

**A grammar of
Ma Manda
A Papuan language of Morobe Province,
Papua New Guinea**

by
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Disclaimer

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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

Abstract

This 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.

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

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.

Region”, which also includes East Sepik, Madang, and Sandaun Provinces. The Province is broken up into nine administrative districts, divided based upon distinct geographical characteristics (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 as “Tent City”) north of Lae. Access to the MM-speaking area is entirely by road. Speakers in the

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

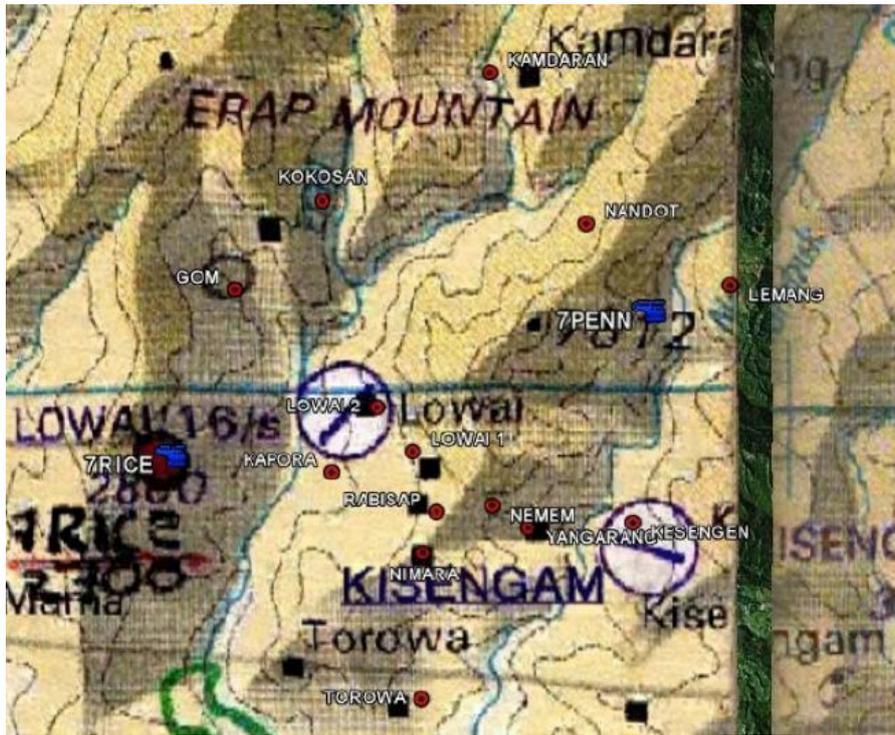
area must hike to Kesengen village, where a dirt road provides the long and winding access to the Lae-Madang Highway. Turning East onto the highway, speakers immediately pass Nadzab airport, and continue past a multiplicity of settlements on their way into the city. Speakers of other languages further 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 frequent 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 it is being rapidly lost during the current climate of globalization.

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 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. It also provides status to those who run it.

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. Here 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, speakers 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 initiation 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 is associated with traditional religion which they attempt to squelch. 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 everyone 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. Superstition has a pronounced role 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*. Holzknicht (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 his child *nanak*, while the children of opposite-sex siblings are called *tadep* 'nephew/niece'. The term for brother, *not*, actually refers to a same-sex sibling, thus also translated as sister in English. It 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 another child from a larger family. Adoption is a common part of MM life.

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 awhile, 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, men 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 both are 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 reinstated 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 responsible 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 that 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.

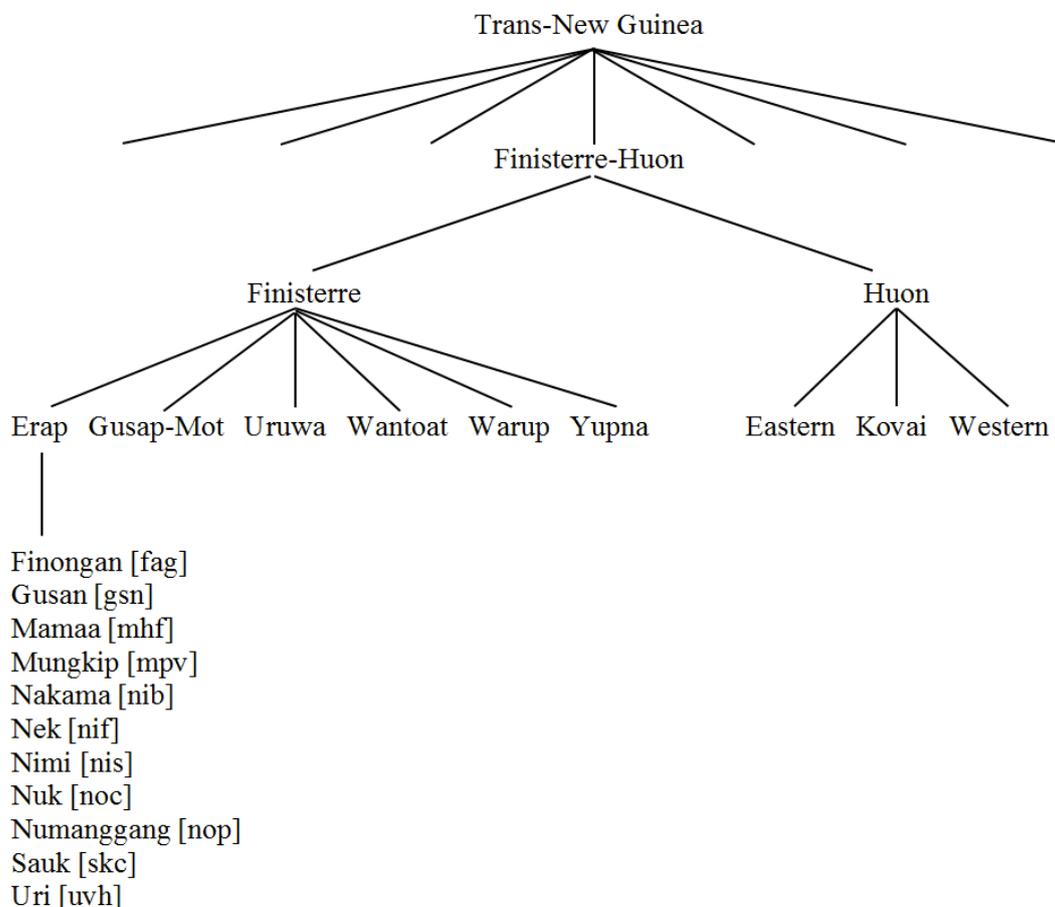
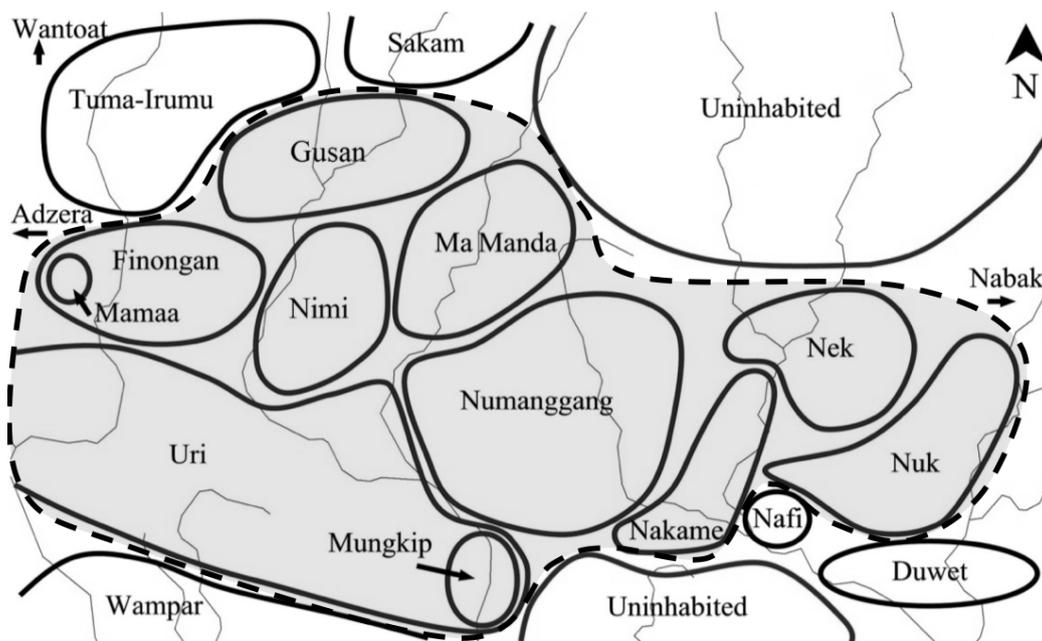


FIGURE 1.1: GENETIC CLASSIFICATION OF ERAP LANGUAGES (ROSS 2005)

While Trans-New Guinea (TNG) is argued to have over 470 languages stretching across the central cordillera of the island, it 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 significantly 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. Dialectal 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.).

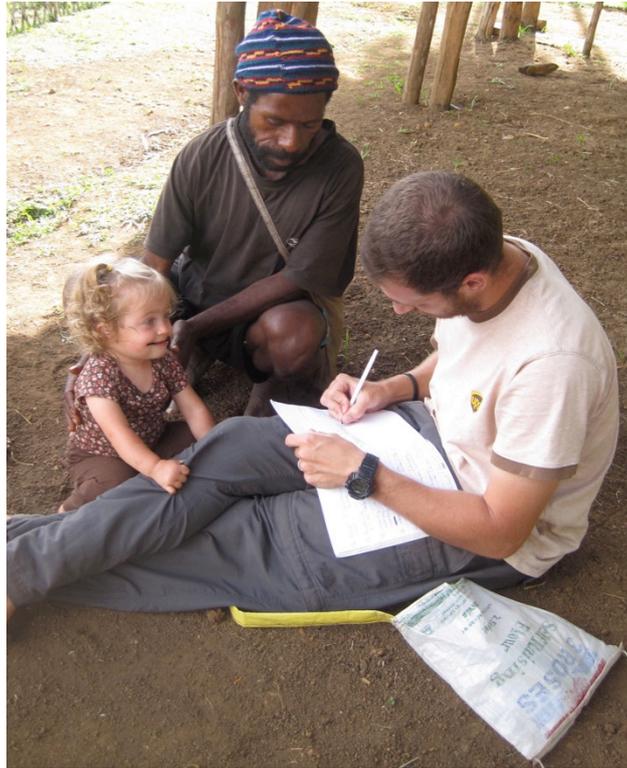
2.2 Methodology and materials

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 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.



PICTURE 2.1: TRANSCRIBING IN A DATA NOTEBOOK

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: _____ / _____ / _____ <small>Day Month Year</small>	AUDIO 1 _____	AUDIO 2 _____
Session ID: _____	Time: _____	Device: _____	Device: _____
LWC Title: _____		Mic: Internal _____	Mic: Internal _____
Vernacular Title: _____	Consent? _____	Placement: _____	Placement: _____
Participants: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	Channels: Mono Dual Mono Stereo	Channels: Mono Dual Mono Stereo
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gain: _____	Format: _____
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sample Rate: _____	Bit Depth: _____
Setting: _____		Bit Rate: _____	Mode: _____
Location: _____		Media ID: _____	Type: _____
Region: _____		Duration: _____	Duration: _____
Genre: _____	Sub-Genre: _____	File Name: _____	File Name: _____
Situation: _____		VIDEO _____	
Description: _____		Device: _____	Mic: Internal _____
		File Name: _____	Placement: _____
Photo? <input type="checkbox"/> File Name/Media ID: _____		Resolution: _____	FPS: _____
Involvement: _____	Social Context: _____	Bit Rate: _____	Mode: _____
Planning Type: _____	Interactivity: _____	Gain: _____	Format: _____
Research Focus: _____		Media ID: _____	Type: _____
Other Comments: _____		RESEARCHERS _____	ROLES _____
Other Contributors: _____		SETUP NOTES _____	DIAGRAM _____
Name	Oral _____		
	Careful	Translation	Discussion
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Written	Transcription
		Transcription	Translation
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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 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 was 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. 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 unmarked, and often 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, many 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 eventually undergo 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 amount of grammatical element, 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 demonstrative 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] [p ^h] [p ^ʔ] [p ^m]	t [t] [t ^h] [t ^ʔ] [t ⁿ] [t̥] [t̥ ^h] [t̥ ^ʔ] [t̥ ⁿ]			q [q] [q ^h] [q ^ʔ] [q ^N] [k] [k ^h] [k ^ʔ] [k ^ʊ] [ɕ] [ɕ]
voiced stop	b [b] [m ^b] [mb] [β]	d [d] [d ^h] [nd] [d̥] [d̥ ^h] [nd̥]		g [g] [g ^h] [ŋg] [ɣ]	
nasal	m [m]	n [n] [ɲ]		ŋ [ŋ] [N]	
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. Intervocally, 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 dialect 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. Intervocally, 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 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)	<i>tebû</i>	<i>tûwe.</i>	<i>tebe</i>
	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 [ŋ] 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 a cliticized demonstrative cause it 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-consonantly. 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* [songal] ‘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] [i̥]	ɨ [ɨ] [ɪ] [ɯ] [o] [ə]	u [u] [o] [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. /sələfəqa/ ‘gust’ → [sələfaqa]). 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, 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.

