skc09_18]

No clear evidence exists in the corpus that demonstratives marked with the emphatic suffix can function as locative adverbs. However, examples like (117) provide no overt evidence of a syntactic boundary between NP and VP. It is clear that demonstratives with *-ma*

do function nominally, so at this point I hypothesize that this is the sole function of emphatic-marked demonstratives. Since the anaphoric demonstratives do not function adverbially, it would be unexpected for examples like the following to exhibit locative meaning. However, this is a strange example because demonstratives are not normally allowed to index first or second person referents. It appears that the speaker is backgrounding her participation by referring to a third person subject, and only using the first person plural verbal agreement due to the grammatical requirements of the language.

(118) *taamtaam*   *yalû*   *minggafang*   *flong*
      [taamtaam   ya=lû]   [mi   gafang   flong]
      women   this=NOM   water   lake   ALL

      ima   *maangûtta*   *agaam.*
      idi-ma   maangût-ta   at-gaa-m
      this.ANA-EMPH   sit-SS   be-PRS-1PL
      'These women, we were sitting right over the puddle!' [skc09_28]

Note that, though it is rare, the emphatic suffix can indeed occur in non-present tense clauses, as in (119). It can also occur on demonstratives which produce non-embedded nominalizations (Schapper & San Roque 2011; Noonan 1997), as in (120)—see §31.1. It has not been found in clauses with negative polarity, or in clauses with interrogative or imperative moods.

(119) *wasûlû*   *tapmo*   *kubalang*   ***kama***   *sûka*
      wa-s=lû   tapmo   [kubalang   kam-ma]   sû-ka
      that-LK=NOM   take.down   valley   down.PROX-EMPH   bite-SS

      kafagûng.
      kafa-gû-ng
      set.down-RP-23PL
      'They [the dogs] took [a wallaby] down and bit it to death in that very valley.'
      [skc09_35]

(120) *mo*   *naandûntaamot*   ***yama!***
      mo   naandû-ntaa-mot   ya-ma
      already   know-FUT-1DU   this-EMPH
      'Of course we (DU) will learn [the MM language]!' [DN02.213.24]

The emphatic suffix does occur in non-verbal clauses. It is an interjection in (121), where a speaker points out a mosquito which was buzzing around my head. In (122) it is a non-verbal clause subject, where a speaker points out a referent across the valley.

(121) *aakngka*   *laayan*   *kelû*   *wala wala*   *taka*   *yan*   *nûnggok,*
       aakng-ka   laayan   [kelû   wala~wala]   ta-ka   ya-n   nû-go-k
       arise-SS   PN   hand   image~image   do-SS   this-ANA   tell-RP-3SG

       ima*!*   ***ima****!*   ***ima****!*
       {{idi-ma   idi-ma   idi-ma}}
       this.ANA-EMPH   this.ANA-EMPH   this.ANA-EMPH
       '(He) got up and made hand gestures to Ryan and said like this, "This! This! This!"' [skc11_09c]

(122) ***kuduma***   *kudu!*
       kudu-ma   kudu
       level.DIST-EMPH   level.DIST
       [Pointing] 'That there over there!' [skc09_34]

One final note that is worth making explicit is that the anaphoric demonstratives *idi* and *udu* are in free variation between their full and shortened counterparts when suffixed with *-ma* (e.g. *idima ~ ima*).

20.5   Grammaticalizations

The spatial demonstratives have been further grammaticalized into a number of different elements, including an adverb, conjunctions and an honorific used only in prayers. These are briefly illustrated below.

First, the distal demonstrative has formed an adverb meaning 'also'. The proximal form does not occur in this way: **yadûgût*. Note that the interrogative word *dûdûgût* 'how many' also bears the *-dûgût* suffix, which could historically derive from the verbalizing suffix *-dûng* and the restrictive suffix *-gût*.

(123) *sûdot*   ***wadûgût***   *alûtaak.*
       sûdot   wadûgût   at-taa-k
       2NSG:COM   also   be-FUT-3SG
       [God be with you.] 'And also with you (NSG).' [DN03.295.12]

(124) *ilaailû*   *aatûmpa*   *wa=lû*   ***wadûgût***   *yaayaa*   *taa-gok*
       ilaai=lû   aatûm-pa   wa=lû   wadûgût   yaayaa   taa-go-k
       PN=NOM   startle-SS   that=NOM   also   scream   say-RP-3SG
       'Eli was startled and (so) he also screamed.' [skc11_04d]

Second, the proximal demonstrative verb *yadûng* is marked with *=la*, a locative case-marker which was historically productive. This produced a temporal noun meaning 'a time like this'. The case-marker has produced other temporal nouns as well: *taamengsla* 'morning', *tafala* 'afternoon', and *tandonta* 'night'. The distal demonstrative verb cannot function in this way: **wadûngka*.

(125) **yedûngka**   *kaalin*
yadûngka   kaalin
time.like.this   good
'Times like these are good.' (TP: 'Kain taim olsem, gutpela.') [DN03.291.51]

Third, the distal spatial demonstrative has formed an antithetical clausal conjunction 'but', which on the surface appears to be a combination of *wanggût* 'there:RSTR' and the locative enclitic *=nang*. The proximal demonstrative is not used in this way: **yanggûtnang*.

(126) *waagût*   *kuwet*   *attat,*
waagût   ku-be-t   at-ta-t
now   go-IRR.SG-1SG   be-PRS-1SG

wanggûtnang   *yaabaa-ka*   *alat*
wanggûtnang   yaa-baa-ka   at-a-t
but   3NSG.O-leave-SS   be-NP-1SG
'I want to go, but I've given up.' [DN02.173.43]

Fourth, the distal spatial demonstrative has formed two resultative clausal conjunctions. First, *wala* 'so' has resulted from a combination of *wa* with *=la*, the benefactive enclitic (lit. 'for that'). Second, *walataka* 'therefore' is a compound of *wala* and the verbal conjunction *taka* 'do-SS'. A literal translation of this might be 'for that and'. The two conjunctions are completely interchangeable. That these are grammaticalized forms is supported by the fact that the proximal demonstrative does not occur in this way: **yala*, **yalataka*. Speakers definitely consider them to be individual conjunctions, consistently offering Tok Pisin translations of *olsem na* 'therefore'. See Chapter 32 for the paradigmatic role of these forms in bridging constructions.

(127) *taamengsla*   *aakngka,*   *sûbat*   *sûnamaakongka*   *idi,*
taamengsla   aakng-ka   sûbat   sûna-maa-kong-ka   idi
morning   arise-SS   food   cook.eat-CMPL-TERM-SS   this.ANA

badaang   *sakoka,*   *kaadûp*   *uleka,*   *dinambong*
badaang   sako-ka   kaadûp   ule-ka   {dinambong
firewood.rope   hold.3SG-SS   wood   break-SS   PN

begûmang,   **wala**   *kugot.*
be-gû-m=nang}   wala   ku-go-t
put.NSG-RP-1PL=LOC   so   go-RP-1SG
'I got up in the morning, and after finishing cooking and eating, (since) we had gotten rope and broken firewood and put it at *Dinambong*, I went.' [skc10_01]

(128) *mi   kaapmûnggem   dom,   **walataka***
     mi   kaapmûnggem   dom   walataka
     water   near   NEG   therefore

     belû   *mo*   *naandûka...*
     be=lû   mo   naandû-ka
     father.3SG.POSS=NOM   already   hear-SS
     'The water was not nearby, so her father realized it…' [skc12_04]

Importantly, recall that demonstratives may follow clauses to nominalize them as a subordination strategy. What separates these grammatical constructions, however, is that here the pause break comes before the demonstrative, rather than after it. This is the crucial difference between treating *wala* as a conjunction, rather than as a case-marked demonstrative.

Finally, the distal spatial demonstrative has formed an honorific pronoun *wanak* which has only been observed in prayers. It is a compound of *wa* 'that' and *nak* '1SG' which functions as a sign of respect toward God. I suspect that this is a calque from either Kâte or Yabêm—the Lutheran church languages used to spread Christianity throughout the languages of Morobe Province (Paris 2012; Taylor 1977). More research is needed in order to find evidence for this however. The form has not been found to take enclitics or suffixes, and the proximal form does not function in this manner: **yanak*.

The following examples illustrate *wanak* in a prayer, modifying a pronoun in (129), and after as an object pronoun in (130). The first example has no pause before or after it, while the second is surrounded by two pause breaks.

(129) *oo,   aanutu   kunum   bepmek,   gak   **wanak**   atat*
     o~o   aanutu   kunum   bep-nek   gak   wanak   atat
     oh~EXT   God   Heaven father-1NSG.POSS 2SG thou   presence

     sûglen,   kame   kunum   gaknga   tamaangka   begong.
     sûglen   [kame   kunum]   gak-nga   ta-maa-ka   be-go-ng
     strong   ground   sky   2SG-EMPH   do-CMPL-SS   put.NSG-RP-2SG
     'Oh, God our Father in Heaven, thou art strong forever. You yourself created the heavens and the earth.' [skc12_06]

(130) *taamengsla   finek   ya   yolûfeka*
     taamengsla   {[fi-nek   ya]   yolûfe-ka
     morning   work-1NSG.POSS this   join-SS

     *tanûmpa   taka,   **wanak**,   gaanûngkawaam.*
     ta-nû-m=la}   ta-ka   wanak   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
     do-IRR.PL-1NSG=BEN   do-SS   thee   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
     'This morning we are trying to return to this work of ours and, we call on thee.'
     [skc12_06]

314

PART VI: VERBS & VERB PHRASES

Part VI discusses MM predicates in all their complexity. First, Chapter 21 addresses the formal characteristics of the verb class, the paradigmatic relationship between morphemes, and allomorphy due to phonological verb classes. Next, Chapter 22 describes various complex predicate structures, including light verb constructions, serial verb constructions, and auxiliary verb constructions. The next three chapters are concerned with the functions and semantics of the verbal categories of tense (Chapter 23), aspect (Chapter 24), pluractionality (i.e. verbal number) (Chapter 25), and reality status & modality (Chapter 26).

Ma Manda exhibits a fundamental opposition between realis and irrealis status. An independent verb of a realis clause receives tense-marking. Tense is a paradigmatic set of four categories, each exhibiting a binary split in form depending on whether the subject of the clause is singular (e.g. *-la* 'PRS.SG') or non-singular (e.g. *-waa* 'PRS.NSG'). Irrealis clauses do not receive tense-marking, but instead are overtly marked with one of three suffixes—depending on whether the subject is singular (*-be*), dual (*-de*), or plural (*-ne*). Realis clauses are asserted as true propositions by the speaker, describing states or events that are deemed by the speaker to be located in the real world. Irrealis clauses are not asserted as true in the real world.

Five aspect distinctions are conveyed periphrastically. The progressive and durative aspects require auxiliary verb constructions, while the "extended durative" is coded by verbal repetition. The perfect aspect is also realized analytically, but with the adverb *mo* 'already' (transparently derived from the verb *mo-* 'go down'). The complex predicate structure exhibited with grammatical aspect is also a property of pluractionality—i.e. event plurality—conveying distributive, collective, and iterative meanings.

21 Verb morphology

This chapter is concerned with the formal characteristics of verbal morphology. MM verbs may occur in either independent or dependent form. Independent verb forms characteristically occur in the final position of a sentence and receive a full array of tense, reality status, and subject-agreement suffixes. That is, they are finite verbs and can stand alone. Their typical occurrence in the final position of both independent and embedded clauses has lead to their being called "final verbs" in Papuan linguistic literature (cf. Longacre (1972) & Roberts (1997), *inter alia*). The morphological characteristics of finite verbs are addressed in §21.1. In contrast, dependent verbs typically occur in final position of dependent (non-final) clauses. These verbs are morphologically impoverished, with suffixes that provide information about participant continuity (i.e. "switch-reference") with subsequent clauses. They are non-finite—almost always dependent upon a finite verb for tense and subject information. These non-finite verbs—which have come to be called "medial verbs" in Papuan linguistics literature—are addressed in §21.2. Next, MM verbs are divided into classes based on their object-agreement morphology in §21.3. Other various verbal morphemes that do not fit into paradigms are described in §21.4. Next, the historical relationship betwen a number of verbal affixes and case enclitics is shown in §21.5. MM verbs may be divided into five morpho-phonological verb classes that behave differently depending upon the shape of their stem. These are described in §21.6.

21.1   Finite (independent) verb morphology

Finite verbs are those which head independent clauses and typically occur in final position of sentences or finite subordinate clauses. They are often referred to as "final verbs" in Papuan linguistics literature. Finite verbs are accorded the richest morphology of MM words. They are required to bear one of a full array of tense and reality status suffixes, followed by a subject-agreement suffix that indexes the person and number of the S or A argument of the clause. These paradigms are described in the following two sections.

21.1.1   Tense and irrealis paradigms

MM finite verb stems are followed by a slot which must be filled by a suffix from either the tense (realis) or irrealis paradigms. Two aspect morphemes—the terminative and completive—are considered serial verbs, and are addressed in §24.6 and §24.7, respectively.

The tense paradigm—which exhibits a bipartite number split—is shown in Table 21.1.

TABLE 21.1: TENSE (REALIS) PARADIGM

	SG	NSG
Remote past (RP)	*-go*	*-gû*
Near past (NP)	*-nga*	*-ngaa*
Present (PRS)	*-la*	*-waa*
Future (FUT)	*-taa*	*-ntaa*

Every one of the four tenses have separate forms depending on whether the subject is singular or non-singular. The differences range from vowel alternation (e.g. RP *-go* vs. *-gû*) to consonant epenthesis (i.e. FUT *-taa* vs. *-ntaa*) to completely different sequences (i.e. PRS *-la* vs. *-waa*). This feature is present in other Erap languages as well (e.g. Linnasalo (2014)). As described in Chapter 26, the realis status is unmarked in MM. Instead, realis finite verbs must be marked with a tense suffix. Irrealis finite verbs bear a suffix from an irrealis paradigm. This matches the cross-linguistic tendency for realis to be the unmarked form (Elliott 2000:57). This irrealis paradigm exhibits a tripartite number split, as shown in Table 21.2

TABLE 21.2: IRREALIS PARADIGM

	SG	DU	PL
IRR	*-be*	*-de*	*-ne*

This distinction in number-marking between bipartite realis clauses and tripartite irrealis clauses is a primary diagnostic for establishing a primary, high-level distinction between them.[15] This morphological behavior provides support for the argument that, even when the irrealis paradigm functions with remote future tense meaning, it is not a real tense.

For illustration of these tense and irrealis morphemes, along with full discussions of their complexities, see Chapters 23 and 26, respectively. Also note that the paradigms shown here are simplified, with a discussion of their extensive morphological alternations reserved for §21.6.

21.1.2   Subject-agreement paradigms

Following the tense/modality slot, the next slot is filled by a subject-agreement suffix. The paradigm used for realis verbs—displayed in Table 21.3—consists of three persons and three

---

[15] The addition of the dual category necessitates the distinction in this thesis between "non-singular" and "plural". Non-singular (NSG) refers to any number greater than one, and is used for tense suffixes, irrealis subject-agreement suffixes, object-agreement prefixes, possessive suffixes, and basic pronouns. Plural (PL) herein refers to any number greater than two, and is used for irrealis suffixes, realis subject-agreement suffixes, and emphatic pronouns.

number categories. However, the second and third persons are neutralized in the dual and plural numbers.

TABLE 21.3: SUBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM (REALIS)

	SG	DU	PL
1	-t	-mot	-m
2	-ng	-mok	-ng
3	-k		

This paradigm is illustrated in (1)–(3) below.[16]

(1) *nak   tetaat.*
     nak   te-taa-**t**
     1SG   dance-FUT-1SG
     'I will dance.' [DN01.083.12]

(2) *wa   bagûmok.*
     wa   ba-gû-**mok**
     that   come-RP-23DU
     'They (DU) came.' [skc09_18]

(3) *nûndû   sûbat   nawaam.*
     nûndû   sûbat   na-waa-**m**
     1NSG   food   eat-PRS-1PL
     'We are eating.' [DN01.89.31]

The subject-agreement paradigm is slightly different for irrealis verbs. While the actual forms are the same, the dual number category is not used. Since the irrealis paradigm itself has a dual form, the subject-agreement paradigm does not employ this redundant information. Crucially, this means that the morphemes that carry a plural (i.e. more than two) meaning with realis verbs, carry a non-singular (i.e. more than one) meaning with irrealis verbs. This distinction can be seen in the irrealis subject-agreement paradigm below. Compare the NSG column below with the identical PL column in Table 21.3.

TABLE 21.4: SUBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM (IRREALIS)

	SG	NSG
1	-t	-m
2	-ng	-ng
3	-k	

This paradigm is illustrated in (4)–(6).[17] The difference between realis and irrealis subject-agreement suffixes is particularly clear in (6), where the dual irrealis form is used in

---

[16] In order to conserve space, I do not include in the glosses whether the tense is of the singular or non-singular form. Number is actually redundant, being conveyed through the subject-agreement paradigm as well. This convention is followed throughout the thesis.

combination with the non-singular subject-agreement suffix. This suffix could not be used with a dual referent for realis verbs.

(4) *emak*   *ban*   *kansûlong*   *laai*   *kuwet.*
     [emak   ban   kan=slong]   laai   ku-**be-t**
     moon   a   up.PROX=LOC   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG
     'Next month I will go to Lae.' [DN01.65.08]

(5) *kadet*   *kaalin*   *dom*   *tawangka*   *idi,*
     [kadet   kaalin]   dom   tawang-ka   idi
     road   good   NEG   follow-SS   this.ANA

     bepmek   *kusamba*   *dom*   *kanûm.*
     [bep-mek   kusamba]   dom   ka-**nûm**
     father-1NSG.POSS   big   NEG   see.3SG-IRR.PL:1NSG
     '(If we) do not follow the good road, we will not see our great father.' [skc11_13]

(6) *gak*   *yangadeng.*
     gak   ya=ngat-**de**-**ng**
     2SG   here=be-IRR.DU-23NSG
     'You (DU) stay here.' [skc09_38]

Three irregularities need to be mentioned where the tense/irrealis and subject-agreement morphemes are fused, possibly indicating that the two slots are forming single portmanteau morphemes. First, we see in (5) that the IRR.PL and 1NSG suffixes combine to form *-nûm* (rather than *-nem*). Second, we see in (7) that the PRS.NSG and 23PL suffixes combine to form *-wang* (rather than *-waang*). Finally, in (8) we see that the NP.NSG and 23PL suffixes combine to form *-ng* (rather than *-ngaang*).

(7) *walû*   *kuwang.*
     wa=lû   ku-**wang**
     that=NOM go-PRS:23PL
     'They have left.' [DN01.025.07]

(8) *taamtaam*   *kapa*   *mowa*   *kung?*
     taamtaam   kapa   mo=wa   ku-**ng**
     women   worship already=DUB go-NP:23PL
     'Have the women already gone to worship?' [DN02.177.02]

21.2   Non-finite (dependent) verb morphology

Non-finite verbs are dependent upon finite verbs for tense, modality, and a full specification of their subject's person and number. The only exception to this is when non-finite verbs are

---

[17] Since the irrealis paradigm carries essential number information, throughout this thesis I include in the glosses whether the form is singular, dual, or plural. The subject gloss identifies whether the morpheme is singular or non-singular, but this number information is redundant.

de-subordinated, occurring at the end of a sentence, to convey incompletion (a narrative strategy), expectation (a command strategy), or ability (using the potential modality marker). Generally though, non-finite verbs occur as the heads of medial clauses, which are then chained together and remain dependent upon a final independent clause which provides the full array of tense, status, and subject information. Non-finite verbs are impoverished in their morphological ability, only bearing a suffix from a limited paradigm. The non-finite paradigm allows a speaker to coordinate or subordinate clauses with or without participant continuity with a subsequent clause. The dependent verb paradigm is displayed in Table 21.5.[18]

TABLE 21.5: DEPENDENT VERB MORPHOLOGY

		+ participant + coordinate	+ participant – coordinate	– participant – coordinate
SS		*-ka*	*-ø*	
DS	1SG	*-ng -la*		
	1NSG	*-ng -tna(ng), -ng -(t)da*	*-ng*	*-gû*
	23	*-ng -lû*		

Leaving a full discussion of the various functions of clause chains and the different dependent verb forms for a later study, below I illustrate and briefly describe each morpheme—beginning with the coordinate suffixes in §21.2.1 and then turning to the subordinate suffixes in §21.2.2. The complex functions and syntactic behaviors of these dependent suffixes are left for future research, falling outside the scope of the present work.

21.2.1   Coordinate suffixes

The most common dependent verb suffix is *-ka*, the same-subject marker. This morpheme establishes a co-referential relationship between the subject of the marked clause and that of the following clause. A typical example is shown in (9). This sentence has three mainline clauses, each coordinated with a same-subject marker on its predicate. The final clause is headed by a finite verb which provides the tense and subject-marking, both of which have scope over the entire sentence. Each predicate has a perfective interpretation, with each subsequent clause understood as occurring sequentially in time.

---

[18] Note that the paradigm is simplified, with a description of the complex morphophonemic alternations reserved for §21.6.

(9)   *mongka*   *tamek*   *wika*   *gola*   *dogok.*
         mo-**ka**   tamek   wi-**ka**   go=la   do-go-k
         go.down-SS   bed   make.bed-SS   sun=BEN   sleep-RP-3SG
         '(He) went down and made a bed and slept in the sun.' [skc11_02e]

While this is the most common use of the same-subject suffix, it is also required on the lexical predicate in all auxiliary verb constructions. As described in Chapter 24, aspect is conveyed through the use of an auxiliary verb. Every time an auxiliary is used, the lexical verb that precedes it is marked with the same-subject suffix. An example of the progressive auxiliary *at-* 'be' is shown in (10). Here *maangût-* 'sit' is marked with the same-subject morpheme. Presumably this pattern arose because auxiliaries began as separate predicates describing the final state and/or location of the participants in focus. Even though the bleached verbs have been pulled into complex predicates, the lexical verbs retain their same-subject morphological behavior.

(10)   *na*   *fatnaang*   *walû*   *kaauda*   *flong*   *kum*
         [na   fatnaang   wa=lû]   [kaauda   flong]   kum
         man   white   that=NOM   stone   ALL   down.DIST

         maangûtta   *ngagok.*
         maangût-ta   ngat-go-k
         sit-SS   be-RP-3SG
         'The white man was sitting down on a stone.' [skc12_15]

With this auxiliary function as an exception, verbs with same-subject marking always precede the next verb in time. Thus, *-ka* carries relative tense information, in addition to participant information. I have not found any examples of same-subject clauses occurring in a contrary order to the temporal ordering of the events they describe. I suspect, however, that this is a conversational implicature, where coordination is interpreted as having temporal ordering due to the tenet of Grice's maxim of manner, "Be orderly" (1975:46).

Like the same-subject suffix, the different-subject suffixes also carry sequential meaning. However, they also overtly indicate whether the subject of the clause is first person or non-first person, and whether first person subjects are singular or non-singular. Thus, different-subject verbs accomplish the same mainline tasks as same-subject verbs. They simply indicate that the subject is not co-referential with the next subject, and in so doing they provide some specification of the person and number of that subject. A basic example is provided in (11). This sentence has two clauses, with the first in a coordinate relationship with the final, finite, clause. As with the same-subject example, even though the clauses are coordinated, the non-finite medial verb is dependent upon the final verb for tense, modality

and subject information. Note that here the first verb only indicates that its subject is non-first person. It does not provide a full subject specification; this information is topical (being retrievable from previous discourse).

(11) *kep*   *longûlû*   *nûndû*   *fûgûm.*
      kep   lo-ng-**lû**   nûndû   fû-gû-m
      yesterday   go.up-DS-23   1NSG   come.down-RP-1PL
      'Yesterday (he/she/they) went up and we (all) came down.' [DN02.267.04]

The first person singular suffix is illustrated in (12) and the first person non-singular suffix is shown in (13).

(12) *walataka*   *ba*   *nûngala*   *kuntaamot*   *naanûnggok.*
      walataka   ba   nû-ng-**la**   {{ku-ntaa-mot}}   naa-nû-go-k
      therefore   come   tell-DS-1SG   go-FUT-1DU   1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG
      'So coming I asked him and he told me, "Let's go."' [skc09_38]

(13) *bûge*   *efaale faale*   *taka,*   *bot*   *beka,*
      bûge   ef-faale~faale   ta-ka   bot   be-ka
      again   CAUS-turn~turn   do-SS   group   put.NSG-SS

      sengûda   *dûwangang.*
      se-ng-**da**   dû-wa-ng-nang
      cook-DS-1NSG   cook-PRS-23PL-HAB
      '(We) rotate [the dried branches] again, and heap them, and we light them, and they cook.' [skc09_17]

In (14) the suffix *-tna* indexes a first person dual subject. In fact, the speaker claimed that this suffix refers to only two people, while *-da* (as in (13)) refers to more than two. However, other speakers claim the exact opposite condition (i.e. with *-da* as a dual form). Moreover, both suffixes can occur in two forms each (*-tna* and *-tnang*; *-da* and *-tda*). More research is needed to determine whether these are simply separate ideolects, or whether these morphemes convey further information such as imperfectivity or focus. Such variation exists in the corpus that all four of these forms herein are typically glossed with the 1NSG label.

(14) *kaalû*   *flong*   *loka*   *ngakngatna*   *kaalû*   *tefaaleka...*
      [kaalû   flong]   lo-ka   ngat-ng-**tna**   kaalû   tefaale-ka
      vehicle   ALL   go.up-SS   be-DS-1NSG   vehicle   turn-SS
      'While we (DU) were (still) getting up on the car, the car turned around and…'
      [skc09_38]

This discussion provides the essence of the switch-reference system. When the medial verb is marked with a same-subject suffix (*-ka*), then the addressee knows to wait for the next clause for that co-referential information. If the medial verb is marked with a different-subject suffix (*-ng*), then the speaker also provides additional information about whether the

322

subject is first person singular (*-la*), first person non-singular (*-tna*, *-da*), or non-first person (*-lû*). Same-subject and different-subject (with subject-agreement) verbs coordinate clauses, and due to implicature they generally carry a sequential interpretation.

21.2.2   Subordinate suffixes

On the other hand, non-finite verbs can be used to embed clauses as well. In this case the dependent verb suffixes are further reduced in form. Bare verb stems mark same-subject subordinate clauses, while verbs marked with *-ng* (and no further subject-agreement) produce different-subject subordinate clauses. In either case the resultant non-finite subordinate clause is left without temporal connection to the mainline. Without temporal cohesion, such clauses serve adverbially to modify a following predicate. Thus, these non-finite verb forms function much like English *-ing* participles, except with the addition of some participant-tracking via same- and different-subject markings. Example (15) illustrates two same- and two different-subject subordinate verbs.

(15) | *walû* | ***tefû tefû*** | | *senang* | *kubalang* |
      | wa=lû | tefû~tefû | | senang | kubalang |
      | that=ABL | bring.down.SG~bring.down.SG | | PN | valley |

tûng	*mo,*
tû-ng	mo
put.SG-DS	already

'From there bringing (her) down and down (SS), putting (her) (DS) in the Senang Valley,'

ni	*laabûka*	***bang***
ni	laab-ka	ba-ng
3SG.EMPH	come.up-SS	come-DS

'(she) came up herself (SS) and coming (DS),'

nak	***febû***	*senang*	*kubalang*	*wa*	*yaabaaka*
nak	feb	[senang	kubalang]	wa	yaabaa-ka
1SG	bring.NSG	PN	valley	that	leave.NSG-SS

nak	*tûmang tûmang*	*bagot.*
nak	tûmang~tûmang	ba-go-t
1SG	first~first	come-RP-1SG

'I bringing them (SS), left them (SS) in the Senang Valley and came very first.'

[skc09_21]

Such subordinate verbs are particularly common in the first clause of a new sentence, providing background information to orient the reader. For example, a common strategy is to introduce a new sentence with *tang* 'do-DS', as in (16). This serves as a verbal conjunction, providing only participant cohesion with the previous sentence. Compare this with (17),

where *tangûlû* 'do-DS-23' provides both participant and temporal cohesion. (See Chapter 32 for a full discussion of participant and temporal cohesion in bridging constructions.)

(16) ***tang***   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *u*   *kaamgok.*
      ta-ng   [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kaam-go-k
      do-DS   woman   child-23NSG.POSS   that.ANA   die-RP-3SG

      tang   *tuku*   *flaasûgûng*   ***tang...***
      ta-ng   tuku   flaas-gû-ng   ta-ng
      do-DS   take.SG   cover-RP-23PL   do-DS
      'And (DS) that daughter of theirs died. And (DS) taking (her) they buried (her) and (DS)…' [skc12_04]

(17) ***tangûlû***,   *fûka*   *atta*   *yaabûngala...*
      ta-ng-lû   fû-ka   at-ta   yaa-b-ng-la
      do-DS-23   come.down-SS   be-SS   3NSG.O-see-DS-1SG
      'And then (DS) while I was coming outside I saw them…' [skc09_10]

It is common for different-subject subordinate weather and time verbs to occur in this sentence-initial spot, as in (18) with *siya-* 'dawn'.

(18) *siyang*   *mosaa*   *kugot.*
      siya-**ng**   mosaa   ku-go-t
      dawn-DS   PN   go-RP-1SG
      'In the morning I went to Mosa.' [skc09_35]

Compare (19), where *tafala* 'afternoon' is followed by the light verb *ta-* 'do' in subordinate form, with (20), where *ta-* is marked with the coordinate different-subject structure (i.e. including subject agreement). In this second example, the time of day is part of the mainline, while in the first example it is extra background information.

(19) *lo*   *isit*   *dong*   *taka*   *aatûkugû*   *idi,*
      lo   isit   dong   ta-ka   at-ku-gû   idi
      go.up   kunai   find   do-SS   be-go-DUR   this.ANA

      tafala   ***tang***   *maambagûm.*
      tafala   ta-ng   maa=ba-gû-m
      afternoon   do-DS   whole=come-RP-1PL
      'Having gone up and gathered kunai grass for a while, we came back in the afternoon.' [skc10_01]

(20) *ifûngaaweka*   **tafala**   **tangûlû**
ef-aawe-ka   tafala   ta-ng-lû
CAUS-finish-SS   afternoon   do-DS-23

gebûng   *maa*   *kunengka*   *tagûng.*
{gebûng   maa   ku-ne-ng=la   }ta-gû-ng
inside   whole   go-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN   do-RP-23PL
'(They) finished it and it was afternoon (when) they wanted to go back to their homes.' [skc11_09c][19]

Note that in (20) *aawe-* 'finish' is marked with the same-subject suffix even though a change in subject occurs between this clause and the next. This is typical of time-of-day, weather, and other zero-valency predicates. The precise complexities of the switch-reference system, including its use as a test for subjecthood, is reserved for future research.

These dependent verb forms also frequently occur with complementation strategies, as shown in (21). In this case the subordinate clause is interpreted as the complement clause of *ka-* 'see.3SG'.

(21) *domgût*   *laabûng*   *kaka*   *kekng*   *taagok...*
{{dom-gût   laab-**ng**}}   ka-ka   kekng   taa-go-k
NEG-RSTR   come.up-DS   see.3SG-SS   call   say-RP-3SG
'(He$_i$) saw (he$_j$) still hadn't come up and he$_i$ called out…' (lit. 'Still not coming up (DS), (he) saw and called out.') [skc12_11]

Verbs of motion are the most common type to occur as bare verb stems (same-subject subordinate verb). This occurs both in recapitulative clauses in bridging constructions, as in (22), as well as immediately preceding the finite verb, as in (24). In the first case, a vowel-final verb is often lengthened. In the second case, the verb is frequently cliticized to the final verb. Both patterns are phonological results of the dispreference in MM for monomoraic words.

(22) *sowek*   *kaas*   *tamaangkongka*
sowek   kaas   ta-maa-kong-ka
cassowary   ground.trap   do-CMPL-TERM-SS

beka   *i*   *bagot.*
be-ka   idi   ba-go-t
put.NSG-SS   this.ANA   come-RP-1SG
'(I) finished making the whole cassowary traps and after putting them out I came.'

---

[19] This complex predicate with the light verb *ta-* 'do' is a desiderative construction, as described in Chapter 26.

ba	*gewayong*	*kaka*	*idi*
ba	gewayong	ka-ka	idi
come	PN	see.3SG-SS	this.ANA

'Coming, after seeing Gewayong…' [skc09_35]

A subordinate verb may also provide no participant cohesion between the clause it heads and a subsequent clause. The dependent verb suffix (*-gû*) produces a subordinate verb that adverbially modifies a sentence, but does not identify whether its subject is co-referential with the following subject. It is usually quite clear from the context what the subject is, however. Often, the subject information is provided in a reference clause of a bridging construction, with the dependent verb as a recapitulation. This can be seen in (23), where the light verb *ta-* 'do' is a summary linkage of the predicate in the reference clause.

(23)	*sap*	*wa*	*yenûngkongka*	*tangaam.*	***tagû***	*mo,…*
	[sap	wa]	ye-nûngkong-ka	ta-ngaa-m	ta-gû	mo
	dog	that	3NSG.O-remove-SS	do-NP-1PL	do-DUR	already

'We kicked out each dog. After doing (that), …' [skc09_28]

According to Haspelmath's (1995:3) definition, this suffix can be considered to produce a converb: "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." He argues that converbs are verbal in form—part of the inflection paradigm of verbs—but are inherently subordinate and nonfinite, and generally marked by an affix. While converbs have been distinguished from medial verbs, in Ma Manda a converb treatment would imply a continuum. While the coordinate medial suffixes head mainline clauses, subordinate medial suffixes do not. The same- and different-subject subordinate suffixes may be considered converbial as well, but more research is needed to identify the semantic and structural differences between these clause types.

Semantically, the *-gû* suffix provides aspectual information. It has been argued that separate sets of same- and different-subject suffixes occur in coordinate and subordinate contexts. The coordinate forms typically carry a sequential meaning, while the subordinate forms can mark events and states that are either sequential or simultaneous. In both coordinate and subordinate clauses, their relative tense is taken from context, and is not encoded in the forms themselves. The dependent suffix *-gû* is different: it conveys an unspecified duration of the event or state. In (23) it marks an event which sequentially occurs before the subsequent event. However, the activity is here described as continuing for some amount of time. This often results in an interpretation of overlapping events (either in part or in whole), while at other times the second event occurs immediately upon conclusion of the

first. Throughout the corpus it is common for this suffix to mark stative verbs due to its durative meaning, as shown in (24)–(25).

(24)   *mosaa*   ***aagû**,*   *aatûkugûm*   ***aatûkugû**,*   *nûnûngkong,*
    mosaa   at-gû   aatûku-gû-m   aatûku-gû   n-nûngkong-ng
    PN   be-DUR   remain-RP-1PL   remain-DUR   1NSG.O-remove-DS

    kaasingang   *balogûm.*
    kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m
    PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL
    'In Mosa (DUR), we stayed, staying (DUR), getting kicked out (DS), coming (SS) we went up to Kesengen.' [skc09_19]

(25)   *kep*   *bûsenang*   ***aatûkugû***   *bagot.*
    kep   bûsenang   aatûku-gû   ba-go-t
    yesterday   jungle   remain-DUR   come-RP-1SG
    'Yesterday staying in the jungle I came.' [DN02.201.16]

The temporal extension conveyed by the form was also noted by Hynum for Numanggang. Numanggang, a neighboring Erap language, has what was termed a "subsequent action" medial verb suffix *-keene/-geene*. It "is used with all persons and all 3 numbers and is frequently used with no change of subject. It's [sic] focus is apparently not on switch reference but on the relative time of action. … The action of the succeeding verb is always subsequent with some time interval between. Observed intervals have been as short as a few hours and as long as several months" (1995:32). This matches the tendency in MM as well. Durative subordinate verbs are backgrounded, allowing the speaker to provide the state of affairs at the time of the next mainline event. They portray a state or event as extended in time, and are therefore glossed as 'DUR' to mark durativity.

Importantly, Ma Manda already has two complex predicate constructions to convey durative meaning. The durative auxiliary *aatûku-* 'remain' (lit. 'be-go') (see §24.2) extends an event or state indefinitely. I translate it with the phrase 'for a while'. Second, the extended durative (see §24.3)—formed by verbal repetition, particularly of motion verbs—is an iconic stylistic device. In both cases, the temporal extension may occur on the mainline. These complex predicates can be finite, or they can occur with same- or different-subject coordinate suffixes. Often though, the auxiliary durative co-occurs with the subordinate durative suffix. See §24.2 for exemplification and discussion.

It is especially common for verbs marked with this suffix to recapitulate a previous verb, but with no pause break between them. This is a common discourse strategy to provide

cohesion between sentences, producing a type of coordination. A typical example is shown in (24) above.

Example (24) is also shows the lack of participant continuity of the durative medial suffix. The verb *aatûkugû* 'remaining' does not have the same subject as the next verb *nûnûngkong* 'removing us'. On the other hand, (25) shows that same verb *aatûkugû* with a co-referential subject with the following verb—both are first person singular. While same-subject and different-subject coordinate and subordinate suffixes encode participant information, the durative suffix does not.

The *-gû* suffix does not just occur as a narrative cohesive device, but it also frequently occurs in dialogue, as shown in (26)–(27).

(26) *tawaang   kunta   **ngaagû**   fûwaamok?*
     tawaang   kun=ta   at-gû   fû-waa-mok
     mountain   up.DIST=DUB   be-DUR   come.down-PRS-23DU
     'Being up on the mountain you two have come down?' [DN03.293.58]

(27) ***tagû**   mambûtaang.*
     ta-gû   mang-b-taa-ng
     do-DUR   fall.down-EP-FUT-2SG
     'Doing (it) you will fall down.' [DN02.183.43]

Example (28) shows a clearly dynamic event with the durative suffix. The suffix marks the recapitulated event *mûkaam-* 'fight', but then situates the next event some undetermined amount of time after the previous event began.

(28) *gamattit   mûkaamgûmok.   yan   **mûkaamgû**   na   walû*
     gamat=lit   mûkaam-gû-mok   ya-n   mûkaam-gû   [na   wa=lû]
     snake=COM   fight-RP-23DU   this-ANA   fight-DUR   man   that=NOM

     gamat   wa   membûnang   sûbûlaakng   kaamgok.
     [gamat   wa]   membû=nang   sûblaat-ng   kaam-go-k
     snake   that   head=LOC   bite.down-DS   die-RP-3SG
     '…(he) fought with the snake. Fighting like this (DUR), the man biting down on the snake's head (DS), it died.' [skc11_12b]

21.3 Object-agreement morphology

A subset of transitive verbs in MM require bound prefixes that cross-reference the object. In a large number of Papuan languages all transitive verbs have bound pronominal object prefixes (Foley 1986:105), but it is a characteristic feature of the FH family for a small closed class of transitive verbs to take these prefixes (Suter 2012:23). These are the fully transitive verbs, while transitive verbs which do not take object-agreement morphology are ambitransitive,

being capable of licensing only an S argument in intransitive clauses (§10.1). Though a paradigm exists, the individual affixes are often fused with the verb roots in irregular ways. Additionally, the third person singular forms are often suppletive.

The bound pronominal prefixes agree with the person and number of the object. They are formally quite similar to the free pronouns and pronominal possessive suffixes. Like those paradigms, this set of prefixes also displays a singular/non-singular distinction. This lack of a dual category is one important characteristic which separates this paradigm from the set of subject-agreement suffixes. The morphemes are displayed in Table 21.6.

TABLE 21.6: OBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM

	SG	NSG
1	*n(aa)-*	*n-*
2	*g(aa)-*	*s(aa)-*
3	–	*y(e)-*

This paradigm behaves transparently with certain verbs, as displayed with *nû-* 'tell' below.

TABLE 21.7: OBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM OF *NÛ-* 'TELL'

	SG	NSG
1	*naanû-*	*nûnû-*
2	*gaanû-*	*saanû-*
3	*nû-*	*yenû-*

Before multi-syllabic verb stems, however, the pattern is slightly less transparent, as shown with *talaam-* 'shoot' below. Here, only the consonants from the paradigm are utilized, where they replace the initial consonant of the stem—except for the 1NSG form, where the entire initial syllable is replaced.

TABLE 21.8: OBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM OF *TALAAM-* 'SHOOT'

	SG	NSG
1	*nalaam-*	*nûlaam-*
2	*galaam-*	*salaam-*
3	*talaam-*	*yalaam-*

Some other verb stems exhibit further complexities, as with *isopm-* 'hold' below. Here we see an example of a suppletive third person singular form. Note also that the third person non-singular form does not have a prefix. I argue that the *ye-* prefix has simply fused with the verb stem—especially since the null third person singular form is not utilized due to the presence of a suppletive stem. Complicating the picture, however, is that the first and second person singular forms are optionally *nasopm-* and *gasopm-*, respectively. It is unclear what

historical and synchronic phonological forces are at work; many of these forms must simply be learned.

Finally, note that the 3NSG prefix *ye-* surfaces varyingly as *ye-*, *e-*, and *i-*. Speakers tend to use these interchangeably, with the shorter forms preferred before longer verb stems.

TABLE 21.9: OBJECT-AGREEMENT PARADIGM OF *ISOPM-* 'HOLD'

	SG	NSG
1	*nisopm-*	*nûsopm-*
2	*gisopm-*	*sisopm-*
3	*sako-*	*isopm-*

MM has four classes of transitive verbs with regard to bound object-agreement morphology. First, many transitive verbs are simply not marked morphologically, as shown in (29). These are analyzed as ambitransitive, since they can also function in intransitive clauses.

(29) *flanggon*   ***blaampa***   *aamugok.*
      flanggon   blaam-pa   aamut-go-k
      axe   carry-SS   be.furious-RP-3SG
      'He carried an axe and was furious.' [skc09_18]

Second, a group of verbs is available for the entire object-agreement paradigm. This class is described and listed in §21.3.1. Third, a group of verbs exhibits a stem alternation depending on whether the object is singular or non-singular, but does not take object-agreement prefixes. This class is described and listed in §21.3.2. Fourth, a group of verbs exhibits both stem alternation (according to the SG/NSG distinction) and prefixation, as discussed in §21.3.3.

See §25.1 for a discussion of the these verb classes with regard to the category of pluractionality.

21.3.1   Object verb class I: Prefixes

MM has twelve verbs that take object-agreement prefixes. The entire set is displayed in Table 21.10. Four of the forms have suppletive third person singular forms, as indicated with shading. This pattern of suppletion aligns with Dixon's (2012:62) observation that, when transitive verbs have a suppletive form depending on the number of a core argument, it is almost always the O argument which initiates the suppletion, rather than the A.

stem	1SG	2SG	3SG	1NSG	2NSG	3NSG
talaam- 'shoot'	*nalaam-*	*galaam-*	*talaam-*	*nûlaam-*	*salaam-*	*yalaam-*
kaafe- 'scold'	*naafe-*	*gaafe-*	*kaafe-*	*nûfe-*	*saafe-*	*yaafe-*
nû- 'tell'	*naanû-*	*gaanû-*	*nû-*	*nûnû-*	*saanû-*	*yenû-*
m- 'give'	*naam-*	*gaam-*	*m-*	*nûm-*	*saam-*	*yem-*
kapmang- 'leave'	*napmang-*	*gapmang-*	*kapmang-*	*nûpmang-*	*sapmang-*	*yapmang-*
naanggût- 'get'	*nanaanggût-*	*ganaanggût-*	*naanggût-*	*nûnaanggût-*	*sanaanggût-*	*yenaanggût-*
taale- 'pull'	*naale-*	*gaale-*	*taale-*	*nûle-*	*saale-*	*yaale-*
tawang- 'follow'	*nawang-*	*gawang-*	*tawang-*	*nûwang-*	*sawang-*	*yawang-*
isopm- 'hold'	*nisopm- nasopm-*	*gisopm- gasopm-*	*sako-*	*nûsopm-*	*sisopm-*	*isopm-*
b- 'see'	*naamb-*	*gaab-*	*ka-*	*nûmb-*	*saab-*	*yaab-*
yaabaa- 'let'	*naabaa-*[20]	*gaabaa-*	*kaawaa-*	*nûbaa-*	*saabaa-*	*yaabaa-*
eflongka- 'help'[21]	*neflongka-*	*geflongka-*	*teblongka-*	*nûflongka-*	*seflongka-*	*iflongka- yeflongka-*

This list does not include compound and serialized verbs. For example, Table 21.11 lists several complex verbs that all begin with *nû-* 'tell'. In these cases the paradigm behaves just like the simplex verb with regard to object-agreement. Many compounds also use *ut-* 'hit' (e.g. *utebûkaam-* 'die', *utufem-* 'touch'), among others.

---

[20] Note the lack of prenasalization here and in the 1NSG form. This word is strange because NV sequences initiate prenasalization of following voiced stops in MM (cf. §5.2). The irregularity may be a bit of support for analyzing these forms as fused. The same can be said for a couple of the 1NSG forms in Table 21.13.

[21] This form may be complex, with a verb *longka-* preceded by the causative serialization *ef-*. However, *longka-* does not appear to be in the synchronic lexicon.

stem	1SG	2SG	3SG	1NSG	2NSG	3NSG
nû-kong- 'send, remove' (lit. 'tell-throw')	*naanûngkong-*	*gaanûngkong-*	*nûngkong-*	*nûnûngkong-*	*saanûngkong-*	*yenûngkong-*
nû-yot- 'force' (lit. 'tell-stab')	*naanûyot-*	*gaanûyot-*	*nûyot-*	*nûnûyot-*	*saanûyot-*	*yenûyot-*
nû-ut-m-pa- 'praise' (lit. 'tell-hit-give-VBLZ')	*naanûutumpa-*	*gaanûutumpa-*	*nûutumpa-*	*nûnûutumpa-*	*saanûutumpa-*	*yenûutumpa-*

21.3.2 Object verb class II: SG/NSG stem alternation

Eleven verbs have separate stems depending on whether the object is singular or non-singular. For most of these verbs the alternation is simply between the initial segments: *t-* for singular and *f-* for non-singular. This mirrors the *k/h* number distinction exhibited by Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:287).

These *t/f* alternations appear to have historically been compounds or serializations of intransitive motion verbs with *ta* 'get.SG' and *fa* 'get.NSG'. Synchronically, *ta* and *fa* are non-inflecting verbs that always occur in subordinate same-subject (bare root) form, as shown in (30). On the other hand, the same truth-conditional meanings can be conveyed with the full verbs *teblaa-/feblaa-*, as shown in (31). The difference is that in the second example the getting is conceived of as a separate event.

(30) *kuyang* **ta** *kum* *tûwe.*
kuyang ta kum tû-be
stick get.SG down.DIST put.SG-IRR.SG
'Put the stick down.' (lit. 'Getting the stick put it down.') [DN04.55.01]

(31) **teblaaka** *fûwe.*
teblaa-ka fû-be
get.SG-SS come.down-IRR.SG
'Get it and come down.' [DN04.79.70]

Since a number of historical vowel harmony processes have taken place (e.g. *ta-ku→tuku*), I treat them here as separate forms. Also, speakers conceptualize even transparently divisible forms such as *talo* 'take.up.SG' as single concepts, mirroring their motion verbs and demonstratives.

The entire list of eleven verbs is displayed in Table 21.12.

TABLE 21.12: OBJECT VERB CLASS II: SG/NSG STEM ALTERNATION

gloss	SG	NSG	underlying motion verb
'put'	*tû-*	*be-*	
'carry in arms'	*taabaa-*	*flubaabaa-*	
'throw'	*kong-*	*lakong-*	
'get'	*teblaa-*	*feblaa-*	
'bring'	*teb-*	*feb-*	*ba-* 'come'
'bring up'	*talaab-*	*falaab-*	*laab-* 'come up'
'bring down'	*tefû-*	*fefû-*	*fû-* 'come down'
'take'	*tuku-*	*fuku-*	*ku-* 'go'
'take up'	*talo-*	*falo-*	*lo-* 'go up'
'take down'	*tapmo-*	*fapmo-*	*mo-* 'go down
'lift'	*tangaakng-*	*fangaakng-*	*(ng)aakng-* 'arise'

21.3.3 Object verb class III: Prefixes & stem alternation

Finally, five verbs exhibit both object-agreement behaviors. They have separate stems depending on whether their objects are singular or non-singular, and in addition they undergo prefixation based on the object-agreement paradigm. These verbs are displayed in Table 21.13.

Note that the form for 'bite' has a suppletive third person singular form. Also note that the verb for 'hit' has two forms for the non-singular alternant. Some speakers have argued that the forms with *l* (e.g. *ilûpm-*) are used with dual objects, while the forms with *d* (e.g. *idûpm-* are used with plural (more than two) objects. It is unclear whether this distinction is due to the research environment, or whether such contrast is indeed the case. Others appear to use the two forms interchangeably.

TABLE 21.13: OBJECT VERB CLASS III: PREFIXES & ALTERNATION

stem	1SG	2SG	3SG	1NSG	2NSG	3NSG
yol- / idepm- 'stab'	*not-*	*got-*	*yot-*	*nûdepm-*	*sidepm-*	*idepm-*
tefaa- / efûtefaa- 'damage, upset'	*nefaa-*	*gefaa-*	*tefaa-*	*nûfûtefaa-*[22]	*sefûtefaa-*	*efûtefaa-*
dakong- / ipmdakong- 'carry on back'	*nakong-*	*gakong-*	*dakong-*	*nûpmdakong-*	*sipmdakong-*	*ipmdakong-*
ut- / idûpm- 'hit'	*nut-*	*gut-*	*ut-*	*nûdûpm-* *nûlûpm-*	*sidûpm-* *silûpm-*	*idûpm-* *ilûpm-*
e- / idû- 'bite'	*ne-*	*ge-*	*sû-*	*nûndû-*	*sidû-*	*idû-*

These verbs may occur in compounds and serializations, and in this case the prefixation applies as expected. An interesting example is shown below, where the light verb

---

[22] The NSG forms of this verb appear to be complex, with *tefaa-* preceded by the causative prefix *ef-*, which is then preceded by the object-agreement prefixes. It is unclear whether this is a synchronic or historical process.

complement *nlitnlit* 'pins and needles' (i.e. paresthesia) is preceded by 'bite', making it transitive.

(32) *kayonga   nenlitnlit   taak.*
    kayong-na   n-e-nlitnlit   ta-a-k
    leg-1SG.POSS 1SG.O-bite-pins.and.needles do-PRS-3SG
    'My leg is falling asleep.' (Or: 'My leg is tingling me.')

21.4   Other verbal markers

Several other markers are available for the verb that do not fit into paradigms. These are each briefly described in the following sections (though the aspectual suffixes *-maa* 'CMPL' and *-kong* 'TERM' are described with aspect in Chapter 24).

21.4.1   Potential marker *=lok*

The potential modality marker *=lok* can attach to dependent verbs to indicate ability or potentiality, as in (33).

(33) *dentû   obûlok   kunakngûlû...*
    den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun=at-ng-lû
    some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST=be-DS-23
    'Some were above so they could break it…' [skc10_11]

   The potential modality marker is non-inflecting, meaning that no further suffixes co-occur with it. It does not indicate whether or not the subject of the subordinate abilitive clause is co-referential with the matrix clause. This morpheme is polysemous with the dative case enclitic. Case enclitics are often used in MM to nominalize clauses as a subordination strategy. In certain instances, these patterns have become further grammaticalized to encode particular meanings. For example, the habitual aspect suffix *-nang* is polysemous with the locative case enclitic. In that case, the subordinate clause was reanalyzed as an independent clause—a de-subordination (cf. §24.8). The same type of process has taken place with the dative case marker. In (33) it nominalizes a clause which then functions as an oblique noun phrase. Below, what appears to be a nominalized clause actually occurs in an independent context, without a subsequent finite verb. No subject-agreement or other finite characteristics are present, and yet the result is a standalone expression of deontic ability or permission.

(34) *wadûng   baka   nûmbûlok.*
    wa-dûng   ba-ka   n-b=lok
    that-ADV   come-SS   1NSG.O-see=POT
    '(You) can come like that and see us.' [DN03.307.19]

The potential modality is described in §26.2.1.

21.4.2   Benefactive marker =la

The benefactive enclitic has been observed with only one verb in the corpus—*na-* 'eat'. It appears to function just like the potential/dative marker, nominalizing the clause. See §16.9.2 for a brief discussion.

(35) *mi*   ***nala***   *nelak.*
      {mi   na=la}   n-e-la-k
      water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG
      'I am thirsty.' [skc12_04]

21.4.3   Frustrative marker *-dlûp*

Another non-inflecting suffix is *-dlûp*. This infrequent morpheme occurs with a subordinate verb to indicate that the action was performed in vain, as shown in (36). Note that the verb must be followed by the light verb *ta-* 'do'—just like the conative construction and other similar structures.

(36) *walong*   *gamattû*   *mukuya*   ***sakodlûp***   *tang*   *makong*
      wa=long   gamat=lû   {mukuya   sako-dlûp}   ta-ng   mako-ng
      that=ALL   snake=NOM   pig   hold-FRST   do-DS   run.away-DS

      mongka   *na*   *bûkngaan*   *flong*   *sangengka*   *flûsegok.*
      mo-ka   [na   bûkngaan   flong]   sange-ka   flûse-go-k
      go.down-SS   man   neck   ALL   bite.hold-SS   constrict-RP-3SG
      'Then when the snake missed grabbing the pig and (the pig) ran away, (the snake) went down and bit down on the man's neck and wrapped (around) him.' [skc11_12b]

21.4.4   Ineffectual marker *-fem*

The suffix *-fem* is used when an action occurs without its usual effect. It appears to be in various states of reanalysis as a suffix and as a light verb complement. It appears as an inflecting suffix in (37) and a non-inflecting suffix in (38).

(37) *utufemgot*
      ut-**fem**-go-t
      hit-ineffectual-RP-1SG
      'I touched him' [DN02.147.02]

(38) *manggat*   *binit*   *dom,*   *wagam*   *tafem*   *taat.*
      [manggat   bin-nit]   dom   wagam   ta-fem   ta-a-t
      thing   true-3SG.POSS:COM   NEG   nothing   do-ineffectual   do-PRS-1SG
      'Nothing really, I'm doing nothing.' (TP: 'Nogat as, mi mekim nating.')

As a light verb complement, it occurs preceding *taa-* to mean 'whistle', as in (39).

(39) *fem*   *taayat.*
      fem   taa-ya-t
      whistle   say-PRS-1SG
      'I am whistling.' [DN04.87.58]

21.4.5 'Well' suffix *-pape*

The suffix *-pape* is used to indicate that something is done well. It may be non-inflecting or inflecting, as shown, respectively, below.

(40) *naandûpape*   *taat.*
      naandû-pape   ta-a-t
      know-well   do-PRS-1SG
      'I know it well.' [DN02.244.13]

(41) *tang*   *sip*   *kapapewaan*   *kadek*   *walû...*
      ta-ng   [{sip   ka-pape-baan}   kadek   wa=lû]
      do-DS   ship   see.3SG-well-NMLZ group   that=NOM
      'And the ship crew (lit. 'the ones who look after the ship well')…' [skc12_14]

21.4.6 Nominalizing suffix *-baan*

An entire clause may be nominalized by attaching the suffix *-baan* to the verb stem. The entire nominalized clause can then serve as the complement of non-verbal predicates:

(42) *manggat*   *ya*   *walawala*   ***isopmbaan***.
      [manggat   ya]   {wala~wala   isopm-baan}
      thing   this   image~image   hold.NSG-NMLZ
      'This thing is a camera.' (lit. 'This thing is an images holder.') [DN03.305.14]

(43) *mensû*   ***bûpmbaan***,   *daausû*   ***bûpmbaan***,
      men-sû   {bûpm-baan}   daau-sû   {bûpm-baan}
      mouth-23NSG.POSS   close-NMLZ   eye-23NSG.POSS   close-NMLZ

      kelûsû   *kayong*   *wadûgût*   ***bûpmbaan***.
      kelû-sû   kayong   wadûgût   {bûpm-baan}
      hand-23NSG.POSS   leg   also   close-NMLZ
      'Their mouths were closed up, their eyes were closed up, and their hands and legs also were closed up.' [skc11_16]

These clauses can also serve as a noun phrase:

(44) *nanak*   ***kaambaan***   *mi*   *flong*
      {nanak   kaam-baan}   [mi   flong]
      child   die-NMLZ   water   ALL

      kum   *taabaaka*   *i*   *bagok.*
      kum   taabaa-ka   idi   ba-go-k
      down.DIST   carry.SG-SS   this.ANA   come-RP-3SG
      'Carrying the dead child (in her arms) to the water below, she came.' [skc09_18]

336

Nominalized clauses can take case:

(45)   ...***adaampawaanang***   *wa*   *baka*   *welûlû*
        {adaampa-baan=nang}   wa   ba-ka   welû=lû
        rest-NMLZ=LOC   there   come-SS   daughter.3SG.POSS=NOM

        taagok,   *bep,*   *ya*   *adaampawet.*
        taa-go-k   {{bep   ya   adaampa-be-t}}
        say-RP-3SG   father   here   rest-IRR.SG-1SG
        '(They) came there to the resting-place and his daughter said, "Dad, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

It is clear that verbs marked with this suffix still have verbal qualities, however. Below we see that the verbs can still bear object-agreement prefixes.

(46)   *nak*   *ip*   ***yalaambaan***   *taawang.*[23]
        nak   {ip   y-talaam-baan}   taa-wang
        1SG   bird   3NSG.O-shoot-NMLZ   say-PRS:23PL
        'I really am a bird-shooter!' (lit. 'I am a bird-shooter, they are saying.') [DN01.119.17]

Below we see a nominalized clause followed by a demonstrative:

(47)   *bûge*   *kaadûp*   *daai*   *ban*   ***sewaanang***   *wa,*
        bûge   [{kaadûp   daai   ban   se-baan=nang}   wa]
        again   tree   eye   a   cook-NMLZ=LOC   that

        kaamûng   *welû*   *usuka,*
        [kaamûng   welû]   usu-ka
        cucumber   seed   plant-SS
        '…again in the middle of a burned down tree, we plant the cucumber seeds,…'
        [skc09_17]

21.5   Correlations between verbal morphology and case enclitics

It has been pointed out that a number of verb suffixes have transparent historical relationships with case markers (Aikhenvald 2008c). This calls for further research for MM, and for other Papuan languages. Here, I simply provide a table showing the correlations between forms.

---

[23] The addition of *taawang* 'they are saying' is a rhetorical device used for emphatic assertion of the veracity of a proposition. See §31.2.

TABLE 21.14: DEPENDENT MORPHOLOGY AND CASE CORRELATIONS

	Verb suffix	Case enclitic	
SS	*-ka, -ta, -pa*	*=la, =ta, =pa, =ka*	BEN
DS.1SG	*-la*	*=la, =ta, =pa, =ka*	BEN
DS.1NSG	*-tna(ng)*	*=nang*	LOC
HAB	*-nang*	*=nang*	LOC
DS.23	*-lû*	*=lû, =tû, =pû, =kû*	NOM/ABL
POT	*=lok, =tok, =pok*	*=lok, =tok, =pok, =kok*	DAT

21.6   Morpho-phonological verb classes

MM verbs may be divided into five primary classes based upon the phonological shape of their stems, along with a few minor variations for some frequently used verbs. The division is based primarily upon the final phoneme of the stem, while syllable structure also plays a minor predictable role. The five classes are described in turn below.

This section is an updated treatment of the verb classes described in Pennington (2014a). Also, see Pennington (2015:132ff) for a phonological treatment of morphophonemic alternations in MM, without regard for whether particular alternations are phonologically-motivated or lexically-conditioned.

Table 21.15 summarizes the alternations by illustrating every suffix using a verb from each class as a prototype. Here the subject-agreement suffixes are left out for simplicity. In the paradigm tables in the following sections, I highlight the fields which contain suffixes that differ from their citation forms. For the sake of simplicity, I do not account for the epenthetical vowel (*û*) which breaks up disallowed consonant clusters (see §4.4 for a discussion).

TABLE 21.15: MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL VERB CLASSES

		citation form \/	V *lo-* 'go up'	NV *mo-* 'go down'	N *blaam-* 'shoulder carry'	b *laab-* 'come up'	t *ut-* 'hit'
RP	**SG**	*-go*	*logo-*	*monggo-*	*blaamgo-*	*laabûgo-*	*ugo-*
	NSG	*-gû*	*logû-*	*monggû-*	*blaamgû-*	*laabûgû-*	*ugû-*
NP	**SG**	*-nga*	*longa-*	*monga-*	*blaam(ng)a-*	*laabûnga-*	*ula-*
	NSG	*-ngaa*	*longaa-*	*mongaa-*	*blaam(ng)aa-*	*laabûngaa-*	*ulaa-*
PRS	**SG**	*-la*	*lola-*	*mola-*	*blaamta-*	*laabûla-*	*utta-*
	NSG	*-waa*	*lowaa-*	*mowaa-*	*blaamgaa-*	*laabûwaa-*	*ugaa-*
FUT	**SG**	*-taa*	*lotaa-*	*mombûtaa-*	*blaambûtaa-*	*laabûtaa-*	*ulûtaa-*
	NSG	*-ntaa*	*lontaa-*	*montaa-*	*blaam(ûn)taa-*	*laabûntaa-*	*utntaa-*
IRR	**SG**	*-be*	*lowe-*	*mombe-*	*blaambe-*	*laabe-*	*ule-*
	DU	*-de*	*lode-*	*monde-*	*blaamde-*	*laabûde-*	*u(t)de-*
	PL	*-ne*	*lone-*	*mone-*	*blaamne-*	*laabûne-*	*utne-*
POT		*=lok*	*lolok*	*montok*	*blaampok*	*laabûlok*	*uttok*
coord-inate	**SS**	*-ka*	*loka*	*mongka*	*blaampa*	*laabûka*	*utta*
	DS	*-ng*	*long-*	*mong-*	*blaamûng-*	*laabûng-*	*ukng-*
subord-inate	**SS**	*-ø*	*lo*	*mo*	*blaam*	*laabû*	*ut*
	DS	*-ng*	*long*	*mong*	*blaamûng*	*laabûng*	*ukng*
	DUR	*-gû*	*logû*	*monggû*	*blaamgû*	*laabûgû*	*ugû*
NMLZ		*-baan*	*lowaan*	*mombaan*	*blaambaan*	*laabaan*	*ulaan*

21.6.1 V-class

The largest phonological verb class is the vowel-final class. This is the class that reveals most of the underlying shapes of the suffixes in both the finite and non-finite verb paradigms. As with Nek (Linnasalo 2014), morphophonemic alternations after vowels are atypical. The only alternations are found with the irrealis singular and nominalizing suffixes. In both cases, the underlying /b/ which initiates the suffix lenites to *w*—a phonologically-motivated alternation. The full paradigm of morphemes for this class is shown below.

TABLE 21.16: V-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

		Finite		Non-finite	
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ka*
	NSG	*-gû*		DS	*-ng*
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
	NSG	*-ngaa*		DS	*-ng*
PRS	SG	*-la*		DUR	*-gû*
	NSG	*-waa*	POT		*=lok*
FUT	SG	*-taa*	NMLZ		*-waan*
	NSG	*-ntaa*			
IRR	SG	*-we*			
	DU	*-de*			
	PL	*-ne*			

The V-class contains three minor sub-classes. First, *a*-final stems behave differently in the present tense singular: the *l* elides and the contiguous *a* vowels coalesce to form the low central vowel *aa*.

TABLE 21.17: A-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

		Finite		Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ka*	
	NSG	*-gû*		DS	*-ng*	
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*	
	NSG	*-ngaa*		DS	*-ng*	
PRS	SG	*-a*		DUR	*-gû*	
	NSG	*-waa*	POT		*=lok*	
FUT	SG	*-taa*	NMLZ		*-waan*	
	NSG	*-ntaa*				
IRR	SG	*-we*				
	DU	*-de*				
	PL	*-ne*				

Second, some frequently occurring V-class verbs have ghost (i.e. 'phantom') *b* segments stem-finally. These ghost consonants only occur before the future and irrealis singular suffixes, and the nominalizing suffix.

TABLE 21.18: GHOST B-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

		Finite		Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ka*	
	NSG	*-gû*		DS	*-ng*	
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*	
	NSG	*-ngaa*		DS	*-ng*	
PRS	SG	*-a*		DUR	*-gû*	
	NSG	*-waa*	POT		*=lok*	
FUT	SG	*-b-taa*	NMLZ		*-b-aan*	
	NSG	*-ntaa*				
IRR	SG	*-b-e*				
	DU	*-de*				
	PL	*-ne*				

Third, a few frequently occurring V-class verbs evoke a change of the initial consonant of the present tense singular suffix from *l* to *y*.

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ka*
RP	NSG	*-gû*	coordinate	DS	*-ng*
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
NP	NSG	*-ngaa*	subordinate	DS	*-ng*
PRS	SG	*-ya*	subordinate	DUR	*-gû*
PRS	NSG	*-waa*	subordinate	POT	*=lok*
FUT	SG	*-taa*		NMLZ	*-waan*
FUT	NSG	*-ntaa*			
IRR	SG	*-we*			
IRR	DU	*-de*			
IRR	PL	*-ne*			

21.6.2 NV-class

The second morpho-phonological verb class is the NV-final class, which consists of verbs ending in a nasal+vowel sequence. The alternations in this class are due to the nasal harmony process described in §5.2. This productive process causes both voiced and voiceless stops to be prenasalized when preceded by a heteromorphemic NV sequence.

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-nggo*	coordinate	SS	*-ngka*
RP	NSG	*-nggû*	coordinate	DS	*-ng*
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
NP	NSG	*-ngaa*	subordinate	DS	*-ng*
PRS	SG	*-la*	subordinate	DUR	*-nggû*
PRS	NSG	*-waa*	subordinate	POT	*=ntok*
FUT	SG	*-mb-taa*		NMLZ	*-mbaan*
FUT	NSG	*-ntaa*			
IRR	SG	*-mbe*			
IRR	DU	*-nde*			
IRR	PL	*-ne*			

The alternations in this class are almost completely predictable. In fact, speakers vary as to whether they prefer to write the nasalization or not. Speakers who have been introduced to English have come to notice these epenthetic sounds and want to write them. Older speakers do not notice them and prefer to leave them out. This has produced a fair amount of variation in the way speakers and I have transcribed texts over the years.

One exception to the predictable nature of this paradigm is the future singular suffix. Here an epenthetic *b* appears, and is also prenasalized.

21.6.3   N-class

The third verb class consists of verbs ending in nasal segments. Most commonly, this nasal segment is an *m*, but occasionally a nasal autosegment.

TABLE 21.21: N-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-pa, -ka*
	NSG	*-gû*		DS	*-ng*
NP	SG	*-(ng)a*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
	NSG	*-(ng)aa*		DS	*-ng*
PRS	SG	*-ta*		DUR	*-gû*
	NSG	*-gaa*	POT		*=pok*
FUT	SG	*-b-taa*	NMLZ		*-baan*
	NSG	*-(n)taa*			
IRR	SG	*-be*			
	DU	*-de*			
	PL	*-ne*			

Several of these alternations are completely phonologically predictable, and attestable in other parts of the phonology. The near past singular, near past non-singular, and future non-singular suffixes optionally lose their initial nasals. The same process occurs when nasal-final nouns are suffixed with the first person singular possessive suffix *-na*. Syllable structure comes into play with this class as well. While verbs such as *blaam-* 'shoulder-carry' cause the nasals in the near past and future to elide, verbs such as *fepm-* 'clear bush' do not. Instead, due to the final consonant cluster, an epenthetic vowel occurs instead, followed by the expected underlying nasal of the prefix.

Several of the alternations here are less attributable to phonological conditioning, however. First, the present tense suffixes surface as *-ta* (instead of *-la*) and *-gaa* (instead of *-waa*). Though in Pennington (2015:148) I provide a possible historical explanation via an appeal to perception-based phonology (see Wright (2001;2004)), synchronically they are memorized morphological patterns. Additionally, as seen with the NV-class, an epenthetic *b* is inserted before the future singular suffix. Finally, the same-subject coordinate suffix *-ka* alternates to *-pa* after *m*-final verbs. In this way, the suffix behaves like the case enclitics which alternate to match the place of articulation (e.g. *=lu* 'NOM'→ *pû*, *kû*, *tû*). This points to the historical relationship between case-markers and dependent verb suffixes, as also seen with the subject-suffixes on different-subject coordinate verbs (see §21.5). While this alternation occurs predictably with verb stems like *blaam-* (with final VN sequences), verb

stems with final consonant clusters (e.g. *fepm-*) optionally undergo the alternation (i.e. for /fepm-ka/ *fepmûngka* is just as allowed as *fepmpa*).

Verbs such as *kong-* 'throw.SG' have a nasal autosegment. This means that the verb ends in a nasal which is underdifferentiated for place. As such, before every prefix a nasal occurs, but assimilates to the place of articulation of any consonant.

21.6.4   *b*-class

The fourth verb class consists of verb stems ending in *b*. Epenthesis of the high central vowel *û* occurs between the final *b* of the stem and all the consonant-initial suffixes. The exception to this is where degemination occurs with the *b*-initial irrealis singular and nominalizing suffixes.

TABLE 21.22: B-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	*-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ka*
	NSG	*-gû*		DS	*-ng*
NP	SG	*-nga*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
	NSG	*-ngaa*		DS	*-ng*
PRS	SG	*-la*		DUR	*-gû*
	NSG	*-waa*	POT		*=lok*
FUT	SG	*-taa*	NMLZ		*-aan*
	NSG	*-ntaa*			
IRR	SG	*-e*			
	DU	*-de*			
	PL	*-ne*			

21.6.5   *t*-class

The fifth verb class consists of verb stems ending in *t*. This class evokes the most extensive morphophonemic alternations, as shown below.

TABLE 21.23: T-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

		Finite			Non-finite	
RP	SG	*ø-go*	coordinate	SS	*-ta*
	NSG	*ø-gû*		DS	*k-ng*
NP	SG	*l-a*	subordinate	SS	*-ø*
	NSG	*l-aa*		DS	*l-ng*
PRS	SG	*-ta*		DUR	*ø-gû*
	NSG	*ø-gaa*	POT		*=tok*
FUT	SG	*l-taa*	NMLZ		*l-aan*
	NSG	*-ntaa*			
IRR	SG	*l-e*			
	DU	*ø-de*			
	PL	*-ne*			

Most of the alternations with the *t*-class involve a change between stem-final *t* and *l*. In fact, the *t*-class more commonly occurs with its stop lenited to *l*. This led me in previous publications to claim that the liquid was the underlying segment rather than the stop. Arguments can be made in both directions, but since this class surfaces with stem-final *t* in reduplications (*at-* 'be'→*atat* 'presence') and in same-subject subordinate contexts, I now treat the *t* as underlying, as this is a more transparent analysis. This also is consistent with the analyses given to related languages such as Nungon (Sarvasy 2014c). It is also possible that neither segment is underlying—with an opaque underlying segment or autosegment—but such an analysis has the tendency to obscure important generalizations. For a fuller treatment, including the comparable patterns in nominal possessive morphology, see Pennington (2015:143ff).

Due to the complexities, the following table illustrates the class with the verb *ut-* 'hit.SG'.

TABLE 21.24: T-CLASS VERB PARADIGM (ILLUSTRATED WITH *UT-* 'HIT.SG')

		Finite			Non-finite	
RP	SG	*ugo-*	coordinate	SS	*utta*
	NSG	*ugû-*		DS	*ukng-*
NP	SG	*ula*	subordinate	SS	*ut*
	NSG	*ulaa*		DS	*ukng*
PRS	SG	*utta-*		DUR	*ugû*
	NSG	*ugaa-*	POT		*uttok*
FUT	SG	*ulûtaa-*	NMLZ		*ulaan*
	NSG	*utntaa-*			
IRR	SG	*ule-*			
	DU	*ude-*			
	PL	*utne-*			

Several patterns occur with this class, some of which appear to have a strong phonological basis. First, the *b* is elided from the irrealis SG and nominalizing suffixes. Second, the present tense suffixes altnerate the same way as in the nasal class. Third, the *t* elides before all voiced stop-initial suffixes (remote past SG/NSG, present NSG, irrealis DU, and durative). Fourth, the nasals of the near past inflections elide. Fifth, *t* lenites to *l* before all vowels once all the other processes have taken place (including epenthesis in the future SG form).

The following alternations are less attributable to synchronically productive alternations. The same-subject suffix surfaces as *-ta* (see the discussion in §21.6.3 regarding dependent suffix alternations). Also, the *t* alternates to *k* before the different-subject suffix *-ng*. Though this is surprising, historically it relates to the frequent alternation between *t* and *k* among the FH languages.

22 Complex predicate structure

Ma Manda predicates are frequently composed of multiple lexical and grammatical constituents. This section addresses these complex predicate structures. First, a set of light verbs—i.e. bleached of their lexical meaning—may pair with particular light verb complements to produce an array of specific verbal meanings. Light verb constructions (LVCs) are described in §22.1. Second, I describe serial verb constructions (SVCs) in §22.2. These verbal sequences (devoid of markers of dependency or coordination) are extremely common in MM. They are used to produce causatives, benefactives, and to convey directional and aspectual information. I also briefly discuss verbal compounds and symmetrical SVCs here. Finally, auxiliary verb constructions are used to convey the bulk of aspectual distinctions available in the language, as described in §22.3. It does not appear that MM has any restrictions on the co-occurrence of LVCs, SVCs, and auxiliary verb constructions, but further research is needed.

22.1   Light verb constructions

Ma Manda possesses a set of verbs which are very general in meaning such as *ta-* 'do, make' and *taa-* 'say'. In other cases, verbs with specific meanings have been bleached of their lexical content, allowing them to take on a range of semantics. MM possesses nine of these light verbs, though only half of them occur productively with multiple complements.

These verbs may then be preceded by nominal elements which "serve to restrict the range of meaning of the generic verb" (Foley 1986:117). I call these nominal elements "light verb complements", but they have also been called "adjunct nominals" in the literature (Foley 1986; Donohue 2005:191). Light verb complements are an open word class (Chapter 12) of elements that do not fit neatly into either nominal or verbal categories. They are often phonologically similar to nouns, though at other times they exhibit phonotactic sequences unseen elsewhere in the language due to onomatopoeia. Morphologically they do not bear case-markers or other possessive suffixes. However, they also do not bear verbal morphology. These non-inflecting words occur within the predicate, always preceding the light verb and restricting its meaning. If anything, these words are perhaps most like adverbs in their function, though adverbs do not function to redefine the semantics of the verbs they modify.

In the following sections each light verb is illustrated within some light verb constructions. Fitting with the Papuan pattern (Foley 1986:120), *ta-* 'do' and *taa-* 'say' are overwhelmingly the most common in MM.

22.1.1   *ta-* 'do'

The light verb *ta-*, which by itself means 'do' or 'make', is by far the most common light verb in light verb constructions, as shown in (1)–(2). One might be tempted to analyze the nominal elements as object noun phrases, but examples like (1) prove this unfruitful. Here the object is *yot* 'house'.

(1)   *yot*   ***kam***   ***taat***.
      yot   kam   ta-a-t
      house   clean   do-PRS-1SG
      'I am cleaning the house.' [DN03.291.49]

(2)   ***mukukut***   ***tabe***.
      mukukut   ta-be
      wash   do-IRR.SG
      'Wash it.' [DN02.135.08]

With a similar meaning to (2) above, *waasim* in (3) is a borrowed transitive Tok Pisin verb meaning 'wash'. Here we see that it is borrowed as a light verb complement. In all other cases, Tok Pisin verbal borrowings occur as light verb complements of *ne-* 'dig' (§22.1.5).

(3)   *talo*   *tûngala,*   *mik*   *wingûlû*
      talo   tû-ng-la   mik   wi-ng-lû
      take.up.SG   put.SG-DS-1SG   bathe   bathe-DS-23

      nak,   *glup,*   ***waasim***   ***taka***   *mo*   *bangaamot.*
      nak   glup   waasim   ta-ka   mo   ba-ngaa-mot
      1SG   dish   wash   do-SS   already   come-NP-1DU
      'I brought her, and she bathed and after I washed the dishes, we (DU) came.'
      [skc09_10]

While the previous examples are all transitive—just like the lexical use of the verb *ta-* 'do'—this is not always the case. An intransitive example is shown below with *galang* 'play':

(4)   ***galang***   ***tabûtaangka***?
      galang   ta-b-taa-ng=wa
      play   do-EP-FUT-2SG=DUB
      'Will you play?' [DN02.207.04]

The light verb complement *dong* 'search, gather' is shown in (5). This is one of a few examples of light verb complements which can occur with more than one light verb. In each case, the meaning is different. It means 'gather' here, but when preceding *ku-* 'go' it means

'search for' (§(11)). Another example is *kam* 'clean' in (1), where it has a general meaning of 'tidy up' (it can also be used to refer to cleaning up a taro garden). When preceding *ne-* 'dig', however, it means 'sweep' (§22.1.5).

(5) *nantaam   isit   **dong   tagûng**.*
     nantaam   isit   dong   ta-gû-ng
     people   kunai   search   do-RP-23PL
     'The people gathered kunai grass.' [skc10_01]

Certain verbs are capable of undergoing a zero derivation and serving in the light verb complement slot, but this only occurs before *ta-*. An example is shown in (6), where *tamet-* 'carry hanging from the head' occurs either by itself, or followed by *ta-*. One MM speaker explained that, while the first is a simple command, the second is more likely to be used if someone was about to carry something in another fashion, and the speaker wanted them to specifically carry it on the head. Perhaps this could be translated, 'Do it the head-carrying way.' This variation is not available for every verb, and more research is needed to determine whether any pattern exists that would explain why certain verbs can undergo this process.

(6) *tamele.*   ***tamet   tabe**.*
     tamet-e   tamet   ta-be
     carry-IRR.SG   carry   do-IRR.SG
     'Carry it (from the head).'   'Carry it (from the head).' [DN06.09.01]

Note that during the transcription session, it was learned that in the LVC version of (6), if the adverb *bûge* 'again' is included, it can precede the light verb complement, or occur between the two words.

It is important to note that, while *ta-* is the most frequently occurring light verb, its ubiquity is due in part to its use in marking both the prospective aspect auxiliary verb construction (§24.4), and pluractionality (Chapter 25). The verb is most prevalent in following reduplicated verb stems to mark event-internal pluractionality—the iconic repetition of an action, producing multiple phases belonging to one macroevent. Syntactically, this structure is very similar to the light verb construction, except that in place of a light verb complement, a reduplicated (and uninflected) verb occurs. Some verbs, such as *deng-* 'strain' can only precede the light verb when it is reduplicated (i.e. *dengdeng ta-*). That is, *deng-* cannot undergo the zero derivation (i.e. **deng ta-*) exemplified in (6).

22.1.2   *taa-* 'say'

The light verb taa- 'say' is very common in LVCs, as illustrated with *kekng* 'call' in (7). Some other complements that occur with this verb are: *fem* 'whistle', *yaayaa* 'scream', *yendat* 'grumble', *ten* 'cough', and *manda* 'talk' (though *manda* often occurs within NPs as well).

(7)   *na*   **kekng**   **taawang**.
        na   kekng   taa-wang
        man   call   say-PRS:23PL
        'The men are calling out.' [DN01.85.13]

Though it is often unclear to me as the analyst whether a particular lexeme is an object NP or a light verb complement, examples like the following clearly show the distinction. Here *yenggûlong* 'blessing, thanks' is the object of *manda taa-* 'say'.

(8)   *na*   *kagat*   *yalûnang*   *tûmang*   *tata*   *walû*   *loka*
        [[na   kagat   ya=lûnang]   [tûmang   tata   wa=lû]]   lo-ka
        man   village   this=GEN   first   custom   that=NOM   go.up-SS

        yenggûlong   **manda**   **taang**   *kelûnek*   *ugûm*.
        yenggûlong   manda   taa-ng   kelû-nek   ut-gû-m
        blessing   talk   say-DS   hand-1NSG.POSS   hit-RP-1PL
        'The priest of this village went up and, saying a blessing, we clapped our hands.'
        [skc11_03b]

22.1.3   *at-* 'be'

The light verb *at-* 'be' is very common in marking the progressive aspect, but very rare in LVCs. An example is shown with *klong* 'stand' below. It also occurs with the complement *kaaup* 'quiet'.

(9)   *nak*   **klong**   **attat**.
        nak   klong   at-ta-t
        1SG   stand   be-PRS-1SG
        'I am standing.' [DM01.09.11]

22.1.4   *na-* 'eat'

Though often glossed as 'eat', *na-* could more properly be given the generic gloss 'consume'. The light verb complements that precede it are monosyllabic and cliticize to the verb. This has resulted in what appear to be compounds. One example is *fep na-* 'lick', and another is *top na-* 'drink'—illustrated below.

(10) *talaabû*   *saaut*   *kan*   *tûka*
      talaab   saaut   kan   tû-ka
      bring.up.SG   PN   up.PROX   put.SG-SS

      mi   *kaadûpmût*   *seka*   *mûng*   **topnanggok**.
      [mi   kaadûp-nit]   se-ka   m-ng   top=na-go-k
      water   fire-3SG.POSS:COM cook-SS give-DS drink=eat-RP-3SG
      'Bringing him up they put him up in Saut and heated some water and giving it to
      him, he drank it.' [skc12_15]

22.1.5   *ne-* 'dig'

The light verb *ne-* 'dig' is quite common. First, it occurs with the complements *sûsû* 'push in between' and *yosû* 'push, shove'. Second, it occurs with *kam* 'clean'. As mentioned in §22.1.1, this is one example of a complement that can take more than one light verb, with various shades of meaning. Compare (11) with (1) above, where it is a general word for 'clean'. Presumably, here the underlying meaning of the light verb 'dig' is slightly retained.

(11) *gebûng*   **kam**   **nelat**.
      gebûng   kam   ne-la-t
      inside   clean   dig-PRS-1SG
      'I am sweeping the house.' [DN05.37.04]

     This light verb is also the default way to incorporate borrowed verbs. The verb is pulled into the complement slot and followed by *ne-*, as shown below with three Tok Pisin verbs *senisim* 'change', *ringim* 'call', and *statim* 'start'.

(12) *kaalû*   *wa*   **senisim**   **nengka** *baas*   *flong*   *logûmot*.
      [kaalû   wa]   senisim   ne-ka   [baas   flong] lo-gû-mot
      vehicle(TP) that   change(TP)   dig-SS bus(TP) ALL   go.up-RP-1DU
      'We changed cars and went up on a bus.' [skc09_38]

(13) *wangatta*   *laayan*   ***i lingim***   ***nenggûmot***.
      wa=ngat-ta   laayan   i lingim   ne-gû-mot
      there=be-SS   PN   call(TP)   dig-RP-1DU
      'We were there and we called Ryan.' [skc09_38]

(14) *dlaawaa*   *kaalû*   **staatim**   **nengûlû**...
      dlaawaa   kaalû   staatim   ne-ng-lû
      driver(TP)   vehicle(TP)   start(TP)   dig-DS-23
      'The driver started the car, and…' [skc09_38]

22.1.6   *ku-* 'go'

The light verb *ku-* 'go' occurs in several LVCs. It is shown with *geksap* 'hunt' in (15). It also occurs with *dong* 'search', as shown in (16). Compare this with (5), where it means 'gather'.

(15)   *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   *nangkaang*   *beut*   *yaalû*
      [naai   ban   flong]   [na=kaang   beut   yaalû]
      time   a   ALL   man=two   father-child   two

      geksap   ***kugûmok***.
      geksap   ku-gû-mok
      hunt   go-RP-23DU
      'One time a man with his father went hunting.' [skc12_04]

(16)   *na*   *walû*   *beng*   ***dong***   ***kugok***.
      [na   wa=lû]   beng   dong   ku-go-k
      man   that=NOM   pandanus   search   go-RP-3SG
      'The man went searching for pandanus.' [skc11_16]

Interestingly, *dong* can also be followed by every other motion verb, as illustrated with *mo-* 'go down' in (17). In this way, it is unclear whether *dong* is a proper light verb complement. It cannot be inflected and occurs within the intonational contour of the predicate, and yet it can occur with multiple verbs, with each verb retaining its directional meaning. More research is needed to determine whether it functions as a manner adverb in sentences like the following.

(17)   *yalû*   *sida*   ***dong***   ***monggûng***.
      ya=lû   sida   dong   mo-gû-ng
      this=NOM   sweet.potato   search   go.down-RP-23PL
      'They went down searching for sweet potato.' [skc09_35]

22.1.7   *tû-* 'put.SG'

The light verb *tû-* 'put.SG' can be preceded by *tepmop* 'put right-side up', among other complements. It can also be preceded by *kaaup*, which means 'quiet' when used with the light verb *at-*, but here means 'hide'.

(18)   ***kaaup***   ***tûwe***.
      kaaup   tû-be
      hide   put.SG-IRR.SG
      'Hide it.' [DN04.89.101]

22.1.8   *be-* 'put.NSG'

The light verb *be-* 'put.NSG' is quite infrequent, but does occur frequently with one complement, *bot* 'group':

(19) *na   taamûng   faleleka,*
     [na   taamûng]   falele-ka
     man   woman   lop-SS

     *tangaan tangaan   waga   **bot   beka**…*
     [tangaan~tangaan   wa=ga]   bot   be-ka
     branch~branch   that=INST group   put.NSG-SS
     'The men and women lop off (the branches), and they make a heap with the
     branches…' [skc09_17]

Bot also occurs with *ta-* to mean 'gather', and it frequently functions as a noun.

