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THE COASTAL MARIND LANGUAGE

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List of abbreviations.

Gloss	Label	Explanation
(m)	Malay/Indonesian word	
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd 3rd person	
sg, pl	singular, plural	
2|3	2nd or 3rd person	
I, II, III, IV	Genders I, II, III and IV	Chapter 6
3pl>1	3pl Actor acts on 1st person	§8.2.2.2
A	Actor	§8.2
ACPN	Accompaniment	§12.2
ACT	Actualis	§14.3.1
AFF	Affectionate	§14.3.3
ALL	Allative	§12.3
APL	Associative plural	§5.4.2
CONT	Continuative	§13.2.4
CT	Contessive	§14.4.5
CTFT	Counterfactual	§13.3
DAT	Dative	§8.3
DEP	Dependent	
DIR	Directional Orientation	§10.1.4
DIST	Distal	§3.3.2.1
DUR	Past Durative	§13.2.1
EXT	Extended	§13.2.3
FRUS	Frustrative	§14.4.1
FUT	Future	§13.2.7
FUT2	2nd Future	§13.2.7
GEN	Genitive	§8.4
GIV	Given	§14.1
HAB	Habitual	§13.2.6
HORT	Hortative	§17.1.3
SLF.INT	Self-interrogative	§14.3.4
IMP	Imperative	§17.1.1
INESS	Inessive	§9.3.2
INGRS	Ingressive	§16.3.5
INT	Interrogative	§17.3.1

Continued on next page.

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IPFV	Non-past Imperfective	§13.2.2
JUS	Jussive	§17.1.2
LOC	Locational Orientation	§10.1.5
MIR	Mirative	§14.3.2
NEUT	Neutral Orientation	§10.1.2
OBJ	Object Orientation	§10.1.3
ONLY	Restrictive Orientation	§10.1.6
PERF	Perfect	§13.2.5
PL.IMP	Plural Imperative	§17.1.1
PLA	Pluractional	§13.4
POSS	Possessor	§8.4
PRS	Present	
PRI	Prioritive	§14.4.3
PROH	Prohibitive	§17.1.4
PROW	Pro-word	§3.3.3
PROX	Proximate	§3.3.2.1
PRSTV	Presentative	§14.3.5
PST	Past	
PTCL	Particle	§3.3.9
PTCP	Participial	§4.5.3
Q	Polar question	§17.2
QUOT	Quotative	§3.3.3.4
RCPR	Reciprocal	§12.4
RE	Repetitive	§14.4.2
REM	Remote	§3.3.2.1
RLQ	Relinquitive	§16.3.7
SEP	Separative	§12.3
U	Undergoer	§8.5
VEN	Venitive	§14.5
WITH	Instrumental-Comitative	§9.3.3

Acknowledgments

I had just arrived in Wambi for the first time, and as my guide had abandoned me to go look for the man that he figured could be my host in Wambi—Paulus Yolmend—I found myself standing alone in the shade of the coconut palms in what seemed to be a deserted village. As I was contemplating what the villagers' reaction to my intrusion would be like, an old woman slowly made her way past me, struggling under an enormous load of firewood. She threw a glance at me, greeted me in Dutch and then proceeded to interrogate me in Marind, but as I was trying to stammer out a response she lost her interest and continued on with her burden. Somewhat bewildered by the casual indifference of my interlocutor, it dawned on me that after spending two months in South Papua, I had for the first time arrived in a place where the villagers—or at least some of them—considered the local language to be a suitable means of communication with a stranger. This, I thought, will be a good place for learning Marind.

Although I leave it to the villagers to judge how much of their language I managed to learn, Wambi was indeed a wonderful place for doing fieldwork. I am indebted to all of the villagers who accepted my presence so naturally, and especially to Paulus Yolmend and Yustina Mahuze who agreed to let me move into one of their two houses, pleasantly located at the beach in Wambi. I am overwhelmed by the generosity they and the rest of their large family showed me by letting me into their lives, and for letting me record them, and for not minding that I was constantly looking over their shoulders, trying to figure out what they were doing and what on earth they were saying to each other.

Although everybody in my vicinity happily agreed to being recorded, they also made it wonderfully clear how gruesome they found the work of assisting me with transcription and translation—not to mention elicitation of verb paradigms. Some of my regular helpers would practically be climbing the walls in despair as we sat in the sweltering heat, and I asked them for the umpteenth time to repeat what they heard in the headphones, *alil en*, *alil en*, slowly, slowly. I am taken by the loyalty displayed by the team of transcribers, all of whom would prefer not to: Pau Yolmend

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Summary

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Coastal Marind, an Anim language of Southern New Guinea. The description of the language is based on 8 hours of transcribed video recordings collected during ca. 13 months of field research in Merauke (Indonesia) and in nearby Marind-speaking villages. The thesis describes phonology (Chapter 2), word classes (Chapter 3), nominals (Chapters 4–6), various categories associated with the verb (Chapters 7–15), basic syntax (Chapter 16) and non-affirmative speech acts (Chapter 17). Some of the descriptively and theoretically most challenging issues in Coastal Marind are its complex verb morphology and the structure of the verb complex, the gender system, and an unusual system of focus marking on the verb ('Verb Orientation'), all of which are described in detail.

Chapter 1

Preliminaries

1.1 General information

The Coastal Marind language is spoken by ca. 7,000–9,000 people in Southern New Guinea. The 27 villages in which the language is spoken are situated on the coast of the Arafura Sea and along the Kumbe river, on territory that today belongs to Indonesia. The term 'Marind' is also used to denote a larger ethnic group consisting of speakers of the other Marindic languages (Central Marind and Upper Bian Marind) as well as some neighboring groups who speak unrelated languages (such as Marori) but who were (and are) under strong cultural and political influence of the larger Marindic-speaking group (van Baal 1966).

The origin of the word *marind* (in the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind) or *malin* (in the Western dialect described here) is unknown. It is perhaps related to the name Maro, which is one of the main rivers in the Marind territory.

The Marindic languages are members of the Anim family (Usher and Suter 2015), a group comprising perhaps 20 languages spread across the linguistically diverse southern lowlands. It is likely that the Anim family will prove to be related to other languages in New Guinea, as a member of the so-called Trans-New Guinea family. Although the details of such relationships remain to be worked out, it is clear that the Marindic languages (and probably Anim in general) are typologically very different from other Trans-New Guinea languages (Wurm 1982: 95, Evans 2012: 117). For an overview of the languages of the Southern New Guinea area, see Evans et al. (2017).

This grammar describes the Western dialect of Coastal Marind, as it is spoken in the villages Wambi and Duhmilah, and, with minor variations, in the surrounding villages. For information on the Eastern dialect, see Drabbe (1955).

1.1.1 Structural profile

1.1.1.1 Phonology. Coastal Marind has a relatively simple phonology (Chapter 2), like many other Papuan languages. There is a standard 5-vowel inventory /a e i o u/. The 19-member consonant inventory is slightly more unusual since it contrasts plain and prenasalized stops (e.g. /p b m͡b/) and contains the preaspirated/voiceless glides /ʰj ʰw/. There is no lexical tone. Stress is generally root-final and primarily realized by pitch. Lengthening is not distinctive.

1.1.1.2 Verbs. Verb morphology is extremely complex. I describe the verb structure as consisting of two independent phonological words—the 'prefixal complex' and the verb stem—which together form the verb complex (Chapter 7). The prefixal complex is a tight-knit affix cluster that may contain exponents of a wide range of inflectional categories, including: person/number indexing of agent-, recipient- and possessor-like participants, various types of aspectual morphology, two types of future marking, several applicative-like categories, various types of commands, marking of polar question as well as content questions, and an array of other markers that resist easy labeling. The inflectional categories are ordered according to a position class template, without any hierarchical structure or head-like elements (which could have motivated a description of the affix cluster as an inflecting auxiliary). Concatenation of the affixes involves complicated morphophonological processes. These are always predictable, however, and the following verb stem does not trigger any lexically specified affix suppletion, since it is phonologically separated from the prefixal complex.

The verb stem (Chapter 9) is itself host to a number of grammatical categories, such as comitative and pluractional prefixation. The exponents of these categories are generally more irregular than the affixes of the prefixal complex and their form as well as their meaning must sometimes be lexically stipulated. The verb stem is often followed by a suffix; this suffixal class primarily expresses aspectual notions.

In the interlinear glossing I separate the prefixal complex from the verb stem by means of a blank step, which indicates that they are independent phonological words. I add a trailing hyphen after the prefixal complex to indicate that the affix cluster forms a grammatical unit together with the ensuing stem. Examples:

(1) a. *katal* *ip-i-namb-ap-* *ig-made*
money ABSC:I/II.pl-3pl>1-1.GEN-CT- beg:2|3pl.U-PRS.HAB
'They usually ask me for money.'

b. *ndom-ago* *men-b-u-n-ind-a-y-* *kama⟨y⟩in*
bad-PROW:III PERF-ACT-2sg.A-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-1pl- make⟨2sg.U⟩
'You have done something bad to us.'

The most complicated exponence is exhibited by the stem alternations realizing person/number of the patient-like argument, which is present in ca. 50% of all verbs, and must be lexically specified as either prefixing, infixing, suffixing or circumfixing/double-marking depending on the inflectional class of the verb. Alternations according to the patient-like argument combine with the three types of person/number markers of the prefixal complex to form an intricate indexing system. The system exhibits semantic alignment, and displays a fundamental distinction between the agent-like participant of e.g. 'dance' and 'hit' from the patient-like participant of 'fall' and 'hit'. Participant indexing in the verb distinguishes three persons and two numbers, although 2nd and 3rd person plural is conflated in most paradigms (Chapter 8).

1.1.1.3 Nominals. The vast majority of nominals are invariant, so there is no case or number marking on nouns (Chapter 4). Exceptions are: kinship terms, which inflect for possessor, a subset of adjectives agreeing according to gender/number, and handful of frequent nouns that exhibit overt gender gender/number marking (e.g. *anem* 'man', *anum* 'woman', *anim* 'people').

Nouns are assigned to one of four genders: male humans (gender I), female humans and all animals (gender II), and inanimates (divided between genders III & IV)—see Chapter 6. Beyond adjectives, gender agreement is found in a wide range of targets, such as demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, a small group of agreeing postpositions, and some of the verbal categories realized in the prefixal complex. Members of genders I & II (i.e. all animates) combine gender agreement with expression of singular/plural number, whereas inanimates make no number distinction. A particularly complex issue in the description of gender agreement is its interaction with participant indexing in the verb stem (§9.2.5).

In addition to the subset of agreeing adjectives, gender is reflected in participles, which are productively derived from verbs by means of suffixation. There are no productive nominalization strategies, but verb stems (stripped of the preceding affix cluster) are often used in the syntactic slot associated with nominals, and could be seen as zero-derived verbal nouns. Frequent use is made of compounds, which can be built from nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and other categories.

1.1.1.4 Syntax. Constituent order in Coastal Marind is relatively free, and is never used on its own to distinguish participant roles (Chapter 16). There is a weak tendency to place arguments and adjuncts before the verb complex. The most important syntactic position of the clause is the slot immediately preceding the verb complex, which has among its functions that of hosting a constituent that is assigned focus (Chapter 10). This dedicated focus slot interacts with a set of prefixes ('Orientation prefixes') in the prefixal complex which marks the role of the focused constituent. For example, the Neutral ø- marks the verb as oriented towards a focused constituent expressing the S/A-argument (2a), whereas the Object *m-* marks the verb as oriented towards a focused O-argument (b).

(2) a. Answer to: 'Who hit him/her?'

ehway ø-a- w-amuk
father:3 NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit
'Father hit him/her.'

b. Answer to: 'Who did s/he hit?'

ehway m-a- w-amuk
father:3 OBJ-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit
'S/he hit Father.'

As this example suggests, the Orientation system functions according to a nominative-accusative basis, and interacts with the semantically aligned participant indexing system to create an elaborate set of valency classes (Chapter 11).

Noun phrase syntax is weakly developed (Chapter 5). Adjectival modification is mainly carried out by means of compounding (e.g. *yalet-anem*, lit. 'evil-man'; compounds are head-final) or by means of syntactically independent adjectival expressions used e.g. as secondary predicates (§16.4). Demonstratives used as determiners may be preposed (*upe nggat* 'that dog'), postposed (*nggat upe*), or circumposed (*upe nggat upe*) without any perceivable contrast in meaning. Adnominally used postpositional phrases precede the head noun, as in (3). When an agreeing postposition—such as *nV* 'without' in (3b) (the symbol *V* in *nV* stands for a gender-indicating vowel)—heads an adnominal PostP, the controller of gender agreement is the higher noun (*anem* 'man') and not the noun inside the PostP (*katal* 'money').

(3) a. *Mapi en bawan*
M. POSS clan
'the clans of the Mapi people'

b. *katal ne anem*
money(IV) without:I man(I)
'a man without money'

Coastal Marind does not use subordinate clauses to express e.g. reported speech (or thought), nor does it use complement clauses for concepts such as 'want to'. Instead the quotative particle *ago* is used, followed by a verbatim rendition of the quoted utterance or thought. I give two translations for the examples below: one using direct discourse, and one using indirect discourse (with shifted deicticals). Both correspond to the *ago*-strategy in Coastal Marind.

(4) *mesiwag nok ø-nak-o- ayi ago*
old.woman 1 NEUT-1.A-3sg.DAT- say QUOT
"e= ka-p-e- n-alaw sayam"
PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl- 1.U-search wallaby
'I said to my wife: "Here we will look for wallabies".'
'I told my wife that we were going to look for wallabies there.'

(5) *nok anep ago pulau Wangi-Wangi ka-mo- hu-n*
1 EMPH:I QUOT island(m) W. DIR-FUT:1.A- emerge-1.U
'I [said/thought]: "I will go out at the Wangi-Wangi island".'
'I wanted to go out at the Wangi-Wangi island.' [0635.16092016.1.wbi]

A general subordinate clause-construction can be used adverbially or to describe a referent. The adverbial and referential uses are not distinguished overtly, so an alternative translation of (6) is 'When that dog was sick yesterday, did it die?'. As indicated by the bracketing, the referent 'dog' is expressed inside the subordinate clause here; the head may also occur in the main clause, with the relative clause used paratactically and placed either before or after the rest of the sentence.

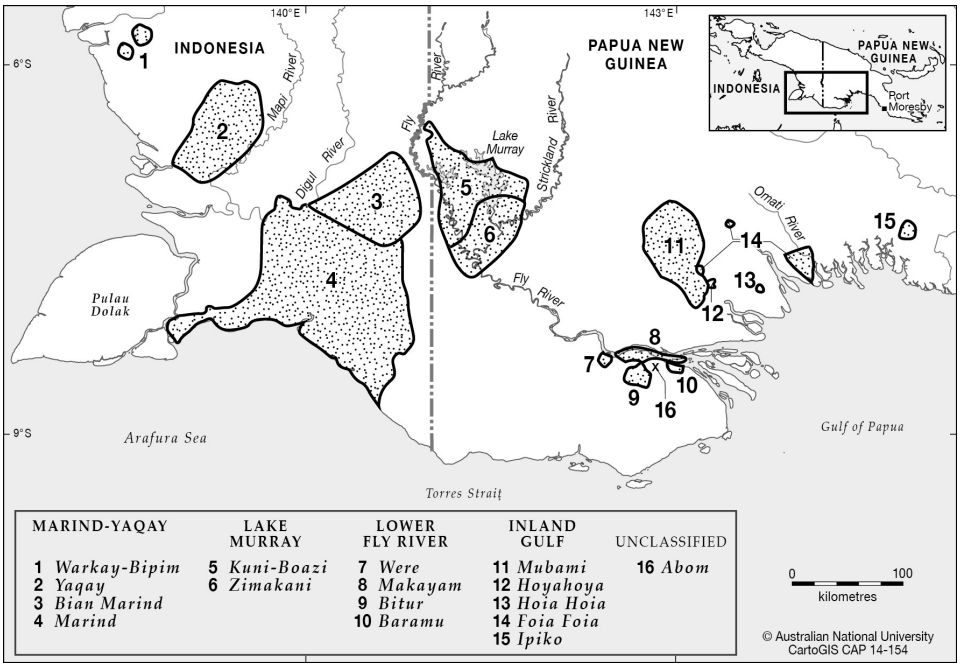
(6) *wis nggat elel a-d-ø- ola u-pe, ap-ø- kahwid?*
[yesterday dog(II) sick DEP-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U] II-DIST PST.Q-3sg.A- die:3sg.U
'The dog that was sick yesterday, did it die?'

Switch-reference structures, often said to be characteristic of Papuan languages, are absent in Marind. A full investigation of subordination will be saved for future work—only some scattered remarks on the issue are given in this grammar.

1.2 Relationships with other languages

In this section I describe the place of Marindic within the Anim family (§1.2.1) and situate Coastal Marind within the Marindic subgroup (§1.2.2). Finally, some brief information on language contact is given (§1.2.3).

Figure 1.1: The Anim languages, from Usher and Suter 2015.



1.2.1 The Marindic languages and the Anim language family

Coastal Marind and the other Marindic languages are members of the Anim language family. This family (named after the recurrent word *anim* 'people') was first identified by Usher and Suter (2015), and groups together a number of languages spoken across the South Papuan lowlands.

Usher and Suter recognize four subfamilies within Anim, as shown in the map in Figure 1.1. The Marindic languages are members of the westernmost branch of Anim, which also includes the poorly known languages Yaqay and Warkay-Bipim, spoken to the northwest of the Marind territory. The genealogical relationships between Marindic, Yaqay and the Lake Murray languages, spoken in Papua New Guinea to the northeast of Marind, have long been noted in the literature (Usher and Suter 2015: 133), but the relationship of these languages with the eastern branches (Lower Fly River and Inland Gulf) were first established in Usher and Suter's important work.

The pronominal forms reconstructed for the Anim subfamilies, e.g. Proto–Marindic-Yaqay 1sg *nok, 2sg *oɣ, resemble the person forms that have been reconstructed for the so-called Trans-New Guinea super-family (e.g. 1sg *na, 2sg *ga in Ross 2005). Linguists have proposed various incarnations of this language family, typically including an enormous number of languages from all over New Guinea, and reaching down to a time-depth that makes the application of the comparative method difficult. In this respect Trans-New Guinea is comparable to e.g. the Nostratic family that has

been proposed for languages of Eurasia. More precise knowledge about the place of Anim within Trans-New Guinea is probably not to be expected within the near future. There are, however, other families within the proposed Trans-New Guinea phylum that feature interesting similarities with Anim (e.g. Ok, which shows striking parallels in its gender system; Usher and Suter 2015: 137). This suggests promising directions for future investigations of the wider relationships of the Anim family.

1.2.2 The Marindic languages

I consider there to be three distinct languages within the Marindic subgroup: Coastal Marind (whose Western dialect is described in this grammar), Central Marind and Upper Bian Marind (or Bian Marind).

Coastal Marind is spoken along the Kumbe river and along the coast, except for three villages at the mouth of the Bian river. Central Marind is spoken in 9 villages in the hinterland north of Okaba. In addition, the inhabitants of the three villages at the mouth of the Bian (Sanggase and its satellite village Alatep to the west, and Domande to the east) speak what seem to be somewhat divergent varieties of Central Marind; these villages are in intense contact with Coastal Marind. Coastal Marind and Central Marind are closely related.

Bian Marind is spoken in 7 villages on the upper course of the Bian river, and is more distantly related to the other two languages.

The Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind is described in Drabbe's masterful grammar (Drabbe 1955) and in the impressive dictionary by Geurtjens (Geurtjens 1933). The addition of the present grammar (describing the Western dialect) possibly makes Coastal Marind the 'most described' of all Papuan languages. Coastal Marind is an endangered language in the villages close to the district capital Merauke, where speakers of all generations tend to speak the local variety of Malay instead of Marind. Language use is still vigorous in more distant Coastal Marind communities, such as Wambi, where I did my fieldwork.

Very little is known about Central Marind, and apart from the wordlists in Lebold et al. (2010) no information has been published about this language.[1] I spent a week in 2015 in Sanggase and Alatep, working on the variety of Central Marind spoken there. I also spent a few hours in Merauke working with speakers from the villages Domande and Ihalik. It is unfortunate that I only had the opportunity to work on the varieties of Central Marind spoken in the far south and far north. Since these dialects have been in contact with Coastal Marind and Bian Marind respectively one

[1] Drabbe (1955) contains a short wordlist from Domande, probably the least representative of the Central varieties. There are also scattered remarks on lexical features in Geurtjens 1933.

can suspect that they are not representative of the varieties spoken in the core of the Central Marind area.

It seems that young people in Alatep, Sanggase and Domande have a good grasp of the language, but prefer to speak Malay amongst themselves. I observed extensive code-switching to Malay even among the oldest speakers. I did not have the opportunity to visit any of the villages in the inland, but the speaker from Ihalik with whom I worked reported that the local language remains vigorous in all generations in her village, which is the most remote of the Central Marind-speaking communities.

For Bian Marind there is a short description of the verb (Drabbe 1954) and an unpublished wordlist (Drabbe ms.), as well as more recent unpublished wordlists collected by Peter Jan de Vries of the SIL. I spent two weeks in Muting in 2016 working with speakers of Bian Marind. The youngest confident speakers of the language whom I met were in their 40's, so Bian Marind is clearly an endangered language.

1.2.2.1 Languages vs. dialects. My designation of Coastal, Central and Bian Marind as three separate languages differs from the views of the previous literature. Early observers, such as Geurtjens (1926, 1933) and Drabbe (1955) lump the three units together as dialects of a single language. These researchers operated with a very different idea of what counts as a dialect, and all modern scholars have identified Bian Marind as a language separate from the other two units. This is the stance taken by van Baal (1966: 11) and Voorhoeve (1975: 358), as well as all later sources. I agree with the classification of Bian Marind as a separate language, and will not elaborate further on it here. In the following pages I will mainly discuss evidence that Coastal and Central Marind are best described as two distinct languages, and not as divergent dialects.

No researchers have suggested that Coastal and Central Marind should be considered separate languages. The only source that discusses the status of Central vs. Coastal Marind is the dialect survey by Lebold et al. 2010, and I will discuss their findings in brief here. As customary in the reports produced by SIL International, the survey team gauged the dialect situation by (i) asking speakers about perceived similarity and intercomprehension between varieties, and (ii) computing lexical similarity using wordlists.[2]

The survey reports that speakers in the coastal villages (from Alaku in the east to Wambi in the west) consider the inhabitants of the inland villages (Ihalik, Kaptel,

[2]A short wordlist containing 69 items was used in 11 villages (6 Coastal-speaking and 5 Central Marind-speaking villages), and a long wordlist containing 240 words was used in 3 villages (1 Coastal-speaking and 2 Central Marind-speaking villages). These wordlists appear to be designed by the SIL specifically for use in Papua, and contain basic vocabulary as well as some typically Papuan terminology ('sago', 'cassowary', etc.).

etc.) to speak a dialect different from theirs, and vice versa—but not a different language (see Lebold et al. 2010: 23). This finding agrees with my own experience. All villagers that I asked in Wambi told me that the Marind people of the inland speak the same Marind language as themselves, albeit with a different accent (Malay *logat*) that gets more broken (*tamba rusak*) as one travels up north. However, speakers also claim that the Bian people are speakers of a different dialect, although all modern outside observers consider Bian Marind to be a distinct language. This is seen in Lebold et al.'s survey, which reports that speakers in 6 out of 7 coastal and inland villages consider Bian Marind to be a different dialect of the same language. This shows that the local idea of what it means to 'speak the same language' has more to do with ethnic and political unity than linguistic similarity, and should not serve as a basis for a language/dialect distinction in the sense used by linguists.[3]

The results of Lebold et al.'s lexicostatistical investigation are somewhat ambiguous. The team finds that the lexical similarity between the Central varieties and the Coastal varieties west of the Bian river are too close to be considered different languages: the lowest score is 65% similarity (for Kaptel and Alaku), which is above the 60% threshold used by the survey team. However, lower scores are observed for the Coastal villages east of Bian (39–56% similarity with Central Marind). My interpretation of this is that Lebold et al. managed to capture the difference between Central Marind and the eastern varieties of Coastal Marind, whereas the differences between Central Marind and the geographically close western Coastal varieties are masked by a few cases of lexical diffusion from Central Marind that show up in the short word lists they use.

All varieties of Coastal Marind are very similar grammatically, and differ clearly in this respect from the known varieties of Central Marind. This suggests that Coastal Marind is a distinct language, but that its western varieties have been influenced by Central Marind, which makes the differences between the languages difficult to identify from short word lists. In the following subsections I give some examples of features that distinguish the languages, and some that appear to have been diffused over the language boundaries.

1.2.2.2 Sound changes. It is difficult to find clear examples of phonological innovations that respect the boundaries of the three Marindic languages, or that

[3] I have no systematic information on mutual intelligibility. According to my observations, adult villagers in Wambi and Sanggase have no major problems communicating, but the variety of Central Marind spoken in Sanggase is much more similar to Coastal Marind than the other inland varieties are. Inhabitants from the two villages often have opportunities to interact, and thereby get used to each other's speech. Some Wambi villagers claimed that they can understand the speech of the inland people, although they also admitted that it is difficult.

distinguish the more closely related Central Marind and Coastal Marind from Bian Marind. Here I will present some of the more important consonant correspondences between the languages, represented by the varieties spoken Ihalik and Kaptel (for Central Marind), Wambi and Buti (for Coastal Marind), and Wan (for Bian Marind). The Kaptel data is from Lebold et al. 2010; the rest was collected by me.

An innovation that separates Central Marind from the other two languages is the debuccalization of proto-Marindic *ɣ into a glottal stop (Table 1.1). The original velar fricative was retained in Bian Marind as well as Coastal Marind, where it underwent an independent process of debuccalization into /h/ in the Eastern dialect.

Other changes show clear evidence of areal diffusion across the language borders. Table 1.2 shows the fate of proto-Marindic *z, which is preserved as /z/ in Bian Marind and the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, but changed into /h/ or /^{h}j/ (depending on the context) in Central Marind and the adjacent Western dialect of Coastal Marind. The same areal pattern is seen in the development of proto-Marindic *v, which is retained in Bian Marind and the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, but became /h/ in Central Marind and the Western dialect of Coastal Marind.

Proto-Marindic *r is realized as a retroflex [ɽ] in the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, but as lateral [l] in all other varieties (Table 1.4).

The three languages differ drastically in their phonotactics, with Central Marind, and especially Bian Marind, permitting consonant clusters that are impossible in Coastal Marind, e.g. Bian Marind [kmaɣ] 'inside' (Coastal Marind *kumaɣ*), [mhuk] 'Crowned Pigeon' (Coastal *mahuk*) and [bhik] 'pig' (Coastal *basik*). Central Marind permits similar clusters in derived environments.

1.2.2.3 Grammar. It is clear that Bian Marind and Central Marind share the general structural profile of the better known Coastal Marind: a complex verb structure with a prefix cluster and intricate stem alternations, and an almost complete absence of nominal morphology—these traits seem to be found across the Anim family. I was also able to elicit the same four genders in Central Marind and Bian Marind as in Coastal Marind, using nouns such as 'man' (gender I), 'woman' (II), 'stomach' (III) and 'nose' (IV) and so on.[4] Beyond these similarities it is clear that Bian Marind has a more complex person/number system, adding dual number in the 3rd person (Drabbe 1954). Since there is general agreement that Bian Marind is a separate language, I will only add some information about grammatical difference between

[4]Gender assignment seems to be remarkably consistent across the languages, so that the genders match across languages even when the nouns are not cognate: for example, none of the words for 'stomach' are cognate (Coastal *ɣandam*, Central *ibus*, Bian *yamu*), yet all are gender III—matching genders were also found with the other few dozens of nouns that I was able to check for gender.

Table 1.1: Correspondences reflecting proto-Marindic *ɣ.

	Central Iha	Central Kpt	Coastal W	Coastal E	Bian
	ʔ	**ʔ**	**ɣ**	**h**	**ɣ**
NIGHT	ʔap	ap	ɣap	hap	ɣap
LIE DOWN	ʔal	ʔ	ɣali	hari	ɣali
EAT	ʔi	ey	ɣi	hi	ɣi
WALLABY	–	–	saɣam	saham	saɣam
INSIDE	kumoʔ	kumaʔ	kumaɣ	kumah	kmaɣ

Table 1.2: Correspondences reflecting proto-Marindic *z.

	Central Iha	Central Kpt	Coastal W	Coastal E	Bian
	-h	**-h**	**-h**	**-z**	**-z**
NAME	igih	igih	igih	igiz	igiz
BOW	mih	mih	mih	miz	miz
	-hy-	**-hy-**	**-hy-**	**-z-**	**-z-**
WIFE:3	uhyum	ɛhyum	uhyum	uzum	uzum
BIRD	uhyub	uhyub	uhyub	uzub	uzub

Table 1.3: Correspondences reflecting proto-Marindic *v.

	Central Iha	Central Kpt	Coastal W	Coastal E	Bian
	h	**h**	**h**	**v**	**v**
VILLAGE	milah	milah	milah	mirav	milav
WALLABY	waleh	waleh	waleh	warev	walev
FIRE	takoh	təkah	takah	takav	tekav
MANY/ALL	utih	?	otih	otiv	utiv
CANOE	yahun	?	yahun	yavun	yavun

Table 1.4: Correspondences reflecting proto-Marindic *r.

	Central Iha	Central Kpt	Coastal W	Coastal E	Bian
	l	**l**	**l**	**ɽ**	**l**
FUR	lul	lul	lul	ɽuɽ	lul
RIVER	lik	leki	aliki	ɽiki	liki

Coastal and Central Marind here. (The data is taken from the variety spoken in the northernmost village, Ihalik).

Central Marind has a remarkably small pronoun inventory, consisting of *nok* 'I, we' and *oʔ* 'you (sg/pl)'. The lack of a 2pl pronoun distinguishes it from the inventory of Coastal Marind; cf. Western dialect *nok* 'I, we', *oɣ* 'you (sg)', *yoɣ* 'you (pl)'. The lack of number also recurs in participant indexing, in which plural number for 1st and 2nd person arguments are indicated by special, role-neutral prefixes. These have the shape *e-* for both 1st and 2nd person (realized as *y-* in coda position), but apparently appear in different slots in the prefix template, since they can co-occur (7b). Compare this situation with Coastal Marind, which only uses a role-neutral plural prefix for 1st person arguments (8).

(7) Central Marind (Ihalik variety)

a. *ab-o-da-y- n-idih*
PERF-2.A-ASPECT-1pl- 1.U-see
'You (sg) have already seen us.'

b. *ab-o-d-e-y- n-idih*
PERF-2.A-ASPECT-2pl-1pl- 1.U-see
'You (pl) have already seen us.'

(8) Coastal Marind (Wambi variety)

a. *mend-o-y- n-idih*
PERF-2sg.A-1pl- 1.U-see
'You (sg) have already seen us.'

b. *mend-e-y- n-idih*
PERF-2pl.A-1pl- 1.U-see
'You (pl) have already seen us.'