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, these two vowels 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. 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	i, [i]	w	j	/

3.3.1 Sociolinguistic issues

The orthography is patterned after the Roman symbols which 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 write prenasalization, this results in many sequences such as <ngg>. Even worse, nasals concatenate at morpheme boundaries, resulting in reduplicated velar nasals. 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. The timeline of choices presented here will foster an approachable corpus.

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 its frequency. 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 /i/. 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> [gɪtnem] ‘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 cluster, 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 /nɪnɪŋgɪŋ/ (/n-ni-gi-ng/ ‘1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL’). Should this be written as <nngng> or <nnngng>? 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 [ɔ] 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—/nɪnɪŋgɪŋ/ (/n-ni-gi-ng/ ‘1NSG.O-tell-RP-23PL’)—this produces <n nhnhgghng>. Since it is a vowel phoneme, it frequently comes in direct contact with similarly-shaped consonant graphemes such as <m>, <n>, <ng>, , 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-gi-m/ ‘go-RP-1PL’ is actually pronounced as [kugum], I transcribe it as *kugûm*. This is not entirely consistent, but I attempt to maintain constancy in this regard.

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	ḍʒ	ɾ	r	v	ʒ, ts	/

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., CiLV). For instance, the CLVC allative postposition /fɔŋ/ may surface as either [fɔŋ] or [fi.loŋ].² Ma Manda also occasionally

² 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]–[i]–[u]–[ʊ]–[ə], is written

allows nasals to occur as a syllable nucleus when preceded by a homorganic voiceless plosive (e.g. /keking/ ‘cry’ → [qeqN]). 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 [i] 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 tautomorphic vowel sequences, where V₁ is always non-high, and V₂ is always high. Also, V₁ and V₂ 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	ɪ	u	e	ə	o	a
i__							
ɪ__							
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* /li/. 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 adaptation 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.li] ‘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 [sirip] 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.bi] ‘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* /tiq/ ‘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 (2010:4) 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.”

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 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 [ᵐb ᵐd ᵐg ᵐdʒ] 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) | <i>dabugum</i> | /dəbugum/ | [də.bu.gum] | ‘star’ |
| (2) | <i>kadang</i> | /qədəŋ/ | [qə.dəŋ] | ‘bamboo’ |
| (3) | <i>fagat</i> | /fəgət/ | [fə.gət] | ‘stretcher’ |

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

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|-----------|---------|
| (4) | <i>tandon</i> | /təndon/ | [tən.dən] | ‘night’ |
| (5) | <i>amdaa</i> | /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) | <i>momba</i> | /mombə/ | [mom.bə] | ‘leech’ |
| (7) | <i>manda</i> | /məndə/ | [mən.də] | ‘talk’ |
| (8) | <i>nanggat</i> | /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* [mānda] ‘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* /membî/ [membî] ‘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) | <i>mandogu</i> | /mændogu/ | [mən.do.gu] | ‘tree sp.’ |
| (10) | <i>mukuya</i> | /muqujə/ | [mu.qu.jə] | ‘pig’ |
| (11) | <i>ugem</i> | /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’ | → | <i>logot</i> [lo.got] | ‘I went up’ |
| (13) | /lo/ + /-qə/ ‘SS’ | → | <i>loka</i> [lo.qə] | ‘go up and...’ |
| (14) | /mo/ + /-go/ ‘RP’ + /-t/ ‘1SG’ | → | <i>monggot</i> [moŋ.got] | ‘I went down’ |
| (15) | /mo/ + /-qə/ ‘SS’ | → | <i>mongka</i> [moŋ.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* [moŋ.qə] above exhibits agreement between stops that are as far apart as possible (i.e., /m/ and /q/ are pronounced in opposite 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.³ 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.nɛŋ] ‘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 & 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).

³ 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.

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 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 [min.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 harmony. 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 (´LL), or one heavy syllable (´H). The words below all have two light syllables with the same quality of nuclei.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------|---------|------------|
| (1) | <i>qawa</i> | /qəwə/ | [qé.wə] | ‘in-law’ |
| (2) | <i>musu</i> | /musu/ | [mú.su] | ‘yam sp.’ |
| (3) | <i>sawa</i> | /səwə/ | [sé.wə] | ‘duck sp.’ |
| (4) | <i>keke</i> | /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 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.⁴ 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, “from 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, 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)

⁴ Regarding neighboring Uri, Webb (1974a:87) suggests that all “long vowels” attract equal stresses.

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)	<i>katap</i>	/qətəp/	[qə.təp]	‘twins’
(6)	<i>gabe</i>	/gəbe/	[gə.bé]	‘tail feathers’
(7)	<i>gumaa</i>	/guma/	[gu.má]	‘smooth’
(8)	<i>kûda</i>	/qɪdə/	[qɪ.də]	‘greens’
(9)	<i>baagût</i>	/bagit/	[ba.gít]	‘slowly’
(10)	<i>laamut</i>	/lamut/	[lá.mut]	‘poison’

In each example, the second syllable attracts stress from the first, due to the presence of a coda consonant, or a heavier vowel, in the second syllable. In (9) the closed syllable attracts stress away, while in (10) the closed syllable does not. The phonological pattern is that heavier initial vowels retain stress, while some lexical idiosyncracies occur. *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 peripheralness. By dividing the vowel system first by height, we get the following: /a/ > /e ə o/ > /i ɨ u/. Then, by applying the peripheralness 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 than 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)	<i>kobûse</i>	/qobise/	[qó.bi.sè]	‘chicken’
(12)	<i>dabugum</i>	/dəbugum/	[dó.bu.gùm]	‘star’
(13)	<i>gisiba</i>	/gisibə/	[gí.si.bə]	‘bat’
(14)	<i>sendapok</i>	/sendapoq/	[sén.da.pòq]	‘cocoon’
(15)	<i>gûglûk</i>	/gigliq/	[gí.gi.lìq]	‘gums’
(16)	<i>kafedap</i>	/qəfedəp/	[qə.fé.dəp]	‘claw upwards (by cassowary)’
(17)	<i>kusuwat</i>	/qusuwət/	[qù.su.wát]	‘tree sp.’
(18)	<i>lagamaandû</i>	/ləgəmandi/	[lə.gə.mán.dì]	‘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 (L̃L̃)(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 (L̃L̃)(H̃) 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 the same, 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)	<i>kelû</i>	/qeli/	[qé.li]	‘hand’
(20)	<i>kelûna</i>	/qeli-nə/	[qé.li.nə]	‘hand-1SG.POSS’
(21)	<i>kelûnek</i>	/qeli-neq/	[qè.li.néq]	‘hand-1NSG.POSS’
(22)	<i>taka</i>	/tə-qə/	[tə.qə]	‘do-SS’
(23)	<i>tagot</i>	/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/ [n̩.mi.nə] ‘cousin-1SG.POSS’

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

- (26) *sûbat* /sibət/ [s̩.bət] ~ [si.bət] ‘food’
 (27) *kaabûng* /qabuŋ/ [qá.biŋ] ~ [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 still 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 [u]. There are several minimal pairs between [i] and [̩], as shown below.

- (28) *bim* /bim/ [bím] ‘tobacco’
 (29) *bûm* /bim/ [b̩m] ‘corpse’

There are no such minimal pairs between [u] and [̩]. 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, [u] 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) | <i>mûq</i> | /muq/ | [múq] | ‘enemy’ |
| (33) | <i>mut</i> | /mut/ | [mút] | ‘grub’ |

The high central vowel is not purely a phonetic reduction, however. In some instances it is phonemic. In these cases, [ī] 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) | <i>bûm</i> | /bim̄/ | [bím] | ‘corpse’ |
| (35) | <i>blaagût</i> | /blagit̄/ | [blá.qit̄] | ‘sorry’ |
| (36) | <i>kûda</i> | /q̄idə/ | [q̄i.də] | ‘greens’ |
| (37) | <i>kûtlû</i> | /q̄itlī/ | [q̄i.tí.lī] | ‘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 (´LL), or one heavy syllable (´H). 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 is 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 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* /biqŋan/ ‘neck’ often surfaces as [biqãŋ], 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:

H% ... H*L ... 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
[nólí qənéq sópmiŋqə bóŋəttə wápmiŋgàm]
‘The men grab the digging sticks and come and we plant (the yams).’ [skc12_05]

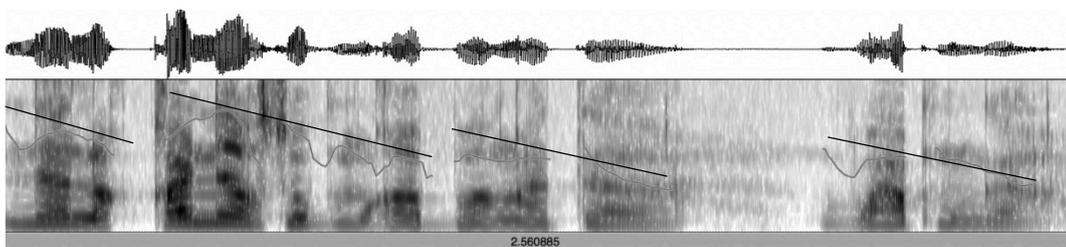


FIGURE 6.2: INTONATIONAL CONTOUR OF (38)

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 it attaches receives that focused prominence. Commands tend to exaggerate the H*L accent, so that the H is very H, 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 koda a genangkaka attak. mona,*
 [nonang nanak koda] 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 processes 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/ intervocally at a morpheme boundary.

- (1) *atatga* *aaweaaawenit* *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, they 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) *notmaye* ***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* ***alûngok*** ***alûngok.***
 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. mombaata.*
 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 buntut tawaang kunatta idi*
 yaalû~yaalû [buntut 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 Buntut 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 are 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 minutia 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 functions 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 doing so. 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 clitic 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 possession 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)	<i>be</i>	<i>bepma</i>
	be	bep-na
	father.3SG.POSS	father-1SG.POSS
	‘(his) father’	‘my father’

(20)	<i>daai</i>	<i>daauna</i>
	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-

classes, as shown in (26). In possessive 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 possessive 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.