22.1.9   *yot-* 'stab, poke, ram'

The light verb *yot-* 'stab, poke, ram' is used in only one LVC, to mean 'write':

(20) *laayantû   kudung   yokngûlû   klistal   lû   sûbat   sengak.*
     laayan=lû   kudung   yot-ng-lû   [klistal   lû]   sûbat   se-nga-k
     PN=NOM   write   ram-DS-23   PN   NOM   food   cook-NP-3SG
     'Ryan was writing [the language] while Crystal cooked the food.' [DN04.78.67]

22.2   Serial verb constructions

Ma Manda makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (SVCs). For the purposes of this thesis, I define serial verb constructions as "sequences of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort" (Aikhenvald 2007:1). Such verb sequences in MM are used to produce causatives (§22.2.1), benefactives (§22.2.2), and to carry directional (§22.2.3) and aspectual meanings (§22.2.4), a "negative wish" (or "apprehensional") modality (§22.2.5), and some symmetrical sequences which simply encode single events (§22.2.6).

SVCs in MM surface as single phonological words, with the minor verb in a tight relationship with the main verb. Morphologically, the minor verbs are capable of bearing object-agreement morphology in the causative and benefactive constructions. These features are borne out in the following discussion.

22.2.1   Causatives

Ma Manda has two separate causative serial verb constructions. The general function of causatives are described first, and then the two types are compared below.

Causatives are valency-increasing devices which realign the grammatical relations of the clause. The underlying S argument of an intransitive clause becomes the O argument of a derived transitive clause. While the causee is demoted to O function, a causer is introduced

into the derived A function. This is illustrated below, where in (21) the verb *genangka-* 'appear, be born' (itself a compound between *genang* 'clearing' and *ka-* 'see.3SG') is shown to be an intransitive verb, and in (22) it is causativized, now meaning 'create'. Notice that, in the second example, the verbal subject-agreement is singular—agreeing with the subject *aanutu* 'God' rather than the object *manggamanggat* 'things'.

(21) *bedûlak   genangkangak.*
      bedûlak   genangka-nga-k
      sore   appear-NP-3SG
      'A sore surfaced (earlier today).' [DN04.81.04]

(22) *aanutulû   manggamanggat   **ifûgenangkagok**.*
      aanutu=lû   manggat~manggat   **ef**-genangka-go-k
      God=NOM   thing~thing   CAUS-appear-RP-3SG
      'God created everything.' [skc11_12a]

The main causative SVC is produced by placing the verb *ef-* before the verb carrying lexical meaning. It always surfaces as a single phonological unit with the primary verb. The *ef-* form does not have a synchronic lexical equivalent, but I consider it a verb serialization rather than a prefix for three reasons. First, since no other verbal prefixes exist outside the object-agreement paradigm, its occurrence as the sole derivational prefix would be remarkable. It is simplest to assume that it is verbal, but has lost its ability to occur on its own. The same pattern is attested regarding *-i-*, the imperfective verb that marks the imperfective present tense (§23.4), and occurs in complex habitual morphology (§24.8). As described in those sections, the *-i-* verb does not occur outside verb serialization, but still functions phonologically like a verb. The same is true here.

The second reason is that it bears object-agreement prefixes, as shown in (23). Here the intransitive verb *tefaa-* 'be destroyed, be messed up' is preceded by *ef-*, which is then marked with the 1NSG object-agreement prefix. The ability to take object-agreement prefixes is a feature that only transitive verbs have in the MM language.

(23) *walong   wilaangka   baka   na   **nûfûtefaawang**.*
      wa=long   wilaang-ka   ba-ka   na   **n**-**ef**-tefaa-wang
      that=ALL   cross-SS   come-SS   man   1NSG.O-CAUS-destroy-PRS:23PL
      'They cross at [the bridge] and come and mess us up.' [skc12_06]

The third reason is that the other causative serialization is definitively verbal, and its structure is identical, as shown in (24). Here the verb *teb-* 'bring.SG' is used in place of *ef-*, but with a remarkably similar usage. Compare this with the similar example (22) above.

(24)　*ma manda*　　*wasûlong*　　**tebûgenangkagûng**.
　　　ma manda　　wa=long　　**teb**-genangka-gû-ng
　　　PN　　　　　　that=ALL　　CAUS-appear-RP-23PL
　　　'At that time [when MM people first spoke], they created the Ma Manda
　　　language.' [skc11_16]

While the *ef-* causative is productive in MM, the *teb-* causative appears to be more idiosyncratic. It appears to have been a productive structure at one time, but synchronically only occurs with a limited number of verbs, often with non-compositional semantics. In (25) the verb *song-* 'crack, (lightning) strike, puncture' is intransitive, while in (26) its transitive counterpart means 'commence'.

(25)　*mi*　　　*yak*　　*dom*　　*sombûtaak*.
　　　[mi　　　yak]　　dom　　song-b-taa-k
　　　water　　bilum　　NEG　　crack-EP-FUT-3SG
　　　'The water bag won't puncture.' [DN05.41.05]

(26)　*bamaangkongalû*　　　　*belo*　　*nûnggût*　*taang*　　*laanis*　*lû*　　*loka*
　　　ba-maa-kong-ng-lû　　　　belo　　nûnggût　taa-ng　　[laanis　lû]　　lo-ka
　　　come-CMPL-TERM-DS-23　　bell　　one　　　say-DS　　PN　　　NOM　　go.up-SS

　　　kapnunum　　**tebûsonggok**.
　　　kap-nunum　　**teb**-song-go-k
　　　song-prayer　　CAUS-crack-RP-3SG
　　　'They all finished arriving and (when) the bell rang once (more) Laanis went up and started the worship (service).' [skc11_03b]

Another example is *waaim-* 'spin around', which becomes *tebûwaaim-* 'surround'. Here and in the example above, an additional semantic component is introduced that cannot be attributed to a simple causativization. A final example is provided in (27). Here the intransitive verb *kamala-* 'be ignorant, be crazy, be deaf' comes to mean 'forget'. As described at the beginning of this section, the productive causative (using *ef-*) demotes the original S to O function and introduces a causee into A function. But here the original S takes on A function, while a new argument is introduced into O function. If this were productive and regular, it would be an applicative construction and not a causative.

(27)　*sûbat*　　*saansaan*　　*wa*　　*nangka*
　　　[sûbat　　saan~saan　　wa]　　na-ka
　　　food　　piece~piece　　that　　eat-SS

　　　nimin　　　　　*kun*　　**tebûkamalagok**.
　　　[nimin　　　　　kun]　　**teb**-kamala-go-k
　　　cousin.3SG.POSS　　up.DIST　　CAUS-be.ignorant-RP-3SG
　　　'He ate the crumbs and forgot (about) his cousin above.' [skc12_11]

This historical causative process can be seen in other compounds as well, for example with *utebûkaam* 'kill' (from *ut-* 'hit' + *teb-* + *kaam-* 'die'), which literally means 'hitting and causing to die). The form *teb-*, which has the lexical meaning 'bring.SG', is transparently related to *tubu-*, the serialized "transitivizer" in Numanggang (Hynum 1995:49–50). Note regarding this form that its non-singular congener *feb-* never occurs with this function in MM. Also, note that more frequently in MM discourse *teb-* functions lexically, as in (28). Here the verb also surfaces as a bare stem, but functions as a subordinate same subject verb (§21.2.2).

(28) *kuka   kuyang   **tebû**   tûwe.*
       ku-ka   kuyang   teb   tû-be
       go-SS   stick   bring.SG   put.SG-IRR.SG
       'Go get the stick and put it.' (lit. 'Go and bringing the stick put it.') [DN04.57.07]

Returning to the productive causative, based on the limited set of examples in the corpus, it appears that the causative always implies that the causer (introduced into A function) has significant control over the event, and the patient (in derived O function) is directly affected in a significant way. That is, I have found no examples in the corpus where the patient is only partially impacted, or impacted via only indirect influence by the agent. The level of control can be seen in (29), where the causative construction occurs in the imperative mood with the adverb 'quickly'.

(29) *yupmûnggût   **ifûngaawewe**.*
       yupmûng-gût   **ef**-ngaawe-be
       quickly-RSTR   CAUS-be.finished-IRR.SG
       'Finish it quickly.' [DN04.73.43]

Syntactically, causatives can occur in subordinate clauses as well, as shown with the potential modality-marked verb in (30).

(30) *walû   ba   nanden   **efûtefaalok**…*
       wa=lû   ba   {[na=den]   ef-tefaa=lok}
       that=NOM   come   man=some   CAUS-damage=POT
       'Coming to mess up some men…' [skc12_06]

Thus far, causatives have been shown only with intransitive verbs. However, the productive causative *ef-* can rarely also occur with transitive verbs. In this case though, no new arguments are added to the clause. This lack of valence increase means that this function of the SVC is actually not a causative at all. Rather, it is utilized only to add semantic content to the proposition, as described by Aikhenvald (2011). The transitive verb *munggudû-* 'roll up' is shown (31)–(32).

(31) *kelûna*   *munggudûlat.*
      kelû-na   munggudû-la-t
      hand-1SG.POSS   roll.up-PRS-1SG
      'I am making a fist.' [DN05.59.06]

(32) *wikado*   *munggudûwe.*
      wikado   munggudû-be
      mat   roll.up-IRR.SG
      'Roll up the mat.' [DN05.59.06]

In (33) though, it occurs with *ef-* in a SVC. This is a minimal pair with (32). The addressee is the agentive subject of both imperative clauses, and the mat (*wikado*) is the patientive object. The only difference between this and (32) above is that here, the addressee has a less direct effect on the event. He can kick the mat to cause it to roll up, or he can ask someone else to do it. This would be preferred if the speaker knows that the addressee will be unable to perform the action in the usual way.

(33) *wikado*   **efûmunggudûwe.**
      wikado   **ef**-munggûdû-be
      mat   CAUS-roll.up-IRR.SG
      'Cause the mat to roll up.' [DN05.59.06]

22.2.2   Benefactive applicative

Ma Manda also utilizes a serial verb construction in order to produce a benefactive applicative—introducing a new argument into O function. This new O argument is the beneficiary of the action undertaken by the subject, which moves from S function to derived A function. Unlike in causative SVCs—where the minor verb precedes the main verb—in benefactives the minor verb follows the main verb. As seen across PNG, the benefactive is formed with the verb for 'give', as illustrated in (34).

(34) *kaadûp*   *seka,*   *mi*   *seka*   ***wimpa***   *tagûng.*
      kaadûp   se-ka   mi   se-ka   wi-m-pa   ta-gû-ng
      wood   cook-SS   water   cook-SS   bathe-give-SS   do-RP-23PL
      'They made a fire, and heated water and bathed him together.' [skc09_18]

It is clear that *m-* is not a suffix due to its ability to bear object-agreement prefixes—the same morphological behavior shown with the causative verb *ef-*. In (35) and (36) the benefactive verb is marked with 2NSG and 3NSG object-agreement prefixes, respectively.

(35) *loka*   *kun*   ***asaambûtaat,***   *naknga*   *kameng.*
      lo-ka   kun   at-saa-m-b-taa-t   [nak-nga   kameng]
      go.up-SS   up.DIST   be-2NSG.O-give-EP-FUT-1SG   1SG-EMPH   property
      'I will go up and wait on you all up there, at my place.' [DN02.181.31]

356

(36) | *aanutulû* | *kaalin* | ***tayembek*** | | *na* | *kaalin* |
| aanutu=lû | kaalin | ta-ye-m-be-k | | [na | kaalin |
| God=NOM | good | do-3NSG.O-give-IRR.SG-3SG | | man | good |

wasûnang	*fafaanye*	*kun.*
wa-s=nang	fafaan-ye	kun]
that-LK=GEN	ancestor.3SG.POSS-NSG	up.DIST

'God will do good for the descendents of good men.' [skc12_18]

These examples illustrate another characteristic of the benefactive SVC. In (35) it applies to an intransitive verb, whereby the S becomes A, and a new argument is introduced into O function. On the other hand, in (36) it applies to a transitive verb, with the A argument maintaining its function, and the new argument introduced in O function. The previous O—here *kaalin* 'good'—remains as an unmarked secondary object. Since the object-agreement morphology is non-singular in this example, I argue that the beneficiary is the new primary object. Another example can be seen in (37). Throughout the corpus, the newly-introduced beneficiary is never overtly marked with a noun phrase. It is only made known through the object-agreement paradigm.

(37) | *sûbat* | ***senggaampa*** | *baat.* |
| sûbat | se-gaa-m-pa | ba-a-t |
| food | cook-2SG.O-give-SS | come-PRS-1SG |

'I've cooked food for you and come.' [DN04.37.02]

A couple of morpho-phonological details are noteworthy. First, (37) shows a velar nasal between the two verbs. It turns out that this segment always occurs before the 2SG object-agreement prefix in these constructions. It is possible that these are historically related to the different-subject suffix, but in any case they seem to have no synchronic import. Second, since the benefactive verb is so short, when it lacks a prefix (3SG form), certain phonological environments make it unclear whether or not the form is present. For example, the verb *mo-* 'go down' is an NV-class verb (§21.6.2) which exhibits nasal harmony before stops. Thus, *m* can be a prenasalization or a serialization, as shown in (38).

(38) | *mombe.* | ***mombe.*** |
mo-be	mo-m-be
go.down-IRR.SG	go.down-give-IRR.SG
'Go down.'	'Go down for him.'

Semantically, while the introduced O argument is generally a beneficiary, it can also be a maleficiary—the recipient of an event meant for their harm. This is illustrated in (39).

(39) | *kola* | *tagat* | *amun* | *dom* | *kulaweng* |
| kola | tagat | amun | dom | kula-be-ng |
| revenge | faeces | ground | NEG | defecate-IRR.SG-2SG |

laamut	***tanggaambet***.
laamut	ta-gaa-m-be-t
poison	do-2SG.O-give-IRR.SG-1SG

'The revenge is that you may not defecate on the ground, I poison you.' [skc12_12]

It is not always clear whether the beneficiary also performs the action or not. In all the previous examples, the applicative object is only a recipient of the action, and not a participant. However, as shown in (40), at least with motion verbs the beneficiary may also perform the action with the subject.

(40) *kumde*.
ku-m-de
go-give-IRR.DU
'(You two) help him go.' [DN05.37.07]
'(You two) go for him.'

Finally, note that the verb *m-* 'give' can also function as a main verb after a same-subject dependent verb, as shown in (41). The structure is identical to the benefactive SVC. However, phonologically the dependent verb can occur as a separate unit. Also, in this case the object can be made explicit—occurring between the dependent form and 'give'—and it would be marked with the dative case enclitic.

(41) | *yenggûlong,* | *sidana* | *febû* | ***naamûlang***. |
| yenggûlong | sida-na | feb | naa-m-la-ng |
| thank.you | sweet.potato-1SG.POSS | bring.NSG | 1SG.O-give-PRS-2SG |

'Thank you, bringing my sweet potato you've given it to me.' [DN04.39.02]

22.2.3 Directional SVCs

An extremely prevalent serial verb construction in MM utilizes motion verbs before the main verb to carry directional meaning. In every case, the motion verb forms a single phonological unit with the main verb which follows it, as illustrated in (42).

(42) | *aatûkugû* | *idi* | *yaboneng* | ***badogûmok***. |
| aatûku-gû | idi | yabone-ng | ba-do-gû-mok |
| remain-DUR | this.ANA | dusk-DS | come-sleep-RP-23DU |

'Remaining until dusk we came to sleep.' [skc12_04]

Motion verbs very frequently occur in same-subject dependent form. In this function they do not take a suffix—often occurring in bridging constructions (Chapter 32). The motion verbs in directional SVCs, however, do not head their own clauses. This is made clear in

examples such as (43), where the main verb has scope over the clause rather then the minor directional verb. Here the participants ended up in Kesengen village. If the verb *ba-* 'come' was the standalone predicate of its own clause, then the translation would have to be, 'When they kicked us out, coming to Kesengen we went up (somewhere else).' However, it is clear from the text that they had gone up from a lower village to the destination of Kesengen Village.

(43) *nûnûngkong,*   *kaasingang*   ***balogûm.***
      n-nûngkong-ng   kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m
      1NSG.O-remove-DS   PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL
      'When they kicked us out, we went up this way to Kesengen.' [skc09_19]

Directional SVCs can be formed with any motion verb. *Ba-* 'come' is illustrated above, and *fû-* 'come down' and *mo-* 'go down' are shown in (44) and (45), respectively.

(44) *gi*   ***fûntaayak.***
      gi   fû-taa-ya-k
      rain   come.down-say-PRS-3SG
      '[I can hear] the rain falling.' (lit. 'The rain coming down is talking.')

(45) *na*   *sip*   *sakobaan*   *walû*   *ba*   ***mongkaka…***
      [na   {sip   sako-baan}   wa=lû]   ba   mo-ka-ka
      man   ship   hold.3SG-NMLZ   that=NOM   come   go.down-see.3SG-SS
      'The ship captain coming, went down to see him…' [skc12_14]

In each case, the motion verb is not considered a separate predicate, but a part of the main predicate. When a motion verb actually functions as a predicate of a subordinate same-subject clause, its vowel is often extended; this lengthening is due to the dispreference in MM for monomoraic words. An example of this "sound stretch" is shown in (46).

(46) *mulin*   *tamaakong,*   *bûge*   ***kuu***   *wolûka*   *semaakongka…*
      mulin   ta-maa-kong-ng   bûge   ku~u   wolû-ka   se-maa-kong-ka
      dry   do-CMPL-TERM-DS   again   go~EXT   gather-SS   cook-CMPL-TERM-SS
      'After completely drying, going again we gather it and cook them all and…'
      [skc12_05]

The most frequent directional SVC occurs with the verb *-kadopm-* 'arrive'. This is a bound verb stem, requiring a motion verb to precede it. The verb is illustrated with *lo-* 'go up' and *ku-* 'go' below.

(47) *wa*   *logûm*   *walû*   *tawaang*   *kun*   ***longkadopmûngka,***
      {wa   lo-gû-m   wa=lû}   tawaang   kun   lo-kadopm-ka
      there   go.up-RP-1PL   that=ABL   mountain   up.DIST   go.up-arrive-SS
      'Having gone up there, we went on top of the mountain and…' [skc09_34]

(48) *ilûpmûngkata*   *kugû*   *kugû*   *aminenggok*   ***kungkadopmûnggûmok.***
idipm-ka=ta   ku-gû   ku-gû   aminenggok   ku-kadopm-gû-mok
hit.NSG-SS=do   go-DUR   go-DUR   PN   go-arrive-RP-23DU
'Keeping killing [lizards] and going and going, [the two chickens] arrived at
Aminenggok.' [skc12_11]

Directional SVCs can utilize any of the prototypical motion verbs. Some other verbs
which convey motion within their semantics are also allowed, such as *kaalû-* 'pass by' below.
This verb is not found in the corpus by itself, but always occurs with *kapmang-* 'leave'.

(49) *nangkadekkû*   ***kaalûnûpmangka***   *tûmang*   *kugûng.*
nangkadek=lû   kaalû-n-kapmang-ka   tûmang   ku-gû-ng
men=NOM   pass-1SG.O-leave-SS   first   go-RP-23PL
'The men passed us and went first.' [skc09_29]

This example also illustrates another pattern. The main verb—here *kapmang-* 'leave'—
may bear object-agreement morphology, which becomes trapped between the two verbs.
While SVCs surface as single phonological words, they are separate grammatical words—see
§7.2.

22.2.4   Aspectual SVCs

Aspect (Chapter 24) is primarily conveyed through the use of auxiliary verb constructions
(§22.3). However, two or three grammaticalized aspects (depending on one's analysis) are
marked with serial verb constructions. First, the verb *kong-* 'throw.SG' follows a main verb to
mark the terminative aspect, as described in §24.6. Second, the completive aspect (indicating
an action is performed completely) is marked with *-maa*, which also functions as a preverbal
adverb meaning 'wholly'. Though it is not analyzed as a verb in this work, it is certainly
probable that its historical source is verbal; similar forms are seen in verbs such as *maang-*
'bend down' and *maangût-* 'sit down'. More information is provided in §24.7. Third, the
bound verb *-i-* is used to mark the imperfective present tense (§24.8) and is used in habitual
constructions placed in the past and future tenses (§23.4). As addressed in those sections, this
morpheme behaves phonologically like a verb, but does not have a synchronic presence in the
lexicon.

22.2.5   Negative wish SVC

Rarely, the *b* segment follows a verb stem, before further inflection applies. This marker
encodes the apprehensive expectation that a negative event will transpire. Speakers use it to
wish against the negative event from actually occurring. It always precedes the future tense.

This structure—which appears to produce a mixed modality, including epistemic and attitudinal shades—appears to be similar to Lichtenberk's (1995) "apprehensional" category.

(50) *fakaabûtaak.*
fakaa-**b**-taa-k
pale-NEG.WISH-FUT-3SG
'May it not be that he gets pale.' [DN05.79.03]

(51) *tagû   mambûtaang!*
ta-gû   mang-**b**-taa-ng
do-DUR   fall-NEG.WISH-FUT-2SG
'Continuing to do it, may it not be that you fall down!' [DN02.183.43]

Note that, since the morph is so short, certain environments produce ambiguity. Recall from §21.6.2 that the NV verb class exhibits an epenthetic *b* segment between the verb stem and the future tense suffix, which is then prenasalized. Thus, examples such as (52) can have either interpretation. Intonationally, the negative wish involves a higher level contour than is typical of basic statements. This, along with context, differentiates the two possibilities.

(52) *bagonembûtaak.*
bagone-**b**-taa-k   bagone-**b**-taa-k
sick-NEG.WISH-FUT-3SG   sick-EP-FUT-3SG
'May it not be that he gets sick.' [DN05.79.05]   'He will become sick.'

The ambiguity produces a further analytical problem, seen in (53). Here the verbal complex has an object-agreement prefix. If this directly precedes the negative wish morpheme, then *-b* is clearly a verb serialization. The verb *b-* means 'see' in MM.

Negative imperatives utilize the verb 'see, perceive' in Warekena, among other languages. Aikhenvald (2010:361) argues that a grammaticalization pathway exists for 'see' to form warnings, apprehensive meanings, and prohibitions. This appears to be the most straightforward explanation for the pattern in MM. However, it is also possible that the morpheme does not take an object-agreement suffix, but is instead preceded by the verb *m-* 'give'. That is, this could be a benefactive applicative structure, followed by the negative wish morpheme. More research is needed.

(53) *naandûnûmbûtaak.*
naandû-n-**b**-taa-k   naandû-n-**m**-**b**-taa-k
hear-1NSG.O-NEG.WISH-FUT-3SG   hear-1NSG.O-give-NEG.WISH-FUT-3SG
'May it not be that (he) hears us.' [DN05.79.06]

22.2.6   Other serializations and compounds

In the previous sections only asymmetrical SVCs have been discussed, where one of the verbs carries lexical meaning and the other supplements it with directional or grammatical information. A number of symmetrical SVCs are present in Ma Manda as well, though it is often difficult to tell whether these are SVCs or compounds. I analyze these sequences as compounds when the meaning is non-compositional. For example, below the verb *se-* 'cook' and *kaam-* 'die' mean 'burn off an animal's hair'. This is a very specific meaning, including more information than exists with those verbs operating as separate units.

(54) *tebû*   **kadûma**   *sengkaanggaamot.*
      teb   kadû-ma   sengkaang-gaa-mot
      bring   level.PROX-EMPH   burn.off.hair-PRS-1DU
      'We brought it and burned off its hair!' [skc09_35]

Another example is shown below. Here the verb *se-* 'cook' has combined with *na-* 'eat'. While the semantics are compositional, their phonological form has been reduced. Therefore this is also analyzed as a compound.

(55) *wadûng*   *yenûngka*   **sûnanggûng**   *beng.*
      wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   sûna-gû-ng   beng
      that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS cook.eat-RP-23PL pandanus
      'He told them like that and they cooked and ate, the pandanus.' [skc11_16]

The two frequent verbs *aatûku-* 'remain' (from *at-* 'be' and *ku-* 'go') and *kungat-* 'go around' (from *ku-* 'go' and *at-* 'be') represent a grey area between compound and SVC. While their form is slightly reduced, this is due to common phonological processes in Ma Manda such as high vowel reduction. Their meanings are also somewhat compositional. These serializations/compounds are very common in Papua New Guinea, as evidenced by the Tok Pisin phrasal verb *stap i go* 'continue'.

(56) *talo*   *nengka*   *taka*   *imo,*   **aatûkugûm**.
      talo   ne-ka   ta-ka   idi=mo   aatûku-gû-m
      take.up   dig-SS   do-SS   this.ANA=already remain-RP-1PL
      'After taking [him] up, and burying him together, we remained.' [skc09_18]

(57) *siyang*   *saandela*   *aakngkaidi,*   *geksap*   *taka*
      siya-ng   saandela   aakng-ka=idi   geksap   ta-ka
      dawn-DS   Sunday   arise-SS=this.ANA hunt   do-SS

      wa   **kungagûmot**.
      wa   kungat-gû-mot
      that   go.around-RP-1DU
      'Getting up at dawn on Sunday, we hunted and went around.' [skc09_02]

Another example is yotnambe- 'chew' below, which appears to consist of *yot-* 'ram', *na-* 'eat', and *be-* 'put.NSG'.

(58)   *baagût   yotnambelak.*
       baagût   yotnambe-la-k
       slowly   chew-PRS-3SG
       'He is chewing slowly.' [DN04.68.12]

Many other times, verbs are serialized in order to represent the various sub-components of a complex action perceived by MM speakers as a single event. Some examples are provided below. These include *dûnû-kapmang-* 'chop down' (lit. 'chop-drop'), *fa-aakng-* 'lift.NSG' (lit. 'get.NSG-arise'), *nû-ob-* 'forbid' (lit. 'tell-break'), and *uf-mang-* 'remove (kunai)' (lit. 'remove-fall'). In these examples both the first and second verbs can exhibit object-agreement morphology. This shows that they are separate grammatical words, even though phonologically they function as single units.

(59)   *kaadûp   dûnûyapmangûda,   fûngûlû,   mo   faleleka,*
       kaadûp   dûnû-y-kapmang-ng-da   fû-ng-lû   mo   falele-ka
       tree   chop-3NSG.O-drop-DS-1NSG   come.down-DS-23   already   lop-SS

       fangaakngka   bot   bemaakongka,...
       fa-ng-aakng-ka   bot   be-maa-kong-ka
       get.NSG-DS-arise-SS   group   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS
       'We chop down the trees, and then having lopped off (the branches), we lift them up and finish grouping them all, and…' [skc12_05]

(60)   *maasû   taka   naanûwobang?*
       maasû   ta-ka   naa-nû-ob-wa-ng
       which   do-SS   1SG.O-tell-break-PRS-23PL
       'Why are you (NSG) forbidding me?' (lit. 'Doing which and you are forbidding me?) [skc09_21]

(61)   ***yot   tûmen   ufûmangka   obûnengka***
       {[yot   tûmen]   ufûmang-ka   ob-ne-ng=la}
       house   old   remove.kunai-SS   break-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN

       wan   tawangang.
       wa-n   ta-wa-ng-nang
       that-ANA   do-PRS-23PL-HAB
       'They do this to remove kunai (from) old houses and replace [lit. break] it.' [skc10_11]

22.3   Auxiliary verb constructions

Auxiliary verb constructions are utilized in MM to convey aspectual and pluractional information, as described fully in Chapters 24–25. These constructions consist of a main verb,

which is always marked with a same-subject coordinate suffix, and an auxiliary verb. A basic example is shown in (62).

(62) *kadet menang **baka ngakngatnang** tandontagok.*
    [kadet men=nang] ba-ka ngat-ng-tnang tandonta-go-k
    road mouth=LOC come-SS be-DS-1NSG night-RP-3SG
    'While we were coming on the main road (it) became night.' [skc09_38]

Here the main verb of the medial different-subject clause is *ba-* 'come'. However, it is not directly marked with different-subject marking, since it is followed by the progressive aspect auxiliary *(ng)at-* 'be'. The main verb is given the *-ka* 'SS' suffix, and then the auxiliary verb is marked with the different-subject suffix.

MM has a strong grammatical pull toward describing the states of all participants before and after each event takes place within a narrative. This means that it is a common pattern for a verb to be followed with *at-* 'be' or *aatûku-* 'remain' (the durative auxiliary) in order to describe the final state of the actor. This pattern has resulted in the grammaticalization of these structures into auxiliary verb constructions. In fact, in neighboring Numanggang (Hynum 1995:29–31) it appears that this progressive auxiliary construction has grammaticalized further into a set of medial verb suffixes encoding simultaneous action.

In MM there is a certain pull toward this grammaticalization. This is seen phonologically by the fact that the progressive and durative auxiliaries can optionally attach to the preceding main verb. In this case, underlying velar nasals surface in onset position of the auxiliaries (i.e. *at-* ~ *ngat-* 'be'; *aatûku-* ~ *ngaatûku-* 'remain'). Note that in this work the auxiliary verbs are systematically written as separate words since this is an optional process.

On the other hand, a would-be auxiliary can have lexical meaning and function as a head over the successive clause, as shown in (63). Here *at-* does not progressivize *lo-* 'go up', but instead describes the final state of the actors. The progressive reading (i.e. 'they were going up') is syntactically possible, but an intonational rise on the auxiliary, as well as an optional pause between the verbs makes this reading evident. Again, it is a common discourse tactic to describe the final state of the actors, and therefore it is common for clauses and sentences to end with 'be' or 'remain'.

(63) *kame ginggem ban flong loka **ngagûng**.*
    [kame ginggem ban flong] lo-ka ngat-gû-ng
    ground small.space a ALL go.up-SS be-RP-23PL
    'They went up [out of the water] onto a small mound of land.' [skc12_13]

Other details about these prevalent structures are described in later chapters. These include their ability to be repeated to iconically extend the temporal contour of an event—as in (64)—and the ability of an auxiliary to have scope over multiple verbs which are viewed as single events—as in (65).

(64) **baka   akngatnang   akngatnang   akngatnang**   *mo,*
    ba-ka   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   mo
    come-SS   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   already

    sanggaba   laabûngatnang   siyagok.
    sanggaba   laab-ng-tnang   siya-go-k
    PN   come.up-DS-1NSG   dawn-RP-3SG
    'After coming and coming and coming, we came up to Sanggaba, and it was dawn.' [skc09_38]

(65) **maangûtta   adaampaka   atta   *yaabûngûda***
    maangût-ta   adaampa-ka   at-ta   yaa-b-ng-da
    sit-SS   rest-SS   be-SS   3NSG.O-see-DS-1NSG

    nantaam,   galang   tagûng.
    {{nantaam   galang   ta-gû-ng}}
    people   play   do-RP-23PL
    'While we sat resting we saw the people playing [soccer down on the field below].'
    [skc09_29]

365

23 Tense

Realis final verbs in Ma Manda are obligatorily inflected for one of five tenses: remote past (§23.1), near past (§23.2), present (§23.3), imperfective present (§23.4), or future (§23.5). In addition, the irrealis inflection is utilized in independent clauses to convey a remote future meaning (§23.6) due to its function of encoding speaker expectancy. The tense value of a final verb in an independent clause is absolute, locating the event relative to the time of utterance. Only in complement and relative clauses is tense relative to some other reference point. Medial verbs, on the other hand, cannot bear tense inflection. Instead, their time reference is relative to the tense value of their controlling clause. In other words, tense has scope over an entire sentence (including non-finite medial verbs).

The timeframes encoded by the final verb inflections are shown in Table 23.1. The present tense is used for events unfolding at the time of utterance, as well as immediately beforehand and afterward. The imperfective present tense locates the utterance itself within the ongoing progress of an event. By its very nature, it encodes imperfectivity (internal complexity of an event), and only occurs with stative verbs. For events further removed into the past, two inflections are available. The near past situates an event on the day of the utterance since dawn, while the remote past situates an event any time before this boundary. Two inflections are also available for events projected to occur in the future. The (realis) future tense is used for events expected to occur on the day of the utterance or on the following day. The irrealis inflection is then reserved for events projected to occur at or after nightfall on the day after the utterance.

TABLE 23.1: TIMEFRAMES ENCODED BY TENSE INFLECTIONS

Past time				Future time		
Prior	Yesterday		Today		Tomorrow	Beyond
RPST		NPST	PRS	FUT		IRR
			–IPFV–			

The boundaries between the use of these inflections are fuzzy, with certain narrow windows of time when two inflections are simultaneously grammatical. For an event which occured on the day of the utterance before dawn or as the sun was rising, both the near past and remote past inflections are possible. This is presumably due to the introduction of calendars and clocks. The western day, which begins at midnight, is at odds with the

traditional day, which begins at dawn. For an event which occurred on the day prior to the utterance, the near past inflection is ungrammatical.

Regarding future time, the future tense is typically limited to events expected to take place before the end of the next day. This is what previously caused me to identify it as a "near future" inflection (Pennington 2014a). However, it is fully acceptable to use this inflection for any event set far into the future, depending on the amount of certainty a speaker wishes to express. This fact has led me to analyze it as a realis future tense, with the proviso that speakers tend not to use it for events cast two days after the utterance and beyond. The use of the future inflection for such "remote future" events is marked, and signals strong expectancy. Generally, the irrealis inflection will be used for these events. The irrealis inflection can also be used for events expected to occur within the first two days after the utterance, but this signals the speaker's lack of commitment to the event's occurrence.

A few comments regarding the terminology are in order. The choice to use "remote" and "near" keeps with Papuan linguistic tradition (e.g. Foley (1986:160)), as many grammars express this distinction with such vocabulary. Of course, many languages across the region make more detailed divisions, particularly in the past tense—historical past, remote past, near past, today's past, immediate past, etc. The MM near past tense could more accurately be called the "hodiernal past" (from Latin *hodie* 'today'). Then the remote past tense would be more appropriately called the "pre-hodiernal past", as it is used for all events prior to today. Such terms are not used here in order to foster comparison with related languages. For example, even though the near past tense is used only for today's past in MM, the equivalent inflection in Nungon is grammatical for yesterday's past as well (Sarvasy 2014b:283).

Next, contrary to my previous analysis, I no longer identify a "near" and "remote" future tense, since what was previously "near future" is now known to be grammatical for any future events. This is now the "realis future", with the "irrealis future" (or "modal future") used for events which speakers expect to occur, but are unwilling to assert as true. Finally, "present" is used for the inflection which can grammatically locate an event in the present, immediate past, and immediate future. This keeps with Comrie's (1985:37) observation that it is "relatively rare for a situation to coincide exactly with the present moment" and that "a more characteristic use of the present tense is in referring to situations which occupy a much longer period of time than the present moment, but which nonetheless include the present moment within them." Also see Dixon (2012:13) for a similar treatment of the "enigmatic" present tense. Thus, the present tense actually encodes a larger slice of the timeline than the

present moment, extending both slightly into the past, and slightly into the future (but encompassing the present moment as well), as illustrated in the table above.

23.1   Remote past tense

The remote past tense situates an event any time before the present day, as illustrated in (1). The boundary of its usage is at dawn on the morning of the speech act. At this point, the near past tense becomes appropriate. The border between tenses is fuzzy, however, as discussed in the previous section.

(1) *kep*   *bûsenang*   *aatûkugu*   ***bagot****.*
     kep   bûsenang   at-ku-gû   ba-**go**-t
     yesterday   jungle   be-go-DUR   come-RP-1SG
     'Yesterday going around in the bush, I came (back).' [DN02.201.16]

The past tense is not used only for general statements and narratives situated in the past, but also for historical, traditional, mythical, legendary, or ancestral events, as shown in the opening line of a text about two cousins in (2). Note that persisting situations in the past are marked with the habitual past, as described in §24.8.

(2) *tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   *yenûmûnit*   *yaalûlû*   *mukuya*   *moin*
     [tûmang-gût   sûnûk]   [ye-nimin-nit   yaalû=lû]   [mukuya   moin]
     before-RSTR   real   NSG-cousin-POSS.COM   two=NOM   pig   wild

     dong   *bûsenang*   ***kugûmok****.*
     dong   bûsenang   ku-**gû**-mok
     search   jungle   go-RP-23DU
     'A very long time ago two cousins, searching (for) wild pigs, went to the jungle.'
     [skc11_12b]

Example (3) illustrates the past tense under negation. This sentence does not mean that the actor never told his brother, but that he did not tell him during the timeframe in focus. That is, only a specific instance is negated.

(3) *nolû*   *wa*   ***dom***   ***nûnggok****.*
     [nolû   wa]   dom   nû-**go**-k
     brother   that   NEG   tell-RP-3SG
     'He did not tell his brother.' [skc11_05b]

23.2   Near past tense

The near past tense situates an event since dawn on the day of the speech act, as illustrated in (4).

(4) *taamengsûla*   *membû*   *tem*   **laalak**.
    taamengsla   [membû   tem]   laat-**a**-k
    morning   head   hair   scrape-NP-3SG
    '(This) morning he shaved his head.' [DN04.68.11]

No examples exist in the corpus of the near past tense being used for events situated prior to the day of speaking. Note the following autocorrection by a speaker, spoken about two days after my arrival with my wife into the village of Saut.

(5) *fatnaang*   *nalam,*   *bombo*   *nalam*   *yaalû*   **bangaamok**   *ya,*
    [fatnaang   nalam]   {[bombo[24]   nalam   yaalû]   ba-**ngaa**-mok   ya,
    white   couple   caucasian   couple   two   come-NP-23DU   this

    bagûmok   *ya,...*
    ba-**gû**-mok   ya}
    come-RP-23DU   this
    'the white couple, the foreign couple who came (NP), who came (RP),...' [skc09_18]

The distinction between the near past and present tenses is fuzzy, since both may be used to refer to events completed just prior to the time of the utterance. Use of the near past tense means that no part of the event took place at the present moment, whereas use of the present means that the event is considered by the speaker to have still been in progress at the time of the utterance (though this is a subjective matter, dependent upon the speaker's perspective). The distinction is made clear in the perfect aspect, as shown below. The near past perfect may be used for an event which just recently occurred, but which need not be true at the time of the utterance, as in (6). When the present perfect is used, the situation must still persist, as in (7).

(6) *mo*   **bangat**.
    mo   ba-**nga**-t.
    already   come-NP-1SG
    'I've come (previously).' [DN02.165.10]

(7) *mo*   **baat**.
    mo   ba-**a**-t.
    already   come-PRS-1SG
    'I've come (and am still here).' [DN01.27.16]

The near past is seldom negated. Under negation, it seems to carry the implicature that the action is still expected to occur, as overtly expressed in (9).

---

[24] From *bomboŋ*, a Kâte term for 'respected man, master, European' (Flierl & Strauss 1977:51).

(8) *mi   **dom**   **wingat**.*
     mi   dom   wi-**nga**-t
     water   NEG   bathe-NP-1SG
     'I did not bathe (yet).' [DN02.199.08]

(9) ***dom**   **kung**,   kogût.   met   kuntaang.*
     dom   ku-**ø**-ng   kogût   met   ku-**ntaa**-ng
     NEG   go-NP-23PL   not.yet   later go-FUT-23PL
     'They did not go, yet. They will go later.' [DN02.177.03]

23.3   Present tense

The present tense situates an event at the time of the utterance, with some allowable extension both into the immediate past and immediate future (but overlapping with the present moment in the mind of the speaker). Though the English translations require progressive constructions, these events are indeed perfective, the default aspect in MM (cf. Chapter 24). That is, such events are described as single, whole events, with no focus on the ongoing nature of the action. This is illustrated in the following three examples. The interaction between the present tense and progressive aspect, and its relationship with lexical aspect, is described in §24.1.

(10) *filaangka   **kuyak**.*
     filaang-ka   ku-**ya**-k
     fly-SS   go-PRS-3SG
     'It is flying away.' [DN02.143.79]

(11) *mandena   ugem   **nelak**.*
     mande-na   ugem   n-e-**la**-k.
     back-1SG.POSS   pain   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG
     'My back hurts.' [DN02.143.70]

(12) *gi   **uttak**.*
     gi   ut-**ta**-k
     rain hit-PRS-3SG
     'It is raining.' [DN02.144.81]

The present tense may be used for events which just occurred in the immediate past, but with that state persisting through to the present moment. Such concepts in English are typically cast in the perfect ("hot news perfect"), but in MM the perfect is not necessary for this function (see §24.5).

(13) *bedûlak   **genangkaak**.*
     bedlak   genangka-**a**-k.
     sore   appear-PRS-3SG
     'A sore (has just) surfaced.' [DN04.81.04]

370

The present inflection is also used to situate an event in the immediate future, as long as the event is perceived by the speaker to be beginning at the moment of the utterance. This is reflected in the (present progressive) translation in English. This is the closest the MM grammar gets to an inchoative aspect.

(14) *fiyat   dong   **kuyat**.*
      fiyat   dong   ku-**ya**-t.
      urine   search go-PRS-1SG
      'I'm going (for a) wee.' [DN02.143.76]

(15) *nak   mo   **kuyat**.   gak   wika   met   bataang.*
      nak   mo   ku-**ya**-t.   gak   wi-ka   met   ba-taa-ng.
      1SG   already   go-PRS-1SG   2SG   bathe-SS later come-FUT-2SG
      'I'm just (now) going. You bathe and come later.' [DN04.70.25]

The present tense may also be used for narrative/ historical present, producing greater vividness and immediacy of an event situated in the past. In this case, it often co-occurs with an emphatic demonstrative, as discued in §20.4. The following is an excerpt about a cassowary that got caught in a ground trap.

(16) *tang   mo   pasûp pasûp   ima   nanggeka   **kaamtak**.*
      ta-ng   mo   pasûp~pasûp   idi-ma   nangge-ka   kaam-**ta**-k.
      do-DS   already   almost~almost   this.ANA-EMPH choke-SS   die-PRS-3SG
      'Then it just about chokes to death!' [skc09_35]

Under negation, both the immediate past (17) and present readings (18) are possible. I find no examples in the corpus of a negated present tense verb with immediate future meaning.

(17) ***dom   naandûlat**.*
      dom   naandû-**la**-t.
      NEG   perceive-PRS-1SG
      'I didn't hear (it).' [DN01.03.09]

(18) *gak   **dom   naandûlang**.*
      gak   dom   naandû-**la**-ng
      2SG   NEG   perceive-PRS-2SG
      'You don't understand.' [DN02.188.69]

23.4   Imperfective present tense

The imperfective present tense marks a state as ongoing at the time of utterance. It is used to situate the utterance itself within the timeframe of a particular event. This is the very definition of the imperfective aspect, which views an event with internal complexity rather than as a complete whole. So this inflection provides an internal perspective to an event, just

like the progressive aspect (§24.1). The difference is that the progressive aspect is used to convey the unfolding nature of dynamic events (in any tense), while the imperfective present tense is restricted to situations which are continuing at the time of speaking. This morpheme *-i-* is illustrated in (19).

(19)   *elang*   ***taait.***
       elang   taa-**i**-t
       lie   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
       'I'm joking.' (lit. 'I'm lying.')

As described in §24.1, Ma Manda verbs may be grouped into three classes based on lexical aspect: dynamic, stative, and stative-dynamic. Dynamic verbs (e.g. 'put', 'hold', 'die') require the progressive aspect in order to be conveyed as ongoing at the time of speaking. Stative verbs (e.g. 'perceive', 'be', 'be sick') are never marked with the progressive, even when unfolding at the time of speaking. Stative-dynamic verbs (e.g. 'say', 'eat', weather verbs, motion verbs) behave like stative verbs in the present, but like dynamic verbs in the non-present tenses. The upshot of this is that only stative and stative-dynamic verbs occur in the corpus with the imperfective present inflection. That is, this tense is in complementary distribution with the (periphrastic) progressive aspect. Though see the discussion before (24) for a possible counter-example.

Furthermore, as described in §24.8, the past habitual requires one of two present tense morphemes (in addition to the past tense marking and the habitual suffix *-nang*) in a complex morphological structure. The simple present tense form *-waa* is used to mark perfective past habitual situations (i.e. 'used to V'), while the imperfective form *-i-* is used to mark imperfective past habitual situations (i.e. 'was V-ing'). Stative verbs such as 'be' and 'remain' frequently occur in past habitual contexts in initial scene-setting clauses of narratives. Crucially, such predicates may only be marked with the imperfective form, as shown in (20).

(20)   *naai*   *wasûlong*   *nantaam*   *den*   *yolangan*   ***aatigûngang.***
      [naai   wa=slong]   [nantaam   den]   yolangan   aat-**i**-gû-ng-nang
      time   that=LOC   people   some   PN   be-IPFV-RP-23PL-HAB
      'At that time some people were living in Yolangan.' [skc11_16]

The imperfective present most commonly occurs with the verb *taa-* 'say', as shown in (19) and in the two examples below. In (21) a speaker uses the imperfective when bringing sweet potato to the house as a gift. In (22) a speaker uses it in the final clause of a procedural text about gardening. It occurs both at the beginning and ending of a number of oral narratives.

(21) *sida   yaalû   ya   febûnggaampa   **taait**.*
        [sida   yaalû   ya]   feb-ng-gaa-m-pa   taa-**i**-t
        sweet.potato   two   this   bring-DEP-2SG.O-give-SS   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
        'I'm bringing you these two sweet potato and saying (this).' [DN04.39.03]

(22) *fi   tanakkûnang   manda   **taait**.*
        [fi   tanak=lûnang]   manda   taa-**i**-t
        work   planting=GEN   talk   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
        'I'm talking about gardening.' [skc09_17]

It is also used once in the corpus with the verb (*ng*)*at-* 'be'. This also happens to be the only instance of the form occurring without a first person singular subject (without habitual aspect-marking). Here the verb is marked for a second person singular subject, and is used in the imperative mood as a command strategy.

(23) *ya**ngaating**.*
        ya=ngat-**i**-ng.
        this=be-IPFV.PRS-2SG
        'You're staying here.' [DN02.218.03]

One dynamic verb—*ta-* 'do'—was elicited with the imperfective morpheme, as shown in (24). This is a minimal pair with the simple present in (25).

(24) *wagam   **tait**.*
        wagam   ta-**i**-t
        nothing   do-IPFV.PRS-1SG
        'I'm doing nothing.' (TP: *Mi mekim nating i go.*) [DN05.51.08]

(25) *wagam   taat.*
        wagam   ta-a-t
        nothing   do-PRS-1SG
        'I'm doing nothing.' (TP: *Nau yet mi mekim nating.*) [DN05.51.08]

When asked to translate the imperfective present-marked 'say' (i.e. *taait*) one speaker said in Tok Pisin: *Mi toktok i go; wanpela tok em fevret na mi toktok i go i go long en* 'I continue to talk; one topic is a favorite and I continue to talk and talk about it.' Conversely, when asked to translate the simpe present-marked 'say' (i.e. *taayat*), he said: *Nau yet mi toktok* 'Right now I talk.' It appears that the form has an overtone of durativity, or of customary action. Due to its limited occurrence in the corpus however, it is difficult to define this tense well.

While behaving like a suffix in certain ways, the morpheme *-i-* is actually a verb which is restricted to compounds to serve only this grammaticalized role. Three pieces of evidence support this. First, the lexical verb which precedes *-i-* does not undergo expected

morphophonemic process. For example, the voiceless alveolar stop always lenites before a heteromorphemic vowel (e.g. *at-* 'be' + *-e* 'IRR.SG' → *ale* 'stay!'). On the other hand, in reduplications and compounds /t/ is retained (e.g. *at-* 'be' ~ *at-* 'be' → *atat* 'presence'). When the verb *at-* 'be' occurs with *-i-*, lenition is blocked, as shown in both (20) and (23). Second, *-i-* avoids diphthongization with a preceding vowel. This means that it is not shortened to an off-glide in examples such as (19), (21), (22), and (24). Third, it attracts stress in examples such as (26)—and optionally in examples such as (20)—in contrast to the expected stress avoidance pattern typical of high peripheral vowels (which are subsequently reduced to the high central *û*).

(26) ***naítnang**.*
na-**i**-t-nang
eat-IPFV-1SG-HAB
'I'll be eating it.' [DN05.61.05]

With this established, cognacy in neighboring languages provides strong support. The verb *ik-* means 'live' in neighboring Uri (Webb 1980:45,50). The form also serves as the first person present tense suffix *-ik*, and the similar morph *-it* is the present tense habitual form.[25] Fascinatingly, in Uri *-ar* is used to form the habitual aspect in the non-present tenses (Webb 1980:48). This is cognate with the verb 'to live' in neighboring Rawa (McElhanon 1973:31), as well as 'be' (*at-*) in Ma Manda. Finally, *it-* also means 'sit' in neighboring Numanggang (Hynum 1995). The upshot of all of this cognacy is that morphemes meaning 'be' are shown to have grammaticalized into present tense and/or imperfective aspect morphemes. Regarding the FH languages, McElhanon (1973:29) remarks that "the habituative mode morphemes of these languages may be shown to be related to the verbs meaning 'to do' or 'to live' and to have a historical basis in verb compounding." While an independent lexical verb *i-* does not exist in Ma Manda, the serialized form is strikingly similar in structure to the current progressive aspect—whereby a verb with medial morphology is followed by the independent auxiliary verb *at-* 'be'. It appears that *-i-* is simply a previous grammaticalization of the identical structure, now operating closer to the root and exhibiting a more restricted distribution.

Two notes are in order regarding the form of the imperfective present. First, its verbal source explains why this form, unlike the other tenses, does not have separate singular and non-singular forms. While it behaves grammatically like a suffix, phonologically it is shown

---

[25] *t→k* morphophonemic processes are common in the area.

to have verbal properties. Second, the form is remarkably similar to the simple present tense singular allomorph *-ya*. As noted in §21.6, the *-ya* allomorph only occurs with three verbs: *taa-* 'say', *ku-* 'go', and *aatûku-* 'remain' (lit. 'be-go'). Originally, I posited that *-i-* was simply a reduced variant of *-ya*, but it is clear from the above discussion that the forms have different meanings. Historically then, it appears that *-ya* is a combination of the imperfective *-i-* and present tense singular *-la*. This explains why it only occurs with these three verbs, none of which co-occur with the progressive in the present tense. That is, each of those verbs behave statively in the present tense, and therefore cannot be marked with the progressive aspect. They also happen to be three of the most frequently occurring verbs in the language. This may be what allowed *-ya* to develop as a lexically-conditioned allomorph of *-la*. The other most frequently occurring verbs such as *at-* 'be', *ba-* 'come', and *ta-* 'do', all belong to different inflection classes due to the shapes of their stems. This explains why the allomorph is not available for these verbs.

Finally, negated imperfective present verbs do not occur in the corpus.

23.5   Future tense

The future tense situates an event after the time of the utterance. This inflection indicates certainty that an event will occur (unlike the future function of the irrealis inflection). The following is a common way to open a narrative, and is thus used for an imminent event.

(27) *ulak*   ***taabûtaat***.
      ulak   taa-b-**taa**-t.
      story   say-EP-FUT-1SG
      'I will tell a story.' [skc09_35]

The future tense is frequently used for events expected to occur later on the day of the utterance, or any time on the next day, as illustrated in (28).

(28) *taameng*   *tandonta*   ***kutaat***.
      taameng   tandonta   ku-**taa**-t.
      tomorrow   night   go-FUT-1SG
      'Tomorrow night I will go.' [DN02.196.05]

Even though the realis future tense is typically not used for events expected to occur beyond the day after the utterance, a speaker may use it to express a marked, overt expectation that the event will transpire, as shown with the minimal pair in (29), as well as in (30), an excerpt from a written casual retelling of the story of Jonah from the Bible.

(29) *emak*   *ban*   *kansûlong*   *laai*   **kuwet.**   /   **kutaat.**
      [emak   ban   kan=slong]   laai   ku-**be**-t   /   ku-**taa**-t
      moon   a   up.PROX=ALL   Lae   go-IRR.SG-1SG   /   go-FUT-1SG
      'Next month I will / WILL go to Lae.' [DN01.65.08]

(30) *manda*   *yenûnggok,*   *Aanutu*   *lû*   *kagat*   *ya*
      manda   ye-nû-go-k   {{{{Aanutu   lû   [kagat   ya]
      talk   3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG God   NOM   place   this

      sewekka   *taayak.*   *go*   *tandon*   *40*   *aaweng*
      se-we-k=ka}}   taa-ya-k   [go   tandon   40]   aawe-ng
      cook-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   say-PRS-3SG   sun   night   40   finish-DS

      kagat   *yalû*   **dûtaak.**
      [kagat   ya=lû]   dû-**taa**-k.}}
      place   this=NOM   burn-FUT-3SG
      'He told them, "God is planning to destroy this city. (When) 40 days and nights
      finish this city will burn.' [skc12_14]

The realis future is only used when "the occurrence of some as yet uninitiated event is anticipated with such a high level of absolute certainty that it is regarded as far more "real" than being merely something which potentially may occur" (Elliott 2000:71).

The future tense is also used for promises (or threats), warnings, and strong commands—as shown in (31), (32), and (33), respectively.

(31) *mo*   **kombûtaat***!*
      mo   kong-b-**taa**-t
      go.down   throw-EP-FUT-1SG
      'Going down I'll beat you!' [skc11_10c]

(32) *tagû*   **mambûtaang***!*
      ta-gû   mang-b-**taa**-ng
      do-DUR   fall.down-EP-FUT-2SG
      'Careful you don't fall down!' (lit. 'Doing (it) you will fall.') [DN02.183.43]

(33) *gak*   *yak*   *wa*   *yamaandûfata*   **alûtaang.**
      gak   yak   wa   y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-**taa**-ng.
      2SG   bilum   that   3NSG.O-look.after-SS   be-FUT-2SG
      'You will be looking after the bilums.' [skc12_13]

Under negation, the future carries a denial that an event will transpire. That is, the negated future is not a mirror image of the negated past, whereby an event within a particular timeframe is negated. A negated future predicate means that the event is never expected to happen, or cannot happen. The negated future is illustrated with a promise in (34), a guarantee in (35), and a statement with an overtone of negative ability in (36).

376

(34)   ***dom   gutntaam***.
        dom   g-ut-**ntaa**-m.
        NEG   2SG.O-hit-FUT-1PL
        'We won't hurt you.' [skc12_15]

(35)   *mi   yak   **dom**   **sombûtaak**.*
        [mi   yak]   dom   song-b-**taa**-k.
        water bilum NEG crack-EP-FUT-3SG
        'The water bag will not puncture.' [DN05.41.05]

(36)   *nûndû   wa   **dom**   **montaamot**.*
        nûndû   wa   dom   mo-**ntaa**-mot.
        1NSG   that   NEG   go.down-FUT-1DU

        ninek   kadet ban   ya   kudem.
        ninek   [kadet ban   ya] ku-de-m.
        1DU.EMPH road   other this go-IRR.DU-1NSG
        'We (DU) can't go down there. Let's both go on this other road.' [skc09_23]

Regarding the form of the future tense inflection, there is some evidence that it is a grammaticalization of an auxiliary verb construction. I hypothesize that it has developed from the combination of a lexical verb with *ta-* 'do'. For example, the present tense form of 'do' is *taat*, and the future tense form of *ku-* 'go' is *kutaat*. Then potentially at a later stage /n/ was added to the non-singular form, forming a SG/NSG distinction by analogy. This could also explain why nasal-final verbs with future singular inflection, as in (35), have an epenthetic *-b-*. This might be a grammaticalization of compounding with the verb *-b-* 'see'. The same pattern now occurs productively with verbs to convey a "negative wish", as described in §22.2.5. If these facts are true, then the future tense was at one time an aspect—formed much like the current "prospective aspect" (§24.4).

23.6   Remote future tense

Speakers generally use the irrealis inflection to situate an event two or more days after the time of the utterance, as illustrated in (37)–(38). The boundary between the realis and irrealis futures is fuzzy, but the irrealis inflection becomes preferred at dawn on the second day after the utterance. As shown in (37), temporal adverbs are often utilized in order to overtly convey future time reference. Other common adverbs which commonly restrict the irrealis morpheme to remote future function are *met* 'later', *sisa* '±2 days', etc. Adverbial clauses are also common, as in (29) above.

(37) *sisa*   ***kuwet.***
      sisa   ku-**be**-t
      ±2days   go-IRR.SG-1SG
      'The day after tomorrow I will go.' [DN02.205.10]

(38) *nak*   *kaganganang*   *kuka*   *nanak*   ***naanggûlet.***
      nak   kagang-na=nang   ku-ka   nanak   naanggût-**e**-t.
      1SG   place-1SG.POSS=LOC   go-SS   child   get-IRR.SG-1SG
      'I will go to my place and deliver a child.' [DN03.297.16]

The remote future is shown under negation in (39).

(39) *kadet*   *kaalin*   *dom*   *tawangka*   *idi,*
      [kadet   kaalin]   dom   tawang-ka   idi
      road   good   NEG   follow-SS   this.ANA

      bepmek   *kusamba*   ***dom***   ***kanûm.***
      [bep-mek   kusamba]   dom   ka-**nûm**
      father-1NSG.POSS   big   NEG   see-IRR.PL:1NSG
      '(If we) do not follow the good road, we will not see our great father.' [skc11_13]

378

24 Aspect

Aspect is "the way that an event is distributed through the time frame in which the event occurs," the "non-temporal, internal contour of an event" (Frawley 1992:294). That is, while tense is the grammaticalized location of events in time, aspect is concerned with the "internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976:3).

A primary aspectual opposition exists between the perfective and the imperfective (henceforth PFV:IPFV). I follow Comrie (1976:16) in identifying this distinction:

> [P]erfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.

The perfective is the formally and functionally unmarked aspect in Ma Manda. It is used for events which are viewed as a single unanalyzable whole. Thus, when events are not marked for imperfectivity, they are viewed from the outside, with no attention given to the unfolding of the action. This is the "totality" view of perfectivity (Dahl 1985:74). The imperfective, on the other hand, is formally and functionally marked. Imperfective events are "nonunitized", and therefore have internal structure. These events are viewed from within, often utilized with the goal of temporal extension, backgrounding, and conveying simultaneity with other events.

In Ma Manda aspect is expressed both analytically (i.e. with periphrastic constructions) and synthetically (i.e. morphologically and with verb serializations). Periphrastically, a lexical verb with same-subject medial inflection may be followed by the light verb *(ng)at-* 'be' to form the progressive, the light verb *(ng)aatûku-* 'remain' (compound of 'be-go') to form the durative, or the light verb *ta-* 'do' to indicate pluractionality (including the iterative aspect). The prospective aspect also has a periphrastic structure with the auxiliary verb *ta-* 'do', but crucially requires the irrealis inflection on the lexical verb as well. An entire activity verb (states and motions) may be repeated to convey extended durative aspect. The perfect is conveyed via use of the adverb *mo* 'already', transparently derived from the verb *mo-* 'go down. The auxiliary verbs of these analytic constructions can carry lexical meaning instead, depending on the context and the intonational contour.

Four aspectual distinctions are realized synthetically rather than through periphrasis. The terminative aspect is a serialization of *kong-* 'throw', which has been pulled closer to the verb root (i.e. before the same-subject medial inflection or tense and person inflections). Along with it the adverb *maa* 'wholly' has been grammaticalized as a completive aspect morpheme as well. The imperfective present tense (§23.4) conveys both tense and aspectual information at once, and is a result of the grammaticalization of the verb *-i-* 'be' into a serial verb structure. It presumably used to operate productively in a periphrastic construction like the progressive. Finally, the habitual aspect is marked by the suffix *-nang*, which follows all other verb morphology. This is a grammaticalization of the locative case enclitic *=nang*, and is an example of de-subordination (see §24.8). This aspect also requires serialization with one of two present tense morphemes when occurring in the non-present tenses, to convey perfectivity (*-waa*) or imperfectivity (*-i-*).

The structures of these aspectual distinctions are summarized in Table 24.1. This table displays the number of phonological and grammatical words exhibited by each category; whether it is encoded analytically or synthetically by serialization; what are the verbal sources of each distinction; whether the grammatical element (i.e. auxiliary verb or morpheme) can carry lexical meaning in this environment; and whether the construction can modify medial verbs (all of them can modify final verbs). It also shows which of the following subsections describes each category more fully. After these descriptions, two incipient periphrastic aspectual calques from Tok Pisin—'go' and 'come' duratives—are described in §24.9. Iterativity is described in Chapter 25 along with the other pluractional categories. Pluractionality (i.e. verbal number) is expressed periphrastically with *ta-* 'do', and therefore behaves similarly to the analytic aspects on the left-hand side of the table.

	Analytic					Synthetic (V-V)			
	PROG	DUR	EXT DUR	PROSP	PRF	TERM	CMPL	HAB	IPFV PRS
Phon. Words	2	2	>1	2	1~2	1	1~2	1	1
Gramm. Words	2	2	>1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Auxiliary Verb	*at-* 'be'	*aatûku-* 'remain'		*ta-* 'do'					
Adverb					*mo* 'already'				
Morpheme/ serialized V						*-kong* 'TERM'	*-maa* 'CMPL'	*-nang* 'HAB' + *-waa* 'PFV' or *-i-* 'IPFV'	*-i-* 'IPFV.PRS'
Lexical meaning possible	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+ in PRS – in nonPRS	–
Occurs with medial V	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
Other Info.			Verbal repetition often ≥3 times	Lexical verb marked with IRR	From lexical verb *mo-* 'go down'	From lexical verb *kong-* 'throw'	From adverb *maa* 'wholly'	*-nang* from LOC enclitic; *-waa* or *-i-* only in nonPRS	From historical verb *-i-* 'be'
§§	§24.1	§24.2	§24.3	§24.4	§24.5	§24.6	§24.7	§24.8	§23.4

The MM perfective aspect is unmarked, both semantically and grammatically. In the past tense, for example, unmarked verbs are used for both bounded and unbounded events. The totality of the event is at stake rather than the boundedness of it. Only when an event must be nonunitized (viewed with internal complexity) is an imperfective aspect used, either as a backgrounding strategy or to describe its internal contour on the mainline. Since boundedness is not at issue in this opposition, even the completive and terminative aspects are possible without requiring an imperfective aspect, as in (1). Of course, these aspects may co-occur with imperfectivity as well, if the speaker wishes to view the event from within, as with the progressive aspect in (2).

(1) *taamengsla   aakngka   sûbat   **sûnamaangkongka**   idi,...*
     taamengsla   aakng-ka,   sûbat   sû-na-maa-kong-ka   idi
     morning   arise-SS   food   cook-eat-CMPL-TERM-SS   this.ANA
     'In the morning I got up, and finished breakfast, and…' [skc10_01]

(2) ***tamaangkongka**   **akngûda**   idi,   sap   bantû   bagok.*
     ta-maa-kong-ka   ak-ng-da   idi   [sap   ban=tû]   ba-go-k
     do-CMPL-TERM-SS   be-DS-1NSG   this.ANA dog   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
     '(While) we were finishing doing it all, a dog came.' [skc09_23]

The opposition, therefore, is not between bounded and unbounded events, but between events viewed as a whole and events viewed with internal complexity. Crucially, "perfectivity involves *lack of explicit reference* to the internal temporal constituency of a

situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such internal temporal constituency" (Comrie 1976:21; emphasis mine).

As described more fully in §24.1, three primary lexical aspects can be distinguished in MM. Dynamic verbs are those with an internally heterogenous semantic structure. That is, the events which they denote are made up of various components, often resulting in a change from one state into another (e.g. *kaam-* 'die' and *sako-* 'hold'). Stative verbs have an internally homogenous semantic structure. The scope of such verbs is the event perceived as a uniform totality, rather than the combination of multiple components (e.g. *naandû-* 'perceive', *bagone-* 'be sick'). Stative verbs are atelic, meaning that they contain no inherent end-point. Finally, stative-dynamic verbs combine qualities of the other two lexical aspects. These verbs have an internally homogenous semantic structure, but they do have inherent end-points in their semantics (i.e. they are telic). These three categories of lexical aspect behave differently from one another when imperfectivity (i.e. progressive, durative, extended durative) is encoded. This is seen, for example, by the fact that stative verbs are not marked with the progressive auxiliary verb construction. Stative-dynamic verbs may only be marked with the progressive aspect in the non-present tense. These matters are addressed more thoroughly, and with illustration, in the following section. In general, I adhere to the terminology as it is used in major works on Basic Linguistic Theory, including Dixon (2010a, 2010b, 2012) and Aikhenvald (2014). References are included where I appeal to other (older) works.

As a preview of the discussion to come, Table 24.2 summarizes the patterns of co-occurrence exhibited by the various categories within the aspect system. One can follow down each column to see with which other aspects each aspect may co-occur. The table also shows whether each aspect occurs with dynamic and/or stative verbs, and whether they occur with negated verbs. Finally, the table shows whether each can occur with irrealis inflection. That is, while the prospective is the only aspect to have irrealis marking on the lexical verb, it is the only periphrastic aspect for which the auxiliary itself has not been found with irrealis inflection. So this row marks whether irrealis status can inflect the entire construction (not just the lexical verb). This table summarizes the co-occurrences of the aspects in the corpus, but a number of the gaps may be attributable to the limitation of corpus size rather than to ungrammaticality.

TABLE 24.2: ASPECT CO-OCCURRENCES

	Analytic					Synthetic			
	PROG	**DUR**	**EXT DUR**	**PROSP**	**PRF**	**TERM**	**CMPL**	**HAB**	**IPFV PRS**
PROG	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
DUR	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
EXT DUR	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROSP	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PRF	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
TERM	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
CMPL	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
HAB	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
IPFV PRS	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Dynamic	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
Stative	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
NEG	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
IRR	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–

Note that aspectual co-occurrence is realized in different ways depending on the structure of each aspect. For example, the terminative and completive suffixes inflect the lexical verb, even when the progressive auxiliary follows. No examples have been recorded of the terminative or completive suffixes occurring on the progressivizing auxiliary but conceivably, if it occurred, this would result in their wider scope over and above the progressive. On the other hand, the habitual aspect behaves in a similar way to a tense, and it necessarily inflects the progressive auxiliary, rather than the lexical verb (i.e. it has scope over the sentence rather than the clause). The only periphrastic constructions to co-occur are the progressive and the extended durative (which is realized by reduplication of the progressive auxiliary, rather than the lexical verb).

Lastly, Table 24.3 briefly summarizes the semantics of each aspect.

TABLE 24.3: ASPECT SEMANTICS

	Meaning
PROG	Conveys a dynamic event as having internal temporal complexity.
DUR	Temporally extends dynamic events.
EXT DUR	Temporally extends activities and states via iconic repetition.
PROSP	Focuses on the point just prior to the beginning of an event.
PRF	Situates an event or state at an undefined point in time prior to the timeframe in focus.
TERM	Focuses on the termination of an event.
CMPL	Focuses on the completion of an event or state.
HAB	Conveys an event or state as occurring customarily over a period of time.
IPFV PRS	Conveys a present tense state as ongoing.

24.1 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is the unmarked imperfective aspect, used as the default choice when a speaker wishes to convey that an event has an internal temporal contour. Use of the progressive aspect means that an event is viewed as "in progress, on-line, or ongoing"

(Frawley 1992:312). In MM it is marked periphrastically with an auxiliary verb *(ng)at-* 'be'—as is quite common cross-linguistically (Dahl 1985:91). The basic meaning and structure of the progressive is shown in (3). Note that the action, 'sitting', is portrayed not as a perfective whole, but with internal complexity.

(3)   *na*   *fatnaang*   *walû*   *kaauda*   *flong*   *kum*
      [na   fatnaang   wa=lû]   [kaauda   flong]   kum
      man   white   that=NOM   stone   ALL   down.DIST

      maangûtta   ***ngagok***.
      maangût-ta   ngat-go-k
      sit-SS   be-RP-3SG
      'The white man was sitting down on a stone.' [skc12_15]

Cross-linguistically, the progressive aspect is used to portray the unfolding of *dynamic* events. This observation has led to the claim that the progressive aspect combines the meaning of continuousness with non-stative meaning (Comrie 1976:35). That is, while dynamic verbs may be marked with the progressive aspect, stative verbs *cannot*. This is true for MM.

Dynamic verbs (also known as "actives" in the literature) have an internally heterogenous semantic structure. That is, the events which they denote are made up of various components. In MM *maangût-* 'sit' is made up of the process of going from a standing to a sitting position. Dynamic verbs include *tû-/be-* 'put', *sako-* 'hold', *kaam-* 'die', and *genangka-* 'appear', among many others. Stative verbs, on the other hand, exhibit an internally homogenous semantic structure. The scope of such verbs is the event perceived as a uniform totality, rather than the combination of multiple components. Stative verbs are atelic, meaning that they do not have an endpoint built into their meaning. Stative verbs include *naandû-* 'perceive', *ka-/-b-* 'see', *daampa-* 'be happy', *bagone-* 'be sick', *ngat-* 'be', and *ngaatûku-* 'remain'.

For a dynamic verb to be viewed with any sort of temporal extension, it must be marked with an imperfective construction such as the progressive. Otherwise, it can only be interpreted as a bounded whole (i.e. it has a final temporal boundary). This is true in all tenses. For example, in (4) *sako-* 'hold' is marked with progressive aspect in the present tense, and the event is viewed as in-progress, and therefore unbounded (i.e. with no end boundary). In (5) the same verb is not marked with the progressive, and can only be viewed with perfective (bounded) meaning. This forces the immediate past reading of the present tense inflection.

(4) *taamûng   udu,   saako   fetne   **sakoka   ngattak**.*
    [taamûng   udu]   [saako   fetne]   sako-ka   ngat-ta-k
    woman   that.ANA   choko   bundle   hold-SS   be-PRS-3SG
    'That woman, (she) is holding a bundle (of) choko.' [skc10_09k]

(5) *sowek   kaasûlû   **sakolak**!*
    [sowek   kaas=lû]   sako-la-k
    cassowary   ground.trap=NOM   hold-PRS-3SG
    'A trap (just) caught the cassowary!' [skc09_35]

No such operation is required to convey unboundedness of stative verbs. Instead, since temporal extension is inherent in the semantics of stative verbs, the progressive aspect is superfluous. This is illustrated in (6) with *ngat-* 'be', in (7) with *-b-* 'see', and in (8) with *naandû-* 'perceive'. It would be ungrammatical to use a progressive construction in any of these sentences.

(6) *nangkadek   weknggût   kadû   **ngagûng**.*
    nangkadek   wekng-gût   kadû   ngat-gû-ng
    men   middle-RSTR   level.PROX   be-RP-23PL
    'The men were there in the very middle.' [skc12_13]

(7) *mi   flong   kung   **yaabûka**,   yawangka   kungat.*
    [mi   flong]   ku-ng   yaa-b-ka   y-tawang-ka   ku-nga-t
    water   ALL   go-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS   3NSG.O-follow-SS   go-NP-1SG
    'I saw them going to the water, and I followed them there.' [skc09_10]

(8) *malompû   **naandûlak**.*
    malom=lû   naandû-la-k
    lord=NOM   perceive-PRS-3SG
    'The lord knows.' [DN02.187.68]

This opposition becomes particularly clear in the present tense. Present tense dynamic verbs must be marked with progressive aspect to convey unbounded extension in time, as shown in (4) above and with *genangka-* 'appear' in (9). Otherwise, boundedness is conveyed (as in (5) above).

(9) *waagût   **genangkaka**   ngattak.*
    waagût   genangka-ka   ngat-ta-k
    now   appear-SS   be-PRS-3SG
    'Now he is being born.' [skc09_18]

Thus, dynamic verbs which are unmarked for aspect can only refer to completed events, a frequently observed cross-linguistic pattern. Frawley (1992:148) remarks: "The present is ephemeral. Only the nonpresent is cognitively graspable, or unitized, so events that are temporally sensitive should therefore be restricted to appear in only the logically realizable

385

tenses." It is not strictly true in MM that perfective dynamic verbs are ungrammatical with the present tense inflection, however, as (5) shows. As was mentioned, this situates an event in the immediate past, and not as an unfolding situation at the present moment.

A third category of verbs can be considered "stative-dynamic". These verbs behave like stative verbs in the present tense, and dynamic verbs in non-present tenses. This illustrates that the stative-dynamic opposition is not a simple binary split, but a prototype which consists of multiple semantic sub-types. This third category consists of verbs which are telic (i.e. have an inherent endpoint), but which are internally homogenous.[26] This is true of motion verbs (*ku-* 'go'), verbs denoting consumption (*na-* 'eat'), verbs of speaking (*taa-* 'say'), and weather verbs, among others. For events which are unfolding at the time of utterance, stative-dynamic verbs are not marked for progressive aspect. For example, a common greeting used when crossing paths is shown in (10) with *ku-* 'go'. The verb *na-* 'eat' is shown in (11).

(10) *mi   flong   **kuyat**.*
      [mi   flong]   ku-ya-t
      water   ALL   go-PRS-1SG
      'I am going to the water.' [DN02.176.08]

(11) *sûbat   **naat**.*
      sûbat   na-a-t
      food   eat-PRS-1SG
      'I am eating.' [DN01.87.30]

While the motion verb *ku-* is not marked with the progressive in (10), since motion verbs are in the stative-dynamic class, they can be marked with the progressive (to show temporal extension) in non-present tenses, as shown with *ba-* 'come' in (12).

(12) *kadet   menang   **baka**   **ngakngatnang**   tandontagok.*
      [kadet   men=nang] ba-ka   ngat-ng-atnang   tandonta-go-k
      road   mouth=LOC come-SS   be-DS-1NSG   night-RP-3SG
      'While we were coming on the main road (it) became night.' [skc09_38]

The verbs utilized for the weather predicate 'rain' are *fû-* 'come down' and *ut-* 'hit', as in (13). In both cases the progressive is disallowed in the present tense, but required for the expression of durativity in non-present tenses, aligning weather predicates with the stative-dynamic category. When used with its basic dynamic meaning, the verb 'hit' requires the progressive when used with its basic dynamic meaning.

---

[26] I do not intend for the word "telic" to be confused with the term "bounded", which is a separate notion, as described in the introduction to this chapter.

(13) *gi*   ***uttak***.
      gi   ut-ta-k
      rain   hit-PRS-3SG
      'It is raining.' [DN02.144.81]

Like 'hit', a number of verbs vary with regard to their lexical aspect category. Often certain readings are forced due to the presence or absence of overt imperfectivity. For example, the verb *naandû-* has a default stative meaning of 'know, feel, hear' (e.g. see (8) above). However, it can have a dynamic interpretation as 'think' or 'listen', and the progressive forces this reading, as shown in (14). The same is true for *ka-/-b-* 'see'. This is typically a stative verb (e.g. see (7) above). However, with the progressive it has an active interpretation as 'watch, look at', as shown in (15).

(14) ***naandûka***   ***ngagok***.
      naandû-ka   ngat-go-k
      perceive-SS   be-RP-3SG
      'He was thinking.' [skc12_16]

(15) *mi*   *flong*   *kuka*   *baka*   *klowi*   ***kaka***   *ngakngala*   *i,*
      [mi   flong]   ku-ka   ba-ka   klowi   ka-ka   ngat-ng-la   idi
      water   ALL   go-SS   come-SS   PN   see-SS   be-DS-1SG   this.ANA

      klistal   *bû*   *mi*   *flong*   *kungak.*
      klistal   bû   [mi   flong]   ku-nga-k
      PN   also   water   ALL   go-NP-3SG
      '(I) went to the water and came (back) and (then) while I was watching Chloe, Crystal also went to the water.' [skc10_12]

The progressive serves a role in backgrounding events, and therefore often occurs in bridging constructions, and complement and adverbial clauses—such as the finite locative clause in (16).

(16) *minamina*   *kadekkû*   *laabû*   *doka*   ***ngalatnang***,...
      [minamina   kadek=lû]   laab   {do-ka   ngat-a-t=nang}
      PN   group=NOM   come.up   sleep-SS   be-NP-1SG=LOC
      'The Minamina (spirits) coming up to where I was sleeping,…' [skc12_16]

When used in non-present tenses, the progressive aspect is generally used to express simultaneity. This is a direct result of its function of temporal extension. When an event is viewed as having durativity, this is usually done for a purpose: backgrounding the clause in order to express a more salient simultaneous or overlapping event. Otherwise, the simple unmarked perfective would be used. This simultaneity is illustrated above in (12), (15)–(16), as well as in (17).

(17) *kaalû*   *flong*   **loka**   **ngakngatna**   *kaalû*   *tefaaleka…*
    [kaalû   flong]   lo-ka   ngat-ng-tna   kaalû   tefaale-ka
    vehicle   ALL   go.up-SS   be-DS-1NSG   vehicle   turn-SS
    'While we were getting up on the car, the car turned around and…' [skc09_38]

The progressive aspect has another effect in MM which is cross-linguistically attested. When applied to an inherently punctual event, an iterative interpretation results (Frawley 1992:313). This is illustrated with *didipm-* 'pick (fleas)' in (18).

(18) *sogûm*   **didipmpa**   **ngattat**.
    sogûm   didipm-pa   ngat-ta-t
    flea   pick-SS   be-PRS-1SG
    'I am picking fleas.' [skc10_09e]

PICTURE 24.1: PICKING FLEAS OFF OF ONE ANOTHER

While typically the progressive aspect is marked by the auxiliary verb immediately following a lexical verb, certain verbal collocations may overcome this requirement. In such cases the auxiliary verb simply goes after the verbal complex, as in (19).

(19) *nangkadek*   *yot*   *isit*   **tamangka**   **lakongka**   **ngagang**.
    nangkadek   [yot   isit]   [tamang-ka   lakong-ka]   ngat-ga-ng.
    men   house   kunai   loosen-SS   throw.NSG-SS   be-PRS-23PL
    'The men are removing [lit. 'loosening and throwing'] the house's kunai grass.'
    [skc10_09o]

Additionally, it should be noted that the auxiliary verb follows light verbs, rather than their light verb complements. This is shown in (20), where the *sesuwak* custom is being practiced. *Sesuwak*[27] is a species of tree, the seeds of which they cook, crack open, chew up, and spit on their greens in order to oil them. With the introduction of commercial cooking oil this is no longer often practiced.

---

[27] *Sesuwak* is literally *se-suwa-k* 'cook-spit-NMLZ'.

388

(20) *na*   *u*   *saako*   *glup*   *sako*   ***sesuwak***   ***taka***   ***ngattak***.
      [na   udu]   [saako   glup]   sako   sesuwak   ta-ka   ngat-ta-k
      man   that.ANA choko   plate   hold.3SG tree.sp   do-SS   be-PRS-3SG
      'That man, holding a plate (of) choko (he) is doing *sesuwak*.' [skc10_09h]

PICTURE 24.2: SPITTING *SESUWAK*

Finally, it is important to note that imperfective meaning need not always be conveyed when an auxiliary verb follows another verb. Instead, the verb may carry lexical meaning and operate as the predicate of a subsequent clause. This is exemplified in (21), where 'be' does not progressivize *lo-* 'go up', but instead describes the final state of the actors. The progressive reading (i.e. 'they were going up') is syntactically possible, but an intonational rise on the auxiliary, as well as an optional pause between the verbs makes this reading evident.

(21) *kame*   *ginggem*   *ban*   *flong*   *loka*   ***ngagûng***.
      [kame   ginggem   ban   flong]   lo-ka   ngat-gû-ng
      ground   small.space   a   ALL   go.up-SS be-RP-23PL
      'They went up [out of the water] onto a small mound of land.' [skc12_13]

The progressive reading is also blocked when *-m-* 'give' is serialized with 'be' to form the benefactive applicative:

(22) *kaalû*   *flong*   *loka*   ***ngaatnûmgûng***.
      [kaalû   flong]   lo-ka   ngat-n-m-gû-ng
      vehicle   ALL   go.up-SS   be-1NSG.O-give-RP-23PL
      'They got up onto the car and waited for us.' [skc09_38]

Progressive constructions are allowed to occur with irrealis inflection, as shown in (23).

(23) *taang*   ***naandûka***   ***atnûm***.
      taa-ng   naandû-ka   at-nûm
      say-DS   perceive-SS   be-IRR.PL:1NSG
      '(You) talking, let's be listening.' [DN02.187.67]

389

The corpus contains no examples of negated verbs marked for progressive aspect.

24.2   Durative aspect

The durative aspect is somewhat similar to the progressive aspect, in that it extends dynamic events in time. However, while the progressive aspect allows for an internal viewpoint, and thus is often utilized to convey simultaneity, the durative has no such effect. Instead, durative events are spread out for an indefinite length of time, but are viewed from the outside (perfectively). No examples of the durative occur with the meaning of simultaneity in the corpus. As a consequence of its external viewpoint, the durative aspect does not typically occur in the present tense, except for in procedural texts where habitual aspect co-occurs (see (24), (26), (27), (28)). The durative is marked with a same-subject verb followed by the auxiliary verb *(ng)aatûku-* 'remain' (lit. 'be-go'), and is most perspicuously translated as 'for a while'.

The use of the 'be-go' verbal compound transparently shows a historical relationship between the progressive and durative. The use of 'go' to convey durativity is a common phenomenon in New Guinea. Regarding Tok Pisin, Verhaar (1995:112) mentions that the serialization *i go i go* differs from the progressive in that it "draws attention to the time length of what is expressed by the core verb—a duration that is excessive, or at least longer than expected." This description accurately describes the MM durative as well.

A basic example is shown in (24), an excerpt from a procedural text about how MM speakers garden. Here the speaker explains that they eat the produce which ripens first in the season—beans, corn, and cucumber—until the taro, banana, and other produce is ready to eat. The immediately preceding clause is shown below in (26).

(24)   *tang*   *tûmang*   *wa*   **nangka**   **aatûkuka**   *mo,...*
       ta-ng   tûmang   wa   na-ka   aatûku-ka   mo
       do-DS   first   that   eat-SS   remain-SS   already
       'And after first eating that for a while,…'

       nengka   **sûnangka**   **aatûkungûda,**...
       ne-ka   sû-na-ka   aatûku-ng-da
       dig-SS   cook-eat-SS   remain-DS-1NSG
       'we dig up [the taro, banana, and pitpit] and cook and eat it for a while,…' [skc09_17]

The example above illustrates another pattern: durative verbs do not typically come last in a clause chain. This limitation is due to its function as a backgrounding device. Even when a durative auxiliary is marked with finite morphology—as shown in (25)—it is followed by a

390

repetition of the same verb in the same intonation unit, marked with subordinating morphology. *Aatûku-* is marked with the dependent suffix *-gû*, and is a durative conjunction.

(25) *tanggûdûm* **taka** **aatûkugûmot** *aatûkugû...*
tanggûdûm ta-ka aatûku-gû-mot aatûku-gû
ready do-SS remain-RP-1DU remain-DUR
'We got ready for a while until…' [skc09_38]

The durative auxiliary is very commonly marked with *-gû*. As discussed in §21.2, this morpheme marks dependency, as well as temporal delay. Dependent clauses receive their own intonational phrase, and are thus often accompanied by duration of the final vowel, or "sound stretch". This process also frequently occurs with the durative auxiliary, and therefore when they occur together extended vowel length is almost always present, as shown in (26). This vocalic extension also occurs with the extended durative, as described in §24.3.

(26) *wa* **taka** **ngaatûkugûû** *mo,* *gulam,* *gambom,* *saanggom,*
wa ta-ka ngaatûku-gû~**û** mo [gulam gambom saanggom
that do-SS remain-DUR~EXT already greens.sp bean corn

kaamûng, *kadek* *walû* *idi,* *tûmang* *gelaawangang.*
kaamûng kadek wa=lû] idi tûmang gelaa-wa-ng-nang
cucumber group that=NOM this.ANA first grow.up-PRS-23PL-HAB
'After doing that for awhi-ile, the aibika, beans, corn, and cucumber, these ones mature first.' [skc09_17]

The durative may co-occur with the habitual aspect, as shown in (27), an excerpt from the same gardening procedural text that has been illustrated multiple times above. This is a rare example in the corpus of a durative construction marking the final verb of a clause chain, presumably occurring here due to its habitual inflection. Note that this example also illustrates the durative's co-occurrence with distributive reduplication (see §25.2).

(27) *kafet kafet* **taka** **ngaatûkuwaammang**.
kafet~kafet ta-ka ngaatûku-waa-m-nang
scrape~scrape do-SS remain-PRS-1PL-HAB
'We keep scraping them off for a while.' [skc09_17]

One clear difference between the progressive and durative is that, while the progressive construction occurs with motion verbs, the durative never occurs with motion verbs. When the durative verb follows a motion verb, its lexical meaning is retained, as in (28). Furthermore, neither the progressive nor the durative occurs with stative events. Instead, the extended durative aspect is used (§24.3) for this purpose.

(28) **baka** **ngaatûkugû** *emak* *yaalanangka* *wan* *yaabûka*
     ba-ka   ngaatûku-gû   [emak   yaalanang=wa]   wa-n   yaa-b-ka
     come-SS   remain-DUR   moon   three=DUB   that-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS

     mo, *bûge* *kuwaamang.*
     mo   bûge   ku-waa-m-nang
     already   again   go-PRS-1PL-HAB
     '(We) come, and after remaining for maybe a few months, we go again.' [skc09_17]

The durative may occur in any tense, as well as with the irrealis inflection (here in the imperative mood), as shown in (29).

(29) *tata* *kaalin* **taka** **ngaatûkuneng**.
     [tata   kaalin]   ta-ka   ngaatûku-ne-ng
     custom   good   do-SS   remain-IRR.PL-23NSG
     'Do good works (from now on).' [skc12_14]

The corpus does not contain any examples of negated durative predicates.

24.3   Extended durative aspect

The extended durative aspect indicates that an activity (this term is described below) or state is in progress for an extended period of time, with a very similar meaning to the durative. It iconically extends the duration of a state or motion from an external viewpoint. It is a stylistic construction, often employed in narrative and procedural discourse to protract activity predicates or states indefinitely.[28] With motion verbs, the construction carries the additional implication that the actor traverses a great distance. An example is provided in (30). The repeated predicate (here *mo-* 'go down'), along with its non-finite or finite morphology (here the SS suffix *-ka*), is repeated a number of times—generally three or more times.