These examples also indicate other differences in the inflectional systems of the languages. For example, the Central Marind prefix *ab-* does not appear to be cognate with (what I assume is) its Coastal counterpart, the Perfect *mend-*. There is also a common prefix *d-* (or *da-*) in Central Marind, which seems to be cognate with the Coastal prefix *d-* ('Past Durative') but the two prefixes seem to have different meanings in the two languages (cf. its absence in the Coastal examples above).

Other important differences are illustrated in the following examples. Apart from the non-cognacy of the Imperative affixes (Central *nda-/nd-*, Coastal *ah-* and *-em*), the examples show that the distribution of suppletive verb stems differs between the languages, as it is not triggered by 2nd person plural subjects in Central Marind (the suppletive stem *naʔam* 'many come' only occurs with 3pl subjects in Central Marind).

(9) Central Marind (Ihalik variety)

a. *nda- ma!*
IMP- come
'Come!' (2sg addr.)

b. *nd-e- ma!*
IMP-2pl- come
'Come!' (2pl addr.)

(10) Coastal Marind (Wambi variety)

a. *ah- man!*
IMP- come
'Come!' (2sg addr.)

b. *ah- nayam-em!*
IMP- many.come-PL.IMP
'Come!' (2pl addr.)

The discrepancies seen in these examples seem to be representative of the overall divergence between the verb systems of Central and Coastal Marind. Providing tentative glosses for these simple forms in Central Marind is relatively straightforward using the analysis of Coastal Marind as a basis, but becomes non-trivial as soon as longer forms are considered. These differences present the strongest reasons for considering Central and Coastal Marind to be separate languages rather than divergent dialects of a single language. The grammatical systems of the Eastern and Western dialects of the Coastal Marind language are almost identical in their morphological structure—despite being phonologically quite divergent—and do not come close to the differences between Central and Coastal Marind seen in the examples above.

1.2.3 Language contact

The Coastal Marind language has had an important influence on the smaller, unrelated languages spoken by neighboring groups. This is clear for the Bulaka River family, consisting of the languages Yelmek and Maklew spoken at the western border of the Coastal Marind area, and especially for the isolate Marori, spoken at the eastern border. These groups assimilated to Marind culture, adopted the Marind clan system, and followed the Marind cults (van Baal 1966: 13–16). Lexical diffusion from Coastal Marind into the Bulaka River languages and Marori can be seen from the 388-term wordlists collected in the Yamfinder database (Carroll et al. 2016). In the wordlist from the Welbuti village, where Maklew (of the Bulaka River family) is spoken, I identified 24 words that are likely loans from Coastal Marind (6%), whereas the Marori list contained 63 (16%) likely loans from Coastal Marind.[5] There also seem to be some grammatical calques from Marind in Marori, judging from published materials on the language (e.g. Arka 2012, Arka 2015). The Kanum people to the east maintained friendly relationships with their Marind neighbors but their language does not show much linguistic influence: in the 388-term wordlist for Ngkolmpu (a language of the Yam family) I only found 6 Marind loans (2%).

I am not aware of any major influence of other languages on Marind. Today the Marindic languages, like all other languages of the region, are under pressure from

[5] Certain lexical domains in Marori seem to be completely dominated by Marind loans. For example, I counted 17 Coastal Marind loans among the 26 sago-related terms in Hisa et al. 2017.

Malay, in the form of the local variety of Malay as well as the Indonesian standard language. Wambi, the village where I carried out my fieldwork, is probably one of the few Marind villages where Malay is used relatively little, and especially so by younger people. Although the teachers in the village school (the majority of which are migrants from other parts of Indonesia) only use Malay/Indonesian during instruction, I found that many young people are uncomfortable speaking Malay and rarely engage in longer stretches of code-switching (which their parents' generation often do). This situation differs from the one in the nearest neighboring village, Duhmilah, which has a larger proportion of non-Papuan migrants and better road connection to the sub-district capital Okaba. All young people in Duhmilah are fluent speakers of Coastal Marind, but code-switch to a large extent, with some even preferring to use Malay only.

1.3 The Marind people

This section contains some brief remarks on the geographical setting (§1.3.1), culture (§1.3.2), demography (§1.3.3) and the socioeconomic setting (§1.3.4).

1.3.1 Geography

The Trans-Fly area (named after the Fly, the largest river in the region) is the alluvial lowland that makes up the southernmost part of New Guinea. The area is dominated by savanna, grasslands and monsoon forest, and is largely devoid of the tropical rainforest that covers the rest of New Guinea. The landscape, with its wallabies and eucalyptus trees, is ecologically a part of northern Australia, isolated in a region that lost its land connection to Australia after the last ice age (Evans 2012). There are two distinct seasons: *sandawi-kiwal*, the South-Eastern Monsoon, which brings cool, dry air from Australia during April–November, and *muli-kiwal*, the North-Western Monsoon, in November–March, largely coinciding with heavy rainfall.

The area in which the Marindic languages are spoken is situated in the south-western part of the Trans-Fly, and stretches along the coast approximately from the swampy Kolopom Island in the west to the international border with Papua New Guinea in the east, and far inland along rivers and swamps. The flat, dry area around the district capital Merauke, located at the mouth of the Maro river, is a fairly monotonous combination of peatland, savanna and swamps that are inundated during the rainy season. About 40–50 kms inland, the flat expanses give way to small hills covered in lush vegetation, as in the inland area where the Bian Marind language is spoken. Today the areas north and northwest of Merauke are dominated by

settlements inhabited by migrants from other parts of Indonesia, and large parts of the land have been made into oil palm and sugar cane plantations. The area where I carried out my fieldwork lies west of the large Bian river. This part of Marind territory has been subject to little development and in-migration, due to the distance from the district capital and the limited accessibility.

1.3.2 Ethnographic remarks

The reader is referred to van Baal (1966) for information about Marind ethnography. Here I will only summarize a few important features of Marind history and culture.

When the Dutch established a military presence in South New Guinea (1902) there were around 50 politically independent sub-tribes that identified as Marind. Despite significant cultural and lingustic differences, and a lack of central authorities, the Marind subtribes managed to maintain intra-village peace and collaborated in the organization of large headhunting parties that set out to find their victims far beyond the limits of the Marind territory, mainly north of the Digul river and in present-day Papua New Guinea. Headhunting was spiritually motivated, and its goals included the collection of *pa-igih* 'head-names', i.e. names taken from the victims and given to Marind children at home, as well as kidnapping of children who then were brought up as Marind children (van Baal 1966: 695ff.). Although headhunting was discontinued under pressure from the Dutch, all Marind people that I met are well aware of this aspect of Marind history, and one speaker even demonstrated the decapitation technique used by his ancestors. Many Marind people retain head names that they have inherited.

The Marind clan system shows some local variation. In Table 1.5 I list the 9 main clans recognized in the western coastal area, along with some of their most prominent totems. The table gives the name of each clan as it is pronounced in the western dialect of Coastal Marind, as well as the spelling that I judge to be the most common. The spelling is supposed to be standardized across the Marind population, and is based on the Eastern dialect (spoken around the provincial capital Merauke), so the suffix *-he* (probably 'descendants', cf. *na-he* 'my-grandchildren') is written '-ze', /l/ is replaced by 'r', and so on. These patrilineal clans can be grouped into four separate phratries (numbered i–iv in the table; cf. van Baal 1966: 39). There is still a preference for phratry exogamy in Wambi, although I am not sure how strictly it is enforced. The moiety distinction mentioned by van Baal does not seem to have any practical significance in contemporary Marind life.

Although the influence of the clan partition on e.g. marriage and land rights seems to be in general decline, the Marind people still hold on to their totems, which

Table 1.5: The 9 main clans and some prominent totems.

	Clan		Totems
	Western dialect	Common spelling	
i.	*Gebhe*	Gebze	Coconut
ii.	*Kayhe*	Kaize	Cassowary
	Ndiken	Ndikend	Stork
	Samkakay	Samkakai	Wallaby
iii.	*Mayuhe*	Mahuze	Dog, sago
iv.	*Balagayhe*	Balagaize	Eagle
	Yolmen	Yolmend	Sea, stingray
	Basik-Basik	Basik-Basik	Pig
	Kahol	Kahol	Crocodile, betel

are dearly loved. Totemic relationships are an endless source of self-expression, nicknames, jokes and philosophical speculations. Symbols relating to one's totems are drawn on walls and carved into important possessions. Dogs are strictly named in line with the inventory of dog names belonging to one's clan. Motorcycles are also given names befitting the clan of their owners: since I had been adopted into the Samkakai clan, my motorcycle was given the name *ndom-ɣakeh*, literally 'bad-catch', referring to the fact that a wallaby that has been badly caught will free itself, attack the hunter or dog with its sharp claws, and then take off at high speed.

The majority of the Coastal Marind population adhere to the Roman Catholic faith, with Protestants present in just a few villages (e.g. Alatep, where they are the majority). The villagers in Wambi are not particularly devout, and Paulus Yolmend (my host father in Wambi), who was in charge of the Sunday mass, often preached to a congregation of mostly small children and a few women. Church service is exclusively held in Malay, although a small women's choir occasionally performed songs in Marind. Some of the most popular songs are about *Woliw*, a syncretic figure combining features of traditional Marind culture heroes with Christ. The millenarian movements and cargo cults known from other parts of New Guinea seem to be absent from this region.

Traditional organized religion appears to be on the verge of extinction in Wambi. Most villagers identify as followers of the *mayo* cult, but the last Mayo celebrations were held in the mid 1990's, after a longer hiatus, and the present generation appears unsure of its capability to revive the traditions, now that the elders behind the revival of the 1990's are gone.[6]The only traditional rite that has survived relatively

[6]The reader is advised to consult Corbey (2010) for documentation of the spectacular cult celebrations of the early colonial period. Todd Barlin, an American-Australian art collector and traveler,

unchanged into the present is the all-night mourning song cycle, the solemn *yalut*, followed by a feast meal the following day, the *yamu*.

1.3.3 Demography

Speakers of the three Marindic languages, all of which consider themselves to be ethnic Marind people, inhabit 45 present-day villages. The largest language, Coastal Marind, is spoken in 27 villages distributed along the coast and in the Kumb river valley. Government sources[7] report a population of 17,718 for the Coastal villages in 2016. This figure includes villages with large non-Marind populations (mostly migrants from other parts of Indonesia) such as Urumb and Okaba, so a reasonable guess is that there are around 15,000 ethnic Marind living in these 27 villages. The Summer Institute of Linguistics report lower population figures: the sources to which I had access (Kriens 2003, Sohn et al. 2009, Lebold et al. 2010) give a population of 7,095 for 16 of the Coastal Marind villages; extrapolating this figure to the remaining Coastal Marind villages gives a total of around 12,000. The data are given in Table 1.6. In the tables, cells with minus signs represent missing figures (in the case of SIL data) or villages that are counted as part of some other village (in government figures; for example, Anasai is merged with Wendu for government purposes).

The vitality of Marind varies between vibrant (in the villages furthest from the district capital) to critically endangered (basically all villages east of the Bian river). Assuming that 60% of the Coastal Marind population speak the Coastal Marind language we arrive at estimates of between 7,000 (based on SIL figures) and 9,000 (based on the government figures) speakers of Coastal Marind.

1.3.4 Socioeconomic setting, subsistence

The main staples of Marind people are sago, and, along the coast, coconut. All families are in charge of one or several sago gardens, sometimes far away from the village, along with some simple plantations where tubers and bananas are grown. A description of sago processing, based on my observations and interviews with villagers, is in Appendix A. Many villagers also grow *wati* (kava, Piper methysticum), for trading as well as for recreational use.

Fish is abundant in coastal villages such as Wambi, and seafood can be gathered on the mudflat during low tide. Fish can also be gathered from the swamps during

documented the Mayo celebrations held in Wambi in 1994, and is planning to archive these recordings with the South Australian Museum (Todd Barlin, pers. comm.).

[7] In the form of a spreadsheet that an employee at the district government in Merauke provided me with. These figures are presumably based on reports from the heads of the respective villages.

Table 1.6: Population figures.
*Asterisks mark villages with large proportions of non-Marind people.

Upper Bian Marind

Village	SIL	Gvmt
Boha	272	317
Kindiki	350	355
Kolam	300	302
Muting*	916	1263
Pahas	260	312
Selaw	376	528
Wan	435	418

Central Marind

Village	SIL	Gvmt
Domande	–	804
Boepe	100	–
Ihalik	378	385
Kaniskobat	226	350
Kaptel	243	424
Kwemsid	338	677
Nakias	293	267
Poepe	–	–
Sanggase	526	662
Tagaepe	390	427
Yawimu	508	624

Coastal Marind

Village	SIL	Gvmt
Buti	–	–
Dokib	–	597
Kaiburse	–	397
Nasem*	–	675
Ndalir	–	–
Wamal	–	768
Yowid	–	535
Anasai	–	–
Wendu*	–	944
Baad	331	428
Ivimahad	454	1019
Kaisa	324	658
Kaliki	343	535
Koa	331	431
Onggari	410	614
Senegi	365	499
Wayau	350	530
Matara	444	777
Salor*	–	–
Urumb*	650	968
Alaku	351	499
Alatep	250	438
Duhmilah	353	343
Iwol	239	224
Makaling	500	667
Okaba*	–	1229
Wambi	1400	1238

the dry season, often by simply picking them up by hand. The native sweet water fish are rapidly being replaced by intrusive species such as the climbing perch (Anabas testudineus, Local Malay *ikan betik*), and many young people reported never having seen many of the fish species I collected for my lexical file. Other protein sources come from hunting of wallabies, pigs and bandicoot. Pigs (and occasionally wallabies) are taken captive and saved for feasts, although never bred.

There have been unsuccessful attempts to grow rice in Wambi, and there is little enthusiasm for agricultural innovations. The main cash sources are copra, which is produced by cutting ripe coconuts in half and smoking them, and trade with swim bladders and sea cucumbers, which are found along the coast or gathered illegally across the border in Papua New Guinea. The trade itself is completely controlled by non-Marinds, primarily Makassarese migrants, and none of the villagers seemed to be sure what the copra, swim bladders and sea cucumbers were used for. The income from these activities are used to buy e.g. tobacco, coffee and dried betelnut from the three or four dry-goods stores in Wambi (again, run by Makassarese migrants). Trade with dried, imported betelnut has almost completely replaced locally planted betelnut.

1.4 Previous research

The standard work on Marind culture and religion is van Baal (1966), largely based on Wirz (1922/1925) and on correspondence with Father Jan Verschueren, a prominent Catholic missionary in the area. Good summaries can be found in van Baal (1984) and Knauft (1993).

The most important early work on the Marind language was carried out by the Dutch missionaries, who were present in the region from 1905. A Dutch–Marind dictionary was completed by van de Kolk and Vertenten (1922). The work was continued by Hendrik Geurtjens after their departure, who published a substantial Marind–Dutch dictionary (Geurtjens 1933). Geurtjens' dictionary contains ca. 4500 entries (many of them divided into sub-entries), and a wealth of useful information, especially for the reader who has the patience to weed out the tiresome etymological speculations that seem to have been a driving force between Geurtjens' work.

Geurtjens published a rather amateurish grammar (Geurtjens 1926), a work that suffers from a lack of proper morphemic analysis, and appears to be based on a Latin grammar model. Drabbe, in the preface to his own grammar, acknowledges that Geurtjens' work is unsatisfactory, but points out that linguistic research on Papuan languages was just in its infancy at the time, so that Geurtjens had little to build upon

in his pioneering efforts. Also, the knowledge of Malay among the Marind must have been sparse, making the task of grammar writing even more difficult.

Petrus Drabbe's grammar of the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind (Drabbe 1955) is an extraordinarely rich source of data on the language, on which he worked between 1952–1954. Drabbe had spent 20 years in the Moluccas doing linguistic and missionary work before coming to Dutch New Guinea in 1935, where he spent 25 years working on a large number of languages, resulting in a long list of valuable publications that testify to his analytical skills.

The grammar provides an astonishing amount of information on the complex morphology of the language, with some attention paid to morphosyntactic phenomena at the clause level. The appendix contains 9 texts with Dutch translation, two of which are glossed. It is unfortunate that Drabbe did not employ the same glossing technique elsewhere in the grammar, because this would have made his extremely dense presentation much more user-friendly. Some of the most outstanding achievements in Drabbe's work are: the analysis of the four genders (1955: 17–24, 79–82) and the complex person/number prefixes (pp. 28–31, passim), the person alternations in the verb stem (pp. 68–78), the extremely complicated formation of content questions in the Eastern dialect (pp. 113–121) and the detailed discussion of auxiliary verbs (pp. 85–100). None of these topics—with the exception of stem alternations, which are thoroughly documented in Geurtjens' dictionary—had received any satisfactory treatment in previous work. It is regrettable that Drabbe's Marind grammar has had so little impact on later literature,[8] which probably is explained by the compact presentation, the complexity of the language, and, perhaps most of all, the fact that Drabbe wrote in Dutch.

1.5 This grammar

1.5.1 The fieldwork

I started my doctoral studies in Singapore in 2013 with a vague idea that I was going to study some language spoken in Indonesian Papua. Since I would only have three years after completed coursework to devote to actual research, it seemed suitable to work on a language that had some previous research, so that I did not need to start from scratch. They choice therefore fell on Marind, which had extensive documentation from the Dutch period, and was relatively easy to access.

[8] In August 2017, Google Scholar listed 40 publications as citing Drabbe 1955, none of which discussed data from Drabbe in any detail.

I carried out three trips to Merauke: October–November 2014, April–October 2015, and August 2016–January 2017, totaling ca. 13 months. The first, short trip was spent entirely in Merauke, where I tried to establish contacts and did some preliminary work with speakers of the Eastern and Western dialects of Coastal Marind. The longer trips were spent mostly in Wambi, which was my main field site, except for a three-week stay in Duhmilah, and week-long stays in Sanggase and Muting. I also went on shorter expeditions to Dokib and Yowid (west of Wambi). I was required to return from the village to Merauke every month in order to get my permits renewed, first at the immigration authorities and then at the police station, which meant that ca. 10 days of each month were spent waiting in Merauke. This would have been extremely frustrating without the large Wambi diaspora living in the outskirts of Merauke (in Payum and Nasem), which allowed me to keep up the work on the language while waiting for the paperwork to go through.

1.5.2 The corpus

The corpus consists of 38 different recordings, totaling 8 hours and 14 minutes of transcribed, time-aligned video recordings, containing 21522 Marind tokens spread over 7909 transcription segments (roughly corresponding to intonation units). The entire corpus has Malay and English translations. Transcription was done in ELAN.

Most of the recordings were made in Wambi (tot. 5 h 20 mins), the remainder in Duhmilah (1 h 41 mins) and Makaling (1 h 13 mins). Speakers vary in age from ca. 16 to 75 years. The corpus is skewed towards elder speakers: ca. 3 h 30 mins are dominated by speakers over 60, while less time is occupied by 30–60-year-olds (ca. 2 h 30 mins) and speakers under 30 (ca. 2 h 15 mins).

The corpus is currently being prepared for archiving with the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC).

In corpus examples a code is given pointing to the recording from which the data is taken. The format of the code is

XXXX.DDMMYYYY.Z.wbi

in which the first four digits refer to the line in the ELAN transcription, the following eight digits to the date of recording, and the last digit is a number distinguishing several recordings made the same day. The final 3-letter code stands for the village of the recording: wbi = Wambi, dmh = Duhmilah and mkl = Makaling. The varieties spoken in Wambi and the neighboring village Duhmilah are practically identical, so I frequently use examples from Duhmilah when there is no appropriate Wambi data to cite. The variety of Coastal Marind spoken in Makaling shows some minor

divergences from the Duhmilah/Wambi varieties, and I have generally avoided using examples from my Makaling subcorpus in this grammar. I went through all data from Makaling with a speaker of the Wambi variety, asking him to point out any detail that differed from his own variety. In a few instances I have cited Makaling data that the speaker identified as conforming to the Wambi variety.[9]

In addition to the corpus data I collected notes during my trips, from elicitation and observed usage. I code examples taken from my main notebooks like so:

nbXX.YYY.wbi

The first two digits stand for the number of the notebook, the following three for the page number, followed by the village code. Some notes were typed directly into text files on my laptop. Such examples lack a code.

My goal in writing has been to avoid using elicited and overheard data as much as possible, and instead base the description on video-recorded attestations of spontaneous language use. Often this has not been possible, sometimes because some crucial point is not yet attested in corpus data, or because the available corpus attestations are too complex to be suitable as illustrations.

1.5.3 Summary and topics for future research

The following 15 chapters follow the format of traditional descriptive grammars, and discuss phonology (Chapter 2), word classes (Chapter 3) and various issues in morphosyntax (parts of Chapter 3, and all other chapters). As in many grammars of morphologically complex languages, the description is biased towards morphology, with syntactical issues discussed insofar as they have consequences for morphology (for instance, in Chapter 10). The writing of the grammar profited enormously from the existing research on the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind (Geurtjens 1933, Drabbe 1955). For example, my description of the gender system does not differ much from the description by Drabbe, except that I have tried to clarify the complex interaction between gender IV and animate plurals somewhat (Chapter 6). The segmentation of the verb also follows the patterns identified in Drabbe's insightful analysis, but I have tried to adhere more strictly to a morphemic model, as well as pointing out the limitations of such models for the description of the Marind verb (the two dialects also differ in several important facts of allomorphy and morphotactics). Most importantly, perhaps, I have attempted to explain how the various grammatical cat-

[9] In addition to the spontaneous data I used the Family Problems picture task (San Roque et al. 2012) as the basis of one recording. This source is given a code like other corpus items, but I indicate in the top line of such examples that they are taken from the picture task.

egories are put to use by speakers, based on video-taped attestations, and drawing on progress in typological work during the last decades.

Several important topics are insufficiently covered in this grammar. The most important omissions are—in my opinion—prosody and clause combining, issues that should be prioritized for future research. Although pitch lacks contrastive function on the lexical and grammatical levels, intonation will probably turn out to be a crucial component for the understanding of the focus system (Chapter 10) and various other syntactic phenomena. The resources available for marking relationships between clauses seem to be less complex in Marind than in many other languages, but unfortunately remain poorly understood (see e.g. §10.3.3.2).

Other issues that deserve future attention are the origins and theoretical ramifications of the gender system, the uses of demonstratives and emphatic pronouns (§3.3.2.1, §3.3.2.2), the integrity of the verb complex and its consequences for morphological theory and typology (Chapter 7), the uses of the Orientation system (Chapter 10; this area would profit from more thorough corpus studies), as well as more fine-grained investigation of the functions of some of the verb prefixes (e.g. the 'Actualis' *b-*).

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter is a brief description of the phonology of Coastal Marind. I discuss the phonemes and their realization in Section 2.1. Phonotactics, stress and the syllable canon are described in Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. Section 2.5 describes some major morphophonemic alternations.

2.1 Segmental phonology

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of the Western dialect of Coastal Marind—the variety described in this grammar—is given in Table 2.1. When the practical orthography uses different symbols than the International Phonetic Alphabet, the graphemes are given inside the less/greater-than symbols <...>.

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Voiceless plosive	p		t				k		
Voiced plosive	b		d				g		
Prenasalized plosive	m͡b	<*mb*>	n͡d	<*nd*>			ŋ͡g	<*ngg*>	
Nasal	m		n						
Fricative			s				ɣ		h
Voiced approximant			l		j	<*y*>	w		
Voiceless approximant					ʰj	<*hy*>	ʰw	<*hw*>	

Table 2.1: Consonants.

Consonants are articulated in five places: labial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Stops are produced at the labial, alveolar and velar places of articulation, with each place distingushing three manners: voiceless /p t k/, voiced /b d g/ and pre-

nasalized voiced stops /m͡b n͡d ŋ͡g/.

There are bilabial and alveolar nasal phonemes /m n/; the velar nasal /ŋ/ is restricted to toponyms (e.g. *Ngomab* [ŋomab] and *Wabengom* [wabeŋom]) and two terms for flora and fauna (*binga* [biŋa] 'grass sp.', *manga* [maŋa] 'fish sp.'). These are perhaps loanwords from some unidentified neighboring language; I consider [ŋ] to be a marginal phoneme at most. Note that the sound [ŋ] is common in coda position in native words, where it is the realization of the phoneme /ŋ͡g/.

In addition to the alveolar voiceless and glottal fricatives /s h/, the dialect described here also has the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/.

Marind has one liquid, realized as a lateral approximant /l/ in the Western varieties.

Two sets of approximants are given. The voiced set /j/ and /w/ can also be analyzed as phonetic realizations of corresponding front and back vowels instead of phonemic approximants. There is a corresponding pair of pre-aspirated/devoiced approximants /ʰj ʰw/ (see §2.1.1.4).

All consonants may appear in both initial and final position, with the exception of the prenasalized stops /m͡b n͡d ŋ͡g/, which have been simplified to plain nasals [m n ŋ] in final position. More detailed remarks on distribution are given in the following subsections. A full list of minimal sets is found in Table 2.2, after the description of the consonant segments.

2.1.1.1 Stops. The voiceless stops /p t k/ are unaspirated. The voiced stops /b d g/ are fully voiced in all positions; measurements show negative voice onset time of 100ms or more even in utterance-initial position. Word-finally, both series can have unaspirated release, or be unreleased, without any phonemic significance.

The third series of stops are the prenasalized /m͡b n͡d ŋ͡g/. Phonetically, the prenasalized stops are sequences of a voiced stop preceded by a homorganic nasal. The main reason for treating the prenasalized series as unitary phonemes rather than clusters /m/ + /b/ is that it allows us to make the generalization that no tautosyllabic consonant clusters are allowed in Marind (with the exception of stop+glide clusters, 2.2).

Word-initially, the nasal segment is short and can be difficult to perceive, so /m͡bam/ 'louse' could be transcribed [ᵐbam]. Medially, the nasal segment is considerably longer: e.g. /am͡bam/ 'to wrap up', pronounced [ambam]. Despite this lengthening in medial position, it will be seen in §2.4 that for the purposes of syllabification, both the nasal and stop segments of /m͡b/ are contained within the onset of the second syllable: [a.m͡bam].

The prenasalized stops /m͡b n͡d/ contrast with plain nasals in initial position, e.g. ***mbam*** 'louse' vs. ***mam*** 'chip of sago bark' and ***ndalaw*** 'brolga' vs. ***nalaw*** 'to search (1.U)'. The contrast is also found medially: e.g. ***amam*** 'pity' vs. ***ambam*** 'to wrap'; or ***sagid*** 'pig's mane' vs. ***sanggid*** 'to shake'. As stated above, there appears to be no native vocabulary in which a velar nasal /ŋ/ contrasts with the prenasalized velar stop /ŋ͡g/; however, all speakers contrast these sounds in a minimal pair such as ***mangga*** 'mango' (a Malay loan) and ***manga*** 'fish sp.' (possibly also a loan).

There is no contrast between prenasalized stops and plain nasals in final position: no words end in [m͡b n͡d ŋ͡g]. The reason for this is that final prenasalized stops have been reduced so that only the nasal segment is pronounced. Synchronically, this is most clearly seen within inflectional morphology. For example, the 2sg Genitive prefix is /am͡b/, but before a word boundary (such as the one separating the prefixal complex from the verb stem, marked by a hyphen '-' followed by a blank space; see §7.2) it is realized as [am]: the morpheme sequence /men͡d-am͡b- ihon/ gives [meˈn͡dam ihon] 'yours ran away'. If a vowel-initial prefix is added, the stop segment in /m͡b/ is pronounced: /men͡d-am͡b-i- ihon/ gives [men͡daˈm͡bi ihon] 'yours ran away again'. No [b] occurs with a prefix that ends in underlying /m/, e.g. the Frustrative ***um-***: cf. /mend-um-i- ihon/ 'already ran away in vain again', pronounced [men͡duˈmi ihon].

Final simplification of the prenasalized stops is a dialectal feature. In Wambi, the words 'big', 'eye' and 'walk' are pronounced [sam], [kin] and [meŋ], with final nasals and no oral stop segment, while speakers of the Eastern dialect pronounce these words with full prenasalized stops (Eastern [sam͡b], [kin͡d] and [meŋ͡g]). In Wambi, the original prenasalized stops in these words are retained in lexicalized compounds such as ***sambanem*** 'big man, important person etc.' (< 'big' + ***anem*** 'man') and ***kindiput*** 'eyebrows' ('eye' + ***put*** 'feather') where the stop segments are unmistakably present, since the following vowel causes them to syllabify in onset position. Outside such fossilized compounds, 'big' and 'eye' are always [sam] and [kin], so there is no need to posit synchronic underlying forms with final prenasalized stops for these words.[1] On the other hand, words pronounced with final [ŋ], such as [meŋ] 'walk' are best represented phonemically as /meŋ͡g/. Since [ŋ] is never

[1] One speaker of the Western variety (from Duhmilah) insisted that these words are 'actually' pronounced [sam͡b] 'big', [kin͡d] 'eye' and [meŋ͡g] 'walk', with clearly audible stop segments finally, and that they should be spelled accordingly, even when writing the Western dialects. During the same session, the speaker also claimed that the correct pronunciation of other words such as ***in*** 'middle' likewise is [in͡d], which turns out to be etymologically incorrect since all other dialects also have [in], even the dialects that preserve the prenasalized stops in final position. The prescriptive judgement that replacing final nasals with corresponding prenasalized stops is a more correct way of speaking and writing the language was not expressed by any other speakers, so I have not adopted this suggestion in the practical orthography.

contrastive, it should be treated as an allophone of /n͡g/ in final position.

2.1.1.2 Nasals. The nasals /m n/ show no allophonic variation.

2.1.1.3 Fricatives. The fricatives /s h/ show no allophonic variation. The glottal /h/ occurs in onsets as well as codas, as in *hoh* [hoh] 'war', but /h/ in coda position is rare word-internally, and occurs mainly in derived environments, as when the morpheme sequence /i-haɣaman/ 'PLA-enter.water' is realized [ihɣaman] due to syncopation of the first /a/ (see §2.4.2).

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ is often articulated as a corresponding approximant, without any friction, in casual speech. In carefully articulated speech, the friction is clearly audible.

The phoneme /ɣ/ is absent from the Eastern varieties, but this difference has not gained the status of important shibboleth in the way that the liquids [l]∼[ɾ] have (see §2.1.1.5).[2]

2.1.1.4 Approximants. The glides /j w/ are presented as distinct phonemes in Table 2.1. Alternatively, they can be regarded as allophones of the mid and high vowels /u/ and /i/ in non-nucleus position. Under this more abstract approach, words such as *kay* 'road' and *kaw* 'stick' are derived from forms with underlying high vowels: /kai/→[kaj] and /kau/→[kaw].