TABLE 8.2: CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP TERMS

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	23DU	23PL	3SG	vocative
father, father's brothers	<i>bepma</i>	<i>bepmek</i>	<i>bega</i>	<i>besek</i>	<i>besû</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bep</i>
mother	<i>menga</i>	<i>mengek</i>	<i>mengga</i>		<i>mengsû</i>	<i>meng</i>	<i>meng</i>
uncle (mother's brothers)	<i>kaakona</i>	<i>kaakonek</i>	<i>kaakoga</i>		<i>kaakosû</i>	<i>kaakon</i>	<i>kaako</i>
aunt (mother's & father's sisters)	<i>taana</i>	<i>taanek</i>	<i>taaga</i>		<i>taasû</i>	<i>taaung</i>	
cousin	<i>nûmûna</i>	<i>nûmûnek</i>	<i>nûmûngga</i>		<i>nûmûsû</i>	<i>nimin</i>	<i>nimi</i>
nephew/niece (children of opposite-sex sibling)	<i>tadepma</i>	<i>tadepmek</i>	<i>tadepga</i>		<i>tadepsû</i>	<i>tadep</i>	<i>tadep</i>
child, son, nephew/niece (children of same- sex sibling)	<i>nanaknga</i>	<i>nanakngek</i>	<i>nanakga</i>	<i>nanaksek</i>	<i>nanaksû</i>	<i>nanaa</i>	<i>nanak</i>
daughter	<i>wetna</i>	<i>wetnek</i>	<i>wega</i>		<i>wetsû</i>	<i>welû</i>	<i>wet</i>
brother (same-sex sibling), great- grandparent, great-grandchild	<i>notna</i>	<i>notnek</i>	<i>noga</i>		<i>nosû</i>	<i>nolû</i>	<i>not</i>
brother (opposite- sex sibling of female) ⁵	<i>sabena</i>	<i>sabenek</i>	<i>sabega</i>		<i>sabesû</i>	<i>sabe</i>	
grandfather, grandson	<i>fafana</i>	<i>fafanek</i>	<i>fafaga</i>		<i>fafasû</i>	<i>fafaan</i>	<i>fafa</i>
grandmother, granddaughter	<i>mamana</i>	<i>mamanek</i>	<i>mamangga</i>		<i>mamasû</i>	<i>mamaan</i>	<i>mama</i>
grandchild	<i>lana</i>	<i>lanek</i>	<i>langa</i>		<i>lansû</i>	<i>laan</i>	

TABLE 8.3: AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS

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

⁵ 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.

TABLE 8.4: BIRTH ORDER TERMS

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

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 daughter.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]

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	<i>tu</i>
second-born male	<i>mon</i>
third-born male	<i>gûk</i>
fourth-born male	<i>saa</i>
firstborn female	<i>mok</i>
second-born female	<i>wen</i>
third-born female	<i>kayap</i>
fourth-born female	<i>daabû</i>

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.

TABLE 8.6: HUMAN BODY PART TERMS

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

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]

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]

(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,

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)	<i>tandongta</i>	<i>naain</i>	<i>kilok</i>	<i>tangûlû</i>	<i>ba</i>
	tandongta	[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 that 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	<i>na</i>	<i>nangkadek</i>
woman	<i>taamûng</i>	<i>taamtaam</i>
youth	<i>sabe</i>	<i>sabesabe</i>
child	<i>nanak</i>	<i>nanaksû</i>

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.

- (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	<i>beut</i>
mother and child	<i>mengût</i>
married couple	<i>nalam</i>

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 =*kû*t is formally very similar to -*û*t 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 mengkû*t 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).

- (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 daughter.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 constructions 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 [dʒ] (*j*): e.g. *Raji*
- voiceless alveolar affricate [ts] (*z*): e.g. *Bazakiec*
- voiced labio-dental fricative [v] (*v*): e.g. *Musavenang*
- alveolar flap [r] (*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 kooda genangkaka attat.*
 nak [Ma Manda na kooda] 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’, *fî* ‘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 *flong*). 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 tawangok.
 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 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*,⁶ while ‘Wednesday’, ‘Thursday’, and ‘Saturday’ take the free allative postposition *flong*. The corpus does not contain the other two days of the week.

⁶ The case is termed “benefactive” due to some functions, but the case marks a number of unrelated semantic roles and constructions (see §16.9).

TABLE 8.9: DAYS OF THE WEEK

		postposition
Sunday	<i>saande</i>	= <i>la</i> 'BEN'
Monday	<i>maande</i>	= <i>la</i> 'BEN'
Tuesday		
Wednesday	<i>trinde</i>	<i>flong</i> 'ALL'
Thursday	<i>fode</i>	<i>flong</i> 'ALL'
Friday		
Saturday	<i>saalele</i>	<i>flong</i> '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	<i>siyasiyang</i>	= <i>la</i> 'BEN'
morning	<i>taamengsla</i>	none
afternoon	<i>tafala</i>	none
night	<i>tandon</i>	= <i>la</i> 'BEN'
midnight	<i>tafet</i>	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* *tandongok*.
 [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.

- (116) *tandongagût*, *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 *tandongta* 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’), *aaweawe* ‘end’ (from *aawe-* ‘finish’), and *daampa daampa* ‘happiness’ (from *daampa-* ‘be happy’).

Deverbal nominalizations can bear possessive morphology, as shown below.

- (117) *atatga* *aaweawenit* *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.’ [ske12_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 kaanda wa ta*
 {tuwa nak ta=lok} [kaanda 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 sînûk sînûk*
 [kaadûp saakûm sînûk~sînûk]
 tree small real~real
 ‘very small trees’

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) *tandongta 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
<i>fatnaang</i>	white
<i>goin</i>	black
<i>gemin</i>	red
<i>gemin gemin</i>	dark red
<i>gulat nenggût</i>	green, blue
<i>gaagût</i>	pale yellow
<i>gaagût nenggût</i>	yellow
<i>gemne blublu</i>	brown
<i>gaablumpawaan</i>	orange
<i>gointaang</i>	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 natural speech:

- (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.

TABLE 9.2: ADJECTIVES: DIMENSION

word	gloss
<i>kusamba</i>	big
<i>saakûm(pa)</i>	small
<i>dlupmok</i>	short
<i>tupmun(ka)</i>	short, shallow
<i>yumalaan</i>	long
<i>tapan</i>	short
<i>tupmun domba</i>	very long
<i>yumalaan basamba</i>	very long
<i>blublin</i>	thick
<i>iyangen</i>	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
<i>kodaa</i>	new
<i>gemin</i>	young
<i>tûmen</i>	old
<i>taang</i>	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 altogether die-RP-3SG
 ‘The old man was startled and altogether died.’ [skc11_02e]

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
<i>kaalin</i>	good
<i>waagem</i>	bad
<i>moin</i>	wrong, wild
<i>sûnûk</i>	real, very
<i>bin</i>	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.

- (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
<i>baam</i>	cold	<i>klaklen</i>	soft
<i>baten</i>	plain, flat	<i>kobudaan</i>	strong
<i>bedin</i>	wet	<i>kom</i>	warm, joyful
<i>bin</i>	real	<i>longgem</i>	light
<i>bûkom</i>	dry	<i>malap menggût</i>	heavy, difficult
<i>bulung</i>	dull	<i>molang</i>	nude
<i>bum</i>	rotten	<i>mongkalong</i>	hilly
<i>didimen</i>	straight	<i>mulin</i>	dried out
<i>dudugun</i>	dirty	<i>samap</i>	open, untied
<i>glaglen</i>	very sharp	<i>sibim</i>	cold, dull
<i>gem</i>	ripe	<i>sûglen</i>	strong
<i>gemne gaablum</i>	a bit ripe	<i>tangasep</i>	closed
<i>gumaa</i>	smooth	<i>tugum</i>	dull
<i>gwang gwang</i>	round	<i>ugem</i>	sharp
<i>glang glang</i>	loose	<i>ulumang</i>	pretty
<i>ibabo</i>	unstable, ugly	<i>waalin</i>	clean, nice
<i>kemblong</i>	crooked	<i>wagam</i>	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 research 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.

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 by 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 reduplicated 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 intransitive 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).

- (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 naanggû-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) *tandongta 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 INSG.O-leave-DS there sleep-RP-1DU
 ‘[A bus] left us at Busanim and we slept there.’ [skc09_38]
- (7) *yangale. 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, *sisá* ‘±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) *sisá, gaamiyongkût, laai kuntaamot*
 sisá 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) *sisá kuwet.*
 sisá 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	<i>yangen</i>
-4 days	<i>baanta yangen</i>
-3 days	<i>(sisa) baan</i>
-2 days	<i>sisa</i>
yesterday	<i>kep</i>
now, today	<i>waagût</i>
tomorrow	<i>taameng</i>
+2 days	<i>sisa</i>
+3 days	<i>(sisa) baan</i>
+4 days	<i>baanta yangen</i>
+5 days & up	<i>yangen</i>

Regarding these forms, *yangen* is often reduplicated for intensification, or followed by *met* ‘later’. *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 several examples in this section.

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.

TABLE 11.2: PHASAL ADVERBS

already	<i>mo</i>
not yet	<i>kogût</i>
wholly	<i>maa</i>
partially	<i>mun</i>

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 that 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-kadopl-m-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]

A number of adjectives and quantifiers can function adverbially to express manner. For example, the quantifier *fentagût* ‘all’ means ‘altogether’ 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 altogether die-RP-3SG
 ‘The old man got startled and altogether 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 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 ulakse* **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]

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]

- (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 sùnûk taka makobûtaat?*
 dûdû sùnûk 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 mamangût 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.DISTR remain-RP-3SG-RSTR up.DISTR
‘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 sînûk yenûmûnit yaalûlû mukuya moin*
 [tûmang-gût sînûk] [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). Here the object noun phrase *isit* ‘kunai grass’ precedes the complement. Examples like this 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 particle. 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.

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 pronouns 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
<i>ban</i>	a
<i>den</i>	some
<i>yaalûgût</i>	few
<i>mamam</i>	many
<i>fentagût</i>	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=*s*long] 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]

- (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 generic reference. When *ban* follows the numeral *yaalanang* ‘three’, it 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).

- (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 altogether die-RP-3SG
 ‘The old man panicked and altogether died.’ [skc11_02e]
- (14) *manda* ***mamangût*** *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

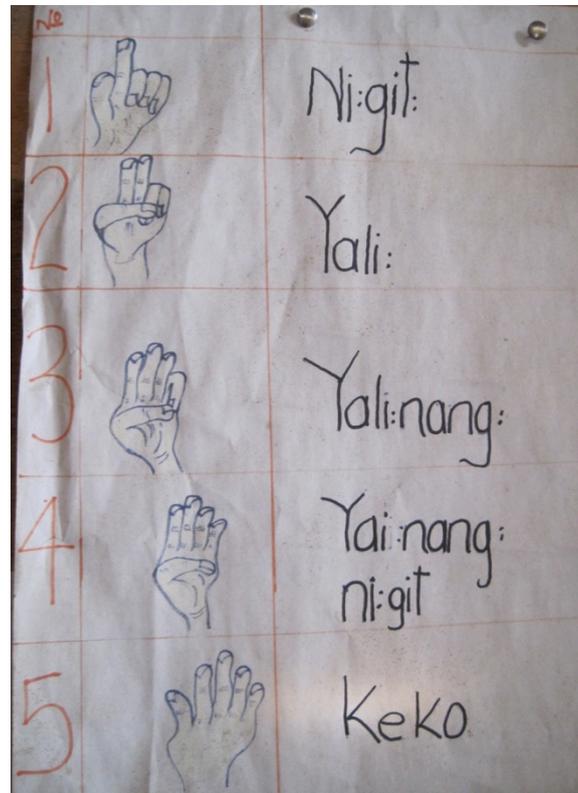
word	gloss
<i>nûnggût</i>	one
<i>yaalû</i>	two
<i>yaalanang</i>	three
<i>yaalûyaalû</i>	four
<i>keko</i>	five
<i>keko keko</i>	ten

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
<i>ma</i>	what	noun (common)
<i>maasû</i>	which	noun (common)
<i>net</i>	who	noun (human)
<i>daa</i>	where	noun (locational)
<i>de</i>	where	interjection
<i>dûdû ~ di</i>	how	adverb
<i>dûdûgût</i>	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 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]

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) *nettî* *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]

***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) Q₁: *tuwa meng daa attak?*
 [tuwa mother] daa at-ta-k
 firstborn.male mother where be-PRS-3SG
 ‘Where is Tuwa’s mom?’
- A₁: *kosaan kudu attak.*
 kosaan kudu at-ta-k
 side level.DIST be-PRS-3SG
 ‘She is there on that side.’
- Q₂: *de?*
 de
 where
 ‘Where (exactly)?’
- A₂: *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.