(30) *bûkngaannang* *kanatta* *waapmûnggaam* *walûû,*
     {bûkngaanang   kan=at-ta   waapm-gaa-m   wa=lû~û}
     garden.top   up.PROX=be-SS   plant.yam-PRS-1PL   that=ABL~EXT

     waapmûngkata **mongka** **mongka** **mongka**,
     waapm-ka=ta   mo-ka   mo-ka   mo-ka
     plant.yam-SS=do   go.down-SS   go.down-SS   go.down-SS

     gabenang *kum* *mongkadopmûnggaam.*
     gabenang   kum   mo-kadopm-gaa-m
     garden.bottom   down.DIST   go.down-arrive-PRS-1PL
     'From planting (yams) at the top of the garden, we keep planting as we go down and down and down, and we reach the bottom of the garden below.' [skc12_05]

---

[28] A similar construction is called the "extended action aspect" in Nukna (Taylor 2015), a related FH language.

The extended durative may modify progressive events, as in (31) (note that it is the progressive auxiliary which is repeated rather than the lexical verb). On the other hand, the extended durative does *not* co-occur with the basic durative. When *ngaatûku-* occurs as an independent lexical verb though, then the extended durative repetition may be utilized, as in (32).

Examples (31)–(32) illustrate that the extended durative applies to only activity predicates and states. "Activities" are here defined as verbs which denote internally homogenous activities, such as motion verbs and verbs like 'follow' which do not encode achievements or changes of state. Its co-occurrence with the progressive provides support for the argument in §24.1 that the progressive "stativizes" events (conveying internal complexity). The basic durative provides a perfective external viewpoint, and therefore durative-marked events cannot be temporally extended with extended durative. It is also interesting to note that, while the basic durative can be negated, the progressive and extended duratives do not occur with negation in the corpus.

(31)   *baka*   ***akngatnang***   ***akngatnang***   ***akngatnang***   *mo,*
          ba-ka   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   at-ng-tnang   mo
          come-SS   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   be-DS-1NSG   already

          sanggaba   *laabûngatnang*   *siyagok.*
          sanggaba   laab-ng-tnang   siya-go-k
          PN   come.up-DS-1NSG   dawn-RP-3SG
          'After coming and coming and coming, we came up to Sanggaba, and it was dawn.' [skc09_38]

(32)   *lo*   *lemang*   *kudu*   *ngaatûkugûng,*
          lo   lemang   kudu   ngaatûku-gû-ng
          go.up   PN   level.DIST   remain-RP-23PL

          ngaatûkugû   ***ngaatûkugû***   *bûge*   *maambagûng.*
          ngaatûku-gû   ngaatûku-gû   bûge   maa=ba-gû-ng
          remain-DUR   remain-DUR   again   wholly=come-RP-23PL
          'Going up they stayed in Lemang, and staying and staying, they came back.'
          [skc12_13]

The extended durative also applies to distributive periphrastic constructions, which are formed with the auxiliary *tukungat-* 'take-be' (historically, 'get-go-be') (cf. §25.4):

(33) *taka*   ***sesumpa***   ***tukungakngûlû***   ***tukungakngûlû***
      ta-ka   sesu-m-pa   tuku-ngat-ng-lû   tuku-ngat-ng-lû
      do-SS   heat-give-SS   take.SG-be-DS-23   take.SG-be-DS-23

      flon   *kaalûmang,*   *blaampa*   *kugûng.*
      flon   kaalûmang-ng   blaam-pa   ku-gû-ng
      body   heal-DS   carry-SS   go-RP-23PL
      'And they bathed him with hot water all over, and (when) his body healed, they
      carried him on their shoulders and went.' ~[skc12_15]~

Independent (finite) verbs may be repeated, as shown with two transitive verbs below.
In (34) the benefactive is included in the repeated form. Bare verb forms are only repeated to
indicate event-internal pluractionality, indicating a phasal interpretation of motion (cf. §25.2).

(34) *tang*   *nimin*   *ban*   *kunsûlû*   ***alûmgok***   ***alûmgok***.
      ta-ng   [nimin   ban   kun-s=lû]   ngat-m-go-k   ngat-m-go-k
      do-DS   cousin   a   up.DIST-LK=NOM be-give-RP-3SG   be-give-RP-3SG
      'And the other cousin above waited and waited on [him].' ~[skc12_11]~

(35) *sap*   *ya*   ***tawanggûmot***   ***tawanggûmot***
      [sap   ya]   tawang-gû-mot   tawang-gû-mot
      dog   this   follow-RP-1DU   follow-RP-1DU

      mo   *maa*   *kugok.*
      mo   maa   ku-go-k
      already   wholly   go-RP-3SG
      'We (DU) followed and followed this dog, (but) it had already gone away.' ~[skc09_23]~

Example (36) illustrates the extended durative expressed with four repetitions of
kungat- 'go around' (lit. 'go-be').

(36) *mi*   *wa*   *gatta*   ***kungaagû***   ***kungaagû***
      [mi   wa]   gat-ta   kungat-gû   kungat-gû
      water   that   fill.up-SS   go.around-DUR   go.around-DUR

      kungaagû   ***kungaagû***,...
      kungat-gû   kungat-gû
      go.around-DUR   go.around-DUR
      '[The demon] filled (it) up (with) water going around and around and around and
      around,…' ~[skc12_04]~

While the extended durative is a stylistic device, and therefore finds its natural place in
narrative, it is grammatical in the future tense as well, as shown in the blessing in (37). This
example also illustrates another common phonological characteristic of the extended durative:
"sound stretch" (Fox 2010:1). In Ma Manda this is the extension of a final vowel to iconically
prolong the durative meaning, and is also present with the basic durative (§24.2). Both the
verbal repetition and the vocalic extension are iconic, and both are referred to by MM
speakers as *pulim tok* (Tok Pisin for 'pulling talk').

(37) *malompû*   *gefûlongkang*   *mo,*   *kaalin*   **kuka**   **kukaa**
malom=lû   g-efûlongka-ng   mo   kaalin   ku-ka   ku-ka~a
lord=NOM   2SG.O-help-DS   already   good   go-SS   go-SS~EXT

kungkadopmbûtaang.
ku-kadopm-b-taa-ng
go-arrive-EP-FUT-2SG
'May the Lord help you (lit. 'after the lord helps you'), (so) you will go and go-o and go arrive safely.' [skc09_21]

Finally, the extended durative has not been found to co-occur with the terminative, completive, perfect, or habitual aspects.

24.4   Prospective aspect

The prospective aspect conveys imminence of an event's occurrence. This aspect is unique in that it cross-cuts the temporal domain of aspect with the modal domain of irrealis. The lexical verb must be marked as a final irrealis verb (with subject-agreement), and then this is followed by the auxiliary verb *ta-* 'do'. An example is provided in (38). Note that this construction always requires that the subject-marking of the lexical verb match the subject-marking of the auxiliary—that is, the subject is marked twice per construction.

(38) *walû*   *sip*   *wa*   *wobûka*   **lakombek**   **tagok**.
wa=lû   [sip   wa]   {ob-ka   lakong-be-k}   ta-go-k.
that=NOM   ship   that   break-SS   throw.NSG-IRR.SG-3SG   do-RP-3SG
'[The storm] was about to break apart the ship.' [skc12_14]

This construction has a similar meaning to the imminent future function of the present (§23.3), as well as the future tense (§23.5). However, those inflections occur within the realis domain, and therefore necessarily identify events which are overtly expected to occur. They are reserved for events which are beginning, or will begin soon after, the moment of speaking. They have an inchoative function in speech. Except within speech reports (and the narrative present), these inflections are never used in past tense narrative. The prospective aspect, on the other hand, is within the irrealis domain. A speaker uses *this* construction to focus on the point just prior to the beginning of an event. It is not inchoative—focusing on the beginning of an event—but prospective. It focuses on the time *before* the beginning of an event. As shown in (38), this aspect is grammatical in the past tense. It is also grammatical in the present, as in (39). No examples in the corpus have the prospective aspect occurring in the future tense.

(39) *sûbat*   ***nambet***   ***taat***.
      {sûbat   na-be-t}   ta-a-t
      food   eat-IRR.SG-1SG do-PRS-1SG
      'I'm about to eat.' [DN05.59.05]

Since this is an irrealis aspect, focused on the time before the beginning of an event, even if the event does not fully transpire, the speaker does not have to account for lying or being wrong. In fact, (38) is from a written re-telling of the Biblical story of Jonah, where God sends a storm to destroy the ship on which Jonah slept. The sailors end up throwing him into the sea to calm the storm and save the ship. This feature of cancellability is shown clearly in (40), where the prospective predicate 'about to break' is canceled with predicative negation in the next clause.

(40) *glompa*   *bemaangkongka*   *dogûmotnang*   ***uledem***
      {glom-pa   be-maa-kong-ka   do-gû-mot=nang}   {ule-de-m}
      chop-SS   put-CMPL-TERM-SS   sleep-RP-1DU=LOC   break-IRR.DU-1NSG

      tagûmot.   ***dom*** ***tang*** *yabaaka*   *bagûmot*.
      ta-gû-mot   dom   ta-ng   yabaa-ka   ba-gû-mot
      do-RP-1DU   NEG   do-DS   leave.NSG-SS   come-RP-1DU
      'When we (DU) (had) chopped [planks] and finished putting them all and slept, we were about to break them. Instead (lit. 'no and'), we left them and came.' [skc09_35]

Almost every example of the prospective aspect in the corpus occurs with a finite auxiliary verb. However, one example shows that this is not a grammatical restriction:

(41) *tride*   *flong*   ***atneng***   ***taka*** *idi*,   *fode*,
      {[tride   flong]   at-ne-ng}   ta-ka   idi   fode
      Wednesday   ALL   be-IRR.PL-23NSG   do-SS   this.ANA   Thursday

      fode   *flong*,   *kugûmot*.
      [fode   flong]   ku-gû-mot
      Thursday   ALL   go-RP-1DU
      'It was (lit. 'they were') about to be Wednesday, Thursday, on Thursday we (DU) went.' [skc09_02]

The prospective aspect construction appears to be a grammaticalization of embedded quotatives. Embedded quotations have the identical syntactic structure, except that instead of requiring the auxiliary 'do', they require a speech report verb such as 'say' or 'think', as illustrated in (42). Note how similar in forms the verbs are: *taa-* 'say' vs. *ta-* 'do'. In fast speech, the low vowel /a/ is often reduced to /ə/, and only certain finite morphology distinguishes between the two.

396

(42) **maan**   **mambek**   **taaka**
{{maan   ma-be-k}}   taa-ka
lest   fall.down-IRR.SG-3SG   say-SS

nalû   *gaalû gaalû*   *tang*   *monggok.*
na=lû   gaalû~gaalû   ta-ng   mo-go-k
man=NOM   be.against~be.against   do-DS   go.down-RP-3SG
'To keep him from falling the men huddled around him and he went down.' (lit.
'"Lest he falls" they said and the men huddling around (DS) (he) went down.')
[skc12_16]

Crucially, embedded quotations can have a different subject from the speech report verb, as shown above. This is not possible for the prospective aspect construction. This identical grammaticalization pathway from embedded quote to prospective aspect ("immediate action") has been documented for Mian, a Mountain Ok language of Papua New Guinea (Fedden 2007:308).

Clauses like (43) are a middle ground in this grammaticalization. Here a speech report has a predicate with the same first person singular subject as the speech report verb. The use of speech reports to express plans, emotions, and other "inner speech" is common in Ma Manda, as in many Papuan languages (Reesink 1993). If the speech report verb of the first clause is replaced with the present tense form of 'do' (*taat*), then the prospective meaning is subtly different: 'I am about to tell a story.' See §29.4 for more discussion of speech reports and inner speech.

(43) *gegût*   *manda*   **taabet**   **taait**.
{[gegût   manda]   taa-be-t}   taa-i-t
story   talk   say-IRR.SG-1SG   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
'I am planning to tell a story.' (lit. 'I am saying, "Let me tell a story".')

taka   *mo,*   *walûnang*   *taabûtaat.*
ta-ka   mo   wa=lûnang   taa-b-taa-t
do-SS   already   that=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
'Okay, I will talk about it.' [skc12_04]

24.5   Perfect aspect

The perfect "expresses a relation between two time-points" (Comrie 1976:52). An event or state is completed prior to the focused timeframe, but has relevance for that focused timeframe (Dixon 2012:31). That is, an event marked as perfect is situated prior to the timeline in focus (the "reference time" in Reichenbach's (1947) seminal terminology). In other words, use of the perfect means that a state exists at a particular time due to a situation's occurrence at an unspecified earlier time. This is why, for example, it is

ungrammatical in English to provide a specific time at which a perfect event unfolded: *I have come at eight o'clock*. Even in the past tense, a specific time mention can only refer to the reference time, and not the time at which the pluperfect event unfolded: *I had (already) come at eight o'clock*. This is because the earlier event is necessarily unspecified in time.

In MM the perfect aspect is exclusively formed via the use of the adverb *mo* 'already', a common pattern in the world's languages (Dahl 1985:129; Frawley 1992:347). It may be a grammaticalization of *mo-* 'go down' (see §24.7 for more discussion).

Below are examples of the present perfect (44), the past perfect (45), and the future perfect (46).

(44) ***mo*** ***bawaamok***.
     mo   ba-waa-mok
     already   come-PRS-23DU
     'They've (DU) come.' [skc09_38]

(45) *nolû*   *wa*   ***mo***   ***kaamgok***.
     [nolû   wa]   mo   kaam-go-k
     brother   that   already   die-RP-3SG
     'His brother had died.' [skc12_15]

(46) ***mo***   ***naandûntaamot***   *yama!*   *baasû*   *dom*   *sewe!*
     mo   naandû-ntaa-mot   ya-ma   baasû   dom   se-be
     already   perceive-FUT-1DU   this-EMPH   worry   NEG   cook-IRR.SG
     'We'll (DU) have learned it! Don't worry! [DN02.213.24]

As shown in (47), a temporal noun or noun phrase only situates the reference time, and not the event time (when the perfect-marked verb actually unfolded). No examples in the corpus have a perfect event with a specified time (such events always have unspecified time reference).

(47) *kep*   ***mo***   ***kugot***.
     kep   mo   ku-go-t
     yesterday   already   go-RP-1SG
     'Yesterday I had (already) gone.' [DN01.95.03]

In his volume on aspect, Comrie (1976:56–61) identifies four common uses of the perfect: the perfect of result, the experiential perfect, the perfect of persistent situation, and the perfect of recent past. The perfect of result is illustrated in (48)–(49). In both cases, the perfect is used because the resultant situation still applies at the moment of speaking, and therefore the action does not need to be carried out again. These examples also illustrate that the perfect most commonly occurs with the near past tense.

(48) *mi*   ***mo***   ***wingat***.
      mi   mo   wi-nga-t
      water   already   bathe-NP-1SG
      'I've already bathed (today).' [DN199.07]

(49) ***mo***   ***aawengak***.
      mo   aawe-nga-k
      already   finish-NP-3SG
      'It's done.' (lit. '(It) has already finished (today).') [DN02.237.02]

The perfect of recent past—otherwise known as the "hot news perfect" (McCawley 1971:348–50)—is shown in (50). Recall that the present tense in MM is used for immediate past events (which overlap with the present). This allows the adverb *mo* to carry a more specific meaning of 'just'. The other two uses of the perfect outlined by Comrie have not been found to occur in MM.

(50) *nak*   *fluna*   ***mo***   ***wobûlat***.
      [nak   flu-na]   mo   ob-la-t
      1SG   wing-1SG.POSS   already   break-PRS-1SG
      'I've just broken my wings.' [skc12_12]

The adverb *mo* has a number of other functions in Ma Manda. In predicate position, it means 'finished', as in (51). As an interjection, it means 'enough, now'. Finally, it operates as a conjunction meaning 'after'. In this function it *follows* a non-finite verb within the same intonation unit, as shown in (52). Crucially, only when the adverb *precedes* a verb within the same intonation unit may it carry perfect meaning. This points to a grammaticalization pathway by which the perfect came to be used as a conjunction in clause chains. For example, in (52), depending on where the clause boundary is marked (via an intonational fall and a pause break), *mo* could belong to either clause. Here, *mo* belongs to the first clause, but a pause break before it would lead to the perfect interpretation: 'We came up, and it had completely become night.' In fast speech this distinction is often unclear, with either interpretation being possible.

(51) *nak*   ***mo***.
      nak   mo
      1sg   already
      'I'm finished.' [DN02.237.06]

(52) *laabûngûda*   ***mo***,   *tandontamaanggok*.
      laab-ng-da   mo   tandonta-maa-go-k
      come.up-DS-1NSG   already   night-CMPL-RP-3SG
      'After we came up, it was completely night.' [skc09_23]

399

Examples like (53) make it especially clear that *mo* has developed this separate coordinative function. In such cases a perfect reading is impossible. The second clause cannot occur temporally before the first. Additionally, this is from a procedural text, with most final verbs bearing habitual aspect morphology. There are no clear cases where the perfect co-occurs with imperfectivity.

(53) *fing   ganang   kuka   **mo**,   blaakam   tawaamang.*
    [fing   ganang]   ku-ka   mo   blaakam   ta-waa-m-nang
    garden   plot   go-SS   already   weeding   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
    'After going to the garden, we weed it.' [skc09_17]
    *'We go to the garden, and have already weeded it.'

Medial verbs freely occur with perfect aspect, as illustrated in (54).

(54) *kaadûp   dûnûyapmangûda,   fûngûlû,   **mo**   faleleka,*
    kaadûp   dûnû-y-kapmang-ng-da   fû-ng-lû   mo   falele-ka
    tree   chop-3NSG.O-drop-DS-1NSG   come.down-DS-23   already   lop-SS

    fangaakngka   bot   bemaakongka,…
    fa-ng-aakng-ka   bot   be-maa-kong-ka
    get-DS-arise-SS   group   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS
    'We chop down the trees, and then having lopped off (the branches), we lift them up and finish grouping them all, and…' [skc12_05]

No examples exist in the corpus of a negated perfect event. The perfect does co-occur with manner adverbs though. Below it is shown to co-occur with both *maa* and *mun* (cf. §24.7), respectively.

(55) *sap   ya   tawanggûmot   tawanggûmot   **mo**   **maa**   kugok.*
    [sap   ya]   tawang-gû-mot   tawang-gû-mot   mo   maa   ku-go-k.
    dog   this follow-RP-1DU   follow-RP-1DU   already   wholly   go-RP-3SG
    'We (DU) followed and followed this dog, but it had already gone.' [skc09_23]

(56) ***mun   mo   tangat.***
    mun   mo   ta-nga-t
    partly   already do-NP-1SG
    'I've already done some.' [DN02.212.27]

Finally, the perfect can co-occur with the terminative and completive aspects, as shown in (57).

(57) *manggat.manggat*   *wa*   ***mo***   ***yaabûmaangkongka***
[manggat~manggat   wa]   mo   yaa-b-maa-kong-ka
thing~thing   that   already   3NSG.O-see-CMPL-TERM-SS

bangkadopmûngka   *imo,*   *tebol*   *flong*   *maangûtta...*
ba-kadopm-ka   idi=mo   [tebol   flong]   maangût-ta
come-arrive-SS   this.ANA=already   table   ALL   sit-SS
'After having finished seeing all the things and come, (we) sat at the table…'
[skc09_38]

24.6   Terminative aspect

The terminative aspect (also commonly known as the cessative aspect) focuses on the termination of an event. In MM the terminative aspect is formed with the suffix *-kong*, which transparently derives from the verb *kong-* 'throw (away)'. The grammaticalization of verbs of handling or disposal is common in the New Guinea area (Foley 1986:145). Importantly, the terminative aspect does not focus on the endpoint of an event, but focuses on the fact that an event ended. As such, it typically occurs in the past tense without a co-occurring imperfective aspect, as in (58).

(58) *sûbat*   ***sûnangkongka***   *tandontang*   *kaka...*
sûbat   sû-na-**kong**-ka   tandonta-ng   ka-ka
food   cook-eat-TERM-SS   night-DS   see-SS
'He finished eating and saw that it was night and…' [skc11_05]

On the other hand, when the terminative aspect occurs with the progressive aspect, then the focus is indeed placed on the endpoint of the event. This allows for a phasal interpretation, as shown in (59).

(59) ***tamaangkongka***   ***ngaakngûda***   *idi,*   *sap*   *bantû*   *bagok.*
ta-maa-**kong**-ka   ngat-ng-da   idi   [sap   ban=tû]   ba-go-k
do-CMPL-TERM-SS   be-DS-1NSG   this.ANA   dog   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
'While we were finishing it all up, a dog came.' [skc09_23]

As shown in (59), the terminative morpheme may occur with the completive morpheme *-maa* (see §24.7). Even though both morphemes may occur separately, with different aspectual meanings, they occur together much of the time. Example (60) further shows this.

(60) *saanggom*   *welû*   *usuka,*   *kaalaaut*   *usuka,*   ***usumaakongka,...***
[saanggom   welû]   usu-ka   kaalaaut   usu-ka   usu-maa-**kong**-ka
corn   seed   plant-SS   cabbage   plant-SS   plant-CMPL-TERM-SS
'(we) plant the corn, and we plant the cabbage, and we finish planting it all and…'
[skc09_17]

The above example also illustrates the grammaticalization of *-kong* as a suffix rather than its use as a lexical verb. Lexically, 'throw' is one of a small group of verbs which have separate stems depending on whether their object is singular or non-singular. The plural form is actually *lakong-*, as illustrated below. In (60), as well as in (62) below, *-kong* is used in clauses with plural objects. *Lakong-* was not grammaticalized as a suffix, and this forced *-kong* to take on a wider role.

(61) *kaafeng   fapmo   **lakongka**   idi,   wa   bagok.*
     kaafeng   fapmo   lakong-ka   idi   wa   ba-go-k
     coffee   take.down.NSG   throw.NSG-SS   this.ANA   that   come-RP-3SG
     'Taking the coffee [bags] down and dropping them off, (she) came.' [skc09_18]

Example (60) showcases an environment where the terminative aspect is frequently used: in procedural discourse. In procedural texts—which are always cast in the present tense—it is particularly important to establish the successive steps one takes in order to reach the intended result, so it is not surprising that the morpheme would occur so commonly in this environment.

Terminative aspect has the effect of backgrounding an event, and is therefore particularly common in adverbial clauses that introduce clause chains, as shown with the non-finite adverbial clause in (62). It is also common in bridging clauses, where the predicate is recapitulated from the previous sentence, but with the terminative and/or completive aspects added. A discussion of bridging linkage ("tail-head linkage") is left for Chapter 32, but an example is provided in (63).

(62) *gola   **bemaangkongka**   i   laabûngat.*
     go=la   be-maa-**kong**-ka   idi   laab-nga-t
     sun=LOC   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS   this.ANA   come.up-NP-1SG
     'Having finished putting all [the clothes] in the sun, I came up.' [skc10_12]

(63) *fatnaangût   gagaang   kungkadopmûngka   yot   ban*
     fatnaangût   gagaang   ku-kadopm-ka   [yot   ban]
     Saruwaged   mountainside   go-arrive-SS   house   a

     manggûm.
     mang-gû-m
     erect-RP-1PL
     'We went by mountainside into the Saruwaged Mountains and erected a house.'

     *nûnûng   yot   **mamaangkongka**   dogûm.*
     [nûnûng   yot]   mang-maa-**kong**-ka   do-gû-m
     1PL.EMPH   house   erect-CMPL-TERM-SS   sleep-RP-1PL
     'We finished erecting our whole house and we slept.' [skc09_04]

Example (64) shows that, when modified by the adverb *pasûp* 'almost', a terminative-marked verb is interpreted as not having occurred at all. That is, its meaning changes to 'nearly'.

(64) *dabamût*   *tapmo*   *maanggûnang*   *kum*
      dabam-nit   tapmo   [maanggûnang   kum]
      cape-3SG.POSS:COM   take.down   PN   down.DIST

      pasûp   ***nangkong***   *mûndlam*   *taka...*
      pasûp   na-**kong**-ng   mûndlam   ta-ka
      almost   eat-TERM-DS   shiver   do-SS
      '(When) [the spirits] took me down with my coat and nearly ate me down in *Maanggûnang*, the hair on my skin rose and…' [skc12_16]

No examples exist in the corpus of negated predicates with terminative aspect. Additionally, the terminative aspect has not been found to co-occur with the future or irrealis inflections. One crucial difference between the terminative and completive aspects is that the terminative does not occur with stative predicates, while the completive does. When the terminative occurs on verbs which can have a stative meaning (e.g. *naandû-* 'know'), then a dynamic reading is forced (e.g. 'listen'):

(65) *miti*   *manda*   *endaangka,*   *wa*   ***naandûmaakongka***,
      [miti   manda]   endaang-ka   wa   naandû-maa-**kong**-ka
      gospel   talk   read-SS   that   perceive-CMPL-TERM-SS

      mo,   *sûbat*   *segûm.*
      mo   sûbat   se-gû-m
      already   food   cook-RP-1PL
      'We read the Bible, and after finishing listening to it all, we cooked the food.'
      [skc09_21]

24.7   Completive aspect

The completive morpheme *-maa* indicates that an action is carried out completely. Verbs marked as completive are resultative, meaning that such actions have inherent goals which must be reached in order for them to be successfully asserted. This is illustrated in (66), where the verb *tawa-* 'follow' is translated 'chase down'. It also converts 'cook-eat' in (67) to 'have a meal'.

(66) *tang*   *na*   *ya*   *monggûng*   *yalû*   ***tawamaanggûng***.
      ta-ng   {[na   ya]   mo-gû-ng   ya=lû}   tawa-**maa**-gû-ng
      do-DS   man   this   go.down-RPST-23PL   this=NOM   follow-CMPL-RPST-23PL
      'And these men who had gone down chased him down.' [skc12_15]

(67) *taamengsûla   aakngka   sûbat   **sûnamaangkongka**   idi,...*
    taamengsla   aakng-ka,   sûbat   sû-na-maa-kong-ka   idi
    morning   arise-SS   food   cook-eat-CMPL-TERM-SS   this.ANA
    'In the morning I got up, and having finished breakfast,…' [skc10_01]

As discussed in §24.6, the completive frequently co-occurs with the terminative aspect. It was mentioned that the completive can occur in both perfective and imperfective contexts, in past tense narratives as well as present tense procedural texts. Unlike the terminative, the completive also occurs with the future and irrealis inflections, as shown in (68).

(68) *gulat   kansûlong   fentagût   **naandûmaandem**.*
    [gulat   kan=long]   fentagût   naandû-**maa**-de-m
    year   up.PROX=LOC   all   perceive-CMPL-IRR.DU-1NSG
    'Next year we (DU) will know [the whole language].' [DN03.279.04]

Example (68) also shows that stative verbs may take completive aspect, as further illustrated in (69).

(69) *sûdû   taaleka   faaungang   **atmaangalû**...*
    sûdû   taale-ka   faaung=nang   at-**maa**-ng-lû
    23NSG   pull-SS   outside=LOC   be-CMPL-DS-23
    'You (NSG) pull it all to the side…' (lit. 'You (NSG) pull it and it is at the outside and…') [skc12_06]

Due to its resultative meaning, the completive occurs much more commonly on the mainline than its terminative counterpart.

(70) *laabûngûda   mo,   **tandontamaanggok**.*
    laab-ng-da   mo   tandonta-**maa**-go-k
    come.up-DS-1NSG   already   night-CMPL-RP-3SG
    'After we came up, it was completely night.' [skc09_23]

Like the terminative, negated completive verbs do not occur in the corpus. Neither has the completive been found to mark a verb modified by 'almost'.

Interestingly, *maa* has a nearly identical function as a separate manner adverb, but in this function it only modifies motion verbs. It carries the meaning that the actor will or did reach their destination without interruption. It has the added nuance that the resultant state has some longevity in the mind of the speaker, thereby expressing that the actor will remain at their final destination for some time (i.e. until at least the next morning). This is illustrated in (71)–(72).

(71) *bûge   saaut   kagangsûnang   **maa**   kuneng.*
bûge   [saaut   kagang-sû=nang]   maa   ku-ne-ng
again   PN   place-23NSG.POSS=LOC   wholly   go-IRR.PL-23NSG
'Go back to your village Saut.' [skc09_19]

(72) *baka   mo,   tebû   gebûng   tûka   mo,*
ba-ka   mo   tebû   gebûng   tû-ka   mo
come-SS   already   bring   inside   put-SS   already

*naa   kameng   **maa**   longat.*
[nak-nga   kameng]   maa   lo-nga-t
1SG-EMPH   property   wholly   go.up-NP-1SG
'After coming, after bringing (her) home, I went up to my own place (for the night).' [skc09_10]

The completive *suffix* can actually occur on motion verbs as well. The following is the only example in the corpus. The polysemous uses, though similar in meaning, certainly have different functions. The adverb generally occurs with mainline verbs, and often with hortatives and commands. It is particulalry concerned with the expected length of time an actor will remain at their destination. The completive suffix often occurs in backgrounded clauses, and is more generalized in its meaning of completion. It does not carry the same implication about an expected duration of the resultant state.

(73) ***bamaangkongalû***   *belo   nûnggût   taang   laanis   lû   loka*
ba-**maa**-kong-ng-lû   belo   nûnggût   taa-ng   [laanis   lû]   lo-ka
come-CMPL-TERM-DS-23   bell   one   say-DS   PN   NOM   go.up-SS

kapnunum   tebûsonggok.
kap-nunum   tebû-song-go-k
song-prayer   CAUS-crack-RP-3SG
'They all finished arriving and (when) the bell rang once (more) Laanis went up and started the worship (service).' [skc11_03b]

The manner adverbial use of *maa* stands in opposition to *mun*, a manner adverb which means that the actor only partially completes an action. Unlike *maa*, however, *mun* may precede any verb, as illustrated with (74).

(74) ***mun***   *yodalat.*
mun   yodat-a-t.
partly   debark-NP-1SG
'I partially debarked it.' [DN02.237.11]

Preceding motion verbs, this adverb has the added nuance that the actor will not remain at their destination, but will return shortly (e.g. on the same day). This is cognate with the manner adverb *imun* 'returning on the same day' of Nungon (Sarvasy 2014:183).

405

(75) *flanggon*   *blaampa*   **mun**   *logûmot.*
      flanggon   blaam-pa   mun   lo-gû-mot
      axe   carry-SS   partly   go.up-RP-1DU
      'We (DU) carried the axes and went up (for a bit).' [skc09_35]

These words clearly represent a middle ground between adverbial modification of the predicate, and grammaticalized aspect (the same can be said for the perfect aspect (§24.5)). The patterns suggest that *maa* was historically an adverb which could precede any verb to indicate completeness. As the verb *kong-* 'throw' became grammaticalized into a terminative suffix, *maa* "went along for the ride," with the combined meaning of 'throw completely'. This explains their frequent co-occurrence which persists today. Still, *maa* retained its own meaning and began to function as a separate suffix, occurring without *-kong*. This led to its reduction in use as a separate adverb, with its remaining nuanced vestige before motion verbs. This hypothesis is supported by the phonological behavior of the completive suffix. The nasal harmony process causes voiceless stops to be prenasalized when preceded by a heteromorphemic NV sequence within the same word. Across word boundaries, however, the process is optional. Between *-maa* and *-kong*, prenasalization is optional, with both *-maakong* and *-maangkong* frequently used by speakers. However, a pause break is never inserted between them, unlike the behavior of the adverbial form. These phonological facts provide contradictory evidence about the wordhood of *-maa*, suggesting a current process of grammaticalization from adverb to suffix.

It should also be noted that *maa* appears related to several verbs which all refer to a downward motion, including *mang-* 'fall down', *mo-* 'go down', *maang-* 'droop', and *maangût-* 'sit'. In the FH language Nungon the completive is indicated by the verb *mö-* ([mo]) 'fall, plant' occurring before the verb which it modifies. This "indicates that an action was completed with finality and purposefulness" (Sarvasy 2014c:429). This pattern is strikingly similar to Ma Manda's completive adverb. It points to a verbal source for *maa*, as well as for the perfective adverb *mo*.

24.8   Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect indicates that an action is performed regularly, customarily, or habitually. Its simplest exponent is the suffix *-nang*, which occurs after the tense and subject marking morphemes. In the present tense, no other morphology is required, as shown in (76).

(76) *kodûp*   ***nawaamang***.
     kodûp   na-waa-m-nang
     betel.nut   eat-PRS-1PL-HAB
     'We chew betel nut.' [DN05.53.01]

This suffix is polysemous with the locative case enclitic =*nang*, which is commonly used to subordinate clauses, producing locative or temporal adverbial clauses, as shown in (77). As can be seen, these case-markers go at the end of the clause, and therefore typically attach to the finite verb.

(77) *minamina*   *kadekkû*   *laabû*   ***doka***   ***ngalatnang***,...
     [minamina   kadek=lû]   laab   {do-ka   ngat-a-t=**nang**}
     PN   group=NOM   come.up   sleep-SS   be-NP-1SG=LOC
     'The Minamina (spirits) coming up to where I was sleeping,…' [skc12_16]

This illustrates the grammaticalization pathway by which the locative case enclitic has come to serve as the habitual suffix. This is an example of de-subordination, "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2007:367). That is, temporal adverbial clauses have been de-subordinated, no longer requiring the inclusion of a main clause. The habitual is the lone aspect which cannot modify medial verbs, and this de-subordination process explains why this is so.

The habitual aspect also occurs in the realis future tense.

(78) *walataka*   ***yaabûntaangang***,   *yagusuwalû*
     walataka   yaa-b-ntaa-ng=**nang**   {{yagusuwa=lû
     therefore   3NSG.O-see-FUT-23PL=LOC   wild.fowl=NOM

     damanang   *wangagang*   *wa*,...
     {damanang   wa=ngat-gang}   wa}}
     PN   that=be-PRS:23PL   that
     'Therefore you will see the wild fowls which are in Damanang…' [skc12_11]

At other times, only the habitual interpretation is possible, as shown in (79). This is an example of the habitual aspect occurring with the future tense (note that the complement clause also includes the habitual aspect suffix, but in the present tense).

(79) *wala*   *waagût*   ***kantaangang***
     wala   waagût   ka-ntaa-ng-**nang**
     so   now   see.3SG-FUT-23PL-HAB

     gisim   *tagat*   *amun*   *dom*   *kulaakngang*.
     {{gisim   tagat   amun   dom   kula-a-k-nang}}
     bird.sp   faeces   ground   NEG   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB
     'So now you will see that the *gisim* bird does not defecate on the ground.' [skc12_12]

The habitual aspect does not occur with the near past tenses. In the remote past tense and irrealis future, the morphological make-up of the verb is more complicated, requiring the presence of both the habitual suffix and another morpheme. In the remote past, one of two morphemes are required after the verb root. The first form, *-waa*, the present tense non-singular suffix, is illustrated in (80). The second form, *-i-*, the imperfective present tense suffix, is illustrated in (81).

(80) *kodûp*   **nawaagotnang**.
      kodûp   na-**waa**-go-t-nang
      betel.nut   eat-PFV.HAB-RP-1SG-HAB
      'I used to chew betel nut.' [DN05.61.03]

(81) *kodûp*   **naigotnang**.
      kodûp   na-**i**-go-t-nang
      betel.nut   eat-IPFV.HAB-RPST-1SG-HAB
      'I was (habitually) chewing betel nut.' [DN05.61.03]

Out of context, the difference between these examples is quite subtle. In (80) a simple statement is made about habitual behavior at a previous point in time. Example (81) has an imperfective meaning, indicating more temporariness. While both can occur in main clauses, typically the *-i-* form occurs in clauses which are backgrounded. Even (81) carries the expectation that something more important is yet to be said. The distinction between them is illustrated much more clearly in narrative. In (82) the *-i-* form occurs in two successive clauses after the *-waa* form is used in the first clause. These second two clauses add background material, and their intonational contours make it clear that they are not mainline events. The speaker mentions that two men were living in the same place, but then explains that, even though they were living together, they did not garden together.

(82) *tûmanggût*   *ban*   *na*   *yaalû*   *kagat*   *ban*
      [tûmang-gût   ban]   [na   yaalû]   [kagat   ban]
      before-RSTR   a   man   two   place   a

      aatûkuwaagûmokngang.
      at-ku-waa-gû-mok-nang
      be-go-PFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
      'A long time ago two men lived in one place.'

      na   *yaalû*   *udu*   *yot*   *nûnggût*   *aatigûmokngang*,
      [na   yaalû   udu]   [yot   nûnggût]   at-i-gû-mok-nang
      man   two   that.ANA   house   one   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
      'The two men were living in *one house*,

wanggûtnang	*fi*	*tanak*	*malom malom*	***taigûmokngang.***
wanggûtnang	[fi	tanak	malom~malom]	ta-i-gû-mok-nang
but		work	planting	owner~owner	do-IPFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB

'but were each doing *their own gardening work*.' [skc11_05b]

In (83) the *-i-* habitual clause is shown occurring *prior* to the *-waa* habitual clause. The *-waa* clause illustrates the main point of the story, that MM people did not have mouths in the beginning. This is taken from a narrative which explains how the MM people first developed mouths and eyes and developed the ability to speak.

(83)
naai	*wasûlong*	*nantaam*	*den*	*yolangan*
[naai	wa=long]	[nantaam	den]	yolangan
time	that=ALL	people	some	PN

aatigûngang.
at-i-gû-ng-nang
be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
'At that time some people were living at Yolangan.'

mensû	*bûpmbaan,*	*daausû*	*bûpmbaan,*
men-sû	{bûpm-baan}	daau-sû	{bûpm-baan}
mouth-23NSG.POSS	close-NMLZ	eye-23NSG.POSS	close-NMLZ

kelûsû	*kayong*	*wadûgût*	*bûpmbaan.*
kelû-sû	kayong	wadûgût	{bûpm-baan}
hand-23NSG.POSS	leg	also	close-NMLZ

'Their mouths (were) closed up, their eyes (were) closed up, and their hands and legs also (were) closed up.'

sûbat	*kangsûnang*	***nawaagûngang.***
sûbat	kang-sû=nang	na-waa-gû-ng-nang
food	scalp-23NSG.POSS=LOC	eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

'They ate food on their scalps.' [skc11_16]

For events cast in the irrealis future, and thus marked with irrealis inflection, only the *-i-* form, and not the *-waa* form, is grammatical. This is illustrated in (84). The irrealis singular (*-be*) suffix is elided in this environment, as in (85). It is unclear whether the irrealis habituals can imply anything about the present moment (e.g, 'I'll keep V-ing'). It is clear though that they can be used for situations which do not describe the present. Example (84) can be said by children who plan to develop the habit of chewing betel nut when they're older.

(84)
kodûp	***naidemang.***
kodûp	na-**i**-de-m-nang
betel.nut	eat-IPFV.HAB-IRR.DU-1NSG-HAB

'We (DU) will be chewing betel nut.' [DN05.61.06]

(85) *kodûp*   ***naitnang***.
     kodûp   na-**i**-t-nang
     betel.nut   eat-IPFV.HAB-1SG-HAB
     'I'll be chewing betel nut.' [DN05.53.07]

In summary, present tense morphemes are required in both past and future habituals. In the past, the present non-singular suffix *-waa* is used for unmarked, mainline events, and the imperfective present morpheme *-i-* is used for imperfective, backgrounded events. That both the PRS and IPFV.PRS morphemes were historically pulled into this habitual role is seemingly due to their shared property of aspectual non-completion, a relationship noted for French by Le Goffic (1986). In the future, only the IPFV.PRS morpheme is allowed. This relationship between imperfectivity and irrealis, and between irrealis and habituality, is cross-linguistically common (Fleischman 1995).

At one point, since the *-i-* form is required in the future, and frequently occurs in backgrounded clauses, I analyzed it as an irrealis habitual suffix, with *-waa* as the realis counterpart. It is clear that this is not true, however. The *-i-* form can indeed function on its own in the past tense, as shown in (86) with the progressive auxiliary. In fact, *-waa* never occurs with stative verbs or the progressive aspect (which is a stativizing operation; cf. §24.1). This supports the analysis of *-i-* as an imperfective—rather than an irrealis—morpheme. However, as Fleischman (1995:539) points out, the two categories are intertwined due to their shared semantic feature of non-completion.

(86) *bagoneng*   *kamaandûfatta*   ***wangaatigûngang***.
     bagone-ng   kamaandûfat-ta   wa=ngat-**i**-gû-ng-nang
     sick-DS   look.after-SS   that=be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
     '(While he) was sick, they would be looking after him.' [skc12_16]

One further example below illustrates the common co-occurrence of the two forms, with the perfective habitual *-waa* occurring on the mainline, and additional information provided with the imperfective *-i-* form. Example (87) is an excerpt from an explanatory text in which two men explain how their ancestors used to eat the putrefaction from dead bodies—which had been hung in trees to rot—as well as the grubs that would be feasting on them.

(87) *fuku*   *seka*   ***nawaagûngang***.
     fuku   se-ka   na-waa-gû-ng-nang
     take.NSG   cook-SS   eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
     'Taking them they used to cook and eat them.'

> *ta   kankan   kadek   wa,*
> ta   [kankan   kadek   wa]
> do   insect   group   that
>
> *udu   febû   sûnaigûngang*.
> udu   feb   sû-na-i-gû-ng-nang
> that.ANA   bring.NSG   cook-eat-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
> 'And the insects, bringing those they would be cooking and eating them (too).
> [skc12_02]

Habitual verbs may be negated, as shown in (88), taken from a text which explains why, due to the activities of certain antagonistic spirits, MM speakers say *bakuyak* 'passing by' (lit. 'come-go-PRS-3SG') as a speech avoidance term instead of *mi* 'water' when they find themselves deep in the jungle.

(88) *mi   kadek   u   dom   taawaamang*.
      {{[mi   kadek]   udu}}   dom   taa-waa-m-nang
      water   group   that.ANA   NEG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB

      bakuyak   taawaamang.
      {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   taa-waa-m-nang
      come-go-PRS-3SG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
      'We do not say "water" and such. We say "passing by".' [skc12_04]

In a text with multiple habitual states and events, speakers tend not to mark every verb with habitual morphology. For example, in (89) a simple present tense verb is used in the first line of a procedural text about how they plant yams, while in (90), the final line of the same text, the habitual morpheme is included.

(89) *waagût   tet   waap   tawaam*.
      waagût   tet   waap   ta-waa-m
      now   yam   plant   do-PRS-1PL
      'Now we (still) plant yams.' [skc12_05]

(90) *wadûng   tawaamang   tet,   waap*.
      wa-dûng   ta-waa-m-nang   tet   waap
      that-ADV   do-PRS-1PL-HAB   yam   yam.planting
      'We do (it) like that, yam planting.' [skc12_05]

It is more striking below, where the first verb of a procedural text about how they prepare new gardens has the habitual suffix, while the very next finite verb does not.[29] This pattern illustrates yet another way that the habitual aspect is different from the other aspects.

---

[29] Note that a number of medial verbs occur between the two finite verbs, but these are left out here to save space.

(91) *tûmang,   ku   fi   **fepmûnggaamang**.*
    tûmang   ku   fi   fepm-gaa-m-nang
    first   go   garden clear.bush-PRS-1PL-HAB
    'First, going we clear the garden.'

    na   taamûng   fi   kodaa   fepmaangkongka   tûka, ...
    [na   taamûng] [fi   kodaa] fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
    man   woman   garden new   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS put-SS

    ***bawaam**.*
    ba-waa-m.
    come-PRS-1PL
    'The men and women finish clearing the whole new garden and put it, and… we come.' [skc09_17]

The only aspect with which the habitual has been found to co-occur is the progressive, as shown in (86) above, as well as in (92), part of a written amateur translation of John 1:1–5.

(92) *kemang   udu   tandonta   **dûka**   **attakngang**.*
    [kemang   udu]   tandonta dû-ka   at-ta-k-nang
    light   that.ANA   night   light-SS be-PRS-3SG-HAB
    'The light shines in the darkness.' (lit. 'That light, in the darkness it keeps shining.') [skc11_12a]

Another two facts about the *-waa* and *-i-* forms must be addressed. First, while they are generally in complementary distribution in the past tense, certain young speakers are willing to put them together in the same predicate. Example (93) was translated into Tok Pisin as *Bipo tru mi save kaikai* 'A long time ago I used to eat it.' These speakers allow both morphemes to be stated together to indicate a subjectively greater length of time between the habitual state and the present. I suspect that this is really a productive conjoining of both the perfective and imperfective meanings. The use of *-waa* conveys boundedness, meaning that the situation no longer applies, while the use of *-i-* conveys temporal extension. Perhaps this was the meaning that the speaker was trying to convey with his translation. This form was offered by a speaker during a session devoted to habitual aspect, but no examples exist in the corpus from natural speech. Other speakers tell me that the combination of *-waa* and *-i-* is ungrammatical. Everyone agrees that *-i-* can never precede *-waa*, as shown in (94). However, these patterns may be ideolectal or clan-lectal, and more research is needed.

(93) *nawaaigotnang.*
    na-**waa**-**i**-go-t-nang
    eat-PFV.HAB-IPFV.HAB-RP-1SG-HAB
    '(A long time ago) I used to eat (it).' [DN05.53.04]
    Or perhaps: 'I used to be eating it.'

(94) *naiwaagotnang.*
na-**i**-**waa**-go-t-nang
eat-IPFV.HAB-PFV.HAB-RP-1SG-HAB

Second, an additional complex form was proferred by consultants. In (95) the verb *-b-* 'see' is followed by the irrealis singular suffix (*-be*), and then the imperfective marker *-i-*, the subject-marker, and finally the habitual suffix. Crucially, this contrasts with (84), where the irrealis morpheme occurs *after* the imperfective marker.

(95) *nûmbûweikngang.*
n-b-**be**-**i**-k-nang
1NSG.O-see-IRR.SG-IPFV.HAB-3SG-HAB
'(He) will be wanting to see us.' [DN05.79.02]

In (84) the entire predicate is marked as irrealis, and thus accorded a future habitual meaning (e.g. 'X will be V-ing). In (95) only the lexical verb 'see' is marked as irrealis, and it is the imperfective morpheme which has wider scope (e.g. 'X will be wanting to V.') No such examples occur in natural texts, and it is unknown whether other speakers find such examples grammatical. Still, such scope effects are known to be common in agglutinative languages which exhibit variable affix order such as in the Amazon (Aikhenvald Forthcoming) and in North America (Rice 2000). I am unaware of another Papuan language for which this type of affix behavior has been described.

24.9   Tok Pisin aspectual calques: Durative 'go' and 'come'

Two further periphrastic aspects have been found in the corpus. First, the durative *ku- ku-* 'go go' is rarely used by certain speakers. This appears to be an incipient calque from the Tok Pisin durative *i go i go*, which most often occurs twice in a row after a base verb (Verhaar 1995:112). In (96) *ku-* 'go' occurs twice, here also with the durative auxiliary *aatûku-* (as well as the pluractional *ta-*). Interestingly, the *i go i go* calque appears after the other aspects, operating somewhat separately and with wider scope.

(96) *gegût   manda   naandûka   aatûkukata   **kuka**   **kuka**   mo,...*
[gegût   manda]   naandû-ka   aatûku-ka=ta   ku-ka   ku-ka   mo
news   talk   perceive-SS   remain-SS=do   go-SS   go-SS   already
'Each continuing to listen to the Gospel and after *continuing and continuing*,...'
[skc12_01]

It is common for 'go' to occur in MM to convey directional information. In this respect, 'go', along with all the other motion verbs in MM, behave just like Tok Pisin. TP allows both 'go' and 'come' to serialize with many verbs to convey direction of movement (Verhaar

413

1995:98ff). It appears that examples such as (97) are the middle ground between the directional and aspectual use. Here 'go go' occurs by itself, just like the Tok Pisin *i go i go* often does.

(97)   *bûge*   *kugûmot.*   **kuka**   **kuuu**,
        bûge   ku-gû-mot   ku-ka   ku~u~u
        again   go-RP-1DU   go-SS   go~EXT~EXT

        bûge   *ban*   *bû*   **tawangka**   **kugûng**.
        bûge   ban   bû   tawang-ka   ku-gû-ng
        again   a   again   follow-SS   go-RP-23PL
        'We (DU) went again. Continuing and continui-i-ng, again we followed another one away.' [skc09_02]

This extension from directional to temporal use of the Tok Pisin motion verbs is described in Smith (2002:135) as well. The directional function is illustrated in (97) with the final verb carrying the meaning 'away'.

Second, the durative *ba-* 'come' is (rarely) used with durative meaning as well, by the same speakers who use the other calque. This is seemingly a calque from Tok Pisin *i kam*. This aspectual role of TP *kam* is barely addressed in Smith (2002:135), but I have observed it on many occasions. While TP *i go i go* occurs most frequently in pairs, *i kam* occurs more often by itself, and this is true in MM as well. Notice in the example below that, once again, the pluractional co-occurs with the durative.

(98)   *ma manda*   *walong*   *atta*   *tebûsongka*   *taakata*   **bagûng**.
        ma manda   wa=long   at-ta   teb-song-ka   taa-ka=ta   ba-gû-ng
        PN   that=ALL   be-SS   CAUS-crack-SS   say-SS=do   come-RP-23PL
        'Then they began Ma Manda and they all (have) continued to speak it (until now).' [skc11_16]

Note above that, while the 'go' durative carries no additional meaning, the 'come' durative actually conveys the meaning that the participants continue in that state until the present moment.[30]

More research is needed in order to determine whether older speakers, who are less familiar with and affected by Tok Pisin, use these structures as well.

---

[30] In Tok Pisin these durative functions are extensions of their directional meanings in serial verb constructions. While the 'come' form only seems to have this durative meaning in the past tense, the 'go' form occurs freely in both the past and future tenses. Thus, 'come' still deictically represents time like space, and therefore its durative use seems only to be used in the past. It remains to be seen whether this pattern is replicated in MM.

25 Pluractionality ("verbal number")

Pluractionality, otherwise known in the literature as "verbal number", is the expression of verbal multiplicity. Wood (2007:54) states that "[p]luractionals always indicate plurality in at least one of these three dimensions of time, participants and space." It is the grammatical marking of event plurality, and therefore has been used to describe morphemes which, depending on the lexical aspect and valence of particular verbs, can variously indicate multiple actors, multiple objects, successive repetitions of an action in a single location, distributive iterations of an action in various locations or at various times, etc. This is what led to the coinage of the term "pluractionality" from the phrase "plurality of action" (Newman 1980, 1990), most prominently used in the description of Chadic and other Afroasiatic languages.[31] For fuller descriptions, see Corbett (2000:243ff), Wood (2007), Dixon (2012:62–65), and Newman (2012).[32] Pluractionality is a robust concept as expressed in the verbal lexicon and syntax of the Ma Manda language.

First, a small subset of verbs have separate forms depending on whether their objects are singular or plural. Following Corbett (2000:246) I identify this as "participant number", in opposition to the syntactic expression of "event number" described in the remaining sections. This pluractionality is completely lexical. Speakers do not productively use it with any verb to encode multiplicity of action. Instead, only 16 or so verbs convey the extra semantic information, similar to the distinction between the English verbs *kill* and *massacre*, or between *drop* and *scatter*. While §21.3 lists this full class of verbs, as well as its morphological object-agreement behavior, in §25.1 I briefly address the pattern with an eye to the literature on the subject.

Following Cusic's (1981) distinction between "phase-level" and "event-level" pluractionality (and Lasersohn's (1995) "repetitive" and "repeated" action), Wood (2007:89) argues that there is indeed a difference between two fundamental semantic types of verbal number, which he terms "event-internal" and "event-external" pluractionality. Event-internal pluractionals, he argues, "genuinely constitute unitary (though complex) events" (2007:91). This type of event number conveys a single action as broken up into multiple phases, but

---

[31] Though the term "pluractional" has been used in the description of at least one Papuan language, Kuot (Lindström 2002:6).

[32] Also see Frajzyngier (1985), Durie (1986), Mithun (1988).

which crucially belong to the same event. In English these are often represented lexically, such as the difference between *step* and *walk*, where the action of *walking* inherently consists of multiple *step* subevents. Crosslinguistically, event-internal pluractionals often exhibit continuousness in time, inherent multiplicity, semantic effects by Aktionsart of the base verb, and singular or collective arguments (Wood 2007:78). Event-external pluractionals are repeated complete events. Such actions are perceived as autonomous instantiations. Crosslinguistically, event-external pluractionals tend to allow repetitions to be distributed over participants (participant individuation), and often produce iterative interpretations with singular participants. In Ma Manda each of these semantic types of event number is expressed with a different syntactic device.

Verbs and verb phrases may be reduplicated and then followed by the light verb *ta-* 'do'. This iconically conveys the repetition of an action, producing multiple phases belonging to one macroevent. This aligns with Wood's "event-internal" category, and is described in §25.2. Or, verbs may be marked with same-subject medial morphology and followed by the auxiliary verb *ta-* 'do' (having the same syntax as the progressive and durative aspects). This conveys the multiplicity of complete events, and is therefore used to individuate plural arguments, or to convey iterativity. This aligns with Wood's "event-external" category, and is described in §25.3. Finally, the auxiliary verbs *tuku-* 'take.SG' and *tukungat-* 'take.SG-be' have a seemingly incipent function as distributive auxiliaries. This produces a spatial distributive meaning, whereby a single action is performed repetitively in various physical locations. This is a particular subtype of event-external pluractionality, and is briefly described in §25.4.

While pluractionality is expressed in a similar periphrastic form as many aspect categories, I do not analyze it as an aspectual category. Semantically, aspect deals with how a speaker chooses to represent the internal temporal complexity of an event. The pluractional notions encoded by the MM grammar have little to do with the temporal contour of events. Instead, they are focused on the multiplicity of action. Since time is not in focus, the same pluractional constructions may convey sequential or simultaneous events, depending on the transitivity and lexical aspect of the verb, the number of arguments of the clause, and the discourse context. In fact, sometimes sequential and simultaneous readings are both possible for the same predicate at the same time.

However, it is clear that pluractionality is very closely related to aspect, which is why "iterative" is often considered an aspectual category for individual languages. Though the

peripheristic structure is the same, the semantics are drastically different. Grouping them would be akin to grouping tense and reality status, since both are expressed through suffixation.

The semantics of these pluractional categories are summarized in Table 25.1. The table shows whether the corpus contains examples of sequential and/or simultaneous readings for each of the following contexts: transitive and intransitive verbs, singular and non-singular subject arguments, singular and non-singular object arguments, and Aktionsart of the base verb. The table shows several features quite clearly. First, when a clause has a singular subject argument, then the events are always interpreted as occurring sequentially in time. Second, when a clause has a plural subject argument, it is always possible (grammatically) for events to be interpreted as occurring simultaneously (though this is also dependent upon the discourse context). Third, stative predicates are very restricted, only occurring with event-external pluractionality and only with a simultaneous interpretation (note that one stative verb *daampa-* 'be afraid' has been found with event-internal pluractionality, but with an intensive meaning). These are collective constructions. Finally, motion verbs only occur with event-internal pluractionality (note that this includes transitive motion verbs such as *tefû-* 'bring down').

TABLE 25.1: SEMANTICS OF PLURACTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

				Event-internal V~V *ta-*		Event-external V-SS *ta-*	
		S	O	SEQ	SIM	SEQ	SIM
Transitive		SG	SG	+	−	+	−
		SG	NSG	+	−	+	−
		NSG	SG	−	+	+	+
		NSG	NSG	+	+	+	+
Intransitive	Dynamic	SG		+	−	+	−
		NSG		+	+	+	+
	Stative	SG		−	−	−	−
		NSG		−	−	−	+
	Motion	SG		+	−	−	−
		NSG		+	+	−	−

25.1 Participant number

A small number of approximately 16 transitive verbs have distinct stems depending on whether their objects are singular or non-singular. These verbs are technically not suppletive, but actually have different meanings. While Ma Manda possesses a full object-agreement prefix paradigm for a number of transitive verbs, these pluractional verbs still exhibit the

alternation, often in addition to prefixation. As argued by Corbett (2000:258), these are separate verbs which contain an additional semantic distinction which the majority of the verbal lexicon lacks. As mentioned above, this is similar to the distinction between the English verbs *kill* and *massacre*, or between *drop* and *scatter*.

Corbett (2000:258) cites Booker's (1982) analysis of verbal number in North American languages, and argues that if any verbs in a language show verbal number, they will be verbs of motion and position or location. He also posits the implicational universal that a language will only have transitive verbal number if it first has intransitive verbal number. Though these concepts are coded in MM, it is done syntactically through reduplication and the addition of the auxiliary verb *ta-* 'do', as described in the forthcoming sections. In Ma Manda only transitive verbs exhibit the pattern of lexical alternation. The verbs which exhibit this stem alternation are listed in §§21.3.2–21.3.3. Still other verbs seem to have exhibited this pattern previously, but now retain it as suppletion for third person singular objects only: *sako-* (3SG)/*isopm-* 'hold', *ka-* (3SG)/*yaab-* 'see', *kaawaa-* (3SG)/*yaabaa-* 'leave', etc. (see §21.3.1). As can be seen, each of these verbs denote events which are often performed separately in relation to each object. This is not the whole picture of course, because many other transitive verbs (e.g. *talaam-* 'shoot') do not have such stem alternations. As described in the literature (e.g. Durie (1986)), this alternation is indeed absolutive in nature (i.e. based on the number of affected arguments), and lexically applies to a relatively small subset of verbs.

Lexical participant number is illustrated simply by the following pair of examples: example (1) has a singular object, while (2) has two objects.

(1) *yokep   ta³³   kabot   flong   tûwe*.
    yokep   ta   [kabot   flong]   tû-be
    tongs   get.SG   pot   ALL   put.SG-IRR.SG
    'Getting the tong[s] put it on the pot.' [DN04.55.03]

(2) *kuyang   yaalû   fa   bewe*.
    [kuyang   yaalû]   fa   be-be
    stick   two   get.NSG   put.NSG-IRR.SG
    'Getting the two sticks put them down.' [DN04.55.03]

---

[33] This verb *ta* 'get.SG' is homophonous with *ta-* 'do', but is not the same verb. This verb is non-inflecting, has a unique meaning, and stands in opposition to *fa* 'get.NSG'. See §21.3.2 for discussion.

25.2 Event-internal pluractionality

Reduplication and repetition are frequently occurring morphosyntactic devices in the MM grammar. As described in §24.3, verbs denoting motion and states may be repeated to iconically extend time or distance. Nouns, question words, adjectives, numerals, and adverbs may all be reduplicated to indicate various types of plurality and intensification. Some frequently used reduplicated verbs have also been lexicalized as nouns, including *tata* 'custom' (lit. 'do-do'), *atat* 'presence' (lit. 'be-be'), *aaweaawe* 'eternity' (lit. 'finish-finish'), and *yotyot* 'headwaters' (lit. 'ram-ram'). The most productive use of reduplication, however, lies in the coding of event-internal pluractionality. The relationship between pluractionality and reduplication has been noted by a number of scholars, including Newman (2012:193), who remarks that "what remains strikingly constant is the iconic relationship between reduplication and multiple actions and events."

A basic comparison is provided below with *deng-* 'strain', which denotes the action of straining out water.

(3) *dembe!*
     deng-be
     strain-IRR.SG
     'Strain it.' [DN06.09.06]

(4) ***dengdeng***   *tabe!*
     deng~deng   ta-be
     strain~strain   do-IRR.SG
     'Strain it (multiple times).' [DN02.139.37]

While (3) is used to denote a single one-off event of straining out water from something, (4) (which is more common) urges the addressee to repeatedly strain out water. This is said to someone who is soaking the interior pandanus seeds in water, with the goal of squeezing out the red greasy water for applying to greens. This must be done with multiple handfuls of seeds until the task is finished.

Another command is shown in (5), this time with a verb which exhibits participant number (§25.1). Once again, the interpretation is iterative, but with a wholistic perspective.

(5) ***isop isop***   *tabeng.*
     isop~isop   ta-be-ng
     hold.NSG~hold.NSG   do-IRR.SG-2SG
     'Grab them all (each group in turn).' [DN05.49.02]

419

A fundamental meaning of this construction is that the multiple actions are perceived of as phases of a single event. For example, in (6) the verb *gaalû-* 'be against' is reduplicated to mean 'huddle around'. Unlike the previous example, where the multiple phases occur sequentially, here the participants act in unison.

(6) *nalû*   **gaalû gaalû**   *tang*   *monggok.*
     na=lû   gaalû~gaalû   ta-ng   mo-go-k
     man=NOM   be.against~be.against do-DS   go.down-RP-3SG
     'The men huddling around (him), he went down.' [skc12_16]

These examples show that the event-internal pluractional construction is not an iterative aspect. Though it can convey sequential repetition of subevents, this interpretation is due to the singularity or non-singularity of the subject. When event-internal pluractionality applies to clauses with singular subjects, repetition in time is conveyed, as shown again in (7). Here the subject is conveyed as growing older. The multiple phases necessarily occur over time, and not simultaneously.

(7) **gelaa gelaa**   *taak.*
     gelaa~gelaa   ta-a-k
     grow.up~grow.up   do-PRS-3SG
     'He is growing up.' [DN02.138.47]

One primary characteristic of event-internal pluractionals, noted by Wood (2007:85), is that "both the subject and object are either singular or appear to be interpreted as a group." This is a direct result of the fact that each subevent is perceived of as a phase within one macroevent. The focus is on the repetition of action rather than on the participants themselves. In Ma Manda the event-internal construction forces a collective interpretation of the subjects, as shown with the plural subjects in (8).

(8) *walû*   *aaweng*   *malompûnang*   *miti*   *manda*
     wa=lû   aawe-ng   [malom=lûnang   miti   manda]
     that=NOM   finish-DS   lord=GEN   Gospel   talk

     endaang endaang   **tagûm**.
     endaang~endaang   ta-gû-m
     read~read   do-RP-1PL
     'When it was finished we did the lectionary readings.' [skc11_03b]

The Lutheran Church provides separate passages of the Bible to be read for each day of the year (one from the Psalms, one from the Gospels, and so on) in its lectionary. So any time a gathering takes place the members of the denomination know exactly which Bible verses to read for the occasion. In Saut people generally stand up one at a time to read a passage (for which they previously agreed to be responsible). However, the focus of this clause is not on

the individual actions of members of the congregation, but on the multiple readings as part of the liturgy. This illustrates the collective nature of the event-internal construction.

Since the focus of event-internal pluractionality is the separate phases of a single macroevent, when a clause has multiple subjects it is left ambiguous whether the separate phases occur sequentially or simultaneously. For example, in (9) it is unclear whether the participants work together to rotate one large branch at a time, or whether they all act individually to rotate a number of smaller branches. Only context determines the interpretation when plural subjects are involved. All that is encoded is that the branches are caused to be turned repeatedly, producing the interpretation of rotation. Note also that the causative verb *ef-* occurs prior to only the first reduplicand, as shown in (9).

(9)   *bûge*   ***efaale faale***   *taka,*   *bot*   *beka,*
      bûge   ef-faale~faale   ta-ka   bot   be-ka
      again   CAUS-turn~turn   do-SS   group   put.NSG-SS

      sengûda   *dûwangang.*
      se-ng-da   dû-wa-ng-nang
      cook-DS-1NSG   cook-PRS-23PL-HAB
      '(We) rotate [the dried branches] again, and heap them, and we light them on fire.'
      [skc09_17]

With intransitive predicates, the interpretation varies depending on the verb's Aktionsart. With dynamic predicates, an iterative interpretation is conveyed, as in (7). With stative predicates, the effect seems to be intensity, as in (10).

(10)   *mongkadopmûngka*   *nûmbûka*   *imo,*   ***daampa daampa***
       mo-kadopm-ka   n-b-ka   idi=mo   daampa~daampa
       go.down-arrive-SS   1NSG.O-see-SS   this.ANA=already   be.happy~be.happy

       taka   *sigaan*   *tanûmpa*   *nûmbûka*   *mo,*
       ta-ka   {sigaan   ta-nûm=la}   n-b-ka   mo
       do-SS   shake.hand   do-IRR.PL:1NSG=BEN   1NSG.O-see-SS   already

       kelûnek   *odûgok.*
       kelû-nek   odû-go-k
       hand-1NSG.POSS   hang-RP-3SG
       'Going down and seeing us, he was excited, and looking at us to shake hands, he shook our hands.' [skc09_38]

With motion verbs, the effect is to distribute the activity in different locations. Wood identifies this tendency, saying that in some languages "the pluractional multiplies phases of motion, where phases are distinguished by change of direction rather than a gap in time or completion of some kind" (2007:53).

(11) ***kungat kungat***   *tabe.*
      kungat~kungat   ta-be
      go.around~go.around   do-IRR.SG
      'Go around (to various places).' [DN02.141.54]

Interestingly, reduplicated motion verbs only require the *ta-* auxiliary in commands. Elsewhere, the verbal pair simply stands on its own, as in (12). Here the verb *tefû-* 'bring down' is repeated to convey the distributive back-and-forth motion of going down mountain switchbacks (short steep stretches of trail with repeated 180 degree turns).

(12) *walû*   ***tefû tefû***   *senang*   *kubalang*
      wa=lû   tefû~tefû   [senang   kubalang]
      that=NOM   bring.down.SG~bring.down.SG   PN   valley

      tûng   *mo,*   *ni*   *laabûka...*
      tû-ng   mo   ni   laab-ka
      put.SG-DS   already   3SG.EMPH   come.up-SS
      'After bringing [the girl] down (on switchbacks) to the Senang Valley, she came up and…' [skc09_21]

Event-internal pluractional motion verbs are therefore remarkably similar to motion verbs marked with the extended durative aspect (§24.3). The structural difference is morphological: the extended durative repeats fully-inflected motion verbs. Semantically, the aspect extends the time of the event (with extended distance an implicature), while the pluractional multiplies the phases of the event, forcing a multidirectional interpretation. See (14) for a multidirectional meaning, but with simultaneous overlapping of motion events.

Regarding the structure of event-internal pluractionality, note that the reduplication is syntactic rather than morphological or phonological. The reduplicated verbs remain as separate words. When the verb root consists of a single syllable, they are spoken without a pause between them, but the morphological characteristics of verb-final consonants betray their autonomony. Syntactically, additional adverbial elements can be repeated as well, as shown in (13). Here *kosaan* 'side' is repeated with the intransitive verb *de-* 'look, gaze'. This is spoken by a woman in her description of her first experience visiting Ukarumpa, a large community primarily made up of expatriates. A serialized verb is then reduplicated in (14). This is also seen with *kungat-* in (11), which is a combination of *ku-* 'go' and *ngat-* 'be' (see §22.2.6).

(13)　*kame*　　*wa*　　*dengala*　　*kungûlû*　　*faaleka*　　**kosaan**　　**deng**
　　　[kame　　wa]　　de-ng-la　　ku-ng-lû　　faale-ka　　kosaan　　de-ng
　　　ground　　that　　look-DS-1SG　　go-DS-23　　turn-SS　　side　　look-DS

　　　kosaan　　**deng**　　**taka**　　*bûkngaana*　　*tefaaka*　　*bagot.*
　　　~kosaan　　de-ng　　ta-ka　　bûkngaan-na　　tefaa-ka　　ba-go-t
　　　~side　　look-DS　　do-SS　　neck-1SG.POSS　　destroy-SS　　come-RP-1SG
　　　'I looked toward the place and I turned around and looked from side to side until
　　　my neck hurt and I came.' [skc11_14]

(14)　*mi*　　*ko*　　**bakung bakung**　　　　　**tang,**...
　　　mi　　ko　　ba-ku-ng~ba-ku-ng　　　　　ta-ng
　　　water　　side　　come-go-DS~come-go-DS　　do-DS
　　　'The water passing by on (both) sides,...' [skc12_13]

Light verb complements may also be reduplicated. When this occurs, they take the light verb that they license, and not necessarily *ta-* 'do'. This is shown with *manda* in (15). This occurs with verbal demonstratives and interrogatives as well, as shown in (16) and (17), respectively.

(15)　*tuwa*　　*wasit*　　*kodûp*　　*nangka*　　**manda**　**manda**　**taagûmot.**
　　　[tuwa　　wa-s=lit]　　kodûp　　na-ka　　manda　　manda　　taa-gû-mot
　　　first.male　　that-LK=COM　　betel.nut　　eat-SS　　talk　　talk　　say-RP-1DU
　　　'I chewed betel nut with Tuwa and we chatted.' [skc11_11a]

(16)　**wadûng wadûng**　　　　**taka**　　*bawaamot.*
　　　wa-dûng~wa-dûng　　　　ta-ka　　ba-waa-mot
　　　that-ADV~that-ADV　　　　do-SS　　come-PRS-1DU
　　　'We did this and that and we've come.' [skc09_21]

(17)　**dûdû dûdû**　　**tagot**　　　　*wasûnang*　　*taabûtaat.*
　　　{dûdû~dûdû　　ta-go-t　　　　wa-s=nang}　　taa-b-taa-t
　　　how~how　　do-RP-1SG　　　　that-LK=GEN　　say-EP-FUT-1SG
　　　'I will talk about all that I did.' [skc09_35]

Interestingly, light verb complements may be repeated more than two times to iconically intensify the pluralization, as in (18). A similar construction to (14) is shown in (19), but with three repetitions of the compound. It appears that *kobang* has become lexicalized as a light verb complement meaning 'to form sides'.

(18)　*kosaan kosaan*　　*ba*　　**bot bot bot**　　　　**taka**　　*imo,*...
　　　kosaan~kosaan　　ba　　bot~bot~bot　　　　ta-ka　　idi=mo
　　　side~side　　come　　group~group~group　　do-SS　　this.ANA=already
　　　'Coming to each side, they formed groups,...' [skc12_01]

(19) *naai   walong   daamin   mamampû*
     [naai   wa=long]   [daamin   mamam=lû]
     time   that=ALL   ancestor   many=NOM

     kobang kobang kobang   tagûng...
     kobang~kobang~kobang   ta-gû-ng
     to.side~to.side~to.side   do-RP-23PL
     'At that time many ancestors formed various sides.' [skc12_01]

Finally, it is clear that event-internal pluractional constructions have become lexicalized in a number of ways. For instance, *kelû galogalo* (lit. 'hand break~break') means 'wrist'. 'Jumping rope' is a compound of *taas* 'rattan' and reduplicated 'throw', as shown in (20).

(20) *taas   **kongkong**   tabe.*
     taas   kong~kong   ta-be
     rattan   throw~throw   do-IRR.SG
     'Jump rope.' [DN03.298.22]

Other times, the base form has been lost, with the "frozen pluractional" (Newman 2012:196) remaining, denoting actions which have inherent multiplicity (Wood 2007:79). Examples include: *nlamnlam* 'heat vapor', *nlitnlit* 'pins and needles' (i.e. 'paresthesia'), *glûglû* 'tremble', and *klûngklûng* 'rake'. These words maintain their verbal properties, requiring the auxiliary verb to carry inflection, as shown below. Sometimes these pairs are ideophonic, as in in (21) and (23). Interestingly, some of them may even be inflected with object-agreement prefixes, as in (23). These are all analyzed as light verb complements (see Chapter 12 for discussion of the word class, and §22.1 for analysis of LVCs).

(21) ***glûglû***   *taak.*
     glûglû   ta-a-k
     tremble   do-PRS-3SG
     '(He) is trembling (due to malaria)'. [DN02.148.36]

(22) *wolûka   semaangkongka   bûge,   **klûngklûng**   ban   tawaam.*
     wol-ka   se-maa-kong-ka   bûge   klûngklûng   ban   ta-waa-m
     gather-SS   cook-CMPL-TERM-SS   again   rake   a   do-PRS-1PL
     'We gather [the dried brush] and finish burning it and again, we rake once more.'
     [skc12_05]

(23) *kayonga   **nenlitnlit**   taak.*
     kayong-na   n-e-nlitnlit   ta-a-k
     leg-1SG.POSS   1SG.O-bite-pins.and.needles   do-PRS-3SG
     'My leg is falling asleep.' (Or: 'My leg is tingling me.')

25.3   Event-external pluractionality

The verb *ta-* has a multiplicity of functions, making it the most common element of the MM language. First, lexically it means 'do' or 'make', and can therefore function as a lone transitive verb with these meanings. Second, it occurs in a number of verbal compounds such as *tantû-* 'send' (literally 'make-put'). Third, it is the most commonly-occurring light verb, utilized to carry verbal inflection for light verb complements which themselves cannot function alone as predicates. Fourth, it has been grammaticalized into several conjunctions which serve to connect separate sentences: *taka* 'and-SS', *tang* 'and-DS', *tagû* 'and-DUR', and *ta* 'and, but'. Fifth, it operates as an auxiliary verb in the marking of prospective aspect, as well as in desiderative and conative constructions and with predicative negation. Finally, *ta-* operates as an auxiliary verb to convey event-external pluractionality.

Compare (24) with the event-internal pluractional in (15). Here the action is seen as an iterative series of identical events, while above the separate events were only phases of the perceived macroevent.

(24) *manda   daam   sangaanggût   dom   **taakata**   monggûng.*
     [manda   daam]   sangaanggût   dom   taa-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
     talk   blare   quietly   NEG   say-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
     'Talking noisily (with one another) [the demons] went down.' [skc12_16]

The periphrastic event-external pluractional construction multiplies separate instances of an event. Unlike the event-internal construction, which perceives an event as composed of multiple subevents, the event-external construction conveys the plurality of autonomous events. With singular subjects, this produces an iterative reading, as shown in (25). Here the subject repeatedly urges his daughter to go with him, and each event is performed sequentially one after the other. Note that often the auxiliary verb occurs in same-subject dependent (unmarked) form—lacking sequentiality. The auxiliary verb, since it is a single syllable, cliticizes to the preceding verb. This is prevalent when iterative events are presented as occuring simultaneously with a motion verb.

(25) *kudem   kudem   wa   **nûngkata**   bagûmok.*
     {{ku-de-m   ku-de-m}}   wa   nû-ka=ta   ba-gû-mok
     go-IRR.DU-1NSG   go-IRR.DU-1NSG   that tell-SS=do   come-RP-23DU
     'Keeping telling (her) "Let's go! Let's go!" they came.' [skc12_04]

The above example is vague as to how many iterations of the event are performed. Generally the interpretation is left to context, though adverbialized numerals can also overtly indicate the specific number of events. Without such overt marking, the number of separate

events can be as few as two, as shown in (26). This is the response by a group of participants to two dogs fighting around a house's fireplace. The previous sentence introduced the two dogs, and therefore the duality of the object argument is left covert here (though plurality is marked by a prefix on the verb).

(26) *sap*   *wa*   ***yenûngkongka***   ***tangaam***.
     [sap   wa]   ye-nûngkong-ka   ta-ngaa-m
     dog   that   3NSG.O-remove-SS   do-NP-1PL
     'We kicked out each dog.' [skc09_28]

The example above illustrates a fundamental property of event-external pluractionality. Whereas event-internal pluractionals group the participants into a collective whole, event-external pluractionals distribute events over participants. This is a direct result of its function in *multiplying separate events*. This is why, a majority of the time, event-external pluractionals occur with plural subjects. The example above literally conveys the multiplicity of the transitive verb 'remove', but due to the presence of plural subject and object arguments, the actions are understood to occur simultaneously, with individual subject participants acting against individual object arguments.[34] Wood (2007:54–55) remarks that, "[w]hile repetition in time is perhaps the most typical meaning for pluractionals, if repetitions are distributed across locations or participants they need not be sequential." Below, successive repetitions of simultaneously-occurring events are conveyed.

(27) ***ilûpmûngkata***   *kugû*   *kugû*   *aminenggok*   *kungkadopmûnggûmok.*
     i-dipm-ka=ta   ku-gû   ku-gû   aminenggok   ku-kadopm-gû-mok
     3NSG.O-hit.NSG-SS=do   go-DUR   go-DUR   PN   go-arrive-RP-23DU
     'Keeping killing [lizards] and going and going, [the two chickens] arrived at Aminenggok.' [skc12_11]

Another example is shown in (28). Here the plural verb *be-* 'put.NSG' is pluralized, indicating the simultaneous participation of various people who were present. This clause does not distribute the event over separate object arguments in the same way as (26), presumably because the verb is marked for completive aspect.

(28) ***bemaangkongka***   ***taka***   *mo*   *bawaam.*
     be-maa-kong-ka   ta-ka   mo   ba-waa-m
     put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS   do-SS   already   come-PRS-1PL
     'After we each finish putting all [the branches] we come.' [skc09_17]

---

[34] The translation betrays an individuation of object arguments, but really the English forces a focus on the noun phrase individuation rather than event individuation. Perhaps a more accurate translation is 'We kicked out (NSG) the dogs.' This allows ambiguity with regard to the individuation of participants.

When event-external pluractionals occur in clauses with singular object arguments, then the plural subjects are interpreted as acting concurrently. This is shown below in two clauses from a text about a child who dies in a river. In (29) the participants wash the dead body *together*. The verb *wi-* 'bathe' is transitivized with the benefactive applicative (formed via serialization with *m-* 'give') and then pluralized. In (30) the body is buried, with each participant digging separately *together*. In both cases, the subevents are conveyed as occurring concurrently, with the various actors performing separately but in unison.

(29) *kaadûp   seka,   mi   seka   **wimpa   tagûng**.*
     kaadûp   se-ka   mi   se-ka   wi-m-pa   ta-gû-ng
     wood   cook-SS   water   cook-SS   bathe-give-SS   do-RP-23PL
     'They made a fire, and heated water and bathed him together.' [skc09_18]

(30) *talo   **nengka   taka**   imo,   aatûkugûm.*
     talo   ne-ka   ta-ka   idi=mo   aatûku-gû-m
     take.up   dig-SS   do-SS   this.ANA=already   remain-RP-1PL
     'After taking [him] up, and burying him together, we remained.' [skc09_18]

In intransitive clauses, the interpretation of event-external pluractionals depends on the Aktionsart of the verb. Dynamic events are ambiguous, with both sequential and simultaneous interpretations possible depending on context. For example, when the dynamic LVC *mik wi-* 'bathe' in (31) is pluralized, it indicates that the subjects each performed the same event separately. However, due to the cultural knowledge that bathing is a communal event for the men, the individual events are understood to occur sequentially. The men sit around socializing and chewing betel nut while one man at a time heads to the bamboo showers, where bamboo pieces have been jammed into the rocks to funnel out the natural spring water. The focus is not on the temporal sequentiality, however: the focus is on the fact that the activity was performed multiple times. In fact, some bathing areas have multiple showers so that more than one man can bathe simultaneously. In (32), the pluralized intransitive LVC *fem taa-* 'whistle' (lit. 'whistle say') is interpreted as occurring simultaneously by individuated subjects.

(31) *mongka   mik   **wika   tagûm**…*
     mo-ka   mik   wi-ka   ta-gû-m
     go.down-SS   bathe   bathe-SS   do-RP-1PL
     'We went down and took turns bathing…' [skc11_09a]

(32) *kadet   kusambanang   tawangka   **fem**   **taaka**   **taka**   kugûmot.*
     [kadet   kusamba=nang]   tawang-ka   fem   taa-ka   ta-ka   ku-gû-mot
     road   big=LOC   follow-SS   whistle   say-SS   do-SS   go-RP-1DU
     'We followed the big road and each whistled as we went.' [skc09_02]

Motion verbs are never marked with event-external pluractionality. Stative verbs, on the other hand, are often marked and receive a simultaneous reading, as in (33). This analysis is supported by the fact that stative event-external pluractional verbs never have singular subjects.

(33)   *tang*   *mongkaka*   **mitaka**   **tagûng**.
      ta-ng   mo=ka-ka   mita-ka   ta-gû-ng
      do-DS   go.down=see-SS   be.afraid-SS   do-RP-23PL
      'And going down they saw (him) and they were all afraid.' [skc12_15]

This inherent simultaneity is often utilized with the verb *at-* 'be' to produce a collective construction. This predicative social accompaniment is illustrated in (34)–(35).[35]

(34)   *ta,*   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *u*   **ku***natta*   **tagûmok**...
      ta   [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kun=ngat-ta   ta-gû-mok
      do   woman   child-23NSG.POSS   that.ANA   up.DIST=be-SS   do-RP-23DU
      'But, their daughter was up there with [him].' (lit.'…that daughter of theirs, they were both up there.') [skc12_04]

(35)   *yaalû yaalû*   *buntuk*   *tawaang*   *kunatta*   *idi*
      yaalû~yaalû   [buntuk   tawaang]   kun=at-ta   idi
      two~two   PN   mountain   up.DIST=be-SS   this.ANA

      *wa***ngatta**   **tagûmok**...
      wa=ngat-ta   ta-gû-mok
      that=be-SS   do-RP-23DU
      'Both were up on Buntuk Mountain, and they were there together.' [skc12_01]

Several other characteristics of event-external pluractionality must be addressed: the interaction between event-external and event-internal pluractionality, the possibility of a reciprocal interpretation, the co-occurrence of pluractionality with aspect, its co-occurrence with irrealis predicates, and its variable scope effects on previous clauses. These are discussed in turn below.

First, event-external and event-internal pluractionality can co-occur, as in (36). Here the verb *te-* is reduplicated to convert 'dance' to 'shuffle' (event-internal). This action is then further repeated (event-external). It has already been shown that both types can also co-occur with participant number (cf. (5), (12), (27), (28)).

---

[35] A pluractional morpheme produces such "social accompaniment" in Cuzco Quechua, as well (Faller 2012:56, 64).

(36) *kangala* *manggat* *bantû* **kap** *tete* *takata*
    ka-ng-la   {{[manggat ban=lû] kap   te~te   ta-ka=ta
    see-DS-1SG demon   a=NOM dance dance~dance do-SS=do

    bagok.
    ba-go-k}}
    come-RP-3SG
    'I saw a demon (repeatedly) shuffling (as) he came.' [skc11_04d]

Second, pluractionals can have a reciprocal interpretation. This is shown, for example, in (37). It appears that the reciprocity below is entirely contextual, with the translation more accurately: 'Coming, two dogs sat on the other side and pushing-and-shoving, were together.'

(37) *sap* *yaalûlû* *ba* *kosaan* *kudu* *maangûtta*
    [sap   yaalû=lû] ba   [kosaan kudu]   maangût-ta
    dog   two=NOM come side   level.DIST sit-SS

    kûlû mûndûmûndû ***ngatta*** ***tangaamok***.
    kûlû mûndûmûndû   ngat-ta   ta-ngaa-mok
    push.and.shove   be-SS   do-NP-23DU
    'Coming, two dogs sat on the other side and were pushing and shoving (each other).' [skc09_28]

Third, the relationship between event-external pluractionality and aspect needs to be made explicit. While the syntax of the construction is identical to that of the periphrastic aspects, the other auxiliaries never occur in same-subject dependent (unmarked) form. This is unique to the pluractional construction. Furthermore, event-external pluractionality co-occurs with various aspects. In all cases except one, the pluractional has scope over the other aspect. This is shown with the terminative and completive aspects in (28). In the following two examples the actions of various participants are separately described with the progressive.

(38) *kaadûp* **seka** **ngatta** **tangûtna**,...
    kaadûp   se-ka   ngat-ta   ta-ng-tna
    wood   cook-SS be-SS   do-DS-1NSG
    'We were lighting a fire together,…' [skc09_28]

(39) *yaabûgot,* *tebû* *melinang* *tawaang,*
    yaa-b-go-t   {{teb   [melinang tawaang]
    3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG bring.SG PN   mountain

    sabe *yot* *kum* ***tûka*** ***ngatta*** ***tagûng***.
    [sabe   yot]   kum   tû-ka   ngat-ta ta-gû-ng}}
    youth   house down.DIST put.SG-SS be-SS do-RP-23PL
    'I saw them bringing [the dead boy], and together they were putting him down in the young men's house on Melinang Hill.' [skc09_18]

However, such pluractional progressives are ambiguous. The *at-* 'be' verb may be interpreted lexically, conveying accompaniment rather than progressivity. For example, in

(40) the progressive interpretation is disallowed. Context reveals the fact that *yaab-* 'see them' has a singular subject, while the remaining clause has a plural subject. The protagonist comes upon the scene and then joins the group. No change of subject is marked since the topical participant is part of that larger group.

(40) *ba*   *yaabûka*   **ngatta**   **tagûm**.
      ba   yaa-b-ka   ngat-ta   ta-gû-m
      come   3NSG.O-see-SS be-SS   do-RP-1PL
      'Coming (I) saw them and we all stayed together.' [skc09_18]

Below, both the pluralized progressive interpretation, and the collective interpretation, are allowed.

(41) *ba*   *kaalû*   *ban*   *flong*   **loka**   **ngatta**   **tagûng**.
      ba   [kaalû   ban   flong]   lo-ka   ngat-ta   ta-gû-ng
      come   vehicle   a   ALL   go.up-SS   be-SS   do-RP-23PL
      'Coming they were all getting up on a car.' [skc09_38]
      Or: 'Coming they got up on the car and stayed together.'

The pluractional has wider scope than the durative aspect in (42). Interestingly, here a second durative aspect occurs with *even wider scope*. This is a calque from the Tok Pisin durative *i go i go*. The durative *i kam* TP calque is also shown to have wider scope over the pluractional, as shown in §24.9.

(42) *gegût manda*   **naandûka**   **aatûkukata**   **kuka**   **kuka**   *mo,...*
      [gegût manda]   naandû-ka   aatûku-ka=ta   ku-ka   ku-ka   mo
      news   perceive-ss   remain-ss=do   go-ss   go-ss   already
      'They continued to keep hearing the Good News and going and going,...' [skc12_01]

Fourth, the pluractional construction can pluralize irrealis events. This is shown with a purposive construction in (43), which has an iterative reading. It is also shown with a desiderative construction in (44). Here the subject is singular, and therefore the desiderative has an iterative reading, conveying the notion of preparation.