Support for the vowel approach comes from some derived forms in which high vowels alternate with glides. Some verb stems index the Undergoer by means of person/number prefixes (§9.2.4.1). The 3sg prefix is *w-* before a vowel-initial stem (e.g. *w-alok* 'stab him/her') but *o-* or *u-* before consonant-initial stems (e.g. *o-nggat* 's/he becomes.PLA', *u-sak* 'fight him/her'). If [w] is derived from a high vowel /u/, it also explains why the *u*-initial stem *um* 'go habitually' lacks the 3sg prefix *w-*, despite being vowel-initial: the underlying form /u-um/ is realized as [um] since the two identical vowels merge.

I note the possibility of this more abstract description, but the glides are retained in Table 2.1 as representative of the speech sounds of Marind. They can be considered derived if one favors descriptive economy over avoidance of abstract representations.

The second set of glides /ʰj ʰw/ are the voiceless/preaspirated counterparts to /j w/. These sounds are unusual in the New Guinean context, and I am not aware

[2]Speakers in Wambi are clearly aware of /ɣ/ as characteristic of their dialect, however: when I had trouble understanding a small girl's (ca. 2 years) speech because of her use of /h/ in place of /ɣ/, a bystander commented 'Yes, she is still speaking *laɣuk-mayan*', i.e. Eastern dialect, where /ɣ/ has merged with /h/.

of any Papuan language outside Marind for which they have been described. In careful speech, /ʰj ʰw/ are realized as preaspirated approximants [ʰj ʰw]. In casual speech they are better characterized as devoiced approximants without any distinct aspiration phase.

If the plain glides /j w/ are described as the phonetic realization of abstract high vowels (as mentioned above), then one could speculate that the devoiced/preaspirated glides should be described as high vowels preceded by /h/. According to this description, [ʰj] is the phonetic realization of the sequence /hi/ and [ʰw] the realization of /hu/. This analysis appears appealing given certain stem pairs showing alternations between e.g. *hw* and *hu*, such as *i**hw**aluk* 'dangle inanimate' and *i**hu**leb* 'dangle animate (3sg.U)'. According to the high vowel approach, the former would be derived from an abstract form /ihualuk/→[ihwaluk].

However, several problems arise if one considers *hw* to be derived from underlying /hu/. One problem is that there is no productive process deriving stem forms such as *ihwaluk* and *ihuleb* (see e.g. §9.2.5), so little would be gained by stating that they are related by some abstract stem /ihu(a)l-/. A second problem is the existence of unrelated words such as *ihw* 'cry' and *ihu* 'ripe', in which [ʰw] contrasts with [hu]. It is not clear how both of these words could be derived from underlying /ihu/. Because of problems like these I consider the devoiced/preaspirated glides to be unitary phonemes.

2.1.1.5 Liquid. When asked what distinguishes their dialect from those of other villages, Marind speakers will likely give a response involving the realization of the liquid, which is the most important shibboleth dividing the variety described here, with [l] as the sole native liquid, from those spoken in the east, with a corresponding retroflex flap [ɽ].

A second liquid has been introduced through Malay, and /r/ is now often heard in Malay words such as *rusa* 'deer', *gereja* 'church', *ranger* 'pickup truck' and *drainasi* (or *garinasi*) 'drainage', along with other foreign sounds such as [ʤ]. Malay /r/ can be said to be the most integrated of the non-native sounds since it is common in Christian names such as *Kris*, *Markus* or *Kasimirus*, although short, /r/-less forms of the longer names (*Mako*, *Kasim*) are used in daily speech.

See Table 2.2 for minimal and near-minimal pairs distinguishing the consonants described above. Each set in the table give pairs distinguishing two phonetically similar sounds in initial, medial and final position, where possible.

Table 2.2: Minimal pairs for the consonant phonemes.

Segments	Phonemic	Gloss	Comment
/b/ – /p/	/bal/	'hole'	
	/pal/	'bark, skin'	
	/bobo/	'coconut shell'	near-minimal
	/popo/	'bubble'	
	/ab/	'armpit'	
	/ap/	'also'	
/d/ – /t/	/dahiɣ/	'to bite'	
	/tahiɣ/	'to spit out food'	
	/udup/	'young sago leaf'	
	/utup/	'lip'	
	/tad/	'to cause to burn'	
	/tat/	'arrow shaft'	
/g/ – /k/	/gaw/	'turtle sp.; stupid'	
	/kaw/	'mushroom'	
	/age/	'what's-his-name'	
	/ake/	'gambier'	
	/lalag/	'bird sp. (Torresian Crow)'	
	/lalak/	'to reach for s.t.'	
/b/ – /m͡b/	/bum/	'earthquake'	
	/m͡bum/	'inner gills (of fish)'	
	/bobo/	'coconut shell'	near-minimal
	/m͡bom͡bo/	'taut'	
	—	(No contrast in coda)	
/d/ – /n͡d/	/de/	'tree'	
	/n͡de/	'in, at'	
	/kadib/	'to feel, squeeze'	near-minimal
	/kan͡di/	'unripe'	
	—	(No contrast in coda)	
/g/ – /ŋ͡g/	/gal/	'tree sp.'	
	/ŋ͡gal/	'young coconut'	
	/sagid/	'mane of pig'	
	/saŋ͡gid/	'to shake'	
	—	(No contrast in coda)	

Continued on next page

Table 2.2 – *Continued from previous page*

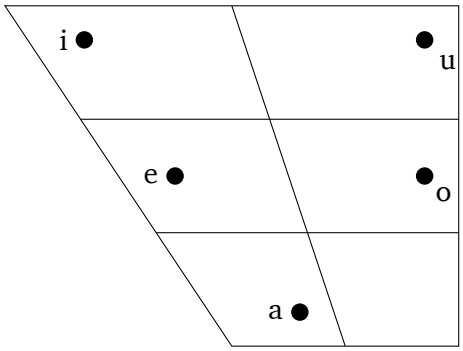
/m/ – /m͡b/	/mo/	‘muddy water’	
	/m͡bo/	‘crocodile’s tail’	
	/amam/	‘pity’	
	/am͡bam/	‘to wrap’	
	—	(No contrast in coda)	
/n/ – /n͡d/	/nalaw/	‘to open eyes (1.U)’	
	/n͡dalaw/	‘brolga’	
	/kono/	‘urine’	
	/kon͡do/	*Kondo*, a place east of Merauke	
	—	(No contrast in coda)	
/ɣ/ – /h/	/ɣod/	‘to vomit’	
	/hod/	‘plans to leave’	
	/aɣan/	‘to branch off’	
	/ahan/	‘yourself’	
	/kahuɣ/	‘to speak non-fluently’	
	/kahuh/	‘many to bring out’	
/l/ – /d/	/lo/	‘to root up ground’	
	/do/	‘blood’	
	/kilub/	‘catfish’	
	/kidub/	‘bird sp. (White-bellied sea eagle)’	
	/gel/	‘tree sap’	
	/ged/	‘to stick in between’	
/j/ – /ʰj/	/jom/	‘ditch’	
	/ʰjom/	‘to fuck’	
	/ɣajam/	‘tree sp.’	
	/ɣaʰjam/	‘your (sg) wife’	
	/kabaj/	‘bird sp. (Eastern Osprey)’	
	/kabaʰj/	‘large wallaby’	
/h/ – /ʰj/	/haman/	‘to sit (pl)’	near-minimal
	/ʰjamin/	‘to call (pl)’	
	/ahak/	‘to spread out sago paste’	near-minimal
	/ʰjaʰjak/	‘to split wood’	
	/hoh/	‘fighting, war’	near-minimal
	/oʰj/	‘tree sp.’	
/w/ – /ʰw/	/waj/	‘shooting star’	
	/ʰwaj/	‘to paddle’	

Continued on next page

Table 2.2 – *Continued from previous page*

	/kewaj/	'break'	
	/ke^{h}waj/	'paddle' (n.)	
	/kiw/	'crocodile'	
	/i^{h}w/	'to cry'	near-minimal
/h/ – /^{h}w/	/haman/	'many to sit'	
	/^{h}waman/	'to take off clothes'	
	/aha/	'house'	
	/a^{h}wa/	'red clay'	
	/isih/	'many to become cooked'	near-minimal
	/si^{h}w/	'sago mixed with banana'	

Figure 2.1: The vowel inventory.



2.1.2 Vowels

Marind has a simple 5-vowel system, shown in Figure 2.1. A minimal quintuplet:

/in/ 'middle'
/un/ 'white hair'
/en/ 'POSS'
/on/ 'liver'
/an/ 'mother'

2.1.2.1 The marginal vowel /ɐ/. In addition to the five core vowels there is a marginal near-open central vowel /ɐ/. This vowel would be considered a phoneme on distributional grounds, since there are four minimal pairs in which it contrasts with /a/:

/**ɐ**/		/**a**/	
/wɐj/	'sago grub'	/waj/	'shooting star'
/kɐj/	'Sulphur-crested cockatoo'	/kaj/	'road, path'
/bɐbob/	'plant sp.'	/babob/	'jellyfish'
/bɐk/	'to perforate'	/bak/	'outside'

There is also the near-minimal pair /bɐbɐ/ 'turtle sp.' and /baba/ 'Coix Lacryma-jobi'. I elicited these five pairs (none of which appears to contain loanwords) several times with speakers of different generations and genders; everybody makes a clear distinction between the two vowels in these words. I was not able to identify systematic occurrences of /ɐ/ in any other words in the language, despite spending considerable time working on the issue. In fact, one speaker made the observation that a word such as *pa* 'head' can be pronounced either [pa] or [pɐ] without any difference in meaning; this is confirmed by my corpus recordings, in which both pronunciations can be heard, even within a single recording of the same speaker.

For now I will conclude that that /ɐ/ in the pairs above is some sort of quasi-phoneme with limited contrastive function. I will leave it to future research to come up with a more satisfactory account of its status.

2.1.2.2 Vowel allomorphy. The non-low vowels are often affected by a preceding velar fricative /ɣ/. The vowels /i u o/ are diphtongized into [aɪ] and [aʊ], while the vowel /e/ is lowered to [æ]. These pronunciation variants are optional; the diphtongized/lowered versions are probably articulatory simplifications due to the retracted position of the tongue required for the articulation of /ɣ/. Below are examples of the variants for each of the four affected vowels.

(11)	a.	/ɣi/	→	[ɣi]	∼	[ɣaɪ]	'eat, drink'
	b.	/ɣokun/	→	[ɣokun]	∼	[ɣaʊkun]	'put inside'
	c.	/ɣujeh/	→	[ɣujeh]	∼	[ɣaʊjeh]	'shiver'
	d.	/ɣe/	→	[ɣe]	∼	[ɣæ]	'rain'

The practical orthography disregards this variation and uses the combinations <*ɣi*>, <*ɣo*>, <*ɣu*>, <*ɣe*>.

2.2 Phonotactics

The dominant syllable canon in Marind is CV(C), and, word-initially, #V(C):

(12)	a.	CV	/pa/	→ [pa]	'head'
			/dalo/	→ [da.lo]	'mud'
		CVC	/bob/	→ [bob]	'swamp'
			/kulwam/	→ [kul.wam]	'snake sp.'
	b.	#V	/e/	→ [e]	'scar'
			/am͡baj/	→ [a.m͡baj]	'leech'
		#VC	/ad/	→ [ad]	'father'
			/abna/	→ [ab.na]	'theft'

An additional type of syllable has the shape CGV, i.e. with a glide /w j/ intervening between the initial consonant and the vowel. This CG-cluster only occurs when the initial consonant is /k/. The words in which it occurs are always polysyllabic, with the CG- cluster in the first syllable. Closed syllables *CGVC do not occur. Examples:

(13) CGV /kwemek/ → [kwe.mek] 'morning'
/kwagin/ → [kwa.gin] 'to throw'
/kjasom/ → [kja.som] 'girl'
/kjaɣa^{h}jab/ → [kja.ɣa.^{h}jab] 'to pull bowstring'

The frequent word ***mbya*** 'NEG' is exceptional, since it contains a CG-cluster in a monosyllabic word, and with an initial consonant other than /k/: /m͡bja/. (See §16.3.1 for the origin of this word).

Syllables with final GC-clusters (CVGC) are marginal in monomorphemic words. Examples with final GC are ***sews*** [sews] 'back' and ***nggays*** [ŋ͡gajs] 'peer, mate'. This syllable structure occurs more often in derived environments, e.g. in verbs with the common (non-productive) ending ***-wn***, such as ***tamewn*** [ta.mewn] 'to kick' and ***ɣadewn*** [ɣa.dewn] 'to leave'.

Syllables with initial consonant clusters *CCV(C) do not occur. The same is true for syllable-final CC clusters, with some minor exceptions. The words ***ebta*** [ˈeb.ta] 'sago thatch' and ***abna*** [ˈab.na] 'theft' have the variants [ebt] and [abn] when uttered in isolation. The penultimate stress suggests that both words are historically derived forms.

2.2.1 Epenthetic /a/

Some languages of south New Guinea are described as having reduced, non-phonemic vowels that are inserted by epenthesis to break up underlying consonant clusters. In these languages it is common for words to lack underlyingly specified vowels altogether—syllable nuclei are then provided by the epenthetic vowels (see e.g. the Yam languages Komnzo and Nen; Döhler 2016: 79, Evans and Miller 2016: 341). This is not the case in Marind—vowels are better described as being fully lexically specified. However, the term 'epenthetic' will be used here to account for the phonemic, unreduced vowel /a/ occurring in various morphophonologically conditioned environments.

Given the constraints on syllable structure described above, many instances of the vowel /a/ can be described as epenthetic vowels assuring that e.g. consonant clusters do not occur. This is the case with prefixes of the shape C-, e.g. Comitative–Instrumental ***k-*** (14). Compare vowel-initial stems such as ***k-og*** 'do with'.

(14) /k-deh/ → [ka.deh] 'shoot with (3sg.U)'
/k-hajad/ → [ka.ha.jad] 'play with'
/k-man/ → [ka.man] 'come with, bring'

Before a glide /j w/ epenthesis will occur to prevent a closed syllable containing a CG- cluster, i.e. /a/ is only inserted if the glide-initial stem is monosyllabic (a). If the base word is polysyllabic (e.g. GV.CVC) epenthesis is not required, since the prefixation of *k-* will produce an initial open syllable (*k*GC.CVC), as in (b).

(15) a. /k-jum/ → [ka.jum] 'go habitually with (2|3pl.U)'
/k-was/ → [ka.was] 'shoot (at s.b.) with (3sg.U)'

b. /k-jasib/ → [kja.sib] 'hit with (2|3pl.U)'
/k-walok/ → [kwa.lok] 'stab with 3sg.U'

The presence of epenthetic /a/ is further discussed in the section on metric structure (§2.4.1).

2.3 Suprasegmentals

Stress in Marind is characterized by higher pitch on the stressed syllable, so it could alternatively be labeled (pitch) accent. There are no tonal contrasts in Marind.

The predominant stress pattern is for the last syllable of a monomorphemic word to be stressed. Uttered in isolation—without phrasal intonation superimposed—the pitch of the last syllable will then be the same as, or slightly higher than, that of the first, unstressed syllable. Examples of final-stress bearing words are ***kana*** [kaˈna] 'egg' and ***patul*** [paˈtul] 'boy'.

A less frequent pattern in (synchronically) monomorphemic words is for the penultimate syllable to bear stress, as in /ˈa.lo/ 'worm' and /ˈuk.na/ 'fear'. A likely explanation is that these words are historically derived forms. This is clearly seen in words such as /ˈuk.na/ 'fear' and /ˈab.na/ 'theft' which probably are derived by means of a no longer productive suffix **-na*. Other cases of penultimately stressed nouns which likely represent derived forms are:

(16) /alíki/ → [a.ˈli.ki] 'river' cf. ***lik*** 'river to flow' (verb)
/ɣásti/ → [ˈɣas.ti] 'old man' cf. ***ɣas*** 'beard', ***ti*** 'with'

2.4 Metrical structure

This section describes the types of syllable sequences that may be used to form words. Two processes ensure that illegal syllable sequences do not occur: Pretonic Epenthesis (§2.4.1) and Antepretonic Syncopation (§2.4.2).

As stated in the previous section, stress falls on the final syllable of roots, with penultimate stress possible on forms that are (historically or synchronically) derived by suffixation. Stress is insensitive to syllable weight. However, it will be shown in this section that the distribution of different types of syllables is restricted by the placement of stress, so that closed syllables are not allowed in the position preceding the syllable carrying the stress. Furthermore, in many cases the presence or absence of the vowel /a/ reflects the avoidance of certain dispreferred sequences of syllable types.

There are two types of syllables: **heavy syllables** will be defined as any syllable with a consonant in the coda position (VC, CVC, CGVC, CVG, etc.); **light syllables** are those without any final consonant (V, CV, CGV).

Let us first look at some possible combinations of light and heavy syllables in the word. Some common patterns with word-final stress are in (17). As expected, single-syllable words can be light or heavy (a–b). The stressed final syllable can also be preceded by one or more light syllables (c–d). However, we generally do not find words where the stressed syllable is preceded by a heavy syllable (e–f). A heavy syllable is only possible as the third syllable counting backwards from the stressed syllable (g).

(17) Final stress

a.	CV́(C)	*li* [li] ‘live coal’, *sok* [sok] ‘spear’
b.	V́C	*e* [e] ‘scar’, *in* [in] ‘middle’
c.	CV.CV́(C)	*kana* [ka.ˈna] ‘egg’, *ndalom* [nda.ˈlom] ‘foam’
d.	CV.CV.CV́(C)	*patale* [pa.ta.le] ‘grave’, *sasodeh* [sa.so.ˈdeh] ‘cold’
e.	*CVC.CV́(C)	
f.	*CV.CVC.CV́(C)	
g.	CVC.CV.CV́(C)	*galgala* [gal.ga.ˈla] ‘shoulders’, *kipletok* [kip.le.ˈtok] ‘to tie’

It is important to note that words such as *ɣandam* ‘stomach’ and *kambet* ‘ear’ are not instances of the pattern *CVC.CVC; the consonants in the middle of these words are prenasalized plosives /m͡b n͡d/ and syllabify as the onset of the second syllable—[ɣa.ˈn͡dam] and [ka.ˈm͡bet] respectively—giving the allowed syllable structure CV.CVC.

The is a small number of words showing the pattern in (e), e.g. *kulwam* ‘snake sp.’ and *ɣayhuy* ‘hornbill’. The word *kulwam* ‘snake sp.’ must be a loan from the related Upper Bian language, where *kulwam* means ‘snake’.

Thus, the data in (17) suggest that there is a restriction preventing heavy syllables from occurring in the pre-tonic position. The same pattern is observed in the less

frequent words with penultimate stress. The data in (18) show that the restriction on light/heavy syllables is according to their position relative to the stressed syllable, and not to their absolute position in the word. The heavy syllables in (b–c) are permissible since they are stressed. Again, words with a heavy syllable preceding the stressed syllable are not attested (d).

(18) Penultimate stress

a.	(C)V́.CV	*yaba* [ˈja.ba] 'big', *eho* [ˈe.ho] 'ripe'
b.	(C)V́C.CV	*abna* [ˈab.na] 'theft', *gomna* [ˈgom.na] 'fang'
c.	(C)V.CV́C.CV	*kadakda* [ka.ˈdak.da] 'Adam's apple', *galigla* [ga.ˈlig.la] 'scales'
d.	*(C)VC.CV́C.CV	

We can formulate the restriction seen in (17) and (18) as a constraint:

- Avoid heavy syllables in pre-tonic position.

The next section discusses the consequences of this constraint for morphology.

2.4.1 Insertion of pretonic epenthetic /a/

Whenever morpheme concatenation would result in a heavy syllable immediately preceding the stressed syllable (e.g. *CVC.CV́(C), cf. (17e)), a vowel /a/ will be present in the 'output' form forming a light pre-tonic syllable (CV.Ca.CV́C). This ensures that the output does not violate the constraint against heavy syllables in pre-tonic position (cf. previous section). This pattern will be illustrated by prefixing verb morphology, reduplicated forms, and comparative data.

It is common to find instances of /a/ in the prefixal morphology of the verb (see §7.2) that are not licensed by any of the prefixes themselves. Some straightforward examples of such epenthetic /a/'s were seen in §2.2, where /a/ was inserted between the prefix *k-* and a stem beginning with a consonant (***k*a*man*** 'come with'; cf. *[kman]). The more complicated examples in (19) have the same unlicensed /a/, as seen in the bracketed output forms. The morphemic make-up of the prefixal complex is given to the left of the arrow; note that output [a] lacks any corresponding segment in the morphemic line-up. We can explain the presence of /a/ in these forms as a result of the constraint against heavy pretonic syllables. Note that the final syllable of the prefixal complex carries the stress; if /a/ had not been present, the output forms would have had a heavy syllable preceding the stressed syllable (cf. the unacceptable forms below the output).

(19) a. /mak-ka- ɣali/ → [ma.k**a**.ˈka ɣa.li] 'I will lie down first'
FUT:1.A-PRI- lie.down cf. *[mak.ˈka...]

b. /mend-b-a-ap- balen/ → [me.nd**a**.ˈbap ba.len] 'S/he has finished'
PERF-ACT-3SG.A-CT- finish cf. *[mend.ˈbap...]

Reduplication is not productive in contemporary Marind, but a large number of lexicalized forms systematically show reduplication with /a/ intervening between the reduplicant and the base (the asterisks in the Base column mark hypothetical unattested forms). The insertion of /a/ between a stressed syllable and a preceding heavy syllable follows the pattern seen above in morpheme concatenation: it prevents illegal output forms such as *CVC.CV́C.

(20)

	Base	Reduplicated form			Gloss
a.	**pod*	*podapod*	[po.d**a**.ˈpod]	cf. *[pod.ˈpod]	'lizard sp.'
b.	*pal* 'skin' ?	*palapal*	[pa.l**a**.ˈpal]	*etc.*	'thin'
c.	**ɣul*	*ɣulaɣul*	[ɣu.l**a**.ˈɣul]		'coconut flower'
d.	**dap*	*dapadap*	[da.p**a**.ˈdap]		'skin disease sp.'

Another morphological process that depends on insertion of epenthetic /a/ is infixation of Undergoer markers into verb stems, as described in §9.2.4.2.

A final illustration comes from comparative data. The avoidance of heavy pretonic syllables is one of many features distinguishing Coastal Marind from the closely related Central Marind. Below I contrast some forms from the Wambi dialect (the variety described in this grammar) with the variety of Central Marind spoken in the village Sanggase. The Sanggase variety (like other varieties of Central Marind) does not have any constraint against words of the shape CVC.CV́C, i.e. the pattern that is absent in Wambi and other villages where Coastal Marind is used. Compare the cognate forms given below:

(21)

	Wambi Marind		Sanggase Marind		Gloss
a.	*namakad*	[na.ma.ˈkad]	*namkad*	[nam.ˈkad]	'thing'
b.	*ipani*	[i.pa.ˈni]	*ipni*	[ip.ˈni]	'fish sp.'
c.	*isala*	[i.sa.ˈla]	*esla*	[es.ˈla]	'sitting platform'
d.	*nalakam*	[na.la.ˈkam]	*nalkam*	[nal.ˈkam]	'child'

2.4.2 Syncopation of antepretonic /a/

Examples (17) and (18) above showed that a heavy syllable is permissible in the antepretonic syllable (e.g. CVC.CV.CV́C) but not in the pretonic position (e.g. *CVC.CV́C). In this section, it will be shown that the former pattern is not only permissible, but also *preferred*, compared to the syllable sequence CV.CV.CV.CV́(C), i.e. three light syllables preceding the stressed syllable.

According to this preference, speakers will prefer to syncopate the vowel in the 2nd syllable (boldfaced) of the sequence CV.C**V**.CV.CV́(C) to form the preferred sequence CVC.CV.CV́(C). This only applies if the relevant vowel is an /a/ however; we can say that /a/ is the only syncopatable vowel in the language. The preference can be stated as follows:

- If possible, let the antepretonic syllable be heavy by syncopating /a/.

The effects of this preference are mostly found within the prefixal complex—roots are rarely longer than two syllables, so it is mostly vacuous outside affixation. A clear example is in (22): here, the prefix sequence would have the expected output [ʔa.na.ma.ˈmb ap], but the application of syncope to the boldfaced /a/ gives the preferred sequence VC.CV.CV́C:

(22) /an**a**m-a-amb-ap- hajad/ → [an.ma.ˈmbap ha.jad] 'Shut yourself up!'
JUS-3SG.A-2SG.GEN-CT- shut.up

Other examples are:

(23) a. /t-m**a**k-n-e-ap- hwil/ → [tam.ka.ˈnep hwil] 'We will go over there.'
GIV-1.A.FUT-YON-1PL-CT- walk

b. /ah-b**a**t-e-ka- man/ → [abteˈka man] 'Bring him/her first!'
IMP-AFF-APPL-PRI- come

(Note also the insertion of epenthetic /a/ in (23a) preventing formation of a cluster **tm-*.)

Outside verb morphology, syncopation of /a/ is found in certain lexicalized compounds that derive from the concatenation of two bi-syllabic words, the first of which ends in /a/. The final vowel of the first word is syncopated according to the pattern CV.Ca.CV.CV→CVC.CV.CVC. Two examples are given below:

(24)

	Etymology		Present-day forms	
a.	*/oŋ͡g**a**t-itit/ ‘coconut-root’	→	[oŋ͡g.ti.ˈtit]	‘root of coconut tree’
b.	*/kat**a**-pale/ ‘scrub.fowl-ridge’	→	[kat.pa.ˈle]	‘scrubfowl mound’

This is not a productive pattern in compounds, however: typical compounds such as *takah-unum* (lit. ‘fire-tongue’) ‘flame’ has main stress on the last syllable of the first member, and is not syncopated to *[ˈtak.hu.num].

2.4.2.1 Optional deletion of initial /a/. A marginal process which is perhaps related to /a/-syncopation is the loss of initial /a/ in items of the shape *a*.CV.CV́. This process is completely optional but is fairly common in casual speech, especially in the high-frequency word ‘water’.

(25)

		Long form	Short form	
a.	*adaka*	[a.da.ˈka]	[da.ˈka]	‘water’
b.	*amamun*	[a.ma.ˈmun]	[ma.ˈmun]	‘entire’
c.	*sasodeh*	[sa.so.ˈdeh]	[so.ˈdeh]	‘cold’

2.5 Morphophonemic alternations

In this section I list some processes that are important for the description of morpheme concatenation.

2.5.1 Antepenultimate vowel gradation

In words of three syllables or more, the mid vowels /e o/ alternate with the high vowels /i u/ in the antepenultimate syllable. For example, in verb stems with a root vowel /o/ the alternant *u* is found if the 1.U infix *-n-* is present, as this adds one syllable to the stem (26). (The process of infixation is described in §9.2.4.2; the only thing to note for now is that the forms on the right are one syllable longer than the forms to the left).

(26)

	3sg.U	1sg.U	
a.	***o**g⟨e⟩b*	***u**ga⟨n⟩ab*	‘bury’
b.	*k**o**l⟨e⟩wn*	*k**u**la⟨n⟩awn*	‘laugh at’
c.	*h**o**ɣ⟨e⟩b*	*h**u**ɣa⟨n⟩ab*	‘make sb. shut up’
d.	*l**o**k⟨e⟩h*	*l**u**ka⟨n⟩ah*	‘peek’

An alternative analysis would be that these verb stems actually have an underlying /u/ which is lowered to [o] in the left column. This analysis must be wrong, since there are many verb stems with /u/ in this position:

(27)		3sg.U	1sg.U	
	a.	*luɣ⟨e⟩b*	*luɣa⟨n⟩ab*	'name sb.'
	b.	*mungg⟨e⟩h*	*mungga⟨n⟩ah*	'hum, buzz' etc.

This shows that the simplest analysis must be raising of /o/, and not the other way around.

The same process is observed with verb stems that have an /e/ in the initial syllable in the 3sg.U form (28). The vowel is raised to [i] when the 1.U infix ⟨n⟩ is plugged into the stem, since this causes the syllable with /e/ to be pushed into the antepenultimate position.

(28)		3sg.U	1sg.U	
	a.	*kes⟨e⟩h*	*kisa⟨n⟩ah*	'spit at'
	b.	*kwehw⟨e⟩b*	*kwihwa⟨n⟩ab*	'intercept'
	c.	*men⟨e⟩h*	*mina⟨n⟩ah*	'grunt in sleep'
	d.	*hwesewn*	*hwisanawn*	'have a good look at'

Antepenultimate gradation also applies to inflectional morphology. The prefixal complex that precedes the verb stem forms a phonological word on its own, so prefixes that contain /o/ or /e/ are affected by heightening if the vowel of the prefix occurs in the antepenultimate syllable counting from the end of the prefixal complex. Example (29) shows a sequence of prefixes occurring before the 1st person stem of the verb 'beg'. This verb indexes the person from whom the actor begs something by means of the Genitive prefix series; in this example, the 3rd person Genitive prefix *omb-*. In (a), this prefix is followed by material that causes its vowel to be in the penultimate syllable, so the vowel /o/ surfaces as [o]. In (b), the Frustrative prefix *um-* ('in vain') is added, which causes the /o/ in *omb-* to end up in the antepenultimate syllable. This triggers antepenultimate heightening, so /o/ is realized as [u] in the output form.

(29) a. /nak-**o**m͡b-e-ap- n-ig/ → [na.k**o**.ˈm͡bep nig] 'We begged him/her for it'
1.A-3sg.GEN-1pl-CT- 1.U-beg

b. /nak-**o**m͡b-um-e-ap- n-ig/ → [na.k**u**.m͡bu.ˈmep nig] 'We begged [etc.] in vain'
1.A-3sg.GEN-FRUS-1pl-CT- 1.U-beg

The alternative analysis—saying that /u/ is the basic allomorph in the prefixes above, but that it is lowered in the penultimate syllable of the prefixal complex—must be wrong, because the Frustrative *um-* surfaces unaltered in this position, as in (29b) above, and (30) below:

(30) /nak-**u**m-ap- atin/ → [na.k**u**.ˈmap atin] 'I tried to stand up'

Heightening is also present in some words that appear to be historically reduplicated (mostly names of flora and fauna):

(31)

	Base	Reduplicated form		Gloss
a.	**ɣon*	***ɣu**naɣon*	[ɣu.na.ˈɣon]	'infant'
b.	**tol*	***tu**latol*	[tu.la.ˈtol]	'bird sp.'
c.	**pod*	***pu**dapod*	[pu.da.ˈpod]	'lizard sp.'
d.	**leɣ*	***li**ɣaleɣ*	[li.ɣa.ˈleɣ]	'flying squirrel'
e.	**pes*	***pi**sapes*	[pi.sa.ˈpes]	'grass sp.'
f.	**nanggen*	*nang**gi**nanggen*	[na.ŋgi.na.ˈŋgen]	'ant sp.'