- (44) *dûdû usutaat?*
 dûdû usu-taa-t
 how plant-FUT-1SG
 ‘How should I plant (it)?’ [DN02.180.22]

- (45) *dûdû sînûk taka makobûtaat?*
 dûdû sînûk 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 one of 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 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 explicit 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
<i>ma</i>	what	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-ma</i>	whatever	<i>manggat</i>	<i>mangga(t)-manggat</i>	thing
<i>maasû</i>	which				<i>maanûnggat</i>		something
<i>net</i>	who	<i>net</i>		whoever	<i>nenggat</i>		someone
<i>daa</i>	where	<i>daa</i>		wherever	<i>danggat</i>		somewhere
<i>dûdû~di</i>	how	<i>dûdû</i>	<i>dûdû-dûdû</i>	however			
<i>dûdûgût</i>	how many times	<i>dûdûgût</i>		however many	<i>dûgat</i>		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 one 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 dūnūmbetta,*
{*naai [palang wa] dūnū-be-t=la*}
time plank that chop-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN
- palang mosaa taba kameng wa dūnūmbet...*
palang [mosaa taba kameng wa] dūnū-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 kodusûlû*
[*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]

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 proffered 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 what all I did.’ [skc09_35]

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 these “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 [kaafeng 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 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.’

<i>sûla</i>	<i>gaknga</i>	<i>baka</i>	<i>gitin</i>	<i>yabappû</i>
sûla	gak-nga	ba-ka	[gitin	yabap=lû]
CONJ(BEN)	2SG-EMPH	come-SS	holy	spirit=NOM

<i>sûbat</i>	<i>glup</i>	<i>dûdûgût</i>	<i>tanggûdempaka</i>	<i>tûngak...</i>
[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

<i>igamû,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yaalû</i>	<i>bagûmok</i>	<i>sûlaidi,</i>
idi=gamû	{[na	yaalû]	ba-gû-mok	sûla=idi }
this.ANA=	CONJ(INST)	man	two	come-RP-23DU
				CONJ(BEN)=this.ANA

<i>bantû</i>	<i>wangakng</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bantû</i>	<i>iga</i>	<i>atta</i>	<i>kugok.</i>
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*

<i>tagû</i>	<i>yeudat</i>	<i>monggûng.</i>
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

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
= <i>lû</i>	NOM / ABL
<i>flong</i> ~ =(s) <i>long</i>	ALL
= <i>nang</i>	LOC
= <i>lok</i>	DAT
= <i>ga</i>	INST
= <i>la</i>	BEN
= <i>lit</i>	COM
=(<i>lû</i>) <i>nang</i>	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 also marks a grammatical relation (‘about’) within the clause.

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]

- (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 quantifiers 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) | <i>kelû</i>
kelû
hand.3SG.POSS
‘finger’ [DN01.45.35] | <i>nanaa</i>
nanaa
child.3SG.POSS | <i>taba nanaa</i>
taba nanaa
bow child.3SG.POSS
‘arrow’ [DN01.79.64] | <i>nanaksû</i>
nanak-sû
child-23NSG.POSS
‘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) | <i>kelû</i>
kelû
hand.3SG.POSS | <i>nanaa</i>
nanaa
child.3SG.POSS | <i>skulaa</i>
skulaa
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) | <i>daai</i>
eye
‘fly sp.’ | <i>sûglen</i>
strong |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|

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 batekû* ‘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-naanggû-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) *kaadet ginggembang wa mong*
 [kaadet 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:

TABLE 14.1: NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

-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 articulation 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 __
<i>lûnang</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>pûnang</i>	<i>tûnang</i>	<i>kûnang</i>	<i>ûnang</i>

The genitive is therefore identical with the locative enclitic *=nang* when occurring post-vocally. 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]

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	<i>na</i>	<i>nek</i>
2	<i>ga</i>	<i>sû</i>
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]

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 aaweawenit 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 caucasian people:

- (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	<i>-naat</i>	
2	<i>-gaat</i>	<i>-sit</i>
3	<i>-nit</i>	

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 mengût 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 mengû=lit] at-gaa-m
 PN mother-child=COM be-PRS-1PL
 ‘(I) am with Chloe and her mom.’ [DN04.74.47]
- (43) *tûmanggû sûnûk yenûmûnit yaalûlû mukuya moin*
 [tûmang-gû 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) *bepmekkû*
 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]

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	<i>lû</i>	<i>lû</i>	<i>pû</i>	<i>tû</i>	<i>kû</i>	<i>ûlû</i>
DATive	<i>lok</i>	<i>lok</i>	<i>pok</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>ûlok</i>
COMitative	<i>lit</i>	<i>lit</i>	<i>pût</i>	<i>tît</i>	<i>kût</i>	<i>ûlit</i>
BENefactive	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ûla</i>
INSTRumental	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ûga</i>
LOCative	<i>nang</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>(m)ang</i>	<i>(n)ang</i>	<i>ngang / (n)ang</i>	<i>ûnang</i>
ALLative	<i>flong / slong</i>	<i>flong / (s)long</i>	<i>flong / slong</i>	<i>flong / slong</i>	<i>flong / slong</i>	<i>flong</i>

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 restrictions 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]

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 kudus=Iû]
 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* *enaanggûta* *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 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 naanggû-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) *tandongta 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 one 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 Ukarampa’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 demonstratives. 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 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 daasûwaaagûngang 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 sînûk 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.

- (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]

- (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) *nanggal waga kûtlûnang tûflûka...*
 [nanggal 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]

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).

- (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 naanggû-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 kooda fepmaangkongka tûka,*
 [na taamûng] [fi kooda] 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 [kaafeng 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]

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 sînûk kagat wasit*
 [tûmang-gût~tûmang-gût sînûk] [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) *kaa~~u~~dawek* *kuyang~~ke~~k* *yoke~~pe~~pek* *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	<i>nak</i>	<i>nûndû</i>
2	<i>gak</i>	<i>sûdû</i>

Two persons are distinguished, as well as two numbers, forming a symmetrical four-term set. The forms are illustrated below.

- (1) *kep nak longala sūdû fûgûmok.*
 kep nak lo-ng-la sūdû 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]

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	<i>nonang</i>	<i>nok</i>	<i>not</i>
2SG	<i>gonang</i>	<i>gok</i>	<i>got</i>
1NSG	<i>nûndûnang</i>	<i>nûndok</i>	<i>nûndot</i>
2NSG	<i>sûdûnang</i>	<i>sûdok</i>	<i>sûdot</i>

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.⁷

- (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).

⁷ 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 indispensable 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 surprised 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	<i>naknga ~ naa</i>	<i>nûnek</i>	<i>nûnûng</i>
2	<i>gaknga ~ gaa</i>	<i>sûdek</i>	<i>sûdûng</i>
3	<i>ni</i>	<i>nisek</i>	<i>(n)isûng</i>

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.⁸ 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 focuses on the fact that the man, and not the people, was responsible for this part of the process.

⁸ The loss of intervocalic consonants is a prevalent phenomenon in the fast speech register (Chapter 6), leading to phonologized vowel length over time.

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	<i>nakngalagût</i> ~ <i>naalagût</i>	<i>nûnekkagût</i>	<i>nûnûngkagût</i>
2	<i>gaknalagût</i> ~ <i>gaalagût</i>	<i>sûdekkagût</i>	<i>sûdûngkagût</i>
3	<i>nilagût</i>	<i>nisekkagût</i>	<i>(n)isûngkagût</i>

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	<i>naknganang</i> ~ <i>naanang</i>		<i>nakngalok</i> ~ <i>naalok</i>
2SG	<i>gaknganang</i> ~ <i>gaanang</i>		<i>gakngalok</i> ~ <i>gaalok</i>
3SG	<i>ninang</i>	<i>nila</i>	<i>nilok</i>
1DU	<i>nûnekkûnang</i>		<i>nûnekkok</i>
2DU	<i>sûdekkûnang</i>		<i>sûdekkok</i>
3DU	<i>nisekkûnang</i>		<i>nisekkok</i>
1PL	<i>nûnûngkûnang</i>		<i>nûnûngkok</i>
2PL	<i>sûdûngkûnang</i>		<i>sûdûngkok</i>
3PL	<i>(n)isûngkûnang</i>		<i>(n)isûngkok</i>

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.

- (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]

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		<i>ya</i>	<i>wa</i>
Anaphoric		<i>idi</i>	<i>udu</i>
Topographic	Up	<i>kan</i>	<i>kun</i>
	Level	<i>kadû</i>	<i>kudu</i>
	Down	<i>kam</i>	<i>kum</i>

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.⁹ 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 INSG pronoun *nûndû*, though in this case *dû* cannot be elided.¹⁰

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

⁹ 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*.

¹⁰ 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) *mangkat ya walawala isopmbaan.*
 [mangkat 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
 bogyman 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

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* *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]

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 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

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 similitive 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 (<i>yadûng</i>)	DIST (<i>wadûng</i>)	PROX (<i>yan</i>)	DIST (<i>wan</i>)
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]

- (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 yangadeng.*
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 indexes 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 lemanɡ kudu logok*
 ta [meng idi] kosaan lemanɡ 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 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 demonstrative 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.’ [ske12_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).¹¹

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.

¹¹ 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 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.



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).

(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.¹²

- (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]

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

¹² It is possible that the demonstrative is here functioning adverbially, but the interpretation is the same.

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	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa(sû)lû</i>	<i>wa(sû)lûnang</i> ~ <i>wasûnang</i>	<i>waga</i>	<i>wala</i>	<i>wa(sû)lok</i>	<i>wa(sû)long</i>	<i>wasit</i>
	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya(sû)lû</i>	<i>ya(sû)lûnang</i> ~ <i>yasûnang</i>				<i>ya(sû)long</i>	<i>yesit</i> ~ <i>yasit</i>
ANA	<i>u(du)</i>	–						
	<i>i(di)</i>	–						
TOPOGRAPHIC	<i>kun</i>	<i>kunsûlû</i>					<i>kunsûlong</i>	
	<i>kan</i>	<i>kansûlû</i>	<i>kansûnang</i>				<i>kansûlong</i>	
	<i>ku(du)</i>	<i>ku(du)sûlû</i>					<i>ku(du)sûlong</i>	
	<i>kadû</i>	<i>kadûsûlû</i>					<i>kadûsûlong</i>	
	<i>kum</i>	<i>kumsûlû</i>					<i>kumsûlong</i>	
	<i>kam</i>	<i>kamsûlû</i>					<i>kamsûlong</i>	

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 (reserved for in 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 similitive 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 *tandongta* ‘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	<i>wa</i>	<i>wanggût</i>	<i>wama</i>	<i>wadûng</i>
	<i>ya</i>	<i>yanggût</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>yadûng</i> ~ <i>yedûng</i>
ANA	<i>u(du)</i>		<i>u(du)ma</i>	–
	<i>i(di)</i>		<i>i(di)ma</i>	–
TOPOGRAPHIC	<i>kun</i>	<i>kungût</i>	<i>kuna</i>	–
	<i>kan</i>	<i>kangût</i>	<i>kana</i>	–
	<i>ku(du)</i>		<i>ku(du)ma</i>	–
	<i>kadû</i>		<i>kadûma</i>	–
	<i>kum</i>		<i>kuma</i>	–

	<i>kam</i>		<i>kama</i>	–
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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]
- (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.

- (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 situation 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 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) *yangale. 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 wangagok*
 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
- kanggût* *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) *waloggût* *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]

- (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]

- (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 sengkangaamot.*
 teb kadû-ma sengkang-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 *tandongta* ‘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, s̄ubat s̄inamaakongka idi,*
 taamengsla aakng-ka s̄ubat s̄ûna-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]

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 verbforms 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 led 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 between 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)	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gû</i>
Near past (NP)	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-ngaa</i>
Present (PRS)	<i>-la</i>	<i>-waa</i>
Future (FUT)	<i>-taa</i>	<i>-ntaa</i>

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	<i>-be</i>	<i>-de</i>	<i>-ne</i>

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.¹³ 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

¹³ 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	<i>-t</i>	<i>-mot</i>	<i>-m</i>
2	<i>-ng</i>	<i>-mok</i>	<i>-ng</i>
3	<i>-k</i>		

This paradigm is illustrated in (1)–(3) below.¹⁴

- (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	<i>-t</i>	<i>-m</i>
2	<i>-ng</i>	<i>-ng</i>
3	<i>-k</i>	

¹⁴ 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.

This paradigm is illustrated in (4)–(6).¹⁵ The difference between realis and irrealis subject-agreement suffixes is particularly clear in (6), where the dual irrealis form is used in 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 went to worship?’ [DN02.177.02]

¹⁵ 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.