(43) *dûnûngkapmangka*   **glomdempata**   *i,...*
      {dûnû-kapmang-ka   glom-de-m=la-ta}   idi
      chop-drop-SS   chop-IRR.DU-1NSG=BEN=do   this.ANA
      '(When we (DU)) chopped down (the trees) to keep chopping them up, ...' [skc09_35]

(44) *kaasingang*   **kuwekka**   *taka*   *tagok*.
      {kaasingang   ku-we-k=la}   ta-ka   ta-go-k
      PN   go-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-ss   do-RP-3SG
      '(He) prepared to go to Kesengen.' [skc09_21]

430

The following illustrates the irrealis, progressive, and pluractional constructions together.

(45) *mikka* **kudengka** **atta** **tang** *yaabûka...*
{{{mik-ka   ku-de-ng=la}   at-ta   ta-ng}} yaa-b-ka
bathe-SS   go-IRR.DU-23NSG=BEN   be-SS   do-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS
'I saw them both wanting to go bathe and…' [skc09_10]

Fifth, the pluractional construction can have scope over previous same-subject clauses. In (46) the subject participants are not only repeatedly holding *bidami* grass in their hands, but also repeatedly cutting it. The focus is on the repeated collection of the grass, and the repeated cutting is left implicit.

(46) *tang*   *taamtaampû*   *bidami*   *dobûka*   *kelang kelang*
ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka   kelang~kelang
do-DS   women=NOM   grass.sp   cut-SS   in.hand~in.hand

isopmûngkata   *monggûng.*
isopm-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
hold.NSG-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
'And the women were cutting *bidami* grass, and holding [bundles] in their hands, they went down.' [skc12_16]

Event-external pluractionality has not been found under the scope of negation in the entire corpus.

25.4   Spatially distributive pluractionality

This section describes an infrequently used subtype of event-external pluractionality. The auxiliary verb *tuku-* 'take' (historically, 'get-go') and the compound *tukungat-* 'take-be' may occur in place of *ta-* to convey distributivity in space.[36] Each form is illustrated below. In (48) the auxiliary is repeated a second time, exhibiting the extended durative aspect (§24.3) as well.

(47) *yaabûgûm*   *kûngempû*   *ba,*
yaa-b-gû-m   {{kûngem=lû   ba
3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL   exhidna=NOM   come

kame   *ya*   **waamut**   **tukugûng.**
[kame   ya]   waamut   tuku-gû-ng}}
ground   this   burrow   take.NSG-RP-23PL
'We saw echidnas coming, and burrowing (into) the ground here and there (TP: *nabaut nabaut*).' [skc09_34]

---

[36] *tuku-* 'take.NSG' is historically composed of *ta* 'get.SG' and *ku-* 'go'

(48) *taka*   ***sesumpa***   ***tukungakngûlû***   ***tukungakngûlû***
      ta-ka   sesu-m-pa   tuku-ngat-ng-lû   tuku-ngat-ng-lû
      do-SS   heat-give-SS   take.NSG-be-DS-23   take.NSG-be-DS-23

      flon   *kaalûmang,*   *blaampa*   *kugûng.*
      flon   kaalûmang-ng   blaam-pa   ku-gû-ng
      body   heal-DS   carry-SS   go-RP-23PL

'And they washed him with hot water all over, and (when) his body healed, they
carried him on their shoulders and went.' [skc12_15]

26 Reality status & modality

Ma Manda exhibits a fundamental opposition between realis and irrealis status. Following Elliot (2000:56), I identify "a grammatical category called reality status with the binary distinction of Realis and Irrealis." Though such a claim is potentially controversial—otherwise argued to be a cluster of related semantic grams related to parallel historical developments (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:239)—in MM the distinction is robust enough to make a strong claim. After describing the domain and function of reality status in §26.1, I turn to briefly describe each of the modal categories in §26.2.

26.1   Reality status

Reality status is a grammatical category that identifies whether or not a proposition belongs to the real world. Of course, what is grammaticalized as belonging to the real world differs from language to language. Here I simply describe the environments that grammatically require irrealis inflection in MM, and then describe the morpho-syntactic behavior of irrealis status.

Irrealis sentences are those that are not asserted by the speaker. This relationship between reality status and assertion is also seen in Amele (Roberts 1994:16), among other Papuan languages. Sentences with irrealis status are not asserted to be true in the real world. Payne's definition applies: "Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described" (1997:244). Irrealis inflection therefore naturally occurs within future contexts, the imperative mood, and in desiderative and purposive constructions.

In MM a proposition which is situated in the future can either be marked as realis (with future tense inflection), or marked as irrealis. If a speaker is willing to commit to a particular prediction, then they will use the future tense inflection within the realis domain. This results in a definitive statement (e.g. a promise or a threat). The realis future is particularly common when discussing events expected to occur within the next day of the speech event. After this point, speakers tend to be less willing to make such strong claims about the future, and instead utilize the irrealis inflection with "remote future" meaning. These patterns are described in Chapter 23, especially the sections on future tense (§23.5) and remote future (§23.6).

Morphologically, realis status is formally unmarked. It is not directly encoded by morphemes. Instead, a realis sentence is obligatorily headed by a finite verb that is marked for tense. As outlined in Chapter 21, and then thoroughly described in Chapter 23, tense consists of a paradigmatic set of four categories—with an irregular fifth "imperfective present" form. The four tenses of remote past, near past, present, and future all exhibit a binary number split. The forms are different depending on whether the subject is singular or non-singular. Irrealis status is encoded by a paradigmatic set of suffixes which exhibit a tripartite number distinction. Thus, the morphological criteria which differentiates between the two statuses involves tense and number. Realis clauses are marked with tense suffixes which exhibit separate SG and NSG forms, while irrealis clauses are not marked for tense, but instead bear either a SG, DU, or PL irrealis suffix. This morphological hierarchy is illustrated in Figure 26.1. This hierarchy is mimicked in other Papuan languages. For example, for the Pamosu language, Tupper (2012:427) argues that "[t]he morphological categories of tense and mood [status] are mutually exclusive."
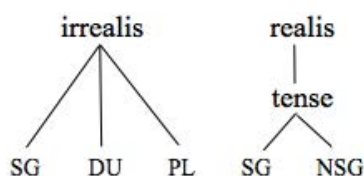
FIGURE 26.1: MORPHOLOGICAL HIERARCHY OF REALITY STATUS

Syntactically, since realis status is used to assert a proposition about the real world, it is compatible with both positive and negative clauses. The assertion may be about the actualization or non-actualization of a particular state of affairs. Thus, reality status operates at a higher level than polarity. Negative realis clauses are illustrated throughout Chapter 23.

Irrealis status is used for states of affairs deemed to be located in some unreal world. This results in its preferred usage for events cast in the distant future (§23.6), as well as for commands (§28.3), the prospective aspect (§24.4), and in desiderative and purposive constructions. These complex constructions are largely outside the scope of the current work, but are briefly described in §26.1.1 and §26.1.2, respectively.

Elliott (2000:69–70) identifies "four broad semantic contexts" that are often coded by means of irrealis-marking across languages. These are "(i) potential events, (ii) events whose occurrence is dependent on certain conditions being fulfilled (conditionals), including counterfactuals, (iii) events which are qualified by modality, and (iv) commands." She then provides a few other environments which are conveyed via irrealis marking in some

languages: These are "(v) negation, (vi) habituals, and (vii) interrogatives." This discussion has shown that Ma Manda utilizes irrealis inflection for potential events and commands. However, the other functions described by Elliott are not borne out in MM. Conditional constructions are coded as realis clauses marked by the anaphoric demonstrative *idi*. Various modalities are marked by enclitics on the verb (potential, see §26.2.1) or on any unit of the clause (dubitative, see §26.2.2), but do not require the irrealis inflection. We have seen that negation does not play a role in initiating irrealis-marking. Finally, the habitual aspect and interrogative moods can occur with both realis and irrealis status.

26.1.1   Desiderative constructions

The desiderative construction consists of a main verb with irrealis inflection and subject-agreement, followed by the benefactive enclitic *=la* (§16.9), and then subsequently followed by the auxiliary verb *ta-* 'do'. This is illustrated below: in (1) the auxiliary verb is marked with a same-subject coordinate suffix, while in (2) it is a finite (final) verb.

(1)   *saande*   *taamengsla*   *saaut*   ***kuwetta***   ***taka***
     [saande   taamengsla]   {saaut   ku-be-t=la}   ta-ka
     Sunday   morning   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN   do-SS

     ku   *lemang*   *taamtaam*   *kadepmenang*   *yaabûgot.*
     ku   [lemang   taamtaam]   kadepmen=nang   yaa-b-go-t
     go   PN   women   main.road=LOC   3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG
     'On Sunday morning I wanted to go to Saut, and going I saw the Lemang ladies on the road.' [skc11_04c]

(2)   *gi*   *mo*   ***fûwekka***   ***taak.***
     gi   {mo   fû-be-k=la}   ta-a-k
     rain   already   come.down-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-PRS-3SG
     'It's might rain.' (lit. 'The rain wants to come down.') [DN03.309.03]

Speakers often follow the construction with another *ta-* 'do' verb. This construction is used to convey the act of preparation on behalf of the actor, as in (3).

(3)   *kaasingang*   ***kuwekka***   ***taka***   ***tagok.***
     {kaasingang   ku-be-k=la}   ta-ka   ta-go-k
     PN   go-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-SS   do-RP-3SG
     'He prepared to go to Kesengen.' [skc09_21]

The desiderative construction may be negated by placing the negator after the auxiliary verb. The negator always coincides with a steep intonational fall. This negated construction produces a frustrative meaning, as illustrated in (4)–(5).

(4) *tang*   *sowekkû*   **filaambekka**   **tagok**   **dom**,
    ta-ng   sowek=lû   {filaang-be-k=la}   ta-go-k   dom
    do-ds   cassowary=NOM   fly-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-RP-3SG   NEG

    flu   *[mogût*   *galowaan].*
    flu   mo-gût   galo-baan
    wing   already-RSTR   break-NMLZ
    'The cassowary tried to fly, but its wing (was) already broken.' [skc12_12]

(5) *fatnaang*   *bantû*   *mi*   *yaampa*   *namboko*   **lowekka**
    [fatnaang   ban=lû]   mi   yaam-pa   {namboko   lo-be-k=la}
    white   a=NOM   water   cross-SS   other.side   go.up-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN

    tagok   **dom**   *milû*   *taalegok.*
    ta-go-k   dom   mi=lû   taale-go-k
    do-RP-3SG   NEG   water=NOM   pull-RP-3SG
    'A white (man) crossed the river and tried to go up the other side but the water pulled him.' [skc11_09a]

Historically, this construction is possibly related to the structure of embedded quotatives, as exemplified by (6). Here the main verb is marked with irrealis and the benefactive (marking the discourse topic; see §16.9.3), and this is followed by *taa-* 'say' rather than the auxiliary *ta-* 'do', which is formally very similar. The desiderative constuction is also markedly similar to the prospective aspect construction (§24.4), which only lacks the benefactive enclitic.

(6) *aanutulû*   *kagat*   *ya*   **sewekka**   **taayak**.
    aanutu=lû   {[kagat   ya]   se-be-k=la}   taa-ya-k.
    God=NOM   village   this   cook-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   say-PRS-3SG
    'God is planning to destroy this city.' (lit. 'God is talking about destroying this city.) [skc12_14]

Finally, it must be stated that the analysis presented herein is only one of several possibilities. Here I treat the main verb of the desiderative construction as being subordinated via cliticization of the benefactive enclitic. The use of benefactives to mark purposives and desideratives is common cross-linguistically (e.g. see the Papuan language Amele (Roberts 1994)). This analysis crucially treats the benefactive-marked verb as head of a finite subordinate clause. However, it is a somewhat opaque analysis, since the posited underlying form *la* never surfaces. This is because it always occurs after the subject-agreement suffix on the irrealis verb—which is always either *-t*, *-ng*, *-k* or *-m*—and undergoes the expected morphophonemic alternations. An alternative analysis would treat this morpheme as a desiderative suffix with no synhronic relationship to the enclitic. However, since it surfaces with multiple forms depending on the final segment of the verb (*ta*, *ka*, *pa*), its phonological behavior is identical to that of the enclitic.

A stronger case can be made for a third analysis. The morpheme could potentially be the same-subject medial verb suffix *-ka*. Recall from §21.6 that this morpheme surfaces as *-ta* and *-pa*, depending on the final segment of the verb stem to which it attaches. In this way, it appears to be historically related to case enclitics (§21.5). If one treats this suffix as a medial verb suffix, the syntactic consequences are far-reaching. Below I provide part of (1) from above again, but this time treating the morpheme as the same-subject suffix.

(7)   *saande*   *taamengsla*   *saaut*   **kuwetta**   **taka**…
       [saande   taamengsla]   saaut   ku-be-t-ta   ta-ka
       Sunday   morning   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG-SS   do-SS
       'On Sunday morning I wanted to go to Saut…' [skc11_04c]

While the translation remains the same, syntactically this would mean that the desiderative construction is operating like an aspect—utilizing an auxiliary verb construction (§22.3). More importantly, it would indicate that reality status is a property of the clause, rather than a property of the sentence. Sentence-level properties like tense and mood would then have wider scope, with the medial verb dependent upon its controlling clause for this information. This would produce an analysis similar to that of Usan (Reesink 1987) and Kobon (Davies 1989), where medial verbs can occur with "future form" (i.e. irrealis), irrespective of the final verb tense category, to express purpose and intention. It would also be similar to Amele (Roberts 1994), where irrealis is also known to occur on medial verbs. In that language, however, the irrealis medial verb is in concord with the final verb, such that both must be either irrealis or both must be realis. This analysis would contradict Foley's (1986:158) treatment of status as an "outer operator".

More research is needed to determine whether Ma Manda purposive and desiderative constructions can truly be analyzed in such a manner. One strong argument against such treatment is the ability of purposive constructions to be postposed after the final verb—a pattern that is strictly forbidden for normal medial clauses in MM. Another is that multiple medial verbs can fall within the scope of the one marker. These properties are discussed below.

26.1.2   Purposive constructions

Purposive constructions are quite similar in form to desiderative clauses. With desideratives a benefactive-marked irrealis verb is followed by an auxiliary, but with purposives the auxiliary is replaced with a lexical verb. This pattern is illustrated in (8)–(10).

(8) *nak*   *mo*   *dapmon*   **dowetta**   *kuyat.*
      nak   mo   {dapmon do-be-t=la}   ku-ya-t
      1SG   already sleep   sleep-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN go-PRS-1SG
      'I am going to sleep now.' [DN02.157.24]

(9) **maangûletta**   *naandûlat.*
      {maangût-e-t=la}   naandû-la-t.
      sit-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN   perceive-PRS-1SG
      'I feel like sitting.' [DN02.179.19]

(10) *tang*   *saaut*   *taba*   *na*   *binbin*   *walû*
      ta-ng   [saaut   taba   na   bin~bin   wa=lû]
      do-DS   PN   resident man   true~true that=NOM

      baalus   *wakaagok*   *wa*   **kanengka**
      {{baalus   wakaa-go-k   wa}   ka-ne-ng=la}
      plane   destroy-RP-3SG   that   see.3SG-IRR.NSG-23PL=BEN

      monggûng.
      mo-gû-ng
      go.down-RP-23PL
      'And the leaders of Saut went down to see the plane that crashed.' [skc12_15]

Example (11) shows that various elements can intervene between the purposive and main clauses. Here the destination NP and an adverb both occur between the subordinate and main clauses.

(11) **sida**   **kam**   **tabekka**   *kewan*   *maa*   *kugok.*
      {sida   kam   ta-be-k=la}   kewan   maa   ku-go-k
      sweet.potato clean do.IRR.SG-3SG=BEN PN   wholly go-RP-3SG
      'He went to Kewan to clean his sweet potato (garden).' [skc09_21]

As discussed in the previous section, it is possible to analyze these benefactive-marked irrealis verbs as medial verbs. In this case, these purpose clauses would be treated as separate units, and the translations would reflect the change. Example (8) from above is recast with the medial verb analysis below.

(12) *nak*   *mo*   *dapmon*   **dowetta**   *kuyat.*
      nak   mo   dapmon   do-be-t-ta   ku-ya-t
      1SG   already sleep   sleep-IRR.SG-1SG-SS go-PRS-1SG
      'I want to sleep and I am going.' [DN02.157.24]

One feature of purpose clauses that potentially invalidates the medial clause analysis is its ability to be postposed. MM medial clauses always occur in sequential order, and they are strictly required to be followed by the finite verb which controls them. However, entire purpose clauses can be placed after the verb in order to bring them into greater focus, as illustrated in (13). For Amele, Roberts (1994:12) deals with this issue by treating them as

438

subordinate medial clauses: "a subordinate medial clause can be extraposed to the end of the matrix clause, whereas a coordinate medial clause is usually fixed sequentially and cannot be extraposed."

(13) *dabammût*   *blaampa*   *yepmanggûng,*
      dabam-nit   blaam-pa   yepma-gû-ng
      cape-3SG.POSS:COM   carry-SS   go.down-RP-23PL

      maanggûnang   kum   sûnanengka.
      {maanggûnang   kum   sû-na-ne-ng=la}
      PN   down.DIST   cook-eat-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN
      'They carried [him] with his cape and went down, to cook and eat him down in *Maanggûnang.*' [skc12_16]

A second feature that seems to preclude a medial clause analysis is that multiple medial verbs can be placed within the purpose clause, as in (14). With the irrealis medial clause analysis, one would expect each separate medial verb to be marked as such.

(14) ***yot   tûmen   ufûmangka   obûnengka***
      {[yot   tûmen]   ufûmang-ka   ob-ne-ng=la}
      house   old   remove.kunai-SS   break-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN

      wan   tawangang.
      wa-n   ta-wa-ng-nang
      that-ANA   do-PRS-23PL-HAB
      'They do this to remove kunai (from) old houses and replace (lit. break) it.' [skc10_11]

Examples such as these provide strong counter-arguments to the medial verb suffix analysis, but more research is needed in order to discover other morpho-syntactic tests that would shed light on the matter.

The corpus does not contain any examples of negated purpose clauses.

26.2   Modality

Modality is "the means by which a speaker qualifies a given event or proposition, and communicates a particular attitude towards the event" (Elliott 2000:69). In many languages, modality is deeply intertwined with reality status, such that irrealis status is realized through one of an array of modalities—each modality conveying a different shade of meaning regarding the speaker's attitude about the truth-conditional value of a particular propsition. In Ma Manda the irrealis status itself conveys a lot of epistemic information about the speaker's expectation regarding the actualization of an event or state. However, a few other modal morphemes exists which do not neatly coincide with status, but instead cross-cut it. The potential modality suffix =*lok* is a non-inflecting marker which marks a clause as possible—

though makes no claim about whether the event transpired. While irrealis status is never used for past tense events outside of the prospective, desiderative, and purposive constructions, the potential modality is used for the past as well as the future. The potential modality is described in §26.2.1. Next, in §26.2.2 I turn to the dubitative modality. This is encoded by an enclitic *=wa* which attaches to whatever clausal constituent for which the speaker wishes to express doubt. At the same time, the related enclitic *=wek* is described, though its core meaning appears to be one of disjunction.

26.2.1 Potential modality

A non-finite verb may be marked with the suffix *=lok* to mark the potential modality. As described in §21.4.1, this suffix is polysemous with the dative case enclitic, and undergoes all of the same morphophonemic alternations. In this function, *=lok* produces a dependent verb which is barred from taking any other verbal morphology. Semantically, the potential modality indicates that an event is possible. The actor's ability to perform an action can be due to their own initiation, as in (15)–(16), or due to their innate ability, as in (17).

(15) *dentû* **obûlok** *kunakngûlû...*
den=lû {ob=lok} kun=at-ng-lû
some=NOM break=POT up.DIST=be-DS-23
'Some were above so they could break it…' [skc10_11]

(16) *walû* *ba* *nanden* **efûtefaalok**...
wa=lû ba {[na=den] **ef**-tefaa=lok}
that=NOM come man=some CAUS-damage=POT
'Coming to mess up some men…' [skc12_06]

(17) *kagok* *i* *ip* *kusamba* *sûnûk* *ip* *den*
ka-go-k idi {{[ip kusamba sûnûk] [ip den]
see.3SG-RP-3SG this.ANA bird big real bird some

gelû **ilûpmûngka** **namaalok**,
gelû ilûpm-ka na-maa=lok
alright hit.NSG-SS eat-CMPL=POT

wasit *na* *gelû* **fuku** **nalok**.
wa-s:it na gelû fuku na=lok}}
that-LK:COM man alright take.NSG eat=POT
'It saw a bird big enough that it could kill some birds and eat them up, and it could take a man and eat him too.' [skc12_12]

  Example (17) illustrates that the scope of the potential modality can be wider than a single subordinate clause. The bulk of this sentence is the complement of *kagok* '3SG saw'. The complement is composed of two coordinated dependent clauses, both headed by

potential modality-marked verbs. In the first clause, the verb is preceded by a coordinate same-subject verb. In the second, it is preceded by a subordinate same-subject verb. In both cases, the modality has a broad scope over these non-final clauses.

While the potential modality generally marks subordinate verbs, the construction can occur by itself, without another accompanying verb. This marks the potential for an event to transpire, often used as a shortcut for indicating something's purpose, as shown in (18). This appears to be an example of de-subordination.

(18) *taaweng*   ***felok***.
  taaweng   fe=lok
  taro   hew=POT
  '(It's) to peel taro.' [DN04.67.02]

Within the imperative mood potential modality-marked verbs produce obligatives ('you must'), as shown in (19). Negated, they produce prohibitives ('you must not')—see §28.3.3.

(19) *wadûng*   *baka*   ***nûmbûlok***.
  wa-dûng   ba-ka   n-b=lok.
  that-ADV   come-SS   1NSG.O-see-POT
  '(You) must come like that and see us.' [DN03.307.19]

When followed by the auxiliary *ta-* 'do', it results in a conative construction, meaning that the actor tries to accomplish something. Crucially, no claim is made as to whether the event actually transpires or not. This is illustrated in (20).

(20) *fi*   *ya*   ***tefaalok***   *taak*   *wa...*
  {{[fi   ya]   tefaa=lok}   ta-a-k   wa}
  work   this   destroy-POT   do-PRS-3SG   that
  'Whatever [spirits] are trying to destroy this work…' [skc12_06]

Conative constructions can be negated by placing a negator between the potential-marked verb and the auxiliary verb, as shown in (21)–(22).

(21) *tang*   *sowek*   ***filaantok***   *dom*   *tang*   *nûnggok...*
  ta-ng   sowek   {filaang=lok}   dom   ta-ng   nû-go-k
  do-DS   cassowary   fly=POT   NEG   do-DS   tell-RP-3SG
  'And the cassowary was unable to fly and [the *gisim* bird] told it…' [skc12_12]

(22) *kadû*   ***lolok***   *dom*   *tang*   *makat*   *sakogûng*.
  {kadû   lo=lok}   dom   ta-ng   makat   sako-gû-ng
  level.PROX   go.up=POT   NEG   do-DS   cry   hold-RP-23PL
  'Since they couldn't go up over there, they cried.' [skc12_13]

26.2.2 Dubitative modality

The enclitic =*wa* attaches to a noun phrase or other element in the clause to express doubt about that particular constituent. This is the primary method of asking polar questions, as described in §28.2.2. However, it also occasionally occurs in declarative clauses, as shown in (23). Here the morpheme occurs at the end of the noun phrase 'three months', expressing doubt about exactly how long they wait to return to their gardens.

(23) *gambom   usuka,   baka   aatûkugû*
     gambom   usu-ka   ba-ka   aatûku-gû
     bean   plant-SS   come-SS   remain-DUR

     *emak,   **yaalanangka**   wan   yaabûka   mo,*
     [emak   yaalanang=wa]   wa-n   yaa-b-ka   mo
     moon   three=DUB   that-ANA 3NSG.O-see-SS already
     'We plant the beans, and come remain until after maybe three or so months have passed…' [skc09_17]

The dubitative modality is also used to produce disjunction within noun phrases, as in (24)–(25), or between clauses. In this function it either occurs on only the first element, or on both elements. More research is needed in order to determine the semantic contrast between these patterns.

(24) ***taamtaampa**   na   fentagût,   tet   welû   tametta...*
     taamtaam=wa   na   fentagût   tet   welû   tamet-ta
     women=DUB   man   all   yam   seed   carry-SS
     'All the women or men carry the yam seeds…' [skc12_05]

(25) *klistal   gak   **kaadûppa**   dom   **kaaudawa**   sakoka*
     klistal   gak   [kaadûp=wa   dom   kaauda=wa]   sako-ka
     PN   2SG   wood=DUB   NEG   stone=DUB   hold.3SG-SS

     laayantok   mûmbe.
     laayan=lok   m-be
     PN=DAT   give-IRR.SG
     'Crystal you grab a piece of wood or a stone and give it to Ryan.' [DN03.277.12]

Another enclitic, =*wek*, also occurs in similar environments and with a similar meaning to =*wa*. As described in §28.2, =*wek* seems to also indicate doubt over a constituent, clause or sentence. However, rather than expressing simple doubt, =*wek* indicates that only one option is allowed, to the exclusion of other possible alternatives.

(26) *kep   gak   ip   **bantek**   talaamgong?*
     kep   gak   [ip   ban=wek]   talaam-go-ng
     yesterday 2SG   bird   a=DISJ   shoot-RP-2SG
     'Yesterday did you shoot a bird or?' [DN01.117.12]

When marking disjunction, it generally occurs on every element, as in (27).

(27) ***kaaudawek***   ***kuyangkek***   ***yokeppek***   *naambe.*
kaauda=wek   kuyang=wek   yokep=wek   naa-m-be
stone=DISJ   stick=DISJ   tongs=DISJ   1SG.O-give-IRR.SG
'Give me either the stone or the stick or the tongs.' [DN04.47.14]

443

PART VII: THE CLAUSE

Part VII is concerned with the clause. Verbless clauses are addressed in Chapter 27, followed by grammatical mood and speech act types in Chapter 28, and then clause-linking in Chapter 29.

27 Verbless clauses

Clauses may be divided into two classes based on the presence or absence of a verbal predicate.

In verbal clauses, the predicate comprises a verb which carries either finite (§21.1) or non-finite (§21.2) inflections. Verbs may be divided into four transitivity classes. Intransitive verbs license a single S argument. Transitive verbs license two core arguments—A and O. Transitive verbs are further divided into three morphological categories based on their object-agreement morphology, and/or verb stem alternation (§21.3). Ambitransitive verbs are flexible, functioning as either intransitive or transitive depending on the clause. Each ambitransitive verb is either patientive—in which the S role in intransitive clauses coincides with the O role in transitive clauses—or agentive—in which the S and A roles coincide. Finally, a ditransitive verb licenses three core arguments—A, O, and O_2. Furthermore, each syntactic class can be broken up into a number of semantic classes based on their interaction with aspect, pluractionality, etc. These characteristics of verbal clauses are addressed in §10.1.

In verbless (AKA non-verbal) clauses, the predicate comprises a word or phrase that is not verbal. That is, it cannot bear the grammatical categories of tense, reality status, subject-agreement, object-agreement, aspectual SVCs, and aspectual auxiliary verb constructions. In these constructions the first element is termed the "verbless clause subject", while the predicate slot is filled by the "verbless clause complement". Verbless clauses can be divided into at least six categories—equative, attributive, locative, possessive, existential, and adverbial. Each type is described in turn below.

27.1 Equative clauses

Equative clauses consist of a subject which is stated as being coextensive with the complement. Both constituents consist of either single- or multi-word noun phrases. As shown below, nominalized clauses can serve as the complement. In the following sections the verbless clause complements (VCCs) are in bold.

(1)   *gulam*   *udu*   ***kûda****.*
       gulam   udu   kûda
       aibika   that.ANA   greens
       'Those aibika are greens.' [DN02.195.20]

(2)   *manggat*   *ya*   **walawala**   **isopmbaan**.
       [manggat   ya]   {wala~wala   isopm-baan}
       thing   this   image~image   hold.NSG-NMLZ

(3)   *flu*   *mogût*   **galowaan**.
       flu   {mo-gût   galo-baan}
       wing   already-RSTR   break-NMLZ
       'Its wing (was) already broken.' [skc12_12]

Both subject and complement positions can be filled by proper names, possessive NPs, and interrogatives, as shown in turn below.

(4)   *na*   *udu*   **laayan**.
       na   udu   laayan
       man   that.ANA   PN
       'That man is Ryan.' [DN05.31.04]

(5)   *na*   *udu,*   **nonang**   **finana**.
       na   udu   [nonang   fi-na-na]
       man   that.ANA   1SG.GEN   work-man-1SG.POSS
       'That man is my workman.' [DN05.31.06]

(6)   *kudu*   **maasû**?
       kudu   maasû
       level.DIST   which
       'Which (one) is that over there?' (lit. 'That (over there), which?') [DN04.13.03]

(7)   *wa*   **net**?
       wa   net
       that   who
       'Who is that?' (lit. 'That, who?') [DN02.149.01]

Regarding the structure of equative clauses, note the frequent use of demonstratives. This is universal pattern in both equative and attributive clauses. The pattern is due to the topic–comment structure of verbless clauses. The verbless clause subject is necessarily topical. As such, it is never marked with nominative case (§16.2). After the topic, a resumptive demonstrative occurs in subject position, and this is followed by the verbless clause complement. So examples like (1) actually consist of three separate NP constituents: NP_TOP NP_VCS NP_vcc. On the other hand, when the topical NP is filled by a demonstrative, as in (6)–(7), a further resumptive demonstrative does not occur. This is true when a noun-head topical NP is modified by a demonstrative as well—a second demonstrative cannot occur. The structure is illustrated below. Note that, often, modifying demonstratives surface in reduced forms due to their unstressed location. This provides a clue to the underlying structure. See §20.1.2 for a further discussion of the relationships between demonstrative forms and stress assignment.

(8)   *na*   ***udu***   *bepma.*   /   *na*   ***u***   *bepma.*
      na   udu   bep-na   /   [na   udu]   bep-na
      man   that.ANA   father-1SG.POSS   /   man   that.ANA father-1SG.POSS
      'The man, he is my father.' / 'That man is my father.' [DN02.195.21]

As shown in the following speech report, demonstratives can occur in the complement slot as well.

(9)   *nuka*   *lû*   *nûnggok,*   *eng.*   *uma*   ***wa****!*
      [nuka   lû]   nû-go-k   {{eng   udu-ma   wa}}
      PN   NOM   tell-RP-3SG   yes   that.ANA-EMPH that
      'Nuka told him, "Yes. That's it!"' [skc11_09c]

At present I find no negated equative clauses in the corpus.

27.2   Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses are basically identical to equative clauses. The only difference is that the complement slot is filled by an adjective, rather than an NP.

(10) *plit*   *idi*   ***waagem****.*
      plit   idi   waagem
      passion.fruit   this.ANA   bad
      'This passion fruit is bad.' [DN05.031.02]

(11) *naanang*   *yot*   *udu*   ***kusamba****.*
      [nak-nga=nang   yot]   udu   kusamba
      1SG-EMPH=GEN   house   that.ANA   big
      'My house is big.'

Attributive clauses expressing opposite values may be juxtaposed as a comparative construction strategy:

(12) *kagang*   *manda*   ***yupmalaan****,*   *ip*   *manda*   ***tupmungka****.*
      [kagang   manda]   yupmalaan   [ip   manda]   tupmungka
      village   talk   long   bird   talk   short
      'Vernacular (TP: *tok ples*) is longer than Tok Pisin.' [DN02.179.18]

Attributive clauses may be negated, as shown below. More research is needed to determine whether any distinction exists between negative existential, and negative attributive, clauses.

(13) *gi*   *utta*   *mi*   *galoka*   *bagok,*   ***saakûm***   ***dom****.*
      gi   ut-ta   mi   galo-ka   ba-go-k   saakûm   dom
      rain   hit-SS   water   break-SS   come-RP-3SG   small   NEG
      'The rain beat down and the water flooded (lit. 'broke') and came and it was no small (amount).' [skc12_13]

447

27.3   Locative clauses

Locative clauses are quite rare in the corpus, since normally a clause expressing location will have a stative or motion verb predicate. However, a demonstrative in locative adverbial function is shown below.

(14) *kuduma   **kudu**.*
      kudu-ma   kudu
      level.DIST-EMPH level.DIST
      'That there.' [skc09_34]

Locative clauses can be negated as well. Here the adjective *kaapmûnggem* 'near' is followed by the negator.

(15) *mi   **kaapmûnggem   dom**,   walataka...*
      mi   kaapmûnggem   dom   walataka
      water   near   NEG   therefore
      'The water was not near, therefore…' [skc12_04]

27.4   Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses consist of a noun marked with a possessive-comitative suffix (§15.2.3). Two positive examples have been elicited. I provide them with a great deal of reservation. The second example does not have a possessive-comitative suffix, but instead has a possessive NP followed by a numeral. Perhaps this is actually technically an attributive clause, "My pigs are three."

(16) *mukuyanaat.*
      mukuya-naat
      pig-1SG.POSS:COM
      'I have pigs.' [DN02.223.06]

(17) *nonang   **mukuyana**   yaalanang.*
      [nonang   mukuya-na]   yaalanang
      1SG:GEN   pig-1SG.POSS   three
      'I have three pigs.' [DN05.31.05]

One natural example of a positive possessive clause exists in the corpus, and it is followed by the emphatic 'yes' interjection *ta*. This produces a tag question (§28.2.3).

(18) *gak   kodûpga,   **ta***?
      gak   kodûp-ga   ta
      2SG   betel.nut-2SG.POSS   yes!
      'You have betel nut, right?' [DN02.223.10]

Much more frequently, the possessive-comitative noun occurs in the complement slot, along with a following negator.

(19) *atatga*   *aaweaawenit*   ***dom***   *kaat.*
{{at~at-ga   aawe~aawe-nit   dom}} ka-a-t
be~be-2SG.POSS   finish~finish-3SG.POSS:COM   NEG   see.3SG-PRS-1SG
'I see that your presence has no end.' [skc09_26]

(20) *nantaam*   *mensit*   ***dom***   *daausit*   ***dom***…
nataam   men-sit   dom   daau-sit   dom
people   mouth-23PL.POSS:COM   NEG   eye-23PL.POSS:COM   NEG
'The people did not have mouths or eyes.' [skc11_16]

(21) *manggat*   *binit*   ***dom***,   *wagam*   *tafem*   *taat.*
manggat   [bin-nit   dom]   wagam   ta-fem   ta-a-t
thing   true-3SG.POSS:COM   NEG   nothing do-ineffectual do-PRS-1SG
'Nothing really, I'm doing nothing.' (TP: 'Nogat as, mi mekim nating.')

27.5   Negative existential clauses

I do not find any clear examples of verbless existential clauses in the corpus. However, examples such as the following appear to be at least formally similar to a negative existential clause. Here the subject is *manggat* 'thing', and the negator fills the complement slot. However, the two have fused together into a single phonological word. This is a common pattern.

(22) *tang*   *kobûse*   *ban*   *walû*   *nûnggok*   ***manggadom***.
ta-ng   [kobûse   ban   wa=lû]   nû-go-k   {{manggat:dom}}
do-DS   chicken   a   that=NOM   tell-RP-3SG thing:NEG
And the other chicken told him, "Not a problem."

27.6   Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses consist of adverbs filling the complement slot. This is the way to close prayers, as shown below.

(23) ***u(du),***   *bûgût*
udu   bûgût
that.ANA   true
'Amen.' (lit. 'That, true.') [skc10_08]

It also occurs with the phasal adverb *mo* 'already', the manner adverb *gelû* 'alright', the interrogative adverb *dûdû* 'how' (a manner adverb), and the adverbialized demonstratives (which are also manner adverbs). These are illustrated in turn below.

(24) *nak* ***mo****.*
nak   mo
1sg   already
'I'm done.' [DN02.237.06]

(25) *nak* ***gelû***
nak   gelû
1SG   alright
'I'm alright.' [DN02.237.05]

(26) *ta*   *wa*   *bangaamok*   *udu,*   ***dûdû****?*
ta   {wa   ba-ngaa-mok   udu}   dûdû
do   there   come-NP-23DU   that.ANA   how
'But how did you come there?' (lit. 'But your having coming there, how?') [skc09_38]

(27) *mila*   *taawaam*   *udu,*   ***membû***   ***yadûng***
{mi=la   taa-waa-m   udu}   membû   ya-dûng
water=BEN   say-PRS-1PL   that.ANA   just   this-ADV
'(What) we say for water, is just like this.' [skc12_04]

(28) ***wadûng****.*
wa-dûng
that-ADV

yagusuwa   *kaang*   *kobûsenang*   *ulaksek*   ***wadûng****.*
[yagusuwa   kaang   kobûse=nang   ulak-sek]   wa-dûng
wild.fowl.sp   two   chicken=GEN   story-23DU.POSS   that-ADV
'Like that. The wild fowl and chicken story is like that.' [skc12_11]

Adverbs can be negated in verbless clauses as well, as shown below:

(29) *wadûng*   ***dom****.*
wa-dûng   dom
that-ADV   NEG
'It's not like that.' [DN02.223.04]

28 Mood

Following Dixon (2010a:96), I identify mood as a property of the sentence. It is a grammatical system used to express three primary speech act types: statements (declarative mood; §28.1), questions (interrogative mood; §28.2), and commands (imperative mood; §28.3). This is distinguished from "modality" (§26.2), which describes semantic distinctions outside of the "real world". While any clause may bear any one of the different modalities, these fall within a sentence which can only bear one grammatical mood. Each mood is expressed with a cluster of phonological and morpho-syntactic properties, and this has scope over every clause within the sentence. Special mood particles do not occur in Ma Manda. The three moods are described in the following sections. First, their phonological and morpho-syntactic correlates are summarized below ("–" in the table means that the default pattern occurs).

TABLE 28.1: CORRELATES OF MOOD CATEGORIES

	Declarative	Interrogative		Imperative		
		Content	Polar	Irrealis	Realis	Obligatives
Phonological						
Intonation	–	–	H or LH when DUB enclitic absent	Exaggerated H*L contour	Exaggerated H*L contour	Exaggerated H*L contour
Phrasal stress	–	Interrogative word	Questioned constituent(s)	–	–	–
Morphological						
Verb paradigm	–	–	–	Irrealis paradigm w/o subject-agreement suffixes; "potential" marker for prohibitives	Future tense paradigm (second person subjects)	Potential modality marker =*lok*
Syntactic						
Constituent order	–	Interrogative word cannot be fronted	–	No non-standard orders	No non-standard orders	No non-standard orders
Verbless clauses	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Negation	Negative declarative	None	Negative polar interrogatives; tag questions	Negative imperatives	None	Prohibitives
Other	–	Interrogative word *in situ*	DUB enclitic attaches to questioned constituent	Overt pronouns common; expressives common; polite with *gelû*	Overt pronouns common	Polite with *gelû*
Functions						
	Statements	Content questions	Polar questions, requests, invitations, rhetorical questions, greetings	Commands, leave-taking, seeking permission	Strong commands	Giving permission, allowing, forbidding

28.1 Declarative mood

The declarative mood is used for statements. Matching cross-linguistic tendency, the declarative mood is the unmarked mood in Ma Manda. It is phonologically unmarked, exhibiting the default phrasal stress patterns, H*L stress accent, and boundary tones (§6.4). It is morphologically unmarked, taking the full array of tense and reality status suffixes on verbs, as well as the full array of persons in the subject-agreement paradigm. It is also syntactically unmarked, exhibiting all constituent orders including topical fronting and right-

dislocated focusing. Declarative clauses can be verbal or verbless and exhibit the full array of grammatical relations. The declarative mood is utilized for statements.

28.2   Interrogative mood

The interrogative mood is marked by one of two patterns, depending on whether the sentence is a content question or a polar question. Content questions are identical with their declarative counterparts, except for the addition of an interrogative word which occurs *in situ*. Polar questions are quite similar to declarative clauses, except for the addition of the dubitative enclitic *=wa* marking the focused constituent. This focused constituent is then required to bear the H*L stress accent, and it is sometimes a little exaggerated, with a higher H followed by a lower L. When the dubitative enclitic is left out, then the sentence exhibits a steady H intonation pattern, or a LH rising pattern. Polar questions are also used for requests, invitations, and rhetorical questions.

Below, I address content questions in §28.2.1 and polar questions in §28.2.2. Later, I briefly discuss tag questions in §28.2.3, rhetorical questions in §28.2.4, and emphatic questions in §28.2.5.

28.2.1   Content questions

Content questions are very similar to declarative clauses, except for the presence of an interrogative word occurring in place of the questioned constituent. Ma Manda has seven primary interrogative words, which are described and illustrated in §13.5. While interrogative words form a closed word class in certain respects, every word belongs to one of the other word classes available in the language. Multiple interrogative words have not been found to co-occur in the same sentence. The interrogative words also occur in declarative and imperative clauses with indefinite, rather than interrogative, function. This is discussed in §13.5 as well.

Since interrogative words are addressed elsewhere, here I only briefly illustrate them. Below note the *in situ* location of the interrogative word *daa* 'where'.

(1)   *figa*   ***daa***   *attak?*
       fi-ga   daa   at-ta-k
       garden-2SG.POSS   where   be-PRS-3SG
       'Where is your garden?' [DN02.153.15]

The following two examples illustrate the pragmatic role of interrogative words. As discussed in §16.2.2, interrogative words bear inherent focus. Since they cannot be in topic position, when they function as the subject they are required to bear nominative case. This is one of the few areas where nominative case is required. The nominative postposition in the first example forces it to be interpreted as the A argument, while its absence in the second example forces it to be interpreted as the O argument.

(2) ***nettû***   *kaang?*
    net=lû   ka-a-ng
    who=NOM   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
    'Who are you (that) sees him?' [DN04.75.56]

(3) ***net***   *kaang?*
    net   ka-a-ng
    who   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
    'Whom do you see?' [DN04.75.56]

Interrogative words have identical morpho-syntactic features as the word classes they fill. For example, the manner adverbial demonstrative *dûdû* 'how' precedes the verb and also functions in the complement slot of verbless clauses. It can also be reduplicated.

(4) ***dûdû***   *usutaat?*
    dûdû   usu-taa-t
    how   plant-FUT-1SG
    'How should I plant (it)?' [DN02.180.22]

(5) *ta*   *wa*   *bangaamok*   *udu,*   ***dûdû****?*
    ta   {wa ba-ngaa-mok   udu}   dûdû
    do   there come-NP-23DU   that.ANA how
    'But how did you come there?' (lit. 'But your having coming there, how?') [skc09_38]

(6) ***dûdû dûdû***   *tagot*   *wasûnang*   *taabûtaat.*
    {dûdû~dûdû   ta-go-t   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
    how~how   do-RP-1SG   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
    'I will talk about all that I did.' [skc09_35]

Responses to content questions typically have the identical form as the question, except with the interrogative word replaced by the answer. The topical argument may also be dropped in the response, as illustrated below.

(7) Q: *tuwa*   *meng*   ***daa***   *attak?*
         [tuwa   mother]   daa   at-ta-k
         firstborn.male mother   where be-PRS-3SG
         'Where is Tuwa's mom?'

A: ***kosaan***   *kudu*   *attak.*
        kosaan   kudu   at-ta-k
        side   level.DIST be-PRS-3SG
        'She is there on that side.'

Content questions never co-occur with negated predicates in the corpus.

28.2.2   Polar questions

Polar questions are very similar to declarative clauses, except for the presence of the dubitative enclitic =*wa* (surfacing as either *wa*, *pa*, *ta*, or *ka*; see §13.10). This enclitic attaches to the final word of the questioned constituent. It can be used to question words from any class, including nouns, modifiers, adverbs, light verb complements, and verbs. The marked constituent is then accorded phrasal focus, and thus receives intonational prominence. The intonational pattern is not measurably different from declarative sentences. Optionally, the focused constituent receives a more pronounced H*L pitch accent, with a somewhat higher H, followed rapidly by a lower L. When the dubitative enclitic is left out, only the entire sentence can be questioned. In this case the sentence exhibits a steady H intonation pattern, or a LH rising pattern.

The polar question marker is termed a "dubitative" enclitic because =*wa* is used to express doubt about a constituent when it occurs outside the interrogative mood (§26.2.2). It also has a role in noun phrase disjunction (§18.4). This is a similar pattern to Nungon (Sarvasy 2014d:563), where it is also called a "dubitative marker".

Almost any element may bear pragmatic focus in a polar interrogative sentence. Each possibility is exemplified in turn below. Note that the constituents which are marked with the dubitative enclitic are bolded in the following examples, and in the translations the focused word or phrase is capitalized. The stated answers to many of the questions are provided as well. Interjective affirmatives and negatives seldom occur by themselves in response to polar questions. Instead, the affirmative or negative answer is generally followed by a complete recapitulation of the clause. If a modifier or adverb is questioned, it is also included in the response. Interjections are recapitulated as well. Affirmative responses to negative questions use the emphatic *ta* 'yes' interjection, followed by a recapitulated negative clause.

First of all, nouns may be questioned, as with noun *yak* 'bilum' in the object noun phrase in (8). Pronouns, pronominal demonstratives, and proper names are not directly questioned in the corpus.

(8) **yakka** *felang?*
    yak=wa   fe-la-ng
    bilum=DUB   knit-PRS-2SG
    'Are you knitting A BILUM?' [DN02.175.03]

The questioned noun phrase can be in object position as above, or in oblique position, as in (9)–(10). These examples show that the enclitic attaches to the postposition rather than the head noun, unless no postposition is present, as with the place name Kainantu in (10).

(9) *mi* **flongka** *kutaang?*
    [mi   flong=wa]   ku-taa-ng
    water   ALL=DUB   go-FUT-2SG
    'Will you go TO THE WATER?' [DN02.155.21]

(10) *Q:*   *yambayong* **fomgûtta**   **kaainentuwa**   *laabûntaang?*
        [yambayong   fom-gût=wa]   kaainentu=wa   laab-ntaa-ng
        PN   together-ADV=DUB   Kainantu=DUB   come.up-FUT-23PL
        'Will you come up TO KAINANTU, together WITH YAMBAYONG?'

     A: *dom.* *yambayong* *yangaakngûlû* *idi,*
           dom   yambayong   ya=ngat-ng-lû   idi
           NEG   PN   here=be-DS-23   this.ANA

           garambontit   *lontaamot*   *taamengsla.*
           garambon=lit   lo-ntaa-mot   taamengsla
           PN=COM   go.up-FUT-1DU   morning
           'No. Yambayong staying here, I will go up with Garambon in the morning.'
           [skc09_38]

Example (10) also illustrates the fact that multiple elements within an interrogative clause may be questioned simultaneously—here two oblique NPs. Interestingly, subject noun phrases are never marked with the dubitative enclitic. The entire predicate is questioned in (11). Here the addressee, *Tuwa* 'firstborn son', is asked if he is planning to go to the water. Tuwa's response is that his younger brother *Mona* will go instead. This example is quite similar to (9), though with the verb marked rather than the oblique NP. Note that *tuwa* is the addressee, and thus serves as a vocative NP, with the actual subject only marked with verb agreement.

(11) *Q:*   *tuwa,*   *mi*   *flong*   **kutaangka***?*
        tuwa   [mi   flong]   ku-taa-ng=wa
        firstborn.male   water ALL   go-FUT-2SG=DUB
        'Tuwa, are you going to go to the water?'

     A: *dom.* *monalû*   *mi*   *flong*   *kutaak.*
           dom   mona=lû   [mi   flong]   ku-taa-k
           NEG   secondborn.male=NOM   water ALL   go-FUT-3SG
           'No. Mona will go to the water.' [DN04.76.58]

Within a noun phrase, any modifier may be questioned. For example, a demonstrative is questioned in (12)–(13), and a quantifier in (14). However, the corpus contains no examples of questioned noun phrases containing multiple modifying elements. It seems to be the case that the very presence of a single modifier indicates that this quality in particular is in question. Otherwise, pragmatically, the modifier would not have need of mentioning at all.

(12) *nak   ip   **uwa**   talaambûtaat?*
     nak   [ip   udu=wa]   talaam-b-taa-t
     1SG   bird   that.ANA=DUB   shoot-EP-FUT-1SG
     'Will I shoot THAT bird?' [DN01.115.01]

(13) *tawaang   **kunta**   ngaagû   fûlang*
     [tawaang   kun=wa]   ngat-gû   fû-la-ng
     mountain   up.DIST=DUB   be-DUR   come.down-PRS-2SG
     'Were you UP on the mountain and you're coming down?' [DN03.293.58]

(14) *kep   gak   **ip   mamampa**   yalaamgok?*
     kep   gak   [ip   mamam=wa]   y-talaam-go-k
     yesterday   2SG   bird   many=DUB   3NSG.O-shoot-RP-3SG
     'Yesterday did he shoot MANY birds?' [DN01.119.14]

Adverbs may be questioned as well, as in (15)–(18). The answers to such questions always directly address the adverbial element. Compare the affirmative response in (17)—where the adverb is repeated—with the negative response in (18)—where the adverb *mo* 'already' is replaced with *kogût* 'not yet'. The response in (16) then shows that the affirmative interjection *eng* 'yes' need not be overtly stated.

(15) ***gelûwa***   *naandûlang?*
     gelû=wa   naandû-la-ng
     alright=DUB   know-PRS-2SG
     'Are you hearing alright?' [DN02.184.50]

(16) *Q: gak   **buwa**   baang?*
             gak   bû=wa   ba-a-ng
             2SG   too=DUB   come-PRS-2SG
             'You are coming TOO?'

     A: nak   bû   baat.
             nak   bû   ba-a-t
             1SG   too   come-PRS-1SG
             'I'm coming too.' [DN04.70.23]

(17) *Q: **mowa**   baang?*
             mo=wa   ba-a-ng
             already=DUB   eat-PRS-2SG
             'You've ALREADY come?' [skc09_23]

A: *eng.   mombaat.*
      eng   mo=ba-a-t
      yes   already=come-PRS-1SG
      'Yes, I've already come.'

(18) Q: *taamtaam   kapa   **mowa**   kung?*
           taamtaam   kapa   mo=wa   ku-ng
           women   worship   already=DUB   go-NP:23PL
           'Have the women already gone to worship?' [DN02.177.02]

A: *dom   kung   kogût.   met   kuntaang.*
      dom   ku-ng   kogût   met   ku-ntaa-ng
      NEG   go-NP:23PL   not.yet   later   go-FUT-23PL
      'No, they haven't gone yet. They'll go later.' [DN02.177.03]

Example (17) above illustrates a typical greeting. Polar interrogatives are frequently used in greetings in MM. Nowadays, due to the influence of Tok Pisin and English, speakers often use calques such as *tafala kaalin* 'good afternoon' instead.

Next, the predicate can be directly marked with the dubitative enclitic, thus allowing the entire clause to be questioned as a whole. See (11) above, as well as (19) below. Here, the question is a request for permission, and the response contains only the potential modality-marked verb (§26.2.1), operating as a permissive.

(19) Q: *nak   kaadûp   **sewetta**?*
           nak   kaadûp   se-we-t=wa
           1SG   wood   cook-IRR.SG-1SG=DUB
           'May I make a fire?'

A: *selok.*
      se=lok
      cook=POT
      '(You) may make a fire.' [DN03.301.04]

When light verb complements are questioned, it is the light verb which is marked rather than the preceding complement, as shown in (20). This is an important criterion for distinguishing light verb complements from either objects or adverbs, both of which are questioned by directly attaching the dubitative enclitic. Since the light verb complement is part of a complex predicate, it cannot be questioned separately from the light verb itself.

(20)   *galang   **tabûtaangka**?*
        galang   ta-b-taa-ng=wa
        play   do-EP-FUT-2SG=DUB
        'Will you play?' [DN02.207.04]

458

When a predicate is marked with the enclitic, it is ambiguous as to which element is being questioned. For example, in (21) the verb *-b-* 'see' is marked with a second person object prefix and a second/third person dual subject suffix. Whether the action itself, or one of the two arguments, is in focus, is entirely dependent upon context. More research is needed in order to determine whether stress and intonation play minor roles here.

(21) *kep*   ***gaabûgûmokka****?*
      kep   gaa-b-gû-mok=wa
      yesterday   2SG.O-see-RP-23DU=DUB
      'Yesterday did they (DU) see you?' [DN01.124.35]

Every time the negator occurs in a polar interrogative clause, it is marked with the dubitative enclitic and given intonational prominence. Additionally, the expected response is negative, so a negative response is introduced with 'yes', as shown in (22).

(22) *Q:*   *kaapmûnggem*   *kam*   *mongak*
             {{kaapmûnggem   kam   mo-nga-k}}
             near   down.PROX   go.down-NP-3SG

             dopa   *kangaamok?*
             dom:wa   ka-ngaa-mok
             NEG:DUB   see-NP-23DU
             'You didn't see it go down there nearby?'

      A: *ta.*   *dom*   *kangaamot.*
             ta   dom   ka-ngaa-mot
             yes!   NEG   see-NP-1DU
             'Yes! We didn't see it.' [skc09_23]

Finally, various one-word utterances have been observed in polar questions:

(23) *Q:*   *gelûwa?*
             gelû=wa
             alright=DUB
             'Alright?'

      A: *eng.*   *gelû.*
             eng   gelû
             yes   alright
             'Yes. Alright.'

(24) Q: *yadûngka?*
          ya-dûng=wa
          this-ADV=DUB
          'Like this?'

     A: *wadûng   dom.*
          wa-dûng   dom
          that-ADV   NEG
          'Not like that.' [DN02.223.04]

(25) **gelûwa**   *taabûtaang?*   *...*   *got*   **gelûwa**   *kuntaamot?*
     gelû=wa   taa-b-taa-ng   got   gelû=wa   ku-ntaa-mot
     okay=DUB   say-EP-FUT-2SG   2SG:COM   okay=DUB   go-FUT-1DU
     'Will you say OKAY? … I'll go with you OKAY?' [skc09_38]

28.2.3   Tag questions

Two types of tag questions are available in Ma Manda. First, a negative tag question is formed by following the interrogative sentence with the negator. This type of question is quite aggressive.

(26) *gak   kunum   malompûnang   nanak   sûnûkka,   dom?*
     gak   [kunum   malom=lûnang   nanak   sûnûk=wa]   dom
     2SG   heaven   lord=GEN   child   real=DUB   NEG
     'Are you a REAL child of the Lord of Heaven or not?' [skc11_06c]

     Second, a positive tag question is formed by following a sentence with the emphatic affirmative interjection *ta*. Note that with positive tag questions, the dubitative enclitic does not occur.

(27) *gak   kodûpga,   ta?*
     gak   kodûp-ga   ta
     2SG   betel.nut-2SG.POSS   yes!
     'You have betel nut, right?' [DN02.223.10]

28.2.4   Rhetorical questions

Ma Manda has two primary types of rhetorical questions—negative and positive. Rhetorical questions are not spoken with the expectation of a response. Sometimes a negator is marked with the dubitative enclitic, even though no answer is expected. For example, in (28) the speaker already knew that the answer would be negative, and no response was offered. Therefore it was technically not a question. In (29) a bird already knows it has been magically prevented from defecating on the ground. This is a response to a curse, and does not receive a further response.

460

(28) **dopa   kaang?**
     dom:wa   ka-a-ng
     NEG:DUB   see-PRS-2SG
     'You don't see it? (I know you don't.)' [skc11_11b]

(29) *wan   taang   gisûmpû   nûnggok,*
     wa-n   taa-ng   gisûm=lû   nû-go-k
     that-ANA   say-DS   bird.sp=NOM   tell-RP-3SG

     *kaadûp   flong   usung   **dopa**   kulaatnang?*
     {{[kaadûp flong]   usung   dom:wa   kula-a-t-nang}}
     tree   ALL   above   NEG:DUB   defecate-PRS-1SG-HAB
     [The cassowary poisoned the *gisûm* bird, forcing him to defecate on the ground.]
     'Saying that, the *gisûm* bird asked him, "I defecate up in the trees, huh?" (I know I
     do.)' [skc12_12]

Ma Manda also has a special rhetorical particle *usûk* (§13.10). This word always
immediately precedes the verb to indicate that the statement is rhetorical. While the negative
rhetorical question takes for granted that the response would have been negative, the use of
usûk takes for granted that the response would be positive. Example (30) is a minimal pair
with (28) above. Here the speaker and addressee are looking at a picture together. Another
example is provided in (31). This is taken from the same story as the negative rhetorical
question in (29).

(30) **usûk   kaang?**
     usûk   ka-a-ng
     RHET   see-PRS-2SG
     'You see it? (I know you do).'

(31) *tang   nûnggok,   **usûk** naandûlang?*
     ta-ng   nû-go-k   {{usûk naandû-la-ng
     do-DS   tell-RP-3SG   RHET   hear-PRS-2SG

     nak   fluna   mo   wobûlat.   gak   bû   wobe!
     nak   flu-na   mo   ob-la-t   gak   bû   ob-be}}
     1SG   wing-1SG.POSS   already   break-PRS-1SG   2SG   too   break-IRR.SG
     'And [the *gisûm* bird] told [the cassowary], "You hear? I've broken my wings, (so)
     you break (them) too!"' [skc12_12]

28.2.5   Disjunctive questions

Disjunctive questions are formed by attaching the disjunctive enclitic =*wek* 'either…or'
(§13.10) to the questioned noun phrase. In this way, it functions similarly to a basic polar
question. However, as shown in (32), such questions have an elliptical overtone. In this case,
the speaker questions whether more birds were shot. The effect is incredulity. See §18.4 for
its use in NP disjunction.

(32)   *kep*   *gak*   *ip*   **bantek**   *talaamgong?*
          kep   gak   [ip   ban=wek]   talaam-go-ng
          yesterday   2SG   bird   a=DISJ   shoot-RP-2SG
          'Yesterday did you shoot a bird or…?' [DN01.117.12]

This disjunctive particle, in its coordinative role, is occasionally used rhetorically. When I (completely counter-culturally) asked a MM speaker whether their unborn child was male or female, the speaker replied with the example below. Note too the formal similarity between the disjunctive enclitic and the irrealis singular suffix *-be*, with the third-person subject-agreement suffix *-k*.

(33)   *nawek*   *taamûngkek*   *genangkawek?*
          [na=wek   taamûng=wek]   genangka-be-k
          male=DISJ   female=DISJ   appear-IRR.SG-3SG
          'Will a boy or girl be born? (I don't know.)' [DN02.188.70]

The disjunctive particle also occurs with rhetorical tag questions, marking both the questioned constituent and the negator. This is different from the other tag questions, where the negator is not marked.

(34)   *kutaattek*   *dopek?*
          ku-taa-t=wek   dom:wek
          go-FUT-1SG=DISJ   NEG:DISJ
          'Will I go or not? (I don't know.)' [DN03.279.05]

28.3   Imperative mood

The imperative mood is used to issue commands. It is the most complicated mood, both phonologically and morphologically. The imperative mood can be divided into three sub-types. Irrealis imperatives (§28.3.1) are the basic forms, utilizing the irrealis verbal paradigm. Without subject-agreement suffixes, these are used for canonical (second-person) commands. With subject-agreement suffixes, a full array of commands are possible, including non-canonical first- and third-person commands. Realis imperatives (§28.3.2) are more forceful, and utilize the realis future tense inflection. Obligatives (§28.3.3) utilize the non-inflecting potential modality marker. These are different in form and function from commands, and are negated to form prohibitives. Phonologically, the imperative mood is realized by an exaggerated H*L pitch accent on the focused phrasal constituent. This results in a higher H than is typical in the declarative mood, and a lower low afterward.

Additionally, verbless directives may be used. These consist of single adjectives (e.g. *baagût* 'slow!'), single adverbs (e.g. *mo* 'enough!'), or single nouns (e.g. *gebûng* '(go) inside!'). Nothing more is said about this minor speech act type here.

28.3.1 Irrealis commands

Canonical commands are those speech acts which are used to cause a second person addressee to act (Aikhenvald 2010). In Ma Manda these commands utilize the irrealis verbal inflection (§21.1.1). While in statements and questions the irrealis affixes are immediately followed by the subject-agreement paradigm (§21.1.2), in canonical commands these suffixes are left out.

(35) *gak*   ***kuwe***.
     gak   ku-be
     2SG   go-IRR.SG
     'You go.' [skc12_11]

(36) *sûdû*   ***kude***.
     sûdû   ku-de
     2NSG   go-IRR.DU
     'You (DU) go.' [DN01.26.05]

As shown above, this is true for singular and dual subjects. However, for second-person plural subjects the subject-agreement morpheme is included. This means that in Ma Manda only second-person singular and dual commands are canonical imperatives.

(37) *kum*   ***kuneng***!
     kum   ku-ne-ng
     down.DIST   go-IRR.PL-23NSG
     'You (PL) go down there!' [skc11_10c]

Syntactically, all imperatives seem to require standard word order. That is, I find no examples in the corpus of noun phrase dislocation to the left (topic) or to the right (focus). Furthermore, when the addressee is expressed overtly with an NP, it is not the grammatical subject, but a vocative NP. This can be seen by the fact that nominative case never occurs in commands. The following non-canonical command was taken from an amateur translation of the first three verses of Genesis. In all cases, these vocative NPs can have a pause break after them. Vocative NPs do occur frequently in Ma Manda. In fact, it is the most frequent context for the use of pronouns in everyday discourse.

(38) **siyasiya** *genangkawek.*
siyasiya genangka-be-k
dawn appear-IRR.SG-3SG
'Light appear!' [DN05.39.03]

In Ma Manda first-person, second-person plural, and third-person commands must bear subject-agreement suffixes. Due to this morphological difference, these are analyzed as non-canonical commands. With first-person non-singular forms, non-canonical commands produce inclusive commands having the meaning 'let us X'. They can never have exclusive (i.e. excluding the speaker) meaning. These are not termed "hortatives" here, since they belong to the same paradigm as second-person forms.

(39) *kap* *nunum* **tanûm**.
kap nunum ta-nûm
song prayer do-IRR.PL:1NSG
'Let's worship.' [skc09_21]

(40) **kudem** **kudemgût** *wa* *nûngkata* *bagûmok.*
{{ku-de-m ku-de-m-gût}} wa nû-ka=ta ba-gû-mok
go-IRR.DU-1NSG go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RSTR that tell-SS=do come-RP-23DU
'Keeping telling (her) "Let's go! Let's keep going!" they came.' [skc12_04]

With first-person singular forms, non-canonical commands produce sentences meaning 'let me X'. These are not called "optatives", again because they belong to the sme paradigm as the second-person forms.

(41) *bep* *ya* **adaampawet**.
bep ya adaampa-we-t
father here rest-IRR.SG-1SG
'Father, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

With third-person forms, non-canonical commands produce sentences meaning 'let X do Y'. These are not called "jussives" here, again because they belong to the same paradigm as the second-person forms. One example is provided above in (38), and two more below. Note that the third-person emphatic pronoun *ni* occurs in (42). The only environment where emphatic pronouns occur in commands is when a proper name is used first. This supports the analysis in §19.2 that emphatic pronouns serve a focusing function (i.e. they occur when another NP occurs in topic position denoting the same referent).

(42) *klowi* *ni* **lowek**.
klowi ni lo-be-k
PN 3SG.EMPH go.up-IRR.SG-3SG
'Let Chloe herself go up.' [DN04.77.63]

464

(43) *kaabop*   **atneng**!
     kaabop   at-ne-ng
     quiet   be-IRR.PL-23NSG
     'Let them be quiet!' [DN03.308.06]

Finally, subject-agreement suffixes can be used for second-person singular and dual commands as well, as illustrated below.

(44) *laayan*   *kuyangkût*   *nong*   *saakûm*   *klistalok*   **mûmbeng**.
     laayan   [kuyang=lit   nong   saakûm]   klistal=lok   m-be-ng
     PN   stick=COM   knife   small   PN=DAT   give-IRR.SG-2SG
     'Ryan, give the stick and small knife to Crystal.' [DN03.273.07]

(45) *gak*   **yangadeng**.
     gak   ya=ngat-de-ng
     2SG   here=be-IRR.DU-23NSG
     'You (DU) stay here.' [skc09_38]

While the first-person, second-person plural, and third-person commands do not allow a choice, the second-person singular and dual commands do. The semantic difference between this choice of canonical and non-canonical forms requires further research. In general, the longer forms are used for commands with a delayed meaning—either in location or in space. However, when commands are repeated, speakers prefer utilizing both canonical and non-canonical forms in turn:

(46) *nimintû*   **neflonfkaweng**!   **neflongkawe**!   *taagok*.
     nimin=tû   {{ne-flongka-we-ng   ne-flongka-we}}   taa-go-k
     cousin=NOM   1SG.O-help-IRR.SG-2SG   1SG.O-help-IRR.SG   say-RP.SG-3SG
     'His cousin said "Help me! Help me!"' [skc11_12b]

Irrealis commands are used for leave-taking statements as well. Examples such as this one illustrate another pattern. It appears that the auxiliary verb *at-* 'be'—which follows verbs in an auxiliary function to produce the progressive aspect (§24.1)—may express an inchoative meaning when preceding irrealis verbs in command sentences. More research is needed here.

(47) *oo,*   *atta*   **kuwe**.
     oo   at-ta   ku-be
     okay   be-SS   go-IRR.SG
     'Okay, get on your way.' [DN04.37.03]

The non-canonical imperatives may co-occur with the dubitative enclitic to seek permission:

(48) Q: *nak   kaadûp   sewetta?*
        nak   kaadûp   se-we-t=wa
        1SG   wood   cook-IRR.SG-1SG=DUB
        'May I make a fire?'

    A: *selok.*
        se=lok
        cook=POT
        '(You) may make a fire.' [DN03.301.04]

(49) *kunûmpa?*
    ku-nûm=wa
    go-IRR.PL:1NSG=DUB
    'Shall we go?'

The adverb *gelû* 'alright' expresses politeness with an irrealis command. This never occurs with canonical commands. The irrealis commands are neutral with respect to politeness and status. One can use them with people from all generations, addressing younger or older speakers, and addressing those with whom one does not have a close connection. The polite forms are marked.

(50) *nûndû   dapmon   dodempa   tawaamot*
    nûndû   {dapmon   do-de-m=la}   ta-waa-mot
    1NSG   sleep   sleep-IRR.DU-1NSG=BEN   do-PRS-1DU

    wala   gelû   kuneng.
    wala   gelû   ku-ne-ng
    so   alright go-IRR.PL-23NSG
    'We (DU) want to sleep so please (NSG) go.' [DN02.155.22]

(51) *gelû   baweng.*
    gelû   ba-be-ng
    alright   come-IRR.SG-2SG
    'Please come.' [DN03.306.20]

Both canonical and non-canonical commands can be negated, as illustrated below. Negative imperatives are different from prohibitives, which do not utilize the irrealis verbal inflection.

(52) *ganaanang   dom   kapmambe*
    ganaang=nang   dom   kapmang-be
    hole=LOC   NEG   drop-IRR.SG
    'Do not drop it in the hole.' [DN04.76.61]

(53) *dom   mitaweng*
    dom   mita-be-ng
    NEG   fear-IRR.SG-2SG
    'Don't be afraid.' [DN02.189.01]

Expressives and interjections are somewhat common in commands, as illustrated below.

(54) ***aai**! gak ip wa talaambe!*
     aai gak [ip wa] talaam-be
     hey! 2SG bird that shoot-IRR.SG
     'Hey! You shoot that bird!' [DN01.119.16]

Finally, many times non-finite verbs precede the finite (irrealis-inflected) verb. Nonetheless, the imperative mood has scope over the entire sentence, as shown below.

(55) *mi naamûng* ***nambet***
     mi naa-m-ng na-be-t
     water 1SG.O-give-DS eat-IRR.SG-1SG
     'Give me water to drink.' (lit. 'Giving me water, let me drink it.') [skc12_04]

This pattern has resulted in the ability of MM speakers to de-subordinate the medial verb in frequently used commands. The finite verb is left off, with no elliptical effect. An example is provided below. I have only observed this with different-subject medial verbs.

(56) *longûtna met.*
     lo-ng-tna met
     go.up-DS-1NSG later
     'Let us go up first.' (lit. 'Our going up (DS), later.')

28.3.2   Realis commands

While the irrealis inflection is the prototypical way of expressing commands, second-person realis verbs may be used to produce a very strong, stern command. In the corpus this only occurs between people of the same status when they have an intimate relationship as a friend or spouse, or from older to younger speakers. I have never observed the elderly addressed with realis commands. These also do not occur with the politeness adverb *gelû* 'alright'.

The following example was spoken between men of equal status.

(57) *nak mo kuyat. gak wika met* ***bataang***.
     nak mo ku-ya-t. gak wi-ka met ba-taa-ng.
     1SG already go-PRS-1SG 2SG bathe-SS later come-FUT-2SG
     'I'm just (now) going. You bathe and come later.' [DN04.70.25]

The following example was spoken from older youth to a young boy. This also illustrates co-occurrence with the progressive aspect, a feature which does not occur in irrealis commands.

(58) *gak   yak   wa   yamaandûfatta   **alûtaang**.*
    gak   yak   wa   y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-taa-ng.
    2SG   bilum   that   3NSG.O-look.after-SS   be-FUT-2SG
    'You will be looking after the bilums.' [skc12_13]

One final example comes from a legend about how the Papuan Flowerpecker tricked the cassowary into breaking its own wings, explaining its flightless nature today.

(59) *kang   nûnggok,   **atta**   **naambûtaang**.*
    ka-ng   nû-go-k   {{at-ta   naa-b-taa-ng}}
    see.3SG-DS   tell-RP-3SG   be-SS   1SG.O-see-FUT-2SG

    nak   fluna   wobûtaat,   nûnggok.
    nak   flu-na   ob-taa-t}}   nû-go-k
    1SG   wing-1SG.POSS   break-FUT-1SG   tell-RP-3SG
    'It looked at him and he told it, "You stay (there) and watch me. I will break my wing," he told it.' [skc12_12]

Negated realis commands do not occur in the corpus.

28.3.3   Obligatives & prohibitives

Obligatives behave phonologically just like the other imperative mood sub-types, exhibiting an exaggerated H*L intonation pattern. Morphologically, however, obligatives are very impoverished. The obligative mood is marked by the presence of the potential modality marker on the verb. This marker, which also marks the dative case (§21.4.1), is used in the declarative mood to subordinate clauses expressing potential (see §26.2.1).

(60) *dentû   **obûlok**   kunakngûlû...*
    den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun=at-ng-lû
    some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST=be-DS-23
    'Some were above so they could break it...' [skc10_11]

This subordination strategy has undergone de-subordination, so that in mainline sentences it produces abilitive clauses. The marker remains non-inflecting, allowing no subject-agreement suffixes or other morphology.

(61) *taaweng   **felok**.*
    taaweng   fe=lok
    taro   hew=POT
    '(It's) to peel taro.' [DN04.67.02]

However, when spoken with the phonological correlates of the imperative mood, the potential modality marker produces obligatives, with the meaning '(you) must X'. This is a fairly uncommon pattern, however.

(62) *wadûng*   *baka*   **nûmbûlok**.
     wa-dûng   ba-ka   n-b=lok.
     that-ADV   come-SS   1NSG.O-see=POT
     '(You) must come like that and see us.' [DN03.307.19]

(63) *tebûlongka*   *fi!*   *wadûgût*   *fafagagût*
     [tebûlongka   fi]   wadûgût   fafa-ga-gût
     service   work   too   grandfather-2SG.POSS-RSTR

     kaadûp   **ulemûlok**!
     kaadûp   ule-m=lok
     wood   break-give=POT
     'Favors! You must break firewood for your own grandfather too!' [skc09_21]

It can serve to allow permission, spoken in response to a request for permission:

(64) *Q:*   *nak*   *kaadûp*   *sewetta?*
         nak   kaadûp   se-we-t=wa
         1SG   wood   cook-IRR.SG-1SG=DUB
         'May I make a fire?'

     A: **selok**.
         se=lok
         cook=POT
         'Make it.' [DN03.301.04]

More commonly, obligatives are negated, producing prohibitives. Syntactically, both obligatives and prohibitives never occur with subjects or vocative NPs in the corpus.

(65) **dom**   *maandûlok.*
     dom   maandû=lok
     NEG   spit=POT
     'You must not spit.' 'You cannot spit.' [DN04.71.32]

(66) *kosaanggût*   **dom**   *attok.*
     kosaan-gût   dom   at=lok
     side-RSTR   NEG   be=POT
     'You must not stay on only that side.' 'You cannot stay…' [DN03.307.21]

Another parallel pattern with irrealis commands is that they can be preceded by *gelû* 'alright' to convey politeness.

(67) *gelû*   **balok**.
     gelû   ba=lok
     alright   come=POT
     '(You) must please come.' [DN03.307.20]

29 Clause-linking

This chapter briefly summarizes the types of clause-linking that occur in Ma Manda, and points readers to other sections of this work where these matters are dealt with more fully. Coordination of non-finite clauses is addressed in §29.1, coordination of finite clauses in §29.2, subordination in §29.3, and speech reports in §29.4.

29.1   Coordination of non-finite clauses

The MM sentence prototypically concludes with a finite verb, marked for the full array of tense, reality status, and subject-agreement morphology. Within a finite sentence, many different non-finite verbs may co-occur. This pattern was depicted by Longacre (1972:2) as a train, where the finite verb is the engine at the end, and it is preceded by any number of attached cars (non-finite verbs). Non-finite verbs are coordinated with one another, with each expressing an equally salient event. However, they are all dependent upon the finite verb for the morphological categories only it can provide the sentence. Typically, the finite verb is more salient than the medial verbs that precede it, but this is not a hard-and-fast rule. Non-finite verbs exhibit switch-reference morphology, indicating whether the subject of the following clause is or is not co-referential with the subject of that clause. A series of coordinated same-subject medial verbs is illustrated below.

(1) ***mongka***   *tamek*   ***wika***   *gola*   *dogok.*
    mo-ka   tamek   wi-ka   go=la   do-go-k
    go.down-SS   bed   make.bed-SS   sun=BEN   sleep-RP-3SG
    '(He) went down and made a bed and slept in the sun.' [skc11_02e]

When the subjects of successive clauses are not co-referential, then different-subject suffixes are utilized, as illustrated below.

(2) *kep*   ***longûlû***   *nûndû*   *fûgûm.*
    kep   lo-ng-lû   nûndû   fû-gû-m
    yesterday   go.up-DS-23   1NSG   come.down-RP-1PL
    'Yesterday (he/she/they) went up and we (all) came down.' [DN02.267.04]

Both can occur together as well. In the following example all the medial clauses have the same subject. The final medial clause takes different-subject morphology because the clause that follows it—which happens to be the finite clause—has a different subject.

(3) *bûge*   *efaale faale*   **taka,**   *bot*   **beka,**
   bûge   ef-faale~faale   ta-ka   bot   be-ka
   again   CAUS-turn~turn   do-SS   group   put.NSG-SS

   sengûda   *dûwangang.*
   se-ng-da   dû-wa-ng-nang
   cook-DS-1NSG   cook-PRS-23PL-HAB
   '(We) rotate [the dried branches] again, and heap them, and we light them, and
   they cook.' [skc09_17]

These characteristics are discussed in more detail in §21.2.

29.2   Coordination of finite clauses

While non-finite (medial) clauses are naturally coordinated with one another, finite clauses
are not. Instead, extra syntactic devices must be utilized for this purpose. This includes
apposition (§29.2.1), disjunctive coordination with the dubitative enclitic (§29.2.2), and the
use of demonstratives (§29.2.3) and auxiliary verbs (§29.2.4) as grammaticalized
conjunctions.

29.2.1   Apposition

First of all, finite clauses can be coordinated through simple juxtaposition. In (4) the clause
ends in a finite verb, but the boundary tone (§6.4) is withheld. The next clause immediately
resumes the intonational contour with another rise. The same pattern can be seen with
successive finite clauses in the embedded speech report in (5).

(4) *bakuyak,*   *o*   *mi*   *naamûng*   *nambet*
   {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   o   {{mi   naa-m-ng   na-be-t}}
   come-go-PRS-3SG   um   water   1SG.O-give-DS   eat-IRR.SG-1SG

   dom   *taawangang,*
   dom   taa-wang-nang
   NEG   say-PRS:23PL-HAB
   '"Passing by", um they do not say "Give me water to drink",'

471

(5) *bakuyak   naamûng   nambet,*
     {{ba-ku-ya-k   naa-m-ng   na-be-t
     come-go-PRS-3SG   1SG.O-give-DS   eat-IRR.SG-1SG

     bakuyak   nala   nelak
     ba-ku-ya-k   na=la   n-e-la-k}}
     come-go-PRS-3SG   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG

     wadûng   taawangang.
     wa-dûng   taa-wang-nang
     that-ADV   say-PRS:23PL-HAB
     'They say like this, "Give me 'Passing by' to drink," "I am thirsty for 'passing by'."' [skc12_04]

Apposition is common when the sentences stand in contrastive relationship, even when the causation is not expressed through case-marked conjunctions.

(6) *gi   daainang   kun   ugok   dom   kagûng.*
     gi   [daai=nang   kun]   ut-go-k   dom   ka-gû-ng
     rain   eye=LOC   up.DIST   hit-RP-3SG   NEG   see.3SG-RP-23PL
     'Rain was falling up at the source [of the water] but they did not see it.' [skc12_13]

Verbless attributive clauses may be juxtaposed as well to express comparatives:

(7) *kagang   manda   yupmalaan,   ip   manda   tupmungka.*
     [kagang   manda]   yupmalaan   [ip   manda]   tupmungka
     village   talk   long   bird   talk   short
     'Vernacular (TP: *tok ples*) is longer than Tok Pisin.' [DN02.179.18]

Finally, verbless clauses such as the negative existential clause can be juxtaposed with verbal clauses.

(8) *gi   utta   mi   galoka   bagok,   saakûm   dom.*
     gi   ut-ta   mi   galo-ka   ba-go-k   saakûm   dom
     rain   hit-SS   water   break-SS   come-RP-3SG   small   NEG
     'The rain beat down and the water flooded (lit. 'broke') and came and it was no small (amount).' [skc12_13]

29.2.2 Disjunctive coordination with dubitative enclitic

Rarely, the dubitative particle *=wa* can produce disjunctive coordination across finite clauses, though normally this is reserved for NP disjunction (§18.4).

(9) *tang   taamûng   nanaksû   u   kaampa*
     ta-ng   [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kaam-pa
     do-DS   woman   child-23NSG.POSS   that.ANA   die-SS

     fûgok,   ka   kaamgok.
     fû-go-k   wa   kaam-go-k
     come.down-RP-3SG   DUB   die-RP-3SG
     'And that daughter of theirs died and fell down, or, she died.' [skc12_04]

472

29.2.3 Demonstrative conjunctions

A number of case-marked demonstratives have taken on the grammatical role of sentence coordinators. In each of these cases, only the distal spatial demonstrative *wa* is used. Below the comitative-marked demonstrative coordinates two abilitive clauses. Here both sentences are given equal status in the complement of the sensory verb *ka-* 'see'.

(10) | *kagok* | *i* | *ip* | *kusamba* | *sûnûk* | *ip* | *den* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ka-go-k | idi | {{[ip | kusamba | sûnûk] | [ip | den] |
| see.3SG-RP-3SG | this.ANA | bird | big | real | bird | some |

gelû	*ilûpmûngka*	*namaalok,*
gelû	ilûpm-ka	na-maa=lok
alright	hit.NSG-SS	eat-CMPL=POT

wasit	*na*	*gelû*	*fuku*	*nalok.*
wa-s:it	na	gelû	fuku	na=lok}}
that-LK:COM	man	alright	take.NSG	eat=POT

'It saw a bird big enough that it could kill some birds and eat them up, and it could take a man and eat him too.' [skc12_12]

Below, a benefactive-marked demonstrative links two clauses, and conveys that the first clause is the reason for the second.

(11) | *kunum* | *flong* | *tata* | *kaalin* | *attak* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [kunum | flong] | [custom | kaalin] | at-ta-k |
| Heaven | ALL | custom | good | be-PRS-3SG |

wala	*nûndû*	*wadûgût*	*kame*	*flong*	*tawangka*	*aatûkugû...*
wa=la	nûndû	wadûgût	[kame	flong]	tawang-ka	aatûku-gû
that=BEN	1NSG	also	Earth	ALL	follow-SS	remain-DUR

'In Heaven there are good customs, so we also must keep following him on Earth until…' [skc11_13]

This form has been further grammaticalized with the auxiliary conjunction *taka*. The two forms appear to be synonymous. Though see §32.1 for its status as part of the bridging paradigm.

(12) | *raaji* | *kayong* | *yolak* | ***walataka,*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| [raaji | kayong] | yot-a-k | walataka |
| PN | leg | poke-NP-3SG | therefore |

kayong	*bedû*	*ngattak.*
kayong	bedû	ngat-ta-k
leg	sore	be-PRS-3SG

'Ragi's leg got poked, so his leg is sore.' [skc09_21]

The benefactive can also occur by itself. Recall from §20.2 that a number of the case-markers have a linking-*s* between them and their demonstrative hosts. It appears this has grammaticalized into a benefactive conjunction expressing reason, without the demonstrative:

(13)   *sûbat*   *glup*   *nûnggût*   *nanûmpa*   *taka*
        {[sûbat   glup   nûnggût]   na-nûm=la}   ta-ka
        food   plate   one   eat-IRR.NSG:1PL=BEN   do-SS

        gak   *gaanûngkawaam.*
        gak   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
        2SG   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
        'We call on you in order to eat the one plate of food.'

        sûla   *gaknga*   *baka*   *gitin*   *yabappû*
        sûla   gak-nga   ba-ka   [gitin   yabap=lû]
        CONJ(BEN)   2SG-EMPH   come-SS   holy   spirit=NOM

        sûbat   *glup*   *dûdûgût*   *tanggûdempaka*   *tûngak...*
        [sûbat   glup]   dûdûgût   tanggûdem-pa-ka   tû-nga-k
        food   plate   how.many   ready-VBLZ-SS   put.SG-NP-3SG
        'So you yourself come and the Holy Spirit has readied however many plates of food…' [DN04.05.07]

29.2.4   Auxiliary verb conjunctions

Finally, the most frequent method of linking finite clauses is to place a non-finite auxiliary verb after the finite verb of the first sentence. As described in Chapter 32, bridging clauses frequently utilize non-finite recapitulatory light verbs. When no pause break occurs between the forms, however, then the auxiliary verb has come to serve as a legitimate conjunction.

The auxiliary verb conjunction frequently takes non-finite morphology, such as the durative suffix *-gû*:

(14)   *tang*   *mongkaka*   *mitaka*   *tagûng*
        ta-ng   mo=ka-ka   mita-ka   ta-gû-ng
        do-DS   go.down=see.3SG-SS   fear-SS   do-RP-23PL

        tagû   *yeudat*   *monggûng.*
        ta-gû   yeudat   mo-gû-ng
        do-DUR   anyway   go.down-RP-23PL
        'And (DS) going down they saw him and were all afraid, but they went down anyway.' [skc12_15]

(15)   *tang*   *kaka*   *agûm*   ***aagû***   *idi,*
            ta-ng   ka-ka   at-gû-m   at-gû   idi
            do-DS   see.3SG-SS   be-RP-1PL   be-DUR   this.ANA

           sabe   *yot*   *kum*   *kuka*   *imo,*
            [sabe   yot]   kum   ku-ka   idi=mo
            youth   house   down.DIST   go-SS   this.ANA=already
            'And we were watching him until, we went to the young men's house below and,'
            [skc09_18]

However, the morphology can be left out with the verb *ta-* 'do', producing a conjunction which offers no temporal or participant cohesion between the sentences. This is utilized to produce an aside or digression from the plotline, or to express contrastive coordination.

(16)   *ta*   *u*   *tûmang*   *wan*   *tawaagûngang*
            ta   udu   tûmang   wa-n   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
            do   that.ANA   before   that-ANA   do-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

           ta   *waagût*   *idi*   *nûndû*   *wan*   *dom*   *tawaamang.*
            ta   waagût   idi   nûndû   wa-n   dom   ta-waa-m-nang
            but   now   this.ANA   1NSG   that-ANA   NEG   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
            'Yeah, before they would do that, but now we don't do that.' [skc12_02]

Finally, it is clear in certain cases that the grammaticalization of these forms into conjunctions is complete. For example, below the switch-reference morphology on the verbal conjunction does not match the previous sentence. It should take a first person non-singular suffix instead.

(17)   *kugûmot*   ***tangûlû***,   *nantaampû*   *kadepmang*
            ku-gû-mot   ta-ng-lû   nantaam=lû   kadepmang
            go-RP-1DU   do-DS-23   people=NOM   main.road

           kam   *nûnûnggûng,*   *kadet*   *wakaangak.*
            kam   n-nû-gû-ng   {{kadet   wakaa-nga-k}}
            down.PROX   1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL   road   damaged-NP-3SG
            'We went, but the people down on the road told us, the road got damaged.' [skc09_01]

29.3   Subordination

Sentences may also be linked to others via subordination.

29.3.1   Relative clauses

As described in §20.3.1, sentences may be subordinated by placing a demonstrative immediately after the finite verb. The form of the demonstrative indicates the syntactic role of the subordinate clause—as a relative, complement, or adverbial clause.

When the demonstrative is unmarked, the result can only be a relative clause, since objects are unmarked. Complement and adverbial clauses all require an oblique case postposition. This is shown with an object NP below. In this example the relative clause serves to restrict reference to one of two specific brothers. This is a restrictive relative clause which modifies the common argument *nolû ban* 'other brother'.