2.5.2 Plosive Nasalization

This alternation is restricted to the prefixal complex, where is occurs quite frequently. When concatenation of morphemes causes a /p/ or /k/ to occur before /b/, the resulting sequence is realized as [m͡b] instead of the unacceptable *[pb] or *[kb], and the resulting prenasalized plosive syllabifies as the onset of the following syllable (implying that the sequence is phonemicized rather than a sequence [m]+[b]). The same process of nasalization, but at the alveolar place of articulation, appears if a prefix ending in /k/ occurs before the Durative *d-* (which is the only prefix with initial /d/). The /k/ is nasalized into [n] and the sequences is phonemicized as [n͡d]. (There is no prefix ending in /p/ that can occur before *d-*).

Examples (32a–b) show Plosive Nasalization affecting the final /k/ of the 1st person Actor prefix *(n)ak-*; (32c) shows the effect on Future prefix *ndap-*.

(32) a. /nak-d-e- naɣat/ → [na.ˈn͡de naɣat] 'we went'
1.A-DUR-1pl- be.moving

b. /m-h-ak-b-e- hi/ → [ma.ha.ˈm͡be hi] '(What) did we eat?
OBJ-INT-1.A-ACT-1pl- eat:IV.U

c. /n͡dap-bat-a- kahwid/ → [n͡da.ˈm͡bat ka.ʰwid] 'he will die, poor one'
FUT-AFF-3sg.A- die

Before prefixes starting with other consonants there is no Plosive Nasalization, and /p/ or /k/ is followed by an epenthetic [a] according to the general phonotactic requirements (§2.2).

(33) a. /k-ak-hat nok/ → [ka.ka.ˈhat nok] '(Here) I am'
PRS.NEUT-1.A-PRSTV 1

b. /mak-ka-p- kahos/ → [ma.ka.ˈkap ka.hos] 'First I'll chew betelnut'
FUT:1.A-PRI-CT chew.betel

2.5.3 Loss of /d/

The Past Durative prefix *d-* is involved in an important phonological process affecting the prefixal complex: the loss of /d/ before /b/ (other plosives are retained in nasalized form before /b/, cf. §2.5.2). This means that *d-* is never present when one of the four *b*-initial prefixes from position class –11 is employed (see §14.3). Since the use of Past Durative *d-* is obligatory with many verbs in past-time contexts (e.g. *um* 'go repeatedly' or *tel* 'be lying'; see Section 13.2.1), a strictly morphemic approach would describe *d-* as being 'underlyingly' present in forms such as (34). Compare that example to (35), in which /d/ is retained since it is not followed by a /b/-initial prefix. The second lines in the examples provide morphemic representations of the input to *d*-deletion and other phonological processes.

(34) *epe ndabat- umti*
/nd-**d**-**bat**-ø- ø-um-ti/
there LOC-DUR-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-go-DUR
'he [the poor one] was going [repeatedly]' [0084.23042015.1.dmh]

(35) *epe ndadap- katelti*
/nd-**d**-ø-ap- ka-tel-ti/
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT- INESS-be.lying-DUR
'she was lying inside there' [0124.08092016.1.wbi]

In the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, which lacks the process of *d*-deletion, the form of the prefixal complex corresponding to (34) would be ***ndadabat***-, showing both Past Durative *d-* and Affectionate *bat-* intact.[3]

[3]Cf. paradigms in Drabbe 1955: 128 and passim.

In order to keep abstraction at a minimum, I adopt the convention of never glossing verbs as having a 'deleted' Past Durative *d-* present, even in cases such as (34) where there are semantic reasons for stipulating a zero morph. Such artificial solutions are typical of morphemic approaches—a better description is to treat a prefixal complex of the shape ***ndabat*** as realizing either the feature set [+Affectionate, –PastDurative, …] or [+Affectionate, +PastDurative, …], without having to take decisions on invisible morphs.

2.5.4 Loss of /h/

In certain contexts within the prefixal complex, /h/ is dropped.

2.5.4.1 Before consonant. When a prefix ending in /h/ precedes a consonant-initial prefix, /h/ is generally lost. In this regard, /h/ differs from other consonants which would trigger epenthesis in the same context (§2.2). The prefixes that are affected by loss of /h/ are the Imperative *ah-* (36), the Dependent *ah-* (37) and the Interrogative *h-* (38).

(36) a. /ah-na- og/ → ***ana-og!*** 'Give me!'
IMP-1.DAT- give

b. /ah-bat- man/ → ***abat-man!*** 'Come, poor one!'
IMP-AFF- come

(37) a. /ah-mo- uma⟨ɣ⟩ah/ → ***amo-umaɣah*** 'If you go…'
DEP-2sg.A.FUT- go⟨2sg.U⟩

b. /ah-p-a-a- aɣi/ → ***apa-aɣi*** 'If s/he tells you…'
DEP-FUT-3sg.A-2sg.DAT- say

(38) a. /h-b-a- was/ → ***ba-was?*** '(Who) sowed it?'
INT-ACT-3sg.A- sew

b. /h-nak-b-e- naɣat/ → ***nambe-naɣat?*** '(With whom) did we go?'
INT-1.A-ACT-1pl- many.go

The deletion of /h/ in the Imperative shows variation in one context: the common combination *ah-ka-* (IMP-PRI-) has the variants [aka] and [ahaka], i.e. the /h/ can optionally be followed by epenthetic vowel /a/ instead of being elided. Examples are ***aka-og!*** or ***ahaka-og!*** 'Do it first!'; however, initial /a/ is usually elided in this high-frequency sequence—***haka-og!***—according to the principle in §2.4.2.1.

2.5.4.2 Optional deletion of intervocalic /h/. The loss of /h/ within the prefixal complex is a common feature, and it is especially prevalent in casual, allegro speech. Deletion of /h/ is only possible when it occurs between two identical vowels. This means that /h/ can be deleted in contexts such as /a**h**a/, /o**h**o/, etc., but must be retained between different vowels such as /o**h**a/ or /a**h**e/. It also seems that intervocalic /h/ is mostly deleted where it is redundant, i.e. where the inflectional feature that it realizes is recoverable from the surrounding context.

The redundancy feature can be illustrated by the Presentative prefix *hat-* (with a meaning similar to French *voilà*; see §14.3.5). Since no other prefix with a similar distribution to *hat-* ends in a /t/, the initial /h/ can be deleted without giving rise to any ambiguity in the parsing of the prefixes (39a). In the case of *hat-*, deletion of intravocalic /h/ seems to be obligatory in non-stress bearing syllables: the are no corpus attestations of 'long forms' retaining the /h/ of *hat-* when the prefix makes up a non-final syllable of the prefixal complex (39b).

(39)		Long form	Short form	
a.	/k-hat-a- ɣet/ PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- walk	*kahat-ɣet*	*kat-ɣet*	'(There) s/he is walking'
b.	/k-hat-a-ap- mil-e/ PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A-CT- be.sitting-DUR	—	*katap-mile*	'(There) s/he is sitting'

The same distribution of intravocalic /h/ is observed with the prefix combination *h-…b-* used in information questions. The complicated morphological details are discussed in §17.3.1; here it will suffice to note that the vowel after *h-* usually 'spreads' to the position before the prefix, so that *h-* ends up surrounded by identical vowels. Examples such as (40a) seem to be in free variation, while long forms with *h-* in the penultimate syllable of the prefixal complex (?*mohobap*), are unattested in corpus data.

(40)		Long form	Short form	
a.	/ma-h-o-b- ɣi/	*mohob-ɣi?*	*mob-ɣi?*	'(What) did you eat?'
b.	/ma-h-o-b-ap- idih-e/	—	*mobap-idihe?*	'(What) are you looking at?'

2.5.5 Optional /amo/-metathesis

This process applies to the sequence /amo/ in the prefixal complex when it is followed by at least two other syllables (e.g. /a.mo.σ.σ/). It can be thought of as vowel metathesis /amo/ to /oma/ which then undergoes regular antepenultimate vowel gradation (§2.5.1) and syncope (§2.4.2): /o.ma.σ.σ/→u.ma.σ.σ→[um.σ.σ].

(41) /nd**amo**-na-ka-ap- og/ → ***ndumnakap og!*** 'You'll give it to me!'
FUT:2SG.A-1.DAT-PRI-CT- give

Chapter 3

Word classes

The major word classes of Coastal Marind are verbs (§3.1) and nominals (§3.2), which are further subdivided into nouns (§3.2.1) and adjectives (§3.2.2), although the evidence for this subdivision is somewhat weak. The criteria that distinguish verbs, nouns and adjectives are discussed in the respective subsections.

Various minor word classes are described in §3.3. The following could be considered subtypes of nominals: personal pronouns (§3.3.1), demonstratives (§3.3.2), the versatile 'pro-word' *agV* (§3.3.3), interrogative pronouns (§3.3.4) and numerals (§3.3.4). Other minor categories are: postpositions (§3.3.6), two marginal prepositions (§3.3.7), a small number of adverbs (§3.3.8), various short words that I label 'particles' (§3.3.8), and interjections (§3.3.10). Some of these word classes are rather heterogeneous and of limited grammatical importance, but I describe their members here since they are difficult to fit in elsewhere in the grammar. The reader might prefer to skim through the sections on some of the minor categories discussed in this chapter, and study them again once the other parts of the grammar have been absorbed.

3.1 Verbs

Verbs are the easiest class to distinguish from all other classes, since only verbs have the ability to combine with the prefixal complex, which is the main locale of inflectional information in Marind (Chapter 7). The prefixal complex is a structure that immediately precedes the verb stem; it is auxiliary-like since it forms a separate phonological word, but affix-like since it lacks any part that could be described as a (morphological or syntactic) 'head'. It is the verb stem that is listed in the dictionary, stripped of the material in the prefixal complex. Most verb stems can be morphologically complex, with stem forms marking Undergoer indexing and categories such as

the Inessive, Pluractional and the valency-increasing *with*-prefixation (see Chapter 9). None of these categories are available to non-verbs.

Some words are used both as verbs and nouns. For example, *sasaɣi* 'work' can be used as a verb stem after the prefixal complex, as in (42a), or as a noun heading a referring expression (b). Since *sasaɣi* does not participate in any of the stem alternations (e.g. Undergoer indexing) that would unambiguously identify it as originally being a verb, it is not possible to tell whether the verb or noun use is primary.

(42) a. *ah- sasaɣi!*
IMP- work
'Work!'

b. *nok en sasaɣi*
1 POSS work
'my work'

Heterosemous lexical items such as *sasaɣi* 'work' are rare and I do not consider their existence a problem for the distinction between verbs and nominals. Other examples that I am aware of are: *pig* '(n.) sunshine, heat from sun; (v.) become day/bright', *esol* '(n.) noise; (v.) make noise', *sinik* '(n.) things being carried; (v.) carry things', *kahek* '(n.) height; (v.) climb'.

Other seemingly ambiguous noun/verb words turn out to be deverbal lexicalizations, derived by zero-conversion, because closer inspection reveals that they contain frozen verb stem morphology. For example, the noun *nasak* 'fight(ing)' is the 1st person Undergoer stem of the verb *usak* 'hit many times, fight';[1] the noun *yaɣahwig* 'pole supporting the washing trough during sago processing' is the gender III stem of a verb 'plant, stick into the ground' (the stem used for planted items in gender IV is *yaɣhwituk*), and so on. See also §4.5.1.

3.2 Nominals

The label 'nominal' is used here as a cover term for nouns and adjectives, which are similar in their ability to form referring expressions, and in their inability to combine with the inflectional material that characterises verbs (i.e. the prefixal complex). Most minor categories (demonstratives, pronominals, kin terms, numerals) can also be subsumed under this category since all of their members can head NPs.

[1]The 1st person stem is used in reciprocal constructions (Section 12.4), so it is the meaning 'fight each other' that provides the source for the deverbal lexicalization.

3.2.1 Nouns

Nouns are invariant and have no inflectional morphology. They are conventionally assigned to one of four genders: gender I (male humans), gender II (female humans, and all animals) and gender III and IV (inanimates); see Chapter 6. Gender and (for animates) number are reflected in agreement and/or indexing on verbs and other agreeing targets, not on the nouns themselves. Compare: *nggat u-pe* (dog II-DIST) 'that dog' vs. *nggat i-pe* (dog I/II.pl-DIST) 'those dogs'.

The only exceptions are so-called overt-gender nouns, a small group of nouns for which gender and number are reflected by a change in the stem-final vowel. The gender-marking vowels in these nouns must have arisen through the same umlaut process that gave rise to alternating vowels in the final syllable of agreeing adjectives, although the resulting pattern depends on the lexeme (see the next section, as well as §4.1.1 and §4.2).

Overt-gender nouns can be thought of as being derived from a root with a general meaning, e.g. *anVm* (with the general meaning 'person') from which nouns with more specific meaning are obtained by assigning them to a gender and plugging in the corresponding vowel: *anem* 'man', *anum* 'woman', *anim* 'people'.

It could be argued that these forms are inflectional variants of one lexeme ('person'), but for most other overt-gender nouns it is better to describe the individual gender forms as lexicalized, because they exhibit various irregularities in meaning and form. This is further discussed in Section 6.2.3.1. Therefore, the generalization that nouns lack inflectional morphology remains robust.

Proper names share most of their distributional possibilities with standard nouns: for example, they can be determined by demonstratives (*Maria upe* 'that Maria') and occur in possessive constructions with *en* 'POSS' (*Wodim en Maria* 'Wodim's [daughter] Maria'). The main difference with lexical nouns is that proper names may occur with the Associative Plural *ke* or *keti* (§5.4.2), a property they share with kinship terms.

3.2.2 Adjectives

It is not entirely clear if there are any grammatical criteria that systematically distinguish the semantic class of property words (*yaba* 'big', *kanil* 'heavy', *kunayhV* 'black', *dohV* 'red', etc.) from nouns. I will list some commonalities before addressing potential differences. The candidates for adjective-hood will be referred to as 'property words' in order not to anticipate the final verdict on their status.

3.2.2.1 Commonalities with nouns. Like nouns, property words modify other words by being the first member of a compound with the modified word as the head. Examples of compounds with property words as the first members are: *yaba-basik* 'big pig', *kosi-basik* 'small pig', *dohu-basik* 'brown (lit. red) pig'. These are structurally identical to standard noun+noun compounds such as *basik-muy* 'pig meat'. See further §4.4.

There is no structural difference between the predication of property words (e.g. *waninggap* 'good') and predication of nouns (e.g. *mboy* 'widow'). Both kinds of words require the support of the copula (§15.4) or a copula-like verb such as 'become' to be predicated:

(43) a. *waninggap menda-b-ø- w-in*
good PERF-ACT-3sg.A 3sg.U-become
'S/he is well.'
(e.g. recovered after illness)

b. *mboy menda-b-ø- w-in*
widow PERF-ACT-3sg.A 3sg.U-become
'She is a widow.'

Like all other nominals, property words can head NPs (or rather, referring phrases), such as *kunayhi ipe* 'the black ones' in (44). (Gender agreement in *kunayhV* 'black', symbolized by the placeholder *V*, will be addressed further below.) In traditional (and transformational) grammar such structures (including also the preceding NP *Geb en* '[the ones] of Geb') would be described as involving ellipsis of a head noun. (Here, it would be the head of a compound—*kunayhi-basik* 'black pigs'—that has to be ellipsed.) I prefer to state these facts by saying that property words (as well as some postpositional phrases) may head referring phrases on their own, without support from a noun, as long as the presence of the property word is sufficient for successful interpretation.

(44) *sam-basik k-a, i-pe t-i-k-a Geb en, kunayhi*
big-pig PRS.NEUT-3sg.A I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-DIR-3sg.A G. POSS black:I/II.pl
i-pe
I/II.pl-DIST
'It's big pigs, those are the ones belonging to the Geb[ze clan], the black ones.'
[0032.20052015.3.mkl]

Although the possibility of heading a referring phrase seems to exist for almost all property words (but see Section 3.2.2.3 for obligatorily bound adjectives), it is not much exploited in actual discourse. I have only found a handful of expressions such as 'the black ones' in the corpus, meaning that there are large distributional differences between referring words (which usually head referring phrases) and property words (typically used as modifiers or copula complements).

The three non-criteria discussed so far—acting as a modifier, requiring a copula for predication, and heading an NP—are familiar from other languages that have been claimed to lack a distinction between nouns and adjectives (e.g. Quechua, Weber 1989: 35–36). I now turn to criteria that might be used to distinguish property words from nouns.

3.2.2.2 Differences with nouns. Unlike standard nouns, property words are not assigned to a gender. This is probably the strongest argument for distinguishing a separate class of adjectives in Marind (and it is a classic argument for positing adjective classes in languages with gender; see e.g. Dixon 2004a: 12–13).

The gender criterion is not unproblematic, however, since approximately a dozen nouns lack conventional gender assignment, and instead take their gender from the associated discourse referent (§6.2.3). For example, the noun *agey* 'bait' triggers gender II agreement if it refers to a worm (cf. *alo* 'worm', gender II), but gender III if it refers to a piece of meat (*muy* 'meat', gender III). If lack of conventionalized gender membership is the decisive criterion for noun- vs. adjectivehood, we must conclude that *agey* 'bait' is an adjective. This is a counterintuitive conclusion since *agey* is more similar in its meaning to referring words such as 'food' than property words such as 'red'. I have no observations of *agey* as a noun modifier, so its distribution seems more noun-like too. There are almost 1000 nouns for which I have documented the conventional gender assignment, so it seems motivated to disregard the small group of exceptional nouns lacking inherent gender, and to conclude that it is necessary to distinguish nouns from adjectives because the former have fixed gender. I will still consider some additional criteria.

The presence of gender inflection is not useful for distinguishing an adjective class. As explained in Section 4.2, words such as *kunayhV* 'black' and *papVs* 'small' signal agreement through changes in the stem final vowel, which makes them different from (almost all) nouns. However, only 16 property words exhibit agreement, whereas all others property words are invariant; applying this criterion would exclude invariant words such as *waninggap* 'good', *yaba* 'big' and *kanil* 'heavy' from the adjective class, despite these being some of the most frequent modifying words in

my corpus. Thus, the presence of gender agreement does not pick out any class of words corresponding to an intuitive notion of adjective.

A more subtle criterion is provided by the degree modifier *ɣa*. This frequent word is used after the word it modifies, and translates as 'real' combined with referring words (*anim ɣa* 'real people', *mayan ɣa* 'real language, truth'), and as 'very' with property words (*kanil ɣa* 'very heavy', *papVs ɣa* 'very small'). This semantic difference is sometimes cited as a good diagnostic for noun vs. adjectivehood (Dixon 2004a: 13). I would suggest that this is an artefact of translation into English, and that the actual function of *ɣa* is to indicate that something scores high in prototypicality, or signals an 'undeniable instance' of the property/referent. (The difference is also not present in local Malay, where *ɣa* translates as *betul* 'true' with both property and referring words.) See also Section 5.4.3.3.

I conclude that gender membership motivates separating nouns from adjectives in the description of Marind, with the caveat that this diagnostic is problematic for the small number of nouns that lack conventionalized gender assignment. It seems that the distributional differences between nouns and adjectives in Marind are not strongly reflected in morphosyntactic differences between the two categories.

Note that adjective-like expressions can be derived from (some) nouns using the postpositions *hV* 'like', *tV* 'with', and *nV* 'without' (as discussed in §3.3.6), and from (some) verbs by means of the Participial suffixes *-la* and *lVk* (Section 4.5.3).

3.2.2.3 Bound adjectives. A small number of adjectives may not appear in predicative contexts unless they are compounded with the 'pro-word' *agV* (see §3.3.3). The only known adjectives that always display this behavior are *ndom* 'bad', *tanamV* 'old' and *noɣ* 'new, young'. In addition, *kosi* 'little' is almost always compounded, but the non-compounded use is also accepted and attested.

Compare the independent adjective *waninggap* 'good' in (45a) with the bound adjective *ndom* 'bad' in (b).

(45) a. *waninggap ɣa k-a*
good real PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'It is very good.'

b. *ndom-ago ɣa k-a*
bad-PROW:III real PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'It is very bad.'

It is possible that *ndom* 'bad' and *tanamaV* 'old' are bound in their use as adjectives to avoid ambiguity with the adverbs *ndom* 'still' and *tanama* 'again'. Compare *ndom-ago ka* 'It is bad' with *ndom ka* 'It still exists'. The adjective *kosi* 'little' is also commonly used as an adverbial meaning '(to V) a little', then always without *agV*.

3.3 Minor classes

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

There are only three personal pronouns, distinguishing 1st and 2nd person, plus singular and plural for the latter. There is also a corresponding set of emphatic pronouns, showing the same person/number distinctions. Both series are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns.

	PLAIN		EMPHATIC	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	*nok*		*nahan*	
2	*oɣ*	*yoɣ*	*ahan*	*ihan*

Note that there are no 3rd person pronouns. This vacancy is filled by demonstratives (Section 3.3.2).

The dearth of pronominal forms contrasts with the extensive participant indexing in the verb complex (Chapter 8), which fills the function that grammatical case marking might have in a dependent-marking language.

The lack of a number distinction only in the 1st person of the independent pronouns is typologically unusual (Corbett 2000: 56ff, Siewierska 2004: 92ff). The presence of an I/we-distinction has even been suggested to be universal (see Cysouw 2003: 81–84). On the paradigm level, the Marind personal pronouns clearly falsifiy such a putative universal. On the system level, however, Marind is no exception since a special role-neutral verb prefix *e-* is obligatorily present whenever the clause contains a 1pl argument, as in (46) (the prefix *e-* is described in §8.6). This means that the absence of a number distinction in the 1st person pronouns rarely results in ambiguity.

(46) *nok nak-e- aɣak-e*
1 1.A-1pl- go.inland-IPFV
'We're going inland.' [0222.17102016.1.wbi]

The pronouns have the same syntactic distribution as phrases headed by nouns. For example, pronouns may function as arguments, as in (47), or be the complement of e.g. the possessive postposition *en*, as in *oɣ en nggat* 'your (sg) dog' or *ahan en mayan* 'your (sg) own language'.

(47) *yoɣ m-ak-ind-e- awat-a-m nok*
2pl OBJ-1.A-ALL-1pl- many.run-EXT-VEN 1
'We came here to get you.' [0209.08092016.1.wbi]

The 1pl prefix *e-*, as in (46) and (47) above, is not available to disambiguate the number reference of a 1st person participant in contexts where this participant functions as an adjunct (rather than an argument of the verb). In such contexts the Associative Plural marker *ke* (or its variant *keti*, §5.4.2) is usually added to *nok* or *nahan*, e.g. *nok keti en nggat* 'our dog(s)', as opposed to *nok en nggat* 'my dog(s)'.

Personal pronouns are sometimes modified by demonstratives, such as the proximate *ihe* combining with the 2pl pronoun *yoɣ* in (48). This usage is not well understood at present, but it is perhaps a way of signaling that the pronouns introduces a new topic ('As for you women here, …').

(48) In a story, the protagonist is addressing some women he chased down from a tree.
yoɣ i-he, i-he iwag i-he, yoɣ i-he eham
2pl I/II.pl-PROX I/II.pl-PROX woman I/II.pl-PROX 2pl I/II.pl-PROX husband:2pl
ek-ø-e?
PRS.Q:I-3sg.A-IPFV
'You, you women, do you have a husband?' [0218.21112014.1.dmh]

The emphatic pronoun series (*nahan*, *ahan*, etc.) are typically used contrastively, to stress that the referent(s) alone should do something, without the participation of others. Typically this would be in contrast to other participants explicitly mentioned, or in contrast to some expectation that others might participate.

(49) Speaker is lending a boat to the addressee.
yahun e-pe mate, nahan mak-e- ka-dhetok ɣapap kwemek
canoe(III) III-DIST let.it.be 1.EMPH FUT:1.A-1pl- WITH-return tomorrow morning
'Just leave the boat there, we will bring it back ourselves tomorrow morning.'
[0175.08092016.1.wbi]

In example (50) the use of the emphatic series is part of a standard reply used to defer decision-making to the addressee. It almost conveys a mild reproach, e.g. 'It's up to *you*—why would *I* know?'. An even stronger sense of annoyance is conveyed by the forceful use of *ahan* in (51).

(50) Speaker was asked if she wants a bucket of water.

ahan *s-o* *mayay!*
2sg.EMPH ONLY-2sg.A knowing
'It's up to you!' (lit. 'Only yourself know!') [0096.27082015.1.wbi]

(51) The addressee had ordered the speaker to get some bamboo, then changed his mind and told them not to get it.

mayay *ahan* *ø-d-o-na-y-* *lay!*
first 2sg.EMPH NEUT-DUR-2sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- tell
'It was *you* who told us [to get it] in the first place!' ('And now you're telling us not to—make up your mind!') [0219.27082015.1.wbi]

For 3rd person reference there is a special set of emphatic demonstrative used in emphatic context, but these series also have various other functions not shared by the emphatic pronouns—see §3.3.2.2.

3.3.2 Demonstratives

The four sets of basic demontratives are in Table 3.2. All demonstratives have an initial gender marking vowel *V-*, except the emphatic set *anVp*, in which the vowel is in the final syllable.

Table 3.2: Basic demonstratives: gender/number forms.

	PROXIMATE *Vhe*		DISTAL *Vpe*		REMOTE *Vhan*		EMPHATIC *anVp*	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
I	*ehe*	*ihe*	*epe*	*ipe*	*ehan*	*ihan*	*anep*	*anip*
II	*uhe*		*upe*		*uhan*		*anup*	
III	*ehe*		*epe*		*ehan*		*anep*	
IV	*ihe*		*ipe*		*ihan*		*anip*	

In addition to the four basic sets, property demonstratives are derived from the Proximal *Vhe* and Distal *Vpe* by adding the element *-tagV* or *-tagVl* (Table 3.3), e.g. *ehetago* or *ehetagol* 'like this'. I have not been able to find any difference in meaning between the variants with and without final *-l*.

The Marind demonstratives are used in three main grammatical functions: as independent referring expressions ('this one'), determiners ('this dog') and adverbials ('here, there'). Demonstratives agree in gender with the antecedent or head noun in the first two uses, whereas adverbially used demonstratives are invariant and appear

Table 3.3: Property demonstratives: gender/number forms.

	'like this'		'like that'	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
I	*ehetage(l)*	*ihetagi(l)*	*epetage(l)*	*ipetagi(l)*
II	*uhetagu(l)*		*upetagu(l)*	
III	*ehetago(l)*		*epetago(l)*	
IV	*ihetagi(l)*		*ipetagi(l)*	

in the gender III forms per default (*ehe* 'here' etc.). The functions and the meaning of the different demonstratives are described in the following subsections.

3.3.2.1 Standard demonstratives. An example of the independent use of the distal *Vpe*-demonstratives to express a verb argument is in (52). The distal *Vpe*-series are the most frequently used option for endophoric reference (i.e. reference to things mentioned elsewhere in the discourse) in texts and can probably be regarded as a default choice in this function.

(52) *i-pe* *epe* *k-ak-e-* *ɣad⟨a⟩wn,* *Karel* *k-a*
I/II.pl-DIST there DIR-1.A-1pl- leave⟨2|3.pl.U⟩ K. PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'We left them there, Karel [and the others].' [0033.30082015.5.wbi]

The textual uses of the proximal *Vhe*-series are not well understood at present. An excerpt from a narrative illustrating their use is in (53). The relevant referents, 'the boys from Sanggase', have appeared several times during a longer stretch of the preceding text, and are referred to by lexical means (*Sanggahe-patul*) in the first line of this excerpt. In the second line anaphoric reference to them is made twice, in both instances by means of the proximal *Vhe*-demonstratives.

(53) Some boys from the Sanggase village had helped the speaker and his family cross a river, but then started stalking them.
Sanggahe-patul *namaɣa* *epe* *k-e-na-y-p-* *esoh,*
S.-boy now there DIR-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl-CT- follow
i-he *iwag* *nanggol* *m-e-na-y-p-* *esoh* *i-he*
I/II.pl-PROX woman for OBJ-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl-CT- follow I/II.pl-PROX
'Now the Sanggase boys followed us there,
they followed us for our women.' [0179-0180.08092016.1.wbi]

More detailed study of information flow management in Marind narratives will be necessary to say more about the choice between proximal and distal demonstratives in endophoric reference.

Situational uses (also called exophoric uses, i.e. for reference to the physical surroundings of the speaker and hearer) of distal vs. proximal demonstratives are easier to understand. The utterance in (54) is from a face-to-face conversation, in which the speaker, Kolum (a ca. 15 years old boy), calls out to a passer-by (ca. 5 meters away) informing him/her that the people sitting with Kolum are drinking *wati* (kava). The use of the proximal *ihe* is clearly motivated by the spatial configuration of the referents, which are close to the speaker but further away from the hearer.

(54) (Said to a passer-by:)

i-he	*wati*	*anipand-an-*	*ɣi-e*
I/II.pl-PROX	kava	CONT:I/II.pl-3pl.A-	drink-IPFV

'These [people] just keep on drinking *wati*.' [0102.24082015.1.wbi]

It is unclear whether the remote *Vhan*-series can make up referring expressions without support from a noun. They are only attested as determiners and adverbials, but this is perhaps an accidental gap in the data.

In their use as determiners, demonstratives can appear postposed to the noun, e.g. *ɣap epe* 'that night' in (55), preposed, as in *epe anem* 'that man' (56), or circumposed, as in *ipe duwet ipe* (57).[2] The preposing option is much less frequent than the other two, but it is unclear what makes speakers choose one mode of expression over another.

(55)

ɣap	*e-pe*	*ebta*	*k-ak-e-y-*	*haman*
night(III)	III-DIST	sago.thatch(IV)	DIR-1.A-1pl-ACPN-	many.sit

'That night we sat [making] sago thatch roofing.' [0276.17102016.1.wbi]

(56) The speaker describes how he waited in vain for his friend during a hunt.

e-pe	*anem*	*mandin*	*menda-b-ø-*	*ihe⟨n⟩ab*
I-DIST	man(I)	long.ago	PERF-ACT-3sg.A-	pass⟨1.U⟩

'That man had already gone past me long ago.' [0058.28062015.2.wbi]

[2]The word *duwet* is ultimately from Dutch *duit*, and is used alongside Marind *katal* to refer to money.

(57) *a-na- og i-pe duwet i-pe!*
IMP-1.DAT- give IV-DIST money(m)(IV) IV-DIST
'Give me that money!' [0398.27112016.4.wbi]

The proximal, distal and remote series may be used adverbially to refer to locations. Often the demonstrative is placed in the syntactic slot immediately before the verb complex, with one of the so-called Orientation prefixes (Chapter 10) prefixed to the verb, specifying whether the demonstrative marks e.g. the source or goal of movement. In (58), *epe* 'there' combines with the Directional prefix (§10.1.4.1), since it marks the goal of *haman* 'many assume a sitting position'. Cf. also (52) above.

(58) *ah- nayam, epe ka-p-e- haman*
IMP- many.come there DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl- many.sit
'Come, we will sit over there.' [0183.27112016.3.wbi]

The meaning difference between the proximal *Vhe*-series, the distal *Vpe*-series and the remote *Vhan*-series is not particularly clear. When prompted, speakers say the *ehe* is used about something in the immediate vicinity, *epe* about something a bit further away, and *ehan* about something really far away.