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 de-subordinated, occurring at the end of a sentence, to convey incompleteness (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 21.5.¹⁶

TABLE 21.5: DEPENDENT VERB MORPHOLOGY

		+ participant + coordinate	+ participant – coordinate	– participant – coordinate
SS		<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ϕ</i>	<i>-gû</i>
DS	1SG	<i>-ng -la</i>	<i>-ng</i>	
	1NSG	<i>-ng -tna(ng), -ng -(t)da</i>		
	23	<i>-ng -lû</i>		

Leaving a full discussion of the various functions of clause chains and the different dependent verbforms 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

¹⁶ Note that the paradigm is simplified, with a description of the complex morphophonemic alternations reserved for §21.6.

over the entire sentence. Each predicate has a perfective interpretation, with each subsequent clause understood as occurring sequentially in time.

- (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

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 flaa-s-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 awhile, 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]¹⁷

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 verbforms 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.’

¹⁷ This complex predicate with the light verb *ta-* ‘do’ is a desiderative construction, as described in Chapter 26.

<i>ba</i>	<i>gewayong</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>idi</i>
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)	<i>sap</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>yenûngkongka</i>	<i>tangaam.</i>	<i>tagû</i>	<i>mo,...</i>
	[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 awhile’. 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	<i>n(aa)-</i>	<i>n-</i>
2	<i>g(aa)-</i>	<i>s(aa)-</i>
3	–	<i>y(e)-</i>

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	<i>naanû-</i>	<i>nûnû-</i>
2	<i>gaanû-</i>	<i>saanû-</i>
3	<i>nû-</i>	<i>yenû-</i>

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	<i>nalaam-</i>	<i>nûlaam-</i>
2	<i>galaam-</i>	<i>salaam-</i>
3	<i>talaam-</i>	<i>yalaam-</i>

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	<i>nisopm-</i>	<i>nûsopm-</i>
2	<i>gisopm-</i>	<i>sisopm-</i>
3	<i>sako-</i>	<i>isopm-</i>

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.

TABLE 21.10: OBJECT VERB CLASS I: PREFIXES

stem	1SG	2SG	3SG	1NSG	2NSG	3NSG
<i>talaam-</i> 'shoot'	<i>nalaam-</i>	<i>galaam-</i>	<i>talaam-</i>	<i>nûlaam-</i>	<i>salaam-</i>	<i>yalaam-</i>
<i>kaafe-</i> 'scold'	<i>naafe-</i>	<i>gaafe-</i>	<i>kaafe-</i>	<i>nûfe-</i>	<i>saafe-</i>	<i>yaafe-</i>
<i>nû-</i> 'tell'	<i>naanû-</i>	<i>gaanû-</i>	<i>nû-</i>	<i>nûnû-</i>	<i>saanû-</i>	<i>yenû-</i>
<i>m-</i> 'give'	<i>naam-</i>	<i>gaam-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>nûm-</i>	<i>saam-</i>	<i>yem-</i>
<i>kapmang-</i> 'leave'	<i>napmang-</i>	<i>gapmang-</i>	<i>kapmang-</i>	<i>nûpmang-</i>	<i>sapmang-</i>	<i>yapmang-</i>
<i>naanggût-</i> 'get'	<i>nanaanggût-</i>	<i>ganaanggût-</i>	<i>naanggût-</i>	<i>nûnaanggût-</i>	<i>sanaanggût-</i>	<i>yenaanggût-</i>
<i>taale-</i> 'pull'	<i>naale-</i>	<i>gaale-</i>	<i>taale-</i>	<i>nûle-</i>	<i>saale-</i>	<i>yaale-</i>
<i>tawang-</i> 'follow'	<i>nawang-</i>	<i>gawang-</i>	<i>tawang-</i>	<i>nûwang-</i>	<i>sawang-</i>	<i>yawang-</i>
<i>isopm-</i> 'hold'	<i>nisopm-</i> <i>nasopm-</i>	<i>gisopm-</i> <i>gasopm-</i>	<i>sako-</i>	<i>nûsopm-</i>	<i>sisopm-</i>	<i>isopm-</i>
<i>b-</i> 'see'	<i>naamb-</i>	<i>gaab-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>nûmb-</i>	<i>saab-</i>	<i>yaab-</i>
<i>yaabaa-</i> 'let'	<i>naabaa-</i> ¹⁸	<i>gaabaa-</i>	<i>kaawaa-</i>	<i>nûbaa-</i>	<i>saabaa-</i>	<i>yaabaa-</i>
<i>eflongka-</i> 'help', ¹⁹	<i>neflongka-</i>	<i>geflongka-</i>	<i>teblongka-</i>	<i>nûflongka-</i>	<i>seflongka-</i>	<i>iflongka-</i> <i>yeflongka-</i>

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.

¹⁸ 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. §##). 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.

¹⁹ 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.

TABLE 21.11: PREFIXES ON VERBAL COMPOUNDS WITH *NÛ-* ‘TELL’

stem	1SG	2SG	3SG	1NSG	2NSG	3NSG
<i>nû-kong-</i> ‘send, remove’ (lit. ‘tell- throw’)	<i>naanûngkong-</i>	<i>gaanûngkong-</i>	<i>nûngkong-</i>	<i>nûnûngkong-</i>	<i>saanûngkong-</i>	<i>yenûngkong-</i>
<i>nû-yot-</i> ‘force’ (lit. ‘tell- stab’)	<i>naanûyot-</i>	<i>gaanûyot-</i>	<i>nûyot-</i>	<i>nûnûyot-</i>	<i>saanûyot-</i>	<i>yenûyot-</i>
<i>nû-ut-m-pa-</i> ‘praise’ (lit. ‘tell-hit- give-VBLZ’)	<i>naanûutumpa-</i>	<i>gaanûutumpa-</i>	<i>nûutumpa-</i>	<i>nûnûutumpa-</i>	<i>saanûutumpa-</i>	<i>yenûutumpa-</i>

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'	<i>tû-</i>	<i>be-</i>	
'carry in arms'	<i>taabaa-</i>	<i>flubaabaa-</i>	
'throw'	<i>kong-</i>	<i>lakong-</i>	
'get'	<i>teblaa-</i>	<i>feblaa-</i>	
'bring'	<i>teb-</i>	<i>feb-</i>	<i>ba-</i> 'come'
'bring up'	<i>talaab-</i>	<i>falaab-</i>	<i>laab-</i> 'come up'
'bring down'	<i>tefû-</i>	<i>fefû-</i>	<i>fû-</i> 'come down'
'take'	<i>tuku-</i>	<i>fuku-</i>	<i>ku-</i> 'go'
'take up'	<i>talo-</i>	<i>falo-</i>	<i>lo-</i> 'go up'
'take down'	<i>tapmo-</i>	<i>fapmo-</i>	<i>mo-</i> 'go down'
'lift'	<i>tangaakng-</i>	<i>fangaakng-</i>	<i>(ng)aakng-</i> '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
<i>yol-</i> / <i>idepm-</i> 'stab'	<i>not-</i>	<i>got-</i>	<i>yot-</i>	<i>nûdepm-</i>	<i>sidepm-</i>	<i>idepm-</i>
<i>tefaa-</i> / <i>efûtefaa-</i> 'damage, upset'	<i>nefaa-</i>	<i>gefaa-</i>	<i>tefaa-</i>	<i>nûfûtefaa-</i> ²⁰	<i>sefûtefaa-</i>	<i>efûtefaa-</i>
<i>dakong-</i> / <i>ipmdakong-</i> 'carry on back'	<i>nakong-</i>	<i>gakong-</i>	<i>dakong-</i>	<i>nûpmdakong-</i>	<i>sipmdakong-</i>	<i>ipmdakong-</i>
<i>ut-</i> / <i>idûpm-</i> 'hit'	<i>nut-</i>	<i>gut-</i>	<i>ut-</i>	<i>nûdûpm-</i> <i>nûlûpm-</i>	<i>sidûpm-</i> <i>silûpm-</i>	<i>idûpm-</i> <i>ilûpm-</i>
<i>e-</i> / <i>idû-</i> 'bite'	<i>ne-</i>	<i>ge-</i>	<i>sû-</i>	<i>nûndû-</i>	<i>sidû-</i>	<i>idû-</i>

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 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

²⁰ 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.

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]

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.*²¹
 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:

²¹ The addition of *taawang* ‘they are saying’ is a rhetorical device used for emphatic assertion of the veracity of a proposition. See §31.2.

- (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.

TABLE 21.14: DEPENDENT MORPHOLOGY AND CASE CORRELATIONS

Verb suffix		Case enclitic	
SS	<i>-ka, -ta, -pa</i>	<i>=la, =ta, =pa, =ka</i>	BEN
DS.1SG	<i>-la</i>	<i>=la, =ta, =pa, =ka</i>	BEN
DS.1NSG	<i>-tna(ng)</i>	<i>=nang</i>	LOC
HAB	<i>-nang</i>	<i>=nang</i>	LOC
DS.23	<i>-lû</i>	<i>=lû, =tû, =pû, =kû</i>	NOM/ABL
POT	<i>=lok, =tok, =pok</i>	<i>=lok, =tok, =pok, =kok</i>	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	V	NV	N	b	t
			<i>lo-</i> 'go up'	<i>mo-</i> 'go down'	<i>blaam-</i> 'shoulder carry'	<i>laab-</i> 'come up'	<i>ut-</i> 'hit'
RP	SG	<i>-go</i>	<i>logo-</i>	<i>monggo-</i>	<i>blaamgo-</i>	<i>laabûgo-</i>	<i>ugo-</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>	<i>logû-</i>	<i>monggû-</i>	<i>blaamgû-</i>	<i>laabûgû-</i>	<i>ugû-</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	<i>longa-</i>	<i>monga-</i>	<i>blaam(ng)a-</i>	<i>laabûnga-</i>	<i>ula-</i>
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>	<i>longaa-</i>	<i>mongaa-</i>	<i>blaam(ng)aa-</i>	<i>laabûngaa-</i>	<i>ulaa-</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-la</i>	<i>lola-</i>	<i>mola-</i>	<i>blaamta-</i>	<i>laabûla-</i>	<i>utta-</i>
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>	<i>lowaa-</i>	<i>mowaa-</i>	<i>blaamgaa-</i>	<i>laabûwaa-</i>	<i>ugaa-</i>
FUT	SG	<i>-taa</i>	<i>lotaa-</i>	<i>mombûtaa-</i>	<i>blaambûtaa-</i>	<i>laabûtaa-</i>	<i>ulûtaa-</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>	<i>lontaa-</i>	<i>montaa-</i>	<i>blaam(ûn)taa-</i>	<i>laabûntaa-</i>	<i>utntaa-</i>
IRR	SG	<i>-be</i>	<i>lowe-</i>	<i>mombe-</i>	<i>blaambe-</i>	<i>laabe-</i>	<i>ule-</i>
	DU	<i>-de</i>	<i>lode-</i>	<i>monde-</i>	<i>blaamde-</i>	<i>laabûde-</i>	<i>u(t)de-</i>
	PL	<i>-ne</i>	<i>lone-</i>	<i>mone-</i>	<i>blaamne-</i>	<i>laabûne-</i>	<i>utne-</i>
POT		<i>=lok</i>	<i>lolok</i>	<i>montok</i>	<i>blaampok</i>	<i>laabûlok</i>	<i>uttok</i>
coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>mongka</i>	<i>blaampa</i>	<i>laabûka</i>	<i>utta</i>
	DS	<i>-ng</i>	<i>long-</i>	<i>mong-</i>	<i>blaamûng-</i>	<i>laabûng-</i>	<i>ukng-</i>
subordinate	SS	\emptyset	<i>lo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>blaam</i>	<i>laabû</i>	<i>ut</i>
	DS	<i>-ng</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>mong</i>	<i>blaamûng</i>	<i>laabûng</i>	<i>ukng</i>
	DUR	<i>-gû</i>	<i>logû</i>	<i>monggû</i>	<i>blaamgû</i>	<i>laabûgû</i>	<i>ugû</i>
NMLZ		<i>-baan</i>	<i>lowaan</i>	<i>mombaan</i>	<i>blaambaan</i>	<i>laabaan</i>	<i>ulaan</i>

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	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	\emptyset
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-la</i>		DUR	<i>-gû</i>
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>	POT	<i>=lok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>-taa</i>	NMLZ	<i>-waan</i>	
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-we</i>			

	DU	<i>-de</i>
	PL	<i>-ne</i>

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	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	$-\emptyset$
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-a</i>		POT	DUR
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>			<i>=lok</i>
FUT	SG	<i>-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-waan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-we</i>			
	DU	<i>-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	$-\emptyset$
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-a</i>		POT	DUR
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>			<i>=lok</i>
FUT	SG	<i>-b-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-b-aan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-b-e</i>			
	DU	<i>-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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*.