(18)   *nolû*   *ban*   *kaamgok*   ***wa***   *kûngkûnaanûkga*
       {[nolû   ban]   kaam-go-k   wa}   kûngkûnaanûk=ga
       brother.3SG.POSS   other   die-RP-3SG   that   sand=INST

       plaasûka   *tûgok.*
       plaas-ka   tû-go-k
       cover-SS   put.SG-RP-3SG
       'They covered his other brother who died with sand.' [skc12_15]

Below, the relative clause occurs inside a purposive construction. Here the relative clause gives modifying information about the plane, but no other planes occur in the text. This is the non-restrictive function of relative clauses in MM.

(19)   *tang*   *saaut*   *taba*   *na*   *binbin*   *walû*
       ta-ng   [saaut   taba   na   bin~bin   wa=lû]
       do-DS   PN   resident   man   true~true   that=NOM

       baalus   *wakaagok*   *wa*   *kanengka*
       {{baalus   wakaa-go-k   wa}   ka-ne-ng=la}
       plane   destroy-RP-3SG   that   see.3SG-IRR.NSG-23PL=BEN

       monggûng.
       mo-gû-ng
       go.down-RP-23PL
       'And the leaders of Saut went down to see the plane that crashed.' [skc12_15]

Relative clauses always have standard word order, and they are always followed by a demonstrative. More research is needed to determine what possibilities exist for the common argument (e.g. whether it can be a proper name or pronoun). Note in the examples above that the common argument is not marked for nominative case. Even when the common argument is the subject of both the relative and main clause, the nominative case is only placed on the final demonstrative—never a demonstrative marking the relative clause subject. Thus, the fullest statement of the common argument is in the main clause—the most common pattern cross-linguistically (Dixon 2010b:329).

(20)   *tang*   *na*   *ya*   *monggûng*   ***yalû***   *tawamaanggûng.*
       ta-ng   {[na   ya]   mo-gû-ng   ya=lû}   tawa-maa-gû-ng
       do-DS   man   this   go.down-RPST-23PL   this=NOM   follow-CMPL-RPST-23PL
       'And these men who had gone down chased him down.' [skc12_15]

Further research is needed regarding the various functions which are allowed for the common argument in both the relative and main clauses. Below a restrictive relative clause is provided. Here it functions in an oblique comitative role. The common argument is *fatnaang* 'white (person)'.

(21) *walataka   mo,   fatnaang   bagok   **wasit**,*
     walataka   mo   {fatnaang   ba-go-k   wasit}
     therefore   already   white   come-RP-3SG   that:COM

     yenolit   taka   ya   aatûkuntaam.
     yenolit   ta-ka   ya   aatûku-ntaa-m
     become.brothers   do-SS   here   remain-FUT-1PL
     'Okay so, I've become friends with the white man who came and we will remain here.' [skc09_19]

29.3.2   Adverbial clauses

When finite verbs are followed by demonstratives marked for the ablative and allative cases, this produces adverbial clauses.

Ablative adverbial clauses express the setting from which a new event transpires.

(22) *wa   dogûmot   **walû**   siyangalû,*
     {wa   do-gû-mot   wa=lû}   siya-ng-alû
     that   sleep-RP-1DU   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23

     *bûge   monggûmot   **walû**   mongka   kasuka   kuka...*
     {bûge   mo-gû-mot   wa=lû}   mo-ka   kasuka   ku-ka
     again   go.down-RP-1DU   that=ABL   go.down-SS PN   go-SS
     'Sleeping there, in the morning, going down again, we went down and went to Kasuka…' [skc09_01]

Allative-marked demonstratives produce temporal adverbial clauses:

(23) *sip   flong   tap   weknggût   sûnûk   kugûng   **walong**,*
     {[sip   flong]   [tap   weknggût   snûk]   ku-gû-ng   wa=long}
     ship   ALL   ocean   middle   very   go-RP-23PL   that=ALL

     aanutulû   gi   gufut   kusamba   tantûng   bagok.
     aanutu=lû   [gi   gufut   kusamba]   tantû-ng   ba-go-k
     God=NOM   rain   wind   big   send.SG-DS   come-RP-3SG
     'When they went on the ship to the very middle of the ocean, God sent a big storm.' [skc12_14]

Finally, the locative case attaches directly to the finite verb, rather than a following demonstrative. It produces locative adverbial clauses:

477

(24) *klistal   lit   taamtaam   mik   **wiwangang**,   longaamot.*
[klistal   lit]   {taamtaam   mik   wi-wang=nang}   lo-ngaa-mot
PN   COM   women   bathe   bathe-PRS:23PL=LOC   go.up-NP-1DU
'I went up with Crystal to where the women were bathing.' [skc09_10]

29.3.3   Complement clauses

When a finite verb is followed by a genitive-marked demonstrative, the result is a complement clause, licensed by a speech verb such as *taa-* 'say'.

(25) *saalele   flong   kaasingang   kugûm   **wasûnang**   taabûtaat.*
{[saalele   flong]   kaasingang   ku-gû-m   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
Saturday   ALL   PN   go-RP-1PL   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
'I will talk about about [when] we went to Kesengen on Saturday.' [skc09_29]

A number of nominalizations function as complementation strategies. These include the following.

The benefactive case is used to produce complements of sensory verbs.

(26) *mi   **nala**   nelak.*
{mi   na=la}   n-e-la-k
water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG
'I am thirsty.' [skc12_04]

The benefactive case also attaches to finite irrealis verbs to produce desiderative (§26.1.1) and purposive (§26.1.2) constructions, as illustrated in turn below.

(27) *saande   taamengsla   saaut   **kuwetta**   taka*
[saande   taamengsla]   {saaut   ku-be-t=la}   ta-ka
Sunday   morning   PN   go-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN   do-SS

ku   lemang   taamtaam   kadepmenang   yaabûgot.
ku   [lemang   taamtaam]   kadepmen=nang   yaa-b-go-t
go   PN   women   main.road=LOC   3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG
'On Sunday morning I wanted to go to Saut, and going I saw the Lemang ladies on the road.' [skc11_04c]

(28) *sida   kam   **tabekka**   kewan   maa   kugok.*
{sida   kam   ta-be-k=la}   kewan   maa   ku-go-k
sweet.potato   clean   do.IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   PN   wholly   go-RP-3SG
'He went to Kewan to clean his sweet potato (garden).' [skc09_21]

The dative enclitic also functions to produce abilitive clauses by nominalizing verbs. This is called the "potential modality" in this work (§26.2.1).

(29) *dentû   **obûlok**   kunakngûlû...*
den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun=at-ng-lû
some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST=be-DS-23
'Some were above to break it...' [skc10_11]

29.4   Speech reports

Ma Manda has two speech report verbs. *Taa-* 'say' is an ambitransitive verb (§10.1.3), which means 'talk' in its intransitive function. *Nû-* 'tell, ask' is a ditransitive verb (§10.1.4), taking object-agreement morphology. Both of these verbs license speech report complements. Ma Manda does not seem to make a distinction between direct and indirect speech reports. More research is needed in this regard, but at present I find no way to grammatically encode indirect speech reports. An example of a prototypical speech report is provided below.

(30) *...adaampawaanang*   *wa*   *baka*   *welûlû*
       {adaampa-baan=nang} wa   ba-ka   welû=lû
       rest-NMLZ=LOC   there   come-SS   daughter.3SG.POSS=NOM

       taagok,   *bep,*   *ya*   *adaampawet.*
       taa-go-k   {{bep   ya   adaampa-be-t}}
       say-RP-3SG   father   here   rest-IRR.SG-1SG
       '(They) came there to the resting-place and his daughter said, "Dad, let me rest here.' [skc12_04]

Above, the speech report verb precedes the quotation, while below it comes afterward.

(31) *yolûwaan*   *walû,*   *bûge*   *saaut*   *kagangsûnang*
      [yolûwaan   wa=lû]   {{bûge   [saaut   kagang-sû=nang]
      local   that=NOM   again   PN   village-23NSG.POSS=LOC

      maa   *kuneng,*   ***taang***   *idi,*
      maa   ku-ne-ng}}   taa-ng   idi
      wholly   go-IRR.PL-23NSG   say-DS   this.ANA
      'The locals said, "Go back to your village Saut" and…' [skc09_19]

Additionally, the speech report is often introduced with one verb, and then recurs in a bridging clause with one of two demonstrative forms. As described more fully in §20.1.1, the spatial demonstratives are used for both discourse anaphora and cataphora. In this function, the demonstratives can precede the recapitulated verb as manner adverbs, or with the anaphoric suffix *-n*.

(32) *nanaksû*   *taamtaam*   **enûnggot,**   *mo,*   *kap*   *nunum*
    [nanaksû   taamtaam]   ye-nû-go-t   {{mo   [kap   nunum]
    children   women   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG   already   song   prayer

    tanûm.   **wadûng**   **enûngka**   *idi,*
    ta-nû-m}}   wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   idi
    do-IRR.PL-1NSG   that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   this.ANA

    kap   *nunum*   *tagûm.*
    [kap   nunum]   ta-gû-m
    song   prayer   do-RP-1PL
    'I told the girls, "Okay, let's worship." After telling them like that, we worshiped.'
    [skc09_21]

(33) *nolû*   *bantû*   **nûnggok,**   *manggadom.*   *nak*
    [nolû   ban=lû]   nû-go-k   {{manggat:dom   nak
    brother.3SG.POSS   other=NOM   tell-RP-3SG   thing:NEG   1SG

    kuwet.   **wan**   **taaka**   *monggok,*   *yolang.*
    ku-be-t}}   wa-n   taa-ka   mo-go-k   yolang
    go-IRR.SG-1SG   that-ANA   say-SS   go.down-RP-3SG   PN
    'His other brother told him, "No problem. Let me go." He said this and went down, to Yolang.' [skc12_11]

As shown in (33), one speech report verb often recapitulates the other. Sometimes, they occur together:

(34) *nûndû*   *ulap ulap*   *dopa*   *kuyangang*   **nûngka**
    nûndû   {{ulap~ulap   dom:wa   ku-ya-ng=nang}}   nû-ka
    1NSG   quickly~quickly   NEG:DUB   go-PRS-2SG=LOC   tell-SS

    tangûda   *baagût baagût*   *baneng*
    ta-ng-da   {{baagût~baagût   ba-ne-ng}}
    do-DS-1NSG   slowly~slowly   come-IRR.PL-23NSG

    wan   **nûnûngka**   **taaka**...
    wa-n   n-nû-ka   taa-ka
    that-ANA   1NSG.O-tell-SS   say-SS
    'We asked him, "You aren't going there too fast?", and he told us and said, "You all come slowly"... [skc09_29]

Occasionally, speech reports are interrupted by the speech report verb:

(35) *taamengsla*   *aakngka*   *mo,*   *sûbat*   *sûnamaakongka,*
    taamengsla   aakng-ka   mo   sûbat   sûna-maa-kong-ka
    morning   arise-SS   already   food   cook.eat-CMPL-TERM-SS

    maa   *kudem*   **nûnggok,**   *kagang.*
    {{maa   ku-de-m}}   nû-go-k   {{kagang}}
    wholly   go-IRR.DU-1NSG   tell-RP-3SG   place
    'And after getting up in the morning, he cooked and ate breakfast, and he told her, "Let's go back, to the village."' [skc12_04]

Finally, rarely, a speech report verb can occur twice, both times with finite morphology.

(36) *dlaawaa* **nûnggok,** *gak yangadeng,* **nûnggok.**
　　 dlaawaa nû-go-k {{gak ya-ngat-de-ng}} nû-go-k
　　 driver tell-RP-3SG 2SG here=be-IRR.DU-23NSG tell-RP-3SG
　　 'He told the driver, "You stay here."' [skc09_38]

More research is needed to determine whether Ma Manda has semi-direct quotations, where person reference undergoes partial shifting (Aikhenvald 2008b). Shifting of person reference does occur in complements of sensory verbs, however, as shown below. Here the man doesn't think about *nanaknga* 'my daughter', but *nanaksû* 'their daughter'.

(37) *mo* **naandûgok,** *oo manggat wa,*
　　 mo naandû-go-k {{oo [manggat wa]
　　 already know-RP-3SG ohh demon that

　　 taamûng **nanaksû** *yalûnang membû kûtlû tukungak.*
　　 [taamûng nanak-sû ya=lûnang membû kûtlû] tuku-nga-k}}
　　 woman child-23NSG.POSS this=GEN head bone take.SG-NP-3SG
　　 'So he realized, Ohh the demon, it took their daughter's head.' [skc12_04]

Later in the same text, when a complement *precedes* the same verb, no shifting of person reference occurs:

(38) *belû,* **wetna** *oo,*
　　 be=lû {{wet-na oo
　　 father.3SG.POSS=NOM daughter-1SG.POSS ohh

　　 mo kaamak **naandûka,...**
　　 mo kaam-a-k}} naandû-ka
　　 already die-NP-3SG know-SS
　　 'Her father thought, "Ohh my daugher has already died", and…' [skc12_04]

Finally, the speech report verb *taa-* 'say' is used to express "inner speech" (Reesink 1993). In these constructions the verb 'say' is used to express inner thought and plans, even though no speech event transpires.

(39) *sisa,* *gaamiyongkût,* *laai kuntaamot*
　　 sisa {{gaamiyong=lit laai ku-ntaa-mot}}
　　 ±2days PN=COM PN go-FUT-1DU

　　 taaka *kugûmot.*
　　 taa-ka ku-gû-mot
　　 say-SS go-RP-1DU
　　 'The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.'
　　 [skc09_01]

Below the participant was dreaming about a grabbing a demon, but in reality she was grabbing her son's jaw.

(40) *nak* *manggat* *sakolat* ***taaka***
   nak {{manggat sako-la-t}} taa-ka
   1SG demon hold.3SG-PRS-1SG say-SS

   ilaai *gengnang* *sakoka* ***nûnggot***,
   [ilaai geng=nang] sako-ka nû-go-t
   PN jaw=LOC hold.3SG-SS tell-RP-1SG

   kaaup *ale!* *mo* *dibitûlat!*
   {{kaaup at-e mo dibitû-la-t}}
   quiet be-IRR.SG already pinch-PRS-1SG
   'I thought I grabbed the demon, but I grabbed at Eli's jaw and told him, "Be quiet! I'm pinching him!"' [skc11_04d]

That the speech verb *taa-* is used in this way is particularly clear below. The first speech report is followed by the speech report verb in same-subject form. This is spoken while the participant was far away from the road and thinking about returning to the village. In the second speech report, the different-subject morphology is used, meaning that here other people actually told the participant the status of the road, which was contrary to his own expectation.

(41) *kadet* *mo* *kaalin* *taak* ***taaka*** *bagot* *dom.*
   {{kadet mo kaalin ta-a-k}} taa-ka ba-go-t dom
   road already good do-PRS-3SG say-SS come-RP-1SG NEG

   kadet *wakaagok* ***taangûlû***...
   {kadet wakaa-go-k} taa-ng-lû
   road damaged-RP-3SG say-DS-23
   'I thought the road was okay and I came but no. They said the road was (still) damaged...' [skc09_01]

482

PART VIII: DISCOURSE

Part VIII is concerned with matters outside the sentence. Chapter 30 addresses information structure, including how participants are tracked, topicalized, and focused in a discourse. Chapter 31 addresses two other features of MM discourse—non-embedded nominalizations, and rhetorical devices. Finally, Chapter 32 provides a detailed look at bridging constructions ("tail-head linkage") and their cohesive functions.

30 Information structure

Information structure has already been addressed in various portions of this work. This chapter brings this information into a cohesive picture of how participants are introduced, topicalized, and focused. Participant reference and topichood is addressed in §30.1, focus in §30.2, and right-dislocation in §30.3.

30.1 Participant reference and topichood

In a new narrative discourse, the main participants are introduced in intransitive (often stative) clauses, as shown from the first line of a text below.

(1) *tûmanggût*   *ban*   ***na***   ***yaalû***   *kagat*   *ban*
     tûmang-gût   ban   [na   yaalû]   [kagat   ban]
     before-RSTR   a   man   two   village   a

     aatûkuwaagûmokngang.
     aatûku-waa-gû-mok-nang
     remain-PFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
     'A long time ago two men lived in a village.' [skc11_05b]

Since the MM speaker had titled the text *Nangkaang Yaalûnang Ulak* 'The story about Two Men', the presence of two men is not new information. Therefore the subject argument is not marked with the nominative case. However, in the subsequent mention of the participants, the nominative case is used. This is the contrastive function of the nominative case, used when multiple topical participants must be differentiated.

(2) *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   ***na***   ***bantû***
     [naai   ban   flong]   [na   ban=lû]
     time   a   ALL   man   a=NOM

     kadet   *kugokngang*   *baka*   *kagok,*
     kadet   {ku-go-k=nang}   ba-ka   ka-go-k
     road   go-RP-3SG=LOC   come-SS   see.3SG-RP-3SG
     'One time one of the men came to the garden where (the other) went and saw…'
     [skc11_05b]

In texts were multiple participants are acting separately, a noun phrase is utilized to provide descriptive information. In the text above both participants are men, and therefore the typical human noun term cannot be used alone. Therefore the quantifier *ban* 'a, other' is used.

In the following example, the participants are introduced with the nominative case—as is typical. But in (4), one of the participants is distinguished for the first time. This

introduction is done in the object role. This is predicted by Du Bois' "Given A Constraint" (1987:827), which says that languages tend to avoid introducing new referents in the position of the A argument. Instead, they are introduced into S or O roles, as seen here in MM.

(3)   *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   **saaut**   **nanaksûlû**   *lemang*   *kugûng.*
       [naai   ban   flong]   [saaut   nanaksû=lû]   lemang   ku-gû-ng
       time   a   ALL   PN   children=NOM   PN   go-RP-23PL
       'One time the Saut children went to Lemang.' [skc12_13]

(4)   *yak*   *kadek*   *fa*   *mi*   *flong*   *wa*   *beka*
       [yak   kadek]   fa   [mi   flong]   wa   be-ka
       bilum   group   get.NSG   water   ALL   that   put.NSG-SS

       nanak   **saakûm**   **ban**   *nûnggûng,*
       [nanak   saakûm   ban]   nû-gû-ng
       boy   small   a   tell-RP-23PL
       'Getting the bilums they put them in the water and told a little boy…' [skc12_13]

In subsequent mentions, the referents are differentiated with adjectives—the 'big men' and the 'little child'. This is necessary because *na* 'man' is used in a modifying role to mean 'male', and therefore does not adequately distinguish the participants.

(5)   *tang*   **na**   **kusang kusang**   *nisûng*   *mi*   *tawangka*
       ta-ng   [na   kusang~kusang]   nisûng   mi   tawang-ka
       do-DS   man   big~big   3PL.EMPH   water   follow-SS

       kun   *kugûng.*
       kun   ku-gû-ng
       up.DIST   go-RP-23PL
       'And the big guys, they followed the water and went up there.' [skc12_13]

When participants are highly topical, then no overt mention is needed, since this information is expressed via switch-reference morphology on non-finite verbs, subject-agreement morphology on finite verbs, and object-agreement morphology on all verbs. Below, taken from later in the text, the group of 'big guys' is marked with same-subject morphology and then non-first-person plural subject-agreement morphology on the final verbs.

(6)   *kaka*   *makoka*   *bagûng,*   *bagûng*   *dom.*
       ka-ka   mako-ka   ba-gû-ng   ba-gû-ng   dom
       see.3SG-SS   run.away-SS   come-RP-23PL   come-RP-23PL   NEG
       'They saw it and ran away, but they couldn't come.' [skc12_13]

When two highly salient participants are in need of differentiation, the "spatial demonstratives" (§20.1.1) are used. The distal form *wa* 'that' is the default, functioning in

485

many respects like a definite article. However, in contrast with *ya* 'this', the two distinguish between participants with contrasting salience (*wa*=less salient; *ya*=more salient).

(7) **manggat**   **wa**   *taamûng*   *nanak*   **yalûnang**   *membû*
[manggat   wa]   [taamûng   nanak   ya=lûnang   membû
demon   that   female   child   this=GEN   head

kudaalû   *mo*   *dobûka*   *tukungak.*
kudaalû]   mo   dob-ka   tuku-nga-k
bone.3SG.POSS   already   cut-SS   take.SG-NP-3SG
'After the demon cut off this girl's head, (he) took it away.' [skc12_04]

When multiple salient participants of similar quality must be expressed, the topographic (§20.1.3) demonstratives are often used to differentiate them:

(8) **nalû**   *lo*   *gekan*   *tamaakongka*   **dentû**   **kun**
na=lû   lo   gekan   ta-maa-kong-ka   den=lû   kun
man=NOM   go.up   slat   do-CMPL-TERM-SS   some=NOM   up.DIST

atta   **dentû**   *obûlok*   **kun**   *akngûlû*   **dentû**
at-ta   den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun   at-ng-lû   den=lû
be-SS   some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST   be-DS-23   some-NOM

kam   *atta*   *isit*   *lakong*   **kun**   *longûlû*
kam   at-ta   isit   lakong-ng   kun   lo-ng-ûlû
down.PROX   be-SS   kunai   throw.NSG-DS   up.DIST   go.up-DS-23

yot   *obûwangang.*
yot   ob-wang-nang
house   break-PRS:23PL-HAB
'Men go up and make all the roof slats and some stay on top to break (the kunai grass), and some stay below and throw the kunai grass up, and they break the house.' [skc10_11]

Once a discourse topic has lost salience, due to the introduction of new participants, or due to a number of intervening clauses, it is re-introduced with an "anaphoric demonstrative" (§20.1.2). Speakers use these forms to instruct addressees to search the discourse context or shared knowledge for the less salient participant.

(9) *wa*   *seka*   *idi,*   **raaji**   *idi,*
wa   se-ka   idi   [raaji   idi]
that   cook-SS   this.ANA   PN   this.ANA

bayanggenu   *meng*   *be*   *yenaanggûtta,*
[bayanggenu   meng   be]   ye-naanggût-ta
PN   mother   father.3SG.POSS   3NSG.O-get-SS
'Cooking it, (the aforementioned) Ragi, he got Bayangenu's parents, and…'
[skc09_21]

The anaphoric demonstratives are so pronounced in this function that they can mark entire non-finite clauses as "given". Often, therefore, the anaphoric demonstratives follow non-finite verbs in recapitulative bridging clauses. Preceding the sentence in (9), the clause was *sûbat segûm* 'we cooked the food'. This bridging clause then repeats the transitive clause, but with the proximal anaphoric demonstrative *idi*. This demonstrative frequently follows medial clauses to mark them as given, and in this function it tends to cliticize leftward to the medial verb, occurring within the same intonation contour (§6.4).

(10) | *seng* | *dûng* | *nangka* | *akngada* | ***idi***, |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| se-ng | dû-ng | na-ka | at-ng-da | idi |
| cook-DS | light-DS | eat-SS | be-DS-1NSG | this.ANA |

bazakiec	*lû*	*aakngka*	***idi***	*nûnggok.*
[bazakiec	lû]	aakng-ka	idi	nû-go-k
PN	NOM	arise-SS	this.ANA	tell-RP-3SG

'Cooking and while we were eating, Bazakiec getting up, told him…' [skc09_21]

The pattern is particularly evident in conditional constructions, which simply consist of medial clauses marked as given, followed by an irrealis finite clause:

(11) | *kadet* | *kaalin* | *dom* | *tawangka* | ***idi***, |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| [kadet | kaalin] | dom | tawang-ka | idi |
| road | good | NEG | follow-SS | this.ANA |

bepmek	*kusamba*	*dom*	*kanûm.*
[bep-nek	kusamba]	dom	ka-nûm
father-1NSG.POSS	big	NEG	see.3SG-IRR.PL:1NSG

'If we do not follow the good road, we will not see our big Father.' [skc11_13]

This pattern can also produce a temporal/causal interpretation (i.e. 'since'):

(12) | *ta* | *nûndû* | *fukuka* | ***i*** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ta | nûndû | fuku-ka | idi |
| do | 1NSG | take.NSG-SS | this.ANA |

alûbûsaa	*membûnang*	*kum*	*besaampa*
[alûbûsaa	membû=nang]	kum	be-saa-m-pa
jacaranda	base=LOC	down.DIST	put.NSG-2NSG.O-give-SS

bantaamot,	*kafeng*	*fi*	*ganang.*
ba-ntaa-mot	[kafeng	fi	ganang]
come-FUT-1DU	coffee	garden	plot

'But since we took them, we will put them down at the base of the jacaranda and come, to the coffee garden.' [skc09_21]

Finite verbs, on the other hand, are marked as given with the spatial demonstratives. The default pattern consists of a finite clause followed by a spatial demonstrative which is

marked with the ablative case. The demonstrative can be marked with any number of cases, and these produce adverbial and other subordinate clauses (see §29.3).

(13) *kudu*   *dogot*   ***walû***   *siyangûlû...*
      {kudu   do-go-t   wa=lû}   siya-ng-lû
      level.DIST   sleep-RP-1SG   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
      'Having slept there, in the morning…' [skc09_01]

In simple declarative clauses, constituent order is often used to topicalize a participant. The topicalized argument is simply left-dislocated. When a subject is topical, it is not marked with nominative case (see next section). When an object is topicalized and fronted before the subject, then the subject is grammatically required to bear nominative case.

(14) ***sap***   *kaasûlû*   *sakolak!*
      sap   kaas=lû   sako-la-k
      dog   trap=NOM   hold.3SG-PRS-3SG
      'A trap caught the dog!' [skc09_35]

Interrogative words are inherently focused. However, they can occur in topic position. In this role they are required to have indefinite reference, occurring outside the interrogative mood.

(15) ***net***   *kudu,*   *tuwa*   *be*   *kudusûlû*
      [net   kudu]   [tuwa   be   kudu-s=lû]
      who   level.DIST   first.male   father.3SG.POSS   across.DIST-LK=NOM

      bamonggok.
      ba-mo-go-k
      come-go.down-RPST-3SG
      'Whoever there, that father of Tuwa's came (and) went down.' [skc09_34]

30.2   Focus

As described in §16.2.2, the nominative case may be omitted for pragmatic effect. When subjects are not marked with the nominative case, they are topical—whether in S or A function.

(16) ***taamin***   ***welû***   ***nanaa***   *kadet*   *kugûng.*
      [taamin   welû   nanaa]   kadet   ku-gû-ng
      wife.3SG.POSS   daughter.3SG.POSS   son.3SG.POSS   garden   go-RP-23PL
      'His wife and children went to the garden.' [skc12_16]

When new participants are introduced, and are not recoverable from context or shared knowledge, they must be marked with the nominative case:

(17) *tamaangkongka*   *akngûda*   *idi,*   *sap*   ***bantû***   *bagok.*
     ta-maa-kong-ka   ak-ng-da   idi   [sap   ban=tû]   ba-go-k
     do-CMPL-TERM-SS   be-DS-1NSG   this.ANA   dog   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
     '(While) we were finishing doing it all, a dog came.' [skc09_23]

When subjects are contrasted, they are both required to bear nominative case:

(18) *na*   ***walû***   *beng*   *seng*
     [na   wa=lû]   beng   se-ng
     male   that=NOM   pandanus   cook-DS

     nantaam   ***walû***   *kûda*   *segûng.*
     [nantaam   wa=lû]   kûda   se-gû-ng
     people   that=NOM   greens   cook-RP-23PL
     '(While) the man cooked pandanus, the people cooked greens.' [skc11_16]

Additionally, basic pronouns occur in vocative slots (e.g. in commands) and as topical subjects, but the emphatic pronouns occur in place of nominative-marked NPs. This can be seen in (5) above. The pronouns are described in Chapter 19.

Furthermore, interrogative word subjects always require nominative-marking. Otherwise they can only be interpreted as the object. This is because interrogative words are inherently focused. See §13.5 for discussion of interrogative words and their interaction with information structure.

(19) ***nettû***   *kaang?*
     net=lû   ka-a-ng
     who=NOM   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
     'Who are you (that) sees him?' [DN04.75.56]

(20) ***net***   *kaang?*
     net   ka-a-ng
     who   see.3SG-PRS-2SG
     'Whom do you see?' [DN04.75.56]

30.3   Right-dislocation

Both core and oblique arguments may be postposed after the finite verb. This infrequently occurs with subjects. When it does, the subject generally has nominative-marking:

(21) *manggat*   *ban*   *bagok,*   ***maasalai***   ***walû.***
     [manggat   ban]   ba-go-k   [maasalai   wa=lû]
     demon   a   come-RP-3SG   spirit   that=NOM
     'A demon came, a *masalai* spirit.' [skc12_04]

The only time postposed subjects are not marked with nominative case is when they provide supplementary information. Below the subject elaboration is an afterthought. This is

not an oblique argument, since the suffix on *meng* 'mother' is a possessive-comitative contraction (§15.2.3), rather than the full comitative case, as illustrated in the other example below.

(22) *maambagûm,*   *kayap*   *mengût.*
     maa=ba-gû-m   [kayap   meng-nit]
     wholly=come-RP-1PL   thirdborn.female   mother-3SG.POSS:COM
     'We came back, with Kayap's mom.' [skc09_21]

(23) *tandonta*   *naain*   *kilok*   *tangûlû*   *ba*
     tandonta   [naain   kilok]   ta-ng-lû   ba
     night   nine   o'clock   do-DS-23   come

     sûbat   *sûnamaanggûm,*   ***femililit.***
     sûbat   sûna-maa-gû-m   femili=lit
     food   cook.eat-CMPL-RP-1PL   family=COM
     'Coming at nine o'clock at night we cooked and ate the food, with family.' [skc09_38]

Other arguments are also capable of being postposed. This is a focusing position. An object is postposed in (24), and both a possessive NP and a dative NP are postposed in (25).

(24) *wadûng*   *yenûngka*   *sûnanggûng*   ***beng.***
     wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   sûna-gû-ng   beng
     that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   cook.eat-RP-23PL   pandanus
     'He told them like that and they cooked and ate, the pandanus.' [skc11_16]

(25) *baasûng*   *taka*   *bewaagûngang*   ***walok***   ***walûnang.***
     baasûng   ta-ka   be-waa-gû-ng-nang   wa=lok   wa=lûnang
     bed   do-SS   put.NSG-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   that=DAT   that=GEN
     'They would make beds and put theirs for them.' [skc12_02]

Very frequently, locative phrases are right-dislocated.

(26) *ya*   *baka*   *kuka*   *ku*   *dogot,*   ***ten siti.***
     ya   ba-ka   ku-ka   kudu   do-go-t   ten siti
     here   come-SS   go-SS   level.DIST   sleep-RP-1SG   PN
     'I came here and went to sleep there, at Tent City.' [skc09_01]

(27) *maambagûng,*   ***saaut***   ***kagangsûnang.***
     maa=ba-gû-ng   [saaut   kagang-sû=nang]
     wholly=come-RP-23PL   PN   leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC
     'They came back, to their Saut village.' [skc12_13]

(28) *alûbûsaa*   *membûnang*   *kum*   *besaampa*
      [alûbûsaa   membû=nang]   kum   be-saa-m-pa
      jacaranda   base=LOC   down.DIST   put.NSG-2NSG.O-give-SS

      bantaamot,   ***kafeng***   ***fi***   ***ganang***.
      ba-ntaa-mot   [kafeng   fi   ganang]
      come-FUT-1DU   coffee   garden   plot
      'We will put them down at the base of the jacaranda and come, to the coffee
      garden.' [skc09_21]

The position for topics—known and given information—is at the front of the clause, preposed before the core arguments. On the other hand, the right periphery is dedicated to focused information. "Semantic information encoded in preposed clauses tends to be less significant, often repeating or giving predictable information from what has already been stated" (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:296).

Purpose clauses may also be right-dislocated, though they more frequently precede the finite verb (§26.1.2).

(29) *dabammût*   *blaampa*   *yepmanggûng,*
      dabam-nit   blaam-pa   yepma-gû-ng
      cape-3SG.POSS:COM   carry-SS   go.down-RP-23PL

      maanggûnang   ***kum***   ***sûnanengka***.
      {maanggûnang   kum   sû-na-ne-ng=la}
      PN   down.DIST   cook-eat-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN
      'They carried [him] with his cape and went down, to cook and eat him down in
      Maanggûnang.' [skc12_16]

Finally, occasionally adverbs are postposed. Below it is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative. This temporal adverb restricts the time of death, with the meaning that the practice is not still ongoing today.

(30) *eng*   *kaamkaam*   *naai*   *flong*   *gelûm*   *flong*
      eng   [kaam~kaam   naai   flong]   [gelûm   flong]
      yes   die~die   time   ALL   hole   ALL

      dom   *daasûwaagûngang*   ***tûmang***   ***idi***.
      dom   daasû-waa-gû-ng-nang   tûmang   idi
      NEG   put.in-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   before   this.ANA
      'Yeah, at the time of death they wouldn't put them in holes, before that is.' [skc12_02]

491

31 Other features

This chapter addresses two further features of discourse that have not been addressed elsewhere: non-embedded nominalizations (§31.1) and rhetorical devices (§31.2).

31.1   Non-embedded nominalizations

In §30.3 it was shown that demonstratives may be post-posed after a finite verb to focus on a participant, or, in its locative adverbial function, to bring greater salience to a destination. However, demonstratives can occur in this same location without a referential function. Stemming from their role in clause-nominalization—producing given clauses as a subordination strategy—demonstratives in this position convey epistemic information, frustration, and exclamatory force. These are common functions of "non-embedded nominalizations" (Schapper & San Roque 2011). In this non-referential use, the demonstrative has scope over the independent clause. Only the two spatial demonstratives appear to function in this way.

The spatial demonstratives have contrasting functions in this role, with *wa* 'that' being the default way to state facts.

(1)   *welû*   *nak*   *tukugot*   ***wa***.
       welû   nak   tuku-go-t   wa
       daughter   1SG   take.SG-RP-1SG   that
       'I married his daughter. (It's the truth.)' [skc12_01]

(2)   *aanutunang*   *o*   *sakoka*   *wa*   *bagûng*   ***wa***.
       [aanutu=nang   wo]   sako-ka   wa   ba-gû-ng   wa
       God=GEN   name.3SG.POSS   hold.3SG-SS   there   come-RP-23PL   that
       'They brought God's name there. (They really did.)' [skc12_01]

The proximal demonstrative *ya* provides an added level of intensity, below also being marked with the emphatic suffix *-ma*. Here since the statement is made with the realis future, which is utilized for promises and threats, the demonstrative further strengthens the promise. Furthermore, the adverb *mo* 'already' is provided as well, producing a future perfect. This is a very strong promise!

(3)   *mo*   *naandûntaamot*   ***yama***!   *baasû*   *dom*   *sewe!*
       mo   naandû-ntaa-mot   ya-ma   baasû   dom   se-be
       already   perceive-FUT-1DU   this-EMPH   worry   NEG   cook-IRR.SG
       'We'll (DU) have definitely learned it! Don't worry! [DN02.213.24]

31.2　Rhetorical devices

At least three separate rhetorical devices have been observed in the corpus. These are illustrated in turn below.

The most common rhetorical device in discource is the use of *taawang*, a verb meaning 'they say'. When following finite verbs in everyday discourse, this produces an epistemic result similar to the non-embedded nominalization in (1) of the previous section. It expresses a fact as a verifiable truth. In this way it functions like an evidential particle.

(4)　*nak*　　*ip*　　*yalaambaan*　　　　**taawang**.
　　　nak　　{ip　　y-talaam-baan}　　taa-wang
　　　1SG　　bird　　3NSG.O-shoot-NMLZ　　say-PRS:23PL
　　　'I'm a bird-shooter, really!' [DN01.119.17]

It heightens the drama of a discourse, occurring in narrative climax. When speakers hear this marker, they tend to "tune in" to the story. It is unclear whether, in addition to this rhetorical effect, it also carries epistemic meaning, like 'actually'. In the context preceding (5), a massive rain storm begins, and the speaker here expresses the surprising fact that they were moving slower, rather than faster, than is normally done in the rain.[37]

(5)　*baagût*　　*fûdûtta*　　*agûm*　　　**taawang**.
　　　baagût　　fûdût-ta　　at-gû-m　　　taa-wang
　　　slowly　　blow-SS　　be-RP-1PL　　say-PRS:23PL
　　　'We were coming pretty slowly.' [skc09_34]

In the very next clause after (5), the speaker uses *ya kaang ya*. This rhetorical device appears to be a non-embedded nominalization of *ya kaang* 'you see this'. Together, the phrase functions like English *you see?* (also, *y'see?* or *see?*). This clause serves to provide an explanation for the surprising description in the previous clause.

(6)　*fûtnek*　　*bûse*　　**ya**　　**kaang**　　　　**ya**,
　　　[fûtnek　　bûse]　　ya　　ka-a-ng　　　　ya
　　　swamp　　jungle　　this　　see.3SG-PRS-2SG　　this

　　　baagût　　*wa*　　*sakoka*　　*agûm*.
　　　baagût　　wa　　sako-ka　　at-gû-m
　　　slowly　　that　　hold.3SG　　be-RP-1PL
　　　'—it was a swamp you see?, so we were holding a slow speed.' [skc09_34]

---

[37] Note that here the verb *fûdût-* 'blow' has an idiomatic motion meaning. *Sako-* 'hold.3SG' does the same below. Ma Manda possesses a great deal of idiomatic ways to express motion.

Another example of *ya kaang ya* is provided below. Here it co-occurs with *aa* 'nevermind', to replace the object argument. The speaker mistakenly referred to a *falibi* wallaby species, but he actually meant to refer to the larger *manango* species.

(7) | *falibi* | *aa* | *manango* | *ya* | *kaang* | *ya* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| falibi | aa | manango | ya | ka-a-ng | ya |
| wallaby.sp | nevermind | wallaby.sp | this | see.3SG-PRS-2SG | this |

yokaalû	*taka*	*yalû,*
yokaalû	ta-ka	ya=lû
support	do-SS	this=ABL

yalû	*tapmo*	*mi*	*flong*	*kam*	*sûgok.*
ya=lû	tapmo	[mi	flong]	kam	sû-go-k
this=ABL	bring.down.SG	water	ALL	down.PROX	bite.3SG-RP-3SG

'[The dog] followed the the *falibi*—I mean the *manango* you see—and from here, it chased it and bit it at the water below.' [skc09_34]

Finally, the disjunctive enclitic can attach to a finite verb and be followed by the proximal anaphoric demonstrative: *=wek idi*. Normally the disjunctive marker signals disjunction between noun phrases (§18.4). Here it provides a continuative effect, functioning similarly to English *and so on*.

(8) | *adaampaka* | *sûglen* | *sakoka* | *mo* | *kugûmpek* | *i.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| adaampa-ka | sûglen | sako-ka | mo | ku-gû-m=wek | idi |
| rest-SS | strong | hold.3SG-SS | already | go-RP-1PL=DISJ | this.ANA |

'We rested and gathered strength and went, and so on.' [skc09_29]

494

32 Bridging constructions

Ma Manda exhibits a prevalent feature of discourse cohesion—bridging constructions. Otherwise known as "tail-head linkage" (de Vries 2005), bridging linkage is a way to express discourse cohesion by recapitulating a part of the preceding discourse. Words, phrases, clauses, and even entire sentences are often repeated as background information for another mainline event. This chapter describes this prominent feature of MM discourse. First, in §32.1 I address the grammatical status of bridging clauses as coordinate and subordinate clauses. Next, in §32.2 I summarize the phonological behavior of bridging clauses. Third, in §32.3 I discuss the content of bridging clauses, making a division between recapitulative and summary clauses. Fourth, in §32.4 I discuss the frequency and distribution of bridging clauses, paying attention to their varying roles in different genres, and in both spoken and written modalities. Finally, in §32.5 I summarize these facts and relate them to the differing cohesive functions of bridging clauses in discourse.

In the following discussion the recapitulative or summary text is referred to as the "bridging clause" and it is **bolded** in the examples. The bridging clause is a recapitulation of the "reference clause", which is <u>underlined</u> in the examples.

(1) *kaadûp*   *febû*   *sengada*   *dûng*   *idi,*
     kaadûp   feb   se-ng-da   dû-ng   idi
     firewood   bring.NSG cook-DS-1NSG light-DS   this.ANA

     <u>*sûbat*   *segûm.*</u>
     sûbat   se-gû-m
     food   cook-RP-1PL
     'Bringing the firewood we made a fire, and we cooked the food.'

     wa   ***seka***   ***idi***,   *raaji*   *idi,…*
     wa   se-ka   idi   [raaji   idi]
     that   cook-SS   this.ANA   PN   this.ANA
     'We cooked it, and Ragi,…' [skc09_21]

32.1   Grammatical status of bridging clause

Morphologically, bridging verbs may be in either non-finite or finite form. A non-finite bridging verb was illustrated above. A finite bridging verb is shown below:

(2) *sisa,   gaamiyongkût,   laai   kuntaamot*
    sisa   gaamiyong=lit   {{laai   ku-ntaa-mot}}
    ±2days   PN=COM   PN   go-FUT-1DU

    taaka   kugûmot.
    taa-ka   ku-gû-mot
    say-SS   go-RP-1DU
    'The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.'

    kugûmot   tangûlû,   *nantaampû   kadepmang*
    ku-gû-mot   ta-ng-lû   nantaam=lû   kadepmang
    go-RP-1DU   do-DS-23   people=NOM   road

    kam   nûnûnggûng,   kadet   wakaangak.
    kam   n-nû-gû-ng   {{kadet   wakaa-nga-k}}
    down.PROX   1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL   road   damaged-NP-3SG
    'We went, but the people down on the road told us, the road got damaged.' [skc09_01]

Syntactically, bridging clauses may be in either a coordinate or a subordinate relationship with the following mainline event. In (2) above the finite verb is coordinated with the next clause. This is made obvious by the fact that the auxiliary verb which follows it does not agree with the first-person dual subject of the preceding clause. This is a grammaticalized auxiliary verb conjunction. On the other hand, finite verbs can be embedded in an adverbial clause—being followed by a case-marked demonstrative:

(3) *yalû   kuka,   sibi   kum   dogûmot,   pandelit.*
    ya=lû   ku-ka   sibi   kum   do-gû-mot   pande=lit
    here=ABL   go-SS   PN   down.DIST   sleep-RP-1DU   PN=COM
    'From here we went, and we slept down in Sibi, with Pande.'

(4) **wa   dogûmot   walû**   *siyangûlû,...*
    {wa   do-gû-mot   wa=lû}   siya-ng-lû
    there   sleep-RP-1DU   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
    'From sleeping there, in the morning,…' [skc09_01]

Non-finite verbs exhibit the same syntactic distinction. With coordinate medial suffixes (§21.2.1) medial verbs stand in a coordinative relationship with subsequent mainline events, as illustrated in (1) above. As shown there, these medial verbs are often accompanied by an anaphoric demonstrative which marks the clause as "given" (see §30.1). Medial verbs may also take reduced subordinate suffixes (§21.2.2) in bridging clauses:

(5) *taabaaka   laabûgok.*
    taabaa-ka   laab-go-k
    carry-SS   come.up-RP-3SG
    'He carried him and came up.'

talaabû,	*meng*	*kaang*	*kansokkok*	*yemûng,…*
talaab	[meng	kaang	kansok=lok]	ye-m-ng
bring.up.SG	mother	two	PN=DAT	3NSG.O-give-DS

'Bringing him up, giving him to his mother and Kansok,' [skc09_18]

Finally, the bridging clause may be non-verbal, consisting of a sole case-marked demonstrative. Generally these are embedded, producing adverbial phrases:

(6)
nûndû	*tûmang*	*kugûm.*
nûndû	tûmang	ku-gû-m
1NSG	before	go-RP-1PL

'We went first.'

yalû,	*mi*	*kusamba*	*kum*	*mongkadopmûngka,…*
ya=lû	[mi	kusamba]	kum	mo-kadopm-ka
this=ABL	water	big	down.DIST	go.down-arrive-SS

'From here we went down to the big water, and…' [skc09_29]

However, the demonstrative can be followed by an auxiliary verb conjunction to put it in a coordinative relationship.

(7)
blaakam	*membû*	*kam*	*i*	*kafet kafet*	*taka*
blaakam	membû	kam	idi	kafet~kafet	ta-ka
weed	base	down.PROX	this.ANA	scrape~scrape	do-SS

aatûkuwaamang.
aatûku-waa-m-nang
remain-PRS-1PL-HAB

'We weed down around their stalks.'

wa	***taka***	*aatûkugûû*	*mo,…*
wa	ta-ka	aatûk-gû~û	mo
that	do-SS	remain-DUR~EXT	already

'After doing that awhile,…' [skc09_17]

This has been grammaticalized into a demonstrative conjunction *walataka* (from *wa=la* 'that=BEN' + *ta-ka* 'do-SS'):

(8)
filaangka	*damanang*	*maalogok.*
filaang-ka	damanang	maa=lo-go-k
fly-SS	PN	wholly=go.up-RP-3SG

'It flew up to Damanang.'

walataka	*yaabûntaangang…*
walataka	yaa-b-ntaa-ng-nang
therefore	3NSG.O-see-FUT-23PL-HAB

'Therefore you will see…' [skc12_11]

These three morpho-syntactic parameters cross-cut one another to produce a profile of six bridging clause types, as summarized below. (Note that COORD here means coordinating

non-finite morphology, while SUB means subordinating non-finite morphology. CASE refers to the case enclitics which must co-occur with these demonstrative forms.)

TABLE 32.1: GRAMMATICAL PARAMETERS OF BRIDGING CLAUSES

	Coordinate Clause		Subordinate Clause	
	Verb	Conjunction	Verb	Demonstrative
Finite Verb (FV)	FV	+	FV	+
Non-finite Verb (NFV)	NFV-COORD	–	NFV-SUB	–
Demonstrative (DEM)	DEM(=CASE)	+	DEM=CASE	–

As will be described further below, non-finite verbs are often auxiliary verbs which only carry aspectual and participant reference information, and do not lexically recapitulate the reference clause. These verbs and demonstratives both function as "summary clauses" rather than recapitulative clauses—a distinction made in §32.3.

Finally, note that often finite subordinate clauses are followed by a second recapitulation in non-finite form. These dual bridges appear to be conventionalized. Non-finite bridges also recapitulate medial clauses. Each of these are illustrated in turn below, but nothing more is said about their structure or cohesive function here.

(9) *bûge*   *kuwaamang.*
bûge   ku-waa-m-nang
again   go-PRS-1PL-HAB
'We go again.'

kuwaam   ***walû***   ***ku***,...
{ku-waa-m   wa=lû}   ku
go-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   go
'We go, going,…' [skc09_17]

(10) *tang*   *nangkadek*   *tûmang*   *kuka*
ta-ng   nangkadek   tûmang   ku-ka
do-DS   men   first   go-SS
'And the men went first and'

ku   *kaadûp*   *dlaatta*   *beng.*
ku   kaadûp   dlaat-ta   be-ng
go   wood   break-SS   put.NSG-NP:23PL
'going they broke the firewood and put it (down).' [skc09_28]

32.2   Phonology of bridging clause

The phonological properties of bridging clauses support the idea that one of their primary functions is "processing ease" (de Vries 2005). Bridging clauses have a particular

phonological pattern which sets them apart from both the reference clause which precedes them, and from subsequent clauses.

First of all, as described in §6.4, finite clauses exhibit a low-falling boundary tone, followed by a pause break. Reference clauses exhibit this pattern. Bridging clauses, however, exhibit a rising or flat intonation, often accompanied by a comparatively slow and deliberate pronunciation of each word. This is particularly noticeable with motion verbs and the null same-subject marker, since the vowels are often quite lengthened.

(11) *tametta*   *kugûmot.*
      tamet-ta   ku-gû-mot
      carry-SS   go-RP-1DU
      'We carried it and went.'

      kuuu   *nantaam,*   *kimbalak*   *nalaam*   *kugûmok*   *wa,*
      ku~u~u   nantaam   {[kimbalak   nalaam]   ku-gû-mok   wa}
      go~EXT~EXT   people   PN   couple   go-RP-23DU   that
      'Going, the people, Kimbalak and his wife who left,…' [skc09_21]

Furthermore, verbs and demonstratives both are frequently repeated multiple times in bridging clauses while the speaker prepares for the next mainline clause.

(12) *saaut*   *kagang*   *wa*   *atta,*   *wangattata*   *bagûng.*
      [saaut   kagang]   wa   at-ta   wa=ngat-ta=ta   ba-gû-ng
      PN   village   that   be-SS   there=be-SS=do   come-RP-23PL
      'They stayed there in Saut Village, and stayed there and and came (to the present time).'

      baka   ***baka***   *mo,…*
      ba-ka   ba-ka   mo
      come-SS   come-SS   already
      'They came and came and okay,…' [skc12_01]

(13) *naandûka*   *na*   *walû*   *mi*   *nambut*   *wa*   *tawangka*   *agok.*
      naandû-ka   [na   wa=lû]   [mi   nambut   wa]   tawang-ka   at-go-k
      know-SS   man   that=NOM water PN   that   follow-SS   be-RP-3SG
      'And the man followed the Nambut River.'

      walû   ***walû***   *mendaan*   *mi*   *flong*
      wa=lû   wa=lû   [mendaan   mi   flong]
      that=ABL   that=ABL   PN   water ALL

      kam   *bangkadopmûnggok*   *taka*   *naandûgok,*
      kam   ba-kadopm-go-k   ta-ka   naandû-go-k
      down.PROX   come-arrive-RP-3SG   do-SS   know-RP-3SG
      'Going and going, he came to the Mendan river below and he smelled it. [skc11_16]

499

Ma Manda also exhibits a general tendency for bridging clauses to occur without a preceding pause break. A much longer pause generally follows the bridging clause than precedes it. This mimics the tendency for subjects of clauses to follow the verb of the previous clause (§6.4). As with that pattern, the intonational contour is not reset on conjunctions, demonstratives, or discourse particles which immediately follow the finite reference verb.

There also exists a phonological difference between auxiliary verb conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs in summary linkage roles. When non-finite auxiliary verbs serve to summarize a preceding reference clause, they are preceded by a pause break, and are spoken slowly with a rising intonation. When they function as conjunctions, they are marked by a low intonational contour, as well as the absence of a preceding pause break. These forms are usually spoken quite rapidly, in contrast with their standalone congeners. A similar pattern is found for Manambu (Aikhenvald 2008a:455).

32.3 Content of bridging clause

Bridging clauses may contain either a recapitulative predicate (a verbal repetition or synonym), or a summary predicate (a light verb or demonstrative). Recapitulative predicates may surface with either finite or non-finite morphology. Summary predicates may surface with non-finite verbs, or with demonstratives. Crucially, summary predicates never exhibit finite morphology. The following sections contrast recapitulative and summary linkages. First, below the predicate types are mapped to the types of bridges in which they occur.

TABLE 32.2: PREDICATE TYPES MAPPED TO BRIDGING TYPES

Type of predicate	Bridging content
Finite verb	Recapitulative
Non-finite verb	Recapitulative or Summary
Demonstrative	Summary

32.3.1 Recapitulative linkage

Recapitulative predicates use either the same verb as the reference clause, or, quite commonly, a synonym. Verbatim repetition seldom occurs in bridging clauses, and therefore (near-)synonyms are frequently utilized in this context—as shown with *nû-* 'tell' and *taa-* 'say' below.

(14) *kam*   *nûnûnggûng,*   *kadet*   *wakaangak.*
      kam   n-nû-gû-ng   {{kadet wakaa-nga-k}}
      down.PROX   1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL   road   damaged-NP-3SG
      'We went, but the people told us, the road got damaged.'

      taangûlû,   *ya*   *baka*   *badempa*   ***taagûmot***
      taa-ng-lû   ya   ba-ka   {ba-de-m=la}   taa-gû-mot
      say-DS-23   here   come-SS come-IRR.DU-1NSG=BEN   say-RP-1DU
      'They said it, and we came here and tried to come…' [skc09_01]

In recapitulative bridging clauses it is also very common for additional information to be expressed. This includes arguments (e.g. *taamaam* 'women' in (15)) and aspectual information, as in (15) with the terminative aspect, and in (16) with 'burn down'.

(15) *blaakam*   *tawaamang.*
      blaakam   ta-waa-m-nang
      weed   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
      'We do the weeding.'

      taamtaampû   ***blaakam***   ***tamaakongka,***…
      taamtaam=lû   blaakam   ta-maa-kong-ka
      women=NOM   weed   do-CMPL-TERM-SS
      'The women finish doing all the weeding, and…' [skc09_17]

(16) *sengada*   *dûwangang.*
      se-ng-da   dû-wang-nang
      cook-DS-1NSG   light-PRS:23PL-HAB
      'And we light them on fire.'

      sengada   ***dûka***   ***fûngûlû***   ***mo,***
      se-ng-da   dû-ka   fû-ng-lû   mo
      cook-DS-1NSG   light-SS   come.down-DS-23   already
      'We light them on fire and after they burn down,…' [skc09_17]

Recapitulative clause also include additional verbs, denoting events which were previously covert, as with *ku-* 'go' in the bridging clause below.

(17) *blaangkonggûmot*   *walû*   *mongka,*   *laai.*
      blaangkong-gû-mot   wa=lû   mo-ka   laai
      jump-RP-1DU   that=ABL go.down-SS   PN
      'We jumped on a PMV and from there went down, to Lae.'

      laai   ***kumongka,***   *kuka*   *taaun*   *wa*   *kungaagûmot.*
      laai   ku-mo-ka   ku-ka   taaun   wa   kungat-gû-mot
      PN   go-go.down-SS   go-SS   town   that   go.around-RP-1DU
      'We went and went down to Lae and went and walked around town.' [skc09_01]

On the other hand, sometimes less information is expressed in the bridging clause. This includes arguments, adverbs, aspectual information, and verbs. In the following example, the

habitual aspect in the reference clause is removed in the bridging clause, being replaced with the terminative and completive aspects.

(18) *tûmang,   fi   kodaa   fepmûnggaamang.*
tûmang   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-gaa-m-nang
first   garden new   clear.bush-PRS-1PL-HAB
'First, we clear a new garden.'

na   taamûng   fi   kodaa   fepmaakongka   tûka,…
[na   taamûng]   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
man   woman   garden new   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS   put.SG-SS
'The men and women finish clearing the whole new garden, and…' [skc09_17]

Finally, when symmetrical, directional, and benefactive SVCs occur in the reference clause, both verbs are often recapitulated in the bridging clause:

(19) *nûnûngkong,   kaasingang   balogûm.*
n-nûngkong-ng   kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m
1NSG.O-remove-DS   PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL
'They kicked us out and we came and went up to Kesengen.'

kaasingang   balogûm   walû,
{kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m   wa=lû}
PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL   that=ABL
'Having come and gone up to Kesengen,…' [skc09_19]

32.3.2   Summary linkage

Summary bridging clauses do not provide any lexical recapitulation of a reference clause. Instead, the information is summarized with either a non-finite auxiliary verb, or a demonstrative. The fact that auxiliary verbs only occur in non-finite form, and not in subordinate finite clauses, answers the question from de Vries (2005:377) about "whether generic verb linkage occurs only in chained forms or also in thematic forms in a given language." An example is provided below.

(20) *kaadûp   dalo   ta   kongûlû   fûngak.*
[kaadûp   dalo]   ta   kong-ng-lû   fû-nga-k
wood   tinder   get.SG   throw-DS-23   come.down-NP-3SG
'He threw a piece of firewood down.'

tang   sakoka   laabûngûlû
ta-ng   sako-ka   laab-ng-lû
do-DS   hold.3SG-SS   come.up-DS-23
'And they grabbed it and came up and…' [skc09_10]

In summary bridging clauses, additional arguments and aspectual information never occur. Though often an unmarked demonstrative precedes an auxiliary verb, as in (7) above,

this produces a coordinated summary clause. These demonstratives cannot be analyzed as objects of the auxiliary verb due to this fact. This is why auxiliary verbs, even when recapitulating transitive clauses, typically do not co-occur with demonstratives:

(21) *tang*   *mongka*   <u>*mik*</u>   <u>*wimgûng.*</u>
     ta-ng   mo-ka   mik   wi-m-gû-ng
     do-DS   go.down-SS   bathe   bathe-give-RP-23PL
     'And they went down and bathed him.'

     taka   *sesumpa*   *tukungakngûlû*   *tukungakngûlû*
     ta-ka   sesu-m-pa   tuku-ngat-ng-lû   tuku-ngat-ng-lû
     do-SS   heat-give-SS   take.SG-be-DS-23   take.SG-be-DS-23
     'And they washed him with hot water all over and…' [skc12_15]

The prototypical light verb *ta-* 'do' frequently occurs in summary linkage without any switch-reference morphology. While bare verb roots are the form utilized for same-subject subordinate verbs, this verb is different. It does not signal same- or different-subject with other clauses. Instead, it signals overt discontinuity, producing asides from narratives and contrastive comments.

(22) *ta*   *u*   *tûmang*   <u>*wan*</u>   <u>*tawaagûngang*</u>
     ta   udu   tûmang   wa-n   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
     do   that.ANA   before   that-ANA   do-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

     ta   *waagût*   *idi*   *nûndû*   *wan*   *dom*   *tawaamang.*
     ta   waagût   idi   nûndû   wa-n   dom   ta-waa-m-nang
     but   now   this.ANA   1NSG   that-ANA   NEG   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
     'Yeah, before they would do that, but now we don't do that.' [skc12_02]

The light verbs that may function as "discourse conjunctions" (de Vries 2005:376) include *ta-* 'do', *at-* 'be', *taa-* 'say', and *aatûku-* 'remain'. These verbs all have lexical meaning, but function as auxiliary verbs in auxiliary constructions, and as light verb (or auxiliary verb) conjunctions (cf. reduced "lexical overlap" (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:290)). See §13.6.2 for a discussion of their forms, and §29.2.4 for examples.

32.4 Bridging clause distribution

Bridging clauses are especially prevalent in narrative and procedural texts (cf. de Vries (2005:365)). However, they frequently occur in any discourse where there are narrative and procedural paragraphs—including sermons, prayers, and spontaneous discussion.

Bridging clauses occur in procedural texts cast in the future tense as well. Interestingly, in these texts bridging constructions link medial clauses as well, though in a much less

structured manner. This provides evidence that texts such as these are an incipient genre in Ma Manda, having not been part of their traditional spoken repertoire.

(23)   *laayan*   *nalaam,*   *kagangsekngang*   *kudeng*
         [laayan   nalaam]   kagang-sek=nang   ku-de-ng
         PN   couple   place-23DU.POSS=LOC   go-IRR.DU-23NSG

         walû,   **_ku_**   *kagangsekngang*   *kunaagû*
         wa=lû   ku   kagang-sek=nang   kun=at-gû
         that=ABL   go   place-23DU.POSS=LOC   up.DIST=be-DUR
         'Ryan and his wife will go to their place and from there going to be up at their place,'

         nanak   *genangkangûlû,*
         nanak   genangka-ng-lû
         child   appear-DS-23

         gulat   *ban*   *kanslong*   *wa*   *badeng*
         [gulat   ban   kan=slong]   wa   ba-de-ng
         year   a   up.PROX=ALL   that   come-IRR.DU-23NSG

         walû   **baka**,   *badeng*
         wa=lû   ba-ka   ba-de-ng
         that=ABL   come-SS   come-IRR.DU-23NSG
         'their child will be born, and next year they will come and they'll come [to Papua New Guinea] and from there come [to the village]'

         walû   **ba**   *saaut*   *ya*   *bangkadopmûngka,*
         wa=lû   ba   saaut   ya   ba-kadopm-ka
         that=ABL   come   PN   here   come-arrive-SS
         'from there coming to Saut they will come here, and… [skc09_16]

The relationship between bridging constructions and genre is epiphenomenal. The pattern occurs in any dialogue in which two or more events are strung together into separate sentences. It provides cohesion between related events. In fact, speech reports are often sandwiched between two speech report verbs—often one a synonym of the other—producing a futher instantiation of recapitulation.

Bridging clauses occur with equal frequency in both oral and written discourse. In written texts, both coordinate and subordinate finite clauses occur, as well as lexical repetition, synonymic recapitulation, and summary linkage.

Regarding frequency, bridging clauses introduce almost every single sentence within a narrative or procedural discourse. Interestingly, even when a sentence is concluded without a finite verb—a structure which produces an extended and elliptical meaning—bridging clauses still introduce the following sentence. This pattern is shown in (17) above, and again below.

(24) *bûgebûga*   *amun,*   *amun*   *walû*   *walû*
     bûge=bû=ga   amun   amun   wa=lû   wa=lû
     again=too=INST   ground   ground   that=ABL   that=ABL

     bagû   <u>*bagûû,*</u>   *bayaang.*
     ba-gû   ba-gû~û   bayaang
     come-DUR   come-DUR~EXT   PN
     'Yet again by foot coming and coming, to Bayang…'

     ba   *bayaang*   *dogot*   *walû*   *siyangûlû,*
     ba   bayaang   do-go-t   wa=lû   siya-ng-lû
     come   PN   sleep-RP-1SG   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
     'Coming I slept in Bayang and from there in the morning,…' [skc09_01]

The only place where bridging clauses are frequently omitted is in the final sentence of narratives, and after the opening sentence, as shown below.

(25) *waagût*   *kepma*   *yalong,*   *kadet*   *kungat.*
     waagût   [kepma   ya=long]   kadet   ku-nga-t
     now   day   this=LOC   garden   go-NP-1SG
     'Today on this day, I went to the garden.'

     notnaye   *saakûm saakûm*   *yaalû,*   *enaanggûtta,…*
     [not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
     brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
     'I got my two little sisters, and…' [skc09_10]

32.5   Cohesive functions of bridging clauses

The examples and discussion in the previous sections have made it clear that bridging clauses provide both referential and event cohesion between the final clause of a reference sentence, and a subsequent sentence. Speakers generally only repeat the finite clause which concludes the previous sentence. That is, other preceding finite verbs do not also co-occur in the bridging clause. At the most, arguments and medial verbs may accompany the bridging verb, but not any information from earlier in the discourse.

Depending on the word class and morphology of the predicate, and the type of bridging content—recapitulative or summary—different levels of cohesion are achieved. The embeddedness of clauses—whether they are coordinate or subordinate—does not appear to have any bearing on the cohesive function of the bridging clause. Instead, subordinate clauses are presupposed, while coordinate clauses are asserted a second time. Most commonly, bridging clauses are headed by non-finite verbs.

The functionally-unmarked bridging construction consists of a non-finite recapitulative verb with switch-reference morphology—either coordinate or subordinate. This produces

referential cohesion between the subjects of the reference and bridging clauses, and it produces event cohesion. It is unsurprising that this is the unmarked form, since this is also the unmarked type of clause linkage in MM: "The default syntactic form of the recapitulated head clause in a given Papuan language follows from the default or unmarked type of clause linkage in that language" (de Vries 2005:372). These clauses also often exhibit aspectual auxiliary verb constructions and serial verb constructions, producing temporal cohesion as well.

Summary linkage lacks event cohesion, since the light verb does not express any lexical information. However, it maintains referential cohesion due to the switch-reference morphology required by the grammar. The verb *ta-* 'do' is unique, since its uninflected form lacks referential cohesion as well. So while unmarked verbs in recapitulative linkage mark same-subject subordinate clauses, the unmarked summary light verb has no such meaning. They are overtly discontinuative.

These matters are summarized below.

TABLE 32.3: NON-FINITE BRIDGING CLAUSES: COHESION

Bridging type →	Recapitulative		Summary	
Cohesion type →	Referential	Event	Referential	Event
Switch-reference suffix	+	+	+	−
Unmarked verb	−	+	−	−

The marked bridging construction consists of a finite verb—either in coordinate or subordinate relationship with the next clause. These structures often follow the reference clause without a pause break, producing "chaining paragraphs" (Farr 1999). Finite bridging clauses lack referential cohesion, since they do not indicate whether the subject of the following clause is co-referential. These constructions provide event cohesion to carry the narrative forward. It is unsurprising, therefore, that summary bridging clauses (headed by light verbs) are always in non-finite form. Finite clauses provide event continuity without referential consequence, while summary linkage constructions produce event discontinuity. The two are incompatible.

When summary bridging clauses are headed by demonstratives, no referential, event, or temporal cohesion is present. However, they instead seem to provide anaphoric event cohesion, functioning very similarly to finite recapitulative bridging clauses.

When no bridging constructions occur, this produces complete discontinuity (de Vries 2005:375), occurring at rare junctures such as on the second or final sentences of texts. These

are discourse margins, used to provide initial or summarizing remarks, and do not consist of mainline events.

These cohesive functions can be mapped onto a continuum as follows:

REFERENTIAL   None   Non-finite bare stem   Non-finite SR

$-$ •———————————————————————————————————• $+$

EVENT   None   Summary   Recapitulative
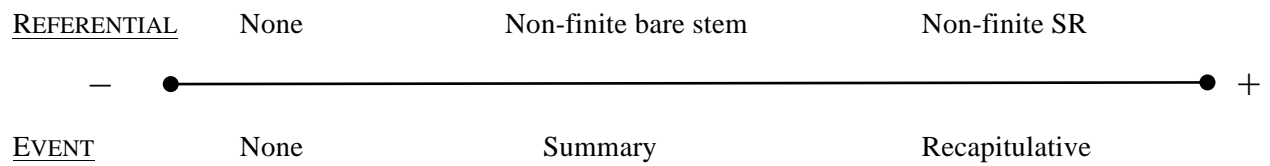
FIGURE 32.1: REFERENTIAL AND EVENT COHESION

REFERENCES

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. Forthcoming. The Amazon. In Michael Fortescue, Marianne Mithun & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis*, Ch. 18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology*, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2008a. *The Manambu language of East Sepik, Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2008b. Semi-direct speech: Manambu and beyond. *Language Sciences* 30. 383–422.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2008c. Versatile cases. *Journal of Linguistics* 44(3). 565–603.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and commands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2011. Causatives which do not cause: Non-valency-increasing effects of a valency-increasing derivation. *Language at large: Essays on syntax and semantics*, 86–142. Leiden: Brill.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2014. *The art of grammar: A practical guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Tonya N. Stebbins. 2007. Languages of New Guinea. In Osahito Miyaoka, Osamu Sakiyama & Michael Krauss (eds.), *Vanishing languages of the Pacific Rim*, 239–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, Neil & Martha Wade. 1988. Ergativity and control in Folopa. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 19. 1–16.

Anderson, Stephen R. & Edward L. Keenan. 1985. Deixis. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 259–308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blevins, Juliette & Andrew Pawley. 2010. Typological implications of Kalam predictable vowels. *Phonology* 27. 1–44.

Booker, Karen M. 1982. Number suppletion in North American Indian languages. *Kansas Workpapers in Linguistics* 7. 15–29.

Brown, Penelope. 2008. Up, down, and across the land: landscape terms, place names, and spatial language in Tzeltal. *Language Sciences* 30(2). 151–81.

Bruce, Leslie P. 1984. *The Alamblak language of Papua New Guinea (East Sepik)*. (Pacific Linguistics C 81). Canberra: Australian National University.

Bryson, Beth. 2010. FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx). Calvary Chapel Conference Center, Vajta, Hungary.

Burenhult, Niclas. 2008. Spatial coordinate systems in demonstrative meaning. *Linguistic Typology* 12(1). 99–142.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Christensen, Steve. 2010. Yongkom discourse: ergativity and topic. In Joan Hooley (ed.), *Papers on six languages of Papua New Guinea*, 1–39. (Pacific Linguistics 616). Canberra: Australian National University.

Claassen, Oren R. & Kenneth A. McElhanon. 1970. Languages of the Finisterre Range – New Guinea. In Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), *Papers in New Guinea linguistics No. 11*, 45–83. (Pacific Linguistics A 23). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Cleary-Kemp, Jessica. 2007. Universal uses of demonstratives: evidence from four Malayo-Polynesian languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 46(2). 325–47.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1991. On Haruai vowels. In Andrew Pawley (ed.), *Man and a half: Essays in Pacific anthropology and ethnobiology in honour of Ralph Bulmer*, 393–97. Auckland: Polynesian Society.

Corbett, Greville. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cusic, David Dowell. 1981. Verbal plurality and aspect. Stanford, CA: Stanford University PhD dissertation.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Davies, H. John. 1989. *Kobon*. London: Routledge.

Davis, Donald. 1964a. Wantoat clauses. Bloomington: Indiana University MA thesis.

Davis, Donald. 1964b. Wantoat verb stem classes and affixation. In Alan Pence (ed.), *Verb studies in five New Guinea languages*, 131–80. (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 10). Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: form, function, and grammaticalization*. (Typological Studies in Language 42). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2003. Demonstratives: a cross-linguistic typology. *Studies in Language* 27(1). 61–112.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010a. *Basic linguistic theory*, vol. 1: *Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010b. *Basic linguistic theory*, vol. 2: *Grammatical topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2012. *Basic linguistic theory*, vol. 3: *Further grammatical topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). 2002. *Word: a cross-linguistic typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Donaldson, Tamsin. 1980. *Ngiyambaa: The language of the Wangaaybuwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Donohue, Mark. 2005. Tone and the Trans New Guinea languages. In Shigeki Kaji (ed.), *Proceedings of the symposium on Cross-Linguistic Studies of Tonal Phenomena: historical development and the tone/syntax interface*, 33–54. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies: Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Du Bois, John W. 1987. The discourse basis of ergativity. *Language* 63(4). 805–55.

Durie, Mark. 1986. The grammaticization of number as a verbal category. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 12. 355–68.

Elliott, Jennifer R. 2000. Realis and irrealis: forms and concepts of the grammaticalisation of reality. *Linguistic Typology* 4. 55–90.

Evans, Nicholas. 2006. Dyadic constructions. In Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, vol. 4, 24–28. 2nd ed. Boston: Elsevier Science.

Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In Irina Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness: theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fabian, Grace, Edmund Fabian & Bruce Waters. 1998. *Morphology, syntax and cohesion in Nabak, Papua New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics C 144). Canberra: Australian National University.

Faller, Martina. 2012. Pluractionality and accompaniment in Cuzco Quechua. In Patricia Cabredo Hofherr & Brenda Laca (eds.), *Verbal plurality and distributivity*, 55–86. (Linguistische Arbeiten 546). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Farr, Cynthia J. M. 1999. *The interface between syntax and discourse in Korafe, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics C 148). Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Farr, James & Cynthia Farr. 1974. A preliminary Korafe phonology. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 3. 5–38.

Fedden, Sebastian. 2007. A grammar of Mian, a Papuan language from New Guinea. Melbourne, Australia: University of Melbourne PhD thesis.

Fillmore, C. J. 1982. Towards a descriptive framework for spatial deixis. In Robert J. Jarvella & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Speech, place, and action: studies of deixis and related topics*, 31–59. Chichester: John Wiley.

Fleischman, Suzanne. 1995. Imperfective and irrealis. In Joan Bybee & Suzanne Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse*, 519–51. (Typological Studies in Language 32). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Flierl, Wilhelm & Hermann Strauss (eds.). 1977. *Kâte dictionary*. (Pacific Linguistics C 41). Canberra, Australia: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fox, Barbara. 2010. Introduction. In Nino Amiridze, Boyd H. Davis & Margaret Maclagan (eds.), *Fillers, pauses and placeholders*, 1–10. (Typological Studies in Language 93). Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Company.

Fox, Barbara A. 1984. Participant tracking in Toba Batak. *UCLA Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 5. 59–79.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1985. Ergativity, number, and agreement. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 11. 96–106. doi:10.3765/bls.v12i0.1876.

Frawley, William. 1992. *Linguistic semantics*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Genetti, Carol. 2014. Walking the line: Balancing description, argumentation and theory in academic grammar writing. In Toshihide Nakayama & Keren Rice (eds.), *The art and practice of grammar writing*, 121–34. (Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication 8). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gordon, Lynn. 1986. *Maricopa morphology and syntax*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gordon, Matthew. 2011. Stress: phonotactic and phonetic evidence. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin J. Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology*, vol. 2, 924–48. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Grice, H. Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3: Speech acts, 41–58.

Guérin, Valérie. 2015. Focusing on S and A in Tayatuk. Paper presented at the LCRC Global Workshop, Language and Culture Research Centre, Cairns Institute, James Cook University, Cairns, Australia.

Haiman, John. 1980. *Hua: a Papuan language of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea.* (Studies in Language Companion Series 5). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Halliday, M.A.K. & R. Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Hall, Nancy. 2006. Cross-linguistic patterns of vowel intrusion. *Phonology* 23. 387–429.

Hansson, Gunnar Ólafur. 2001. Theoretical and typological issues in consonant harmony. Berkeley: University of California PhD dissertation.

Hansson, Gunnar Ólafur. 2010. *Consonant harmony: Long distance interaction in phonology.* (University of California Publications in Linguistics 146). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harris, John. 2005. Vowel reduction as information loss. In Philip Carr, Jacques Durand & Colin J. Ewen (eds.), *Headhood, elements, specification and contrastivity*, 119–32. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 259). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, 1–55. (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 13). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2005. Argument marking in ditransitive alignment types. *Linguistic Discovery* 3(1). 1–21.

Hayes, Bruce. 1995. *Metrical stress theory: Principles and case studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heeschen, Volker. 1997. Relativities: Use and non-use of spatial reference among the Yale speakers in Irian Jaya (West New Guinea). In Gunter Senft (ed.), *Referring to space: studies in Austronesian and Papuan languages*, 175–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hiley, Rachel, Paul Hurst & Bonnie MacKenzie. 2008. Sociolinguistic survey of three western languages in the Erap language family: Nema [gsn], Saut Manda [skc], and Sama [nis]. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: a taxonomy of universal uses. In Barbara Fox (ed.), *Studies in anaphora*, 205–54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Holzknecht, Susanne. 1989. *The Markham languages of Papua New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics C 115). Canberra: Australian National University.

Holzknecht, Susanne. 1992. Birth-order terms in the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea. In Tom Dutton, Malcolm Ross & Darrell Tryon (eds.), *The language game: papers in memory of Donald C. Laycock*. (Pacific Linguistics C 110). Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Hooley, Bruce A. & Kenneth A. McElhanon. 1970. Languages of the Morobe District—New Guinea. In Stephen A. Wurm & Donald C. Laycock (eds.), *Pacific linguistic studies in honour of Arthur Capell*, 1065–94. (Pacific Linguistics C 13). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Hulst, Harry van der. 2010. Word accent: Terms, typologies and theories. In Harry van der Hulst, Rob Goedemans & Ellen van Zanten (eds.), *A survey of word accentual patterns in the languages of the world*, 3–53. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hulst, Harry van der. 2014. The study of word accent and stress: past, present, and future. In Harry van der Hulst (ed.), *Word stress: theoretical and typological issues*, 3–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hyman, Larry M. 1995. Nasal consonant harmony at a distance: The case of Yaka. *Studies in African Linguistics* 24. 5–30.

Hyman, Larry M. 2006. Word-prosodic typology. *Phonology* 23. 225–57.

Hynum, David. 1980. A preliminary phonology of Numanggang. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Hynum, David. 1995. Numanggang grammar notes. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Hynum, David. 2001. Numanggang organised phonology data. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Hynum, David. 2010. Ergative in Numanggang. In Joan Hooley (ed.), *Papers on six languages of Papua New Guinea*, 129–56. (Pacific Linguistics 616). Canberra: Australian National University.

Jauncey, Dorothy. 1997. A grammar of Tamambo, the language of western Malo, Vanuatu. Canberra: Australian National University PhD thesis.

Kenstowicz, Michael. 1997. Quality-sensitive stress. *Rivista di Linguistica* 9(1). 157–87.

Koepping, Klaus-Peter. 1973. Some preliminary ethnographic notes on the Erap Valley, Huon Peninsula. In Peter K. Lauer (ed.), *Occasional Papers No. 1*, 97–134. St. Lucia: University of Queensland, Anthropology Museum.

Lacy, Paul de. 2004. Markedness conflation in Optimality Theory. *Phonology* 21(2). 145–99.

Lasersohn, Peter. 1995. *Plurality, conjunction and events*. (Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 55). Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media.

Laycock, Donald C. 1965. *The Ndu language family (Sepik District, Papua New Guinea)*. (Pacific Linguistics C 1). Canberra: Australian National University.

Le Goffic, Pierre (ed.). 1986. *Points de vue sur l'imparfait*. Caen: Université de Caen.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1995. Apprehensional epistemics. In Joan Bybee & Suzanne Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse*, 293–327. (Typological Studies in Language 32). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lindström, Eva. 2002. Topics in the grammar of Kuot, a non-Austronesian language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. Stockholm: Stockholm University PhD thesis.

Linnasalo, Katri. 1993. On Nek grammar. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Linnasalo, Katri. 2003. Nek phonology essentials. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Linnasalo, Katri. 2014. Non-spatial setting in Nek verbs. *Language Typology and Universals* 67(3). 297–326.

Longacre, Robert E. 1972. *Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages*, vol. 1: *Discussion*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

MacDonald, Lorna. 1990. *A grammar of Tauya*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. *ELAN Linguistic Annotator v4.6.2*. The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/.

McCawley, James. 1971. Tense and time reference in English. In Charles J. Fillmore & D. Terence Langendoen (eds.), *Studies in linguistic semantics*, 96–113. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston.

McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1968a. Linguistic field recordings and wordlists: Sialum, Douda, Mape and Kovai (Papua New Guinea). 1968-05-07. PARADISEC.

McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1968b. Uri word lists. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1970. The Selepet language within the Finisterre-Huon phylum (New Guinea). Canberra: Australian National University PhD thesis.

McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1973. *Towards a typology of the Finisterre-Huon languages, New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics B 22). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

McElhanon, Kenneth A. & Clemens L. Voorhoeve. 1970. *The Trans-New Guinea Phylum: Explorations in deep-level genetic relationships*. (Pacific Linguistics B 16). Canberra: Australian National University.

McGregor, William B. 2010. Optional ergative case marking systems in a typological-semiotic perspective. *Lingua* 120(7). 1610–36.

Mithun, Marianne. 1988. Lexical categories and the evolution of number marking. In Michael Hammond & Michael Noonan (eds.), *Theoretical morphology. Approaches in modern linguistics*, 211–34. San Diego: Academic Press.

Mithun, Marianne. 2014. The data and the examples: Comprehensiveness, accuracy, and sensitivity. In Toshihide Nakayama & Keren Rice (eds.), *The art and practice of grammar writing*, 25–52. (Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication 8). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Moeller, Sarah Ruth. 2014. SayMore, a tool for language documentation productivity. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8. 66–74.

Moravcsik, Edith. 2003. A semantic analysis of associative plurals. *Studies in Language* 27(3). 469–503.

National Statistical Office. 2002. *2000 national census: Community profile system*. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea.

National Statistical Office. 2013. *2011 national census: Final figures*. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea.

Newman, Paul. 1980. *The Classification of Chadic within Afroasiatic*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers.

Newman, Paul. 1990. *Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Newman, Paul. 2012. Pluractional verbs: An overview. In Patricia Cabredo Hofherr & Brenda Laca (eds.), *Verbal plurality and distributivity*, 185–209. (Linguistische Arbeiten 546). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Noonan, Michael. 1997. Versatile nominalizations. In Joan Bybee, John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type*, 373–94. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Núñez, Rafael, Kensy Cooperrider, D Doan & Jürg Wassmann. 2012. Contours of time: Topographic construals of past, present, and future in the Yupno valley of Papua New Guinea. *Cognition* 124. 25–35.

Odden, David. 1994. Adjacency parameters in phonology. *Language* 70. 289–330.

Olawsky, Knut J. 2006. *A grammar of Urarina*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Palmer, Bill. 2002. Absolute spatial reference and the grammaticalisation of perceptually salient phenomena. In Giovanni Bernardo (ed.), *Representing space in Oceania: culture in language and mind*, 107–57. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Paris, Hannah. 2012. Sociolinguistic effects of church languages in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 214. 39–66.

Parker, Steve. 2002. Quantifying the sonority hierarchy. Amherst: University of Massachusetts PhD dissertation.

Parker, Steve. 2008. Sound level protrusions as physical correlates of sonority. *Journal of Phonetics* 36. 55–90.

Parker, Steve. 2011. Sonority. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin J. Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology*, vol. 2, 1160–84. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Parker, Steve. 2012. Sonority distance vs. sonority dispersion—a typological survey. In Steve Parker (ed.), *The sonority controversy*, 101–65. (Phonology and Phonetics 18). Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pawley, Andrew. 2012. How reconstructable is Proto Trans New Guinea? Problems, progress, prospects. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* Special Issue 2012: On the History, Contact & Classification of Papuan languages(Part I). 88–164.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Payne, Thomas E. 2014. Toward a balanced grammatical description. In Toshihide Nakayama & Keren Rice (eds.), *The art and practice of grammar writing*, 91–108. (Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication 8). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Pennington, Ryan. 2013a. Ma Manda phonology. Dallas, TX: Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics MA thesis.

Pennington, Ryan. 2013b. Topic as evidence for nominative case in Ma Manda. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 31(2). 1–26.

Pennington, Ryan. 2013c. Epenthesis and nasal spreading: Theoretical analyses and their practical application in the establishment of the Ma Manda orthography. *Language and Linguistics in Oceania* 5(Special Issue: SIL in Oceania 1). 75–117.

Pennington, Ryan. 2014a. Non-spatial setting in Ma Manda. *Language Typology and Universals* 67(3). 327–64.

Pennington, Ryan. 2014b. Producing time-aligned interlinear texts: Towards a SayMore–FLEx–ELAN workflow. Ms. https://www.academia.edu/6474779/Producing_time-aligned_interlinear_texts_Towards_a_SayMore-FLEx-ELAN_workflow.

Pennington, Ryan. 2015. *Ma Manda phonology*. (SIL E-Books 64). Dallas, TX: SIL International.

Pennington, Ryan. 2015. *Ma Manda phonology*. Munich: Lincom.

Piggott, Glyne L. 1996. Implications of consonant nasalization for a theory of harmony. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 41. 141–74.

Potts, Denise M. & Dorothy J. James. 1988. Split ergativity in Siane: a study in markedness. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 19. 71–108.

Prince, Ellen. 1981. On the inferencing of indefinite-this NPs. In A. K. Joshi, B. L. Webber & I. A. Sag (eds.), *Elements of discourse understanding*, 231–50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quigley, Edward C. & Susan R. Quigley. 2011. *The phonology and verbal system of Awara, a Papuan language of the Finisterre Range, Papua New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics 629). Canberra: Australian National University.

Reesink, Ger. 1993. "Inner speech" in Papuan languages. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24(2). 217–25.

Reesink, Ger. 2013. Expressing the GIVE event in Papuan languages: a preliminary survey. *Linguistic Typology* 17(2). 217–66.

Reesink, Gerard P. 1994. Domain-creating constructions in Papuan languages. In Gerard P. Reesink (ed.), *Topics in descriptive Papuan linguistics*, 98–121. (Semaian 10). Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden: Leiden.

Reesink, Ger P. 1987. *Structures and their functions in Usan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Reichenbach, Hans. 1947. *Elements of symbolic logic*. New York: Macmillan.

Reiman, D. Will. 2010. Basic oral language documentation. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 4. 254–68.

Retsema, Thom, Margaret Potter & Rachel Gray. 2009. Mungkip: An endangered language. *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2009-015.

Rice, Chris. 2010. Finongan dialect write-up. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Rice, Keren. 2000. *Morpheme order and semantic scope: Word formation in the Athapaskan verb*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, David. 2009. Visual Crowding and the tone orthography of African languages. *Written Language & Literacy* 12(1). 140–55.

Roberts, John R. 1994. The category "irrealis" in Papuan medial verbs. *Notes on Linguistics* 67. 5–39.

Roberts, John R. 1997. Switch-reference in Papua New Guinea: a preliminary survey. In Andrew Pawley (ed.), *Papers in Papuan linguistics*, vol. 3, 101–241. (Pacific Linguistics A 87). Canberra, Australia: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

Rose, Sharon. 2011. Long-distance assimilation of consonants. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin J. Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology*, vol. 3, 1811–37. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rose, Sharon & Rachel Walker. 2004. A typology of consonant agreement as correspondence. *Language* 80. 475–531.

Ross, Malcolm. 2005. Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages. In Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 17–65. (Pacific Linguistics 572). Canberra: Australian National University.

Rumsey, Alan. 2010. "Optional" ergativity and the framing of reported speech. *Lingua* 120(7). 1652–76.

Sarvasy, Hannah. 2014a. Across the great divide: How birth-order terms scaled the Saruwaged Mountains, Papua New Guinea. *Anthropological Linguistics* 55(3). 234–55.

Sarvasy, Hannah. 2014b. Four Finisterre-Huon languages: an introduction. *Language Typology and Universals* 67(3). 275–95.

Sarvasy, Hannah. 2014c. Non-spatial setting in Nungon. *Language Typology and Universals* 67(3). 395–432.

Sarvasy, Hannah. 2014d. A grammar of Nungon: a Papuan language of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Cairns, Australia: The Language and Culture Research Centre, School of Arts and Social Sciences, James Cook University PhD thesis.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1916. *Cours de linguistique génerále*. (Ed.) Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye & Albert Reidlinger. Paris: Payot. [Trans. by Wade Baskin. 2011. Course in general linguistics. New York: Columbia University Press.].

Schapper, Antoinette & Lila San Roque. 2011. Demonstratives and non-embedded nominalisations in three Papuan languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family. *Studies in Language* 35(2). 380–408.

Scott, Graham. 1986. On ergativity in Fore and other Papuan languages. *Papers in New Guinea linguistics*, vol. 24, 167–75. (Pacific Linguistics A 70). Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In R. M. W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 112–71. Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Smallhorn, Jacinta Mary. 2009. A reconstruction and subgrouping of the Binanderean languages of Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University PhD thesis.