These intuitions receive little support from the corpus data and my own observations. It is true that the proximal series are used for deictic reference to e.g. items held by or sitting next to the speaker, whereas the distal *Vpe*-series are unattested in such contexts. But the proximal *Vhe*-series may also be used for pointing out distant things (e.g. an airplane in the sky, or a herd of deer in the distance), perhaps as long as they are sufficiently salient or within the attention of the addressee. In line with Enfield's (2003) study of Lao demonstratives I hypothesize that the distal series can be understood as meaning 'not here', while hearers infer that the proximal *Vhe*-series refer to things either close to the speaker or things that are within the field of attention, regardless of the physical distance involved, an inference that is made because the speaker chose not to use the distal series.

Speakers' intuitions about the semantics of the remote *Vhan*-series are more difficult to reconcile with observed use. There are two problems: (i) although *Vhan* is said to mean 'very far away', speakers also use the distal *Vpe*-series (and, to some extent, the proximal *Vhe*) for very distant referents, e.g. for objects at the horizon, or for referents in other villages; and (ii) the remote *Vhan*-series are sometimes used for reference to the space in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, i.e. to express 'here'. The second observation is especially surprising since we expect the proximal

series to be used for 'here'-reference—recall that the distal *Vpe*-series are unattested in this use.

I would like to make the very preliminary suggestion that these uses can be explained if *Vhan* means something similar to 'far from the addressee' or perhaps 'inaccessible to the addressee'. Consider the following observed examples in support of this.

The exchange in (59) happened as Yakoba, a young girl in my Wambi host family, and I were walking in the village. As we walked I was (as usually) watching the ground in front of me for snakes and pointed objects, so I failed to locate the referent (*ad* 'father') in Yakoba's first utterance. In response, she said *ehan* 'over there' and pointed in a direction approximately 90° to my left, where her father was coming out of the vegetation about 50 m. away.

(59) 1. *ad* *ep-a-p-* *hawa-em*
father ABSC:I-3sg.A-CT- emerge:3sg.U-VEN

2. [huh?]

3. (Pointing:) *ehan*
REM

1. (Yakoba:) 'Father is coming hither.'
2. (me:) [looks up, does not see Father.]
3. (Yakoba:) 'Over there.' [nb03.57.wbi]

Now contrast this with how one would express 'Pass the ball to me!' as exclaimed during a football game, to draw the attention of a player elsewhere on the field. The most natural option is the remote demonstrative *ehan*, as in (60), which is a frequent exclamation during all football games played by children in Wambi.

(60) *ehan nanggol! ehan nanggol!*
REM for REM for
'[Pass the ball] over here, over here!'

If the remote demonstrative series mean 'way over there', it is impossible to understand why *ehan* is used both in (59) and (60), since the latter example means 'way over here', not 'way over there'. If instead we assume that *ehan* means 'far from you, where you're not looking', it is possible to make sense of both utterances as instructions to the addressee to switch their attention to some distant object or location indicated by the speaker. (This description is similar to the analysis of the Absconditive prefix series given in §14.2).

This analysis is also compatible with *Vhan* used for referents in e.g. other villages and far-away places. Example (61) was uttered to me by a man in Duhmilah, who was comparing the sago processing methods in use along the coast with those of the inland (see Appendix A for information about sago processing among the Marind). The speaker gestured to the north, approximately in the direction of Yawimu, a village a few hours (by motorcycle) from Duhmilah and Wambi, whose inhabitants belong to the culturally and linguistically distinct inland group of Marind people, whereas the villagers in Wambi and Duhmilah identify as coastal Marind.

(61) *deg-anim i-han, Yawimu, mbya ka-n-is-ap- o-tad-e*
forest-people I/II.pl-REM Y. NEG PRS.NEUT-3pl.A-SEP-CT- PLA-burn-IPFV
'The forest people over there, in Yawimu, they don't bake [the sago loaves].'
[20052015.4.dmh]

The use of the remote *ihan* instead of the distal *ipe* could reflect the fact that the referent (the Yawimu village and its inhabitants) is unknown and visually inaccessible to me, and perhaps also underline the cultural distance separating it from the coastal villages—although this is speculative.

3.3.2.2 Emphatic demonstrative. The emphatic demonstrative series *anVp* have the same uses as the emphatic pronouns (§3.3.1), plus a few more. Like their pronominal counterparts, they are used to express that the referent does something without the participation or help of others, as in (62). Compare this to the use of an emphatic pronoun in e.g. (49) above.

(62) Describing how the bishop from Merauke inaugurated a new church.
anep ø-a- kab gereja-kay, ah-ø- k⟨y⟩amin anim
EMPH:I NEUT-3sg.A- open church(m)-door DEP-3sg.A- enter⟨2|3pl.U⟩ people
'He himself opened the church door, when people entered.'
[0057.23092016.7.wbi]

A second example of this use is in (63). Seeing a large amount of water lilies in a pond in Wambi, I asked a villager if they had been planted. The villager replied (rolling his eyes) that they were not:

(63) *yaɣoh-lik* *mbya* *k-a,* *anip-it-lik*
plant.PLA-PTCP:IV NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A EMPH:IV-become:IV.U-PTCP:IV
k-a
PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'They are not planted, they grow by themselves.' [nb04.61.wbi]

The second clause features the emphatic demonstrative *anip*, showing gender IV agreement (cf. *mamat* 'water lily sp.', IV) which is compounded with a participial form (§4.5.3) of the verb *win* 'become', here realized by the stem *in*, used for Undergoers in gender IV (*in* becomes *it* before the Participial suffix *-lVk*). A literal translation of the second clause would be 'they are themselves-grown'.[3]

When speakers use the emphatic series in the sense 'without involvement of others', they often choose to reinforce this meaning by adding modifiers such as *kudaɣa* 'alone', as in (64–65). Such reinforcement does not seem to occur with the emphatic pronouns *nahan* 'myself' etc. This is perhaps because the other unrelated uses (see below) of the *anVp*-series have made them somewhat semantically bleached.

(64) Asking about a hunter bringing back a pig.
anep *kudaɣa* *ø-a-* *w-asib* *ay?*
EMPH:I alone NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit Q
'Did he kill it himself?' [0041.14052015.2.dmh]

(65) Comment about a cigarette.
anep *kudaɣa* *ø-a-* *lahway*
EMPH:III alone NEUT-3sg.A- become.extinguished
'It went out by itself.' [nb04.26.wbi]

The rest of this section is devoted to the various other uses of the *anVp*-series. These uses are much more common in the corpus than the 'without involvement of others'-function described above, but unfortunately most of them are poorly understood.

IN POSSESSIVE PHRASES. When such phrases have a non-lexical 3rd person possessor ('his/her/its/their X') speakers seem to prefer to use the emphatic *anVp* demonstrative in lieu of the plain demonstratives (*Vpe*, *Vhe*) to express the possessor.[4] The

[3]This use is described for the Eastern dialect by Drabbe (1955: 101–102).

[4]There are 34 attestations of these structures in the texual corpus: 28 of them (82%) employ the emphatic *anVp*, whereas only 6 (18%) have the shape *Vpe en X* or *Vhe en X*, despite the plain demonstratives being more than 6 times as frequent in the corpus as the emphatic ones overall (this, however,

use of the emphatic *anVp* is not associated with any kind of emphasis in such contexts, and it is used regardless of whether the possessor is coreferential with some argument of the verb (e.g. the S/A-argument) or not. An example:

(66) Using coconut water to prepare a sago dish.

anep *en* *gel* *e-pe,* *epe* *ka-mus-ap-* *kaɣob* *epe* *ago,*
EMPH:III POSS sap(III) III-DIST there DIR-FUT:2sg.A:SEP-CT squeeze there PROW:III
da
sago(III)
'Its water, you squeeze it on top of what's-it-called, the sago.'

[0018.17102016.2.wbi]

DISCOURSE PARTICLE. Emphatic *anVp* is commonly found in clause-initial position, and then serves to express some discourse function that unfortunately remains completely opaque. I had no success in my attempts do discuss this function of *anVp* with speakers, so it will be left to future research to elucidate this common pattern.

Two corpus examples are provided below to give the reader a notion of the issues involved. The most noteworthy morphosyntactic feature of these examples is that *anVp* agrees in gender with the subject of its clause. This is slightly surprising since the syntactic position of *anVp* appears to be at the periphery of the clause, and there are no signs suggesting that it is in a modifier relationship to any noun.

(67) About drunk boys disrupting a celebration in a neighboring village.

1. *sageru* *lik* *ɣap* *ma-n-i-e-* *aɣa⟨h⟩in*
alcohol(m) from:I/II.pl night OBJ-3pl.A-RE-ACPN- run.around⟨2|3pl.U⟩

2.→ *anip* *Wambi-patul* *ø-d-ø-i-* *ya-hwala,*
EMPH:I/II.pl W.-boy NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-RE- 2|3pl.U-be

ɣap *ma-n-* *i-sak*
night OBJ-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-hit.PLA

1. 'At night [the police] were running around after drunk people again.'
2. 'It was Wambi boys again, at night [the police] hit them.'

[0196-0197.27112016.3.wbi]

also includes their uses as determiners etc., and so is not directly comparable to their pronominal use in possessor phrases). For the personal pronouns (*nok* 'I, we' etc.), the plain pronouns predominate in possessive phrases, with only 9 out of 26 (35%) possessor phrases using the emphatic variants.

(68) a. *e-he ad tanama menda-b-ø- dahetok*
I-PROX father again PERF-ACT-3sg.A- return

b.→ *anep ɣabe sasaɣi-anem ø-d-a- ola*
EMPH:I Gh. work-man NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U

1. 'Father here already returned,
2. because he had work to do in Ghabe Island.' (lit. 'was a work-man')

[0120.27112016.3.wbi]

It is unclear if the presence of the word 'because' (Malay *karena*), which was added by the speaker who helped me transcribe the latter example, is related to the presence of the word *anVp*.

EXCLAMATIVE/EVALUATIVE: 'X INDEED!' Speakers often form evaluative exclamations of the shape adjective+*anVp*, perhaps corresponding to something like 'Adj. indeed!' or 'How Adj.!'. For example, during a meal it is common to hear participants exclame *ɣel anep!* 'How tasty!'. The main differences between Adj.+*anVp* and the construction *X ɣa* 'very X' is that the latter is also attested with nouns and other parts of speech (see §5.4.3.3), and that the construction with *anVp* always occurs as independent utterances, not integrated within a larger syntactic structure.

Two corpus examples are below. The emphatic demonstrative shows agreement in gender/number according to the referent being described.

(69) Pau and Mili are discussing a recent hunting expedition.

1. *adaka epe nd-an-d-e- ɣi*
water there LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- drink

2.→ *adaka halay anep!*
water clear EMPH:III

1. (Pau:) 'We drank water there.'
2. (Mili:) 'The water [was] really clear!' [0649-0650.16092016.1.wbi]

(70) A vivid account of how the speaker spotted a deer and several wallabies during hunt.

awi saɣam? aneeee otih anip!
what.about wallaby(II) EXCLAM many EMPH:I/II.pl

'And what about the wallabies? Woooah so many!'

[0728-0729.16092016.1.wbi]

3.3.2.3 Property demonstratives. As mentioned above, property demonstratives are formed by combining the plain demonstratives *Vhe* 'this' and *Vpe* 'that' with the element *-tagV*, giving e.g. *ehetago* 'like this' and *epetago* 'like that' (with gender III agreement). A final *-l* is often added, without any known meaning contribution: *ehetagol* etc. The gender forms of the property demonstratives were given in Table 3.3 above.[5] In casual, allegro speech these demonstratives are often significantly reduced: e.g. *ehetagol* > *etal* 'like this'.

The most common use of the property demonstratives is situational: the speaker uses the demonstrative to refer to degree or quality (color, measures, distance, etc.) of some property in the immediate surroundings, usually combined with a pointing gesture. For example, time of the day is usually expressed as in (71), with a gesture indicating a point in the sky (there are no watches in Wambi), whereas size of e.g. animals is conveyed by indicating a point on one's leg up to which a four-legged animal reached, as in (72). (Fish is measured as the distance between the tip of one's middle finger and a point indicated further up on one's arm).

(71) Pointing to the sky.

ehetago *katane*
like.this:III sun(III)
'at this time of the day' (lit. 'the sun like this') [0055.05072015.1.wbi]

(72) *kosi-basik* *epe* *nda-d-ø-* *ɣi-la-ti,* *kosi* *mbya,*
small-pig(II) there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- eat-EXT-DUR small NEG
uhetagul *menda-b-ø-* *w-in*
like.this:II PERF-ACT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become
'A little pig was eating there, not little, it was already [big] like this.'
[0518.16092016.1.wbi]

Non-situational uses are rare. Example (73) is one of the few corpus examples of a property demonstrative employed to refer to a linguistic element of the surrounding discourse.

(73) I asked two villagers to stage an interview for me to record. Here, the interviewer complains that the interviewee is not providing sufficiently detailed answers.

[5] I avoid segmentation of the property demonstratives in interlinear glosses, so instead of *e-hetag-o* 'III-like.this-III', I write *ehetago* 'like.this:III'. The origin of *-tagV* is uncertain, but it is likely related to the 'pro-word' *agV* (see discussion in Section 3.3.3).

“ahak”	*se*	*tumat-ap-*	*ɣ-a,*	*ndom-ago*	*k-a*	*epetago*
yes	only	PROH:2sg.A-CT-	2sg.U-AUX	bad-PROW:III	PRS.NEUT-3sg.A	like.that:III

e-pe
III-DIST

‘Don’t just say “yes”, it’s no good like that.’ [0005-0006.15052015.1.dmh]

Endophoric reference to other parts of discourse is usually realized through the important Predicated Manner Construction, described in Section 15.3.2. This contruction is also used to refer to mimicked action, e.g. ‘do like this’ (showing an action with e.g. one’s hands). Property demonstratives can be used for reference to mimicked actions, but this usage is very rare in my corpus.

Note that the above examples instantiate different grammatical functions of the manner series. In (71) and (72) the demonstrative expressions are used as attributive modifiers, and show agreement according to the gender of the head noun: gender III with *katane* ‘sun’, and gender II with *basik* ‘pig’. In (73) *epetago* functions as an adverbial and therefore automatically appears in gender III, which is the default gender of agreeing targets (such as *VpetagV*) when they appear in non-agreeing contexts (e.g. used as an adverbial).

3.3.3 The pro-word *agV*

This is a multifunctional item, labeled ‘pro-word’ for want of a better term. It has four functions, treated in turn in the subsections below: in compounds forming predicative adjectives and demonyms (§3.3.3.1), ‘what’s-it-called’ (§3.3.3.2), as a purposive marker (§3.3.3.3), and a quotative index (§3.3.3.4).

Note that *agV* is one of the few agreement targets that distinguishes all four genders: *ag**e*** (I), *ag**u*** (II), *ag**o*** (III), *ag**i*** (IV). The plural of genders I and II is *agi*.

Alongside the four uses of *agV* outlined below, the same shape also appears as a part of the property demonstratives *VhetagV* ‘like this’ and *VpetagV* ‘like that’ (§3.3.2.3). It seems reasonable to hypothesize that *agV* earlier functionned as a manner deictic meaning ‘so’ or ‘such’, but that this function is no longer available to the independent word *agV*. This origin would provide clear explanations for its use as a quotative (*S/he said **so**: “…”*) and purposive (cf. English *S/he did it **so** that…*), although perhaps less so for its other uses. The contemporary property demonstratives appear to consist of *agV* preceded by two layers of demonstratives: the element *-t-*, probably a reflex of the proto-Anim demonstrative root **tV* (Usher and Suter 2015), preceded by the innovated demonstratives *Vhe/Vpe*.

3.3.3.1 In compounds. It was shown in Section 3.2.2.3 that *agV* is obligatorily appended to the small class of bound adjectives when they occur in predicative contexts (e.g. *noɣ-ago ka* 'It is new'). Another use as the head of compounds is with village demonyms, i.e. expressions denoting inhabitants of a village. Examples: *Wambi-agu* 'a woman from Wambi', *Sanggahe-agi* 'Sanggase villagers', *Duh-age* 'a man from Duhmilah' (this village name is a compound from *duh* 'beach' and *milah* 'village').

3.3.3.2 'What's-it-called'. In this extremely common use *agV* functions as a placeholder for an expression that the speaker has trouble remembering or formulating, just like English *whatchamacallit*, *what's-her-name*, and so on. Often speakers use it as a general marker of hesitation ('um…'). Note that the placeholder *agV* shows the gender value corresponding to that of the sought-after expression.[6]

(74) Referring to a place where hunters used to skin deer carcasses.

epe nd-a-d-na- kaɣsa⟨h⟩ib-ma ago,
there LOC-DEP-DUR-3pl.A- skin⟨2|3.U⟩-PST.HAB PROW:III

anip en ago e-pe, ugu
EMPH:I/II.pl POSS PROW:III III-DIST skin(III)

'there where they used to remove the what's-it-called, their um…skins.'

[0071.08092016.1.wbi]

It is also common to use *agV* in self-repair, to mark that the material following *agV* replaces or clarifies something problematic just uttered. Example (75) shows this use in a repair sequence. In line 1, Pau self-initiates repair by using *ago* as a hesitation marker, and explicitly asks for correction by adding the final question particle *ay*. Mili provides the correction in line 2, which Pau echoes as *ago*-marked self-repair in line 3. (All place names trigger gender III agreement).

(75) 1. *epe k-ak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah, ago Moyga k-ak-e-p- i-hɣaman*
there DIR-1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ PROW:III M. DIR-1.A-1pl-CT- PLA-enter.water

ay?
Q

[6]The presence of gender agreement on 'what's-it-called' or 'whatchamacallit', like that on interrogative pronouns such as *tV* 'who, what', is perhaps surprising since these words are used when the speaker lacks access to the relevant noun. Gender is clearly more predictable than phonological shape, but see (852) on p. 512 for an example of the wrong gender form *ago* (III) used as a placeholder for the gender IV noun *kahil*. Cf. Reid 1997 for gender agreement on 'whatchamacallit' in Ngan'gityemerri (or Nangikurrunggurr), an Australian language of the Northern Territory.

2. *Mokob*
   M.

3.→ *ago, Mokob*
   PROW:III M.

   1. (Pau:) 'We went there, we went throught the water in um Moyga, right?'
   2. (Mili:) 'In Mokob.'
   3. (Pau:) 'I mean, in Mokob.' [0853-0855.16092016.1.wbi]

3.3.3.3 Expressing purpose. In this structure *agV* appears after a noun referring to some entity that the agent hopes to acquire as a result of the action expressed by the verb. There is no gender agreement in this context so *agV* appears in the default gender III shape *ago*. This way of expressing purpose is less common than using a postposition such as *nanggo* 'for' (see §3.3.6.5).

(76) Observed, about a little girl.

wah ago m-a- ihw-e
mother(II) PROW:III OBJ-3sg.A be.crying-IPFV
'She's crying for her mum.' [nb03.55.wbi]

There is another use of *ago* in a construction with a subordinate clause expressing the desired situation (77). Here the main marker of purpose seems to be the postposition *nanggo* 'for', which occurs with *ago* as its complement. A reasonable analysis of this structure is that since the postposition is not allowed to take the entire subordinate clause as its complement, *ago* acts as a placeholder for the clause, which is added after the postpositional phrase.

(77) I was eliciting verb paradigms when the speaker got fed up, and suggested we move on to something else.

mahut, mayan ka-p-e-p- lay, ago nanggo e-pe,
other.hand speech DIR-FUT:1pl.A-1pl-CT- tell PROW for III-DIST

oy mayay a-me-ø- y-in e-pe
[2sg able DEP-FUT-3sg.A- 2sg.U-become] III-DIST
'Instead, we should chat, so that you learn [the language].' [132.nb02.wbi]

3.3.3.4 Quotative index. The default gender III form is used as a quotative index, i.e. as a signal to the hearer that the following material is to be interpreted as reported discourse (cf. Güldemann 2008: 11), e.g. the words or thoughts of a participant in a story ('direct speech'). I gloss *ago* as QUOT in this use. It sometimes occurs with verbs such as 'say', 'tell' or 'ask', and sometimes without any speech verb, as here:

(78) *amay u-pe ago, "nok nak-e- ayak-e"*
ancestor II-DIST QUOT 1 1.A-1pl- go.inland-IPFV
'Grandma [said]: "We're going inland".' [0222.17102016.1.wbi]

3.3.4 Interrogative pronouns

Marind has only three basic interrogative pronouns, all of which exhibit gender agreement (signaled by a vowel *V*): *tV* 'who, what', *Vn* 'where, which', *VntagV* 'what kind, how many' (with the apparently synonymous variant *VntagVl*). The resulting gender forms are:

I	II	III	IV, I/II.pl	
ta	*tu*	*ta*	*ti*	'who, what'
en	*un*	*en*	*in*	'where, which'
entage(l)	*untagu(l)*	*entago(l)*	*intagi(l)*	'what kind, how many'

The latter is perhaps not morphologically basic since it can be analysed as a combination of *Vn* 'where, which' plus the element *-tagV(l)*, which also occurs in property demonstratives (§3.3.2.3).

All other interrogative expressions are derived from these basic interrogative words, e.g. *ta lek* 'why, for what reason' (lit. 'from what') or *ta* plus a verb inflected with the Locative Orientation prefix *nd-*, giving a 'when'-question (see §10.1.5.2).

The question words are frequently used as modifiers within a larger interrogative phrase, e.g. *ta patul?* 'what boy?', *tu kyasom?* 'what girl?', *en milah?* 'which village?'. Interrogative words and phrases are always placed in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb complex, and have no functions outside content question constructions (they are not used as indefinite pronouns). The formation of content questions is complicated by the use of special interrogative morphology on the verb, as discussed in Section 17.3. Of special interest are manner questions ('How did you do it?') which are formed without any interrogative pronouns (see §17.3.2.5).

3.3.4.1 *enda?* 'Where are you going?' (etc.). This interrogative word forms a complete utterance on its own, so it is not an interrogative pronoun but rather an interrogative pro-sentence.[7] Its most frequent use is as the standard exclamation *enda?* 'Where are you going?', which villagers use to interrogate all bypassers leaving the village or going somewhere away from their house (cf. Gil 2015: 280ff. on such greetings). The corresponding question upon return is fully compositional: *endohob-manem?* 'Where are you coming from?'.

It is also possible to use *enda?* as a short question about general location of some previously mentioned event, as in 'I fell with the motorbike'—'Oh, *enda?*'—'Over there on the beach'.

The appropriate answer to the conventionalized greeting *enda?* 'Where are you going?' depends on the social relationship between the interrogator and the bypasser, and the planned itinerary of the former. A minimal response, appropriate to answer e.g. some inquisitive children, is to say *epe* 'over there', casually lip-pointing to some unspecified location in the distance. With adults a more substantive response is required, with its length adjusted to the newsworthiness of one's plans: a short answer for familiar, unremarkable destinations, e.g. *Tinus mit* 'To Tinus' place' (Tinus has a small shop selling cigarettes and dried betelnut), and more detailed explanations for longer excursions. The asker then says 'Okay, keep going!' (as in example (687) on p. 433), or something to that effect, to signal their satisfaction with the response.

3.3.5 Numerals

Numerals are similar to nouns and other nominal categories in that they may head referring phrases: *hyakod upe* 'that one', *inah ipe* 'those two', although their most common use is that of modifying nouns. In their use as attributive modifers they differ from other common modifying elements (nouns and adjectives) in being in relatively loose apposition to the modified word, instead of compounded with it (Section 5.1.3).

In contemporary Marind, native numerals are only used up to 5 or 6. Speakers occasionally point out that Marind has words for counting all the way to 20. Most people can, with some effort, produce some or all of these numerals, but I have never heard them used (even by older speakers).

Table 3.4 lists all numerals up to 20. The simplex numerals *hyakod* '1' and *inah* '2'

[7] This expression is somehow related to the interrogative pronoun *en* 'where' (*end* in dialects without final simplification of the prenasalized plosive /n͡d/). One might suspect that *enda* originated as a truncation of some longer phrase meaning 'Where are you going?', but no such phrase starts with *enda-* in contemporary Marind (e.g. *en mohob-umaɣahe* 'Where are you going?').

Table 3.4: Numerals.

Numeral	Etym.	Gloss	Numeral	Etym.	Gloss
hyakod		'1'	*tagu-hyakod*	(foot+1)	'11'
inah		'2'	*tagu-inah*	(foot+2)	'12'
inhyakod	(1+2)	'3'	*tagu-inhyakod*	(foot+3)	'13'
inahinah	(2+2)	'4'	*tagu-inahinah*	(foot+4)	'14'
mbya-lay-sangga	(all-side-hand)	'5'	*mbya-lay-tagu*	(all-side-foot)	'15'
lay-sangga-hyakod	(side-hand+1)	'6'	*lay-tagu-hyakod*	(side-foot+1)	'16'
lay-sangga-inah	(side-hand+2)	'7'	*lay-tagu-inah*	(side-foot+2)	'17'
lay-sangga-inhyakod	(side-hand+3)	'8'	*lay-tagu-inhyakod*	(side-foot+3)	'18'
lay-sangga-inahinah	(side-hand+4)	'9'	*lay-tagu-inahinah*	(side-foot+4)	'19'
sangga-balen	(hand-finish)	'10'	*tagu-balen*	(foot-finish)	'20'

provide the etymological sources of the numerals *inhyakod* 'three' (< *inah*+*hyakod*) and *inahinah* 'four' (< *inah*+*inah*).

The higher numerals are formed by combinations of the lower numerals, the bodyparts *sangga* 'hand' and *tagu* 'foot', and the words *lay* '(one) side, (the other) side', *mbya* 'all, total' and *balen* 'finish, run out'. For example, '5' is *mbya-lay-sangga*, which can be given the literal gloss 'all [of the fingers from] the hand [on one] side', while '6' is *lay-sangga-hyakod* 'hand [on one] side [plus] one', and so on. '10' is formed from 'hand' plus the verb stem 'finish, run out', i.e. 'the hands, finished'. The counting then continues according to the same pattern, but with *tagu* 'foot' instead of 'hand', all the way to 20.

The same counting system was documented for the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind by Geurtjens (1926: 18–19) and Drabbe (1955: 26). Today it is clearly becoming obsolete, and some speakers, when showing their counting skills, hesitantly produced forms such as *inah-inah-hyakod* '2+2+1' for '5', and *inah-inah-inah* '2+2+2' for '6'. Such arithmetic neologisms reflect the fact that reciting numbers in Marind is a rather unnatural exercise, and all speakers clearly prefer to use Malay for this purpose.

Speakers often code-switch to Malay even for expressing lower numerals. Malay requires that a numeral classifier be present in order to count a noun, so one of the three Malay classifiers *orang* (for humans, from the noun *orang* 'person'), *ekor* (for animals, < 'tail') or *buah* (for things, < 'fruit') is usually present after the numeral, as in (79). In both instances the numeral expression (*empat ekor*, *satu ekor*) is separated from the counted noun (*rusa* 'deer'). This follows the native pattern of relatively loose apposition of the numeral and the noun (see §5.1.3).

(79) *rusa empat ekor m-ak-e- i-sak,*
deer(m) four(m) tail(m) OBJ-1.A-1pl- 2|3pl-hit.PLA
nok satu ekor ma-no-d- ahwik⟨e⟩h-a rusa
1 one(m) tail(m) OBJ-1.A-DUR- carry⟨3sg.U⟩-EXT deer(m)
'We killed four deer, [and] I carried one deer.' [0092-0093.28062015.2.wbi]

There are some non-numeric uses of the lowest numerals. For example, *hyakod* is used in the expression *hyakod a* (the status of *a* is unclear) meaning 'together' (80), and in *mbya-hyakod* 'same' (literally 'all-one'), as in (81). The numeral *inhyakod* 'three' can also express 'a few', as in (82).

(80) *hyakod a k-an-d-e- nayat*
together DIR-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving
'We went together.' [0027.08092016.1.wbi]

(81) *tis ka mbya-hyakod menda-b-ø- ay*
that's.it all-one PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become
'That's it, now we're even.' [0102.23042015.1.dmh]

(82) *inhyakod a-d-ø- ibotok-a e-pe, nok ø-nak-e- kama⟨n⟩in,*
three DEP-DUR-3sg.A- put.PLA:III.U-EXT III-DIST 1 NEUT-1.A-1pl- make⟨1.U⟩
nok ø-nak-e- atug
1 NEUT-1.A-1pl- scrape.coconut
'The few [coconuts] that were lying around, we prepared them, we scraped them.' [0054.27112016.4.wbi]

3.3.6 Postpositions

The class of postposition can be defined extensionally as the 13 items listed in Table 3.5. Grouping these together as one category is convenient since all of them serve to express relational notions (e.g. '**in** the house') and/or oblique participant roles ('**with** a stick'), i.e. functions that are commonly expressed by adpositions and cases cross-linguistically. I prefer the label 'postpositions' rather than 'cases' since none of these items trigger any segmental changes in the preceding material, and since they combine with the preceding material on the phrase-level rather than on the word-level:

Table 3.5: Postpositions.

		always postposition	attributive use	heads referential phrase	gender agreement
lVk	'from'	yes	yes	yes	yes
tV	'with'	yes	yes	yes	yes
hV	'like'	yes	yes	yes	yes
nV	'without'	yes	yes	yes	yes
nanggo(l)	'for, to'	yes	yes	yes	no
en	Possessive	yes	yes	yes	no
en	Instrumental	yes	yes?	no	no
se	'only'	yes	no	no	no
nde	'at'	yes	no	no	no
awe	'(search) for'	yes?	no	no	no
mit	'near'	no	no	no	no
lahwalah	'above, on top'	no	no	no	no
kumaŋ	'inside'	no	no	no	no
kala	'below, under'	no	no	no	no

(83) a. *nok en aha kumaŋ*
[1 POSS house]$_{NP}$ inside
'in my house'

b. *anep en yay ti*
[EMPH:I POSS uncle]$_{NP}$ with
'with his/her uncle'

As suggested by the information in the table, the postposition class is internally quite heterogeneous, and its members appear to form a category squish which would allow for further subdivisions depending on what criteria one considers to be diagnostic. In the table, the four items at the top could perhaps be described as derivational markers deriving property expressions, whereas the four items at the bottom could be described as regular nouns that speakers sometimes employ to describe locational relationships; the ones in the middle would fall somewhere between these two extremes.

I see no point in getting embroiled in category-splitting discussions here, but I believe that it is useful to spell out the parameters that distinguish the postpositions explicitly, so that other linguists who wish to provide alternative classifications have the data to do so. After the discussion of these features, individual subsections provide miniature sketches of the meaning and use of the various postpositions.