TABLE 21.19: GHOST Y-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	$-\emptyset$
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-ya</i>		DUR	<i>-gû</i>
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>	POT	<i>=lok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-waan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-we</i>			
	DU	<i>-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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.

TABLE 21.20: NV-CLASS VERB PARADIGM

Finite			Non-finite		
RP	SG	<i>-nggo</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ngka</i>
	NSG	<i>-nggû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	$-\emptyset$
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-la</i>		DUR	<i>-nggû</i>
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>	POT	<i>=ntok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>-mb-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-mbaan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-mbe</i>			
	DU	<i>-nde</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-pa, -ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-(ng)a</i>	subordinate	SS	<i>-∅</i>
	NSG	<i>-(ng)aa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-ta</i>	POT	DUR	<i>-gû</i>
	NSG	<i>-gaa</i>			<i>=pok</i>
FUT	SG	<i>-b-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-baan</i>
	NSG	<i>-(n)taa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-be</i>			
	DU	<i>-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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	<i>-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ka</i>
	NSG	<i>-gû</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>-nga</i>	subordinate	SS	<i>-∅</i>
	NSG	<i>-ngaa</i>		DS	<i>-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-la</i>		DUR	<i>-gû</i>
	NSG	<i>-waa</i>	POT	<i>=lok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>-aan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>-e</i>			
	DU	<i>-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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	<i>∅-go</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>-ta</i>
	NSG	<i>∅-gû</i>		DS	<i>k-ng</i>
NP	SG	<i>l-a</i>	subordinate	SS	<i>-∅</i>
	NSG	<i>l-aa</i>		DS	<i>l-ng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>-ta</i>		DUR	<i>∅-gû</i>
	NSG	<i>∅-gaa</i>	POT	<i>=tok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>l-taa</i>	NMLZ		<i>l-aan</i>
	NSG	<i>-ntaa</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>l-e</i>			
	DU	<i>∅-de</i>			
	PL	<i>-ne</i>			

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 keeps 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	<i>ugo-</i>	coordinate	SS	<i>utta</i>
	NSG	<i>ugû-</i>		DS	<i>ukng-</i>
NP	SG	<i>ula</i>	subordinate	SS	<i>ut</i>
	NSG	<i>ulaa</i>		DS	<i>ukng</i>
PRS	SG	<i>utta-</i>		DUR	<i>ugû</i>
	NSG	<i>ugaa-</i>	POT	<i>uttok</i>	
FUT	SG	<i>ulûtaa-</i>	NMLZ	<i>ulaan</i>	
	NSG	<i>utntaa-</i>			
IRR	SG	<i>ule-</i>			
	DU	<i>ude-</i>			
	PL	<i>utne-</i>			

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 alternate 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-munggudû-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]

- (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 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 than 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 the mountain and...’ [skc09_34]

- (48) *ilûpmûngkata* *kugû* *kugû* *aminengkok* ***kungkadopmûnggûmok.***
 idipm-ka=ta ku-gû ku-gû aminengkok 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 Aminengkok.’ [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 *maangû-* ‘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.

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 sengkangaamot.*
 teb kadû-ma sengkang-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) *maangûta 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]

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	
			-IPFV-		IRR

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 occurred 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.*
 taamengsûla [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* *nalām*, *bombo* *nalām* *yaalû* ***bangaamok*** *ya*,
 [fatnaang nalām] {[bombo²² nalām 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).

- (8) *mi* ***dom*** ***wingat***.
 mi **dom** **wi-*nga*-t**
 water NEG bathe-NP-1SG
 ‘I did not bathe (yet).’ [DN02.199.08]

²² From *bomboŋ*, a Kâte term for ‘respected man, master, European’ (Flierl & Strauss 1977:51).

- (9) *dom kung, kogût. met kuntaang.*
 dom ku- \emptyset -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]

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 discussed 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 taa-it.*
 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.’ [ske11_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 taa-it.*
 [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) *yangaating.*
 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 taait.*
 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 simple 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) *naitnang*.
 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.²³ 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 habitative 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 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

²³ *t*→*k* morphophonemic processes are common in the area.

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 dûttaak.
 [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).

- (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 such 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]

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 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.

TABLE 24.1: ASPECT STRUCTURES COMPARED

	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	<i>at-</i> 'be'	<i>aatûku-</i> 'remain'		<i>ta-</i> 'do'					
Adverb					<i>mo</i> 'already'				
Morpheme/ serialized V						<i>-kong</i> 'TERM'	<i>-maa</i> 'CMPL'	<i>-nang</i> 'HAB' + <i>-waa</i> 'PFV' or <i>-i-</i> 'IPFV'	<i>-i-</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 <i>mo-</i> 'go down'	From lexical verb <i>kong-</i> 'throw'	From adverb <i>maa</i> 'wholly'	<i>-nang</i> from LOC enclitic; <i>-waa</i> or <i>-i-</i> only in nonPRS	From historical verb <i>-i-</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 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 similar to a tense and 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 (states and motion events) 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
- maangûta 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 nonstative meaning (Comrie 1976:35). That is, while dynamic verbs may be marked with the progressive aspect, stative verbs *cannot*. This is true for MM. For example, in (3) if the verb ‘sit’ is inflected as a final verb—without the periphrastic construction—then the translation would become: ‘The white man sat down on a stone.’ It would be viewed as a single whole.

Here I briefly summarize the inherent opposition with regard to the effect of stative and dynamic verbs on the PFV:IPFV opposition. 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 ‘sit’ is made up of the process of going from a standing to a sitting position. Dynamic verbs are inherently bounded, meaning that they have a natural endpoint. This is true for ‘sit’, as well as *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 unbounded, 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. 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. 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’ and in (7) with *-b-* ‘see’. It would be ungrammatical to use a progressive construction in either sentence.

- (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]

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 (8). Otherwise, they necessarily convey their default meaning of boundedness (as in (5) above).

- (8) *waagût genangkaka ngattak.*
 waagût genangka-ka ngat-ta-k
 now appear-SS be-PRS-3SG
 ‘Now he is being born.’ [skc09_18]

Stative verbs, however, are disallowed from progressive-marking in the present tense. This is shown with *ngat-* ‘be’ and *naandû-* ‘perceive’ in (9) and (10), respectively.

- (9) *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]

- (10) *malompû naandûlak.*
 malom=lû naandû-la-k
 lord=NOM perceive-PRS-3SG
 ‘The lord knows.’ [DN02.187.68]

Thus, dynamic verbs which are unmarked for aspect can only occur in the nonpresent tenses, 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 tenses.” It is not strictly true in MM that perfective dynamic verbs are ungrammatical in the present tense, as (5) shows. However, 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 nonpresent 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 bounded (i.e. have an endpoint), but which are internally homogenous. 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 (11) with *ku-* ‘go’. The verb *na-* ‘eat’ is shown in (12).

- (11) *mi flong kuyat.*
 [mi flong] ku-ya-t
 water ALL go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am going to the water.’ [DN02.176.08]

- (12) *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 (11), 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 (13).

- (13) *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 (14). In both cases the progressive is disallowed in the present tense, but required for the expression of durativity in nonpresent tenses. This is unsurprising for the motion verb ‘come down’, but the verb ‘hit’ requires the progressive when used with its basic dynamic meaning.

- (14) *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 dynamic or stative status. 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 (10) above). However, it can have a dynamic interpretation as ‘think’ or ‘listen’, and the progressive forces this reading, as shown in (15). 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 (16).

- (15) *naandûka ngagok.*
 naandû-ka ngat-go-k
 perceive-SS be-RP-3SG
 ‘He was thinking.’ [skc12_16]

- (16) *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 (17).

- (17) *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 nonpresent 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 (13), (16)–(17), as well as in (18).

- (18) *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 (19).

- (19) *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 (20).

- (20) *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 (21), where the *sesuwak* custom is being practiced. *Sesuwak*²⁴ 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.

- (21) *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]

²⁴ *Sesuwak* is literally *se-suwa-k* ‘cook-spit-NMLZ’.



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 (22), 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.

- (22) *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:

- (23) *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 (24).

- (24) *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]

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 (25), (27), (28), (29)). 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 awhile’.

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 (25), 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 (27).

- (25) *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 awhile,...’

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 awhile,...’ [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 (26)—it is followed by a 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.

- (26) *tanggûdûm taka aatûkugûmot aatûkugû...*
 tanggûdûm ta-ka aatûku-gû-mot aatûku-gû
 ready do-SS remain-RP-1DU remain-DUR
 ‘We got ready for awhile 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 (27). This vocalic extension also occurs with the extended durative, as described in §24.3.

- (27) *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 awhile, the aibika, beans, corn, and cucumber, these ones
 mature first.’ [skc09_17]

The durative may co-occur with the habitual aspect, as shown in (28), 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).

- (28) *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 awhile.’ [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 (29). Furthermore, neither the progressive nor the durative occurs with stative events. Instead, the extended durative aspect is used (§24.3) for this purpose.

- (29) *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 (30).

- (30) *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 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 indefinitely.²⁵ With motion verbs, the construction carries the additional implication that the actor traverses a great distance. An example is provided in (31). 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.

- (31) *bûngaannang* *kanatta* *waapmûnggaam* *walûû,*
 {bûngaannang 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]

²⁵ A similar construction is called the “extended action aspect” in Nukna (Taylor forthcoming), a related FH language.

The extended durative may modify progressive events, as in (32) (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 (33).

Examples (32)–(33) illustrate that the extended durative applies to *only activity predicates*. “Activities” are here defined as verbs which denote internally homogenous activities, such as motion verbs, states, and even 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.

- (32) *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]

- (33) *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):

- (34) *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 (35) 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).

- (35) *tang nimin ban kunsûlû alûngok alûngok.*
 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]

- (36) *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 (37) illustrates the extended durative expressed with four repetitions of *kungat-* ‘go around’ (lit. ‘go-be’).

- (37) *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 (38). 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’).

- (38) *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 (39). 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.

- (39) *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 (39), this aspect is grammatical in the past tense. It is also grammatical in the present, as in (40). No examples in the corpus have the prospective aspect occurring in the future tense.

- (40) *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, (39) 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 (41), where the prospective predicate ‘about to break’ is canceled with predicative negation in the next clause.

- (41) *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:

- (42) *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 (43). 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.

- (43) *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 (44) 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.

- (44) *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 (45), the past perfect (46), and the future perfect (47).

(45) *mo bawaamok.*
 mo ba-waa-mok
 already come-PRS-23DU
 ‘They’ve (DU) come.’ [skc09_38]

(46) *nolû wa mo kaamgok.*
 [nolû wa] mo kaam-go-k
 brother that already die-RP-3SG
 ‘His brother had died.’ [skc12_15]

(47) *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 (48), 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).

(48) *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 (49)–(50). 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.

- (49) *mi mo wingat.*
 mi mo wi-nga-t
 water already bathe-NP-1SG
 ‘I’ve already bathed (today).’ [DN199.07]
- (50) *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 (51). 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.

- (51) *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 ‘done’, as in (52). 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 (53). 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 (53), 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.

- (52) *nak mo.*
 nak mo
 1sg already
 ‘I’m done.’ [DN02.237.06]
- (53) *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]

Examples like (54) 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.

- (54) *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 (55).

- (55) *kaadûp dûnyapmangûda, 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.

- (56) *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]
- (57) *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 (58).

- (58) *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] maangû-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 (59).

- (59) *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 (60).

- (60) *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 (60), 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 (61) further shows this.

- (61) *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 (61), as well as in (63) 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.

- (62) *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 (61) 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 (63). 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 (64).

- (63) *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]

- (64) *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 (65) 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’.

- (65) *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’):

- (66) *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 built in goals which must be reached in order for them to be successfully asserted. This is illustrated in (67), where the verb *tawa*- ‘follow’ is translated ‘chase down’. It also converts ‘cook-eat’ in (68) to ‘have a meal’.