Smith, Geoff P. 2002. *Growing up with Tok Pisin: Contact, creolization, and change in Papua New Guinea's national language*. London: Battlebridge.

Steinhauer, Helin. 1997. Conceptualization of space in Nimboran (Irian Jaya, West New Guinea). In Gunter Senft (ed.), *Referring to space: studies in Austronesian and Papuan languages*, 269–80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Suter, Edgar. 2010. The optional ergative in Kâte. In John Bowden, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann & Malcolm Ross (eds.), *A journey through Austronesian and Papuan linguistic and cultural space: papers in honour of Andrew Pawley*, 423–37. (Pacific Linguistics 615). Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Suter, Edgar. 2012. Verbs with pronominal object prefixes in Finisterre-Huon languages. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* Special Issue 2012: On the History, Contact & Classification of Papuan languages (Part I). 23–58.

Taylor, A. J. 1977. Missionary lingue franche: General overview. In Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), *New Guinea area languages and language study*, vol. 3: Language, culture, society and the modern world, 833–38. (Pacific Linguistics C 40). Canberra: Australian National University.

Taylor, Matt. 2015. *Nukna grammar sketch*. (Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages 61). Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: SIL-PNG Academic Publications.

Taylor, Matt. 2013. Grammar essentials for the Nukna language. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Temple, Olga. 2011. Tok ples in texting & social networking: PNG 2010. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 29. 54–64.

Thompson, Sandra A., Robert E. Longacre & Shin Ja J. Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 2: Complex constructions, 237–300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Traunmüller, Hartmut. 1994. Sound symbolism in deictic words. In H. Auli & P. af Trampe (eds.), *Tongues and texts unlimited: Studies in honour of Tore Jansson on the occasion of his sixtieth anniversary*, 213–34. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Tupper, Ian D. 2012. A grammar of Pamosu. Victoria, Australia: Centre for Research on Language Diversity, La Trobe University PhD thesis.

Ultan, R. 1978. Size-sound symbolism. In Joseph Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language*, vol. 2: Phonology, 527–68. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Verhaar, John W. M. 1995. *Toward a reference grammar of Tok Pisin: an experiment in corpus linguistics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Vries, Lourens de. 2005. Towards a typology of tail–head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in Language* 29(2). 363–84.

Wagner, Herwig & Hermann Reiner. 1986. *Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The first hundred years, 1886-1986*. 2nd ed. Adelaide, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House.

Walker, Rachel. 2011. Nasal harmony. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin J. Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology*, vol. 3, 1838–65. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Webb, Thomas. 1974. Urii phonemes. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 4. 45–96.

Webb, Thomas. 1980. Uri grammar. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Webb, Thomas. 1981. Uri phonemics: A supplement to "Urii phonemes." Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Wilson, Jonathan. 1992. Binandere organised phonology data. Ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Wood, Esther. 2007. The semantic typology of pluractionality. Berkeley: University of California PhD dissertation.

Woodworth, N. L. 1991. Sound symbolism in proximal and distal forms. *Linguistics* 29. 273–99.

Wright, Richard. 2001. Perceptual cues in contrast maintenance. In Elizabeth Hume & Keith Johnson (eds.), *The role of speech perception in phonology*, 251–78. New York & San Diego: Academic Press.

Wright, Richard. 2004. A review of perceptual cues and cue robustness. In Bruce Hayes, Robert Kirchner & Donca Steriade (eds.), *Phonetically based phonology*, 34–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wurm, Stephen A. 1964. Recent developments in linguistic studies on the Australian New Guinea mainland. *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers* 4. 1–17.

APPENDIX: TEXTS

The appendix consists of 27 interlinearized texts, totalling 5,323 words. These texts, which provide a wealth of cultural and linguistic information, form the backbone of the analyses presented throughout the grammatical description. Every example that comes from the corpus has a small cross-reference provided after the translation. This cross-reference begins with "skc", the ISO code for Ma Manda. It also provides the year, as well as the text's number (which is restarted at the beginning of each year). For example, skc10_11 is the corpus ID for the eleventh text collected in the year 2010. These identification numbers are kept consistent throughout the corpus database that will be archived in the near future, and throughout this grammar.

The included texts were chosen to represent a wide array of genres and speakers. Regarding genres, these represent personal narratives, legendary narratives, procedural texts, future plans, one prayer, and one expository text. Two narratives illustrate dialogue as well, since two speakers tell the narratives together—skc12_01 and skc12_02. In these texts the turns are marked with the speaker's initials. The included texts represent both oral and written modalities as well. Regarding the speakers and authors, these texts come from men and women of various ages and educational backgrounds. Some of the speakers have traveled widely, while others have remained in the village environment for most of their lives.

Each text is preceded by metadata, including: the setting (where and how the text was collected), the genre & modality, a synopsis, and information about the speaker or author. This includes their year of birth or an estimate, their sex, their education level, and their home village. If they have a particular social role or job, I include this information also.

The original audio and video files, or pictures of written texts, are found with the same IDs within the documenary corpus. This will be deposited into an accessible archive in the near future.

skc09_01   My Trip to Lae

(1) *sisa,*   *gaamiyongkût,*   *laai*   *kuntaamot*
    sisa   gaamiyong=lit   {{laai ku-ntaa-mot}}
    ±2days   PN=COM   PN   go-FUT-1DU

    taaka   *kugûmot.*
    taa-ka   ku-gû-mot
    say-SS   go-RP-1DU
    The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.

(2) *kugûmot*   *tangûlû,*   *nantaampû*   *kadepmang*
    ku-gû-mot   ta-ng-lû   nantaam=lû   kadepmang
    go-RP-1DU   do-DS-23   people=NOM   main.road

    kam   *nûnûnggûng,*   *kadet*   *wakaangak.*
    kam   n-nû-gû-ng   {{kadet wakaa-nga-k}}
    down.PROX   1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL   road   damaged-NP-3SG
    We went, but the people down on the road told us, the road got damaged.

(3) *taangûlû,*   *ya*   *baka*   *badempa*   *tagûmot*
    taa-ng-lû   ya   ba-ka   {ba-de-m=la}   ta-gû-mot
    say-DS-23   here   come-SS   come-IRR.DU-1NSG=BEN say-RP-1DU

    tagû   *dom*   *tang*   *idi,*   *wanggût*   *yeudat,*   *kugûmot.*
    ta-gû   dom   ta-ng   idi   wa-gût   yeudat   ku-gû-mot
    do-DUR   NEG   do-DS   this.ANA   there:RSTR   anyway   go-RP-1DU
    They said it, and we came here and tried to come but since we couldn't, we went
    through there anyway [by foot].

(4) *yalû*   *kuka,*   *sibi*   *kum*   *dogûmot,*   *pandelit.*
    ya=lû   ku-ka   [sibi   kum]   do-gû-mot   pande=lit
    here=ABL   go-SS   PN   down.DIST sleep-RP-1DU   PN=COM
    From here we went, and we slept down in Sibi, with Pande.

(5) *wa*   *dogûmot*   *walû*   *siyangûlû,*
    {wa   do-gû-mot   wa=lû}   siya-ng-lû
    there   sleep-RP-1DU   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
    From sleeping there, in the morning,

    bûge   *monggûmot*   *walû*   *mongka,*
    {bûge   mo-gû-mot   wa=lû}   mo-ka
    again   go.down-RP-1DU that=ABL   go.down-SS
    we went down again and from there we went down and

kasuka   kuka   PMV   flong,
kasuka   ku-ka   PMV   flong
PN   go-SS   PMV   ALL

blaangkonggûmot   walû   mongka,   laai...
blaangkong-gû-mot   wa=lû   mo-ka   laai
jump-RP-1DU   that=ABL go.down-SS   PN
went to Kasuka and jumped on a PMV and from there went down, to Lae…

(6) *laai   kumongka,   kuka   taaun   wa   kungaagûmot.*
laai   ku-mo-ka   ku-ka   taaun   wa   ku-ngat-gû-mot
PN   go-go.down-SS go-SS   town   that   go-be-RP-1DU
We went and went down to Lae and went and walked around town.

(7) *taaun   wa   kungaagû,   gaamiyong   napmangka,*
taaun   wa   kungat-gû   gaamiyong   n-kapmang-ka
town   that   go.around-DUR PN   1SG.O-leave-SS
After walking around town awhile Gamiyong left me and

salamoa   kungûlû   nak,
salamoa   ku-ng-lû   nak
PN   go-DS-23   1SG

ya   baka   kuka   ku   dogot,   ten siti.
ya   ba-ka   ku-ka   kudu   do-go-t   ten siti
here   come-SS go-SS   level.DIST sleep-RP-1SG PN
went to Salamoa and I, came here and went to sleep there, at Tent City.

(8) *kudu   dogot   walû   siyangûlû,*
{kudu   do-go-t   wa=lû}   siya-ng-lû
level.DIST   sleep-RP-1SG that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
I slept there and from there in the morning,

bûge   ba   taaun   wangaatûkugû,
bûge   ba   taaun   wa=ngaatûku-gû
again   come   town   there=remain-DUR
coming again I walked around town awhile, (until)

kadet   mo   kaalin   taak   taaka   bagot   dom.
{{kadet   mo   kaalin   ta-a-k}}   taa-ka   ba-go-t   dom
road   already good   do-PRS-3SG say-SS   come-RP-1SG NEG
I thought the road was okay and I came but no.

(9) *kadet   wakaagok   taangûlû,*
{{kadet   wakaa-go-k}}   taa-ng-lû
road   damaged-RP-3SG   say-DS-23
They said the road was damaged, and

521

bûgebûga   amun,   amun   walû   walû
bûge=bû=ga   amun   amun   wa=lû   wa=lû
again=too=INST   ground   ground   that=ABL   that=ABL

bagû   bagûû,   bayaang.
ba-gû   ba-gû~û   bayaang
come-DUR   come-DUR~EXT   PN
yet again by foot coming and coming, to Bayang…

(10) *ba   bayaang   dogot   walû   siyangûlû,*
      ba   bayaang   do-go-t   wa=lû   siya-ng-lû
      come   PN   sleep-RP-1SG   that=ABL   dawn-DS-23
      Coming I slept in Bayang and from there in the morning,

      mongga   kagang,   laabûgot,   kaasingang.
      mo=ga   kagang   laab-go-t   kaasingang
      already=INST   village   come.up-RP-1SG   PN
      finally I came up to the village, to Kesengen.

(11) *laabûgot   walû   mongga,   yangagaam   ya   waagût.*
      laab-go-t   wa=lû   mo=ga   ya=ngat-gaa-m   ya   waagût
      come.up-RP-1SG   that=ABL   already=INST   here=be-PRS-1PL   here   now
      I came up and from there finally, here we are now.

skc09_10   Today in the Garden

Setting: Collected on my fourth night in the language area, sitting alongside my wife & three young women in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts the speaker's activities in her garden that day
Speaker: Bazakiec Roy (1987), Female, Grade 10, Saut

(1) *waagût   kepma   yalong,   kadet   kungat.*
     waagût   [kepma   ya=long]   kadet   ku-nga-t
     now   day   this=ALL   garden   go-NP-1SG
     Today on this day, I went to the garden.

(2) *notnaye   saakûm saakûm   yaalû,   enaanggûtta,*
     [not-na-ye   saakûm~saakûm   yaalû]   ye-naanggût-ta
     brother-1SG.POSS-NSG   small~small   two   3NSG.O-get-SS
     I got my two little sisters, and

     mukuya   yodûka   kaafeng   ganang
     mukuya   yodû-ka   [kaageng   ganang]
     pig   search.for-SS   coffee   plot

     kudu   kungalaam,   esi   kaang,   jeni.
     kudu   kungat-aa-m   [esi   kaang   jeni]
     level.DIST   go.around-NP-1PL   PN   two   PN
     we looked for the pigs and went around there in the coffee garden, (with) Esi and Jeni.

522

(3) *mukuya*   *yodûka*   *fangang*   *kadetnang*
    mukuya   yodû-ka   [fangang   kadet=nang]
    pig   search.for-SS   PN   road=LOC

    ya   *kungaam*   *yalû*   *yalû*   *yalûûû,*
    ya   ku-ngaa-m   ya=lû   ya=lû   ya=lû~û~û
    here   go-NP-1PL   this=ABL   this=ABL   this=ABL~EXT~EXT
    We looked for pigs and we went along Fangang Road and from here…,

    nayang   *kudu*   *longkadopmûngûtna*   *gi*   *fûngak.*
    nayang   kudu   lo-kadopm-ng-tna   gi   fû-nga-k
    PN   level.DIST   go.up-arrive-DS-1NSG   rain   come.down-NP-3SG
    we went up there to Nayang and then it rained.

(4) *gi*   *fûngûlû,*   *taamûng*   *yaalû*   *yenûngkongala*
    gi   fû-ng-lû   [taamûng   yaalû]   ye-nûngkong-ng-la
    rain   come.down-DS-23   woman   two   3NSG.O-remove-DS-1SG
    (While) it was raining I sent the two girls

    kubalang   *kum*   *mongka*   *akngûlû,*
    [kubalang   kum]   mo-ka   at-ng-lû
    valley   down.DIST   go.down-SS   be-DS-23
    down to the water, and

    musavenang   *namboko*   *kudu*   *alak*   *walû,*
    musavenang   {namboko   kudu   at-a-k   wa=lû}
    PN   other.side   level.DIST   be-NP-3SG   that=NOM
    Musavenang, who was there on the other side,

    kaadûp   *dalo*   *ta*   *kongûlû*   *fûngak.*
    [kaadûp   dalo]   ta   kong-ng-lû   fû-nga-k
    wood   tinder   get.SG   throw-DS-23   come.down-NP-3SG
    threw a piece of firewood down.

(5) *tang*   *sakoka*   *laabûngûlû*
    ta-ng   sako-ka   laab-ng-lû
    do-DS   hold.3SG-SS   come.up-DS-23
    And they grabbed it and came up and

    gebûng   *wa*   *seka*   *maangûtta*   *alaam.*
    gebûng   wa   se-ka   maangût-ta   at-aa-m
    inside   that   cook-SS   sit-SS   be-NP-1PL
    we made a fire inside and sat together.

(6) *wangakngûda,*   *gi*   *dakengûlû*   *mo,*
    wa=ngat-ng-da   gi   dakeng-ng-lû   mo
    there=be-DS-1NSG   rain   break.up-DS-23   already
    We were there, and after the rain stopped,

kaadûp   uleka   bengaam   wa
kaadûp   ule-ka   {be-ngaa-m   wa}
wood   break-SS   put.NSG-NP-1PL   that

dûdûmetta   tametta   mo,
dûdûmet-ta   tamet-ta   mo
bind-SS   carry-SS   already
we broke firewood and bundled what we put and after hanging it from our heads,

laabûka   mukuya   topmûngka   taaleka
laab-ka   mukuya   topm-ka   taale-ka
come.up-SS   pig   bind-SS   pull-SS
we came up and leashed the pigs and pulled them and

maa   bangaam,   kagang.
maa   ba-ngaa-m   kagang
wholly   come-NP-1PL   village
came back, to the village.

(7) baka   mo,
     ba-ka   mo
     come-SS   already
     After coming,

     ba   gebûng   bangkadopmûngka   akngûda   mo,
     ba   gebûng   ba-kadopm-ka   at-ng-da   mo
     come   inside   come-arrive-SS   be-DS-1NSG   already
     coming and after we came inside,

     gi   dakengak.
     gi   dake-nga-k
     rain   break.up-NP-3SG
     it stopped raining.

(8) tangûlû,   fûka   atta   yaabûngala,
     ta-ng-lû   fû-ka   at-ta   yaa-b-ng-la
     do-DS-23   come.down-SS   be-SS   3NSG.O-see-DS-1SG
     And, I came outside and saw,

     laayan   kaang   klistal   mi   flong   kudengka,
     {{[laayan kaang   klistal]   {[mi   flong]   ku-de-ng=la}
     PN   two   PN   water   ALL   go-IRR.DU-23NSG=BEN

     mikka   kudengka   atta   tang   yaabûka,
     {mik-ka   ku-de-ng=la}   at-ta   ta-ng}}   yaa-b-ka
     bathe-SS   go-IRR.DU-23NSG=BEN be-SS   do-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS
     Ryan and Crystal preparing to go to the water and go bathe, I saw them and,

     mi   flong   kung   yaabûka,   yawangka   kungat.
     {{[mi   flong]   ku-ng}} yaa-b-ka   y-tawang-ka   ku-nga-t
     water   ALL   go-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS   3NSG.O-follow-SS go-NP-1SG
     I saw them going to the water, and I followed them and went.

(9)　*nge*　　　　　　　*tuku*　　　　*tûngûtnang,*
　　　nge　　　　　　　tuku　　　　tû-ng-tnang
　　　husband.3SG.POSS　take.SG　　put.SG-DS-1NSG
　　　We took her husband,

　　　nangkadek　*mi*　　*wiwangang*　　　　*kungûlû,*
　　　{nangkadek　mi　　wi-wang=nang}　　ku-ng-lû
　　　men　　　　　water　bathe-PRS:23PL=LOC　go-DS-23
　　　and went to the water where the men were bathing, and

　　　klistal　*lit*　　*taamtaam*　*mik*　　*wiwangang,*　　　　*longaamot.*
　　　[klistal　lit]　　{taamtaam　mik　　wi-wang=nang}　　lo-ngaa-mot
　　　PN　　　COM　　women　　　bathe　bathe-PRS:23PL=LOC　go.up-NP-1DU
　　　I went up with Crystal to where the women were bathing.

(10)　*talo*　　　　*tûngala,*　　　*mik*　　*wingûlû*
　　　talo　　　　tû-ng-la　　　mik　　wi-ng-lû
　　　take.up.SG　put.SG-DS-1SG　bathe　bathe-DS-23
　　　I brought her, and she bathed and

　　　nak,　*glup,*　*waasim*　*taka*　*mo*　　　*bangaamot.*
　　　nak　　glup　　waasim　ta-ka　mo　　　ba-ngaa-mot
　　　1SG　　dish　　wash　　do-SS　already　come-NP-1DU
　　　after I washed the dishes, we (DU) came.

(11)　*baka*　　*mo,*　　*tebû*　　*gebûng*　*tûka*　　*mo,*
　　　ba-ka　　mo　　　teb　　　gebûng　tû-ka　　mo
　　　come-SS　already　bring.SG　inside　put.SG-SS　already
　　　After coming, after bringing her home,

　　　naa　　*kameng*　*maa*　　*longat.*
　　　[nak-nga　kameng]　maa　　lo-nga-t
　　　1SG-EMPH　property　wholly　go.up-NP-1SG
　　　I went up to my own place.

(12)　*wa*　　*membûgût.*
　　　wa　　membû-gût
　　　that　just-RSTR
　　　That's all.

skc09_16　　　When Ryan and Crystal Return

Setting: Collected alongside several women and my wife in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Future plans (oral)
Summary: Details the speaker's expectations for my return to Saut with my wife and new child the next year
Speaker: Kasiyang Bitoin (1990), Female, Grade 6, Saut

(1)　*wadûng.*
　　　wa-dûng
　　　that-ADV
　　　(It's) like this.

(2) *laayan   nalaam,   kagangsekngang   kudeng*
    {[laayan   nalaam]   kagang-sek=nang   ku-de-ng
    PN   couple   place-23DU.POSS=LOC   go-IRR.DU-23NSG

    walû,   ku   kagangsekngang   kunaagû
    wa=lû}   ku   kagang-sek=nang   kun=at-gû
    that=ABL   go   place-23DU.POSS=LOC   up.DIST=be-DUR
    Ryan and his wife going to their place, going to be up at their place,

    nanak   genangkangûlû,
    nanak   genangka-ng-lû
    child   appear-DS-23
    their child will be born, and

    gulat   ban   kanslong   wa   badeng
    [gulat   ban   kan=slong]   wa   ba-de-ng
    year   a   up.PROX=ALL   that   come-IRR.DU-23NSG
    next year they will come

    walû   baka,   badeng
    wa=lû   ba-ka   ba-de-ng
    that=ABL   come-SS   come-IRR.DU-23NSG
    and they'll come from there [to Papua New Guinea] and come [to the village]

    walû   ba   saaut   ya   bangkadopmûngka,
    wa=lû   ba   saaut   ya   ba-kadopm-ka
    that=ABL   come   PN   here   come-arrive-SS
    and coming from there they will come here to Saut, and

    [[nanaksek   tebû   tûngûlû]]
    nanak-sek   tebû   tû-ng-lû
    child-23DU.POSS   bring.SG   put.SG-DS-23
    they will bring their child and

    nanaksekkû   kagang   manda   naandûka,
    nanak-sek=lû   [kagang   manda]   naandû-ka
    child-23DU.POSS=NOM   place   talk   know-SS
    their kid will learn the village talk,[38] and

    naandûka   nanaksûlit   galang   taka   wa   kungakng,
    naandû-ka   nanaksû=lit   galang   ta-ka   wa   kungat-ng
    know-SS   children=COM   play   do-SS   that   go.around-DS
    they will know it and they will play with the children and going around there,

    ba   yangatta   kagang   manda   naandûka   yotta,
    ba   ya=ngat-ta   [kagang   manda]   naandû-ka   yot-ta
    come   here=be-SS   place   talk   know-SS   write-SS
    they will come here and learn the village talk and write it, and

---

[38] This is a calque of Tok Pisin *tok ples* 'vernacular'.

naandûka   yotta   yangatta   fi   tanak   taka,
naandû-ka   yot-ta   ya=ngat-ta   [fi   tanak]   ta-ka
know-SS   write-SS   here=be-SS   work   gardening do-SS
learn it and write it and be here and garden, and

ngelû   kaadûp   dûnûngûlû,
nge=lû   kaadûp   dûnû-ng-lû
husband.3SG.POSS=NOM   tree   chop-DS-23
her husband will chop trees, and

taamintû,   fi   tanak   kodaa   fepmûngka
taamin=lû   [fi   tanak   kodaa]   fepm-ka
wife.3SG.POSS=NOM   work   gardening   new   clear.bush-SS
his wife will clear new gardens, and

nûnggûtgût,   fi   tanak   taka   kaadûp   dûnûngka,
nûnggût-gût   [fi   tanak]   ta-ka   kaadûp   dûnû-ka
one-RSTR   work   gardening   do-SS   tree   chop-SS
they will garden as one and chop trees, and

sûbat   welû   tametta   fuku   usuka
[sûbat   welû]   tamet-ta   fuku   usu-ka
food   seed.3SG.POSS   head.carry-SS take.NSG   plant-SS
carry seeds and take and plant them and

tang   nanaksekkû   ba   yangatta…
ta-ng   nanak-sek=lû   ba   ya=ngat-ta
do-DS   child-23DU.POSS=NOM   come   here=be-SS
and their kid will come here…

saaut   manda   naandûka,   nanaksûlit   kungatta
[saaut   manda]   naandû-ka   nanaksû=lit   kungat-ta
PN   talk   know-SS   children=COM   go.around-SS
she will learn the Saut language and go around with the kids and

galang   taka,   gek   kadek   ilûpmûngka
galang   ta-ka   [gek   kadek]   ilûpm-ka
play   do-SS   animal   group   hit.NSG-SS
play and kill animals and

ip   dong   taka   gatneng   dong   taka…
ip   dong   ta-ka   gatneng   dong   ta-ka
bird   search   do-SS   frog   search   do-SS
find birds and find frogs…

gek   yaang   dong   taka   nangka,
[gek   yaang]   dong   ta-ka   na-ka
animal   species   search   do-SS   eat-SS
(they will) find animals and eat them and

nanaksûlit,   *kagang*   *ya*   *aatûkuneng.*
nanaksû=lit   [kagang   ya]   aatûku-ne-ng
children=COM   place   this   remain-IRR.PL-23NSG
stay in this village with the kids.

(3)   *nangkaang*   *nalaam*   *yalû*   *baka*   *idi,*
      [na=kaang   nalaam   ya=lû]   ba-ka   idi
      man=two   couple   this=NOM   come-SS   this.ANA
      The couple will come, and they

      fi   *tanak*   *taka,*   *saaut*   *manda,*   *taaka*   *naandûka,*
      [fi   tanak]   ta-ka   [saaut   manda]   taa-ka   naandû-ka
      work   gardening   do-SS   PN   talk   say-SS   know-SS
      will garden and speak the Saut language and understand it, and

      ya   *aatûkunûm*   *gulat*   *ban*   *kanslong,*
      ya   aatûku-nûm   [gulat   ban   kan=slong]
      here   remain-IRR.PL-1NSG   year   a   up.PROX=ALL
      stay here, next year.

(4)   *gulat*   *ban*   *kansûnang*   *stoli*   *idi*   *wa*   *taait.*
      [gulat   ban   kan-s=nang   stoli   idi]   wa   taa-i-t
      year   a   up.PROX-LK=GEN   story   this.ANA   that   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
      Next year's story, I'm telling it.

(5)   *gegût*   *idi*   *wa*   *taait.*
      [gegût   idi]   wa   taa-i-t
      story   this.ANA   that   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
      This story, I'm telling it.

skc09_17   How We Prepare a New Garden

Setting: Collected alongside several women and my wife in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Procedural (oral)
Summary: Lists the steps they follow in preparing their gardens.
Speaker: Amike Kangain (1992), Female, Grade 6, Saut

(1)   *saaut*   *manda*   *taabûtaat.*
      [saaut   manda]   taa-b-taa-t
      PN   talk   say-EP-FUT-1SG
      I will speak the Saut language.

(2)   *tûmang,*   *fi*   *kodaa*   *fepmûnggaamang.*
      tûmang   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-gaa-m=nang
      first   garden   new   clear.bush-PRS-1PL=HAB
      First, we clear a new garden.

(3)   *na*   *taamûng*   *fi*   *kodaa*   *fepmaakongka*   *tûka,*
      [na   taamûng]   [fi   kodaa]   fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
      man   woman   garden   new   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS   put.SG-SS
      The men and women clear the whole new garden and put it, and

nangkadekkû kaadûp dûnûmaakongûlû,
[nangkadek=lû] kaadûp dûnû-maa-kong-ng-lû
men=NOM tree chop-CMPL-TERM-DS-23
the men chop down all the trees, and

na taamûng faleleka,
[na taamûng] falele-ka
man woman lop-SS
the men and women lop off (the branches), and

tangaan tangaan waga bot beka,
[tangaan~tangaan wa=ga] bot be-ka
branch~branch that=INST group put.NSG-SS
they make a heap with the branches, and

tangaan kaa kusang kusang waga
[tangaan kaa kusang~kusang wa=ga]
branch somewhat big~big that=INST

kaadûp membûnang klonggût beka,
[kaadûp membû=nang] klong-gût be-ka
tree base=LOC stand-RSTR put.NSG-SS
they stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree, and

nangkadekkû kaadûp bin bamo waga fangaakngka
[nangkadek=lû] [kaadûp bin bamo wa=ga] fangaakng-ka
men=NOM tree true trunk that=INST lift.NSG-SS
the men lift up the actual tree trunks and

kaadûp membûnang bengûlû,
[kaadûp membû=nang] be-ng-lû
tree base=LOC put.NSG-DS-23
put them at the base of the tree, and

bemaakongka taka mo bawaam.
be-maa-kong-ka ta-ka mo ba-waa-m
put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS do-SS already come-PRS-1PL
we put them all, and after doing it we come.

(4) *ba dowaam, siyangûlû bûge kuwaam walû*
ba do-waa-m siya-ng-lû {bûge ku-waa-m wa=lû}
come sleep-PRS-1PL dawn-DS-23 again go-PRS-1PL that=ABL
We come sleep, and in the morning once we've gone again

taaweng, welû tametta fuku beka usumaakongka,
[taaweng welû] tamet-ta fuku be-ka usu-maa-kong-ka
taro seed carry-SS take.NSG put.NSG-SS plant-CMPL-TERM-SS
we carry taro seeds and taking them we plant them all, and

dang   welû   taka   fuku   usumaakongka,
[dang   welû]   ta-ka   fuku   usu-maa-kong-ka
pitpit   seed   do-SS   take.NSG plant-CMPL-TERM-SS
we do the pitpit seeds and taking them we plant them all, and

gulam   welû   fuku   usumaakongka,
[gulam   welû]   fuku   usu-maa-kong-ka
aibika   seed   take.NSG plant-CMPL-TERM-SS
taking the aibika seeds we plant them all, and

saanggom   welû   usuka,   kaalaaut   usuka,
[saanggom   welû]   usu-ka   kaalaaut   usu-ka
corn   seed   plant-SS   cabbage   plant-SS
we plant the corn seeds, and we plant the cabbage, and

usumaakongka,   ilobu   usumaakongka,
usu-maa-kong-ka   ilobu   usu-maa-kong-ka
plant-CMPL-TERM-SS   banana   plant-CMPL-TERM-SS
we finish planting them all, and we plant all the banana, and

kaadûp   sewaannang,   aanyaan   welû   usuka,
{kaadûp   se-baan=nang}   [aanyaan   welû]   usu-ka
tree   cook-NMLZ=LOC   onion   seed   plant-SS
at the burned-down tree we plant the onion seeds, and

bûge   kaadûp   daai   ban   sewaannang   wa,
bûge   {[kaadûp   daai   ban]   se-baan=nang   wa]
again   tree   eye   a   cook-NMLZ=LOC   that
again in the middle of the burned down tree,

kaamûng   welû   usuka,   usumaakongka   beka   mo,
[kaamûng   welû]   usu-ka   usu-maa-kong-ka   be-ka   mo
cucumber   seed   plant-SS plant-CMPL-TERM-SS put.NSG-SS already
we plant the cucumber seeds, and after we finish planting them all,

baka   dapmon   dowaamang.
ba-ka   dapmon   do-waa-m-nang
come-SS sleep   sleep-PRS-1PL-HAB
we come and sleep.

(5) *gambom   usuka,   baka   aatûkugû*
     gambom   usu-ka   ba-ka   aatûku-gû
     bean   plant-SS   come-SS   remain-DUR

     emak,   yaalanangka   wan   yaabûka   mo,
     [emak   yaalanang=ka]   wa-n   yaa-b-ka   mo
     moon   three=DUB   that-ANA 3NSG.O-see-SS   already
     We plant the beans, and come remain until after maybe three or so months have passed, and

530

bûge   kuwaamang.
bûge   ku-waa-m-nang
again   go-PRS-1PL-HAB
we go again.

(6)   *kuwaam   walû   ku,*
{ku-waa-m   wa=lû}   ku
go-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   go
We go, going,

kaadûp   tangaan tangaan   walû
[kaadûp   tangaan~tangaan   wa=lû]
tree   branch~branch   that=NOM

mo   mulin   tangûlû,
mo   mulin   ta-ng-lû
already   dry   do-DS-23
if the tree branches have already dried

bûge   efaale~faale   taka,   bot   beka,
bûge   ef-faale~faale   ta-ka   bot   be-ka
again   CAUS-turn~turn   do-SS   group   put.NSG-SS
we rotate them again, and heap them,

sengada   dûwangang.
se-ng-da   dû-wang-nang
cook-DS-1NSG   light-PRS:23PL-HAB
and we light them on fire.

(7)   *sengada   dûka   fûngûlû   mo,*
se-ng-da   dû-ka   fû-ng-lû   mo
cook-DS-1NSG   light-SS   come.down-DS-23   already
We light them on fire and after they burn down,

bawaam   walû   baka,
ba-waa-m   wa=lû   ba-ka
come-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   come-SS
we come and from there we come and

kagang   yangaatûkugû   mo,
kagang   ya=ngaatûku-gû   mo
village   here=remain-DUR   already
after remaining in the village,

emak,   yaalûwa   yaalanangka   wan   yaabûka,
[emak   yaalû=wa   yaalanang=wa]   wa-n   yaa-b-ka
moon   two=DUB   three=DUB   that-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS
for two or three months or so,

531

bûge   *kuwaam*   *walû,*   *fing*   *ganang*   *kuka*   *mo,*
{bûge   ku-waa-m   wa=lû}   [fing   ganang]   ku-ka   mo
again   go-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   garden   plot   go-SS   already
going again, after going to the garden,

blaakam   *tawaamang.*
blaakam   ta-waa-m-nang
weed   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
we do the weeding.

(8) *taamtaampû*   *blaakam*   *tamaakongka,*
taamtaam=lû   blaakam   ta-maa-kong-ka
women=NOM   weed   do-CMPL-TERM-SS
The women finish doing all the weeding, and

beka   *bawaam*   *walû*   *baka*   *aatûkugû,*
{be-ka   ba-waa-m   wa=lû}   ba-ka   aatûku-gû
put.NSG-SS   come-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   come-SS   remain-DUR
putting them and coming, we come and remain awhile, and

bûge   *kuka*   *yaabûwaam*   *idi*   *mo,*
bûge   ku-ka   yaa-b-waa-m   idi   mo
again   go-SS   3NSG.O-see-PRS-1PL   this.ANA   already
we go again and see that okay,

sûbat sûbat   *usuwaam*   *walû*   *mo.*
{{{sûbat~sûbat   usu-waa-m   wa=lû}   mo}}
food~food   plant-PRS-1PL   that=ABL   already
the foods we planted are done.

(9) *talaabû*   *ulumut*   *taka*   *mo,*
talaab   ulumut   ta-ka   mo
bring.up.SG   sprout   do-SS   already
They've sprouted now, and

tûng   *gulat*   *tawangang.*
tû-ng   gulat   ta-wang-nang
put.SG-DS   harvest   do-PRS:23PL-HAB
they are flourishing.

(10) *tang*   *wa*   *yaabû*   *daampaka*   *mo*   *ku,*
ta-ng   wa   yaa-b   daampa-ka   mo   ku
do-DS   that   3NSG.O-see   happy-SS   already   go
And we see them and rejoice and going,

blaakam	*membû*	*kam*	*i*	*kafet kafet*	*taka*
blaakam	membû	kam	idi	kafet~kafet	ta-ka
weed	base	down.PROX	this.ANA	scrape~scrape	do-SS

aatûkuwaamang.
aatûku-waa-m-nang
remain-PRS-1PL-HAB
we weed down around their stalks.

(11)
wa	*taka*	*aatûkugûû*	*mo,*
wa	ta-ka	aatûk-gû~û	mo
that	do-SS	remain-DUR~EXT	already

After doing that awhile,

gulam,	*gambom,*	*saanggom,*	*kaamûng*	*kadek*	*walû*	*idi,*
[gulam	gambom	saanggom	kaamûng	kadek	wa=lû]	idi
aibika	bean	corn	cucumber	group	that=NOM	this.ANA

tûmang	*gelaawangang.*
tûmang	gelaa-wang-nang
first	grow-PRS:23PL-HAB

the aibika, beans, corn, and cucumber, they mature first.

(12)
tang	*tûmang*	*wa*	*nangka*	*aatûkuka*	*mo,*
ta-ng	tûmang	wa	na-ka	aatûku-ka	mo
do-DS	before	that	eat-SS	remain-SS	already

And we eat that first for a while until,

taaweng	*ilobu,*	*dang*	*kadek,*
{{[taaweng	ilobu	dang	kadek]
taro	banana	pitpit	group

gulat	*yaalûwa*	*yaalanangka*	*wan*	*yaabûng,*
[gulat	yaalû=wa	yaalanang=wa]}}	wa-n	yaa-b-ng
year	two=DUB	three=DUB	that-ANA	3NSG.O-see-DS

we see the taro, banana, and pitpit in two or three years, and

gelaang	*i*	*mo,*	*nengka*	*sûnangka*	*aatûkungada,*
gelaa-ng	idi	mo	ne-ka	sûna-ka	aatûku-ng-da
grow.up-DS	this.ANA	already	dig-SS	cook.eat-SS	remain-DS-1NSG

after maturing, we dig them up and cook and eat them for a while until,

fi	*walû*	*mo*	*kuka,*	*bûdûmpaakngang.*
[fi	wa=lû]	mo	ku-ka	bûdûm-pa-a-k-nang
garden	that=NOM	already	go-SS	overgrown-VBLZ-PRS-3SG-HAB

the garden has gone bush.

(13)
fi	*tanakkûnang*	*manda*	*taait.*
[fi	tanak=lûnang	manda]	taa-i-t
garden	planting=GEN	talk	say-IPFV.PRS-1SG

I'm saying the gardening talk.

skc09_18   The Dead Child

Setting: Collected alongside several men in my bush house in Saut Village

Genre: Personal narrative (oral)

Summary: Recounds the details surrounding the speaker's son Silas's death in the river between Saut and Lemang villages.

Speaker: Yambayong Mungang (1975), Male, Grade 10, PMV driver, Saut

(1)   *naai   walong,   takase   kumaagû,   laabûgot.*
            [naai   wa=long]   takase   kum=at-gû   laab-go-t
            time   that=ALL   PN   down.DIST=be-DUR   come.up-RP-1SG
            At that time, being down in Takase, I came up.

(2)   *ta   nanak,   u   kosaan   yangaagû   kansokkût,*
            ta   [nanak   udu]   kosaan   ya=ngat-gû   kansok=lit
            but   child   that.ANA   side   this=be-DUR   PN=COM
            But the child, being on this side with Kansok,

            kansok   enaanggûtta   i   nambut   kugok.
            kansok   e-naanggût-ta   idi   nambut   ku-go-k
            PN   3NSG.O-get-SS   this.ANA   PN   go-RP-3SG
            Kansok got [several children] and went to the Nambut (River).

(3)   *saailas   kaang   kevin,   maanu,*
            [saailas   kaang   kevin   maanu]
            PN   two   PN   PN
            Silas, Kevin and Manu,

            nangkadek   wa   enaanggûtta   i,   nambut   kugok.
            [nangkadek   wa]   e-naanggût-ta   idi   nambut   ku-go-k
            men   that   3NSG.O-get-SS   this.ANA   PN   go-RP-3SG
            getting those guys, he went to Nambut.

(4)   *ta   meng   i   kosaan   lemang   kudu*
            ta   [meng   idi]   kosaan   lemang   kudu
            but   mother   this.ANA   side   PN   level.DIST

            logok   walû   faaleka   idi,
            lo-go-k   wa=lû   faale-ka   idi
            go.up-RP-3SG   there=ABL   turn.around-SS   this.ANA
            But [Silas'] mother went up there to Lemang on the other side and turning around from there,

            kaasingang   kum   bamonggok.
            kaasingang   kum   ba-mo-go-k
            PN   down.DIST   come-go.down-RP-3SG
            passed by down to Kesengen below.

(5)   *ta   nak   takase   kumaagû   kosaan   laabûgot.*
            ta   nak   takase   kum=at-gû   kosaan   laab-go-t
            but   1SG   PN   down.DIST=be-DUR   side   come.up-RP-1SG
            But staying down in Takase I came up the other side.

534

(6) *meng   kaasingang   mo,*
meng   kaasingang   mo
mother   PN   go.down
His mother going down to Kesengen,

    kaafeng   fapmo   lakongka   idi,
    kaafeng   fapmo   lakong-ka   idi
    coffee   take.down.NSG   throw.NSG-SS   this.ANA
    taking the coffee [bags] down and dropping them off,

    wa   bagok   walû   i   ba
    wa   ba-go-k   wa=lû   idi   ba
    there   come-RP-3SG   there=ABL   this.ANA   come
    she came there and coming from there,

    nanak   kaambaan   mi   flong
    {nanak   kaam-baan}   [mi   flong]
    child   die-NMLZ   water   ALL

    kum   taabaaka   i   bagok.
    kum   taabaa-ka   idi   ba-go-k
    down.DIST   carry.SG-SS   this.ANA   come-RP-3SG
    carrying the dead child (in her arms) to the water below, she came.

(7) *kansok,   kaang,   kevin,   maanu   nangkadek   mo   ta*
[kansok   kaang   kevin   maanu]   nangkadek   mo   ta
PN   two   PN   PN   men   already   get.SG
Kansok, Kevin and Manu, the guys having gotten [Silas]

    mi   flong   kapmangka   yodûka   i,   aatûkugû
    [mi   flong]   kapmang-ka   yodû-ka   idi   at-ku-gû
    water   ALL   lose-SS   search.for-SS   this.ANA   be-go-DUR
    lost him in the water and were searching for him (when)

    mengkû   bayaabûka   i   yodûgûng.
    meng=lû   ba-yaa-b-ka   idi   yodû-gû-ng
    mother=NOM   come-23NSG.O-see-SS   this.ANA   search.for-RP-23PL
    his mother came and saw them, and they searched for him (together).

(8) *yodûka   ngaatûkugû   idi,   yukuppû   mo,*
yodû-ka   at-ku-gû   idi   yukup=lû   mo
search.for-SS   be-go-DUR   this.ANA   PN=NOM   go.down
While they were continuing to search for him, Yukup going down,

    kubalang   menggon   yotyot   kum   kaka   idi,
    [kubalang   menggon   yotyot   kum]   ka-ka   idi
    valley   PN   headwaters   down.DIST   see.3SG-SS   this.ANA
    saw him down in the Menggon Valley headwaters and,

taabaaka   laabûgok.
taabaa-ka   laab-go-k
carry-SS   come.up-RP-3SG
carried him and came up.

(9) *talaabû,   meng   kaang   kansokkok   yemûng*
   talaab   [meng   kaang   kansok=lok]   ye-m-ng
   bring.up.SG   mother   two   PN=DAT   3NSG.O-give-DS

   imo,   naanggûtta   bagûmok.
   idi=mo   naanggût-ta   ba-gû-mok
   this.ANA=already   get-SS   come-RP-23DU
   Bringing him up, after giving him to his mother and Kansok, they got him and
   came.

(10) *ta   nak,   naanggûtta   bagûmok   walû   ba*
    ta   nak   naanggût-ta   ba-gû-mok   wa=lû   ba
    but   1SG   get-SS   come-RP-23DU there=ABL come
    But I—They got him and came and coming from there

    naawang   kum,   kaadûp   seka,
    [naawang   kum]   kaadûp   se-ka
    PN   down.DIST fire   cook-SS
    they made a fire in Naawang below and,

    mi   seka   wimpa   tagûng.
    mi   se-ka   wi-m-pa   ta-gû-ng
    water   cook-SS bathe-give-SS do-RP-23PL
    heated water and bathed him together.

(11) *ta   nak   mandeng,   kum   bagot   walong,*
    ta   nak   mandeng   {kum   ba-go-t   wa=long}
    but   1SG   next   down.DIST   come-RP-1SG   that=ALL
    But next I, when I came down there,

    sindamang   kudu   bangkadopmûngala   idi,
    [sindamang   kudu]   ba-kadopm-ng-la   idi
    PN   level.DIST come-arrive-DS-1SG   this.ANA
    coming there to Sindamang

    sindamang   nanak,   aa,   maaulak   nanak   ban,
    [sindamang   nanak]   aa   [maaulak   nanak   ban]
    PN   child   nevermind PN   child   a
    a Sindamang kid, I mean, a Maaulak kid,

    molitak   nûwangang,   walû,   naanûnggok,
    molitak   nû-wa-ng-nang   wa=lû   naa-nû-go-k
    PN   tell-PRS-23PL-HAB that=NOM 1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG
    who they call Molitak, he told me,

(12) *manda   naai,   nanak   wadûng   taak.*
{{[manda   naai]   nanak   wa-dûng   ta-a-k
talk   time   child   that-ADV   do-PRS-3SG
"The news about the child goes like this.

nanak   mi   flong   kuyak.
nanak   [mi   flong]   ku-ya-k}}
child   water   ALL   go-PRS-3SG
The child goes to the water."

(13) *u   molitakkû   kudu   naanûngûlû,*
udu   molitak=lû   kudu   naa-nû-ng-lû
that.ANA   PN=NOM   level.DIST   1SG.O-tell-DS-23SG
Molitak told me that there and,

tumtum   walû   mo,
tumtum   wa=lû   mo
run   there=ABL   go.down
running down from there,

ya   bangkadopmûngka   i,   yaabûgot,
ya   ba-kadopm-ka   idi   yaa-b-go-t
here   come-arrive-SS   this.ANA   3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG
I came here and saw them,

(14) *tebû   melinang   tawaang,   sabe   yot   kum*
{{teb   [melinang   tawaang]   [sabe   yot]   kum
bring.SG   PN   mountain   youth   house   down.DIST

tûka   ngatta   tagûng
tû-ka   at-ta   ta-gû-ng}}
put.SG-SS   be-SS   do-RP-23PL
bringing him and together they were putting him down in the young men's house
on Melinang Hill

tang   bangkadopmûngka   bayaabûka   idi,
ta-ng   ba-kadopm-ka   ba-yaa-b-ka   idi
do-DS   come-arrive-SS   come-3NSG.O-see-SS   this.ANA
and I came (to them) and coming to see them,

bayaabûka   ngatta   tagûm.
ba-yaa-b-ka   at-ta   ta-gû-m
come-3NSG.O-see-SS   be-SS   do-RP-1PL
coming I saw them and we stayed together.

(15) *ta   bangkadopmûngala,*
ta   ba-kadopm-ng-la
do   come-arrive-DS-1SG
And (when) I came (to them),

537

be   tuwong   musavenangkû   aamutta,
[be   tuwong   musavenang=lû]   aamut-ta
father.3SG.POSS   firstborn   PN=NOM   be.furious-SS
his firstborn father Musaveneng was furious and,

flanggon   blaampa   aamugok.
flanggon   blaam-pa   aamut-go-k
axe   carry-SS   be.furious-RP-3SG
he was carrying his axe and he was furious.

(16) *tang   kaka   agûm   aagû   idi,*
      ta-ng   ka-ka   at-gû-m   at-gû   idi
      do-DS   see.3SG-SS   be-RP-1PL   be-DUR   this.ANA
      And we were watching him until,

      sabe   yot   kum   kuka   imo,
      [sabe   yot]   kum   ku-ka   idi=mo
      youth   house   down.DIST go-SS   this.ANA=already
      we went to the young men's house below and,

      kukagûm   imo   kaampa   sûglen   taka   idi,
      ku-ka-gû-m   idi=mo   {{kaam-pa   sûglen   ta-ka}}   idi
      go-see.3SG-RP-1PL   this.ANA=already die-SS   strong   do-SS   this.ANA
      going we saw that he had died and gone into rigor and,

      tebû   bot   yotnang   tûka   imo,
      teb   [bot   yot=nang]   tû-ka   idi=mo
      bring   group   house=LOC   put.SG-SS   this.ANA=already
      bringing him we put him in the meeting house and,

      kap   blaagût   taaka   ngagû   talo   nenggûm.
      kap   blaagût   taa-ka   at-gû   talo   ne-gû-m
      song.dance   sorry   say-SS   be-DUR   take.up.SG   bury-RP-1PL
      (after) mourning awhile, taking him up we buried him.

(17) *talo   nengka   taka   imo,*
      talo   ne-ka   ta-ka   idi=mo
      take.up.SG   bury-SS   do-SS   this.ANA=already
      After taking him up and burying him together,

      aatûkugûm   aatûkugû   mengkût,
      aatûku-gû-m   aatûku-gû   meng=lit
      remain-RP-1PL   remain-DUR   mother-COM
      we've remained until—with his mother,

      blaagût   flong   aatûkugû   wangaatûkugû   ngaatûkugû   mo,
      [blaagût   flong]   aatûku-gû   wa=ngaatûku-gû   ngaatûku-gû   mo
      sorry   ALL   remain-DUR   that=remain-DUR   remain-DUR   already
      remaining and remaining and remaining in sorrow,

538

> *gulat,   dûgat   wa   agûmot?   yaalanangkek   ban.*
> gulat   dûgat   wa   at-gû-mot   [yaalanang=wek   ban]
> year   how.many   there   be-RP-1DU   three=DISJ   a
> for years, we've been there for how many? Three or?

(18) *wagam   wa   agûmot   aagû   aagû   mo,*
    [wagam   wa]   at-gû-mot   at-gû   at-gû   mo
    nothing   that be-RP-1DU   be-DUR   be-DUR   already
    We've done nothing, and on and on,

> *waagût   gulat   yalong,   2009   yalong,   fatnaang   nalam,*
> waagût   [gulat   ya=long]   [2009   ya=long]   {[fatnaang nalam]
> now   year   this=ALL   2009   this=ALL   white   couple
> now this year, in 2009, the white couple,

> *bombo   nalam   yaalû   bangaamok   ya,*
> [bombo   nalam   yaalû]   ba-ngaa-mok   ya}
> caucasian   couple   two   come-NP-23DU   this
> the foreign couple who have come,

> *bagûmok   ya,   klistal   kaang   laayan,*
> {ba-gû-mok   ya}   [klistal   kaang   laayan]
> come-RP-23DU   this   PN   two   PN
> who came, Crystal and Ryan,

> *naai   walonggût   ya   bangkadopmûngûlû,*
> [naai   wa=long-gût]   ya   ba-kadopm-ng-lû
> time   that=ALL-RSTR   here   come-arrive-DS-23
> at the very time they arrived here,

> *nonang   nanak   kodaa   genangkaka   attak,   mona,*
> [nonang   nanak   kodaa]   genangka-ka   at-ta-k   mona
> 1SG:GEN   child   new   appear-SS   be-PRS-3SG   secondborn.son
> my new child is being born, Mona,

> *waagût   genangkaka   attak.*
> waagût   genanka-ka   at-ta-k
> now   appear-SS   be-PRS-3SG
> now he is being born.

skc09_19   Moving from Mosa to Saut

Setting: Collected alongside several men in my bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts the speaker's move from Mosa (a hamlet near Kesengen Village) to Saut Village
Speaker: Botyenuc Siging (1984), Male, Grade 6, Mosa

(1) *mosaa   aagû,   aatûkugûm   aatûkugû,*
    mosaa   at-gû   aatûku-gû-m   aatûku-gû
    PN   be-DUR   remain-RP-1PL   remain-DUR
    Staying in Mosa we remained until

nûnûngkong,   *kaasingang*   *balogûm.*
n-nûngkong-ng   kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m
1NSG.O-remove-DS   PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL
they kicked us out and we came and went up to Kesengen.

(2)   *kaasingang*   *balogûm*   *walû,*
      {kaasingang   ba-lo-gû-m   wa=lû}
      PN   come-go.up-RP-1PL   that=ABL
      Having come and gone up to Kesengen,

      yolûwaan   *walû,*   *bûge*   *saaut*   *kagangsûnang*
      [yolûwaan   wa=lû]   bûge   {{[saaut   kagang-sû=nang]
      local   that=NOM   again   PN   village-23NSG.POSS=LOC

      maa   *kuneng,*   *taang*   *idi,*
      maa   ku-ne-ng}}   taa-ng   idi
      wholly   go-IRR.PL-23NSG   say-DS   this.ANA
      the locals said, "Go back to your village Saut,"

      nûnûngkong   *bûge*   *maa*   *bagûm*   *kagang,*   *saaut.*
      nû-nûngkong-ng   bûge   maa   ba-gû-m   kagang   saaut
      1NSG.O-remove-DS   again   wholly   come-RP-1PL   village   PN
      and kicked us out and we came again to the village, Saut.

(3)   *kagangekngang*   *ya*   *bagûm.*
      kagang-nek=nang   ya   ba-gû-m
      village-1NSG.POSS=LOC   here   come-RP-1PL
      We came here to our village.

(4)   *ba*   *ya*   *aatûkuwaam.*
      ba   ya   aatûku-waa-m
      come   here   remain-PRS-1PL
      Coming we've remained here.

(5)   *tûmanggût*   *bagûm.*
      tûmang-gût   ba-gû-m
      before-RSTR   come-RP-1PL
      We came a long time ago.

(6)   *ba*   *ya*   *aatûkugûm*   *walû*   *mo,*
      ba   ya   aatûku-gû-m   wa=lû   mo
      come   here   remain-RP-1PL   that=ABL   already
      Coming and having remained here okay,

      waagût   *ya*   *agaam.*
      waagût   ya   at-gaa-m
      now   here   be-PRS-1PL
      here we are now.

(7) *fatnaang   bangûlû,   fatnaangek   bangûlû   i,*
    fatnaang   ba-ng-lû   fatnaang-nek   ba-ng-lû   idi
    white   come-DS-23   white-1NSG.POSS   come-DS-23   this.ANA
    The white (people) came, our white (people) coming,

    bagokngang,   fomgût   ya   atta   idi,
    {ba-go-k=nang}   fom-gût   ya   at-ta   idi
    come-RP-3SG=LOC   together-RSTR   here   be-SS   this.ANA

    stoli   taait,   manda   taait.
    stoli   taa-i-t   manda   taa-i-t
    story   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG   talk   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
    I am telling a story about his coming to be here together (with us), and I am talking.

(8) *manda   mo,   dûdû   bagûm   walûnang   taait.*
    manda   mo   {dûdû   ba-gû-m   wa=lûnang}   taa-i-t
    talk   already   how   come-RP-1PL   that=GEN   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
    Okay that's the talk, I'm talking about how we came.

(9) *ba   ya   aatûkuwaamang   wasûnang   taait.*
    {ba   ya   aatûku-waa-m-nang   wa-s=nang}   taa-i-t
    come   here   remain-PRS-1PL-HAB   that-LK=GEN   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
    I'm talking about coming to remain here.

(10) *walataka   mo,   fatnaang   bagok   wasit,*
    walataka   mo   {fatnaang   ba-go-k   wasit}
    therefore   already   white   come-RP-3SG   that:COM

    yenolit   taka   ya   aatûkuntaam.
    yenolit   ta-ka   ya   aatûku-ntaa-m
    become.brothers   do-SS   here   remain-FUT-1PL
    Okay so, I've become friends with the white man who came and we will remain here.

(11) *tandon,   kaalin.*
    tandon   kaalin
    night   good
    Good night.

skc09_21   What We Did on Thursday

Setting: Collected by my wife in the speaker's house in Saut Village alongside several women and children
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts the speaker's activities two days prior
Speaker: Mamotac Dunang (1956), Female, No education, Does not speak Tok Pisin

(1) *nûndû   wan   tagûm.*
    nûndû   wa-n   ta-gû-m
    1NSG   that-ANA   do-RP-1PL
    This is what we did.

(2) *fode   flong,   fode   taamengsla,   raaji   bazakiec,*
    [fode   flong]   [fode   taamengsla]   [raaji   bazakiec
    Thursday   ALL   Thursday   morning   PN   PN

    mainsen,   wili   daabû,   fûka   mo,
    mainsen   wili   daabû]   fû-ka   mo
    PN   PN   fourthborn.female   come.down-SS   already
    On Thursday, Thursday morning, after Ragi, Bazakiec, Mainsen, Wili and Dabu
    came down,

    fûngkadopmûngka   kaadûp   wagam   sengada
    fû-kadopm-ka   kaadûp   wagam   se-ng-da
    come.down-arrive-SS   fire   nothing   cook-DS-1NSG
    they arrived and we made a fire, and

    dûngûlû   akngûlû   mo,   dûng,
    dû-ng-lû   at-ng-lû   mo   dû-ng
    light-DS-23   be-DS-23   already   light-DS
    after it was alight, lit,

    dûka   aakng   kaka   idi   mo,
    dû-ka   at-ng   ka-ka   idi   mo
    light-SS   be-DS   see.3SG-SS this.ANA   already
    it was alight and after seeing it,

    nanaksû   taamtaam   enûnggot   mo,
    [nanaksû   taamtaam]   ye-nû-go-t   {{mo
    children   women   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG already
    I told the girls, "Okay,

(3) *kap   nunum   tanûm.*
    [kap   nunum]   ta-nûm}}
    sing.dance   prayer   do-IRR.PL:1NSG
    let's worship."

(4) *wadûng   enûngka   idi,   kap   nunum   tagûm.*
    wa-dûng   ye-nû-ka   idi   [kap   nunum]   ta-gû-m
    that-ADV   3NSG.O-tell-SS   this.ANA   sing.dance   prayer   do-RP-1PL
    Telling them that, we worshiped.

(5) *taka   imo,   miti   manda   endaangka,*
    ta-ka   idi=mo   [miti   manda]   endaang-ka
    do-SS   this.ANA=already   Gospel   talk   read-SS
    And okay, we read the Bible, and

    wa   naandûmaakongka,   mo,   sûbat   segûm.
    wa   naandû-maa-kong-ka   mo   sûbat   se-gû-m
    that hear-CMPL-TERM-SS   already   food   cook-RP-1PL
    after listening to all of that, we cooked the food.

542

(6) *kaadûp*   *febû*   *sengada*   *dûng*   *idi,*
     kaadûp   feb   se-ng-da   dû-ng   idi
     firewood   bring.NSG   cook-DS-1NSG light-DS   this.ANA
     Bringing the firewood we made a fire,

     sûbat   *segûm.*
     sûbat   se-gû-m
     food   cook-RP-1PL
     and we cooked the food.

(7) *wa*   *seka*   *idi,*   *raaji*   *idi,*
     wa   se-ka   idi   [raaji   idi]
     that   cook-SS   this.ANA   PN   this.ANA

     bayanggenu   *meng*   *be*   *yenaanggûtta,*
     [bayanggenu   meng   be]   ye-naanggût-ta
     PN   mother   father.3SG.POSS   3NSG.O-get-SS
     We cooked it, and Ragi, he got Bayangenu's parents, and

     kaasingang   *kuwekka*   *taka*   *tagok.*
     {kaasingang   ku-be-k=la}   ta-ka   ta-go-k
     PN   go-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-SS   do-RP-3SG
     he prepared to go to Kesengen.

(8) *tang*   *iga*   *mo,*   *sûbat*   *tûmang*   *walû*   *segok.*
     ta-ng   idi=ga   mo   sûbat   tûmang   wa=lû   se-go-k
     do-DS   this.ANA=INST   already   food   first   that=NOM   cook-RP-3SG
     So first he cooked the food.

(9) *tang*   *sûbat*   *wa*   *mo,*   *dûngûlû*
     ta-ng   [sûbat   wa]   mo   dû-ng-lû
     do-DS   food   that   already   light-DS-23
     And when the food was finished cooking,

     nangka   *akngûlû*   *nûndû*   *bû*   *segûm.*
     na-ka   at-ng-lû   nûndû   bû   se-gû-m
     eat-SS   be-DS-23   1NSG   also   cook-RP-1PL
     he was eating while we cooked too.

(10) *seng*   *dûng*   *nangka*   *akngada*   *idi,*
     se-ng   dû-ng   na-ka   at-ng-da   idi
     cook-DS   light-DS   eat-SS   be-DS-1NSG   this.ANA
     Cooking and while we were eating,

     bazakiec   *lû*   *aakngka*   *idi*   *nûnggok.*
     [bazakiec   lû]   aakng-ka   idi   nû-go-k
     PN   NOM   arise-SS   this.ANA   tell-RP-3SG
     Bazakiec got up and told him.

(11) *nûnggok,*   *menga*   *mok*   *wan*   *taangak,*
nû-go-k   {{[meng-na   mok]   wa-n   taa-nga-k
tell-RP-3SG   mother-1SG.POSS   firstborn.female   that-ANA   say-NP-3SG
She told him, "Mother Mok said this,

(12) *tebûlongka*   *fi*   *mogût*   *taangang.*
{{[tebûlongka   fi]   mo-gût   ta-a-ng-nang}}}}
service   work   already-RSTR   do-PRS-2SG-HAB
(that) you are always doing favors."

(13) *wadûng*   *taangûlû*   *idi,*   *nûnggok,*
wa-dûng   taa-ng-lû   idi   nû-go-k
that-ADV   say-DS-23   this.ANA   tell-RP-3SG
Saying this, he told her,

(14) *nak*   *yase*   *baka*   *mani*   *wanggût*   *naamûlakngang,*
{{nak   yase   ba-ka   [mani   wa-gût]   naa-m-la-k-nang
1SG   PN   come-SS   money   that-RSTR   1SG.O-give-PRS-3SG-HAB
"Yase comes and gives ME that money,

maasû   *taka*   *naanûobang?*
maasû   ta-ka   naa-nû-ob-wang}}
which   do-SS   1SG.O-tell-break-PRS:23PL
so why are you forbidding me?"[39]

(15) *wan*   *taagok,*   *tang*   *nak*   *nûnggot,*
wa-n   taa-go-k   ta-ng   nak   nû-go-t
that-ANA   say-RP-3SG   do-DS   1SG   tell-RP-1SG
He said that, and I told him,

(16) *tebûlongka*   *fi!*   *wadûgût*   *fafagagût*
{{[tebûlongka   fi]   wadûgût   fafa-ga-gût
service   work   too   grandfather-2SG.POSS-RSTR

kaadûp   *ulemûlok!*
kaadûp   ule-m=lok}}
wood   break-give=POT
"Favors! You must still break firewood for your own grandfather too!"

(17) *wadûng*   *nûngala*   *idi,*
wa-dûng   nû-ng-la   idi
that-ADV   tell-DS-1SG   this.ANA
When I told him that,

raaji   *mo*   *belûfaka*   *aakngka*   *mo,*
raaji   mo   belûfa-ka   aakng-ka   mo
PN   already   angry-SS   arise-SS   already
Ragi became angry and got up—

---

[39] Yase, Bayangenu's brother, lives away for his logging career. When he comes, he gives Ragi money to care for his parents while he's away.

taamengsla   aakngka   mo,   naip   yak   sopmûka   mo,
taamengsla   aakng-ka   mo   [naip   yak]   isopm-ka   mo
morning   arise-SS   already   knife   bilum   hold.NSG-SS   already
he got up in the morning—and grabbed his knife and bilum,

sida   kam   tabekka   kewan   maa   kugok.
{sida   kam   ta-be-k=la}   kewan   maa   ku-go-k
sweet.potato   clean   do.IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   PN   wholly   go-RP-3SG
he went to Kewan to clean his sweet potato (garden).

(18)   *tang   kaka   i   meng   moknûng*
ta-ng   ka-ka   idi   {[meng   mok-nûng]
do-DS   see.3SG-SS   this.ANA   mother   firstborn.female-3SG.POSS.EMPH

fûng   nûngka   idiga,
fû-ng}}   nû-ka   {{idi=ga
come.down-DS   tell-SS   this.ANA=INST
And I saw his mother Mok come down and I told her, "Since

nûndû   tefaangûda   kuyak   wala   idi,
nûndû   upset-ng-da   ku-ya-k   wala   idi
1NSG   destroy-DS-1NSG   go-PRS-3SG   so   this.ANA
"we upset him and he's left,

nûndû   tametta   kudem   taaka   idi,
nûndû   tamet-ta   ku-de-m}}   taa-ka   idi
1NSG   carry-SS   go-IRR.DU-1NSG   say-SS   this.ANA
we should carry [Kimbalak's cargo] and go," and saying that,

tametta   kugûmot.
tamet-ta   ku-gû-mot
carry-SS   go-RP-1DU
we carried it and went.

(19)   *kuuu   nantaam,   kimbalak   nalaam   kugûmok   wa,*
ku~u~u   nantaam   {[kimbalak   nalaam]   ku-gû-mok   wa}
go~EXT~EXT   people   PN   couple   go-RP-23DU   that
Going, the people, Kimbalak and his wife who left,

kuuu   naawang   kum   kaalûyapmangka   idi,
ku~u~u   [naawang   kum]   kaalû-y-kapmang-ka   idi
go~EXT~EXT   PN   down.DIST   pass-3NSG.O-leave-SS   this.ANA
going, we passed them down in Nawang, and

yenûnggûmot   kaalaaut   ya   fuku,
ye-nû-gû-mot   {{[kaalaaut   ya]   fuku
3NSG.O-tell-RP-1DU   cabbage   this   take.NSG
we told them, "Taking these cabbages,

[[kum besaampa bantaamot]]⁴⁰.
kum be-saa-m-pa ba-ntaa-mot
down.DIST put.NSG-2NSG.O-give-SS come-FUT-1DU
we will put them down there for you and come.

(20) *raaji kayong yolak walataka,*
[raaji kayong] yot-a-k walataka
PN leg poke-NP-3SG therefore
Ragi's leg got poked, so

kayong bedû ngattak.
kayong bedû ngat-ta-k
leg sore be-PRS-3SG
his leg is sore.

(21) *ta nûndû fukuka i*
ta nûndû fuku-ka idi
do 1NSG take.NSG-SS this.ANA
But since we took them

alûbûsaa membûnang kum besaampa
[alûbûsaa membû=nang kum] be-saa-m-pa
jacaranda base=LOC down.DIST put.NSG-2NSG.O-give-SS

bantaamot, kafeng fi ganang.
ba-ntaa-mot [kafeng fi ganang]}}
come-FUT-1DU coffee garden plot
we will put them down at the base of the jacaranda and come, to the coffee garden."

(22) *wadûng yenûngka i mo,*
wa-dûng ye-nû-ka idi mo
that-ADV 3NSG.O-tell-SS this.ANA already
After we told them like that,

kaalûyapmangka kugûmot.
kaalû-y-kapmang-ka ku-gû-mot
pass-3NSG.O-leave-SS go-RP-1DU
we passed by them and went.

(23) *kayap naanggûtta kugûmot wa*
{kayap naanggût-ta ku-gû-mot wa}
thirdborn.female get-SS go-RP-1DU that
Having gotten Kayap and left

kayap tuku kadet mang kawaaka idi mo,
kayap tuku [kadet mang] kawaa-ka idi mo
thirdborn.female take.SG road LOC leave.SG-SS this.ANA already
we took Kayap and after leaving her along the road,

---

⁴⁰ This clause was added by a MM speaker during the transcription and translation process.

ninekagût,   ya   fûdûgûmot   yalû   mooo,
ninek-kagût   {ya   fûdû-gû-mot   ya=lû}   mo~o~o
1DU.EMPH-RSTR   this hurry-RP-1DU   this=ABL   go.down~EXT~EXT
just us two, hurrying, going down,

kaasingang   kum   kaalaaut   yak   fuku   beka   idi,
kaasingang   kum   [kaalaaut yak]   fuku   be-ka   idi
PN   down.DIST cabbage bilum take.NSG put.NSG-SS this.ANA
we took the cabbage bilums down to Kesengen, and

faaleka   mo,   mo   kagang   kum   faaleka
faale-ka   mo   mo   [kagang kum]   faale-ka
turn.around-SS already go.down village down.DIST turn.around-SS
after turning around, going down we turned around down in the village and

tuwit   mengkûnang,   kodup   ban   gaalûka
[tuwit   meng=lûnang   kodup   ban]   gaalû-ka
PN   mother=GEN   betel.nut a   steal-SS

datta   nangka   mo,
dat-ta   na-ka   mo
pluck-SS   eat-SS   already
stole a betel nut (branch) from Tuwit's mother and plucked it and ate it and then,

faaleka   mo   laabûka   maa   bagûmot.
faale-ka   mo   laab-ka   maa   ba-gû-mot
turn.around-SS already come.up-SS wholly come-RP-1DU
after turning around, we came up and came back.

(24) *gilagût,   laabûka   baka,*
     gi-lagût   laab-ka   ba-ka
     rain-RSTR   come.up-SS come-SS
While it was still raining we came up and came, and

kadet   mang   nambukmung   kangût   yaabûka
[kadet   mang]   nambukmung   kan-gût   yaa-b-ka
road   LOC   PN   up.PROX-RSTR 3NSG.O-see-SS
on the road up in Nambukmung we saw [Kimbalak and his wife] and

enûnggûmot,   wadûng wadûng   taka   bawaamot.
ye-nû-gû-mot   {{wa-dûng~wa-dûng ta-ka   ba-waa-mot}}
3NSG.O-tell-RP-1DU   that-ADV~that-ADV   do-SS   come-PRS-1DU
we told them, "We did this and that and we've come."

(25) *enûngka   mo,   kimbalak   nûnggûmot,*
     ye-nû-ka   mo   kimbalak   nû-gû-mot
     3NSG.O-tell-SS already PN   tell-RP-1DU
After telling them, we told Kimbalak,

malompû   geflongkang   mo,
{{malom=lû   g-eflongka-ng   mo
lord=NOM   2SG.O-help-DS   already

kaalin   kuka   kukaa,   kungkadopmbûtaang.
kaalin   ku-ka   ku-ka~a   ku-kadopm-b-taa-ng}}
good   go-SS   go-SS~EXT   go-arrive-EP-FUT-2SG
"May God help you go well and arrive there."

(26) *wadûng   nûngka   imo,*
       wa-dûng   nû-ka   idi=mo
       that-ADV   tell-SS   this.ANA=already
       After telling him this,

       maambagûm,   kayap   mengût.
       maa=ba-gû-m   [kayap   meng-nit]
       wholly=come-RP-1PL   thirdborn.female mother-3SG.POSS:COM
       we came back, with Kayap's mom.

(27) *ta   baka   kayap   ba   basok   tagok   walû*
       ta   ba-ka   kayap   ba   {basok   ta-go-k   wa=lû}
       do   come-SS thirdborn.female come carry.child do-RP-3SG that=NOM
       And we came and [Kayap's mom] who was shouldering Kayap,

       tefû tefû   senang   kubalang   tûng   mo,
       tefû~tefû   [senang   kubalang]   tû-ng   mo
       bring.down.SG~bring.down.SG   PN   valley   put.SG-DS already
       bringing her down and down to the Senang Valley,

       ni   laabûka   bang   nak   febû
       ni   laab-ka   ba-ng   nak   feb
       3SG.EMPH   come.up-SS   come-DS   1SG   bring.NSG

       senang   kubalang   wa   yabaaka
       [senang   kubalang]   wa   yabaa-ka
       PN   valley   that   leave.NSG-SS
       she came up by herself and coming, after bringing them I left them in the Senang
       Valley and

       nak   tûmang tûmang   bagot.
       nak   tûmang~tûmang   ba-go-t
       1SG   first~first   come-RP-1SG
       I came very first.

(28) *bamaangka   mo   ba   beng   dong*
       ba-maa-ka   mo   ba   beng   dong
       come-CMPL-SS   already   come pandanus   search

       naapmok   monggot.
       naapmok   mo-go-t
       PN   go.down-RP-1SG
       After coming all the way I came and went down to Napmok looking for pandanus.

(29) *mo*   *yaabûgot*   *naapmok   kum*
      mo   yaa-b-go-t   [naapmok   kum]
      already   3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG   PN   down.DIST

      benga   *napmang   gaalûka   dagûng.*
      beng-na   n-kapmang-ng   gaalû-ka   dat-gû-ng
      pandanus-1SG.POSS   1SG.O-leave-DS steal-SS   remove-RP-23PL
      I had seen them steel my pandanus down in Napmok.

(30) *yaabûka,*   *yendat   taaka   wa   kungaagû   mo,*
      yaa-b-ka   yendat   taa-ka   wa   kungat-gû   mo
      3NSG.O-see-SS   grumble   say-SS   that   go.around-DUR already
      I saw them and grumbled and after going around awhile,

      beng   sambami   mengkûnang   ban   gaalûka
      [beng   sambami   meng=lûnang   ban]   gaalû-ka
      pandanus   PN   mother=GEN   a   steal-SS
      I stole a pandanus from Sambami's mom and

      datta   sakoka   mo,
      dat-ta   sako-ka   mo
      pluck-SS   hold.3SG-SS   already
      plucked it and after getting it,

      laabûka   ba ba
      laab-ka   ba~ba
      come.up-SS   come~come
      I came up and coming and coming

      kayap   mengût   yaabûka   mo,
      [kayap   meng-nit]   yaa-b-ka   mo
      thirdborn.female mother-3SG.POSS:COM 3NSG.O-see-SS already
      after seeing Kayap with her mom,

      baka   mo,   kagang   bangkadopmûnggûm,   tafalagût.
      ba-ka   mo   kagang   ba-kadopm-gû-m   tafala-gût
      come-SS   already village   come-arrive-RP-1PL afternoon-RSTR
      I came, and then we arrived at the village, while it was still afternoon.

(31) *atnûm,*   *tafala   kaalin.*
      at-nûm   tafala   kaalin
      be-IRR.PL:1SG   afternoon   good
      Let us, good afternoon.

(32) *tandon   kaalin,   tandon   kaalin.*
      tandon   kaalin   tandon   kaalin
      night   good   night   good
      Good night, good night.

549

skc09_28   Looking for Firewood Today

Setting: Collected alongside several women and my wife in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts the speaker's activities that day
Speaker: Bazakiec Roy (1987), Female, Grade 10, Saut

(1) *waagût   naai   yalong,   taamtaam   gebûng   mongaam.*
     waagût   [naai   ya=long]   taamtaam   gebûng   mo-ngaa-m
     now   time   this=ALL   women   church   go.down-NP-1PL
     Today, at this time, we women went to church.

(2) *gebûng   mongka   fûka,   fi   manda   taang.*
     gebûng   mo-ka   fû-ka   [fi   manda]   taa-ng
     inside   go.down   come.down   work   talk   say-NP:23PL
     We went to church and came out and they planned the work.

(3) *kuka   kaadûp,   tametta   bantaang   taang.*
     {{ku-ka   kaadûp   tamet-ta   ba-ntaa-ng}}   taa-ng
     go-SS   wood   carry-SS   come-FUT-23PL   say-NP:23PL
     They said they would go and get the firewood and come.

(4) *tang   nangkadek   tûmang   kuka*
     ta-ng   nangkadek   tûmang   ku-ka
     do-DS   men   first   go-SS
     And the men went first and

     ku   kaadûp   dlaatta   beng.
     ku   kaadûp   dlaat-ta   be-ng
     go   wood   break-SS   put.NSG-NP:23PL
     going they broke the firewood and put it.

(5) *dlaatta   beka   mo   maa   kung   tang,*
     dlaat-ta   be-ka   mo   maa   ku-ng   ta-ng
     break-SS   put.NSG-SS   already   wholly   go-NP:23PL   do-DS
     After they broke and put it they went back and,

     taamtaam   nûndû   laabûka,
     [taamtaam   nûndû]   laab-ka
     women   1NSG   come.up-SS
     we women came up—

     kapa   mongka   fûka,
     kapa   mo-ka   fû-ka
     worship   go.down-SS   come.down-SS
     we went into worship and came out—and

     laabû   klistal   kaka   naanggûtta   kungaam.
     laab   klistal   ka-ka   naanggût-ta   ku-ngaa-m
     come.up   PN   see.3SG-SS   get-SS   go-NP-1PL
     coming up we saw Crystal and got her and we went.

550

(6) *kadepmenang   ya   kungaam   yalû   yalû,*
    [kadepmen=nang   ya]   ku-ngaa-m   ya=lû   ya=lû
    main.road=LOC   here   go-NP-1PL   this=ABL   this=ABL
    We went and went along the main road,

    kuka   mo,   ku,   kaadûp   dlaatta
    ku-ka   mo   ku   {kaadûp   dlaat-ta
    go-SS   already   go   wood   break-SS

    bengang   kungkadopmûngka,
    be-ng=nang}   ku-kadopm-ka
    put.NSG-NP:23PL=LOC   go-arrive-SS
    we went, and going to where they had broken the firewood,

    kaadûp   dûdûmetta   beka   mo,
    kaadûp   dûdûmet-ta   be-ka   mo
    wood   bind-SS   put.NSG-SS   already
    we bundled the firewood, and

    tametta   maa   banûmpa   tangaam
    tamet-ta   {maa   ba-nûm=la}   ta-ngaa-m
    carry-SS   wholly   come-IRR.PL:1NSG   do-NP-1PL
    carried it (from our heads) and planned to come back.

(7) *febû   gebûng   wa   beka,   tang   gi   fûngak.*
    feb   [gebûng   wa]   be-ka   ta-ng   gi   fû-nga-k
    bring.NSG   inside   that   put.NSG-SS   do-DS   rain   come.down-NP-3SG
    Bringing (the firewood bundles) we put them inside, and it rained.

(8) *gi   fûngûlû,*
    gi   fû-ng-lû
    rain   come.down-DS-23
    It rained, and

    ginde   benang   yot   bum   ganang   wa
    [ginde   be=nang   yot   bum   ganang   wa]
    PN   father.3SG.POSS=GEN   house   rotten   plot   that

    maangûtta   alaam.
    maangût-ta   at-aa-m
    sit-SS   be-NP-1PL
    we sat around in Ginde's father's rotten house.

(9) *maangûtta   alaam   aagû,   kaadûp   seka   mo,*
    maangût-ta   at-aa-m   at-gû   kaadûp   se-ka   mo
    sit-SS   be-NP-1PL   be-DUR   wood   cook-SS   already
    We sat around awhile, and then we made a fire, and

    kaadûp   seka   atta   tangûtna,
    kaadûp   se-ka   at-ta   ta-ng-tna
    wood   cook-SS   be-SS   do-DS-1NSG
    while we were making the fire,

sap   yaalûlû   ba   kosaan   kudu   maangûtta,
[sap   yaalû=lû]   ba   [kosaan   kudu]   maangût-ta
dog   two=NOM   come   side   level.DIST   sit-SS
two dogs coming sat down on the other side,

kûlû mûndûmûndû   atta   tangaamok.
kûlû mûndûmûndû   at-ta   ta-ngaa-mok
push.and.shove   be-SS   do-NP-23DU
and were pushing and shoving each other [fighting for space].

(10) tangûlû,   sap   wa   yenûngkongka   tangaam.
ta-ng-lû   [sap   wa]   ye-nûngkong-ka   ta-ngaa-m
do-DS-23   dog   that   3NSG.O-remove-SS   do-NP-1PL
They did it and we all kicked out the dogs.

(11) tagû   mo,   kaadûp   seka   maangûtta   akngûtnang,
ta-gû   mo   kaadûp   se-ka   maangût-ta   at-ng-tnang
do-DUR   already   wood   cook-SS   sit-SS   be-DS-1NSG
After doing that, we made a fire and sat around, and

maangûtta   akngûtna   gi   mambûsak   ya
maangût-ta   at-ng-tna   {[gi   mambûsak   ya]
sit-SS   be-DS-1NSG   rain   leak   here

fûngak   yalû,
fû-nga-k   ya=lû}
come.down-NP-3SG   this=NOM
while we were sitting around, the rain which had leaked down,

mi   kaden   yalû   gebûng   kam   baka,
[mi   kaden   ya=lû]   [gebûng   kam]   ba-ka
water   stream   this=NOM   inside   down.PROX   come-SS
this stream of water came down inside, and

mi   gafang   wongka   akngûlû,
[mi   gafang]   wong-ka   at-ng-lû
water   lake   swell-SS   be-DS-23
was forming a puddle,

taamtaam   yalû   mi   gafang   flong   ima
[taamtaam   ya=lû]   [mi   gafang   flong]   idi-ma
women   this=NOM   water   lake   ALL   this.ANA-EMPH

maangûtta   agaam.
maangût-ta   at-gaa-m
sit-SS   be-PRS-1PL
and the women, we were sitting right over the puddle!

(12) maangûtta   alaam   aagû,
maangût-ta   at-aa-m   at-gû
sit-SS   be-PRS-1PL   be-DUR
Sitting around,

552

manda   taaka   tangaam   tagû   mo,
manda   taa-ka   ta-ngaa-m   ta-gû   mo
talk   say-SS   do-NP-1PL   do-DUR   already
after chatting awhile,

klistal   nûngka   taangaam,
klistal   nû-ka   taa-ngaa-m
PN   tell-SS   say-NP-1PL
we told Crystal and said,

(13) *ya   maangûtta   atntangaam   walong,*
{{ya   maangût-ta   at-nta-ngaa-m   wa=long
this   sit-SS   be-COND-NP-1PL   that=ALL
"If we sit here awhile,

nangkadekkû   banûwangûlû,
nangkadek=lû   ba-nû-tawang-ng-lû
men=NOM   come-1NSG.O-follow-DS-23
the men will come chase us, and

tumtum   yalû,   bûsenang   ya   mongka   kungûtna,
tumtum   ya=lû   [bûsenang   ya]   mo-ka   ku-ng-tna
run   this=ABL   jungle   this   go.down-SS   go-DS-1NSG
running from here we will go down into the jungle and go, and

gak   talaus   kusamba   ya   kufûka
gak   [talaus   kusamba   ya]   kufû-ka
2SG   pants   big   this   take.off-SS
you will take off these big pants and

kelang   sakoka   kuntangang.
kelang   sako-ka   ku-nta-nga-ng}}
in.hand   hold.3SG-SS   go-COND-NP-2SG
hold them in your hands and go."

(14) *nûngka,   taamtaam   damanggek   taaka*
nû-ka   taamtaam   damanggek   taa-ka
tell-SS   women   laugh   say-SS

amun amun   ima   kungagaam.
amun~amun   idi-ma   kungat-gaa-m
ground~ground   this.ANA-EMPH   go.around-PRS-1PL
We told her and we girls rolled on the floor laughing!

(15) *ta   wa   maangûtta   akngûtna   mo,*
ta   wa   maangût-ta   at-ng-tna   mo
do   there   sit-SS   be-DS-1NSG   already
And while we were sitting there,

gi   dakengak.
gi   dakeng-nga-k
rain   break.up-NP-3SG
it stopped raining.

(16) *gi   dakengûlû   mo,*
gi   dakeng-ng-lû   mo
rain   dissipate-DS-23   already
When it stopped raining,

mo   kaadûp   dûdûmet   itnang   taka
mo   {kaadûp   dûdûmet   it=nang   ta-ka
go.down   wood   bind   ?=LOC   do-SS

bengaam   wa   tametta   mo,
be-ngaa-m   wa}   tamet-ta   mo
put.NSG-NP-1PL   that   carry-SS   already
going down we put [the firewood] we had bundled and we carried them, and

gebûng   maambangaam.
gebûng   maa=ba-ngaa-m
inside   wholly=come-NP-1PL
we came back home.

skc09_29   Going to Kesengen with Ryan

Setting: Collected alongside several women and my wife in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts a trip to Kesengen Village from Saut Village along with myself and various youth from the village
Speaker: Amike Kangain (1992), Female, Grade 6, Saut

(1) *saalele   flong   kaasingang   kugûm   wasûnang   taabûtaat.*
{[saalele   flong]   kaasingang   ku-gû-m   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
Saturday   ALL   PN   go-RP-1PL   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
I will talk about about [when] we went to Kesengen on Saturday.

(2) *taamtaam   nûndû   kaafeng   tamegûm*
[taamtaam   nûndû]   kaafeng   tamet-gû-m
women   1NSG   coffee   carry-RP-1PL
We women carried the coffee

tang   nangkadekkû   ku   kadepmenang   kudu   kaadûp,
ta-ng   nangkadek=lû   ku   kadepmen=nang   kudu   kaadûp
do-DS   men=NOM   go   main.road=LOC   level.DIST wood

kaadûp   sang   yodatta   begûng.
[kaadûp   sang]   yodat-ta   be-gû-ng
wood   piece   debark-SS   put.NSG-RP-23PL
and the men [had already] gone and skinned the logs and put them there on the main road.

(3)   *kaadûp*   *sang*   *yodatta*   *begûng*   *wa*
       {kaadûp   sang   yodat-ta   be-gû-ng   wa}
       wood   piece   debark-SS   put.NSG-RP-23PL   that

       blaamûngûlû   *mo*   *kugûm.*
       blaam-ng-lû   mo   ku-gû-m
       shoulder-DS-23   already   go-RP-1PL
       They put the logs they had skinned on their shoulders and then we went.

(4)   *taamtaam*   *nûndû*   *tûmang*   *kungûda*
       [taamtaam   nûndû]   tûmang   ku-ng-da
       women   1NSG   first   go-DS-1NSG
       We women went first and

       nangkadek   *mandenekngang*   *nûwangka*   *kuka*
       nangkadek   manden-nek=nang   n-tawang-ka   ku-ka
       men   back-1NSG.POSS=LOC   1NSG.O-follow-SS   go-SS
       the men followed behind us and went and

       laayantû,   *mangka,*   *mangka*   *mangka*   *kungûlû*
       laayan=lû   mang-ka   mang-ka   mang-ka   ku-ng-lû
       PN=NOM   fall.down-SS   fall.down-SS   fall.down-SS   go-DS-23
       Ryan kept falling and falling and falling as he went and

       nangkadek   *wa,*   *kaka*   *yeka*   *manggeka*   *takata*   *kung*
       [nangkadek   wa]   ka-ka   ye-ka   mangge-ka   ta-ka=ta   ku-ng
       men   that   see.3SG-SS   talk-SS   laugh-SS   do-SS=do   go-DS
       the men saw him and talked and went laughing and laughing

       nûndû   *tûmang*   *kugûm.*
       nûndû   tûmang   ku-gû-m
       1NSG   first   go-RP-1PL
       and we went first.

(5)   *yalû,*   *mi*   *kusamba*   *kum*   *mongkadopmûngka,*
       ya=lû   [mi   kusamba   kum]   mo-kadopm-ka
       this=ABL   water   big   down.DIST   go.down-arrive-SS
       From here we went down to the big water below, and

       nangkadekkû   *kaalûnûpmangka*   *tûmang*   *kugûng.*
       nangkadek=lû   kaalû-n-kapmang-ka   tûmang   ku-gû-ng
       men=NOM   pass-1SG.O-leave-SS   first   go-RP-23PL
       the men passed us and went first.