ALWAYS POSTPOSITION. Most members of the postposition class are easily identified as postpositions in all their uses. Four of the postpositions are heterosemous and are also used independently as regular nouns:

	As postposition	As noun
mit	'near'	'base (of tree/bodypart)'
lahwalah	'above, on top'	'top, upper side'
kumaŋ	'inside'	'inside'
kala	'below, under'	'depression in ground'

The nominal use is likely the diachronically earlier use, so a noun that originally meant 'base of tree' later acquired a more general relational use as a postposition.[8] One additional postposition, *awe* '(search) for', appears to be (diachronically) related to a noun, as explained in §3.3.6.9.

The only morphosyntactic criterion that I am aware of that distinguishes nouns used as postpositions (e.g. *kumaŋ* in *aha kumaŋ* 'in the house') from nouns used as the head of a compounds (*hayaw* 'bone' in *awe-hayaw* 'fish bone') is that a postposition heading a postpositional phrase may not occur independently (without its complement) whereas the head of a compound also is a free lexeme that can appear on its own. (Of course, this criterion presupposes that the postpositional use of heterosemous items like *mit* 'near' can be distinguished from the corresponding noun).

It is tempting to suggest a second morphosyntactic criterion: postpositions may be preceded by an entire phrase, as in (83) above, whereas compounds only take individual words or other compounds as their first member. This criterion does not work, because the only modifiers that nouns functioning as the complement of a postposition may appear with are other postpositional expressions (it is not possible to add e.g. a demonstrative to the complement of a postposition). Since compounds may take other compounds as their first member, it would be circular to distinguish postpositional expressions from compounds by saying that the former can take other postpositional expressions as their complements, since this is the behavior that would be expected if all of these were just compounds.

ATTRIBUTIVE USE. About half of the postpositions may be used attributively, heading a phrase that modifies a noun. This was already seen in e.g. (83a) above, where the possessive postposition *en* heads the phrase *nok en* 'of me', which in turn modifies the noun *aha* 'house', giving *nok en aha* 'house of me/my house'. Other examples of attributively used postpositions:

[8] The relational use of nouns is restricted to these four words, and other nouns that one could imagine being used to indicate spatial relations (e.g. *nggol* 'top of tree', *elet* 'far end of something', *sews* 'back of human/animal', etc.) have no corresponding postpositional use.

(84) a. *wambad* *nanggo* *ɣanid*
make.plantbed for day
'a day for making plantbeds'

b. *teb* *ti* *katal*
hole with:IV money(IV)
'holed money' (PNG 1-kina coins)

The other postpositions do not allow this use, so one cannot say e.g. **aha kumaɣ katal* to mean 'the money inside the house'. This would require a relative clause to be literally translated from English.

The instrumental use of the postposition *en* is indicated as 'yes' plus a question mark in Table 3.5, since it cannot be used attributively with nouns, but is commonly used to modify nominally used verb stems, e.g.:

(85) Observed; I was trying to light a cigarette.
korek *en* *o-tad* *mayay* *k-o* *oɣ?*
lighter(m) with PLA-burn knowing PRS.NEUT-2sg.A 2sg
'Do you know how to light using a lighter?' [nb04.93.wbi]

The unit *korek en otad* forms an NP and could be given the literal translation 'lighting with a lighter'.

HEADS REFERENTIAL PHRASE. With the exception of instrumental *en*, all postpositions that can be used attributively may also be used without a modified noun to head a referential phrase. The resulting structures could also be described as having an ellipsed head noun. For example, instead of referring to a coin as in (84b), one can say *teb ti* 'the one with hole'.[9]

A corpus example of a referentially used postpositional phrase is in (86), in which *wis lek* '(lit.) from yesterday' is used to refer to a man who had been encountered the previous day. (Gender I agreement on *lVk* and demonstrative *Vpe* identifies the referent as male).

(86) *wis* *lek* *e-pe,* *e-pe* *t-e-ø-ø-i-* *man-em*
yesterday from:I I-DIST I-DIST GIV-I-NEUT-3sg.A-RE- come-VEN
'The man from the day before, it was he who came again.'
[0282.27112016.4.wbi]

GENDER AGREEMENT. This was already seen on the postpositions *tV* 'with' in (84b) and *lVk* 'from' in (86) above. In addition, the postpositions *nV* 'without' and *hV* 'like' are agreement targets, while the remaining postpositions are invariant. However, *tV*, and *hV* only differentiate gender II from the other gender/number values:

[9]This expression is also used by Marind speakers as a rather vulgar insult.

I.sg	II.sg	III	IV, I/II.pl	
ti	*tu*	*ti*	*ti*	'with'
hi	*hu*	*hi*	*hi*	'like'

nV 'without' adds one distinction and has two separate forms for genders I and II singulars respectively, while conflating the other values:

I.sg	II.sg	III	IV, I/II.pl	
ne	*nu*	*ni*	*ni*	'without'

The forms of *lVk* 'from' make the same number of distinctions as *nV* 'without', but conflates gender III with gender I:

I.sg	II.sg	III	IV, I/II.pl	
lek	*luk*	*lek*	*lik*	'from'

These four postpositions show agreement when they head a postpositional phrase used in one of the following contexts: (i) as an attributive modifier to a noun, as in (84b) above (agreement is with the modified noun); (ii) as a refererential phrase, as in (86) above (agreement is according to the gender of the referent); (iii) as an adverbial, like the phrases *nu lik* 'from sleep' in (87) below, and *kaw tu* 'with a stick' in (88). For adverbially used targets the agreement trigger is the subject of the clause ('we', which triggers the gender I/II plural form *lik*; 'she' triggering gender II *tu*), but agreement can be with other arguments if the adverbial is a participant-oriented secondary predicate (see Section 16.4).

(87) *namaɣa kwemek nd-ak-e- u-timin nu lik*
now morning LOC-1.A-1pl- PLA-wake.up sleep from:I/II.pl
'Then in the morning we woke up from sleep.' [0114.17102016.1.wbi]

(88) *kay k-a-p- dah-em, kaw tu ø-a- man*
road DIR-3sg.A-CT- limp-VEN stick with:II NEUT-3sg.A- come
'She limped hither along the road, she came with a stick.'
[0270.27112016.4.wbi]

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion of the features distinguishing the postpositions from each other. Postpositions such as *mit* 'at, by, near' or *kumaɣ* 'inside', which lack all of the four features (cf. the summary in Table 3.5), are morphosyntactically close to nouns, and indeed also have uses as standard nouns (e.g. *mit* 'base of tree').

On the opposite side of the spectrum, postpositions such as *lVk* 'from' and *tV* 'with' are very unlike nouns, and the expressions they form are more akin to adjectives: for example, *katal ti* 'with money' is the standard way to express 'rich' in Marind, and several common adjectives turn out to be lexicalizations of phrases with *hV* 'like' (e.g. *dohV* 'red' < *do* 'blood' + 'like', *dehV* 'hard' < *de* 'wood' + 'like'). Looking further afield, it is clear that the Participial suffix *-la/-lVk* (Section 4.5.3) is grammaticalized from the postposition *lVk*, and thus represents the next step on the path from independent to bound markers. From this discussion it should be clear that the class of postpositions as defined here easily could be fit into other classification schemes.

The following subsections provide information on the meaning of the different postpositions.

3.3.6.1 *lVk* 'from'. This common postposition primarily marks various kinds of sources, as in (86) and (87) above. Two more examples are given below, with the postpositional phrases functioning as attributive modifers:

(89) a. *wis* *lek* *mayan*
yesterday(III) from:III speech(III)
'yesterday's issue/problem'

b. *layˠ* *lik* *ɣambul*
side(III) from:IV front.leg(IV)
'the front leg on one side, one of the front legs'

It is also extended to mark reason/cause, as in (90), and, with nominals with action-like semantics such as *walak* 'running', simultaneous action (91).

(90) About a woman who got startled by a noise and crashed into a mosquito net.
ukna luk m-a-p- ikyalun?
fear from:II OBJ-3sg.A-CT- jump
'She jumped out of fear?' [0254.16092016.1.wbi]

(91) *walak lek kam k-a- kw-ehw⟨e⟩b*
running from:I pole DIR-3sg.A- INESS-intercept⟨3sg.U⟩
'While running, he got stuck by a pole.' [nb03.32.wbi]

Note that both of these adverbials exhibit gender agreement with the subjects of their clauses. It seems that *lVk*-phrases describing reasons, as in (90), are optional

targets of agreement, as I have recorded several instances of *lVk* appearing in its default gender III form (failing to agree with any argument of the clause) in this context.

A participant-oriented adverbial such as *walak lek* in (91) agrees with the participant whose action it describes (and not necessarily the subject), as discussed further in Section 16.4.

3.3.6.2 *tV* 'with'. Four main uses of *tV* can be distinguished: (i) the adverbial comitative use ('come with, bring'); (ii) the adnominal proprietive use ('having X'); (iii) in inclusory constructions ('A including X'); and (iv) distributive ('one-by-one, one each').

The comitative use of *tV* is mostly found with motion verbs (92) and positional verbs (93).

(92) *inah yahun ø-ø-um- bamet-a-m tamuɣ ti*
two canoe(III) NEUT-3sg.A-FRUS- run.PLA-EXT-VEN food with:III
'Two trucks were going to come with food (but didn't).'
[0191.27112016.3.wbi]

(93) Hunters shot repeatedly at a pig, but it didn't die.
tangge tu ø-d-a- itala
arrow(III) with:II NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be.standing
'It was standing with arrows.' (i.e. sticking out of its body)
[0599.16092016.1.wbi]

The postpositional mode of expression exists in competition with the comitative use of the derivational WITH-prefix *k-* (Sections 9.3.3 and 12.1), which licenses a bare NP expressing the theme argument. The corpus data suggest that speakers overwhelmingly opt for *k*-marked verbs to express comitatives. It seems that comitatives with *tV* are used when the presence of the theme (e.g. the brought item) is not dependent on the volition or control of the agent, as in (92) and (93) where the trucks and the pig, respectively, do not control the location of the theme arguments. The volitionality or control criterion is especially clear with non-agentive verbs such as 'fall', with which the postposition *tV* is the only option (such verbs do not allow *k*-prefixation). An example of this is in (94).

(94) The speaker and another lady were sitting on a platform when it suddenly broke.

isala *ti* *ø-ø-e-* *hihi-n*
platform(III) with:I/II.pl NEUT-3sg.A-1pl- fall.PLA-1.U
'We fell with the sitting platform.' [0058.27112016.4.wbi]

Gender agreement on *tV* is with the participant that brings along the comitative theme. Compare the preceding examples with the form *ti* with e.g. (93) above, where agreement is with the pig (gender II), or (95) below, with a female subject triggering the gender II form *tu*.

(95) *lahwalah-yahun* *tu* *ø-a-* *man-em*
on.top-canoe(IV) with:II NEUT-3sg.A- come-VEN
'She came by airplane.' [nb03.35.wbi]

The proprietive use of *tV* is clearest when it forms adnominal phrases, specifying something that the head noun owns, is adorned with, contains, and so on. As shown by the examples in (96) the postposition agrees in gender with the noun that the phrase modifies (agreement is never with the complement of the postposition).

(96) a. *katal* *ti* *anem*
money(IV) with:I man(I)
'moneyed man, rich man'

b. *ɣas* *tu* *awe*
beard(III) with:II fish(II)
'fish with beard' (e.g. a catfish)

Some other common expressions are *imu tu awe* (lit. 'fish with smell') 'rotten fish', *ena ti adaka* ('water with heat') 'hot water', *inahinah tagu ti yahun* 'canoe with four feet', i.e. a car.

Like some of the other postpositions, *tV* may head a referring phrase without the presence of a modified head noun. In (97), uttered by someone who was changing clothes, this is exemplified by the phrase *nanamos ti* '[the ones] with dirt', which is understood to refer to the clothes (*wanugu* 'clothes', is a gender III noun).

(97) *e-he* *nanamos* *ti* *ka-p-e-ka-* *n-a* *ɣokun*
III-PROX dirt with:III DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl-PRI- 1.U-AUX put.many.inside:III
'The dirty ones, we'll put them in [the bags].' [0475.08092016.1.wbi]

Some nouns are frozen head-less expressions formed with *tV*, e.g. *ɣasti* 'old man' (< *ɣas* 'beard' + *tV*), and perhaps *banati* 'echidna' (cf. *ban* 'spike, thorn').

In the inclusory use, a *tV*-marked phrase appears with a verb indexed for a plural argument. The phrase marked with *tV* is understood to be a member of the set

corresponding to the plural index on the verb. This is seen in (98), which could be given the literal gloss 'We, including Pau, came.

(98) *Pau ti ø-nak-e- nayam*
P. with:I/II.pl NEUT-1.A-1pl- many.come
'Pau and I came.'
'Pau, I, and others came' [nb04.52.wbi]

Some more discussion of the inclusory construction is in §8.7.

Finally, *tV* is used with numerals to form distributive expressions, as in the following elicited examples. It is not possible to decide whether *tV* agrees with its complement in the distributive use, or defaults to the gender III form, since the plural form for animates is identical to the gender III and IV forms (all are *ti*).

(99) a. *hyakod ti ø-d-a- huhu-h*
one with NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- emerge.PLA-2|3pl.U
'They went out one at a time.'

b. *inah ti m-o- ŋuka⟨h⟩in-e*
two with OBJ-2sg.A- put.many.inside.PLA⟨2|3pl.U⟩-IPFV
'You'll put them inside two at a time.' (e.g. fish into a bag) [nb02.76.dmh]

3.3.6.3 *nV* Privative 'without'. This is the negative counterpart of *tV* 'with'. I have recorded it in two functions: (i) as a participant-oriented adverbial, especially with motion verbs, as in (100); and (ii) heading an adnominal phrase, as in (101).

(100) *tamuŋ ni ø-nan-d-e- aŋa⟨n⟩it-a*
food without:I/II.pl NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- run.around⟨1.U⟩-EXT
'We went without bringing food.' [0149.27112016.3.wbi]

(101) *haman ne meng m-ak-e- naŋam e-pe*
many.sit without:III walk(III) OBJ-1.A-1pl- many.walk III-DIST
'We walked without resting.' (lit. 'We walked a sitting-less walk')
[0172.14052015.2.dmh]

Note that gender agreement in the latter example shows that *haman ne* 'without sitting' is a modifier of the noun *meng* and not a participant-oriented adverbial (in the latter use, agreement would have been with the subject, as in the immediately

preceding example). The phrase *haman ne* also shows the common use of bare verb stems (i.e. without any of the inflectional material of the prefixal complex present) as the complement of a postposition. The following observed example shows the same adnominal use but with a noun as the complement of *nV*:

(102) I asked a Wambi villager what the people living across the border in PNG are like.

da ni anim k-a, nal ka-n- ɣahwiɣ-e
sago without:I/II.pl people PRS.NEUT-3sg.A yam DIR-3pl.A- eat-IPFV
'They are sago-less people, they eat yams.' [nb03.82.wbi]

Some other common expressions with *nV*: *mes ne milah* 'place/village without coconuts', *awe ne tamuɣ* 'food without fish' (e.g. only sago/rice), *de ne say* 'place without trees'. The last expression is a common way of referring to the beach and the coast in general, and Coastal Marind people often exclaim *de ne say a!* 'Oh, tree-less place!' during trips inland, or arriving back at the village after such a trip, to express their appreciation of the beach.

3.3.6.4 *hV* Similative 'like'. This postposition is used to form expressions meaning 'like X'. Like the structures discussed above, such phrases are used as a participant-oriented adverbial, as in (103), or as modifiers of a nominal, as in (104).

(103) Discussing a villager who is known for his excessive consumption of *wati* (kava).

sawanggi hi k-a- ɣi-e wati
evil.spirit(m) like:I PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- drink-IPFV wati
'He drinks *wati* like an evil spirit.' [0020.24082015.1.wbi]

(104) *basik hi nanih*
pig(II) like:I face(I)
'face like a pig'

As mentioned previously, there are some adjectives that clearly are fossilized expressions with *hV*:

dehV	'hard, solid'	< *de* 'wood' + *hV* 'like'
dohV	'red'	< *do* 'blood' + *hV* 'like'
koyhV, kohV	'white'	< *koy* 'burnt lime' + *hV* 'like'
kunayhV	'black'	< *kunay* '?'[10] + *hV* 'like'

Two more constructions with *hV* deserve mention. First, *hV* is used in stories with deictic time expressions such as *wis* 'yesterday' and *ɣapap* 'tomorrow' to indicate that the time expression is to be interpreted with reference to narrated time, and not the time of speech. So *wis hi* means 'the previous day' and *ɣapap hi* means 'the next day'. A corpus example:

(105) 1. *ago "mate, ɣapap mak-i-e- uma⟨n⟩ah"*
QUOT okay tomorrow FUT:1.A-RE-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩

2. *ɣapap hi tanama k-a- umah*
tomorrow like again DIR-3sg.A- go:2|3pl.U

1. '[they said:] "Tomorrow we shall leave",
2. and the next day they left again.' [0220-0221.17102016.2.wbi]

Second, *hV* also occurs in a poorly understood use as a marker of similative clauses. Interestingly, *hV* does not attach after the material that it has scope over (the clause, in this case). Instead it is placed after the first element of the clause, as seen in (106), where *hV* appears after *anem* 'man'. The resulting meaning is not 'like a man', but (literally) 'as if a man told him'. (Unlike its English translation, the Marind clause shows no sign of being subordinate).

(106) Locating a pig during the hunt.

epe Vitalis ɣe m-a- kahek, anem hi ø-ø-o- aɣi,
there V. INGRS OBJ-3sg.A- climb man like:I NEUT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- say

kala nanggo u= k-at-ø
depression for PROX:II= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A

'Vitalis climbed, as if somebody told him, "[The pig] is down here".'

[0884.16092016.1.wbi]

What seems to be the same structure appears in one of the texts in Drabbe's grammar. Here the clause has an optative rather than similative meaning, perhaps contributed by the presence of the 2nd Future, which has some irrealis-like uses (see Section 13.2.7). The speaker of the Western dialect (i.e. the variety described in this grammar) with whom I discussed this sentence said that the same use is found in the Western dialect as well, although I personally have not observed it. I give the original

[10]There is no word *kunay* in contemporary Marind, and the etymological speculations in Geurtjens' dictionary (Geurtjens 1933: 218, entry: *Koenei*) are as usual of little help. None of the contemporary Marind words that one might suspect could be used to form a word meaning 'black' are similar to *kunay*, cf. e.g.: *suplakop* 'soot', *gumna* 'ashes'.

sentence in (107a), with the corresponding Western version in (b). As shown in (c), the gender agreement of *hV* is with the possessor.

(107) a. Eastern dialect: Drabbe 1955, p. 158, 4th line from the end

waninggap-uzub ha, nok hi mak-ø-namb-i-e-ka-et!
good-bird real 1 like:I/II.pl FUT2-3sg.A-1.GEN-RE-1pl-PRI-IPFV
'What a beautiful bird! If it could only be ours!'

b. Western dialect; based on (a)

waninggap-uhyub ɣa, nok hi mak-a-nmb-e-ka-et
good-bird real 1 like:I/II.pl FUT2-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl-PRI-IPFV
'[same translation as (a)]'

c. As (b), but female speaker:

nok hu mak-a-nmba-ka-et
1 like:II FUT2-3sg.A-1.GEN-PRI-IPFV
'If it could only be mine!'

3.3.6.5 *nanggo(l)* 'for, to'. The most frequent use of *nanggo* (or *nanggol*, with no discernible meaning difference) is as a general purposive marker, as in (108–109). It is especially common to find a nominally used verb stem as the object/complement of the postposition, as in (109), where the verb stem *lesad* 'draw water' together with its O-argument *adaka* 'water' make up the complement. An example of a *nanggo*-phrase used attributively was given in (84a) above.

(108) From a story, about a small leaf oven.

inah ahakla nanggol k-a- kamem anep
two wrapped.up.sago for DIR-3sg.A suffice EMPH:III
'It was sufficient for two packages of wrapped-up sago.'
[0222.27112016.3.wbi]

(109) Listing the equipment needed for sago processing.

bobo, adaka lesad nanggo
coconut.shell water draw.water for
'a coconut shell, for drawing water' [0025.17102016.1.wbi]

Compare the use of *nanggo(l)* with that of *awe* 'for', described in the next subsection.

There is also a spatial use of *nanggo(l)* marking goal of motion. The most frequent strategy for signaling a constituent as a goal is to place this constituent in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb, and add the Directional *k-* prefix to the prefixal complex (see Section 10.1.4.1). In cases where this strategy is unavailable, e.g. when the relevant constituent is placed after the verb, the postposition *nanggo(l)* is useful for flagging the goal role, as in (110).

(110) *yahaa anep kay ep-ø- kagub-a timan nanggol epe*
all.the.way.to[EMPH:III road ABSC:III-3sg.A- break.off-EXT inland toward] there
'all the way to where the road bends inland' [0030.27112016.4.wbi]

3.3.6.6 *en* Possessive-Instrumental. Possession can be marked by placing a postpositional phrase headed by *en* before the possessed noun. This structure is available for the expression of alienable (111a) and inalienable (b–c) possession, as well as various other non-possessive associations (d). Kin terms with person prefixes also may enter into this possessive construction, as in (c). A second means for expressing possession in Marind, the Genitive prefixes on verbs, are described in Section 8.4.

(111) a. *nok en katal*
1 POSS money
'my money'

b. *anep en igih*
EMPH:I POSS name
'his own name'

c. *i-pe en*
I/II.pl-DIST POSS
iham
2|3pl:grandparents
'their grandparents/ancestors'

d. *manggon en li*
coconut.shell POSS ember
'ember from coconut shells'

The postposition *en* provides one of two means of marking instruments in Marind (112). The other option is to use the applicative WITH-prefix on the verb stem, as discussed in Section 12.1.

(112) *namakad ye m-ak-e- kw-ayob tenda en*
thing INGRS OBJ-1.A-1pl- INESS-cover tarpaulin(m) INSTR
'We covered the things with the tarpaulin.' [0488.16092016.1.wbi]

The postposition *en* is optionally used with the expressions *kamak* 'fast' and *alil* 'slow'. An example, from a hunting story:

(113) *mate, mat-i-e-p- w-esoh-a-m alil en*
okay HORT-RE-1pl-CT- 3sg.U-follow-EXT-VEN slow INSTR
'Okay, let's follow [the pig] slowly.' [0874.16092016.1.wbi]

3.3.6.7 *se* 'only'. This postposition difffers semantically from all other postpositions since it has a quantificational rather than relational meaning. I classify it as a postposition on distributional grounds, since *se* only occurs with a preceding NP over which it has scope (e.g. *nggat se* 'only dog(s)'), and never floated to other positions of the clause (cf. the quantificational particle *ap* 'also', which allows placement elsewhere in the clause).

The so-called Restrictive Orientation prefix *s-* 'only' (Section 10.1.6) has the same meaning as *se*, and it seems reasonable to assume that the prefix originated through the merger of the postposition *se* into the verb complex in contexts where *se* was placed immediately before the verb. Schematically, this development was: NP *se* Verb > NP *s*-Verb.

In today's Marind the prefix *s-* is used when the constituent in its scope is immediately before the verb complex (NP *s*-Verb), while the postposition *se* is used when the pre-verbal slot is occupied by other material (e.g. NP *se* X Verb), i.e. contexts where the incorporation of *se* into the verb complex was blocked by intervening material. For example, it is common that the negator *mbya*, which is obligatorily placed in the pre-verbal position, forces the speaker to use NP *se* instead of the tighter, prefixal variant NP *s-*, as in (114). See also example (124) further below.

(114) Instructing villagers to bring equipment for processing sago before a trip to another village where a mourning celebration was being held.
kaɣahwek ma-me- k-umah,
beating.stick OBJ-FUT:2|3pl.A- WITH-go:2|3pl.U
ehe nama yalut se mbya me- umah
here now mourning.song only NEG FUT2:2|3pl.A- go:2|3pl.U
'You should bring sago beating sticks, now you're not going only for the mourning songs.' [0041-0042.27112016.4.wbi]

3.3.6.8 *nde* 'at'. This postposition is mostly employed to mark static location, as in (115). It also occurs in some temporal expressions such as *epe nde epe* 'at that time' (*epe* is the distal demonstrative). See e.g. example (438) on p. 320.

(115) About the Marind before pacification.

hyakod milah nde mbya ø-d-a- ya-hwala ehe
one village at NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be here
'They didn't stay in one place.' (=they moved around)

[0004.16052015.1.dmh]

Like the postposition *se* 'only', the postposition *nde* provides one of the few clear instances in the language of a non-affixal item which has provided the source of an inflectional affix, viz. the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-* (§10.1.5). This prefix is used when the NP referring to the location is in the syntactic position immediately before the verb complex, whereas the postpositional structure NP+*nde* is used in all other positions. The two structures also differ in their meaning, since the prefic *nd-* can mark both (static) location and source, while the postpositional expression of source requires *lVk* 'from'.

3.3.6.9 *awe* 'for'. Like *nanggo(l)*, *awe* has a purposive meaning, but is restricted to contexts involving motion. The phrase marked by *awe* corresponds to the item acquired as a result of the motion event.

(116) From a hunting story.

nama rusa awe ndame-ka- n-ahik
now deer(m) for FUT:2pl.A-PRI- 1.U-accompany
'Now you will take me [to hunt] for deer.' [0025.28062015.1.wbi]

The postposition is perhaps (diachronically) related to the noun *awe* 'game' (i.e. game in hunting). One could imagine that this noun was common with animal names in hunting-related contexts, e.g. 'to go [search for] pig-game', and that it somehow became reanalyzed as a purposive marker in such contexts. As a postposition it extends beyond animal names, so if asked 'Where are you going?', one can answer e.g. *roko awe* '[To buy] cigarettes'.

3.3.6.10 Denominal locational postpositions. The denominal locatives and their source nouns were listed on p. 99. I include the four words *mit* 'near', *lahwalah* 'on top', *kumay* 'inside' and *kala* 'below' in this subclass, although the last

item, *kala*, is fairly rare, with only a handful of recorded observations. There are perhaps other nominals that should be accorded membership among the postpositions but escaped my attention.

Phrases headed by the denominal postpositions may be used as independent adverbials expressing some spatial configuration, as the phrase *Anselmus mit* in (117), or be embedded under another postposition, like *penjara kumaɣ lek* '(lit.) from inside prison' in (118). Such complex postpositional expressions always have one of the denominal postpositions heading the inner phrase, and one of the more general *lVk* 'from', *nanggo(l)* 'for, to' or *nde* 'at' as the outer postposition. Example (119) shows that a postpositional phrase in the position before the verb may occur with one of the Orientation prefixes, e.g. the Locative *nd-* marking static location (see Section 10.1.4).

(117) *uhyum epe nda-d-ø- mil, Anselmus mit*
3sg:wife there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- be.sitting A. near
'His wife was sitting there, at Anselmus' place.' [0349.08092016.1.wbi]

(118) *namaɣa ø-bat-ø- hawa penjara kumaɣ lek*
now NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- emerge:3sg.U prison(m) inside from:I
'He just came out from the prison.' [0279.19052015.2.dmh]

(119) Picture 15 of Bernhard Wälchli's SSP-questionnaire: an egg in a glass of water.
kana adaka kumaɣ nd-a- kahakut-a
egg water inside LOC-3sg.A- put.inside-EXT
'The egg is in the water.'

Of the four denominal postpositions, *mit* has the most interesting semantics. As noted above it appears to derive from the noun *mit* meaning 'base (of tree/bodypart[11]), but I give it the general gloss 'near' in its postpositional use. This translation works best in its use with inanimate complements, as in (120). With humans, *mit* marks either the place where someone lives, i.e. *X mit* 'at X's place/house', as in (117) above, or location more generally, as in *nok mit* 'where I am, near me'.

(120) *etob yeɣ mit menda-b-ø- ay*
tide land near PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become
'The tide was already near land.' [0295.08092016.1.wbi]

[11]The bodypart meaning is found in the compounds *mit-kambet* (lit. base-ear) 'base of the ear' and *mit-unum* 'tongue base'.

In (121) *mit* has a verb stem as its complement and expresses 'almost V'. It appears that this use is only possible with verbs that express events whose culmination is reached by degree (another attestation is with *pig* 'become bright/morning'). This construction is not used with punctual verbs such as 'fall' or 'shoot', which require prefixation of the Frustrative *um-* to express 'almost V' (§14.4.1).

(121) The speaker and others spent a day processing sago.

balen mit k-a- hay
finish near DIR-3sg.A- fall
'It got almost finished.' (lit. 'It fell near finish') [0351.27112016.4.wbi]

3.3.7 Prepositions

There are two frequent words that can be classified as prepositions: *mbi* 'like' and *yah* or *yahaa* 'until, all the way to'.

mbi has the same meaning as the postposition *hV* (§3.3.6.4), but whereas *hV* forms phrases that are used as adverbials or adnominal modifiers, structures with the preposition *mbi* occupy a peripheral syntactic position, typically as a way to introduce a topic serving as a comparison with (or example of) something in the surrounding discourse. Unlike *hV* it is attested with entire clauses as its complement:

(122) Describing how to cut steps in a bamboo pole for use as a ladder.

mbi onggat-de ep-an-o- y-alok e-pe
like [coconut-tree ABSC:III-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- PLA-stab] III-DIST
'like when they make incisions in [the trunk of] coconut trees'
[0220.27082015.1.wbi]

The versatile *yah* and *yahaa* mean 'all the way to, until', as in the common phrase *Kondo yah Digul* 'from Kondo all the way to the Digul', which decribes the geographical extension of ethnic Marind people (from the village Kondo in the east to the Digul river in the west).

The longer form *yahaa* is often more of a verbal gesture than a preposition. The final /a/ is typically lengthened for iconic purposes, suggesting the distance to the goal: *yahaaaaaa Merauke* 'all the waaaay…to Merauke'. Since /a/ appears to always be lengthened to some degree, I write it with two *a*'s in the orthography, just like Drabbe (1955) did in his grammar. Another example:

(123) *hi* *mend-am-b-e-* *n-in,* *yahaa* *kwemek*
singsing PERF-1.A-ACT-1pl- 1.U-become until morning
'We danced the sing-sing, until the morning.' [0256-0257.27112016.3.wbi]

3.3.8 Adverbs

I am only aware of a few words that could be considered adverbs: *isawa* 'maybe', *agonde* 'later, in the future', *sabisba* 'for a short while, temporarily' and *mahut* 'far away'. These provide circumstantial information about the state-of-affairs described by a sentence, and usually appear peripherally in the clause, as one-word constituents. There is also a small group of adverbs that are placed in the slot immediately preceding the verb, as described in the syntax chapter (§16.3). Other than the obvious differences with e.g. nouns (lack of gender) and verbs (inability to inflect) I am not aware of any particular criteria that define adverbs as a group.

Most adverbial concepts seem to be expressed by nominals in Coastal Marind, e.g. *mayay* 'first', which is a gender III noun, or *kamak* 'fast', which often appears with the instrumental postposition *en* 'with' in its adverbial use, suggesting that *kamak* is a noun meaning 'speed' (so that *kamak en* means 'with speed'). Temporal expressions such as *wis* 'yesterday' and *yapap* 'tomorrow' also appear to be gender III nouns.