- (67) *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]
- (68) *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 (69).

- (69) *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 (69) also shows that stative verbs may take completive aspect, as further illustrated in (70).

- (70) *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.

- (71) *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 (72)–(73).

- (72) *bûge saaut kagangûnang 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]

- (73) *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 particularly 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 generalised in its meaning of completion. It does not carry the same implication about an expected duration of the resultant state.

- (74) *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 (75).

- (75) *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).

- (76) *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 (77).

- (77) *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 (78). As can be seen, these case-markers go at the end of the clause, and therefore typically attach to the finite verb.

- (78) *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.

- (79) *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 (80). This is an example of the habitual aspect occurring with the future tense.

- (80) *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 (81). The second form, *-i-*, the imperfective present tense suffix, is illustrated in (82).

- (81) *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]
- (82) *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 (81) a simple statement is made about habitual behavior at a previous point in time. Example (82) 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 (82) carries the expectation that something more important is yet to be said. The distinction between them is illustrated much more clearly in narrative. In (83) 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.

- (83) *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 (84) 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 use to have mouths.

This is taken from a narrative which explains how the MM people first developed mouths and eyes and developed the ability to speak.

- (84) *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 (85). The irrealis singular (*-be*) suffix is elided in this environment, as in (86). 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 (85) can be said by children who plan to develop the habit of chewing betel nut when they’re older.

- (85) *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]

- (86) *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 (87) 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.

- (87) *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 (88) 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.

- (88) *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 (89), 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.

- (89) *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 (90) a simple present tense verb is used in the first line of a procedural text about how they plant yams, while in (91), the final line of the same text, the habitual morpheme is included.

- (90) *waagût tet waap tawaam.*
 waagût tet waap ta-waa-m
 now yam plant do-PRS-1PL
 ‘Now we (still) plant yams.’ [skc12_05]
- (91) *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.²⁶ This pattern illustrates yet another way that the habitual aspect is different from the other aspects.

- (92) *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.’
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| <i>na</i> | <i>taamûng</i> | <i>fi</i> | <i>kodaa</i> | <i>fepmaangkongka</i> | <i>tûka, ...</i> |
| [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]

²⁶ Note that a number of medial verbs occur between the two finite verbs, but these are left out here for space.

The only aspect with which the habitual has been found to co-occur is the progressive, as shown in (87) above, as well as in (93), part of a written amateur translation of John 1:1–5.

- (93) *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 (94) 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 (95). However, these patterns may be ideolectal or clan-lectal, and more research is needed.

- (94) *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.’

- (95) **naiwaagotnang.*
 na-**i-waa**-go-t-nang
 eat-IPFV.HAB-PFV.HAB-RP-1SG-HAB

Second, an additional complex form was proffered by consultants. In (96) 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 (85), where the irrealis morpheme occurs *after* the imperfective marker.

- (96) *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 (85) the entire predicate is marked as irrealis, and thus accorded a future habitual meaning (e.g. ‘X will be V-ing). In (96) 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 (97) *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.

- (97) *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 1995:98ff). It appears that examples such as (98) 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.

- (98) *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 (98) 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.

- (99) *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.²⁷

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.

²⁷ 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.²⁸ For fuller descriptions, see Corbett (2000:243ff), Wood (2007), Dixon (2012:62–65), and Newman (2012).²⁹ 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 which

²⁸ Though the term “pluractional” has been used in the description of at least one Papuan language, Kuot (Lindström 2002:6).

²⁹ Also see Frajzyngier (1985), Durie (1986), Mithun (1988).

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 incipient 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

periphrastic 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

		S	O	Event-internal		Event-external	
				V~V <i>ta-</i>		V-SS <i>ta-</i>	
				SEQ	SIM	SEQ	SIM
Transitive	SG	SG	+	–	+	–	
		NSG	+	–	+	–	
	NSG	SG	–	+	+	+	
		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.

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 against 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 exhibited simply by the following pair of examples: example (1) has a singular object, while (2) has two objects.

- (1) *yokep ta³⁰ 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]

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

³⁰ 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.

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’), *aaweawe* ‘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]

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’

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 what all 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 (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 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 occurring 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.³¹ 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]

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]

³¹ 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.

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).³²

³² A pluractional morpheme produces such “social accompaniment” in Cuzco Quechua, as well (Faller 2012:56, 64).

(34) *ta, taamûng nanaksû u kunatta 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

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]

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)).

(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] maangû-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 house boy 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]

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.³³ 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]
- (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]

³³ *tuku-* ‘take.NSG’ is historically composed of *ta* ‘get.SG’ and *ku-* ‘go’

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.”

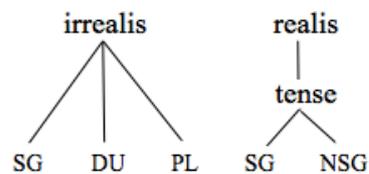


FIGURE 26.1: MORPHOLOGICAL HIERARCHY OF REALITY STATUS

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

prescribed patterns 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 (49) the auxiliary verb is marked with a same-subject coordinate suffix, while in (50) it is a finite (final) verb.

- (49) *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]

- (50) *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 (51).

- (51) *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 (52)–(53).

- (52) *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]
- (53) *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 (54). 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 construction is also markedly similar to the prospective aspect construction (§24.4), which only lacks the benefactive enclitic.

- (54) *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 synchronic 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 (49) from above again, but this time treating the morpheme as the same-subject suffix.

(55)	<i>saande</i>	<i>taamengsla</i>	<i>saaut</i>	<i>kuwetta</i>	<i>taka...</i>
	[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...’ [ske11_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 (56)–(58).

- (56) *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]
- (57) *maangûletta naandûlat.*
 {maangû-t-e=la} naandû-la-t.
 sit-IRR.SG-1SG=BEN perceive-PRS-1SG
 ‘I feel like sitting.’ [DN02.179.19]
- (58) *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 waka-a-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 (59) 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.

- (59) *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 (56) from above is recast with the medial verb analysis below.

- (60) *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 (61). For Amele, Roberts (1994:12) deals with this issue by treating them as 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.”

- (61) *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 (62). With the irrealis medial clause analysis, one would expect each separate medial verb to be marked as such.

- (62) *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 proposition. 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 exist 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 (63)–(64), or due to their innate ability, as in (65).

- (63) *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]
- (64) *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]
- (65) *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 (65) 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 ability of an event to transpire, often used as a shortcut for indicating something's purpose, as shown in (66). This appears to be an example of de-subordination.

- (66) *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 (67). Negated, they produce prohibitives ('you must not')—see §28.3.3.

- (67) *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 (68).

- (68) *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 (69)–(70).

- (69) *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]

- (70) *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 (71). 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.

- (71) *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 (72)–(73), 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.

- (72) *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]

- (73) *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.

- (74) *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 (75).

- (75) *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]

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 O₂. 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) *mangkat ya walawala isopmbaan.*
 [mangkat 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]

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* *aaweawaawenit* **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

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 = <i>lok</i>
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 <i>in situ</i>	DUB enclitic attaches to questioned constituent	Overt pronouns common; expressives common; polite with <i>gelû</i>	Overt pronouns common	Polite with <i>gelû</i>
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) | <i>fi</i> | <i>daa</i> | <i>attak?</i> |
| | 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 what all 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 fongûta 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 mombaata.*
 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 went 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]

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 sînûkka, dom?*
 gak [kunum malom=lûnang nanak sînûk=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.

- (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 same 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]

- (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*
ganaanang=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”,’

- (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 causal 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]

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* *wadûgû* *kame* *flong* *tawangka* *aatûkugû...*
wa=la nûndû wadûgû [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 sînûk 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:

- (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 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 daughter 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) *sis, 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]

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

aatûkuwaaagûmokngang.

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 where 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 leman kugûng.*
 [naai ban flong] [saaut nanaksû=lû] leman 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 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 Bayanggenu’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 kodusûlû*
 [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) *tandongta 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]

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.

- (31) *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]

- (32) *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!

- (33) *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 disource 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 (31) of the previous section. It expresses a fact as a verifiable truth. In this way it functions like an evidential particle.

- (34) *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 (35), 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.³⁴

- (35) *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 (35), 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.

- (36) *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]

³⁴ 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.

- (37) *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*.

- (38) *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]

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 underlined 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
- sûbat* *segûm.*
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) *sisá, gaamiyongkû́t, laai kúntaamot*
 sisa gaamiyong=lit { {laai ku-ntaa-mot} }
 ±2days PN=COM PN go-FUT-1DU
taaka kugû́mot.
 taa-ka ku-gû́-mot
 say-SS go-RP-1DU
 ‘The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gamiyong, so we went.’

kugû́mot tangû́lû́, nantaampû́ kadepmang
 ku-gû́-mot ta-ng-lû́ nantaam=lû́ kadepmang
 go-RP-1DU do-DS-23 people=NOM road
kam nû́nû́nggû́ng, kadet wakaangak.
 kam n-nû́-gû́-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) *yalû́ kuka, sibi kum dogû́mot, pandelit.*
 ya=lû́ ku-ka sibi kum do-gû́-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 dogû́mot walû́ siyangû́lû́,...*
 {wa do-gû́-mot wa=lû́} siya-ng-lû́
 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 laabû́gok.*
 taabaa-ka laab-go-k
 carry-SS come.up-RP-3SG
 ‘He carried him and came up.’

<i>talaabû,</i>	<i>meng</i>	<i>kaang</i>	<i>kansokkok</i>	<i>yemûng...</i>
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.’

<i>yalû,</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>kusamba</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>mongkadopmûngka...</i>
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.’

<i>wa</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>aatûkugûû</i>	<i>mo...</i>
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.’

<i>walataka</i>	<i>yaabûntaangang...</i>
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.’ [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]

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.’

<i>taangûlû,</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>baka</i>	<i>badempa</i>	<i>taagûmot</i>
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.’

<i>taamtaampû</i>	<i>blaakam</i>	<i>tamaakongka,...</i>
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.’

<i>sengada</i>	<i>dûka</i>	<i>fûngûlû</i>	<i>mo,</i>
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.’

<i>laai</i>	<i>kumongka,</i>	<i>kuka</i>	<i>taaun</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>kungaagûmot.</i>
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 replaced with the terminative and completive aspects in the bridging clause.

- (18) *tûmang, fî kooda fepmûnggaamang.*
 tûmang [fi kooda] fepm-gaa-m-nang
 first garden new clear.bush-PRS-1PL-HAB
 ‘First, we clear a new garden.’

na taamûng fî kooda fepmaakongka tûka,...
 [na taamûng] [fi kooda] 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 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.’
- 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 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]

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 further 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 *bagûû,* *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	
	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:

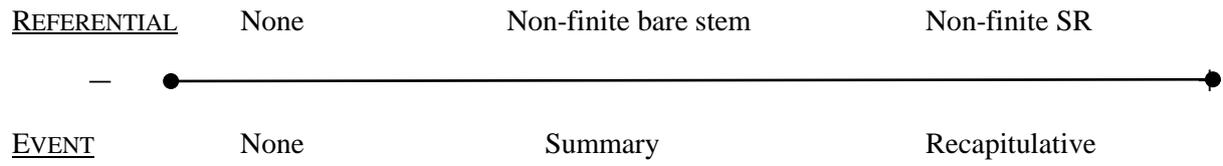


FIGURE 32.1: REFERENTIAL AND EVENT COHESION

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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 documentary corpus. This will be deposited into an accessible archive in the near future.

skc09_01 My Trip to Lae

Setting: Collected in Kesengen Village on my very first night visiting the MM language area

Genre: Personal narrative (oral)

Summary: Recounts the speaker's recent trip to Lae City from Kesengen Village

Speaker: Gausak Baki (1975), Male, Grade 6 + training at a technical school, Kesengen

- (1) *sis*, *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,
 salamoâ 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 Salamoâ 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

<i>bûgebûga</i>	<i>amun,</i>	<i>amun</i>	<i>walû</i>	<i>walû</i>
bûge=bû=ga	amun	amun	wa=lû	wa=lû
again=too=INST	ground	ground	that=ABL	that=ABL

<i>bagû</i>	<i>bagûû,</i>	<i>bayaang.</i>
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,

<i>mongga</i>	<i>kagang,</i>	<i>laabûgot,</i>	<i>kaasingang.</i>
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

<i>mukuya</i>	<i>yodûka</i>	<i>kaafeng</i>	<i>ganang</i>
mukuya	yodû-ka	[kaageng	ganang]
pig	search.for-SS	coffee	plot

<i>kudu</i>	<i>kungalaam,</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>kaang,</i>	<i>jeni.</i>
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.