(6)   *yalû*   *tûmang*   *kuka*   *laayantû,*
           ya=lû   tûmang   ku-ka   laayan=lû
           this=ABL   first   go-SS   PN=NOM

           baagût baagût,   *kuka,*   *kaa*   *yanggût yanggût*   *maangûtta*
           baagût~baagût   ku-ka   kaa   ya-gût~ya-gût   maangût-ta
           slowly~slowly   go-SS   somewhat   this-RSTR~this-RSTR   sit-SS
           From here he went first and Ryan went very slowly and kept sitting down here and
           there and

           mi   *nangka*   *takata*   *kungûlû,*
           mi   na-ka   ta-ka=ta   ku-ng-lû
           water   eat-SS   do-SS=do   go-DS-23
           kept drinking water as he went, and

           nûndû   *ulap ulap*   *dopa*   *kuyangang*   *nûngka*
           nûndû   {{ulap~ulap   dom:wa   ku-ya-ng=nang}}   nû-ka
           1NSG   quickly~quickly   NEG:DUB   go-PRS-2SG=LOC   tell-SS
           we asked him, "You aren't going there too fast?", and

           tangûda   *baagût baagût*   *baneng*
           ta-ng-da   {{baagût~baagût   ba-ne-ng}}
           do-DS-1NSG   slowly~slowly   come-IRR.PL-23NSG

           wan   *nûnûngka*   *taaka*
           wa-n   n-nû-ka   taa-ka
           that-ANA   1NSG.O-tell-SS   say-SS
           he told us and said, "You all come slowly" and

           damanggeka   *yalû,*   *tawaang*   *longkadopmûngka*   *mo,*
           damangge-ka   ya=lû   tawaang   lo-kadopm-ka   mo
           laugh-SS   this=ABL   mountain   go.up-arrive-SS   already
           we laughed, and from here we went up the mountain and okay,

           tawaang   *longkadopmûngka*   *adaampagûm.*
           tawaang   lo-kadopm-ka   adaampa-gû-m
           mountain   go.up-arrive-SS   rest-RP-1PL
           we went on top of the mountain and rested.

(7)   *adaampaka*   *sûglen*   *sakoka*   *mo*   *kugûmpek*   *i.*
           adaampa-ka   sûglen   sako-ka   mo   ku-gû-m=wek   idi
           rest-SS   strong   hold.3SG-SS   already   go-RP-1PL=DISJ   this.ANA
           We rested and gathered strength and went, and so on.

(8)   *nangkadekkû*   *kaalûnûpmangka*   *tûmang*   *kungûlû*
           nangkadek=lû   kaalû-n-kapmang-ka   tûmang   ku-ng-lû
           men=NOM   pass-1NSG.O-leave-SS   first   go-DS-23
           The men passed us and went first and

taamtaam   nûndû,   mandesûnang   yawangka   yalû,
[taamtaam   nûndû]   mande-sû=nang   y-tawang-ka   ya=lû
women   1NSG   back-23NSG.POSS=LOC 3NSG.O-leave-SS   this=ABL
we women followed behind them and from here

ku   nangkadekkû   kadang   dobûka   begûng.
ku   nangkadek=lû   kadang   dob-ka   be-gû-ng
go   men=NOM   bamboo   cut-SS   put.NSG-RP-23PL
going the men cut bamboo and put them.

(9)   *kadang   dobûka   bengûlû*
      kadang   dob-ka   be-ng-lû
      bamboo   cut-SS   put.NSG-DS-23
      They cut the bamboo and

taamtaam   ya   kugûm   na   taamûng   fentagût
taamtaam   ya   ku-gû-m   [na   taamûng   fentagût]
women   this   go-RP-1PL   man   woman   all

kadang   wa   isopmûtale   tamaakongka   yalû   ku,
[kadang   wa]   isopm-tale   ta-maa-kong-ka   ya=lû   ku
bamboo   that   hold-???   do-CMPL-TERM-SS   this=ABL   go
the women, we went here and all the men and women grabbed all the bamboo and
going from here,

mi   gatta   nangka   walû,
mi   gat-ta   na-ka   wa=lû
water   fill-SS   eat-SS   that=ABL
we filled [the bamboo pieces] up with water and drank and from there,

wusa   tawaang   kudu   kungkadopmûngka
[wusa   tawaang   kudu]   ku-kadopm-ka
PN   mountain   level.DIST go-arrive-SS
we went there to Wusa Mountain and

maangûtta   adaampaka   atta   yaabûngûda
maangût-ta   adaampa-ka   at-ta   yaa-b-ng-da
sit-SS   rest-SS   be-SS   3NSG.O-see-DS-1NSG
while we sat resting we saw

nantaam,   galang   tagûng.
{{nantaam   galang   ta-gû-ng}}
people   play   do-RP-23PL
the people playing [soccer down on the field below].

(10)   *galang   tanengka   taka   botbot   maangûtta,*
       {galang   ta-ne-ng=la}   ta-ka   bot~bot   maangût-ta
       play   do-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN   do-SS   group~group   sit-SS
       They were about to play and [the teams] were sitting in groups, and

belo   *utta*   *kekng*   *ompûlap*   *taaka*   *aatûkuka*

belo   ut-ta   [kekng   ompûlap]   taa-ka   aatûku-ka

bell   hit-SS   call   cheer   say-SS   remain-SS

they were ringing the bell and cheering

tang   *nûndû*   *wadûgût*   *ku*   *tawaang*   *kadû*   *maangûtta,*

ta-ng   [nûndû   wadûgût]   ku   [tawaang   kadû]   maangût-ta

do-DS   1NSG   too   go   mountain   level.PROX   sit-SS

and we too going sat on the mountain there, and

kekng   *taaka*   *kekng*   *ompûlap*   *taaka*

kekng   taa-ka   [kekng   ompûlap]   taa-ka

call   say-SS   call   cheer   say-SS   say-SS

we yelled out and cheered and

yaabûyaangka   *tagûm*   *wa*   *tagû*   *mongka*   *kugûm.*

yaabûyaang-ka   ta-gû-m   wa   ta-gû   mo-ka   ku-gû-m

look.around-SS   do-RP-1PL   that   do-DUR   go.down-SS   go-RP-1PL

we watched them and then went down and we went.

(11)   *kaasingang*   *mongkadopmûngka*

     kaasingang   mo-kadopm-ka

     PN   go.down-arrive-SS

     We went down to Kesengen and

nûndû   *taamtaam*   *kaafeng*   *fuku*   *bemaakongka*

[nûndû   taamtaam]   kaafeng   fuku   be-maa-kong-ka

1NSG   women   coffee   take.NSG   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS

we women took the coffee and put it and

nangkadekkû   *kaadûp*   *sang*   *fuku*   *kapmalang*

nangkadek=lû   [kaadûp   sang]   fuku   kapmalang

men=NOM   wood   piece   take.NSG   underneath.house

bemaakongûlû,   *galang*   *tagûngang*   *kugûm.*

be-maa-kong-ng-lû   {galang   ta-gû-ng=nang}   ku-gû-m

put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-DS-23   play   do-RP-23PL=LOC   go-RP-1PL

the men put the coffee underneath the house, and we went to where they were
playing.

(12)   *kum*   *yaabûka*   *galang,*   *galang*   *tamaakongka,*

     kum   yaa-b-ka   galang   galang   ta-maa-kong-ka

     down.DIST   3NSG.O-see-SS   play   play   do-CMPL-TERM-SS

     We watched them play and when they finished playing,

laayan   *kaang*   *aapong*   *tûmang*   *laabûka*   *bangûlû*   *mo,*

[laayan   kaang   aapong]   tûmang   laab-ka   ba-ng-lû   mo

PN   two   PN   first   come.up-SS   come-DS-23   already

Ryan and Apong came up first and after they came,

558

taamtaam   den   nûndû   mandesûnang,
[taamtaam   den]   nûndû   mande-sû=nang
women   some   1NSG   back-23NSG.POSS=LOC

fom   laabûka   bagûm
fom   laab-ka   ba-gû-m
together   come.up-SS   come-RP-1PL
some of us women came up together after them and came

tang   taamtaam   den   nangkadek   den
ta-ng   [taamtaam   den]   nangkadek   den]
do-DS   women   some   men   some

galang   taka   wangaatûkugû   idi,
galang   ta-ka   wa=ngaatûku-gû   idi
play   do-SS   there=remain-DUR   this.ANA
and some women and some men kept playing, and

mandeng   tandonta   walû   saaut   ya   bangkadopmûnggûm.
mandeng   tandonta   wa=lû   saaut   ya   ba-kadopm-gû-m
next   night   that=NOM   PN   here   come-arrive-RP-1PL
next, in the night we came here to Saut.

skc10_01   What I Did Yesterday

Setting: Collected during a language-learning session with our MM teacher in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Personal narrative (oral)
Summary: Recounts the speaker's activities the previous day
Speaker: Hefore Bitoin (1979), Female, Grade 6, Saut

(1)   *kep   wan   tagot.*
       kep   wa-n   ta-go-t
       yesterday   that-ANA   do-RP-1SG
       This is what I did yesterday.

(2)   *taamengsla   aakngka,   sûbat   sûnamaakongka   idi,*
       taamengsla   aakng-ka   sûbat   sûna-maa-kong-ka   idi
       morning   arise-SS   food   cook.eat-CMPL-TERM-SS this.ANA
       I got up in the morning, and after having breakfast,

       badaang   sakoka,   kaadûp   uleka,
       {badaang   sako-ka   kaadûp   ule-ka
       firewood.rope   hold.3SG-SS   wood   break-SS

       dinambong   begûmmang,   wala   kugot.
       dinambong   be-gû-m=nang}   wala   ku-go-t
       PN   put.NSG-RP-1PL=LOC   so   go-RP-1SG
       (since) we had gotten rope and broken firewood and put it at Dinambong, I went there.

559

(3)   *kuu,   kaadûp   wa   dûdûmetta   febû   beka   idi,*

ku~u	[kaadûp	wa]	dûdûmet-ta	feb	be-ka	idi
go~EXT	wood	that	bind-SS	bring.NSG	put.NSG-SS	this.ANA

Going, I tied up the firewood and after bringing and putting it,

febû   gebûng   beka   idi,

feb	gebûng	be-ka	idi
bring.NSG	inside	put.NSG-SS	this.ANA

bringing and putting it inside,

mandeng, nantaam   isit   dong   tagûng,

mandeng	{{{nantaam	isit	dong	ta-gû-ng}}
next	people	kunai	search	do-RP-23PL

yaabetta   logot.

yaa-b-e-t=la}	lo-go-t
3NSG.O-see-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN	go.up-RP-1SG

next, I went up to see the people gathering kunai grass.

(4)   *lo   isit   dong   taka   aatûkugû   idi,*

lo	isit	dong	ta-ka	aatûku-gû	idi
go.up	kunai	search	do-SS	remain-DUR	this.ANA

After going up and gathering kunai grass for a while,

tafala   tang   maa   bagûm.

tafala	ta-ng	maa	ba-gû-m
afternoon	do-DS	wholly	come-RP-1PL

in the afternoon we came back.

skc10_11   How They Replace Kunai on an Old House

Setting: Collected during a language-learning session with our MM teacher in our bush house in Saut Village
Genre: Procedural (oral)
Summary: Explanation of the steps taken to replace rotting kunai grass roofs
Speaker: Hefore Bitoin (1979), Female, Grade 6, Saut

(1)   *yot   tûmen   ufûmangka   obûnengka*

{[yot	tûmen]	uf-mang-ka	ob-ne-ng=la}
house	old	shed-fall-SS	break-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN

wan   tawangang.

wa-n	ta-wang-nang
that-ANA	do-PRS:23PL-HAB

This is what they do to replace the kunai grass (lit. 'shed and break') (on) an old house.

(2)   *tûmang   isit   dong   taka   febû   bemaakongka,*

tûmang	isit	dong	ta-ka	feb	be-maa-kong-ka
first	kunai	gather	do-SS	bring.NSG	put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS

First they gather kunai grass and bring and put them all [in the village], and

gelûngan   dong   kuka   febûka,
gelûngan   dong   ku-ka   feb-ka
vine   search   go-ss   bring.NSG-SS
they go find vines and bring them, and

kuyang   dong   kuka   febû   beka,
kuyang   dong   ku-ka   feb   be-ka
stick   search   go-ss   bring.NSG put.NSG-SS
they go find sticks and bring them and put them, and

kuyang   mangka   palak   taka   idi,
kuyang   mang-ka   palak   ta-ka   idi
stick   erect-SS   frame   do-SS   this.ANA
they stand up the sticks and (once they've) built the scaffolding,

nalû   lo   gekan   tamaakongka
na=lû   lo   gekan   ta-maa-kong-ka
man=NOM   go.up   slat   do-CMPL-TERM-SS
men go up and make all the roof slats and

dentû   kun   atta   dentû   obûlok   kun   akngûlû,
den=lû   kun   at-ta   den=lû   {ob=lok}   kun   at-ng-lû
some=NOM   up.DIST be-SS   some=NOM   break=POT   up.DIST be-DS-23
some stay on top to break [the kunai grass], and

dentû   kam   atta   isit   lakong   kun   longûlû
den=lû   kam   at-ta   isit   lakong-ng   kun   lo-ng-lû
some=NOM   down.PROX be-SS   isit   kunai   throw.NSG-DS up.DIST go.up-DS-23
some=NOM   down.PROX be-SS   kunai   throw.NSG-DS up.DIST go.up-DS-23
some stay down below and throw the kunai grass up, and

yot   obûwangang.
yot   ob-wang-nang
house   break-PRS:23PL-HAB
they put kunai on (lit. 'break') the house.

(3) *yot   tûmen   ufûmangka   obûnengka*
     {[yot   tûmen]   uf-mang-ka   ob-ne-ng=la}
     house   old   shed-fall-SS   break-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN

     wan   tawangang.
     wa-n   ta-wang-nang
     that-ANA do-PRS:23PL-HAB
     That is what they do to replace the kunai grass (lit. 'shed and break') (on) an old house.

skc11_02e   The Old Man and the Rooster

(1) *nantaang   bantû   bagonengka   dom   sûnûk   naandûka*
     [na=taang   ban=lû]   bagone-ka   dom   sûnûk   naandû-ka
     man=elderly   a=NOM   sick-SS   NEG   real   feel-SS
     An elderly man was sick and didn't feel well and

     tamek   ban   sakoka   kagang   monggok.
     [tamek   ban]   sako-ka   kagang   mo-go-k
     bed   a   hold.3SG-SS outside   go.down-RP-3SG
     grabbed a bed and went outside.

(2) *mongka   tamek   wika   gola   dogok.*
     mo-ka   tamek   wi-ka   go=la   do-go-k
     go.down-SS   bed   make.bed-SS sun=BEN   sleep-RP-3SG
     He went outside and made the bed and slept in the sun.

(3) *tangûlû   kobûse   naan   bantû   bagok.*
     ta-ng-lû   [kobûse   naan   ban=lû]   ba-go-k
     do-DS-23   chicken   male   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
     And a rooster came.

(4) *tang   nantaang   wasûlû   mumung*
     ta-ng   [na=taang   wa-s=lû]   mumung
     do-DS   man=elderly that-LK=NOM   loincloth

     kaalingût   dom   gaaigok
     kaalin-gût   dom   gaai-go-k
     good-RSTR   NEG   fasten.on.waist-RP-3SG
     And the old man hadn't fastened his loincloth well

     tang   yaabi   naaintû   genang   fûka   agok.
     ta-ng   [yaabi   naain=lû]   genang   fû-ka   at-go-k
     do-DS   genitals egg=NOM   clearing   come.down-SS be-RP-3SG
     and his testicals were coming down into the open.

(5) *tang   kobûse   naan   walû   taaweng   membû   nangka*
     ta-ng   [kobûse   naan   wa=lû]   {[taaweng   membû]   na-ka
     do-DS   chicken   male   that=NOM taro.sp   head   eat-SS

     lakombaan   nangka   kaapmûnggem   baka
     lakong-baan}   na-ka   kaapmûnggem   ba-ka
     throw.NSG-NMLZ   eat-SS   near   come-SS
     And the rooster was eating the heads of the taro (the people) were eating and throwing, and came near and

yaabi naain flong yokngûlû
[yaabi naain flong] yot-ng-lû
genitals egg ALL poke-DS-23
it pecked at his testicals and

nantaang wasûlû aatûmpa fentagût kaamgok.
[na=taang wa-s=lû] aatûm-pa fentagût kaam-go-k
man=elderly that-LK=NOM startle-SS completely die-RP-3SG
the elderly man got startled and completely died.

(6) *nonang ulak wadûng membûgût.*
[nonang ulak] wa-dûng membû-gût
1SG:GEN story that-ADV just-RSTR
My story is just like that.

skc11_04d   A Dream I Had

Summary: Tells about dreaming of a demon attack and accidentally grabbing her son in her sleep

(1) *dapmon doka lagamaandû ban wan tagot.*
dapmon do-ka [lagamaandû ban wa-n] ta-go-t
sleep sleep-SS dream a that-ANA do-RP-1SG
I slept and had this dream.

(2) *kangala manggat bantû*
ka-ng-la {{[manggat ban=lû]
see.3SG-DS-1SG demon a=NOM

kap tete takata bagok.
[kap te~te] ta-ka=ta ba-go-k}}
dance dance~dance do-SS=do come-RP-3SG
I saw a demon shuffling as he came.

(3) *na wa kaka yaayaa baasûng wa taagot.*
[na wa] ka-ka [yaayaa baasûng wa] taa-go-t
man that see.3SG-SS scream big that say-RP-1SG
I saw that man and let out a big scream.

(4) *taangala ilaailû aatûmpa*
taa-ng-la ilaai=lû aatûm-pa
say-DS-1SG PN=NOM startle-SS
And Eli was startled and

walû wadûgût yaayaa taagok!
wa=lû wadûgût yaayaa taa-go-k
that=NOM too scream say-RP-3SG
he screamed too!

(5) *nak   manggat   sakolat   taaka*
     nak   {{manggat   sako-la-t}}   taa-ka
     1SG   demon   hold.3SG-PRS-1SG say-SS
     I thought I grabbed the demon,

     ilaai   gengnang   sakoka   nûnggot,
     [ilaai   geng=nang]   sako-ka   nû-go-t
     PN   jaw=LOC   hold.3SG-SS   tell-RP-1SG
     but I grabbed at Eli's jaw and told him,

     kaaup   ale!   mo   dibitûlat!
     {{kaaup   at-e   mo   dibitû-la-t}}
     quiet   be-IRR.SG   already   pinch-PRS-1SG
     "Be quiet! I'm pinching him!"

(6) *taaka   yaalû yaalû   mitaka   yaayaa   kekng*
     taa-ka   yaalû~yaalû   mita-ka   yaayaa   kekng
     say-SS   two~two   fear-SS   scream   call

     baasûng   sangaanggût   dom   taagûmot.
     baasûng   sangaanggût   dom   taa-gû-mot
     big   quietly   NEG   say-RP-1DU
     And we were both afraid and screamed and cried out loud.

(7) *mandeng   naandûtompa*
     mandeng   naandûtom-pa
     later   realize-SS
     Later we realized it and

     damanggek   sangaanggût   dom   taagûmot.
     damanggek   sangaanggût   dom   taa-gû-mot
     laugh   quietly   NEG   say-RP-1DU
     laughed out loud.

(8) *nantaampû   naandûka   banûnûnggûng,*
     nantaam=lû   naandû-ka   ba-n-nû-gû-ng
     people=NOM   know-SS   come-1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL
     People heard it and came asking us,

     maasû   taka   taawaamok?
     {{maasû   ta-ka   taa-waa-mok}}
     which   do-SS   say-PRS-23DU
     "What happened for you to scream?"

(9) *taang   nak   yenûnggot,*
     taa-ng   nak   ye-nû-go-t
     say-DS   1SG   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG
     And I told them,

dom,   lagamaandû   taka   taawaamot,   yenûnggot.
{{dom   lagamaandû   ta-ka   taa-waa-mot}}   ye-nû-go-t
NEG   dream   do-SS   say-PRS-1DU   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG
"No, I had a dream and we screamed," I told them.

skc11_05b   Two Men and a Pineapple

Setting: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts
Genre: Legendary narrative (written)
Summary: Tells about two men, one of whom tries to steal the other's pineapple
Author: Bazakiec Roy (1987), Female, Grade 10, Saut

(1) *tûmanggût   ban   na   yaalû   kagat   ban*
tûmang-gût   ban   [na   yaalû]   [kagat   ban]
before-RSTR   a   man   two   village   a

aatûkuwaagûmokngang.
aatûku-waa-gû-mok-nang
remain-PFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
A long time ago two men lived in a village.

(2) *na   yaalû   udû   yot   nûnggût   aatigûmokngang,*
[na   yaalû   udu]   [yot   nûnggût]   at-i-gû-mok-nang
man   two   that.ANA   house   one   be-IPFV.HAB-23DU-HAB
The two men were living in one house,

wanggûtnang   fi   tanak   malom malom   taigûmokngang.
wanggûtnang   [fi   tanak]   malom~malom   ta-i-gû-mok-nang
but   work   gardening   owner~owner   do-IPFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
but they each did their own gardening.

(3) *naai   ban   flong   na   bantû*
[naai   ban   flong]   [na   ban=lû]
time   a   ALL   man   a=NOM

kadet   kugokngang   baka   kagok,
kadet   {ku-go-k=nang}   ba-ka   ka-go-k
garden   go-RP-3SG=LOC   come-SS   see.3SG-RP-3SG
One time one of the men came to the garden where (the other) went and saw,

na   bantûnang   bulûnap   ban   gemnengka   agok.
{{[na   ban=lûnang]   [bulûnap   ban]   gemne-ka   at-go-k}}
man   a=GEN   pineapple   a   ripen-SS   be-RP-3SG
the other man's pineapple was ripe.

(4) *tang   kaka   gebûng   maa   bagok.*
ta-ng   ka-ka   gebûng   maa   ba-go-k
do-DS   see.3SG-SS   inside   wholly   come-RP-3SG
And he saw it and came back home.

(5) | *tang* | *nolû* | | *ban* | *walû* | *wadûgût* | *baka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ta-ng | [nolû | | ban | wa=lû] | wadûgût | ba-ka |
| do-DS | brother.3SG.POSS | | a | that=NOM | too | come-SS |

And other brother came too and

bulûnap	*nûnggût*	*wanggût*	*kaka*	*bagok.*
[bulûnap	nûnggût	wa-gût]	ka-ka	ba-go-k
pineapple	one	that-RSTR	see.3SG-SS	come-RP-3SG

saw that very same pineapple and came.

(6) | *baka* | *nolû* | | *wa* | *dom* | *nûnggok.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba-ka | [nolû | | wa] | dom | nû-go-k |
| come-SS | brother.3SG.POSS | | that | NEG | tell-RP-3SG |

He came and didn't tell his brother.

(7)	*taka*	*sûbat*	*sûnangkongka*	*tandontang*	*kaka*
ta-ka	sûbat	sûna-kong-ka	tandonta-ng	ka-ka
do-SS	food	cook.eat-TERM-SS	night-DS	see.3SG-SS

And after finishing eating, when it was night he saw

nolû		*ban*	*walû*	*ban*	*wa*	*dom*	*nûngka*
{{[nolû		ban	wa=lû]	[ban	wa]	dom	nû-ka
brother.3SG.POSS		a	that=NOM	a	that	NEG	tell-SS

the other brother not tell him and

tûmang	*blaangkongka*	*bulûnap*	*agokngang*	*wa*	*kugok.*
tûmang	blaangkong-ka	{bulûnap	at-go-k=nang	wa}	ku-go-k
first	jump-SS	pineapple	be-RP-3SG=LOC	there	go-RP-3SG

get up first and go to where the pineapple was.

(8) | *tang* | *nolû* | | *ban* | *walû* | *mandenang* | *blaangkongka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ta-ng | [nolû | | ban | wa=lû] | manden=nang | blaangkong-ka |
| do-DS | brother.3SG.POSS | | a | that=NOM | back=LOC | jump-SS |

And this other brother jumped up after him and

kame	*nûnggût*	*wa*	*kugok.*
[kame	nûnggût	wa]	ku-go-k
ground	one	that	go-RP-3SG

went to that same place.

(9) | *tandontagût* | *nolû* | | *ban* | *walû* | *bulûnap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tandonta-gût | [nolû | | ban | wa=lû] | {bulûnap |
| night-RSTR | brother.3SG.POSS | | a | that=NOM | pineapple |

sakobekka		*taka*	*kosaan*	*kesuwanggok.*
sako-be-k=la}		ta-ka	kosaan	kesuwang-go-k
hold.3SG-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN		do-SS	side	reach.for-RP-3SG

Still that night, the other brother reached out on the side to grab the pineapple.

(10) | *tang* | *nolû* | | *ban* | *walû* | *kosaan* | *kesuwangka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ta-ng | [nolû | | ban | wa=lû] | kosaan | kesuwang-ka |
| do-DS | brother.3SG.POSS | | a | that=NOM | side | reach.for-SS |

But this other brother reached from the (other) side and

kelû	*sakoka*	*atûmpa*	*makogok.*
kelû	sako-ka	aatûm-pa	mako-go-k
hand	hold.3SG-SS	startle-SS	run.away-RP-3SG

grabbed his hand and was startled and ran away.

(11) | *nonang* | *ulak* | *ba* | *wan* | *aawelak.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [nonang | ulak] | ba | wa-n | aawe-la-k |
| 1SG:GEN | story | come | that-ANA | finish-PRS-3SG |

My story come to finish like that.

skc11_12b   Two Cousins and the Snake

Setting: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts
Genre: Personal narrative (written)
Summary: Tells about a man's fight with a snake while his cousin abandons him
Author: Noel Jack (1987), Male, Grade 10, Sawana

(1) | *tûmanggût* | *sûnûk* | *yenûmûnit* | | *yaalûlû* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tûmang-gût | sûnûk | [ye-nimin-nit | | yaalû=lû] |
| before-RSTR | real | NSG-cousin.3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS:COM | | two=NOM |

mukuya	*moin*	*dong*	*bûsenang*	*kugûmok.*
[mukuya	moin]	dong	bûsenang	ku-gû-mok
pig	wild	search	jungle	go-RP-23DU

A long time ago two cousins went looking for wild pigs in the jungle.

(2) | *tafet* | *aakngka* | *taba* | *isopmûngka* | *kugûmok.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tafet | aakng-ka | taba | isopm-ka | ku-gû-mok |
| midnight | arise-SS | bow | hold.3NSG-SS | go-RP-23DU |

They got up in the night and grabbed their bows and left.

(3) | *taawaagût* | *walû* | *bûsenang* | *kungkadopmûngka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| taawaa-gût | wa=lû | bûsenang | ku-kadopm-ka |
| ridge-RSTR | that=ABL | jungle | go-arrive-SS |

Following the ridge they went into the jungle and

nimin	*bantû*	*mukuya*	*kadelûnang*	*wompa*	*agok.*
[nimin	ban=lû]	[mukuya	kadelû=nang]	wom-pa	at-go-k
cousin.3SG.POSS	a=NOM	pig	road.3SG.POSS=LOC	watch-SS	be-RP-3SG

one of the cousins watched on the pig track.

(4) | *tangûlû* | *nimin* | | *bantû* | *kubalang* | *mongka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ta-ng-lû | [nimin | | ban=lû] | kubalang | mo-ka |
| do-DS-23 | cousin.3SG.POSS | | other=NOM | valley | go.down-SS |

And the other cousin went down into the valley and

mukuya   *moin*   *ban*   *tawangûlû*
[mukuya   moin   ban]   tawang-ng-lû
pig   wild   a   follow-DS-23
chased a wild pig

nimin   *agokngang*   *kun*   *logok.*
{nimin   at-go-k=nang   kun}   lo-go-k
cousin.3SG.POSS   be-RP-3SG=LOC   up.DIST   go.up-RP-3SG
up to where his cousin was.

(5)   *na*   *kadetmeng*   *wompa*   *agokngang*   *udu*
{na   kadetmeng   wom-pa   at-go-k=nang   udu}
man   main.road   watch.SS   be-RP-3SG=LOC   that.ANA
Where the man was watching on the main road,

gamat   *kusamba*   *ban*   *kaadûp*   *flong*   *gûgaanengka*
[gamat   kusamba   ban]   [kaadûp   flong]   gûgaane-ka
snake   big   a   tree   ALL   wrap.around-SS
a big snake wrapped around a tree and

membû   *ta*   *mukuya*   *kadet*   *flong*   *tûka*   *agok.*
membû   ta   [mukuya   kadet   flong]   tû-ka   at-go-k
head   get.SG   pig   road   ALL   put.SG-SS   be-RP-3SG
put its head down onto the pig road.

(6)   *mukuya*   *tawangûlû*   *longkadopmûnggok*   *walong,*
mukuya   tawang-ng-lû   lo-kadopm-go-k   wa=long
pig   follow-DS-23   go.up-arrive-RP-3SG   that=ALL
When he chased the pig up,

gamattû   *mukuya*   *sakodlûp*   *tang*
gamat=lû   {mukuya   sako-dlûp}   ta-ng
snake=NOM   pig   hold.3SG-FRST   do-DS
the snake missed grabbing the pig,

makong   *mongka*   *na*   *bûkngaan*   *flong*
mako-ng   mo-ka   [na   bûkngaan   flong]
run.away-DS   go.down-SS   man   neck   ALL

sangengka   *flûsegok.*
sangeng-ka   flûse-go-k
hold.with.teeth-SS   constrict-RP-3SG
and (the pig) running away, (the snake) went down and grabbed onto the man's neck (with its teeth) and coiled around him.

(7)   *tangûlû*   *nimintû*   *wadûngûn*   *kaka*
ta-ng-lû   nimin=lû   wa-dûng-in   ka-ka
do-DS-23   cousin.3SG.POSS=NOM   that-ADV-ANA   see.3SG-SS
And the cousin saw what happened and

teblongkalok   *akngûlû*
{teblongka=lok}   at-ng-lû
help.3SG=POT   be-DS-23
was there to help,

makoka   *kagang*   *maa*   *kugok.*
mako-ka   kagang   maa   ku-go-k
run.away-SS   village   wholly   go-RP-3SG
(but) he ran away back to the village.

(8)   *tangûlû*   *nimintû,*   *neflongkaweng,*
     ta-ng-lû   nimin=lû   {{n-eflongka-be-ng
     do-DS-23   cousin.3SG.POSS=NOM   1SG.O-help-IRR.SG-2SG

     neflongkawe,   *taagok.*
     n-eflongka-be}}   taa-go-k
     1SG.O-help-IRR.SG   say-RP-3SG
     And the cousin said, "Help me, help me!"

(9)   *dom*   *tangûlû*   *gamattût*   *mûkaamgûmok.*
     dom   ta-ng-lû   gamat=tit   mûkaam-gû-mok
     NEG   do-DS-23   snake=COM   fight-RP-23DU
     He didn't, and [the other cousin] fought with the snake.

(10)   *yan*   *mûkaamgû*   *na*   *walû*   *gamat*   *wa*   *membûnang*
     ya-n   mûkaam-gû   [na   wa=lû]   [gamat   wa   membû=nang]
     this-ANA   fight-DUR   man   that=NOM   snake   that   head=LOC

     sûblaakng   *kaamgok.*
     sûblaat-ng   kaam-go-k
     bite.down-DS   die-RP-3SG
     Fighting it, the man bit down onto the snake's head and it died.

(11)   *wadûng*   *membûgût.*
     wa-dûng   membû-gût
     that-ADV   just-RSTR
     (It was) just like that.

skc11_13   **Follow the Good Road**

<u>Setting</u>: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts
<u>Genre</u>: Expository (written)
<u>Summary</u>: Explains that one must follow God's customs in order to go to Heaven
<u>Author</u>: Maigao Toni (1987), Male, Grade 4, Maulak

(1)   *aanutulû*   *kunum*   *kame*   *taka*
     aanutu=lû   [kunum   kame]   ta-ka
     God=NOM   Heaven   Earth   do-SS
     God made Heaven and Earth and

> *na nûndû taka nûpmanggok.*
> [na nûndû] ta-ka n-kapmang-go-k
> man 1NSG do-SS 1NSG.O-leave-RP-3SG
> created us men.

(2) *kunum flong tata kaalin attak.*
   [kunum flong] [tata kaalin] at-ta-k
   Heaven ALL custom good be-PRS-3SG
   In Heaven there are good customs.

(3) *wala nûndû wadûgût kame flong tawangka aatûkugû*
   wala nûndû wadûgût [kame flong] tawang-ka aatûku-gû
   so 1NSG also Earth ALL follow-SS remain-DUR
   So we also must keep following him on Earth until

> *aanutu kekng taangûlû yesulû nûnaanggûtta*
> aanutu kekng taa-ng-lû yesu=lû n-naanggût-ta
> God call say-DS-23 Jesus=NOM 1NSG.O-get-SS
> God shouts and Jesus gets us

> *kunum flong nûpmambek.*
> [kunum flong] n-kapmang-be-k
> Heaven ALL 1NSG.O-leave-IRR.SG-3SG
> and puts us in Heaven.

(4) *kadet kaalin dom tawangka idi*
   [kadet kaalin] dom tawang-ka idi
   road good NEG follow-SS this.ANA
   If we do not follow the good road

> *bepmek kusamba dom kanûm.*
> [bep-nek kusamba] dom ka-nûm
> father-1NSG.POSS big NEG see.3SG-IRR.PL:1NSG
> we will not see our big Father.

(5) *kaadûp daalangkûnang gegût taamaanûm.*
   [kaadûp daalang=lûnang] gegût taa-maa-nûm
   fire dangerous.place=GEN story say-CMPL-IRR.PL:1NSG
   We will belong to Hell.[41]

(6) *kadet kaalin tawangka aatûkuka*
   [kadet kaalin] tawang-ka aatûku-ka
   road good follow-SS remain-SS
   If we keep following the good road and

---

[41] This translation is based on the proferred Tok Pisin translation, "Mipela bai bilong paia tasol." Perhaps *gegût* 'story' has a different meaning here as a light verb complement.

nunum	*fi*	*taka*	*aatûkugû*
[nunum	fi]	ta-ka	aatûku-gû
prayer	work	do-SS	remain-DUR

continue to devote (ourselves) to prayer,

gelû	*aanutunek*	*kameng*	*kunûm.*
gelû	[aanutu-nek	kameng]	ku-nûm
alright	God-1NSG.POSS	property	go-IRR.PL-1NSG

we may go to our God's place.

(7) *yenggûlong.*
yenggûlong
thank.you
Thank you.

skc11_16   The Source of the Name "Ma Manda"

<u>Setting</u>: Written shortly after the orthography workshop and brought to Ukarumpa (SIL's center); later re-written with some details added
<u>Genre</u>: Legendary narrative (written)
<u>Summary</u>: Tells the story of the origin of the name "Ma Manda", when the people had no mouths or eyes and a magical man came and fixed the malady by way of a ritual.
<u>Author</u>: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

(1)
tûmanggût tûmanggût	*sûnûk*	*kagat*	*wasit*
tûmang-gût~tûmang-gût	sûnûk	[kagat	wasit
before-RSTR~before-RSTR	real	village	that:COM

nantaam	*ya*	*dom*	*agûng.*
nantaam]	ya	dom	at-gû-ng
people	this	NEG	be-RP-23PL

A very long time ago the village and people weren't here.

(2)
naai	*waslong*	*nantaam*	*den*	*yolangan*	*aatigûngang.*
[naai	wa=slong]	[nantaam	den]	yolangan	at-i-gû-ng-nang
time	that=ALL	people	some	PN	be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

At that time some people were living in Yolangan.

(3)
mensû	*bûpmbaan*	*daausû*	*bûpmbaan*
men-sû	{bûpm-baan}	daau-sû	{bûpm-baan}
mouth-23NSG.POSS	close-NMLZ	eye-23NSG.POSS	close-NMLZ

Their mouths were closed, their eyes were closed,

kelûsû	*kayong*	*wadûgût*	*bûpmbaan.*
[kelû-sû	kayong]	wadûgût	{bûpm-baan}
hand-23NSG.POSS	leg	too	close-NMLZ

and their hands and legs were also closed.

(4)
sûbat	*kangsûnang*	*nawaagûngang.*
[sûbat	kang-sû=nang]	na-waa-gû-ng-nang
food	scalp-23NSG.POSS=LOC	eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB

They would eat on their scalps.

(5) *met   bûsang   seka   uleka*
    met   bûsang   se-ka   ule-ka
    taro.sp cook.over.fire cook-SS   break-SS
    They would cook taro over the fire and break it and

    kangsûnang   daasûng   nawaagûngang.
    kang-sû=nang   daasû-ng   na-waa-gû-ng-nang
    scalp-23NSG.POSS=ALL   put.in-DS   eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
    putting it in on their scalps they would eat.

(6) *tangûlû   na   bantû   bagok.*
    ta-ng-lû   [na   ban=lû]   ba-go-k
    do-DS-23   man   a=NOM   come-RP-3SG
    And a man came.

(7) *baka   ba   mi   nambut   bangkadopmûnggok.*
    ba-ka   ba   [mi   nambut]   ba-kadopm-go-k
    come-SS   come   water   PN   come-arrive-RP-3SG
    He came and coming, he arrived at the Nambut River.

(8) *taka   mi   wa   fûdûtta   naandûgok*
    ta-ka   [mi   wa]   fûdût-ta   naandû-go-k
    do-SS   water   that   smell-SS   know-RP-3SG
    And he smelled the water,

    mi   u   kon   kaabûng   fûdûgok.
    [mi   udu]   kon   kaabûng   fûdût-go-k
    water   that.ANA blessing   smell   smell-RP-3SG
    and that water smelled good.

(9) *naandûka   na   walû   mi   nambut   wa   tawangka   agok.*
    naandû-ka   [na   wa=lû]   [mi   nambut   wa]   tawang-ka   at-go-k
    know-SS   man   that=NOM water   PN   that   follow-SS   be-RP-3SG
    And the man followed the Nambut River.

(10) *walû   walû   mendaan   mi   flong*
     wa=lû   wa=lû   [mendaan   mi   flong]
     that=ABL   that=ABL   PN   water   ALL

     kam   bangkadopmûnggok   taka   naandûgok,
     kam   ba-kadopm-go-k   ta-ka   naandû-go-k
     down.PROX   come-arrive-RP-3SG   do-SS   know-RP-3SG
     Going and going from there, he came below to the Mendan river and he smelled it.

(11) *nambut   mi   kaabûng   dom   fûdûgok,   naandûgok.*
     [nambut   mi]   kaabûng   dom   fûdût-go-k   naandû-go-k
     PN   water   smell   NEG   smell-RP-3SG   know-RP-3SG
     He didn't smell the Nambut River,

572

mendaan   mi   walû   kaabûng   fudûgok   naandûka
{{[mendaan   mi   wa=lû]   kaabûng   fûdût-go-k}}   naandû-ka
PN   water   that=NOM   smell   smell-RP-3SG   know-SS
the Mendan River smelled and he smelled it and

mi   wa   tawangka   logok.
[mi   wa]   tawang-ka   lo-go-k
water   that   follow-SS   go.up-RP-3SG
followed the river up.

(12) *loka   yaabûgok,*
      lo-ka   yaa-b-go-k
      go.up-SS   3NSG.O-see-RP-3SG
      He went up and saw,

      nantaam   mensit   dom   daausit   dom
      {{nantaam   men-sit   dom   daau-sit   dom
      people   mouth-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG   eye-23NSG.POSS:COM   NEG
      the people did not have mouths, and they did not have eyes,

      kelûsû   kayong   bûpmbaan.
      [kelû-sû   kayong]   {bûpm-baan}}}
      hand-23NSG.POSS   leg   close-NMLZ
      and their hands and legs were closed up.

(13) *wadûngûn   yaabûka   na   walû   beng*
      wa-dûng-in   yaa-b-ka   [na   wa=lû]   beng
      that-ADV-ANA   3NSG.O-SS   man   that=NOM   pandanus

      dong   kugok.
      dong   ku-go-k
      search   go-RP-3SG
      He saw that and the man went looking for pandanus.

(14) *kuka   beng   datta   baalûp   wobûka*
      ku-ka   beng   dat-ta   baalûp   wob-ka
      go-SS   pandanus pluck-SS   tree.sp   break-SS
      He went and plucked pandanus and broke *baalûp* (tree bark) and

      munggup   ban   sakoka
      [munggup   ban]   sako-ka
      snake.sp   a   hold.3SG-SS
      grabbed a *mungup* snake and

      baalûp   yakngang   kum   daasûka   bagok.
      baalûp   [yak=nang   kum]   daasû-ka   ba-go-k
      tree.sp   bilum=LOC   down.DIST   put.in-SS   come-RP-3SG
      put the *baalûp* bark down inside the bilum and came.

(15) *baka*   *yaabûka*   *beng*   *sûnanggûng,*
   ba-ka   yaa-b-ka   beng   sûna-gû-ng
   come-SS 3NSG.O-see-SS pandanus cook.eat-RP-23PL
   He came and saw them and they were cooking and eating pandanus,

   ni   *beng*   *segok.*
   ni   beng   se-go-k
   3SG.EMPH pandanus cook-RP-3SG
   HE cooked the pandanus.

(16) *taka*   *yenûnggok*   *sûdû* *kûda*   *seneng,*
   ta-ka   ye-nû-go-k   {{sûdû kûda   se-ne-ng
   do-SS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG 23NSG greens cook-IRR.PL-23NSG
   And he told them, "You cook the greens,

   naknga *beng*   *setaat.*
   nak-nga beng   se-taa-t}}
   1SG-EMPH pandanus cook-FUT-1SG
   I will cook the pandanus."

(17) *wadûng* *yenûngka* *sûnanggûng* *beng.*
   wa-dûng ye-nû-ka   sûna-gû-ng   beng
   that-ADV 3NSG.O-tell-SS cook.eat-RP-23PL pandanus
   He told them like that and they cooked and ate, the pandanus.

(18) *na*   *walû*   *beng* *seng* *nantaam* *walû*
   [na   wa=lû] beng se-ng [nantaam wa=lû]
   man that=NOM pandanus cook-DS people that=NOM

   kûda   *segûng.*
   kûda   se-gû-ng
   greens cook-RP-23PL
   The man cooked the pandanus, and the people cooked the greens.

(19) *na*   *walû*   *baalûp* *yak*   *tebû*
   [na   wa=lû] [baalûp yak] teb
   man that=NOM tree.sp bilum bring.SG
   The man bringing the *baalûp* bilum,

   debûngsûnang   *tûka*   *yenûnggok,*
   debûng-sû=nang   tû-ka   ye-nû-go-k
   front-23NSG.POSS=LOC put.SG-SS 3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG
   (he) put it in front of them and told them,

   baalûp *tamaleka* *kadangang*   *daasûneng.*
   {{baalûp tamamale-ka kadang=nang daasû-ne-ng}}
   tree.sp straighten-SS bamboo=LOC put.in-IRR.PL-23NSG
   Straighten the *baalûp* bark and put it inside the bamboo.

(20) *wan   yenûngka   baalûp   yak   wa   ta*
wa-n   ye-nû-ka   [baalûp   yak   wa]   ta
that-ANA   3NSG.O-tell-SS tree.sp   bilum   that   get.SG
He told them that and getting the *baalûp* bilum

weknggût   tûka   obûneng   yenûnggok.
wekng-gût   tû-ka   {{wob-ne-ng}}   ye-nû-go-k
middle-RSTR   put.SG-SS   break-IRR.PL-23NSG   3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG
and putting in the middle of them, he told them to break it.

(21) *tang   obûkata   monggûng.*
ta-ng   wob-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
do-DS   break-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
And they broke it as they went down.

(22) *monggû   monggû   munggup   kam   sakoka*
mo-gû   mo-gû   [munggup   kam]   sako-ka
go.down-DUR   go.down-DUR   snake.sp   down.PROX   hold.3SG-SS
Going down and down, they grabbed the *munggup* snake (in the bottom) and

yaayaa   taaka   kelûsû   kayong   fiyatta
yaayaa   taa-ka   [kelû-sû   kayong]   fiyat-ta
scream   say-SS   hand-23NSG.POSS   leg   open-SS
they screamed and their hands and legs opened and

mensû   daausû   fiyatta   bakung
[men-sû   daau-sû]   fiyat-ta   ba-ku-ng
mouth-23NSG.POSS   eye-23NSG.POSS   open-SS   come-go-DS
their mouths and eyes opened and came and went, and

mensûlû   manda   yadûng   taagûng,
men-sû=lû   manda   ya-dûng   taa-gû-ng
mouth-23NSG.POSS=NOM   talk   this-ADV   say-RP-23PL
their mouths talked like this,

ma!   ma!   ma!   taagûng.
{{ma   ma   ma}}   taa-gû-ng
what   what   what   say-RP-23PL
"What! What! What!" they said.

(23) *ma manda   waslong   tebûgenangkagûng.*
ma manda   wa=slong   teb-genangka-gû-ng
PN   that=ALL   CAUS-appear-RP-23PL
That's when they created "Ma Manda".

(24) *taka   ma manda   walong   atta*
     ta-ka   ma manda   wa=long   at-ta
     do-SS   PN   that=ALL   be-SS

     tebûsongka   taakata   bagûng.
     teb-song-ka   taa-ka=ta   ba-gû-ng
     CAUS-crack-SS   say-SS=do   come-RP-23PL
     And at this time they started speaking Ma Manda until (the present time).

(25) *walû   taakata   bawaam.*
     wa=lû   taa-ka=ta   ba-waa-m
     that=NOM   say-SS=do   come-PRS-1PL
     We kept talking until (the present time).

(26) *wala   waagût   taawaam   ya   ma manda.*
     wala   waagût   taa-waa-m   ya   ma manda
     so   now   say-PRS-1PL this   PN
     So now we speak "Ma Manda".

(27) *wadûng.*
     wa-dûng
     that-ADV
     (It's) like that.

skc12_01   How Our Ancestors Came to Saut Village

Setting: Collected while two speakers visited Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks; here I asked for the speakers to both contribute to a story, and they thought of this one
Genre: Historical narrative (oral; video)
Summary: Tells the story of how an ancestor moved up into the mountains to settle Saut Village
Speaker 1: Tuboin Bangam (1970), Male, Grade 6, Lemang
Speaker 2: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

     <<TB>>

(1) *mo.*
    mo
    already
    Okay.

(2) *nûndûnang   notnek   fafanek   tûmang*
    [nûndûnang   not-nek   fafa-nek]   tûmang
    1NSG:GEN   great.grandfather-1NSG.POSS grandfather-1NSG.POSS before

    dûdû   bagûng bagûng   wasûnang,
    {{dûdû   ba-gû-ng~ba-gû-ng   wa-s=nang}}
    how   come-RP-23PL~come-RP-23PL that-LK=GEN

    taang   tebûka,
    taa-ng   teb-ka
    say-DS   bring-SS
    I bring [to you] how they say our great-grandfathers and grandfathers came before, and

576

taaka   aatûkuwaamang   waagût   idi,
taa-ka   aatûku-waa-m-nang   waagût   idi
say-SS   remain-PRS-1PL-HAB   now   this.ANA
what we continue to say now,

nûndûnang   daaminekye   wa,
{{[nûndû=nang   daamin-nek-ye   wa]
1NSG=GEN   ancestor-1NSG.POSS-NSG   that

dûdû   atta   bakugûng   taawangang.
dûdû   at-ta   ba-ku-gû-ng}}   taa-wa-ng-nang
how   be-SS   come-go-RP-23PL   say-PRS-23PL-HAB
how our ancestors went this way, they say.

(3) *dûdû   atta   bagû,*
     dûdû   at-ta   ba-gû
     how   be-SS   come-DUR
     How they were starting to come,

     nûndûnang   igamûngga,   laabisap,
     nûndû=nang   idi=gamû=ga   laabisap
     1NSG=GEN   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)=INST   PN

     tûmang   ba   laabisap   yot   manggok.
     tûmang   ba   laabisap   yot   mang-go-k
     first   come   PN   house   erect-RP-3SG
     since our [ancestor] came to Rabisap first, he erected a house in Rabisap.

(4) *mandeng   imamaang   yot,*
     mandeng   [imamaang   yot]
     next   grass.sp   house

     imamaang   yot   mangka   tûka   idi,
     [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   tû-ka   idi
     grass.sp   house   erect-SS   put.SG-SS this.ANA
     Next an *imamang* grass house, he erected an *imamang* grass house, and he

     laabisap   atta,
     laabisap   at-ta
     PN   be-SS
     was in Rabisap, and

     buntuk   tawaang   kun   deka   kagok,   mandeng,
     [buntuk   tawaang]   kun   de-ka   ka-go-k   mandeng
     PN   mountain   down.DIST gaze-SS see.3SG-RP-3SG next
     next, he gazed up at Buntuk Mountain and saw,

     aalaamak   wa   yolaan.
     {{[aalaamak   wa]   yot-aan}
     cloud   that   poke-NMLZ
     its cloud-poking.

(5) *tang   kaka   igamû,*
    ta-ng   ka-ka   idi=gamû
    do-DS   see.3SG   this.ANA-CONJ(INST)
    And he looked at it, and since

    kame   mowek   ba   aawengak   yeka   idi,
    {{kame   mo=wek   ba   aawe-nga-k}} ye-ka   idi
    ground   already-DISJ come   finish-NP-3SG imagine-SS this.ANA
    he thought that the land came to finish there,

    imamaang   yot   mangka   agok.
    [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   at-go-k
    grass.sp   house   erect-SS   be-RP-3SG
    he erected an *imamang* grass house and stayed (there).

(6) *naai   imamaang   yot   mangka   agok   walong*
    {naai   [imamaang   yot]   mang-ka   at-go-k   wa=long}
    time   grass.sp   house   erect-SS   be-RP-3SG that=ALL
    When he built the *imamang* grass house,

    igamû,   atta   tagû   siyang   lokagok,
    idi=gamû   at-ta   ta-gû   siya-ng   lo-ka-go-k
    this.ANA-CONJ(INST)   be-SS   do-DUR   dawn-DS   go.up-see.3SG-RP-3SG
    he was there until dawn and going up he saw,

    i   kame   mun   kun   aatûkugokgût   kun.
    idi   {{kame   mun   kun   aatûku-go-k-gût   kun}}
    this.ANA   ground   partial up.DIST remain-RP-3SG-RSTR up.DIST
    that part of the land still kept going up [where the clouds had previously blocked].

(7) *tang   gamû   nûndûnang   fafanek   walû*
    ta-ng   gamû   [nûndû=nang   fafa-nek   wa=lû]
    do-DS   CONJ(INST)   1NSG=GEN   grandfather-1NSG.POSS that=NOM
    And so our grandfathers,[42]

    igamû,   na   yaalû   bagûmok   sûlaidi,
    idi=gamû   [na   yaalû]   ba-gû-mok   sûla=idi
    this.ANA=CONJ(INST)   man   two   come-RP-23DU   CONJ(BEN)=this.ANA
    even though two men came,

    bantû   wangakng   i   bantû   iga   atta   kugok.
    ban=lû   wa=ngat-ng   idi   ban=lû   idi=ga   at-ta   ku-go-k
    a=NOM   there=be-DS   this.ANA   a=NOM   this.ANA=INST be-SS   go-RP-3SG
    one stayed there, but one went on.

---

[42] The speaker explained to me that, though he had been focusing on one man up to this point in the story, two men were actually present. Here they separate so one can go on and claim the land being uncovered by the clouds.

(8) *yaalû yaalû   kungûtta   logûmok,*
yaalû~yaalû   kun-gût=wa   lo-gû-mok
two~two   up.DIST-RSTR=DUB go.up-RP-23DU
Both of them went all the way up there?

    kame   wa   kugokngang   wa.
    {[kame   wa]   ku-go-k=nang   wa}
    ground   that   go-RP-3SG=LOC that
    The land where he went to?

(9) *eng   yaalû yaalû   buntuk   tawaang   kunatta   idi,*
eng   yaalû~yaalû [buntuk   tawaang]   kun=at-ta   idi
yes   two~two   PN   mountain   up.DIST=be-SS this.ANA
Yes, both were up on Buntuk Mountain,

    wangatta   tagûmok.
    wa=ngat-ta   ta-gû-mok
    there=be-SS   do-RP-23DU
    and they were there together.

(10) *banta   buntuk   wanggût   tûka   igamû,*
ban=la   buntuk   wa-gût   tû-ka   idi=gamû
a=BEN   PN   that-RSTR put.NSG-SS this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
He left the other there at Buntuk and so,

    ban   walû   igamû,
    [ban   wa=lû]   idi=gamû
    a   that=NOM this.ANA=CONJ(INST)

    kun   kugok   guyangang   saaut   lemang
    kun   ku-go-k   guyang=nang   [saaut   lemang
    up.DIST go-RP-3SG cold.place=LOC PN   PN

    kadet   kunidûng   kadet   maakugok.
    kadet]   kun-i-dûng   kadet   maa=ku-go-k
    road   up.DIST-?-ADV   road   wholly=go-RP-3SG
    since the other one went up there, going up toward Saut and Lemang, he went to the cold place.

(11) *wa,   kugok   kuka   igamû,*
wa   ku-go-k   ku-ka   idi=gamû
that   go-RP-3SG go-SS   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
He went and he went and so

    attata   kugûng   kuka   idi
    at-ta=ta   ku-gû-ng   ku-ka   idi
    be-SS=do   go-RP-23PL go-SS this.ANA
    they went and went and,

ungan agûng wa taawang.
ungan at-gû-ng wa taa-wang
PN be-RP-23PL that say-PRS:23PL
were in Ungan, they say.

(12) *wa, tangûlû imo,*
wa ta-ng-lû idi=mo
that do-DS-23 this.ANA=already
They did that, and okay he

wangatta kuka ungan, gofun,
wa=ngat-ta ku-ka [ungan gofun]
there=be-SS go-SS PN PN

ta, wangakng naai walong
ta wa=ngat-ng [naai wa=long]
do there=be-DS time that=ALL
was there going along, and he was in Ungan Gofun, and at that time

daamin mamampû kobang kobang kobang
[daamin mamam=lû] ko-ba-ng~ko-ba-ng~ko-ba-ng
ancestor many=NOM side-come-DS~side-come-DS~side-come-DS

tagûng daa, kabû kosaan kosaan ba
ta-gû-ng daa kabû kosaan~kosaan ba
do-RP-23PL where ??? side~side come
where many ancestors formed various sides, or coming to each side

bot bot bot taka imo,
bot~bot~bot ta-ka idi=mo
group~group~group do-SS this.ANA=already
they formed groups, and okay they

aatûkukata wa kugung.
aatûku-ka=ta wa ku-gû-ng
remain-SS=do that go-RP-23PL
kept staying and they went along.

(13) *wa yot kaadûp taka aatûkuka ba ulesakaka,*
wa [yot kaadûp] ta-ka aatûku-ka ba ulesaka-ka
that house wood do-SS remain-SS come develop(?)-SS
They built wooden houses for a while and developed [the village], and

nanak taam taka,
[nanak taam] ta-ka
child wife do-SS
had children and got married, and

taamûng kola mûngmûng taka inolit taka,
[taamûng kola] m-ng~m-ng ta-ka yenolit ta-ka
woman exchange give-DS~give-DS do-SS peace do-SS
exchanged women with one another and kept the peace, and

wangatta   tagûng.
wa=ngat-ta   ta-gû-ng
that=be-SS   do-RP-23PL
they were together.

(14) *wa,   tagû   naai   walong   muk   ba   aaweng   imo,*
      wa   ta-gû [naai wa=long] muk   ba   aawe-ng idi=mo
      that   do-DUR time   that=ALL fight come   finish-DS this.ANA=already
      Doing that, at that time the fight came to finish and,

      nantaam   fatnaangka?—   na,   wa   bagûng.
      [nantaam   fatnaang=wa]   [na   wa]   ba-gû-ng
      people   white=DUB   man   that   come-RP-23PL
      the white people? The men came.

(15) *walû—*
      wa=lû
      that=NOM
      They—

      <<GM>>

(16) *ta   de?   na   gûtnemsû   fatnaang.*
      ta   de   na   [gûtnem-sû   fatnaang]
      do   where man   skin-23NSG.POSS   white
      But where? The men with white skin.

      <<TB>>

(17) *gûtnemsû   fatnaang   wasit*
      [gûtnem-sû   fatnaang   wasit]
      skin-23NSG.POSS   white   that:COM

      miti   manda   sakoka   bagûng.
      [miti   manda]   sako-ka   ba-gû-ng
      Gospel   talk   hold.3SG-SS come-RP-23PL
      They got the Gospel with the whiteskins and came.

(18) *naai   walû   ba   igamû,*
      naai   wa=lû   ba   idi=gamû
      time   that=NOM come   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
      Then they were coming, and since

      takaseppa   mantaka   muk   kaadûwa   taka
      takasep=wa   ma=ta-ka   [muk   kaadû=wa]   ta-ka
      block=DUB   what=do-SS fight weapon=DUB do-SS

      kuwagûng,
      kungat-gû-ng
      go.around-RP-23PL
      they were building fences or doing whatever or fighting with weapons, and going
      along,

581

wa,	*tapmatodaleka*	*lakongka*	*mo*	*inaanggûtta*
wa	tapmatodale-ka	lakong-ka	mo	ye-naanggût-ta
that	trample-SS	throw.NSG-SS	already	3NSG.O-get-SS

fuku	*bot*	*yapmanggûng*	*naawangka?*
fuku	bot	y-kapmang-gû-ng	naawang=wa
take.NSG	group	3NSG.O-leave-RP-23PL	PN=DUB

they broke it all down and then got them and taking them they grouped them in Naawang right?

(19)
walû	*attata*	*ku*	*kun*	*kuntukugûng*
{wa=lû	at-ta=ta	ku	kun	ku-tuku-gû-ng
that=NOM	be-SS=do	go	up.DIST	go-take.SG-RP-23PL

They were together and going along and went to their own places on top,

wa	*taang*	*naandûwaam.*	*wa.*
wa}	taa-ng	naandû-waa-m	wa
that	say-DS	hear-PRS-1PL	that

they say that and we hear it.

<<GM>>

(20)
aanutunang	*o*	*sakoka*	*wa*	*bagûng*	*wa.*
[aanutu=nang	wo]	sako-ka	wa	ba-gû-ng	wa
God=GEN	name.3SG.POSS	hold.3SG-SS	that	come-RP-23PL	that

They brought God's name.

<<TB>>

(21)
eng.
eng
yes
Yeah.

<<GM>>

(22)
baka	*i*	*fa*	*bot*	*yapmanggûng.*
ba-ka	idi	fa	bot	y-kapmang-gû-ng
come-SS	this.ANA	get.NSG	group	3NSG.O-leave-RP-23PL

They came and getting them they put them into groups.

<<TB>>

(23)
uma	*wa*	*walong*	*naai*	*walong*	*ba*	*i*
udu-ma	wa	wa=long	[naai	wa=long]	ba	idi
that.ANA-EMPH	that	that=ALL	time	that=ALL	come	this.ANA

That's it, then at that time coming,

febû	*bot*	*yapmangka*	*atta*	*i,*
feb	bot	y-kapmang-ka	at-ta	idi
bring.NSG	group	3NSG.O-leave-SS	be-SS	this.ANA

brought them and were putting them into groups,

mo	*inaanggûtta*	*febû*	*bot*	*yapmang*
mo	ye-naanggût-ta	feb	bot	y-kapmang-ng
already	3NSG.O-get-SS	bring.NSG	group	3NSG.O-leave-DS

had taken them and put them into groups and

nantaampû	*bot*	*taka*	*naandûsu*	*fliyangengûlû,*
nantaam=lû	bot	ta-ka	naandûsu	fliyange-ng-lû
people=NOM	group	do-SS	thoughts	untie-DS-23

the people formed groups and opened their minds, and

gegût manda	*naandûka*	*aatûkukata*	*kuka*	*kuka*	*mo,*
gegût manda	naandû-ka	aatûku-ka=ta	ku-ka	ku-ka	mo
news	hear-SS	remain-SS=do	go-SS	go-SS	already

they continued to keep hearing the Good News and going and going and okay,

faangang	*kun*	*atta*	*idi*
faangang	kun	at-ta	idi
PN	up.DIST	be-SS	this.ANA

they were up in Fangang and

atta	*tagûng*	*tagû*	*imo,*
at-ta	ta-gû-ng	ta-gû	idi=mo
be-SS	do-RP-23PL	do-DUR	this.ANA=already

were together and

daableka	*fûgûng*	*walû*	*imo*
daable-ka	fû-gû-ng	wa=lû	idi=mo
distribute-SS	come.down-RP-23PL	that=ABL	this.ANA=already

distributed [the land] coming down from there to

saaut	*kagang*	*wa*	*atta,*	*wangattata*	*bagûng.*
[saaut	kagang]	wa	at-ta	wa=ngat-ta=ta	ba-gû-ng
PN	village	that	be-SS	there=be-SS=do	come-RP-23PL

Saut Village and stayed there and came (to the present time).

(24)
baka	*baka*	*mo,*
ba-ka	ba-ka	mo
come-SS	come-SS	already

They came and came and okay,

nûndûnang	*bepmek*	*fafanek*	*mo,*
[nûndû=nang	bep-nek	fafa-nek]	mo
1NSG=GEN	father-1NSG.POSS	grandfather-1NSG.POSS	already

our fathers and grandfathers,

aa	*fafanek*		*dom*	*bepmek*	*kadek*
aa	fafa-nek		dom	[bep-nek	kadek]
nevermind	grandfather-1NSG.POSS		NEG	father-1NSG.POSS	group

imo		*wangaanggût*	*ima—*
idi=mo		wangaanggût	idi-ma
this.ANA=already		right.now	this.ANA-EMPH

not our grandfathers, but our fathers, now they—

<<GM>>

(25)
wangaanggût	*ima*		*long…*
wangaanggût	idi-ma		lo-ng
right.now	this.ANA-EMPH		go.up-DS

Now they are going up…

<<TB>>

(26)
81	*flong*	*idigamû*		*lemang*	*logok.*
[81	flong]	idi=gamû		lemang	lo-go-k
1981	ALL	this.ANA=CONJ(INST)		PN	go.up-RP-3SG

Since he went up to Lemang in 1981.

(27)
lo	*kun*	*atta*	*imo*
lo	kun	at-ta	idi=mo
go.up	up.DIST	be-SS	this.ANA=already

wa	*aatûkugûng*	*iwa.*
wa	aatûku-gû-ng	idi=wa
that	remain-RP-23PL	this.ANA=there

Going up there they stayed, them there.

(28)
ta	*wa*	*aatûkuka*	*tagûng.*
ta	wa	aatûku-ka	ta-gû-ng
do	there	remain-SS	do-RP-23PL

And they stayed together there.

(29)
wa	*tagû*	*mo,*
wa	ta-gû	mo
that	do-DUR	already

Doing that until

bepma	*saa*		*bûge*	*laabûgok.*
[bep-na	saa]		bûge	laab-go-k
father-1SG.POSS	fourthborn.male		again	come.up-RP-3SG

Father Sawa came up again.

(30)
wa	*fom*	*agaamok.*
wa	fom	at-gaa-mok
there	together	be-PRS-23DU

You two are there together.

584

(31) *wa   atta   welû   gaamgok*
 wa   at-ta   welû   gaa-m-go-k
 that   be-SS   daughter   2SG.O-give-RP-3SG
 Staying there and he gave you his daughter.

(32) *gak   fom   agaamok.   gak   wa   tukugong   wa.*
 gak   fom   at-gaa-mok   gak   wa   tuku-go-ng   wa
 2SG   together   be-PRS-23DU   2SG   that   take.SG-RP-2SG   that
 You are together. You married her.

   <<GM>>

(33) *welû   nak   tukugot   wa.*
 welû   nak   tuku-go-t   wa
 daughter   1SG   take.SG-RP-1SG   that
 I married his daughter.

   <<TB>>

(34) *uma   wa.*
 udu-ma   wa
 that.ANA-EMPH   that
 That's right.

(35) *wan   tagûng.*
 wa-n   ta-gû-ng
 that-ANA   do-RP-23PL
 That's what they did.

(36) *ang   gak?*
 ang   gak
 and   2SG
 And you?

(37) *dûdû dûdû   naandûlang?*
 dûdû~dûdû   naandû-la-ng
 how~how   know-PRS-2SG
 What do you think?

   <<GM>>

(38) *ta   uma.   sûdûnang   wasûnang   bang*
 ta   udu-ma   sûdû=nang   wa-s=nang   ba-ng
 do   that.ANA-EMPH 23NSG=GEN   that-LK=GEN   come-DS
 Yeah that's it. That (one) of yours came and

 nak   [[tukugot]].
 nak   tuku-go-t
 1SG   take.SG-RP-1SG
 I married her.

<<TB>>

(39) *eng.*
eng
yes
Yeah.

<<GM>>

(40) *welû   tukugot.*
welû   tuku-go-t
daughter   take.SG-RP-1SG
I married his daughter.

<<TB>>

(41) *wan   tang   mo,*
wa-n   ta-ng   mo
that-ANA   do-DS   already
He did that and then,

gak   tukugong   tang   mo   aatûkuwaam,
gak   tuku-go-ng   ta-ng   mo   aatûku-waa-m
2SG   take.SG-RP-2SG   do-DS   already   remain-PRS-1PL
you married her and then we've remained,

aatûkuwaam   wa.
aatûku-waa-m   wa
remain-PRS-1PL   that
we've remained.

<<GM>>

(42) *wadûng.*
wa-dûng
that-ADV
Like that.

skc12_02   How Our Ancestors Handled the Dead

Setting: Collected while two speakers visited Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks; here I asked for the speakers to both contribute to a story, and they thought of this one
Genre: Historical narrative (oral; video)
Summary: Tells about how the MM people use to hang dead bodies from trees and collect the dripping putrefaction for consumption.
Speaker 1: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut
Speaker 2: Tuboin Bangam (1970), Male, Grade 6, Lemang

<<GM>>

(1) *nûndûnang   daamin   tûmang   wa   udu,*
[nûndû=nang   daamin]   tûmang   wa   udu
1NSG=GEN   ancestor   before   that   that.ANA
Our ancestors, before they,

586

na	*kaamûng*	*gelûm*	*nengka*	*kum*	*dom*	*flaasûgûngang.*
na	kaam-ng	gelûm	ne-ka	kum	dom	flaasû-gû-ng-nang
man	die-DS	hole	dig-SS	down.DIST	NEG	cover-RP-23PL-HAB

(when) a man (would) die they would not dig a hole and bury him.

<<TB>>

(2)
eng	*kaamkaam*	*naai*	*flong*	*gelûm*	*flong*
eng	[kaam~kaam	naai	flong]	[gelûm	flong]
yes	die~die	time	ALL	hole	ALL

dom	*daasûwaagûngang*	*tûmang*	*idi.*
dom	daasû-waa-gû-ng-nang	tûmang	idi
NEG	put.in-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB	before	this.ANA

Yeah, at the time of death they wouldn't put them in holes, before.

<<GM>>

(3)
fa	*usung,*
fa	usung
get.NSG	above

munduwang	*gûtnem*	*yodatta*	*febû*	*beka,*
[munduwang	gûtnem]	yodat-ta	feb	be-ka
tree.sp	skin	debark-SS	bring.NSG	put.NSG-SS

Getting them above, (they would) skin a *munduwang* tree and place it and,

kaamûng	*fa*	*walong*	*beka*	*idi,*
[kaam-ng	fa	wa=long]	be-ka	idi
die-DS	get.NSG	that=ALL	put.NSG-SS	this.ANA

when (people) died they would put them (inside),

yemsûka	*falo...*
yemsû-ka	falo
tighten.NSG-SS	take.up.NSG

and close them up and putting them up…

<<TB>>

(4)
walû	*waama*	*baasûng*	*flongka*	*malû*	*flong*	*beka...*
wa=lû	[waama	baasûng	flong=wa]	[ma=lû	flong]	be-ka
that=NOM	tree.sp	trunk	ALL=DUB	what=ABL	ALL	put.NSG-SS

They would put them in *wama* trees or (hang) them from whatever [kind of tree], and…

(5)
den	*idiga*	*kayongsûnang*	*topmûngka*	*beka*	*mo...*
den	idi=ga	kayong-sû=nang	topm-ka	be-ka	mo
some	this.ANA=INST	leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC	tie-SS	put.NSG-SS	already

Some by this [method][43] would tie up [the dead's] legs and then…

---

[43] At this moment the speaker curled up his legs in his chair to show how people would tie up the corpses.

yan   taka   beka   idi
ya-n   ta-ka   be-ka   idi
this-ANA   do-SS   put.NSG-SS this.ANA
They did this and put them like this and

maanûnggat   watnang   taangaam   wagamûûû,
[maanûnggat   wa=tnang]   taa-ngaa-m   wa=gamû~û~û
something   that=GEN   say-NP-1PL   that=CONJ(INST)~EXT~EXT
whatever we are talking about, so

baasûng   taka   bewaagûngang   walok   walûnang.
baasûng   ta-ka   be-waa-gû-ng-nang   wa=lok   wa=lûnang
bed   do-SS   put.NSG-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB   that=DAT   that=GEN
they would make beds and put theirs for them.

<<GM>>

(6) *tang   maangûtta   at   saang   taang.*
     ta-ng   maangût-ta   at   saang   taa-ng
     do-DS   sit-SS   be   ???   say-DS
     And it looked like they would keep sitting.

(7) *wa   agû   bataaka   min   wa   fûlak   wa,*
     wa   at-gû   bataa-ka   {[min   wa]   fû-la-k   wa}
     that   be-DUR   spoil-SS   pus   that   come.down-PRS-3SG   that
     Going on, [the corpse] would spoil and the pus which comes down, it,

     min   fûng   kûda   kadek   dobûka
     min   fû-ng   [kûda   kadek]   dob-ka
     pus   come.down-DS greens   group   cut-SS
     when the pus came down, [people] would cut some greens and

     fuku   kam   beng
     fuku   kam   be-ng
     take.NSG   down.PROX   put.NSG-DS
     taking them and putting them below,

     min   walû   ba   walong   mulupmang   idi…
     [min   wa=lû]   ba   wa=long   mulupma-ng   idi
     pus   that=NOM   come   that=ALL   drip.down-DS   this.ANA
     the pus coming down would drip down onto it and…

<<TB>>

(8) *eng.*
     eng
     yes
     Yeah.

588

(9) *fuku   seka   nawaagûngang.*
fuku   se-ka   na-waa-gû-ng-nang
take.NSG   cook-SS   eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
Taking [the greens] they would cook them and eat them.

(10) *fuku   seka   nawaagûngang.*
fuku   se-ka   na-waa-gû-ng-nang
take.NSG   cook-SS   eat-PFV.HAB-23PL-HAB
Taking them they would cook them and eat them.

(11) *seka   nangka   mo   atigûngang.*
se-ka   na-ka   mo   at-i-gû-ng-nang
cook-SS   eat-SS   already   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
They were cooking them and eating them.

(12) *ta   kankan   kadek   wa   udu   febû*
ta   [kankan   kadek   wa]   udu   feb
do   insect   group   that   that.ANA   bring.NSG
And the insects, bringing them

sûnaigûngang.
sûna-i-gû-ng-nang
cook.eat-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
they would cook and eat them.

(13) *uma   mangka   kûda   flong   mong*
udu-ma   mang-ka   [kûda   flong]   mo-ng
that.ANA-EMPH   fall.down-SS   greens   all   go.down-DS
It would fall and, going down onto the greens,

kankan   wasit   febû   kadang   taka
[kankan   wasit]   feb   kadang   ta-ka
insect   that:COM   bring.NSG   bamboo   do-SS
bringing them with the insects they would bamboo them[44] and

sûnûigûngang.
sûna-i-gû-ng-nang
cook.eat-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
cook and eat them.

---

[44] i.e. cook by placing it inside bamboo and putting the bamboo over a fire.

(14) *nûndû   kameng   wadûng   tawaagûngang.*
[nûndû   kameng]   wa-dûng   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
1NSG   property   that-ADV   do-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
In our area they would do like that.

(15) *den   idiga   kodaa   idûpmûngka   nawaagûngang.*
[den]   idi=ga   kodaa   idûpm-ka   na-waa-gû-ng-nang
some   this.ANA=INST new   hit.NSG-SS   eat-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
So some would do this by killing living (people) and eating them.

(16) *wa   tagû...*
wa   ta-gû
that   do-DUR
Doing that…

(17) *nûndû   kameng   idi   min   nangka*
[nûndû   kameng]   idi   min   na-ka
1NSG   property   this.ANA   pus   eat-SS
In our area they would eat the pus and

mama   wa   tantukuwaagûngang.
[ma~ma   wa]   ta-tuku-waa-gû-ng-nang
what~what   that   do-take.SG-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
do whatever (to the bodies) here and there.

(18) *ta   u   tûmang   wan   tawaagûngang*
ta   udu   tûmang   wa-n   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
do   that.ANA before   that-ANA do-PFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
Yeah, before they would do that

ta   waagût   idi   nûndû   wan   dom   tawaamang,
ta   waagût   idi   nûndû   wan   dom   ta-waa-m-nang
do   now   this.ANA 1NSG   that-ANA   NEG   do-PRS-1PL-HAB
but now we don't do that,

waagût   imo.
waagût   idi=mo
now   this.ANA=already
nowadays.

(19) *miti   bagok   wa   tang   idi,*
{miti   ba-go-k   wa}   ta-ng   idi
Gospel   come-RP-3SG   that   do-DS   this.ANA
The Gospel that came,

mitinang   tata   wa   tawangka   idi,
[miti=nang   tata   wa]   tawang-ka   idi
Gospel=GEN   custom   that   follow-SS   this.ANA
we follow the the Gospel's customs, and

590

gelûm   dobûka,
gelûm   dob-ka
hole   cut-SS
we cut out holes, and

banenang,   gelûm   banenang   bewaamang.
bane=nang   [gelûm   bane=nang]   be-waa-m-nang
inside=LOC   hole   inside=LOC   put.NSG-PRS-1PL-HAB
inside, put [the corpses] inside holes.

<<TB>>

(20) *gelûm   banenang   bewaamang.*
[gelûm   bane=nang]   be-waa-m-nang
hole   inside=LOC   put.NSG-PRS-1PL-HAB
We put them inside holes.

(21) *ta   bagonewa   di   tang   walû   i,*
ta   bagone=wa   di   ta-ng   wa=lû   idi
do   sick=DUB   how   do-DS   that=NOM   this.ANA
Yes if they're sick or however they're doing, we

fagat   taka   yenaanggûtta   igamû,
fagat   ta-ka   ye-naaanggût-ta   idi=gamû
stretcher   do-SS   3NSG.O-get-SS   this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
make a stretcher and take them and so,

haausik   kadek   kuka   tawaam
[haausik   kadek]   ku-ka   ta-waa-m
clinic   group   go-SS   do-PRS-1PL
we go to clinics and do it.

(22) *tûmang   idi   fagat   taka*
tûmang   idi   fagat   ta-ka
first   this.ANA   stretcher   do-SS
Before, they would make stretchers and

fa   usung   kun   bewaagûngang.
fa   usung   kun   be-waa-gû-ng-nang
get.NSG   above   up.DIST   put.NSG-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
getting them they would put them up above.

<<GM>>

(23) *eng   wadûng.*
eng   wa-dûng
yes   that-ADV
Yes, like that.

591

<<TB>>

(24) *fagattûnang   manda   taawaam   walû...*
{[fagat=lûnang   manda]   taa-waa-m   wa=lû}
stretcher=GEN   talk   say-PRS-1PL   that=NOM
The stretcher talk we're saying…

<<GM>>

(25) *ta.   mo   wadûngka.*
ta   mo   wa-dûng=wa
do   already   that-ADV=DUB
Right. That's it?

<<TB>>

(26) *eng*
eng
yes
Yes.

<<GM>>

(27) *mo   wadûng   tawaagûngang   tûmang.*
mo   wa-dûng   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang   tûmang
already   that-ADV   do-PRS-RP-23PL-HAB   before
Okay, they would do like that before.

<<TB>>

(28) *mo   uma   wadûng   tawaagûngang.*
mo   udu-ma   wa-dûng   ta-waa-gû-ng-nang
already   that.ANA-EMPH   that-ADV   do-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
Okay, that's it, they would do like that.

<<GM>>

(29) *waagût   idi   mo,*
waagût   idi   mo
now   this.ANA   already
Now okay,

(30) *tata   u   tuku   kawaagûm   waagût   idi...*
[tata   udu]   tuku   kawaa-gû-m   waagût   idi
custom   that.ANA   take.SG   leave.3SG-RP-1PL   now   this.ANA
taking that custom we've left it now…

<<TB>>

(31) *mo   kawaagûm.*
mo   kawaa-gû-m
already   leave.3SG-RP-1PL
We've already left it.

<<GM>>

(32) *na*   *kaamgang*   *mo*   *fuku*
{[na   kaam-gang]}   mo   fuku
man   die-PRS:23PL   already   take.NSG
Taking the men who have died

gelûm   *banenang*   *membû*   *bewaamang.*
[gelûm   bane=nang]   membû   be-waa-m-nang
hole   inside=LOC   just   put.NSG-PRS-1PL-HAB
we only put them inside holes.

(33) *wadûng*   *tawaamang*   *waagût.*
wa-dûng   ta-waa-m-nang   waagût
that-ADV   do-PRS-1PL-HAB   now
We do like that now.

skc12_04   Why We Say "Passing by" Instead of "Water"

Setting: Collected while two speakers visited Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks; here I had asked if there was any type of "hidden talk" that they use
Genre: Legendary narrative (oral; video)
Summary: Recounts the story of a man hunting with his daughter, who after asking for water to drink, was decapitated by a demon; this explains the speech avoidance term *bakuyak* 'passing by' which they use in place of *mi* 'water'.
Speaker: Tuboin Bangam (1970), Male, Grade 6, Lemang

(1) *kagang*   *bûsenang,*   *nantaam*   *geksap*   *kungatta,*
[kagang   bûsenang]   nantaam   geksap   kungat-ta
place   jungle   people   hunt   go.around-SS
In the jungle places (where) the people go around hunting,

manggat manggat   *den,*   *taalok*   *mitaka*
{[manggat~manggat   den]   taa=lok}   mita-ka
thing~thing   some   say=POT   fear-SS
we are afraid to say some things and

tûngka   *flong*   *taawaamang*
[tûngka   flong]   taa-waa-m-nang
metaphor   ALL   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
we speak in metaphor and

wasûnang,   *ban,*   *mila*   *taawaamang.*
[wa-s=nang   ban]   mi=la   taa-waa-m-nang
that-LK=GEN   a   water=BEN   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
one of those we say about water.

(2) *mila   taaka   bakuyak   taawaamang*
{mi=la   taa-ka   {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   taa-waa-m-nang
water=BEN   say-SS   come-go-PRS-3SG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB

wasûnang   taantaam.
wa-s=nang}   taa-ntaa-m
that-LK=GEN   say-FUT-1PL
We will talk about (how) we say "passing by" to talk about water.

(3) *gegût   manda   taabet   taait.*
{{[gegût   manda]   taa-be-t}}   taa-i-t
story   talk   say-IRR.SG-1SG   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
I am planning to tell a story.

(4) *taka   mo,   walûnang   taabûtaat.*
ta-ka   mo   wa=lûnang   taa-b-taa-t
do-SS   already   that=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
Okay, I will talk about that.

(5) *kagang   kuwaam   walong,   manggat manggat   den,*
{kagang   ku-waa-m   wa=long}   [manggat~manggat   den]
place   go-PRS-1PL   that=ALL   thing~thing   some
When we go places, some things,

taka   kagang   taait,
ta-ka   kagang   taa-i-t
do-SS   place   say-IPFV.PRS-1SG
(which) I say in the village,

bûsenang   kuwaam   walong   manggamanggat   den,
{bûsenang   ku-waa-m   wa=long}   [manggat~manggat   den]
jungle   go-PRS-1PL   that=ALL   thing~thing   some
when we go to the jungle, some things,

mi   kadek   u   dom   taawaamang,
{{mi   kadek   udu}}   dom   taa-waa-m-nang
water   group   that.ANA   NEG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
we do not say waters,

bakuyak   taawaamang.
{{ba-ku-ya-k}}   taa-waa-m-nang
come-go-PRS-3SG   say-PRS-1PL-HAB
we say "passing by".

(6) *ta   ip   kusamba   kun   bakuyakka   mamawa*
ta   {{ip   kusamba]   kun   ba-ku-ya-k=wa   ma~ma=wa
do   bird   big   up.DIST   come-go-PRS-3SG=DUB   what~what=DUB

taawaam   wasûnang,
taa-waa-m   wa-s=nang}
say-PRS-1PL   that=LK=GEN
And the planes which pass by above or whatever we say,

594

mila   taawaam   uduga,   membû   yadûng.
{mi=la   taa-waa-m   udu=ga}   membû   ya-dûng
water=BEN   say-PRS-1PL   that.ANA=INST just   this-ADV
the reason we say that for water is like this.

(7) *naai   ban   flong,   nangkaang   beut   yaalû,*
     [naai   ban   flong]   [nang=kaang beut   yaalû]
     time   a   ALL   man=two   father-child two
     One time a man, a father and child,

taamûng   nanaksû   bantit,   belit,
[taamûng   nanak-sû   ban=lit   be=lit]
woman   child-23NSG.POSS   a=COM   father.3SG.POSS=COM

geksap   kugûmok
geksap   ku-gû-mok
hunt   go-RP-23DU
a daughter with her father, went hunting.

kun   aatûkugûmok   aatûkugû   idi,   yabonengûlû,
kun   aatûku-gû-mok   aatûku-gû   idi   yabone-ng-lû
up.DIST   remain-RP-23DU   remain-DUR   this.ANA   dusk-DS-23
They went around up there until dusk, and

yaboneng   badogûmok.
yabone-ng   ba-do-gû-mok
dusk-DS   come-sleep-RP-23DU
at dusk they came and slept.

(8) *ta,   taamûng   nanaksû   u   kun   atta   tagûmok*
     ta   [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kun   at-ta   ta-gû-mok
     do   woman   child-23NSG.POSS   that.ANA up.DIST   be-SS   do-RP-23DU
     So their daughter was up there (with him)

tagû,   tandonta   doka   i,
ta-gû   tandonta   do-ka   idi
do-DUR   night   sleep-SS this.ANA
and sleeping at night,

kodûle   bûkompang   mi   nala   naandûka,
kodûle   bûkom-pa-ng   {mi   na=la}   naandû-ka
throat.3SG.POSS   dry-VBLZ-DS   water   eat=BEN   feel-SS
and her throat becoming dry, she felt like drinking water,

mi   nala   naandûka   atta,
{mi   na=la}   naandû-ka   at-ta
water   eat=BEN   feel-SS   be-SS
she was feeling like drinking water, and

bep,   *mi*   *nala*   *nelak,*
{{bep   mi   na=la   n-e-la-k
father   water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG

mi   *nala*   *nelak,*   *nûnggok.*
mi   na=la   n-e-la-k}}   nû-go-k
water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG   tell-RP-3SG
she told him, "Dad, I'm thirsty, I'm thirsty."

(9)   *tangûlû*   *iga*   *mo,*   *mi*   *kaapmûnggem*   *dom*
    ta-ng-lû   idi=ga   mo   mi   kaapmûnggem   dom
    do-DS-23   this.ANA=INST   already   water   near   NEG
    And so okay, the water was not nearby,

    walataka   *i*   *bep,*   *belû*   *mo*   *naandûka,*
    walataka   idi   bep   be=lû   mo   naandû-ka
    therefore   this.ANA   father   father.3SG.POSS=NOM   already   know-SS
    so the dad, her father realized it, and

    mi   *dom*   *nûngka*   *idi,*   *dogûmok*
    {{mi   dom}}   nû-ka   idi   do-gû-mok
    water   NEG   tell-SS   this.ANA   sleep-RP-23DU
    told her there was no water, and they slept,

    tang   *idi,*   *welû*   *udu,*
    ta-ng   idi   [welû   udu]
    do-DS   this.ANA   daughter.3SG.POSS   that.ANA
    and, his daughter,

    mi   *nala*   *nelakgût*   *taaka*
    {{mi   na=la   n-e-la-k-gût}}   taa-ka
    water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG-RSTR   say-SS

    maangûtta   *agok.*
    maangût-ta   at-go-k
    sit-SS   be-RP-3SG
    kept thinking about being thirsty and was sitting up.

(10)   *aagû*   *dong*   *kamalangûlû*   *tandonta,*
    at-gû   dong   kamala-ng-lû   tandonta
    be-DUR   search   ignorant-DS-23   night
    And in the night while he was sleeping deeply,

    manggat   *ban*   *bagok,*   *maasalai*   *walû.*
    [manggat   ban]   ba-go-k   [maasalai   wa=lû]
    demon   a   come-RP-3SG   spirit   that=NOM
    a demon came, a *masalai* spirit.

(11)   *yan*   *ba*   *bûkngaan*   *dobûka*   *blaampa,*
    ya-n   ba   bûkngaan   dob-ka   blaam-pa
    this-ANA   come   neck   cut-SS   carry-SS
    Coming here it cut her neck and carried [her head]

mi   daai,   fatnaangût   wasûnang
[mi   daai   fatnaangût   wa-s=nang]
water   eye   PN   that-LK=GEN
to the Saruwaged [Mountain]'s springs

gagaang gagaang   wasûnang,
[gagaang~gagaang   wa-s=nang]
mountainside~mountainside   that=LK=GEN

bûsenang bûsenang   daa   agang   wa   fentagût,
{bûsenang~bûsenang   daa   at-gang   wa}   fentagût
jungle~jungle   where   be-PRS:23PL that   all

kungatmaakongka,
kungat-maa-kong-ka
go.around-CMPL-TERM-SS
he went all around along its mountainsides to wherever [the springs] were, and

mi   wa   gatta   kungaagû   kungaagû
[mi   wa]   gat-ta   kungat-gû   kungat-gû
water   that   fill-SS go.around-DUR   go.around-DUR

kungaagû   kungaagû,
kungat-gû   kungat-gû
go.around-DUR   go.around-DUR
filling the water [into her head] and filling it and filling it and filling it,

siyasiyangka   tebû   bûkngaanang   daasûka   tûka   idi,
siyasiyangka   teb   bûkngaan=nang   daasû-ka   tû-ka   idi
dawn   bring.SG   neck=LOC   put.in-SS   put.SG-SS   this.ANA
bringing it at dawn he put it back on her neck, and

maa   kugok.
maa   ku-go-k
wholly   go-RP-3SG
he went back.