Marind does not have any productive means of deriving adverb-like expressions, but participles may be used adverbially (§4.5.3.2). Participant-oriented adverbial notions are expressed productively by secondary predication (§16.4).

3.3.9 Particles

In this section I list some short, common words whose distribution makes them difficult to lump with any of the other categories.

3.3.9.1 *ap* 'also', *ndom* 'also'. The quantifier *ap* 'also' is placed after the constituent over which it has scope, like a postposition:

(124) Discussing preparations for sago processing.
nok *nahan* *ap* *mano-* *kaha⟨h⟩ib,* *yoy* *se* *mbya* *me-* *yol*
1 1.EMPH also FUT:1.A- tie⟨IV.U⟩ 2pl only NEG FUT2:2pl.A- beat.sago
wanangga
children
'I myself will also put the [washing troughs (IV)] in place, it won't be only you children beating the sago.' [0334.27112016.4.wbi]

(125) A hunting story. A wallaby was hiding in the tall grass, but the hunters didn't approach it.

Vitalis ap mbya ø-a-p- ɣanid,
V. also NEG NEUT-3sg.A-CT- move.forward

nggu kumaɣ e-pe mbya ø-a- kw-atin
grass.sp inside III-DIST NEG NEUT-3sg.A- INESS-stand

'Vitalis didn't go forward either, he didn't stand in the *nggu* grass.'

[0745.16092016.1.wbi]

It does not seem that *ap* is a postposition, however, since it also may be used as an independent adverbial, as in (126), where it is placed after the verb. It is somewhat unclear what the scope or function of *ap* is in this sentence, but I assume that it refers to the fact that the truck-driving also occurred where the church was standing.[12]

(126) Preceding context: "The truck drove along the beach. An old church was standing there."

yahun epe k-a- hwilug ap
canoe there DIR-3sg.A- travel.along.edge also

'That's also where the truck drove along.' [0492.08092016.1.wbi]

The word *ndom* is another word used with the meaning 'also' (cf. *ndom* 'still'; §16.3.3), but only in contexts where the thing or person in the scope of 'also' is brought along somewhere (127).

(127) *da-ɣol-namakad ndom ø-me- k-umah*
sago-beat.sago-thing also NEUT-FUT2:2pl.A- WITH-go:2|3pl.U

'You should bring equipment for processing sago also.'

[0043.27112016.4.wbi]

It is also common to hear *ndom* as a one-word answer to a question such as 'Did you go with Yakobus?'—*ndom* ('Yes, him too').

3.3.9.2 *ay* Vocative, Yes/no-question, etc. When calling for somebody's attention, one adds the particle *ay* after their name or the appropriate kin term, etc.: *Onggat-Iwag ay!* 'Hey, Onggat-Iwag!', *ad ay!* 'Father!', *patul ay!* 'Boys!', *mesiwag ay!* 'You old woman!'.

[12]The translation I got for this sentence was *mobil juga lari di situ*, literally 'car also drive there'. The scope of Malay *juga* is ambiguous in such sentences.

A second use is in the formation of yes/no-questions, in which *ay* is added at the end of the utterance. This structure resembles an English tag question, so the material preceding *ay* is a standard declarative sentence which is turned into a question by the presence of the final particle.

(128) A listener asks the story-teller for clarification.

1. *menda-b-ø-o-* *hahin* *katal* *ay?*
   PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3g.DAT- put:IV.U money(IV) Q

2. *duwit* *mbya* *ø-ø-o-* *hahin,* *ayi* *s-ø-o-*
   money(m) NEG NEUT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- put:IV.U say ONLY-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-
   w-a
   3sg.U-AUX
   1. (A:) 'He already gave him the money, is it?'
   2. (B:) 'He didn't give him the money, he just said [that he would].'

[0411-0412.27112016.4.wbi]

A different construction can be used to formulate a question with two sentences providing two explicit alternatives, but in this case the particle *ay* is placed at the beginning of each sentence:

(129) *ay* *e=* *ka-p-e-* *uma⟨n⟩ah* *pale-kay* *e-he,*
Q PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ land-road III-PROX
ay *e=* *ka-p-e-* *uma⟨n⟩ah* *duh?*
Q PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ beach
'Shall we walk by the road inland, or shall we walk by the beach?'

[0140.27112016.3.wbi]

Finally, *ay* used alone is a common backchannel in conversation, perhaps something like 'oh, is that so' or 'right'.

3.3.9.3 *a*. This particle is used after NPs to set them off against the surrounding discourse, either in coordination/listing of NPs (§5.5), or in the marking of certain topic NPs.

It is not uncommon to find topics, which are realized in the periphery of the clause, marked by *a*, as in (130). The example gives information about a new participant in the context ('the boy'), which the speaker continues to talk about in the turns

following this excerpt. This topic marking strategy contrasts with topics marked by demonstratives, although it is unclear what the pragmatic or semantic difference is between the two choices (see §16.2.2 for more information on topics).

(130) *patul a menda-bat-ø- o-nggat yawal namaŋa,*
boy PTCL PERF-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become deceased now
e-he igih ta ka-ha-b-ø-e?
I-PROX name who:I PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A-IPFV
kadam ti ø-bat-ø- o-la
clubfoot with:I NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-be
'The boy, he is already dead now, what's his name? He had a clubfoot.'
[0640-0641.08092016.1.wbi]

3.3.9.4 *ma*. This sentence-initial discourse particle seems to be used to indicate mild consternation with something that was previously uttered. In my data it is mostly attested in self-repair, as in (131), where it presumably indicates the speaker's disapproval of their own verbal performance. (I know of no straightforward English gloss, so I add 'MA' to the translation).

(131) The speaker realizes that he has mixed up the chronology of the story.
ma ndom-ago, obay mak-ap- laŋ-e, ehetagol usus katane
PTCL bad-PROW:III wait FUT:1.A-CT- tell-IPFV like.this:III afternoon sun
e-he
III-PROX
'MA, [that's] wrong, wait I'll tell it [correctly]: it was this time of the afternoon.' [0133.08092016.1.wbi]

The next example is not from self-repair. Here, one of the participants asked who had come on a trip, and he knew that I (Bruno, here referred to as *koyhi-pal* 'white skin') had been on that trip. When the addressee leaves me out of his answer (line 1), the other participant responds with a *ma*-marked question (line 2), presumably because the answer to his initial question had not been as informative as required.

(132) 1. *bapa Rum, nok, Bas*
father(m) R. 1 B.
2.→*ma e-he koyhi-pal e-he?*
PTCL I-PROX white-skin I-PROX

3. *mbit ti inah ah-ø- awat-a-m*
   ZHu with two DEP-3sg.A- many.run-EXT-VEN
   1. (A:) '[It was] uncle Rum, me and Bas.'
   2. (B:) 'MA, and the white man here?'
   3. (A:) '[He and] brother-in-law were the ones who went here together.'
   [0062-0064.15052015.1.dmh]

3.3.9.5 *awi* 'what about...'. The particle *awi* is used with a following NP, as in (133), or with a following (subordinate) hypothetical clause, as in (134). This forms a complete utterance, functioning as a question 'what about…' or 'what if…'.

(133) 1. *nd-ak-e- dahetok Sulina-Mit*
   LOC-1.A-1pl- return S.-M.
   2. *awi patul?*
   what.about boy
   3. *patul i-pe epe nda-d-a-p- hamat-a*
   boy I/II.pl-DIST there LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT- many.sit-EXT
   1. (A:) 'Then we returned to Sulina-Mit.'
   2. (B:) 'And how about the boys?'
   3. (A:) 'The boys, they were sitting there.' [0011-0013.30082015.4.wbi]

(134) Discussing whether a bamboo pole could be used to climb down a well. One participant suggests that it could be made into a ladder by cutting steps in the wood.
   awi tangga-tangga a-mund-o- kama⟨ɣ⟩in-e?
   what.about steps(m) DEP-FUT:2sg.A:ALL-3sg.DAT- make⟨2sg.U⟩-IPFV
   'What if you made steps in it?' [0207.27082015.1.wbi]

3.3.9.6 *mahut* 'on the other hand'. This is the word *mahut* 'far away', which also serves as a much used discourse particle. It is used to introduce a contradiction to or a clarification of something said earlier, perhaps a bit like English *rather*, *on the contrary* or *on the other hand*. I choose 'other.hand' as a general gloss for the particle.

A common situation in which *mahut* occurs is various meta-linguistic corrections or clarifications corresponding roughly to the scheme *not X, but rather Y*, in which *mahut* fills the function of the *but rather* part. The constituent that follows *mahut* replaces or contradicts the constituent in the scope of negation of the previous clause.

The word *mahut* forms a complete clause (or even utterance) with the following constituent.

(135) *kaka Kadoy mbya ø-d-a- ɣet-ti, mahut Alo*
elder.sib(m) K. NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be.moving-DUR other.hand A.
'It wasn't Kadoy that went, rather it was Alo.' [0103-0105.16092016.1.wbi]

It is also common to use *mahut* with a clause following it, to suggest an alternative scenario. The clause that follows *mahut* often has a verb marked with the Counterfactual suffix *-um*, showing that the hypothetical scenario was not realized. Note that *mahut* is not necessary to form such irrealis hypotheticals (these only require the presence of *-um*); the contribution of *mahut* is perhaps something like 'it would have been better (if you had…)'.

(136) I drove to Okaba and bought gas for the generator, but when I returned to Wambi at noon it turned out that the jerrycan that I tied to the motorbike had fallen. A bystander commented:
mahut kwemek ø-o- kipalud-um jeriken dehi,
other.hand morning NEUT-2sg.A- tie-CTFT jerrycan(m) hard
mbya ø-a- hay-um
NEG NEUT-3sg.A- fall-CTFT
'If you had tied the jerrycan hard in the morning, it wouldn't have fallen.'
[nb04.53.wbi]

Another example is in (137). Here a more literal translation could be 'I will be wet, it would have been better [=*mahut*] if I had gone in the beginning'.

(137) *dubadub ka-me-ø- w-a n-in,*
wet DIR-FUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX 1.U-become
mahut oso nda-no- uma⟨n⟩ah-um
other.hand start LOC-1.A- go⟨1.U⟩-CTFT
'I will be wet, I should have gone in the beginning [before it started raining]'
[0426.27112016.4.wbi]

3.3.9.7 Adversative *yah*. The word *yah* has several uses. It is sometimes used as what appears to be a conjunction meaning 'but':

(138) *kala* *epe* *k-ø-um-e-* *kw-atin,*
depression there DIR-3sg.A-FRUS-ACPN- INESS-stand
yah *mbya* *ø-ø-e-p-* *asa*
but NEG NEUT-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT-CT- bark
'[The dog] stopped them below there, but he didn't bark at them.'
[0715.16092016.1.wbi]

It is also used as a sentence-final particle, with a function that seems to be that of adding an adversative nuance to the utterance. Unlike the conjunction *yah*, the particle does not seem to connect its clause with any surrounding clauses, and its meaning is apparently more subtle than that of the conjunction, because speakers with whom I transcribed did not add any material to the Malay translations corresponding to the particle, whereas they usually translated the conjunction *yah* by means of Malay *tapi* 'but'.

An example is given below. I add 'however' to the English free translation, which fits with the context.

(139) *nok* *anep* *ago* *pulau* *Wangiwangi* *ka-mo-* *hu-n,*
1 EMPH QUOT island(m) W. DIR-FUT:1.A- emerge-1.U
k-ø-um- *w-a* *kuta⟨n⟩ib* *yah*
DIR-3sg.A-FRUS- 3sg.U-AUX get.lost⟨1.U⟩ PTCL
'I wanted to go out at the Wangiwangi Island; I almost got lost, however.'
[0635-0636.16092016.1.wbi]

THE ADVERSATIVE *yah s-* CONSTRUCTION. In this phraseological combination *yah* occurs immediately before the verb, which is prefixed with the Restrictive *s*-prefix (meaning 'only'; see §10.1.6). Like other uses of *yah*, the construction has an adversative meaning, although its precise interpretation is dependent on the context. In most of its attestations the pattern is used with change-of-state verbs to express that some situation holds contrary to expectation, especially with negative consequences:

(140) The speaker describes how he was sitting in a tree, having fled from an attacking pig. He attempts to throw sticks at the pig in order to make it go away. The plan backfires:
o, *u-pe* *yaman* *yah* *s-a-* *w-in*
EXCLAM II-DIST mean PTCL ONLY-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become
'Oh! It became even angrier.' [0051.20052015.3.mkl]

With the *yah s-* construction it is common to add the Extended *-la* (realized as *-a* after non-vowels) and Venitive suffix *-em* 'hither' (realized as *-m* after a vowel) to the verb expressing a change-of-state; the meaning is that the realization of the (unexpected/undesired) state is approaching:

(141) Cleaning a well.

kamak en, adaka kosi yah s-a- ay-a-m
fast with water little PTCL ONLY-3sg.A- become-EXT-VEN
'Hurry up! There's only a little water left.' (lit. 'the water is becoming little')
[0067.27082015.1.wbi]

The next two examples illustrate a very interesting extension of this construction, a use which is unattested in my corpus but which I have observed at several occasions. If somebody says, 'X did something to Y', and one wants to reply that in fact, 'it was Y who did something to X', one may use the *yah s-* construction to signal this reversal of the participant roles. This use is remarkable since such metalinguistic corrections would be expected to make use of focus structures (cf. the boldface words in the English translation), but in these Marind examples there are not even any overt NPs that could be given prosodic prominence (the person indexes in the verb complex cannot be stressed to show contrastive focus). Apparently the use of the *yah s-*construction is sufficient to signal that the speaker wants to contrast this new information with the one previously given.

(142) 'Did she give it to you?'

mbya ø-na- og, yah s-ak-o- og
NEG 3sg.A-1.DAT- give PTCL ONLY-1.A-3sg.DAT- give
'[No,] she didn't give to me, **I** gave to **her**.' [nb03.84.wbi]

(143) Elder brother was teasing little brother; I jokingly said to elder brother 'Watch out, he'll hit you', to which elder brother replied:

mahut yah sa-mo- w-asib
other.hand PTCL ONLY-1.A.FUT- 3sg.U-hit
'On the contrary, **I** am the who will hit **him**.' [nb02.89.wbi]

3.3.10 Interjections

3.3.10.1 General interjections. Here I list some common interjections and similar expressive items and describe their use.

ane Used as a general expression of surprise ('Wow!'). Also response to behavior of people or domestic animals that one finds anti-social or unacceptable for some reason, e.g. said to a child taking my notebook or to dogs entering the house during meal time.

aw This interjection is used to get somebody's attention ('Hey you!'), or simply to greet someone ('Hello!'). It is common together with vocatives (*aw*, *Mili ay!* 'Hey, Mili!'), but is also used in response to vocatives, e.g. *Mili ay!—aw.* 'Hey Mili!—Yes/I'm here.'

aywa Used to express melancholy, longing and endearment in general, e.g. when talking about somebody's upcoming departure ('*aywa*, you're going away from us'). To give a maximally pathetic effect, this word may be pronounced in the lower voice range of the speaker, with the final [a] lengthened and pronounced with an exaggerated vibrato (as if the one's voice were cracking before bursting into tears). This interjection is also used in reaction to pictures of totemic animals and edible plants, e.g. pictures of kangaroos that I took in Australia (*aywa*, *sayam!* 'Oh my, wallabies!') or drawings of coconut palms (*aywa, onggat!* 'Oh my, coconuts!').[13]

eeee Exclamation used when saying farewell, consisting of the vowel [e] pronounced with a rapidly rising pitch, often into the falsetto range of the speaker.

hayo Used to chase away intrusive dogs, often in combination with a forceful [hə̃ə̃ə̃ə̃] (this is the only occurrence of a nasalized vowel that I am aware of in the language).

mate This is a response meaning 'okay' but also 'whatever, never mind'.

pela This is the most general swear word, literally meaning 'vagina', but used by all speakers as a relatively mild curse (perhaps something like English *Damn!*) expressing both planned and automatic responses to surprise, emotion, etc. The high discourse frequency and relative mildness of this expression contrasts with the metalinguistic, prescriptive, remarks given to me by speakers, who claimed that this word is very offensive and should not be used. Ironically, *pela* (usually pronounced *pele*) is used as an ubiquitous discourse particle in the Malay spoken in the district capital Merauke and adjacent areas (even by Javanese or Buginese migrants who might never have met a Marind person).

se A response to positive surprises, e.g. throwing a stone at some distant object and unexpectedly hitting it.

[13]The same interjection is apparently present in other languages in the area, cf. *aiwa* 'used to signal compassion', of the unrelated Komnzo language spoken across the border in PNG (Döhler 2016: 154).

way A response to dangerous situations that could lead to people being injured, property damaged, etc. Like similar expressions in many other languages (e.g. Malay *awas*, Swedish *akta*, but none in English) this interjection is followed by a syntactic slot that can host a bare noun expressing either (i) the danger that should be avoided, as in ***way nggat!*** 'Watch out for the dog!' or ***way na!*** 'Watch out [so you don't step on the] poop!'; or (ii) the bodypart, belonging, etc. that risks being injured or damaged if one does not take immediate action, as in ***way pa!*** 'Be careful with your head!', ***way buku!*** 'Be careful with the book' (e.g. it might rain on it). Although the semantic role of the noun following ***way*** is underspecified (it refers either to the danger or to a thing being in danger) it is usually clear from the context which interpretation is the correct one. It is also common to add a clause after ***way*** expressing the imminent danger, e.g. '***way***, you might fall!'. Such clauses always have a verb inflected by means of the 2nd Future, as discussed in Section 13.2.7.

3.3.10.2 Post-sneeze interjections. When a person sneezes, it is common for that person or somebody in the vicinity to yell a series of special post-sneeze interjections, one after each sneeze. The interjections are specific to the clan of the person sneezing (cf. van Baal 1966: 193).[14] During my stays in Dumilah and Wambi I became familiar with sneezing interjections of the Samkakai clan (the clan of my adoptive father Rafael in Duhmilah), the Yolmend clan (the clan of my host in Wambi, Paulus, and his children), and the Mahuze clan (the clan of Paulus Yolmend's wife, Yustina). I give the interjections for these three clans below, in the prescribed order of utterance.

The words used in the interjections are associated in different ways with the totems of each clan (Samkakai: wallaby; Yolmend: the ocean; Mahuze: feces and sago), although there are some uncertainties in their translations.

Post-sneeze interjections of the Samkakai clan:

1.	***wak a!***	***wak*** 'tail'
2.	***mayadugu!***	'tail-part of a wallaby cut in halves'
3.	***pa ti!***	***pa*** 'head', ***ti*** 'with', i.e. 'the part with the head'
4.	***sakih amay!***	***sakih*** 'part of wallaby's leg', ***amay*** 'ancestor'

Post-sneeze interjections of the Yolmend clan:

[14] See also Evans 1992 for the same phenomenon in Bininj Gun-Wok, a language of northern Australia (formerly known as Mayali).

1. *bom ka!* (unknown meaning)
2. *pandapna!* 'pectoral fin of sting ray'
3. *mbum!* 'gill (on fish)'
4. *kudiwa!* 'small crab sp.'

Post-sneeze interjections of the Mahuze clan:

1. *na-imu ti a!* *na* 'feces', *imu* 'smell', *ti* 'with'
2. *kambu na kewayla!* *kambu* '?', *na* 'feces', *kewayla* 'broken'
3. *ndom muy da* *ndom* 'bad', *muy* 'meat', *da* 'sago'
4. *kabkabo* 'ball of sago'

Chapter 4

Nominals: morphology and derivation

Morphology in the nominal domain is very limited, and most morphological patterns in nouns (§4.1) and adjectives (§4.2) are non-productive. Possessor marking on kinship terms is irregular and often expressed by suppletive words (§4.3). Compounding, on the other hand, is a productive pattern and serves various purposes (§4.4). The last section describes three types of derived nominals (§4.5).

4.1 Noun morphology

4.1.1 Overt marking of gender/number

Marind nouns are morphologically invariant, so the nominal categories gender and number are reflected on agreeing targets, but not on the noun itself. There is, however, a small number of exceptional nouns that appear to signal gender and number overtly, by means of changes in the stem-final vowel. I list all such nouns in Table 4.1.

All of these nouns appear to be built from a skeletal stem into which a vowel is inserted once gender is assigned. The vowels themselves (in boldface) vary, with the most consistent pattern shown by the vowel /u/ marking gender II (cf. e.g. gender II form ***u**pe* of the distal demonstrative). Historically, overt gender marked by stem-final vowels arose through umlaut triggered by post-posed gender-marking articles of the shape *-V* (Usher and Suter 2015). The original articles have disappeared in Marind, but they are still attested in other branches of the Anim language family.

Note that a noun is said to exhibit overt gender only if there is at least one other corresponding noun in another gender. For example, the noun *ɣayhuɣ* 'hornbill' (II)

Table 4.1: Overt gender on nouns.

	I sg	II sg	I/II pl	III	IV
a.	*an**e**m*	*an**u**m*	*an**i**m*	*an**e**m*	*an**i**m*
	'man'	'woman'	'people'	(in compounds)	
b.		*namak**u**d*	*namak**i**d*	*namak**a**d*	*namak**i**d*
		'animal'	'animals'	'thing(s)'	'thing(s)'
c.	*nam**e**k*	*nam**u**k*	*nam**i**k*		
	'cousin (m)'	'cousin (f)'	'cousins'		
d.	*nan**i**h*	*nan**u**h*	*nan**i**h*		
	'face (m)'	'face (f)'	'faces'		
e.	*wananggi**b***	*wananggu**b***	*wanangga*		
	'boy'	'girl'	'children'		
f.	*amnanggi**b***		*amnangga*		
	'married man'		'married men'		
g.	*nahy**a**m*	*nahy**u**m*			
	'my husband'	'my wife'			
h.	*ey**a**l*	*ey**u**l*			
	'somebody (m)'	'somebody (f)'			

does not show overt gender, despite having the stem-final vowel /u/ (characteristic of gender II), because there are no corresponding nouns such as **ɣayhey* or **ɣayhih* in other genders.

The only noun stem for which overt gender can be considered productive—with one form for each gender value, and predictable meaning according to the gender—is *anVm* 'person'. This set includes *anem* 'man', *anum* 'woman' and *anim* 'people', but also forms in genders III (*anem*) and IV (*anim*) that are found in some compounds referring to inanimate entities, e.g. *nene-anim* 'bell' (IV). Such compound formation is especially common for persons, so that a compound *X-anVm* means roughly 'person who does X'. For example, *abna* 'theft' is the base of the compounds *abna-anem* '[male] thief' (I) and *abna-anum* '[female] thief' (II). But the gender II form *abna-anum* is also used to refer to e.g. a dog who steals food, since animals also are in gender II. Other examples of common compounds that are used for both women and animals are *emel-anum* 'woman/animal that keeps asking for food' (< *emel* 'hunger') and *ukna-anum* 'cowardly woman/animal' (< *ukna* 'fear').

The fact that the stem *anVm* appears in expressions denoting inanimate items, and the stem *anum* in expression denoting animals, means that the glosses 'person' and 'woman' are too narrow. One way to solve this problem is to state that *anem*, *anum*, etc. mean 'man', 'woman', and so on, in their independent uses, and that there is a second, bound word *-anVm* whose function is to head compounds with various (sometimes idiosyncratic) meanings, and that this bound word agrees in gender with

whatever referent the compound is used for.[1]

There is also a fairly productive stem *namakVd*, giving *namakud* 'animal' (plural *namakid* 'animals'), as well as two words for 'thing': *namakad* (III) and *namakid* (IV). The gender III word is of more general use, but the gender IV *namakid* is used to refer to e.g. items of modern technology, which are mostly in gender IV (for example, my laptop was sometimes referred to as *namakid ipe* 'that thing'). I have never heard the expected gender I form *namaked*, but speakers that I asked reported that the word exists, and can be used about a male, although they did not agree on its precise meaning.

I note that the productivity of overt gender with these two stems poses a lexicological problem: should the various forms be merged into two super-lexemes *anVm* and *namakVd*, without gender and with underspecified meanings, or should they be divided into multiple, fully specified lexemes such as *anem* 'man' (gender I), *anum* 'woman' (gender II), *-anVm* (used in compounds), and so on? I prefer to remain agnostic on this issue since it has little practical consequences (it concerns only two stems), but I do follow the multiple-lexeme approach in the Marind dictionary (giving *anem* and *anum* separate entries, with usage notes explaining the use of e.g. *-anVm* in compounds) in order to avoid unnecessarily abstract dictionary entries.

The other nouns with overt gender/number are restricted to genders I and II, with some accidental gaps. For example, the words *eɣal* and *eɣul* (genders I and II respectively) mean something like 'a certain man/woman' (used to avoid uttering a person's name), but lack a plural form.[2] Similarly, *nahyam* and *nahyum* mean 'husband' and 'wife', but there is no plural form **nahyim* 'spouses'. The issue of how to treat these nouns in the construction of a dictionary does not arise: they are clearly separate lexemes, to be listed in separated dictionary entries, just like e.g. Spanish nouns with overt gender such as *hermano* 'brother' and *hermana* 'sister'.

4.1.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive pattern in Marind (unlike in e.g. Malay), but there are many words that appear to have been derived by reduplication historically, as well as a few common expressions that can be reduplicated in certain adverbial con-

[1] Interestingly, some animal names are compounds headed by *anem* 'man', e.g. *sanggal-anem* 'kite sp.', *ndaman-anem* 'fish sp.'. Despite the gender I form *-anem*, these words follow all other nouns denoting animals and trigger agreement according to gender II. It is likely that these nouns are a remnant of an earlier stage of Marind, in which animals were divided between genders I and II (this is still the case in other branches of the Anim family) and that their previous assignment to gender I remains visible in the form *-anem*, but that the more recent reassignment to gender II is reflected in agreement.

[2] A plural form is reported for the Eastern dialect by Geurtjens 1933: 111, giving the triplet *eher* (I), *ehur* (II), *ehir* (I/II.pl).

texts. There are also a few kin terms that express plurality by means of reduplication (§4.3).

In the lexicon, reduplicated forms are especially common as names for flora and fauna. Many are reduplicative orphans, without any known source form. For example, *nduknduk* means 'firefly', but there is no known word **nduk*. For others there is a clear etymology, although the motivation remains unclear: for example, I have not yet understood how *kambetkambet*, a plant species with edible fruits, is related to *kambet* 'ear'. For only a small number of reduplicated words are there plausible accounts of the motivation behind the form, provided to me by speakers. Examples are *ihilihil*, a plant whose characteristic red flowers look just like *ihil*, a kind of earrings worn as a traditional decoration; and *nggatnggat* 'fern', so named because the young fronds are furled just like a dog's (*nggat*) tail.

A few nouns may be reduplicated to form adverbial expressions. There are not enough attestations to say how productive this pattern is, and what semantic effects are involved. The noun *ɣanid* 'day' clearly has a distributive meaning 'every day' when it is reduplicated, as in (144). With other nouns the only function of reduplication seems to be that of deriving an adverbial expression e.g. *ɣe-ɣe* 'during the rain' from *ɣe* 'rain', as in (145). Other attested examples are *dino-dino* 'in the dark' (from *dino* 'dark'), *mayan-mayan* 'while talking' (from *mayan* 'speech, language').

(144) *ɣanid-ɣanid ka-d-na- i-sak-ma*
day-REDUPL DIR-DUR-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-hit.PLA-PST.HAB
'Every day they would kill [a pig].' [0272.27112016.3.wbi]

(145) *yoɣ ɣe-ɣe m-e-d- naɣat Pau ti*
2pl rain-REDUPL OBJ-2pl.A-DUR- many.go P. with:I
'You went with Pau during the rain.' [0425.27112016.4.wbi]

Many ideophones ("marked words that depict sensory imagery"; Dingemanse 2012: 655) contain two identical CV-syllables, e.g.

gigi	'sound of thunder'
ɣoɣo	'splashing in water; sound of rumbling in stomach'
lili	'high-pitched noise, e.g. rustling of dry leaves, splashing of water'
nene	'sound of e.g. bells ringing, mosquitos humming'
papa	'sound of firewood popping'
taɣa	'sound of smacking/munching while eating'

These reduplicated (or partly reduplicated, in the case of *tataɣa*) words seem to be iconic in that they denote sounds that have duration in time; ideophones describing instantaneous bursts of sounds have only one syllable, e.g. *sik* 'psst, denotes the fricative sound made to get someone's attention' and *te* 'the sound of popping a louse between one's nails'. Ideophones do not form a separate word class in Marind; they are regular nouns, and are assigned to gender III.

4.2 Adjective morphology

Adjectives as a word class separate from nouns were discussed in Section 3.2.2. There is a subclass consisting of 16 adjectives in the Western dialect of Coastal Marind that agree in gender/number; this is reflected through change in the stem-final vowel.[3] The same kind of exponence was observed for a small set of nouns with 'overt gender' in Section 4.1.1. The pattern of variable stem-final vowels in adjectives is also a result of a process of umlaut triggered by post-posed gender articles in an earlier stage of Marind (Usher and Suter 2015).

Table 4.2 gives the gender forms for 12 of the 16 agreeing adjectives, with the alternating stem-final vowels in boldface. The general pattern of exponence is: gender I *-e-*, gender II *-u-*, gender III *-a-*, gender IV and the plural of gender I & II *-i-*. The only exceptions are *dahwagVs* 'short', which has *-i-* in gender III, *wagVtVk* 'long', which is *wagatok* in all genders except *wagituk* in gender IV and I/II plural, *VhV* 'ripe' which has the forms *eho* (III) and *ihu* (IV). This adjective, along with 'sharp' and 'dull', is only compatible with nouns that denote inanimates, which explains the lack of forms in gender I & II (since these genders contain animate nouns). I was unable to get a gender I form of 'soft'; the gender II form *ɣahyuhy* can be used about animals (which are in gender II).[4]

There are three native color terms in Marind, all of them derived from combinations of nouns and the similative postposition *hV* 'like'. This postposition agrees in gender, but it has a distinct shape only in gender II, *hu*, whereas it is *hi* in all other combinations. The forms of the lexicalized color adjectives ending in *-hV* are

[3] Some additional agreeing adjectives are reported for the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind in Drabbe 1955 and Geurtjens 1933: (i) *erakV* (Drabbe, p. 22) or *erakVk* (Geurtjens, p. 115) 'playful, lascivious', no known cognate in the Western dialect; (ii) *akhatV* 'wild' (Drabbe p. 22, not in Geurtjens), no known cognate in the Western dialect; (iii) *kanVl* 'heavy' (Drabbe p. 23), corresponding to invariant (i.e. non-agreeing) *kanil* in the Western dialect; (iv) *memeVn* 'whole, entire' (Drabbe p. 23, Geurtjens p. 242), invariant *amamun* in the Western dialect. Of the agreeing adjectives in the Western dialect, two are unattested in the material on the Eastern variety: *VhV* 'ripe' and *yaɣayVɣ* 'sharp'.