- (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) *wakangûda, 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,

<i>kaadûp</i>	<i>uleka</i>	<i>bengaam</i>	<i>wa</i>
kaadûp	ule-ka	{be-ngaa-m	wa}
wood	break-SS	put.NSG-NP-1PL	that

<i>dûdûmetta</i>	<i>tametta</i>	<i>mo,</i>
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,

<i>laabûka</i>	<i>mukuya</i>	<i>topmûngka</i>	<i>taaleka</i>
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

<i>maa</i>	<i>bangaam,</i>	<i>kagang.</i>
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,

<i>ba</i>	<i>gebûng</i>	<i>bangkadopmûngka</i>	<i>akngûda</i>	<i>mo,</i>
ba	gebûng	ba-kadopm-ka	at-ng-da	mo
come	inside	come-arrive-SS	be-DS-1NSG	already

coming and after we came inside,

<i>gi</i>	<i>dakengak.</i>
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,

<i>laayan</i>	<i>kaang</i>	<i>klistal</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>flong</i>	<i>kudengka,</i>
{[laayan	kaang	klistal]	{[mi	flong]	ku-de-ng=la}
PN	two	PN	water	ALL	go-IRR.DU-23NSG=BEN

<i>mikka</i>	<i>kudengka</i>	<i>atta</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>yaabûka,</i>
{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,

<i>mi</i>	<i>flong</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>yaabûka,</i>	<i>yawangka</i>	<i>kungat.</i>
{[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.

(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,³⁵ 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

³⁵ 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 koda a fepmûngaamang.*
 tûmang [fi koda a] fepm-gaa-m=nang
 first garden new clear.bush-PRS-1PL=HAB
 First, we clear a new garden.

- (3) *na taamûng fi koda a fepmaakongka tûka,*
 [na taamûng] [fi koda a] 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, kaalaut usuka,
 [saanggom welû] usu-ka kaalaut 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} [anyaan 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

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,

bûge kuwaam walû, fîng ganang kuka mo,
 {bûge ku-waa-m wa=lû} [fîng 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,

<i>blaakam</i>	<i>membû</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>kafet kafet</i>	<i>taka</i>
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,

<i>gulam,</i>	<i>gambom,</i>	<i>saanggom,</i>	<i>kaamûng</i>	<i>kadek</i>	<i>walû</i>	<i>idi,</i>
[gulam	gambom	saanggom	kaamûng	kadek	wa=lû]	idi
aibika	bean	corn	cucumber	group	that=NOM	this.ANA

tûmang gelaawangang.
 tûmang gelaawang-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 awhile until,

<i>taaweng</i>	<i>ilobu,</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>kadek,</i>
{[taaweng	ilobu	dang	kadek]
taro	banana	pitpit	group

<i>gulat</i>	<i>yaalûwa</i>	<i>yaalanangka</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>yaabûng,</i>
[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

<i>gelaang</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>mo,</i>	<i>nangka</i>	<i>sûnangka</i>	<i>aatûkungada,</i>
gelaang-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 awhile until,

<i>fi</i>	<i>walû</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>kuka,</i>	<i>bûdûmpaakngang.</i>
[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: Recounts 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.

- (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),

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,

gulat, dūgat wa agûmot? yaalanangkek ban.
gulat dūgat 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 koda a genangkaka attak, mona,
 [nonang nanak koda a] 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.

- (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-naanggû-ta
 PN mother father.3SG.POSS 3NSG.O-get-SS
 We cooked it, and Ragi, he got Bayanggenu'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?”³⁶
- (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,

³⁶ 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.

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—

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]]³⁷.
 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.

³⁷ This clause was added by a MM speaker during the transcription and translation process.

(23) *kayap* *naanggûtta* *kugûmot* *wa*
 {*kayap* *naanggû-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,

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 bilim 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.

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.

- (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,

<i>taamtaam</i>	<i>yalû</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>gafang</i>	<i>flong</i>	<i>ima</i>
[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,

<i>manda</i>	<i>taaka</i>	<i>tangaam</i>	<i>tagû</i>	<i>mo,</i>
manda	taa-ka	ta-ngaa-m	ta-gû	mo
talk	say-SS	do-NP-1PL	do-DUR	already

after chatting awhile,

<i>klistal</i>	<i>nûngka</i>	<i>taangaam,</i>
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,

<i>nangkadekkû</i>	<i>banûwangûlû,</i>
nangkadek=lû	ba-nû-tawang-ng-lû
men=NOM	come-1NSG.O-follow-DS-23

the men will come chase us, and

<i>tumtum</i>	<i>yalû,</i>	<i>bûsenang</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>mongka</i>	<i>kungûtna,</i>
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

<i>gak</i>	<i>talaus</i>	<i>kusamba</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>kufûka</i>
gak	[taalaus	kusamba	ya]	kufû-ka
2SG	pants	big	this	take.off-SS

you will take off these big pants and

<i>kelang</i>	<i>sakoka</i>	<i>kuntangang.</i>
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 sūglen sakoka mo kugûmpek i.*
 adaampa-ka sūglen 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 maangû-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] maangû-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,

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.ropes 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.

- (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 awhile,

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 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**

Setting: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts

Genre: Legendary narrative (written)

Summary: Tells the story about an elderly man's death due to a rooster's pecking his testicles

Author: Gausak Baki (1975), Male, Grade 6 + training at a technical school, Kesengen

- (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 gaa-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 all die-RP-3SG
 the elderly man was startled and altogether 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

Setting: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts

Genre: Personal narrative (written)

Summary: Tells about dreaming of a demon attack and accidentally grabbing her son in her sleep

Author: Hefore Bitoin (1979), Female, Grade 6, Saut

- (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) *tandongtagût 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 kungkadompûngka*
 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,

<i>makong</i>	<i>mongka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bûkngaan</i>	<i>flong</i>
mako-ng	mo-ka	[na	bûkngaan	flong]
run.away-DS	go.down-SS	man	neck	ALL

<i>sangengka</i>	<i>flûsegok.</i>
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

<i>teblongkalok</i>	<i>akngûlû</i>
{teblongka=lok}	at-ng-lû
help.3SG=POT	be-DS-23

was there to help,

<i>makoka</i>	<i>kagang</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>kugok.</i>
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

<i>neflongkawe,</i>	<i>taagok.</i>
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

<i>sûblaakng</i>	<i>kaamgok.</i>
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

Setting: Collected during the orthography development workshop in Kesengen Village among many other written texts

Genre: Expository (written)

Summary: Explains that one must follow God's customs in order to go to Heaven

Author: 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.³⁸

- (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

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”

Setting: Written shortly after the orthography workshop and brought to Ukarumpa (SIL's center); later re-written with some details added

Genre: Legendary narrative (written)

Summary: 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.

Author: 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.

³⁸ This translation is based on the preferred Tok Pisin translation, “Mipela bai bilong paia tasol.” Perhaps *gegût* ‘story’ has a different meaning here as a light verb complement.

- (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] awang-ka at-go-k
 know-SS man that=NOM water PN that follow-SS be-RP-3SG
 And the man followed the Nambut River.

munggup ban sakoka
 [munggup ban] sako-ka
 snake.sp a hold.3SG-SS
 grabbed a *munggup* 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 yenûngkok 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.

laabisap *atta*,
 laabisap at-ta
 PN be-SS
 was in Rabisap, and

buntut *tawaang* *kun* *deka* *kagok*, *mandeng*,
 [buntut tawaang] kun de-ka ka-go-k mandeng
 PN mountain down.DIST gaze-SS see.3SG-RP-3SG next
 next, he gazed up at Buntut 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,³⁹

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.

<<GM>>

- (8) *yaalû yaalû kungûtta logûmok,*
 yaalû~yaalû kun-gû=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?

<<TB>>

- (9) *eng yaalû yaalû buntut tawaang kunatta idi,*
 eng yaalû~yaalû [buntut tawaang] kun=at-ta idi
 yes two~two PN mountain up.DIST=be-SS this.ANA
 Yes, both were up on Buntut Mountain,

wangatta tagûmok.
 wa=ngat-ta ta-gû-mok
 there=be-SS do-RP-23DU
 and they were there together.

- (10) *banta buntut wanggût tûka igamû,*
 ban=la buntut wa-gû tû-ka idi=gamû
 a=BEN PN that-RSTR put.NSG-SS this.ANA=CONJ(INST)
 He left the other there at Buntut and so,

³⁹ 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.

ban walû igamû,
 [ban wa=lû] idi=gamû
 a that=NOM this.ANA=CONJ(INST)

kun kugok guyangang saaut leman
 kun ku-go-k guyang=nang [saaut leman
 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 awhile 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,

wa, *tapmatodaleka* *lakongka* *mo* *inaanggûtta*
wa *tapmatodale-ka* *lakong-ka* *mo* *ye-naanggû-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* *kuntutugûng*
{*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 bepnek 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 bepnek 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.

(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,

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]⁴⁰ would tie up [the dead's] legs and then...

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

⁴⁰ At this moment the speaker curled up his legs in his chair to show how people would tie up the corpses.

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.

<<GM>>

- (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.

<<TB>>

- (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.

<<GM>>

- (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.

<<TB>>

- (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 them⁴¹ and

sûnûigûngang.
 sûna-i-gû-ng-nang
 cook.eat-IPFV.HAB-RP-23PL-HAB
 cook and eat them.

- (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 koda idûpmûngka nawaagûngang.*
 [den] idi=ga koda 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,

⁴¹ i.e. cook by placing it inside bamboo and putting the bamboo over a fire.

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

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 yenaanggûta 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.

<<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 Ukarampa (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,

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, nûngok.
 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 daughter 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

Setting: Collected while two speakers visited Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks

Genre: Procedural (oral)

Summary: Explains the steps they take to plant a yam garden

Speaker: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

- (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

Setting: 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

Genre: Procedural (oral; video)

Summary: A prayer for protection from spiritual attack

Speaker: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

- (1) *nunum tanûm.*
nunum ta-nûm
 prayer do-IRR.PL:1NSG
 Let's pray.

- (2) *oo aanutu kunum bepnek 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 sùglen kami kunum,
 [atat sùglen] [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 nùnggût gaabûmaangka
 [gak nùnggût] 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 [nunun 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] tefaa-le-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

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 sînûk kobûse yaalû naawang aatigûmokngang.*
 tûmang-gût sînûk [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.

- (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 Aminenggok,

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 manggadam.*
 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’).”⁴²
- (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 nanggal waga kûtlûnang tûflûka*
 na-ka [nanggal 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

⁴² This quote is spoken in the neighboring Nema (ISO: [gsn]) language, so the speakers translated it for me.

<i>tang</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>walû</i>	<i>kagang</i>	<i>agok</i>	<i>i</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.*
 nûntalaamû-t-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 nûnka 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

Setting: Written in the village and brought along for a visit to Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks

Genre: Narrative (written)

Summary: Recounts a story about some youth from Saut narrowly escaping a flooded river.

Author: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

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

- (2) *lo lemanng kudu aatûkugûng*
 lo lemanng kudu aatûku-gû-ng
 go.up PN level.DIST remain-RP-23PL
 Going up they stayed there in Lemang

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 dînûngka palak tayemûng wilaangka
kaadûp dînû-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

Setting: Written in the village and brought along for a visit to Ukarumpa (SIL's center) for three weeks

Genre: Historical narrative (written)

Summary: Tells a story about a World War II plane crash in which they nursed the surviving pilot to health and delivered him to Lae, before he later returned with others to reclaim the pilot who had died.

Author: Garambon Magu (1979), Male, Grade 4, Saut

- (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 leman kadetnang tolûnang kubalang kum*
 wa=lû [leman 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.

- (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

- 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 dofakngûlû
 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 naanggû-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) *bagone* *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 sînûk taka makobûtaat?
 {{dûdû sînûk 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 gelaaka-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.