(12) *tang   taamûng   saakûmpa   u,*
ta-ng   [taamûng   saakûmpa   udu]
do-DS   woman   small   that.ANA
And the little girl,

ta   tandonta   be   ngaakngka   mo   kagok,
ta   tandonta   be   aakng-ka   mo   ka-go-k
do   night   father.3SG.POSS   arise-SS   already   see.3SG-RP-3SG
at night her father got up and saw

welû   bûkngaan   dobûka   kugok   wa.
{{[welû   bûkngaan]   dob-ka   ku-go-k   wa}}
daughter.3SG.POSS   neck   cut-SS   go-RP-3SG   that
it had cut his daughter's neck and left (with it).

(13) *bûkngaan dom wa. membû kûtlû dom kagok.*
bûkngaan dom wa [membû kûtlû] dom ka-go-k
neck NEG that head bone NEG see.3SG-RP-3SG
Not the neck. He didn't see her head.

(14) *mo naandûgok, oo manggat wa,*
mo naandû-go-k {{oo [manggat wa]
already know-RP-3SG ohh demon that
So he realized, Ohh the demon,

    taamûng nanaksû yalûnang membû kûtlû tukungak.
[taamûng nanak-sû ya=lûnang membû kûtlû] tuku-nga-k}}
woman child-23NSG.POSS this=GEN head bone take.SG-NP-3SG
it took their daughter's head.

(15) *naandûka doka agûmok aagû idi,*
naandû-ka do-ka at-gû-mok at-gû idi
know-SS sleep-SS be-RP-23DU be-DUR this.ANA
He realized it and they slept until,

    siyang kagok i membû kûtlû mo
siya-ng ka-go-k idi {{[membû kûtlû] mo
dawn-DS see.3SG-RP-3SG this.ANA head bone already

    tebû daasûka tûgok.
teb daasû-ka tû-go-k}}
bring.SG put.in-SS put.SG-RP-3SG
dawn and he saw that it had brought her head and put it back.

(16) *kaka, taamengsla aakngka mo, sûbat sûnamaakongka,*
ka-ka taamengsla aakng-ka mo sûbat sûna-maa-kong-ka
see.3SG-SS morning arise-SS already food cook.eat-CMPL-TERM-SS
He saw it and after getting up in the morning, he cooked and ate breakfast, and

    maa kudem nûnggok, kagang.
{{maa ku-de-m}} nû-go-k kagang
wholly go-IRR.DU-1NSG tell-RP-3SG place
he said, "Let's go back, to the village."

(17) *belû, wetna oo,*
be=lû {{wet-na oo
father.3SG.POSS=NOM daughter-1SG.POSS ohh

    mo kaamak naandûka,
mo kaam-a-k}} naandû-ka
already die-NP-3SG know-SS
Her father thought, "Ohh my daugher has already died", and

    maa kudem nûngka,
{{maa ku-de-m}} nû-ka
wholly go-IRR.DU-1NSG tell-SS
he told her, "Let's go back", and

yak	*ta*	*tamelûmpa,*	*tûka*	*wa*	*bagûmok.*
yak	ta	tamet-m-pa	tû-ka	wa	ba-gû-mok
bilum	get.SG	head.carry-give-SS	put.SG-SS	that	come-RP-23DU

getting a bilum he put it on her head for her and they came.

(18)

u	*plangplang*	*baka*	*adaampawaanang*	*wa*	*baka*
udu	plangplang	ba-ka	[{adaampa-baan=nang}	wa]	ba-ka
that.ANA	quickly	come-SS	rest-NMLZ=LOC	that	come-SS

They hurried back and came to the resting-place and

welûlû	*taagok,*	*bep*	*ya*	*adaampawet.*
welû=lû	taa-go-k	{{bep	ya	adaampa-be-t}}
daughter.3SG.POSS=NOM	say-RP-3SG	father	here	rest-IRR.SG-1SG

his daughter said, "Dad, let me rest here."

(19)

taang	*belû*	*nûnggok*	*dom.*
taa-ng	be=lû	nû-go-k	{{dom}}
say-DS	father.3SG.POSS=NOM	tell-RP-3SG	NEG

She said it and her father told her no.

(20)

nûngka	*taa-ka*	*wa*	*kugûmok*	*kugû*	*mo*	*naandûgok,*
nû-ka	taa-ka	wa	ku-gû-mok	ku-gû	mo	naandû-go-k
tell-SS	say	that	go-RP-23DU	go-DUR	already	know-RP-3SG

He told her and said it and they went, and going, he thought,

tagû	*yak,*	*ta*	*tûtaak*	*wa,*
{{ta-gû	yak	ta	tû-taa-k	wa
do-DUR	bilum	get.SG	put.SG-FUT-3SG	that

"Going on, she must put the bilum [on her head],

u	*bûkngaan*	*maan*	*tamangka*	*bakuyakngang.*
[udu	bûkngaan]	maan	tamang-ka	ba-ku-ya-k-nang}}
that.ANA	neck	lest	loosen-SS	come-go-PRS-3SG-LOC

lest her neck comes loose and [her head] falls off (lit. 'passes by')

(21)

naandûka,	*wan*	*naandûka,*
naandû-ka	wa-n	naandû-ka
know-SS	that-ANA	know-SS

He thought, and he thought that, and

kudem	*kudem*	*wa*	*nûngkata*	*bagûmok.*
{{ku-de-m	ku-de-m}}	wa	nû-ka=ta	ba-gû-mok
go-IRR.DU-1NSG	go-IRR.DU-1NSG	that	tell-SS=do	come-RP-23DU

as he kept telling her, "Let's go let's go", they came.

(22)

kugû	*kugû*	*kugûûû,*	*kagang*	*kungkadopmûngka*	*mo*
ku-gû	ku-gû	ku-gû~û~û	kagang	ku-kadopm-ka	mo
go-DUR	go-DUR	go-DUR~EXT~EXT	place	go-arrive-SS	already

Going and going and go-o-oing when they arrived at the village

belû,   *meng*   *aa*   *ta—*
be=lû   meng   aa   ta
father.3SG.POSS=NOM   mother   nevermind   yes

her father, her mother, I mean yes—

meng   *kadek*   *agûngang*   *kungkadopmûngka,*
{[meng   kadek]   at-gû-ng=nang}   ku-kadopm-ka
mother   group   be-RP-23PL=LOC   go-arrive-SS

they went to where (her) mother's group was,

taamin,   *nanaa*   *agûngang*   *kungkadopmûngka,*
{[taamin   nanaa]   at-gû-ng=nang}   ku-kadopm-ka
wife.3SG.POSS child.3SG.POSS be-RP-23PL=LOC   go-arrive-SS

(he) went to where his wife and children were, and

aa—   *mo*   *nûnggok,*   *yak*   *dûtalet.*
aa   mo   nû-go-k   {{yak   dûtat-e-t}}
nevermind already tell-RP-3SG   bilum   take.off-IRR.SG-1SG

—okay, he told her, "Let me remove the bilum."

(23) *tûweng*   *taangûlû,*   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*
     {{tû-be-ng}}   taa-ng-lû   {{[taamûng   nanak-sû]
     put.SG-IRR.SG-2SG say-DS-23   woman   child-23NSG.POSS

     yak   *dûtalekka*   *ta*   *tûlat*   *yeka*
     {yak   dûtat-e-k=la}   ta   tû-la-t}}   ye-ka
     bilum   remove-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN do   put.SG-PRS-1SG talk-SS

     He said to take it off, and their daughter went to remove the bilum, and

     membû   *kûtlû*   *tamangka*   *bakugok.*
     [membû   kûtlû]   tamang-ka   ba-ku-go-k
     head   bone   loosen-SS   come-go-RP-3SG

     her head came loose and fell off.

(24) *tang*   *taamûng*   *nanaksû*   *u*   *kaampa*
     ta-ng   [taamûng   nanak-sû   udu]   kaam-pa
     do-DS   woman   child-23NSG.POSS that.ANA die-SS

     And that daughter of theirs died and

     fûgok,   *ka*   *kaamgok.*
     fû-go-k   wa   kaam-go-k
     come.down-RP-3SG   DUB   die-RP-3SG

     fell down, or, she died.

(25) *tang*   *tuku*   *flaasûgûng.*
     ta-ng   tuku   flaasû-gû-ng
     do-DS   take.SG   cover-RP-23PL

     And taking her they buried her.

(26) *walataka   wangaanggût,   bûsenang   kuwaampa,*
    walataka   wangaanggût   bûsenang   ku-waa-m=wa
    therefore   now   jungle   go-PRS-1PL=DUB
    So now if we go to the jungle,

    geksap   wa   agang   naai
    {geksap   wa   at-gang   naai}
    hunt   there   be-PRS:23PL   time

    maafu   naai   flong   kungatta
    [maafu   naai   flong]   kungat-ta
    pandanus.nut   time   ALL   go.around-SS
    when they are going around there hunting during pandanus nut season,

    nantaam   walû   mitaka   atta   idi,
    [nantaam   wa=lû]   mita-ka   at-ta   idi
    people   that=NOM   fear-SS   be-SS   this.ANA
    the people are afraid, and

    mi   nala   nelak   dom   taawangang.
    {{{mi   na=la}   n-e-la-k}}   dom   taa-wang-nang
    water   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG   NEG   say-PRS:23PL-HAB
    the do not say they are thirsty.

(27) *bakuyak,   o   mi   naamûng   nambet*
    {{ba-ku-ya-k}}   o   {{mi   naa-m-ng   na-be-t}}
    come-go-PRS-3SG   um   water   1SG.O-give-DS   eat-IRR.SG-1SG

    dom   taawangang,
    dom   taa-wang-nang
    NEG   say-PRS:23PL-HAB
    "Passing by", um they do not say "Give me water to drink,"

    bakuyak   naamûng   nambet,
    {{ba-ku-ya-k   naa-m-ng   na-be-t}}
    come-go-PRS-3SG   1SG.O-give-DS   eat-IRR.SG-1SG

    bakuyak   nala   nelak
    {{{ba-ku-ya-k   na=la}   n-e-la-k}}
    come-go-PRS-3SG   eat=BEN   1SG.O-bite-PRS-3SG

    wadûng   taawangang.
    wa-dûng   taa-wang-nang
    that-ADV   say-PRS:23PL-HAB
    They say like this, "Give me 'passing by' to drink," "I am thirsty for 'passing by'."

skc12_05   How We Plant Yams

(1) *tetwaap   tanûmpa,*
    {{tet-waap   ta-nûm=la}
    yam-plant   do-IRR.PL:1NSG=BEN

   tawaam   wasûnang   taabûtaat.
    ta-waa-m   wa-s=nang}   taa-b-taa-t
    do-PRS-1PL   that-LK=GEN   say-EP-FUT-1SG
    I will talk about what we do to plant yams.

(2) *waagût,   tetwaap   tawaam.*
    waagût   tet-waap   ta-waa-m
    now   yap-plant   do-PRS-1PL
    Now we are planting yams.

(3) *tetwaap   imo,   tûmang,   ku   fi   fepmûnggaam.*
    tet-waap   idi=mo   tûmang   ku   fi   fepm-gaa-m
    yam-plant   this.ANA=already   first   go   garden   clear.bush-PRS-1PL
    The yam planting, okay first, going we clear the garden.

(4) *fi   fepmaangkongka   tûka,*
    fi   fepm-maa-kong-ka   tû-ka
    garden   clear.bush-CMPL-TERM-SS   put.SG-SS
    We clear the whole garden and put it, and

   kaadûp   dûnûyapmanggaam.
    kaadûp   dûnû-y-kapmang-gaa-m
    tree   chop-3NSG.O-drop-PRS-1PL
    we cut down the trees.

(5) *kaadûp   dûnûyapmangûda,   fûngûlû,*
    kaadûp   dûnû-y-kapmang-ng-da   fû-ng-lû
    tree   chop-3NSG.O-drop-DS-1NSG   come.down-DS-23
    We cut the trees down, and

   mo   faleleka,   fangaakngka   bot   bemaangkongka,
    mo   falele-ka   fangaakng-ka   bot   be-maa-kong-ka
    already   lop-SS   lift.NSG-SS   group   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS
    we lop (the branches) off, and we lift them up and group them all, and

   bemaangkonggaam.
    be-maa-kong-gaa-m
    put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-PRS-1PL
    we put them all.

(6) *bemaangkongka   bangaakngûda*
be-maa-kong-ka   ba-ngat-ng-da
put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-SS   come-be-DS-1NSG
We group them and come stay and

    go   dûka,   mulin   tang,
    go   dû-ka   mulin   ta-ng
    sun   light-SS   dry   do-DS
    the sun lights and, dries out

    sasak,   kaadûp   tamek   fepmûngka   bewaam   wa.
    {[sasak   kaadûp   tamek]   fepm-ka   be-waa-m   wa}
    greenery   tree   leaves   clear.bush-SS put.NSG-PRS-1PL that
    the greenery and trees and leaves we cleared and put there.

(7) *mulin   tamaangkong,*
mulin   ta-maa-kong-ng
dry   do-CMPL-TERM-DS
(When) they finish drying,

    bûge   kuu   wolûka   semaangkongka   bûge,
    bûge   ku~u   wolû-ka   se-maa-kong-ka   bûge
    again   go~EXT   gather-SS   cook-CMPL-TERM-SS   again

    klûngklûng   ban   tawaam.
    klûngklûng   ban   ta-waa-m
    rake   a   do-PRS-1PL
    going again we gather them and burn them and we rake them up another time.

(8) *klûngklûng   taka,   lakomaangka,*
klûngklûng   ta-ka   lakong-maa-ka
rake   do-SS   throw.NSG-CMPL-SS
We rake them all up, and

    tet   welû   tametta   kuwaam.
    [tet   welû]   tamet-ta   ku-waa-m
    yam   seed.3SG.POSS carry-SS   go-PRS-1PL
    we carry the yam seeds and go.

(9) *taamtaampa   na   fentagût,*
[taamtaam=wa   na   fentagût]
women=DUB   man   all
All the women or men,

    tet   welû   tametta   fapmo,
    [tet   welû]   tamet-ta   fapmo
    yam   seed.3SG.POSS carry-SS   take.down.NSG
    carry the yam seeds down,

fing   *wa*   *bemaangkong,*
fing   wa   be-maa-kong-ng
garden   that   put.NSG-CMPL-TERM-DS
and put them all in the garden, and

nalû   *kanek*   *sopmûngka*   *bangatta,*
na=lû   kanek   isopm-ka   ba-ngat-ta
man=NOM   digging.stick   hold.NSG-SS   come-be-SS
the men grab the digging sticks and come, and

waapmûnggaam.
waapm-gaa-m
plant-PRS-1PL
we plant (them).

(10)   *bûkngaanang*   *kanatta*   *waapmûnggaam*   *walûû,*
{bûkngaanang   kan=at-ta   waapm-gaa-m   wa=lû~û}
garden.top   up.PROX=be-SS   plant-PRS-1PL   that=ABL~EXT
From planting up at the top of the garden,

waapmûnkata   *mongka*   *mongka*   *mongka,*
waapm-ka=ta   mo-ka   mo-ka   mo-ka
plant-SS=do   go.down-SS   go.down-SS   go.down-SS
we plant and plant and go down and down and down, and

gabenang   *kum*   *mongkadopmûnggaam.*
gabenang   kum   mo-kadomp-gaa-m
garden.bottom   down.DIST   go.down-arrive-PRS-1PL
we arrive at the bottom of the garden.

(11)   *mongka*   *ifûngaawewaam.*
mo-ka   ef-aawe-waa-m
go.down-SS   CAUS-finish-PRS-1PL
We go down and finish it.

(12)   *wadûng*   *tawaamang,*   *tet,*   *waap.*
wa-dûng   ta-waa-m-nang   tet   waap
that-ADV   do-PRS-1PL-HAB   yam   plant
We do like that, (for) yam planting.

skc12_06   Prayer Against Evil Spirits

<u>Setting</u>: Collected while two speakers visited Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks; this is a video recording of the speaker's prayer before working with me for the morning
<u>Genre</u>: Procedural (oral; video)
<u>Summary</u>: A prayer for protection from spiritual attack
<u>Speaker</u>: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

(1)   *nunum*   *tanûm.*
nunum   ta-nûm
prayer   do-IRR.PL:1NSG
Let's pray.

604

(2)   *oo*   *aanutu*   *kunum*   *bepmek*   *gak*   *wanak*
       oo   [aanutu   kunum   bep-nek]   [gak   wanak]
       ohh   God   sky   father-1NSG.POSS   2SG   thou
       Ohh, God our Father of Heaven, thou art

       atat   *sûglen*   *kami*   *kunum,*
       [atat   sûglen]   [kami   kunum]
       presence   strong   ground   sky
       strong forever in Heaven and Earth,

       gaknga   *tamaangka*   *begong.*
       gak-nga   ta-maa-ka   be-go-ng
       2SG-EMPH   do-CMPL-SS   put.NSG-RP-2SG
       you yourself created it all.

(3)   *wa*   *gek*   *kankan*   *ma*   *fukunap*   *waagempa*
       wa   [gek   kankan   ma]   [fukunap   waagem=wa]]
       DUB   animal   insect   what   spirit   bad=DUB
       Or whatever animals and insects and whatever bad spirit or

       fukunap   *kaalin*   *mama*   *yangattak*   *udu*
       [fukunap   kaalin   ma~ma]   ya=ngat-ta-k   udu
       spirit   good   what~what   here=be-PRS-3SG   that.ANA
       whatever good spirit that is here,

       gak   *nûnggût*   *gaabûmaangka*
       [gak   nûnggût]   gaa-b-maa-ka
       2SG   one   2SG.O-see-CMPL-SS
       they look at you alone and

       gak   *gaanuutumpaka*   *agang.*
       gak   gaa-nûutumpa-ka   at-gang
       2SG   2SG.O-praise-SS   be-PRS:23PL
       they are praising you.

(4)   *ta*   *fukunap*   *waagem*   *udu*
       ta   [fukunap   waagem   udu]
       do   spirit   bad   that.ANA
       But those bad spirits,

       na   *nûnûng*   *palak*   *tûwaam*
       [na   nûnûng]   palak   tû-waa-m
       man   1PL.EMPH   bridge   put.SG-PRS-1PL
       we men are putting up a bridge and

       walong   *wilaangka*   *baka*   *na*   *nûfûtefaawang,*
       wa=long   wilaang-ka   ba-ka   na   n-ef-tefaa-wang
       that=ALL   cross-SS   come-SS   man   1NSG.O-CAUS-upset-PRS:23PL
       they cross there and come and hurt us men,

ka   nandentû   walesû   kuwakuwe   naandûka
wa   na=den=lû   wale-sû   kuwakuwe   naandû-ka
DUB   man=some=NOM   liver-23NSG.POSS dislike   feel-SS
or some men don't like (us) and

walong   tafûntûng   bawang.
wa=long   tafûntû-ng   ba-wang
that=ALL   send.NSG-DS   come-PRS:23PL
send [magic] to come there.

(5) walû   ba   nanden   efûtefaalok   wasûnang
     wa=lû   ba   {na=den   ef-tefaa=lok}   wa-s=nang
     that=NOM   come   man=some   CAUS-upset=POT   that-LK=GEN

     wadûng   wa   weknggûtnekngang
     wa-dûng   wa   wekng-gût-nek=nang
     that-ADV   that   middle-RSTR-1NSG.POSS=LOC

     nûndû   yangagaam   ya.
     nûndû   ya=ngat-gaa-m   ya
     1NSG   here=be-PRS-1PL this
     Their coming to hurt some men is like that in the middle of us, where we are here.

(6) laayan   nalaampa   tuboin   naknga   nûndû   yangagaam.
     [[laayan   nalaam=wa]   tuboin   nak-nga]   nûndû   ya=ngat-gaa-m
     PN   couple-DUB   PN   1SG-EMPH   1NSG   this=be-PRS-1PL
     Ryan and his wife or Tuboin and me myself, we are here.

(7) walû   nûwangka   kungattak   flong
     {wa=lû   n-tawang-ka   kungat-ta-k   flong}
     that=NOM   1NSG.O-follow-SS go.around-PRS-3SG ALL
     When it follows us around,

     waagût   ba   bot   ya   tawaam   ya.
     waagût   ba   [bot   ya]   ta-waa-m   ya
     now   come   group   this   do-PRS-1PL   here
     now we come and gather here.

(8) ta   nunum   ya   tantûngûda   kuyak   ya   yesu.
     ta   [nunum   ya]   tantû-ng-da   ku-ya-k   ya   yesu
     do   prayer   this   send.SG-DS-1NSG   go-PRS-3SG   this   Jesus
     But we send this prayer to Jesus.

(9) gak   waagem   wa   dobûka   tantûng   kutaak.
     gak   [waagem   wa]   dob-ka   tantû-ng   ku-taa-k
     2SG   bad   that   cut-SS   send.SG-DS   go-FUT-3SG
     You cut out the bad and send it away.

(10) ta   fi   ya   naandûka   bagûm   ya,
     ta   {[[fi   ya]   naandû-ka   ba-gû-m   ya}
     do   work   this   know-SS   come-RP-1PL this
     But this work we thought about and came for:

mandanek   *tefaalengûda*
manda-nek   tefaale-ng-da
talk-1NSG.POSS   turn-DS-1NSG
we translate our language and

ba   *wanak*   *mitiga*   *manda*   *walû*
{{ba   wanak   [miti-ga   manda   wa=lû]
come   thy   Gospel-2SG.POSS   talk   that=ABL

ba   *nûnûngkûnang*   *manda*   *yalong*
ba   [nûnûng=lûnang   manda   ya=long]
come   1PL.EMPH=GEN   talk   this=ALL

mombek   *naandûka*   *ya*   *tefaalenûmpa*
mo-be-k}}   naandû-ka   {ya   tefaale-nûm=la}
go.down-IRR.SG-3SG   know-SS   this   turn-IRR.PL:1NSG=BEN

bagûm   *ya.*
ba-gû-m   ya
come-RP-1PL   here
we want it to come from thy Gospel Word down into our own language, and we came here to translate this.

(11) *wa*   *kawaangûlû*   *walû*   *bin*   *aakng*
      wa   kawaa-ng-lû   wa=lû   bin   at-ng
      that   leave.3SG-DS-23   that=NOM   true   be-DS
      It leaves and is true and

wanak   *wa*   *tantûngûda*   *kung*
wanak   wa   tantû-ng-da   ku-ng
thou   that   send.SG-DS-1NSG   go-DS
we send it on and

nantaam   *mamam*   *walû*   *wanak*   *manda*
[nantaam   mamam   wa=lû]   wanak   {{manda
people   many   that-NOM   thy   talk

isûngkûnang   *sûnûk*   *wa*   *naandûka*
isûng=lûnang   sûnûk   wa}}   naandû-ka
3PL.O=GEN   true   that   know-SS
the many peoples will know that it's their very own language and

walong   *kunum*   *flong*   *kuneng.*
wa=long   [kunum   flong]   ku-ne-ng
that=ALL   sky   ALL   go-IRR.PL-23NSG
then they will go to Heaven.

(12) *wadûng*   *wala*   *bagûm*   *nûndû.*
      wa-dûng   wa=la   ba-gû-m   nûndû
      that-ADV   that=BEN   come-RP-1PL   1NSG
      Like that, we came for that.

(13) *laayan   nalaam   bagûmokka*
    [laayan   nalaam   ba-gû-mok=wa]
    PN   couple   come-RP-23DU=DUB
    Ryan and his wife came or

    nûndû   bagûmot   u
    {nûndû   ba-gû-mot   udu}
    1NSG   come-RP-1DU   that.ANA
    we (two) who came,

    manda   wa   tefaalengûda   nantaam   mamam   walû
    [manda   wa]   tefaale-ng-da   [nantaam   mamam   wa=lû]
    talk   that   turn-DS-1NSG   people   many   that=NOM
    we are translating the language for many peoples

    kunum   flong   kûlok   wasûnang
    [kunum   flong]   ???   wa-s=nang
    sky   ALL   ???   that-LK=GEN
    to go to heaven and about this

    ta   fukunap   waagem   walû
    ta   [fukunap   waagem   wa=lû]
    do   spirit   bad   that=NOM
    the bad spirits

    ba   na   efûtefaalok   wa   baak   wa.
    ba   {na   ef-tefaa=lok}   wa   ba-a-k   wa
    come   man   CAUS-upset=POT   that   come-PRS-3SG   that
    are coming there to hurt the men.

(14) *wa   elang   walû   baak.*
    wa   [elang   wa=lû]   ba-a-k
    there   lie   that=NOM   come-PRS-3SG
    The lie is coming there.

(15) *fukunap   waagem   wa   gonang   manda*
    [fukunap   waagem   wa]   [gonang   manda]
    spirit   bad   that   2SG:GEN   talk

    naandûwangang   yesu.
    naandû-wang-nang   yesu
    know-PRS:23PL-HAB   Jesus
    The bad spirits know your language, Jesus.

(16) *walataka   nûndû   gak   gaanûngkawaam.*
    walataka   nûndû   gak   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
    therefore   1NSG   2SG   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
    So we call on you.

(17) *fukunap   waagem   mama   ba*
      {{fukunap   waagem   ma~ma]   ba
      spirit   bad   what~what   come
      Whatever bad spirits are coming

      manggatmanggat   laayan   nalaampûnang   tefaalak
      [manggat~manggat   laayan   nalaam=lûnang]   tefaa-la-k
      thing~thing   PN   couple=GEN   upset-PRS-3SG
      and disturbing Ryan and his wife's things

      ka   fi   ya   tefaalok   taak   wa,
      wa   {{fi   ya]   tefaa=lok}   ta-a-k   wa}
      DUB   work   this   upset=POT   do-PRS-3SG   that
      or are wanting to destroy this work,

      sûdû   wanak   waagût   yesunang   wo
      sûdû   wanak   waagût   [yesu=nang   wo]
      2NSG   thou   now   Jesus=GEN   name.3SG.POSS

      sakoka   saanûlat.
      sako-ka   saa-nû-la-t
      hold.3SG-SS   2NSG.O-tell-PRS-1SG
      now taking the name of Jesus and I ask thee,

(18) *sûdû   taleka   faaungang   atmaangûlû*
      {{sûdû   tale-ka   faung=nang   at-maa-ng-lû
      2NSG   pull-SS   cheek=LOC   be-CMPL-DS-23
      You pull it to the side and

      laayan   nalaampa   fi   ya   tawaam   yalû
      [laayan   nalaam=wa]   {{fi   ya]   ta-waa-m   ya=lû}
      PN   couple=DUB   work   this   do-PRS-1PL   this=NOM
      Ryan and his wife and this work we are doing,

      dûdûmen   kuka   kungkadopmbek   wadûng
      dûdûmen   ku-ka   ku-kadopm-be-k}}   wa-dûng
      straight   go-SS   go-arrive-IRR.SG-3SG   that-ADV
      may it go straight like, like that

      naandûka   gaanûngkawaam.
      naandû-ka   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
      know-SS   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
      we think and call on you.

(19) *walû   waagût   nak   taamengsla   finek   ya*
      wa=lû   waagût   nak   taamengsla   {{fi-nek   ya]
      that=ABL   now   1SG   morning   work-1NSG.POSS   this

      yolûfeka   tanûmpa   taka
      yolûfe-ka   ta-nûm=la}   ta-ka
      join-SS   do-IRR.PL:1NSG=BEN   do-SS
      Now from that I plan to join this work of ours this morning and

609

wanak   gaanûngkawaam.
wanak   gaa-nûngka-waa-m
thee   2SG.O-call-PRS-1PL
we call on thee.

(20) *bepmek*   *aanutu*   *yesu*   *klisto*   *gitin*   *fukunap*
      [bep-nek   aanutu   yesu   klisto   gitin   fukunap]
      father-1NSG.POSS   God   Jesus   Christ   holy   spirit
      God our Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit,

      sûdûnang   *wopsû*   *flong*
      [sûdû=nang   wop-sû   flong]
      2NSG=GEN   name-23NSG.POSS   ALL
      in your names,

      finek   *ya*   *dûfûlomgaam.*
      [fi-nek   ya]   dûfûlom-gaa-m
      work-1NSG.POSS   this   turn.open-PRS-1PL
      we open this work of ours.

(21) *u*   *bûgût.*
      udu   bûgût
      that.ANA   true
      Amen.

skc12_11   The Two Cousin Chickens

Setting: Written in the village and brought along for a visit to Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for
three weeks
Genre: Legend (written)
Summary: Tells a story about two cousin birds, the wild fowl and the chicken, which explains
why they look differently and why their habitats are in different places
Author: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

(1) *tûmanggût*   *sûnûk*   *kobûse*   *yaalû*   *naawang*   *aatigûmokngang.*
     tûmang-gût   sûnûk   [kobûse   yaalû]   naawang   at-i-gû-mok-nang
     before-RSTR   real   chicken   two   PN   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23DU-HAB
     A very long time ago two chickens were living in Nawang.

(2) *wangaagû*   *aagû*   *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   *yaabûgûmok,*
     wa=ngat-gû   at-gû   [naai   ban   flong]   yaa-b-gû-mok
     there=be-DUR   be-DUR   time   a   ALL   3NSG.O-see-RP-23DU
     Staying there, one time they saw,

     kutap   *sangaanggût*   *dom*   *walû*   *genangkagûng.*
     {{kutap   [sangaanggût   dom]   wa=lû   genangka-gû-ng}}
     lizard   slowly   NEG   that=NOM   appear-RP-23PL
     that not just a few lizards came out.

610

(3) *tang   nanggûmok,*
ta-ng   na-gû-mok
do-DS   eat-RP-23DU
And they ate them,

wanggûtnang   kutap   dom   aawegûng
wanggûtnang   kutap   dom   aawe-gû-ng
but   lizard   NEG   finish-RP-23PL
but the lizards were not finished

tang   yenaandûgûmok.
ta-ng   yenaandû-gû-mok
do-DS   agree-RP-23DU
and they agreed.

(4) *yadûng   yenaandûgûmok,*
ya-dûng   yenaandû-gû-mok
this-ADV   agree-RP-23DU
They agreed like this,

waagût   idi   kutap   mamam   yepmûyodûka
{{waagût   idi   [kutap   mamam]   yepmûyodû-ka
now   this.ANA   lizard   many   search.for.NSG-SS
"Now, we will search around for many lizards and

bot   bentaamot,
bot   be-ntaa-mot
group   put.NSG-FUT-1DU
we will gather them,

taamengkok   wasit   sisalok   wasit.
[taameng=lok   wasit   sisa=lok   wasit]}}
tomorrow=DAT   that:COM   ±2days=DAT   that:COM
for tomorrow and for the day after tomorrow."

(5) *wan   yenaandûka   kugûmok.*
wa-n   yenaandû-ka   ku-gû-mok
that-ANA agree-SS   go-RP-23DU
They agreed on that and went.

(6) *saaut   kadet   tawanggûmok.*
[saaut   kadet]   tawang-gû-mok
PN   road   follow-RP-23DU
They followed Saut road.

(7) *kuka   kutap   sangaanggût   dom   ilûpmûnggûmok.*
ku-ka   kutap   sangaanggût   dom   ilûpm-gû-mok
go-SS   lizard   slowly   NEG   hit.NSG-RP-23DU
They went and killed not a few lizards.

(8) *ilûpmûngkata*   *kugû*   *kugû*
ilûpm-ka=ta   ku-gû   ku-gû
hit.NSG-SS=do   go-DUR   go-DUR
Killing them and going and going,

    aminenggok   *kungkadopmûnggûmok,*
    aminenggok   ku-kadopm-gû-mok
    PN   go-arrive-RP-23DU
    they arrived at Aminengok,

    yolang   *kadetnang*   *sûnûk.*
    [yolang   kadet=nang   sûnûk]
    PN   road=LOC   real
    on the actual Yolang Road.

(9) *taka*   *adaampaka*   *agûmok*
ta-ka   adaampa-ka   at-gû-mok
do-SS   rest-SS   be-RP-23DU
And they rested

    aagû   *kobûse*   *bantû*   *kobûse*   *ban*   *yan*   *nûnggok,*
    at-gû   [kobûse   ban=lû]   [kobûse   ban]   ya-n   nû-go-k
    be-DUR   chicken   a=NOM   chicken   a   this-ANA   tell-RP-3SG
    until a chicken told the other chicken this,

    nimi,   *nak*   *naandûsu*   *ban*   *yan*   *naandûsulat,*
    {{nimi   nak   [naandûsu   ban   ya-n]   naandûsu-la-t
    cousin   1SG   thought   a   this-ANA   think-PRS-1SG
    "Cousin, I am thinking this thought,

    kaadûp   *dalo*   *dong*   *kuka*   *baka*   *seka*   *nandem.*
    {{[kaadûp   dalo]   dong   ku-ka   ba-ka   se-ka   na-de-m}}}}
    wood   tinder   search   go-SS   come-SS   cook-SS   eat-IRR.DU-1NSG
    'Let's go gather firewood and come and cook and eat it.'"

(10) *tang*   *kobûse*   *ban*   *walû*   *nûnggok*   *manggadom.*
ta-ng   [kobûse   ban   wa=lû]   nû-go-k   {{manggat:dom}}
do-DS   chicken   a   that=NOM   tell-RP-3SG   thing:NEG
And the other chicken told him, "Not a problem."

(11) *tang*   *nolû*   *ban*   *walû*   *nolû*   *ban*   *wa*
ta-ng   [nolû   ban   wa=lû]   [nolû   ban   wa]
do-DS   brother.3SG.POSS   a   that=NOM   brother.3SG.POSS   a   that

    nûnggok,   *gak*   *kuka*   *kaadûp*   *dalo*   *tebe.*
    nû-go-k   {{gak   ku-ka   [kaadûp   dalo]   te-be}}
    tell-RP-3SG   2SG   go-SS   wood   tinder   bring.SG-IRR.SG
    And the other brother told the other brother, "You go and bring the firewood."

(12) *tang   nolû   ban   walû   nila   nûnggok,*
     ta-ng   [nolû   ban   wa=lû]   ni=la   nû-go-k
     do-DS   brother.3SG.POSS   a   that=NOM   3SG.EMPH=BEN tell-RP-3SG
     And the other brother answered him,

     dom,   gak   kuwe.
     {{dom   gak   ku-be
     NEG   2SG   go-IRR.SG
     "No, you go.

     nak   kutap   yamaandûfatta   alûtaat.
     nak   kutap   y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-taa-t}}
     1SG   lizard   3NSG.O-look.after-SS   be-FUT-1SG
     I will look after the lizards."

(13) *kiyengyeng   taagûmok*
     kiyengyeng   taa-gû-mok
     discuss   say-RP-23DU
     They discussed

     gak   kuwe,   taagok.
     {{gak   ku-be}}   taa-go-k
     2SG   go-IRR.SG   say-RP-3SG
     and he said, "You go."

(14) *taagû   nolû   bantû   nûnggok,*
     taa-gû   [nolû   ban=lû]   nû-go-k
     say-DUR   brother.3SG.POSS   a=nom   tell-RP-3SG
     Talking, the other brother told him,

     manggadom,   nak   kuwet.
     {{manggat:dom   nak   ku-be-t}}
     thing:NEG   1SG   go-IRR.SG-1SG
     "Not a problem. I'll go."

(15) *wan   taaka   monggok   yolang.*
     wa-n   taa-ka   mo-go-k   yolang
     that-ANA say-SS   go.down-RP-3SG   PN
     He said that and went down, to Yolang.

(16) *tang   nimin   ban   walû   kutap*
ta-ng   [nimin   ban   wa=lû]   kutap
do-DS   cousin.3SG.POSS   a   that=NOM   lizard

yamaandûfatta   agok.
y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-go-k
3NSG.O-look.after-SS   be-RP-3SG
And the other cousin looked after the lizards.

(17) *tang   nimin   ban   walû   kagang*
ta-ng   [nimin   ban   wa=lû]   kagang
do-DS   cousin.3SG.POSS   a   that=NOM   village

mongkadopmûngka   yaabûgok,
mo-kadopm-ka   yaa-b-go-k
go.down-arrive-SS   3NSG.O-see-RP-3SG
And the other cousin went down to the village and saw,

sûbat   saansaantû   sangaanggût   dom   agûng.
{{[sûbat   saan~saan=lû]   sangaanggût   dom   at-gû-ng}}
food   piece~piece=NOM   slowly   NEG   be-RP-23PL
that there were not just a few crumbs of food.

(18) *tang   yaabûka   sûbat   saansaan   wa   nangka*
ta-ng   yaa-b-ka   [sûbat   saan~saan   wa]   na-ka
do-DS   3NSG.O-SS   food   piece~piece   that   eat-SS
And he saw them and ate the crumbs and

nimin   kun   tebûkamalagok.
[nimin   kun]   teb-kamala-go-k
cousin.3SG.POSS   up.DIST   CAUS-ignorant-RP-3SG
he forgot his cousin above.

(19) *tang   nimin   ban   kunsûlû*
ta-ng   [nimin   ban   kun-s=lû]
do-DS   cousin.3SG.POSS   a   up.DIST-LK=NOM
And the other cousin above

alûmgok   alûmgok
at-m-go-k   at-m-go-k
be-give-RP-3SG   be-give-RP-3SG
waited and waited on him,

domgût   laabûng   kaka   kekng   taagok,
{{dom-gût   laab-ng}}   ka-ka   kekng   taa-go-k
NEG-RSTR   come.up-DS   see.3SG-SS   call   say-RP-3SG
but he still did not see him come up and he called out,

nameee,   nak   tawat   saansaan.
{{name~e~e   nak   [tawat   saan~saan]}}
cousin~EXT~EXT   1SG   yam.sp   piece~piece
"Cousi-i-in, I [have eaten] the yam crumbs."

(20) *wan   taang   naandûka*
    wa-n   taa-ng   naandû-ka
    that-ANA   say-DS   hear-SS
    He said that and (the other) heard and

    nimin   ban   kunsûlû   nûnggok,
    [nimin   ban   kun-s=lû]   nû-go-k
    cousin.3SG.POSS   a   up.DIST-LK=NOM   tell-RP-3SG
    told his cousin above,

    nameee,   nak   da   kadap   dongkit.
    {{name~e~e   nak   da   dakap   dongkit}}
    cousin~ext~ext   1sg   –   ——   ——
    "Cousi-i-in, I went to the jungle (lit. 'I am from the jungle')."[45]

(21) *wan   taaka   kutap   wa   isopmûngka   kodaak   nanggok.*
    wa-n   taa-ka   [kutap   wa]   isopm-ka   {koda-a-k}   na-go-k
    that-ANA   say-SS   lizard   that   hold.NSG-SS   alive-PRS-3SG   eat-RP-3SG
    He said that and grabbed the lizards and ate them alive.

(22) *nangka   nanggat   waga   kûtlûnang   tûflûka*
    na-ka   [nanggat   wa=ga]   kûtlû=nang   tûflû-ka
    eat-SS   blood   that=INST   leg=LOC   rub-SS
    He ate them and rubbed on his legs with their blood and

    filaangka   damanang   maalogok.
    filaang-ka   damanang   maa=lo-go-k
    fly-SS   PN   wholly=go.up-RP-3SG
    flew up to Damanang.

(23) *walataka   yaabûntaangang*
    walataka   yaa-b-ntaa-ng-nang
    therefore   3NSG.O-see-FUT-23PL-HAB
    Therefore you will see

    yagusuwalû   damanang   wa   agang   wa.
    {{yagusuwa=lû   damanang   wa   at-gang   wa}}
    wild.fowl.sp=NOM   PN   that   be-PRS:23PL   there
    that the *yagusuwa* wild fowl are there in Damanang.

(24) *nimi   walû   bûsenang   maakugok*
    [nimi   wa=lû]   bûsenang   maa=ku-go-k
    cousin   that=NOM   jungle   wholly=go-RP-3SG
    Cousin went into the jungle

---

[45] This quote is spoken in the neighboring Nema (ISO: [gsn]) language, so the speakers translated it for me.

tang	nimi	ban	walû	kagang	agok	i
ta-ng	{[nimi	ban	wa=lû]	kagang	at-go-k	idi}
do-DS	cousin	a	that=NOM	village	be-RP-3SG	this.ANA

kobûse.
kobûse
chicken
but his other cousin that is in the village, is the chicken.

(25) *wadûng.*
wa-dûng
that-ADV
Like that.

(26)
yagusuwa	kaang	kobûsenang	ulaksek	wadûng.
[yagusuwa	kaang	kobûse=nang	ulak-sek]	wa-dûng
wild.fowl.sp	two	chicken=GEN	story-23DU.POSS	that-ADV

The *yagusuwa* and chicken story is like that.

skc12_12   The Papuan Flowerpecker and the Cassowary

Setting: Written in the village and brought along for a visit to Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks
Genre: Legend (written)
Summary: Tells a story about how the Papuan Flowerpecker tricked the cassowary into breaking its wings, explaining its flightless nature today.
Author: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

(1)
sowek	i	tûmang	flunit	aatigokngang.
[sowek	idi]	tûmang	flu-nit	at-i-go-k-nang
cassowary	this.ANA	first	wing-3SG.POSS:COM	be-IPFV.HAB-RP-3SG-HAB

Cassowaries, (they) used to have wings before.

(2)
filaangka	usung	kungaatigokngang.
filaang-ka	usung	ku-ngat-i-go-k-nang
fly-SS	above	go-be-IPFV.HAB-RP-3SG-HAB

They used to fly and go around above.

(3)
naai	ban	flong	gisimpû	bakagok,
[naai	ban	flong]	gisim=lû	ba-ka-go-k
time	a	ALL	bird.sp=NOM	come-see.3SG-RP-3SG

One time a *gisim* bird came and saw it.

(4)
kagok	i	ip	kusamba	sûnûk	ip	den
ka-go-k	idi	{{[ip	kusamba	sûnûk]	[ip	den]
see.3SG-RP-3SG	this.ANA	bird	big	real	bird	some

gelû	ilûpmûngka	namaalok,
gelû	ilûpm-ka	na-maa=lok}}
alright	hit.NSG-SS	eat-CMPL=POT

What he saw was a bird big enough that it could kill some birds and eat them up,

wasit   *na*   *gelû*   *fuku*   *nalok.*

wa-s:it	na	gelû	fuku	na=lok
that-LK:COM	man	alright	take.NSG	eat=POT

and it could take men and eat them too.

(5) *wadûngin*   *kaka*   *naandûsugok,*

wa-dûng-in	ka-ka	naandûsu-go-k
that-ADV-ANA	see.3SG-SS	think.about-RP-3SG

He saw that and planned,

tantalaamûtta   *flu*   *wobûka*   *lakombet,*

{{tantalaamût-ta	flu	ob-ka	lakong-be-t}}
try-SS	wing	break-SS	throw.NSG-IRR.SG-1SG

"Let me try and break its wings,"

wan   *naandûsugok.*

wa-n	naandûsu-go-k
that-ANA	think.about-RP-3SG

he planned that.

(6) *naandûka*   *filaangka*   *kugok.*

naandû-ka	filaang-ka	ku-go-k
think-SS	fly-SS	go-RP-3SG

He thought it and flew away.

(7) *kuka*   *kaadûp*   *tangaan*   *yaalû*   *isopmûngka*   *bagok.*

ku-ka	[kaadûp	tangaan	yaalû]	isopm-ka	ba-go-k
go-SS	tree	branch	two	hold.NSG-SS	come-RP-3SG

He went and grabbed two tree branches and came.

(8) *baka*   *sowek*   *kagok.*

ba-ka	sowek	ka-go-k
come-SS	cassowary	see.3SG-RP-3SG

He came and saw the cassowary.

(9) *taka*   *kaadûp*   *tangaan*   *yaalû*   *waga*

ta-ka	[kaadûp	tangaan	yaalû	wa=ga]
do-SS	tree	branch	two	that=INST

flu   *banenang*   *kun*   *begok.*

[flu	bane=nang]	kun	be-go-k
wing	inside=LOC	up.DIST	put.NSG-RP-3SG

And he propped up inside his wing with the two tree branches.

(10) *sowekkû*   *dom*   *kagok.*

sowek=lû	dom	ka-go-k
cassowary=NOM	NEG	see.3SG-RP-3SG

The cassowary didn't see him.

(11) *taka   sowek   nûnggok,*
     ta-ka   sowek   nû-go-k
     do-SS   cassowary tell-RP-3SG
     And he told the cassowary,

     faaleka   naambe,   nûnggok.
     {{faale-ka   naa-b-be}}   nû-go-k
     turn.around-SS   1SG.O-see-IRR.SG tell-RP-3SG
     "Turn around and look at me," he told it.

(12) *taang   sowekkû   faaleka   kagok.*
     taa-ng   sowek=lû   faale-ka   ka-go-k
     say-DS   cassowary=NOM   turn.around-SS   see.3SG-RP-3SG
     He said it and the cassowary turned around and saw him.

(13) *kang   nûnggok,   atta   naambûtaang.*
     ka-ng   nû-go-k   {{at-ta   naa-b-taa-ng}}
     see.3SG-DS tell-RP-3SG be-SS   1SG.O-see-FUT-2SG
     It looked at him and he told it, "You stay (there) and watch me.

     nak   fluna   wobûtaat,   nûnggok.
     nak   flu-na   ob-taa-t}}   nû-go-k
     1SG   wing-1SG.POSS   break-FUT-1SG   tell-RP-3SG
     I will break my wing," he told it.

(14) *nûngka   flu   tangaakngka   kaadûp   tangaan   yaalû   wa*
     nû-ka   flu   tangaakng-ka   [kaadûp   tangaan   yaalû   wa]
     tell-SS   wing   lift.SG-SS   tree   branch   two   that

     wobûngûlû   mandaan   taagûmok.
     ob-ng-lû   mandaan   taa-gû-mok
     break-DS-23   sound   say-RP-23DU
     He told it and lifted up his wing and when the two tree branches broke they made a
     sound.

(15) *tang   nûnggok,   usuk   naandûlang.*
     ta-ng   nû-go-k   {{usuk   naandû-la-ng
     do-DS   tell-RP-3SG RHET   hear-PRS-2SG
     And he told it, "You hear it, huh?

(16) *nak   fluna   mo   wobûlat.*
     nak   flu-na   mo   ob-la-t
     1SG   wing-1SG.POSS   already   break-PRS-1SG
     I've broken my wing.

(17) *gak   bû   wobe.*
     gak   bû   ob-be}}
     2SG   too   break-IRR.SG
     You break (yours) too."

(18) *nûntalaamûkng   sowekkû   flu   bin   wobûka   begok.*
nûntalaamût-ng   sowek=lû   [flu   bin]   ob-ka   be-go-k
trick-DS   cassowary=NOM   wing   real   break-SS   put.NSG-RP-3SG
He tricked it and the cassowary broke its real wing.

(19) *tang   nûnggok,   mo   filaang   gaabet,   nûnggok.*
ta-ng   nû-go-k   {{mo   filaang-ng   gaa-b-be-t}}   nû-go-k
do-DS   tell-RP-3SG   already   fly-DS   2SG.O-see-IRR.SG-1SG   tell-RP-3SG
And he told it, "Okay, let me see you fly," he told it.

(20) *tang   sowekkû   filaambekka   tagok   dom,*
ta-ng   sowek=lû   {filaang-be-k=la}   ta-go-k   dom
do-DS   cassowary=NOM   fly-IRR.SG-3SG=BEN   do-RP-3SG   NEG
And the cassowary tried to fly, but no,

flu   mogût   galowaan.
flu   mo-gût   {galo-baan}
wing   already-RSTR   break-NMLZ
its wing was already broken.

(21) *belûfaka   ba   gisim   ulek   tang*
belûfa-ka   {ba   gisim   ut-e-k}   ta-ng
angry-SS   come   bird.sp   hit-IRR.SG-3SG   do-DS
It got angry and coming, it tried to kill the *gisim* bird and

gisimpû   filaangka   maakugok.
gisim=lû   filaang-ka   maa=ku-go-k
bird.sp=NOM   fly-SS   wholly=go-RP-3SG
the *gisim* bird flew away.

(22) *tang   sowek   filaantok   dom   tang   nûnggok,*
ta-ng   sowek   {filaang=lok}   dom   ta-ng   nû-go-k
do-DS   cassowary   fly=POT   NEG   do-DS   tell-RP-3SG
And the cassowary was unable to fly and [the *gisim* bird] told it,

kola   tagat   amun   dom   kulaweng
{{kola   tagat   amun   dom   kula-be-ng
revenge   faeces   ground   NEG   defecate-IRR.SG-2SG
"The revenge is that you may not defecate on the ground,

laamut   tanggaambet.
laamut   ta-gaa-m-be-t}}
poison   do-2SG.O-give-IRR.SG-1SG
I poison you."

(23) *wan   taang   gisimpû   nûnggok,*
wa-n   taa-ng   gisim=lû   nû-go-k
that-ANA   say-DS   bird.sp=NOM   tell-RP-3SG
It said that and the *gisim* bird told it,

kaadûp   flong   usung   dopa   kulaatnang.
{{[kaadûp flong]   usung   dom:wa   kula-a-t-nang}}
tree   ALL   above   NEG:DUB   defecate-PRS-1SG-HAB
I defecate up in the trees huh?"

(24) wan   nûngka   filaangka   maakugok.
      wa-n   nû-ka   filaang-ka   maa=ku-go-k
      that-ANA   tell-SS   fly-SS   wholly=go-RP-3SG
      It told him that and flew away.

(25) wala   waagût   kantaangang
      wala   waagût   ka-ntaa-ng-nang
      so   now   see.3SG-FUT-23PL-HAB
      So now you will see

      gisim   tagat   amun   dom   kulaakngang,
      {{gisim   tagat   amun   dom   kula-a-k-nang
      bird.sp   faeces   ground   NEG   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB
      that the *gisim* bird does not defecate on the ground,

      kaadûp   flong   usung   kulaakngang.
      [kaadûp   flong]   usung   kula-a-k-nang}}
      tree   ALL   above   defecate-PRS-3SG-HAB
      he defecates up in the trees.

(26) sowekka   mitaka   wan   taakngang.
      sowek=la   mita-ka   wa-n   ta-a-k-nang
      cassowary=BEN   fear-SS   that-ANA   do-PRS-3SG-HAB
      He is afraid of the cassowary and does that.

(27) wadûng   membû   ulak.
      wa-dûng   membû   ulak
      that-ADV   just   story
      The story is just like that.

skc12_13   Saut Children Escape a Flood

(1)   naai   ban   flong   saaut   nanaksûlû   lemang   kugûng.
      [naai   ban   flong]   [saaut   nanaksû=lû]   lemang   ku-gû-ng
      time   a   ALL   PN   children=NOM   PN   go-RP-23PL
      One time the Saut children went to Lemang.

(2)   lo   lemang   kudu   aatûkugûng
      lo   lemang   kudu   aatûku-gû-ng
      go.up   PN   level.DIST   remain-RP-23PL
      Going up they stayed there in Lemang

620

aatûkugû   aatûkugû   bûge   maambagûng.
aatûku-gû   aatûku-gû   bûge   maa=ba-gû-ng
remain-DUR   remain-DUR   again   wholly=come-RP-23PL
and staying and staying, they came back again.

(3) *bagûng   walû   nambut   fûngkadopmûngka*
     {ba-gû-ng   wa=lû}   nambut   fû-kadopm-ka
     come-RP-23PL   that=ABL   PN   come.down-arrive-SS
     Coming back, they came down to the Nambut (River) and

     yak   kadek   fa   mi   flong   wa   beka
     [yak   kadek]   fa   [mi   flong]   wa   be-ka
     bilum   group   get.NSG   water   ALL   that   put.NSG-SS
     getting the bilums they put them in the water and

     nanak   saakûm   ban   nûnggûng,
     [nanak   saakûm   ban]   nû-gû-ng
     boy   small   a   tell-RP-23PL
     told a little boy,

     gak   yak   wa   yamaandûfatta   alûtaang.
     {{gak   [yak   wa]   y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-taa-ng}}
     2SG   bilum   that   3NSG.O-look.after-SS be-FUT-2SG
     "You will be looking after those bilums."

(4) *wadûng   nûng   yaabûka   nanak   saakûm   walû*
     wa-dûng   nû-ng   yaa-b-ka   [nanak   saakûm   wa=lû]
     that-ADV   tell-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS boy   small   that=NOM

     yak   yamaandûfatta   agok.
     yak   y-kamaandûfat-ta   at-go-k
     bilum   3NSG.O-look.after-SS be-RP-3SG
     When they told him like that, the little boy saw them and looked after the bilums.

(5) *tang   na   kusang kusang   nisûng   mi   tawangka*
     ta-ng   [na   kusang~kusang]   nisûng   mi   tawang-ka
     do-DS   man   big~big   3PL.EMPH   water   follow-SS
     And the big guys, they followed the water and

     kun   kugûng.
     kun   ku-gû-ng
     up.DIST   go-RP-23PL
     went up there.

(6) *gi   daainang   kun   ugok   dom   kagûng.*
     gi   [daai=nang   kun]   ut-go-k   dom   ka-gû-ng
     rain   eye=LOC   up.DIST   hit-RP-3SG NEG   see.3SG-RP-23PL
     Rain was falling up at the source [of the water] but they did not see it.

(7) *gi   utta   mi   galoka   bagok,   saakûm   dom.*
    gi   ut-ta   mi   galo-ka   ba-go-k   saakûm   dom
    rain   hit-SS   water break-SS   come-RP-3SG small   NEG
    The rain beat down and the water flooded (lit. 'broke') and came and it was no
    small (amount).

(8) *faaleka   kagûng   mi   galoka   bagok.*
    faale-ka   ka-gû-ng   {{mi   galo-ka   ba-go-k}}
    turn.around-SS see.3SG-RP-23PL water break-SS come-RP-3SG
    They turned around and saw the water break and come.

(9) *kaka   makoka   bagûng,   bagûng   dom.*
    ka-ka   mako-ka   ba-gû-ng   ba-gû-ng   dom
    see.3SG-SS run.away-SS come-RP-23PL come-RP-23PL NEG
    They saw it and ran away, but they couldn't come.

(10) *milû   mogût   ba-yosepmûnggokngang*
     {mi=lû   mo-gût   ba-yosepm-go-k=nang}
     water=NOM   already-RSTR come-block-RP-3SG=LOC
     The water was already coming and blocking (the path),

     nangkadek   walû   makoka
     [nangkadek   wa=lû]   mako-ka
     men   that=NOM   run.away-SS
     so the men ran away and

     ba   kame   ginggem   ban   flong   loka   agûng.
     ba   [kame   ginggem   ban   flong]   lo-ka   at-gû-ng
     come   ground small.space a   ALL   go.up-SS be-RP-23PL
     coming, went up onto a small mound of land.

(11) *mi   ko   bakung bakung   tang,*
     mi   ko   ba-ku-ng~ba-ku-ng   ta-ng
     water other.side come-go-DS~come-go-DS do-DS
     The water was passing by on both sides,

     tang   na   bantû   sûglen   taka
     ta-ng   [na   ban=lû]   sûglen   ta-ka
     do-DS   man   a=NOM   strong   do-SS
     and the other boy got brave and

     nanaksû   agokngang   kam   bangkadopmûnggok.
     {nanaksû   at-go-k=nang}   kam   ba-kadopm-go-k
     children be-RP-3SG=LOC down.PROX come-arrive-RP-3SG
     came down to where the guys were.

(12) *baka   nanaksû   saakûm   wasit*
ba-ka   [nanaksû   saakûm   wasit
come-SS   children   small   that:COM

yak   kadek   wasit   isopmûngka
yak   kadek   wasit]   isopm-ka
bilum   group   that:COM   hold.NSG-SS
He came and grabbed the little kids and the bilums and

bûse   faaungang   kun   mangka   kugûmok.
[bûse   faaung=nang   kun]   mang-ka   ku-gû-mok
jungle   cheek=LOC   up.DIST   fall.down-SS go-RP-23DU
they came down up to the edge of the jungle and went.

(13) *tang   gelûmsek   flong   mi   ima   bakuyak.*
ta-ng   [gelûm-sek   flong]   [mi   idi-ma]   ba-ku-ya-k
do-DS   space-23DU.POSS   ALL   water this.ANA-EMPH come-go-PRS-3SG
And this very water was passing by their spot.

(14) *tang   nangkadek   weknggût   kadûngagûng.*
ta-ng   [nangkadek]   wekng-gût   kadû=ngat-gû-ng
do-DS   men   middle-RSTR   level.PROX=be-RP-23PL
And the guys were there in the middle.

(15) *kadû   lolok   dom   tang   makat   sakogûng.*
kadû   {lo=lok}   dom   ta-ng   makat   sako-gû-ng
level.PROX go.up=POT   NEG   do-DS   cry   hold.3SG-RP-23PL
They couldn't go up over there, so they were wailing.

(16) *milû   pasûp pasûp   yaaleka*
mi=lû   pasûp~pasûp   y-taale-ka
water=NOM   almost~almost   3NSG.O-pull-SS
The water was almost pulling them and

kayongsûnang kayongsûnang   ya   bakungûlû
[kayong-sû=nang~kayong-sû=nang]   ya   ba-ku-ng-lû
leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC~leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC   this   come-go-DS-23
it was passing by all around their feet and

makat   blaagût   flong   kadûma   agang.
[makat   blaagût   flong]   kadû-ma   at-gang
cry   sorry   ALL   level.PROX-EMPH be-PRS:23PL
they were there in tears.

(17) *tang   na   ban   wasit   na   saakûmpa   wasit*
ta-ng   [na   ban   wasit   na   saakûmpa   wasit]
do-DS   man   a   that:COM   man   small   that:COM
And the other boy and the little boy

kaadûp	*dûnûngka*	*palak*	*tayemûng*	*wilaangka*
kaadûp	dûnû-ka	palak	ta-ye-m-ng	wilaang-ka
tree	chop-SS	plank	do-3NSG.O-give-DS	cross-SS

chopped a tree and made a bridge for them, and (they) crossed and

namboko	*kadû*	*laabûka*
namboko	kadû	laab-ka
other.side	level.PROX	come.up-SS

came up there to the other side and

na	*yaalû*	*kadû*	*yaabûka*
[na	yaalû	kadû]	yaa-b-ka
man	two	level.PROX	3NSG.O-see-SS

they met the two boys there and

mûndlam	*taka*	*makoka*	*laabûka*
mûndlam	ta-ka	mako-ka	laab-ka
shiver	do-SS	run.away-SS	come.up-SS

they (all) got goosebumps and ran away and came up

maambagûng,		*saaut*	*kagangsûnang.*
maa=ba-gû-ng		[saaut	kagang-sû=nang]
wholly=come-RP-23PL		PN	leg-23NSG.POSS=LOC

and came back, to their Saut village.

(18)
wadûng	*membûgût.*
wa-dûng	membû-gût
that-ADV	just-RSTR

(It was) just like that.

skc12_15   The Plane Crash During WWII

(1)
muk	*kusamba*	*amelika*	*kaang*	*jepen*	*aastlelia*
[muk	kusamba]	[amelika	kaang	jepen	aastlelia]
fight	big	PN	two	PN	PN

The big fight—America, Japan and Australia,

walû	*papua niugini*	*ya*	*mûkaamgûng.*
wa=lû	[papua niugini]	ya	mûkaam-gû-ng
that=NOM	PN	here	fight-RP-23PL

they fought here in Papua New Guinea.

(2) *wasûnang   mandenang   baalus   kusamba   bantû*
   [wa-s=nang   mande=nang]   [baalus   kusamba   ban=lû]
   that-LK=GEN   back=LOC   plane   big   a=NOM

   laai   kum   aakngka   bagok.
   laai   kum   aakng-ka   ba-go-k
   PN   down.DIST   arise-SS   come-RP-3SG
   After that, a big plane took off down in Lae and came.

(3) *ba   kaasingangkû   kameng   weknggût   kam   baka*
   ba   kaasingang=lû   [kameng   wekng-gût]   kam   ba-ka
   come   PN=ABL   property   middle-RSTR   down.PROX come-SS
   Coming, from Kesengen it came below right in the middle of the area and

   wakaaka   amun amun   nambut   kubat   ya   tawanggok.
   wakaa-ka   amun~amun   [nambut   kubat   ya]   tawang-go-k
   destroy-SS   ground~ground   PN   valley   here   follow-RP-3SG
   got damaged and followed near the ground along the Nambut Valley.

(4) *walû   lemang   kadetnang   tolûnang   kubalang   kum*
   wa=lû   [lemang   kadet=nang]   [tolûnang   kubalang   kum]
   there=ABL   PN   road=LOC   PN   valley   down.DIST
   From there on Lemang Road down in the *Tolûnang* Valley

   mundung   baasûng   ban   flong   yotta   wakaaka
   [mundung   baasûng   ban   flong]   yot-ta   wakaa-ka
   tree.sp   trunk   a   ALL   stab-SS   destroy-SS
   it ran into a *mundung* tree trunk and got damaged and

   nambut   mi   flong   kum   mangka   monggok.
   [nambut   mi   flong]   kum   mang-ka   mo-go-k
   PN   water   ALL   down.DIST   fall.down-SS   go.down-RP-3SG
   crashed down in the Nambut River.

(5) *baalus   wasûnang   banenang   na   yaalû   walû   agûmok.*
   [baalus   wa-s=nang   banenang]   [na   yaalû   wa=lû]   at-gû-mok
   plane   that-LK=GEN   inside   man   two   that=NOM be-RP-23DU
   Inside the plane were two men.

(6) *tang   fapmo   kum   ilûpmûnggok.*
   ta-ng   fapmo   kum   ilûpm-go-k
   do-DS   take.down.NSG down.DIST   hit.DU-RP-3SG
   And going down it killed them both.

(7) *ban   kaamgok.*
   ban   kaam-go-k
   a   die-RP-3SG
   One died.

625

(8) *ban   utblublu   tagok.*
     ban   utblublu   ta-go-k
     a   mutilate   do-RP-3SG
     One was mutilated.

(9) *utblublu   tagok   walû   faaleka   kagok,*
     {utblublu   ta-go-k   wa=lû}   faale-ka   ka-go-k
     mutilate   do-RP-3SG   that=NOM   turn.around-SS see.3SG-RP-3SG
     The one that got mutilated turned and saw,

(10) *nolû   wa   mo   kaamgok.*
     {{[nolû   wa]   mo   kaam-go-k}}
     brother.3SG.POSS   that   already   die-RP-3SG
     his brother had already died.

(11) *kaka   blaampa   mi   flonggût   kugok.*
     ka-ka   blaam-pa   [mi   flong-gût]   ku-go-k
     see.3SG-SS   carry-SS   water   ALL-RSTR   go-RP-3SG
     He saw and carried him (on his shoulder) and went along the water.

(12) *kuka   kami   kaalinang   kûngkûnaanûk   flong*
     ku-ka   [kami   kaalin=nang] [kûngkûnaanûk   flong]
     go-SS   ground   good=LOC   sand   ALL

     wa   tûka   wangagok.
     wa   tû-ka   wa=ngat-go-k
     that   put.SG-SS that=be-RP-3SG
     He went and was putting him in the sand on good ground.

(13) *kamaandûfatta   agok*
     kamaandûfat-ta   at-go-k
     look.after-SS   be-RP-3SG
     He was looking after it

     tang   saaut   taba   na   binbin   walû
     ta-ng   [saaut   taba   na   bin~bin   wa=lû]
     do-DS   PN   resident man   real~real that=NOM

     baalus   wakaagok   wa   kanengka
     {{baalus   wakaa-go-k   wa}   ka-ne-ng=ka}
     plane   destroy-RP-3SG that   see.3SG-IRR.NSG-23PL=BEN

     monggûng.
     mo-gû-ng
     go.down-RP-23PL
     and the leaders of Saut went down to see the plane that crashed.

(14) *mongka   kagûng   na   fatnaang   walû*
     mo-ka   ka-gû-ng   {{[na   fatnaang   wa=lû]
     go.down-SS see.3SG-RP-23PL man   white   that=NOM
     They went down and saw the white man

626

	kaauda	*flong*	*kum*	*maangûtta*	*agok.*
	[kaauda	flong]	kum	maangût-ta	at-go-k}}
	stone	ALL	down.DIST	sit-SS	be-RP-3SG

sitting down on a stone.

(15)

	tang	*mongkaka*	*mitaka*	*tagûng*
	ta-ng	mo-ka-ka	mita-ka	ta-gû-ng
	do-DS	go.down-see.3SG-SS	fear-SS	do-RP-23PL

And going down they saw him and were all afraid,

	tagû	*yeudat*	*monggûng.*
	ta-gû	yeudat	mo-gû-ng
	do-DUR	anyway	go.down-RP-23PL

but they went down anyway.

(16)

	mo	*agokngang*	*kaapmûnggem*	*wa*	*mongûlû*
	mo	{at-go-k=nang}	kaapmûnggem	wa	mo-ng-lû
	go.down	be-RP-3SG=LOC	nearby	there	go.down-DS-23

Going down they went down there near to where he was and

	na	*fatnaang*	*walû*	*yaabûka*
	[na	fatnaang	wa=lû]	yaa-b-ka
	man	white	that=NOM	3NSG.O-see-SS

the white man saw them and

	mitaka	*mi*	*flong*	*blaangkonggok.*
	mita-ka	[mi	flong]	blaangkong-go-k
	fear-SS	water	ALL	jump-RP-3SG

got scared and jumped into the water.

(17)

	tang	*milû*	*taaleka*	*kugok.*
	ta-ng	mi=lû	taale-ka	ku-go-k
	do-DS	water=NOM	pull-SS	go-RP-3SG

And the water pulled him away.

(18)

	tang	*na*	*ya*	*monggûng*	*yalû*	*tawamaanggûng.*
	ta-ng	{[na	ya]	mo-gû-ng	ya=lû}	tawang-maa-gû-ng
	do-DS	man	this	go.down-RP-23PL	this=NOM	follow-CMPL-RP-23PL

And these men who went down chased him down.

(19)

	tawangka	*mi*	*faaung*	*kadû*	*kuka*	*nûngkata*	*kugûng,*
	tawang-ka	[mi	faaung	kadû]	ku-ka	nû-ka=ta	ku-gû-ng
	follow-SS	water	boundary	level.PROX	go-SS	tell-SS=do	go-RP-23PL

They followed him and went to the edge of the water and went telling him repeatedly,

(20)

	dom	*gutntaam.*	*wangale,*	*wangale.*
	{{dom	g-ut-ntaa-m	wa=ngat-e	wa=ngat-e}}
	NEG	2SG.O-hit-FUT-1PL	there=be-IRR.SG	there=be-IRR.SG

"We won't hurt you. Stay there, stay there!"

(21)   *nûngkata   kugûng   dom.*
       nû-ka=ta   ku-gû-ng   dom
       tell-SS=do   go-RP-23PL   NEG
       Telling him repeatedly they went, but no.

(22)   *yaabû-mitaka   mi   flong   kam   dofakngûlû*
       yaa-b-mita-ka   [mi   flong]   kam   dofat-ng-lû
       3NSG.O-see-fear-SS   water   ALL   down.PROX   lie.down-DS-23
       Seeing them he got scared and laid down in the water and

       milû   taaleka   kugok.
       mi=lû   taale-ka   ku-go-k
       water=NOM   pull-SS   go-RP-3SG
       the water pulled him away.

(23)   *tang   kelûsû   walawala   taka   tawanggûng.*
       ta-ng   [kelû-sû   wala~wala]   ta-ka   tawang-gû-ng
       do-DS   hand-23NSG.POSS   image~image   do-SS   follow-RP-23PL
       And they made hand gestures and followed him.

(24)   *tang   faaleka   yaabûgok,*
       ta-ng   faale-ka   yaa-b-go-k
       do-DS   turn.around-SS   3NSG.O-see-RP-3SG
       And he turned around and saw them.

(25)   *kelûsû   walawala   wa   tagûng   wa*
       {{{[kelû-sû   wala~wala   wa   ta-gû-ng   wa}
       hand-23NSG.POSS   image~image   that   do-RP-23PL   that
       The hand gestures they made

       udu   wadûng   tagûng,
       udu   wa-dûng   ta-gû-ng
       that.ANA   that-ADV   do-RP-23PL
       were doing like this,

(26)   *wangaleng   wangaleng,   dom   gutntaam.*
       {{wa=ngat-e-ng   wa=ngat-e-ng   dom   g-ut-ntaa-m}}}}
       there=be-IRR.SG-2SG   there=be-IRR.SG-2SG   NEG   2SG.O-hit-FUT-1PL
       "Stay there, stay there, we won't hurt you!"

(27)   *tang   yaabûka   wa   agok.*
       ta-ng   yaa-b-ka   wa   at-go-k
       do-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS   that   be-RP-3SG
       And he was watching them.

(28)   *tang   kuka   naanggûtta   bagûng.*
       ta-ng   ku-ka   naanggût-ta   ba-gû-ng
       do-DS   go-SS   get-SS   come-RP-23PL
       And they went and got him and came.

(29) *nolû*   *ban*   *kaamgok*   *wa,*
     {[nolû   ban]   kaam-go-k   wa}
     brother.3SG.POSS   a   die-RP-3SG   that

     kûngkûnaanûkga   *plaasûka*   *tûgok,*
     kûngkûnaanûk=ga   plaasû-ka   tû-go-k
     sand=INST   cover-SS   put.SG-RP-3SG
     His other brother who died, whom he covered up with sand,

     na   *ya*   *monggûng*   *ya*   *dom*   *kagûng.*
     {[na   ya]   mo-gû-ng   ya}   dom   ka-gû-ng
     man   this   go.down-RP-23PL   this   NEG   see.3SG-RP-23PL
     these men who went down didn't see him.

(30) *tang*   *mandeng*   *bayenûnggok,*
     ta-ng   mandeng   ba-ye-nû-go-k
     do-DS   next   come-3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG
     And next he came telling them,

(31) *notna*   *ya*   *plaasûka*   *tûngat.*
     {{not-na   ya   plaasû-ka   tû-nga-t}}
     brother-1SG.POSS   here   cover-SS   put.SG-NP-1SG
     "I covered up my brother here."

(32) *yenûng*   *kagûng.*
     ye-nû-ng   ka-gû-ng
     3NSG.O-tell-DS   see.3SG-RP-23PL
     He told them and they saw.

(33) *kaka*   *kawaaka*   *nolû*   *kodaak*   *ya*
     ka-ka   kawaa-ka   {nolû   koda-a-k   ya}
     see.3SG-SS   leave.3SG-SS   brother.3SG.POSS   alive-PRS-3SG   this

     blaampa   *laabûgûng.*
     blaam-pa   laab-gû-ng
     carry-SS   come.up-RP-23PL
     They saw and left [the dead man] and carried up the man who was alive.

(34) *talaabû*   *saaut*   *kan*   *tûka*
     talaab   saaut   kan   tû-ka
     bring.up.SG   PN   up.PROX   put.SG-SS
     Bringing him up they put him up in Saut and

     mi   *kaadûpmût*   *seka*   *mûng*   *topnanggok.*
     [mi   kaadûp-nit]   se-ka   m-ng   top=na-go-k
     water   fire-3SG.POSS:COM   cook-SS   give-DS   drink=eat-RP-3SG
     heated some water and giving it to him, he drank it.

(35) *tang*   *mongka*   *mik*   *wimgûng.*
     ta-ng   mo-ka   mik   wi-m-gû-ng
     do-DS   go.down-SS   bathe   bathe-give-RP-23PL
     And they went down and bathed him.

(36) *taka   sesumpa   tukungakngûlû   tukungakngûlû*
     ta-ka   sesu-m-pa   tuku-ngat-ng-lû   tuku-ngat-ng-lû
     do-SS   heat-give-SS   take.SG-be-DS-23   take.SG-be-DS-23
     And they washed him with hot water all over and

     flon   kaalûmang,   blaampa   kugûng.
     flon   kaalûmang-ng   blaam-pa   ku-gû-ng
     body   heal-DS   carry-SS   go-RP-23PL
     and (when) his body healed, they carried him (on their shoulders) and went.

(37) *tuku   laai   tûng   baalus   flong   loka*
     tuku   laai   tû-ng   [baalus   flong]   lo-ka
     take   PN   put.SG-DS   plane   ALL   go.up-SS
     They took him to Lae and he went up on a plane and

     kagang   ninang   amelika   maakugok.
     [kagang   ni=nang   amelika]   maa=ku-go-k
     village   3SG.EMPH=GEN PN   wholly=go-RP-3SG
     went back to his own place, America.

(38) *kuka   gelaaka   nolûye   yenaanggûtta   baka*
     ku-ka   gelaa-ka   nolû-ye   ye-naanggût-ta   ba-ka
     go-SS   recover-SS   brother.3SG.POSS-NSG   3NSG.O-get-SS   come-SS
     He went and recovered and got his brothers and came and

     notsû   kaamgok   wasûnang   kûtlû   wa
     [{not-sû   kaam-go-k   wa-s=nang}   kûtlû   wa]
     brother-23NSG.POSS   die-RP-3SG   that-LK=GEN   bone   that

     kûndatta   isopmûngka   maakugûng.
     kûndat-ta   isopm-ka   maa=ku-gû-ng
     dig.out-SS   hold.NSG-SS   wholly=go-RP-23PL
     dug out the bones of their brother who died and went back.

(39) *wadûng   membû   baalusûnang   ulak.*
     wa-dûng   membû   [baalus=nang   ulak]
     that-ADV   just   plane=GEN   story
     The story about the plane is just like that.

skc12_16   The Man from Kanduwan

Setting: Written in the village and brought along for a visit to Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks
Genre: Legend (written)
Summary: Tells a story about a man's capture by spirits and his brave escape
Author: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

(1) *yenalaam   yaalû   wasit   welû   nanaaye*
    [ye-nalaam   yaalû   wasit   welû   nanaa-ye]
    NSG-couple   two   that:COM   daughter.3SG.POSS son.3SG.POSS-NSG
    A couple with their daughters and sons

bûdûmang   *yotnang*   *kanduwaan*   *kun*
[bûdûmang   yot=nang]   [kanduwaan   kun]
overgrown.garden   house=LOC   PN   up.DIST

aatigûngang.
at-i-gû-ng-nang
be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
used to live in a bush house up in Kanduwan.

(2) *wa*   *aagû*   *naai*   *ban*   *flong*   *besû*   *bagonenggok.*
    wa   at-gû   [naai   ban   flong]   be-sû   bagone-go-k
    that   be-DUR   time   a   ALL   father-23NSG.POSS   sick-RP-3SG
    Living there, one time their father got sick.

(3) *bagoneng*   *kamaandûfatta*   *wa*   *aatigûngang.*
    bagone-ng   kamaandûfat-ta   wa   at-i-gû-ng-nang
    sick-DS   look.after-SS   that   be-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
    He was sick and they were looking after him.

(4) *wa*   *aagû*   *naai*   *ban*   *flong*
    wa   at-gû   [naai   ban   flong]
    that   be-DUR   time   a   ALL
    Looking after him, one time

    taamin   *welû*   *nanaa*   *kadet*   *kugûng.*
    [taamin   welû   nanaa]   kadet   ku-gû-ng
    wife.3SG.POSS   daughter.3SG.POSS   son.3SG.POSS   garden   go-RP-23PL
    his wife and daughter and son went to the garden.

(5) *tang*   *besû*   *gebûng*   *wa*   *agok.*
    ta-ng   be-sû   [gebûng   wa]   at-go-k
    do-DS   father-23NSG.POSS   inside   that   be-RP-3SG
    And their father was inside.

(6) *wa*   *aagû*   *go*   *kaalin*   *dûng*   *kaka*
    wa   at-gû   {{[go   kaalin]   dû-ng}}   ka-ka
    that   be-DUR   sun   good   light-DS   see.3SG-SS
    And he saw a good sun light and

    dabam   *ban*   *sakoka*   *mo*   *kagang*   *kum*   *wika*
    [dabam   ban]   sako-ka   mo   kagang   kum   wi-ka
    cape   a   hold.3SG-SS   go.down   outside   down.DIST   make.bed-SS
    grabbed a cape and going down made a bed outside and

    dabam   *walong*   *dapmon*   *doka*   *agok.*
    [dabam   wa=long]   dapmon   do-ka   at-go-k
    cape   that=ALL   sleep   sleep-SS   be-RP-3SG
    slept on the cape.

(7) *dong   kamalaka   dom   naandûka   akngûlû*
     dong   kamala-ka   dom   naandû-ka   at-ng-lû
     search   ignorant-SS   NEG   hear-SS   be-DS-23
     He was sleeping deeply and did not hear

     minamina   maanggûnang   kum   laabûgûng.
     {{minamina   maanggûnang   kum   laab-gû-ng}}
     PN   PN   down.DIST   come.up-RP-23PL
     the Minamina spirits come up to *Maanggûnang* below.

(8) *walû   laabû   na   ya   doka   agok   ya*
     wa=lû   laab   [{[na   ya]   do-ka   at-go-k   ya}
     that=ABL   come.up   man   this   sleep-SS   be-RP-3SG   this

     dabamût   blaampa   yepmanggûng,
     dabam-nit]   blaam-pa   yepma-gû-ng
     cape-3SG.POSS:COM   carry-SS   go.down-RP-23PL
     Coming up from there they carried this man who was sleeping with the cape and
     went down,

     maanggûnang   kum   sûnanengka.
     {maanggûnang   kum   sûna-ne-ng=la}
     PN   down.DIST   cook.eat-IRR.PL-23NSG=BEN
     to cook and eat him in *Maanggûnang* below.

(9) *blaampa   mongka   manda   daam*
     blaamp-pa   mo-ka   [manda   daam]
     carry-SS   go.down-SS   talk   noise

     sangaanggût   dom   taakata   monggûng.
     sangaanggût   dom   taa-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
     slowly   NEG   say-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
     They carried him and went down and kept chattering loudly as they went down.

(10) *tang   na   walû   faaleka   deka   yaabûgok,*
     ta-ng   [na   wa=lû]   faale-ka   de-ka   yaa-b-go-k
     do-DS   man   that=NOM   turn.around-SS   gaze-SS   3NSG.O-see-RP-3SG
     And the man turned around and looked and saw

     nalû   blaampa   ima   mowang!
     {{na=lû   blaam-pa   idi-ma   mo-wang}}
     man=NOM   carry-SS   this.ANA-EMPH   go.down-PRS:23PL
     the men carrying him down!

(11) *tang   taamtaampû   bidami   dobûka*
     ta-ng   taamtaam=lû   bidami   dob-ka
     do-DS   women=NOM   grass.sp   cut-SS
     And the women were cutting *bidami* grass and

kelang kelang   *isopmûngkata*   *monggûng.*
kelang~kelang   isopm-ka=ta   mo-gû-ng
in.hand~in.hand   hold.NSG-SS=do   go.down-RP-23PL
holding it in their hands as they went down.

(12)   *na*   *walû*   *wadûngin*   *yaabûka*   *naandûsugok,*
       [na   wa=lû]   wa-dûng-in   yaa-b-ka   naandûsu-go-k
       man   that=NOM   that-ADV-ANA   3NSG.O-see-SS   think-RP-3SG
       He saw the men like that and thought,

       dûdû   *sûnûk*   *taka*   *makobûtaat?*
       {{dûdû   sûnûk   ta-ka   mako-b-taa-t}}
       how   real   do-SS   run.away-EP-FUT-1SG
       "What really can I do to run away?"

(13)   *naandûka*   *agok*   *aagû*   *naandûgok,*
       naandû-ka   at-go-k   at-gû   naandû-go-k
       know-SS   be-RP-3SG   be-DUR   know-RP-3SG
       He pondered until he thought,

       oo   *kadet*   *ginggemang*   *wa*   *mong*
       {{oo   [kadet   ginggemang   wa]   mo-ng
       oh   road   small.space   that   go.down-DS
       "Oh, when they go down to that small place on the road,

       kaadûp   *tangaan*   *wa*   *sakoka*   *aakngka*
       [kaadûp   tangaan   wa]   sako-ka   aakng-ka
       tree   branch   that   hold.3SG-SS   arise-SS
       (I will) grab the tree branches and get up and

       tapmalakongka   *makobûtaat.*
       tapma-lakong-ka   mako-b-taa-t}}
       step.on-throw.NSG-SS   run.away-EP-FUT-1SG
       step on them and run away."

(14)   *wan*   *naandûsuka*   *kaaup*   *naandûka*   *akng*
       wa-n   naandûsu-ka   kaaup   naandû-ka   at-ng
       that-ANA   think-SS   quiet   know-SS   be-DS
       He thought that and kept quiet,

       blaampa   *monggûng.*
       blaamp-pa   mo-gû-ng
       carry-SS   go.down-RP-23PL
       and they carried him down.

(15)   *walû*   *ginggemang*   *wa*   *mongkadopmûngka*
       wa=lû   [ginggemang   wa]   mo-kadopm-ka
       that=NOM   small.space   that   go.down-arrive-SS
       They went down to that small area and

maan   mambek   taaka
{{maan   ma-be-k}}   taa-ka
lest   fall.down-IRR.SG-3SG   say-SS

nalû   gaalû gaalû   tang   monggok.
na=lû   gaalû~gaalû   ta-ng   mo-go-k
man=NOM   against~against   do-DS   go.down-RP-3SG
lest he fall down, they huddled around him as he went down.

(16) *ginggemang   udu   kaadûp   ban   wa   logok   wasûnang,*
[ginggemang   udu]   [{[kaadûp   ban]   wa   lo-go-k   wa-s=nang}
small.space   that.ANA   tree   a   there   go.up-RP-3SG   that-LK=GEN
At that small space, a tree which went up there's

tangaan   walû   maangka
tangaan   wa=lû]   maang-ka
branch   that=NOM   bend.down-SS
branch bent down and

amun   ya   bakuka   alaan   waslong,
amun   ya   [{ba-ku-ka   at-aan}   wa=slong]
ground   this   come-go-SS   be-NMLZ   that=ALL
on the ground where it was going across,

na   walû   kaadûp   tangaan   wa   sakoka   aakngka
[na   wa=lû]   [kaadûp   tangaan   wa]   sako-ka   aakng-ka
man   that=NOM   tree   branch   that   hold.3SG-SS   arise-SS
the man grabbed a tree branch and got up and

kayongga   nangkadek   ya   tapmalakongûlû
kayong=ga   [nangkadek   ya]   tapma-lakong-ng-lû
leg=INST   men   this   step.on-throw.NSG-DS-23
stepped on these men with his leg, and

saanûm   baasûng baasûng   kam   wobûgilaatta
{{[saanûm   baasûng~baasûng   kam]   obûgilaat-ta
banana.sp   trunk~trunk   down.PROX   crash-SS

kung   yaabûka
ku-ng}}   yaa-b-ka
go-DS   3NSG.O-see-SS
he saw them crash into the banana trees below and go and

na   walû   kam   blaangkongka   mûndlam   taka
[na   wa=lû]   kam   blaangkong-ka   mûndlam   ta-ka
man   that=NOM   down.PROX   jump-SS   shudder   do-SS
the man jumped down and shuddered and

bagone   aaweng   mitaka   gebûng   kun   loka   kugok.
bagone   aawe-ng   mita-ka   gebûng   kun   lo-ka   ku-go-k
sick   finish-DS   fear-SS   inside   up.DIST   go.up-SS   go-RP-3SG
his sickness finished and he was afraid and went up home and went.

(17) *taka   wangatta   yaabûngûlû*
     ta-ka   wa=ngat-ta   yaa-b-ng-lû
     do-SS   that=be-SS   3NSG.O-see-DS-23
     And while he was there he saw

     taamin   nanaa   bang   yenûnggok,
     {{[taamin   nanaa]   ba-ng}}   ye-nû-go-k
     wife.3SG.POSS   child.3SG.POSS   come-DS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG
     his wife and children come and he told them,

     minamina   kadekkû   laabû   doka   alatnang
     {{[minamina   kadek=lû]   laab   {do-ka   at-a-t=nang}
     PN   group=NOM   come.up   sleep-SS   be-NP-1SG=LOC
     "The Minamina came up to where I was sleeping

     dabamût   tapmo   maanggûnang
     damam-nit   tapmo   maanggûnang
     cape-3SG.POSS:COM   take.down.NSG   PN

     kum   pasûp   nangkong   mûndlam   taka   gelaaka
     kum   pasûp   na-kong-ng   mûndlam   ta-ka   gelaa-ka
     down.DIST   almost   eat-TERM-DS   shudder   do-SS   recover-SS
     and taking me with my cape down they almost ate me down in *Maanggûnang*, and
     I shuddered and recovered and

     attat   naambûwang.
     at-ta-t   naa-b-wang
     be-PRS-1SG   1SG.O-see-PRS:23PL
     here I am and you are looking at me."

(18) *dom   taka   ba   ya   dom   naambûntaang.*
     dom   ta-ka   ba   ya   dom   naa-b-ntaa-ng}}
     NEG   do-SS   come   here   NEG   1SG.O-see-FUT-23PL
     If not you would not have come and seen me here."

(19) *wan   yenûng   taamin   nanaalû*
     wa-n   ye-nû-ng   [taamin   nanaa=lû]
     that-ANA   3NSG.O-tell-DS wife.3SG.POSS   child.3SG.POSS=NOM

     mitaka   kaka   agûng.
     mita-ka   ka-ka   at-gû-ng
     fear-SS   see.3SG-SS be-RP-23PL
     Telling them this, his wife and children were afraid and stared at him.

(20) *wadûng   membû   kanduwaan   ulak.*
     wa-dûng   membû   [kanduwaan   ulak]
     that-ADV   just   PN   story
     The Kanduwan story is just like that.