[4] Drabbe (1955: 22) gives the gender I form *hazez* from the Eastern dialect, with the Dutch gloss *zacht, week* 'soft, weak'. The expected cognate form **ɣahyehy* was not accepted by speakers of the Western dialect described in this grammar.

Table 4.2: Gender agreement on adjectives.

Gloss	I sg	II sg	I/II pl	III	IV
'light (weight)'	*ak**e**k*	*ak**u**k*	*ak**i**k*	*ak**a**k*	*ak**i**k*
'mid-size'	*samlaɣ**e**n*	*samlaɣ**u**n*	*samlaɣ**i**n*	*samlaɣ**a**n*	*samlaɣ**i**n*
'short'	*dahwag**e**s*	*dahwag**u**s*	*dahwag**i**s*	*dahwag**i**s*	*dahwag**i**s*
'long'	*wag**a**t**o**k*	*wag**a**t**o**k*	*wag**i**t**u**k*	*wag**a**t**o**k*	*wag**i**t**u**k*
'old, ancient'	*tanam**e***	*tanam**u***	*tanam**i***	*tanam**a***	*tanam**i***
'thin'	*halah**e**l*	*halah**u**l*	*halah**i**l*	*halah**a**l*	*halah**i**l*
'thin'	*palap**e**l*	*palap**u**l*	*palap**i**l*	*palap**a**l*	*palap**i**l*
'strong'	*tag**e***	*tag**u***	*tag**i***	*tag**a***	*tag**i***
'soft'	—	*ɣahyɣ**u**hy*	*ɣah**i**h*	*ɣahyɣ**a**hy*	*ɣah**i**h*
'sharp'	—	—	—	*yaɣayɣ**a**ɣ*	*yaɣayɣ**i**ɣ*
'dull'	—	—	—	*ɣandaɣ**a**l*	*ɣandaɣ**i**l*
'ripe'	—	—	—	***e**h**o***	***i**h**u***

in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Gender agreement on three color adjectives.

Gloss	I sg	II sg	I/II pl	III	IV
'white'	*koh**i***	*koh**u***	*koh**i***	*koh**i***	*koh**i***
'red'	*doh**i***	*doh**u***	*doh**i***	*doh**i***	*doh**i***
'black'	*kunayh**i***	*kunayh**u***	*kunayh**i***	*kunayh**i***	*kunayh**i***

4.2.1 The suppletive adjective 'small'.

The most interesting agreement forms are those of 'small'. This adjective is suppletive, and the cells of its paradigm are filled by no less than three unrelated stems: the singular stem *papVs* and the two plural stems *isahih* and *wasasuɣ*. The paradigm of 'small' is given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Gender agreement on 'small'.

	I	II	III	IV
sg	*pap**e**s*	*pap**u**s*	*pap**e**s*	*pap**i**s*
pl	*isahih*	*isahih*	*wasasuɣ*	*isahih*

The most remarkable observation about 'small' is that this lexeme makes a distinction that no other agreeing target makes in the language: it distinguishes number of inanimates. Recall that it generally is gender I (male humans) and gender II (female humans, all animals) that have the ability to trigger plural agreement forms when the referent is plural; nouns denoting inanimates (divided between genders III and IV) trigger agreement in gender but make no distinction between singular

and plural. 'Small' is exceptional, because in addition to the suppletive plural stem *isahih* used for animates in genders I and II (the word *isahih* is also a noun meaning 'children, young of animals'), the lexeme also provides stems for the plurals of inanimates: *wasasuɣ* for plurals of gender III, and (again) *isahih* for plurals of gender IV. This means that 'small' makes a distinction that no other adjective does, giving two extra cells in its paradigm, so it can be said to be **overdifferentiated** (Bloomfield 1933: 223–224, cited in Corbett 2007) with respect to the feature gender/number.[5,6]

4.3 Morphology of kinship terms

Most of the terms used for addressing and speaking about relatives in Marind are organized into person paradigms. For example, the word *kak* is used to address or talk about one's own paternal aunt (i.e. my father's sister). A different word, *ɣahwyak*, is used to talk about the paternal aunt of an addressee (e.g. 'Where's your aunt?'). Finally, *ehwyak* is used to refer to someone else's aunt, i.e. 'his/her/their aunt' (in addition, this word is also used instead of *ɣahwyak* if the addressee is plural, i.e. 'Where's your (pl) aunt?'). Such person forms are usually referred to by linguists as marking possession, although I prefer to avoid this use in the context of kinship terms. Here are the full paradigms of 'father's sister' and 'grandchild':

	sg	pl
1	*kak*	
2	*ɣahwyak*	*ehwyak*
3	*ehwyak*	

'father's sister'

	sg	pl
1	*naheb*	
2	*ɣaheb*	*iheb*
3	*iheb*	

'grandchild'

In these paradigms we can distinguish two stems that are preceded by person prefixes: *-hwyak* 'father's sister' and *-heb* 'grandchild' (such stems never occur independently). The person prefixes *na-* (1st person) and *ɣa-* (2sg) are identical to the

[5] Corbett (2007: 32, fn. 44), citing Heath (1981), gives a parallel examples from Mara, an Australian language of the Northern Territory. In Mara, plural marking with non-humans is found with three suppletive adjectives: 'small', 'big' and 'other', whereas plural marking elsewhere is restricted to human referents.

[6] The overdifferentiation observed with 'small' begs the question of the diachronic origin of the plural stems. The only piece of evidence I have is the existence of a verb stem that is very similar in shape to the gender III plural form *wasasuɣ*, viz. *asasiɣ*. This verb seems to be archaic, and the speaker found it difficult to explain its meaning, giving me the cryptic gloss "this is when you sit alone, and there are birds or children surrounding you, making noise". I find the combination of plural and small ('birds or children') in this gloss suggestive of a connection with an adjective meaning 'many small'. The similarity in shape suggests a possible common origin in a stem **VsVsVɣ* (the *wa-* segment in *wasasuɣ* is an innovation in the Western dialect, cf. Eastern cognate *usasuh*). An origin as a verb entailing plurality of the subject could provide a plausible explanation for the introduction of this number distinction in an adjective paradigm. Unfortunately, not much is known about the other plural stem, *isahih*, other than reconstructed proto-Coastal Marind form **isahiz*.

Undergoer prefixes found in the subclass of prefixing verb stems (§9.2.4.1). As suggested by the forms *ehwyak* and *iheb*, the prefixes found in 2pl and 3rd person forms are more variable. I will return to this point below.

The use of a suppletive word for the 1st person term (*kak* is unrelated to the stem *-hwyak* of the other persons) is found with several of the kin terms. Almost all of the suppletive words are shorter (one syllable instead of two) than the regular terms in the same paradigm, and some are also segmentally simpler (cf. *kak* 'aunt' vs. regular *ɣahwyak* 'your aunt'), making them look like child language variants. (See Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001 on vocative, "ego-centric", kin terms becoming suppletive paradigm members). It appears that all such suppletive terms are extended beyond just the 1st person/term of address use, so e.g. *kak* may be used in a possessive construction such as *oɣ en kak* (2sg POSS aunt) 'your aunt'. Speakers clearly prefer to use the suppletive 'vocative' words in 2nd person contexts, because the regular 2nd person forms sound harsh, "like you're angry", as one speaker put it.

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 give all kin terms that are part of person paradigms. Other terms, e.g. *oha-anem* 'sister's son', are invariant and lack distinct person terms.

The person from whose point of view a kinship term is to be understood is traditionally known as the 'ego', but I prefer to call this reference person the 'anchor' instead. It would be strange to use the term ego for Marind since the Marind kinship terms are marked for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person (*ego* is the Latin 1st person singular pronoun).

REMARK ON 3RD PERSON/2PL FORMS. Inspecting the tables, it is clear that most 1st person and 2sg forms are mutually interpredictable (disregarding the suppletive 1st person forms): to get the 2sg form, one replaces the *n-* of the 1st person with *ɣ-*, and vice versa. But the forms used for 2pl and 3rd person are more unpredictable. It is possible to segment out at least 4 different recurring prefixes: (i) *i-* as in *i-heb* 'his/her[7] grandchild'; (ii) *ih-* as in *ih-ibi* 'her brother's child'; (iii) *hi-* as in *hi-nabaɣ* 'his/her daughter's husband (etc.)'; and (iv) *e-* as in *e-hway* 'his/her father'. In addition, there is *u-* in *u-hyum* 'his wife' and *wa-* in *wa-hok* 'his/her mother's brother'. I am not aware of any straightforward rules predicting the choice between the four main prefixes, and there is even a minimal pair differing only in the prefix: *i-ham* 'his/her grandparent', *e-ham* 'her husband'. One could perhaps state that the default prefixes are *i-* (before consonant-initial stems) and *ih-* (before vowel-initial stems), with the rest having exceptional *hi-* or *e-*. These differ from the Undergoer prefixes found on prefixing verbs (cf. the similarity with 1st and 2nd person *na-* and *ɣa-*) which are mostly *w-*, *o-/u-* or zero (cf. Table 9.2 on p. 260), so it is unclear if the

[7] In glosses, I translate the 2pl/3rd person forms with 'his/her', skipping the 2pl possessor.

forms are diachronically related.

The two following subsections treat the kin terms and their use in more detail.

4.3.1 Consanguineal relatives

Table 4.5: Consanguineal kin terms.

gloss	1, term of addr.	2sg	2pl, 3
F, FB	*ad*	*ɣahway*	*ehway*
F, FB pl	*nahwin*	*ɣahwin*	*ihwin*
M, MZ sg	*an*[a]	*ɣahu*	*wah*
M, MZ pl	*nahwisah*	*ɣahwisah*	*ihwisah*
MB sg	*yay*	*ɣahok*	*wahok*
MB pl	?	*wahok-ɣahwin*	*wahok-ihwin*
FZ sg	*kak*	*ɣahwyak*	*ehwyak*
FZ pl	*nahwyak-nahwyak*	*ɣahwyak-ɣahwyak*	*ehwyak-ehwyak*
B, FBS	*namek*	*ɣanamek*	–
Z, FBD	*namuk*	*ɣanamuk*	–
FZC, MZC, MBC sg	*onos/nasu*	*ɣanos*	*ihanos*
FZC, MZC, MBC pl	*onos-onos*	*ɣanos-ɣanos*	*ihanos-ihanos*
BC[b] sg	*kemlaɣ*	*ɣibi*	*ihibi*
BC[b] pl	*kimbakem*	?	*ihimi-wanangga*
GC sg	*naheb*	*ɣaheb*	*iheb*
GC pl	*nahe*	*ɣahe*	?
GP	*amay*	*ɣahyam*	*iham*
born-same-day	*nggays*	*ɣatom*	*itahyom*

[a] There is also *nahu* 'my/our mother', which I have never heard used.
[b] Only with female anchor.

THE PARENTS. There are no terms corresponding to English *mother* and *father* in Marind, because the closest equivalents also include the sisters of the mother and the brothers of the father, respectively. Thus, *ad* is used as a term of address to one's own father but also to one's paternal uncles, and *an* is used for one's own mother and also one's maternal aunts. Both of these are suppletive stems; there is also a suppletive 2pl/3rd person term *wah* 'his/her mother (etc.)'. The regular 1st person *nahu* 'my/our mother (etc.)' seems to have fallen out of use. It is common to specify the relative age of an uncle/aunt refer to by the terms *ad/an* by using the words *es* 'behind', *in* 'middle' and *mayay* 'front', e.g.: *es-ad* 'my/our youngest paternal uncle', *es-ɣahway* 'your.sg youngest paternal uncle', *es-ehway* 'his/her/your.pl youngest paternal uncle'.

There are special plural terms *nahwin* 'my/our fathers (etc.)' used to refer to one's father and his brothers as a group. The corresponding plural terms for the mother and her sisters (*nahwisah* etc.) are probably based on the word for 'fathers' plus the word *sah* 'married woman' (i.e. *nahwisah* < *nahwin* + *sah*). Both sets can be used as

respectful terms for any group of elder men or women.

THE UNCLES AND AUNTS. There are only kin terms for the father's sister, *kak*, and the mother's brother, *yay*, since the other aunts and uncles are classified as ones parents. Like the terms for the parents, these are suppletive 1st person forms. The expected regular 1st person form of *kak*—*nahwyak*—is not used for the father's sister, but by a woman to refer to her husband's mother, whereas the expected 1st person form of *yay*—*nahok*—is used to address one's husband's elder brother (see below).

There are corresponding plural terms: the ones for 'mother's brothers' are made up of 2pl/3rd person form *wahok* and the words for 'fathers (etc.)' (e.g. *ihwin*); the ones for 'father's sisters' are reduplicated forms *ɣahwyak-ɣahwyak* 'your father's sisters' etc.

SIBLINGS AND COUSINS. The terms *namek* (m) and *namuk* (f) (plural *namik*) are best translated 'clan mate', and can be used to address one's siblings, one's father's brother's children, or anybody else who is a member of the same clan as oneself. Since clan membership follows the patriline, the children of one's paternal uncle will always belong to the same clan as oneself. There are 2sg forms *ɣanamek* 'your clan mate' etc., but no special 2pl/3rd person forms. The standard *namek* is used for this purpose.

With one's siblings, however, the terms *namek* etc. are fairly infrequent, and there is instead a small sub-system of compound terms indicating relative age. The system is built on the words *anem* 'man' and *anum* 'woman' (plural *anim* 'people'), combined with *es* 'behind', *in* 'middle' and *mayay* 'front' (this was also seen with the uncles and aunts above).

es-anem	'younger brother'	*es-anum*	'younger sister'
in-anem	'middle brother'	*in-anum*	'middle sister'
mayay-anem	'elder brother'	*mayay-anum*	'elder sister'

It is primarily the terms on *es-* and *mayay-* that are used as terms of address; the terms on *in-* 'middle-' are used to refer to the second sibling in a set of three, or the third in a set of five, etc.

All cousins that are not classified with one's siblings fall under the term *onos*, i.e. the children of mother's brother and sister, and of father's sister.

CHILDREN AND NEPHEWS. The terms for one's children lack person forms: *wananggib* 'son', *wananggub* 'daughter', *wanangga* 'children'.[8] These are also used by a woman about her sister's children, and by a man about his brother's children. These words

[8]There is also *hib* and *hub*, apparently meaning 'son' and 'daughter' respectively, but these are poorly attested (archaic?).

only have the sense 'offspring', not 'pre-pubertal human'. For the latter sense there are words such as *isahih* 'children, young (of animals)' and *ɣunaɣon* 'infant'.

For her brother's children, a woman uses the term *kemlaɣ* (plural *kimbakem*), and they call her *kak* in return. A man refers to his sister's son as *oha-anem*, and his sister's daughter as *uho* (both lacking person forms), and they address him as *yay*.

GRANDCHILDREN AND GRANDPARENTS. Grandchildren are referred to by *naheb* (plural *nahe*) etc. It is unclear whether there is a 2pl/3rd person form for 'grandchildren': speakers did not recognize the expected form *ihe*, but this was perhaps because of confusion caused by the homophonous plural form of the proximal demonstrative. There is a special term of address, *amaɣ*, that grandchildren use for their grandparents, and as a respectful term for any elder person. (During my stay in Wambi, this is how I addressed my host Paulus Yolmend and his wife Yustina Mahuze). There seems to exist an archaic use of (some) of the terms for grandchildren to refer also to grandparents/ancestors. I recorded one elderly speaker using *nahe* to refer to his ancestors several generations back, but this use was not recognized by his adult son with whom I transcribed the recording.[9]

Finally, the term *nggays* is not strictly a term for a relative, but it is included here since it has a full set of person forms just like standard kin terms. It is used for somebody who was born on the same day as oneself.

4.3.2 Affinal relatives

SPOUSES. The terms for husband, *nahyam*, and wife, *nahyum*, are perhaps originally derived from a single stem meaning 'spouse', since they only differ in the stem-final vowel, although Usher and Suter (2015: 113) reconstruct separate stems as far back as proto-Anim. There are plural forms for 'wives' (*nahyus* 'our wives' etc.), but I am not aware of any corresponding terms for 'husbands' (*amnangga* 'married men' can be used instead). The Marind do not practice polygamy, so the 2sg form *ɣahyus* 'your wives' is only used in joking contexts.

SPOUSES' PARENTS, AND BROTHERS- & SISTERS-IN-LAW. The term used between a husband and his parents-in-law is *nabaɣ* (plural *nabaɣ-nabaɣ*). This is a self-reciprocal term, so the parents-in-law also address their son-in-law with the same word. It is used in the same way between the husband and his wife's elder sister.

The son's wife is referred to as *nikna* by the parents of the husband. In return, she addresses her mother-in-law as *nahwyak* (cf. 'father's sister' above), and her father-in-law as *pap*. Note that the non-address forms of *nahwyak* are identical with those

[9]The meaning 'grandchild, grandparent' is also found in Geurtjens' dictionary (Geurtjens 1933: 60, entry *Amei*) .

Table 4.6: Affinal kin terms.
Self-reciprocal terms are indicated thus: X↔Y, meaning that X and Y use the term about each other.

gloss	1, term of addr.	2sg	2pl, 3
H	*nahyam*	*ɣahyam*	*eham*
W sg	*nahyum*	*ɣahyum*	*uhyum*
W pl	*nahyus*	*ɣahyus*	*ihus*
DH↔WP, YZH↔WEZ sg	*nabaɣ*	*ɣanabaɣ*	*hinabaɣ*
DH↔WP, YZH↔WEZ pl	*nabaɣ-nabaɣ*	*ɣanabaɣ-ɣanabaɣ*	*hinabaɣ-hinabaɣ*
SW, YBW[a] sg	*nikna*	*ɣikna*	*ihikna*
SW, YBW[a] pl	*nikun*	*ɣikun*	*ihikun*
HM	*nahwyak*	*ɣikna*	*ihikna*
HF	*pap*	*ɣakna*	*ehakna*
HEB	*nahok*	*ɣakna*	*ehakna*
YZH↔WEB sg	*mandaɣ*	*ɣamandaɣ*	*himandaɣ*
YZH↔WEB pl	*mandaɣ-mandaɣ*	*ɣamandaɣ-ɣamandaɣ*	*himandaɣ-himandaɣ*
WYB, WYZ sg	*sahok*	*ɣahyamok*	*ihamok*
WYB, WYZ pl	*sahok-sahok*	*ɣahyamok-ɣahyamok*	*ihamok-ihamok*
EZH	*mbit*	*ɣambit*	*ihambit-ehway*
WZH	*nakom*	*ɣakom*	*hinakom*

[a] YBW: only with female anchor.

of ***nikna*** (2sg ***ɣikna***, 2pl/3rd pers. ***ihikna***), whereas the non-address forms of ***pap*** are identical to those used to refer to the husband's elder brother, which has the term-of-address ***nahok*** (cf. 'mother's brother' above).

The term ***nikna*** is also used by a woman to address her younger brother's wife, who then replies using ***isane*** (no person forms).

A man uses ***mandaɣ*** (plural ***mandaɣ-mandaɣ***) to address his wife's elder brother, and the brother uses the same term in response. For the younger siblings of the wife, ***sahok*** (plural ***sahok-sahok***) is used, and the siblings reply using ***mbit*** (I have not recorded any plural form). Some other affinal terms are: ***ne*** 'elder brother's wife', ***uha-anum*** 'younger brother's wife (male anchor)', ***es-lek*** 'husband's younger brother', ***es-luk*** 'husband's younger sister' (all without person forms).

Finally, two men who are married to two sisters call each other by the term ***nakom***. This kin term is widely distributed throughout the Southern New Guinea area, and has apparently been borrowed into several different families (e.g. Komnzo *nakum*, Yelmek/Maklew *nakom*, both unrelated to Marind). It is probably a borrowing into Marind as well, with the person forms ***ɣakom*** and ***hinakom*** being formed by analogy from ***nakom***.

4.4 Compounding

The pattern referred to as compounds in this grammar combines two lexical elements, such that the rightmost is the morphosyntactic head of the expression (determining e.g. gender agreement on agreeing modifiers of the compound), and usually also a hyperonym of the compound itself. For example, the compound *awe-hayaw* 'fish bone' triggers gender III agreement since *hayaw* 'bone' belongs to gender III (*awe* 'fish' is gender II), and *hayaw* is also a hyperonym (i.e. a more generic term) of *awe-hayaw*, since the compound as a whole denotes a more specific subtype of its head *hayaw* 'bone'.

A compound forms a lexical element in itself and can constitute the input to a new compound, so e.g. *da-ɣol* 'sago beating' can be part of the compound [*da-ɣol*]-*say* 'sago beating place', and so on. This means that compounds can be infinitely recursive, although I have not documented any examples beyond first-level embedding.

A compound forms a grammatical unit, so neither of the members of the compound can be modified by demonstratives, numerals, etc.; such modification is only applicable to the compound as a whole. Compare (a) with the impossible structure in (b):

(146) a. *awe-hayaw ɣa*
fish-bone real
'a real fish bone'

b. *[*awe ɣa*]-*hayaw*
fish real-bone
'bone of a real fish'

Phonologically, on the other hand, a compound is not an isolated unit, so the processes described as applying within phonological words in Chapter 2 (such as epenthesis and vowel gradation) apply separately to each member of a compound, and not to the compound as a whole.

These features of compounds in Marind make them similar to structures labeled 'compounds' in various grammatical traditions (see e.g. Bauer 2001). The main difference between Marind compounds and compounds in English (and other European languages) lies in their use, because compounding is in Marind often the only available equivalent for syntactic modifier-head structure in English.

This is most striking in the domain of adjectival modification. Attributively used adjectives in Marind cannot be used as syntactic modifiers inside an NP, only as the first member of a compound. Thus, the equivalent to English *a big fish* is literally 'big-fish' in Marind. As with any compound, the individual parts cannot take syntactic

modifiers (cf. the preceding example), so the only way to express 'a very big fish' in Marind is as in (147a), literally 'a real big-fish'.[10]

(147) a. *yaba-awe ɣa*
big-fish real
'a very big fish'

b. *[*yaba ɣa*]*-awe*
big real-fish

4.4.1 Types of compounds

In the following subsections I list some representative compounds found in the corpus.

4.4.1.1 Noun+noun compounds. This is the most common type of compound.

Compound	gloss	meaning
nggat-muy	dog-meat	'dog meat'
do-imu	blood-smell	'smell of blood'
anggip-bal	nose-hole	'nostril'
weli-ban	stingray-stinger	'stinger of a stingray'
olam-aha	maternity-house	'maternity hut'
nu-say	sleep-place	'bed'
de-tagu	wood-foot	'sandals'
kiwal-mayan	wind-speech	'telephone'
pale-yahun	land-canoe	'motorcycle'

Some subpatterns deserve mention:

- Compounds with *es* 'back, behind', *in* 'middle' and *maɣay* 'first, front' as first member. These are common with kinship terms, with which they specify relative age (*es* being the youngest): *es-anum* (back-woman) 'younger sister', *maɣay-anim* (front-people) 'elder siblings', etc. They are also used to subdivide Marind villages such as Wambi, which stretch along the beach: *es-milah* (back-village) or *es-Wambi* is the eastern part of the village, and *maɣay-milah* (front-village) or *maɣay-Wambi* is the western part.[11]

[10] Drabbe (1955: 24) cites structures such as *kez ha onggat*, (lit. 'tall very coconut') from the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, but this unattested ordering was rejected by the speakers of the Western dialect with whom I worked.

[11] See van Baal (1966: 217–221) for a thorough discussion of the association of *es* with young/east and *maɣay* with old/west and mythological correlates of these pairings.

- Compounds referring to places characterized by some plant species are formed with the words *yah* and *bak* as their heads. It seems that *yah* has no use outside such compounds; *bak* means 'outside, the area around the house'. Examples: *suba-yah* 'bamboo grove', *bus-yah* 'eucalyptus grove', *kasim-yah* 'place with lots of *kasim* grass'; *da-bak* 'sago plantation', *onggat-bak* 'coconut grove', *badi-bak* 'banksia (sp.) grove'.

- There is a large number of compounds headed by forms of *anVm* 'person'. A boy who has just learned to walk is a *meng-anem* (*meng* is a noun meaning 'walk'), and a boy who just learned to talk is a *mayan-anem* (*mayan* 'speech, language'). Indonesians (i.e. non-Papuans) are referred to as *pu-anim* '*pu*-people', the meaning of *pu* being unclear (one speaker said it refers to the sound made by rifles, *pu!*). Other examples: *mih-anem* 'soldier, police man' (*mih* 'bow'), *ukna-anem* 'coward' (*ukna* 'fear'), *Belanda-anim* 'Dutch people'. There are also some animal names and terms for inanimate things ending in *anVm*: *sanggal-anem* 'kite sp.' (*Sanggal* is the name of a river), *ndaman-anem* 'large fish sp.' (the meaning of *ndaman-* is unknown), *mom-anim* 'grass sp.' (*mom* 'mucus'), *nene-anim* 'bell' (probably imitative).

4.4.1.2 Adjective+noun compounds. Recall that this pattern is used to combine attributive adjectives with nouns. Many combinations are completely lexicalized, such as the expression for 'coffee' below.

Compound	gloss	meaning
kosi-aliki	small-river	'small river'
keh-onggat	tall-coconut	'tall coconut palm'
noŋ-anim	new-people	'young people'
dohi-anem	red-man	'fair-skinned man; albino'
kunayhi-adaka	black-water	'coffee'
ndom-bekay	bad-heart	'disappointed, unhappy'

4.4.1.3 Verb+noun compounds. Such compounds denote entities associated in some way with the action described by the verb stem. This pattern is particularly productive with *anVm* 'person', forming expressions similar to e.g. English agent nominalizations: *sasaŋi-anem* (lit. 'work man') 'worker'. Other examples:

Compound	gloss	meaning
kahos-anem	chew.betel-man	'man who chews betelnut'
umuh-anum	go:3sg.U-woman	'deceased woman'
lemed-anum	stand.PLA-woman	'lazy woman'[12]
kahos-emel	chew.betel-hunger	'betel abstinence'
kimamub-sangga	clench.fist-hand	'clenched fist'
tanin-ndon	tie.things-rope	'rope for tying up things'
inohal-mayan	swear-language	'swearing'

4.4.1.4 X+adjective compounds. Compounds in which another element qualifies an adjectives appear to be rare, with only a few examples:

Compound	gloss	meaning
yaba-wagatok	big-long	'very long'
papes-yaba	small-big	'somewhat big'
ndom-ɣel	bad-tasty	'bad-tasting'
kitul-ɣel	cockroach-tasty	'disgusting'

4.4.1.5 X+verb compounds. It is common for verb stems to be compounded with their O-argument or some expression filling an adverbial role (e.g. instrument). Examples:

Compound	gloss	meaning
takah-l-ahum	firewood-PLA-carry.firewood	'carrying of firewood'
onggat-kapet	coconut-climb.PLA	'climbing of coconut trees'
suba-taman	bamboo-shoot	'shooting with bow & arrow'
mahut-kaɣanad	far.away-become.low.tide	'very low tide'
mangga-ihwim	mango(m)-become.dark	'thick shade of mango trees'

Typical contexts for the use of such compounds are as complements of the words *mbaymbay* 'not able' and *mayay* 'able', as in (148), or in agentive compounds with *anVm* 'person', as in (149). Since these expressions describe habitual or repeated actions, it is usually the so-called Pluractional verb stem (glossed PLA) that appears in the compound.

[12]The pluractional stem *lemed* can mean 'come to a standstill repeatedly' so a *lemed-anum* is perhaps a woman who keeps stopping when she is supposed to work/walk.

(148) *onggat-kapet* *mayay* *ek-o* *oŋ?*
coconut-climb.PLA able PRS.Q:I-2SG.A 2SG
'Do you know how to climb coconut trees?' [nb03.29.wbi]

(149) *mobil-* *k-um-* *anem*
car(m) WITH-go.PLA:3SG.U- man
'chauffeur' (lit. 'car-drive-man')

A verb stem occurring in a compound must be in the appropriate person, number and/or gender form. What form is appropriate depends on the valency template associated with the verb (Section 11.2). For many verbs agreement will be with the O-argument with which the stem is compounded, as in the next example, in which the verb 'finish' is realized by its plural stem *ba⟨h⟩in*, since it is used with an O-argument from gender IV. Compare this with the verb *kamin* 'make' in (151), which agrees according to a different valency template and selects a stem that agrees with the A-argument rather than the O with which it is compounded.

(150) *katal-* *i-ba⟨h⟩in-* *namakad*
money(IV)- PLA-finish⟨IV.U⟩- thing
'thing that makes money disappear' (i.e. alcohol)

(151) *tamuŋ-* *kama⟨n⟩in* *nd-ak-ap-* *balen*
food- make⟨1.U⟩ LOC-1.A-CT- finish:III
'I finished making the food/I finished the food-making.'
[0296.17102016.1.wbi]

In addition to the common 'object-verb' compounds there are a few exocentric compounds headed by verbs, e.g. *katane-huhu* (sun-emerge.PLA) 'the east' and *yahun-ibotok* (canoe-put.PLA) 'place in swamp where canoes are kept'.

4.4.1.6 Backwards compounds. A few compounds appear (at least from an English perspective) to reverse the modifier-head order of other compounds, placing the hyperonym as the first member of the compound. For example, the compound *de-takah* means 'firewood' and has the noun *takah* 'fire' as its rightmost element, modified by *de* 'wood', so literally 'wood-fire'. The explanation for this pattern is that *takah* also can be used alone to mean 'firewood', especially in stereotypical contexts in which it is easy to distinguish it from the 'fire' meaning (e.g. 'go to the forest and

fetch *takah*'). In other contexts, the compound with the modifier *de* 'wood' may be used, to specify that reference is made to the 'wooden' type of *takah*.

A more unclear case is that of 'pupil (of the eye)', expressed by *anem-kin*, lit. 'person-eye'. The reverse order would have been expected, since 'eye-person' and similar metaphoric expressions are common in the expression of 'pupil' across languages (e.g. Kolyma Yukaghir *aŋd'ən-šoromə* 'eye-man', presumably because of the small reflection of a person visible in the pupil of others; Urban 2012: 670).

Other examples:

Compound	gloss	meaning
de-onggat	tree-coconut	'coconut palm'
nggol-unum	tip-tongue	'tip of the tongue'
mit-unum	base-tongue	'tongue base'
pal-ake	skin/bark-gambier	'gambier bark'

4.5 Derived nominals

There are three patterns that derive nominals from verb stems: bare verb stems used as nouns (§4.5.1), instrument nouns derived by the Instrumental *k*-prefix (§4.5.2), and participles (basically deverbal adjectives; §4.5.3).

4.5.1 Verb stems used nominally

As described in Chapter 9, the verb stem is the unit that together with the prefixal complex (Chapter 7) forms the verb complex in Marind. For a verb stem to be able to occur in nominal uses, it must be stripped of the material in the prefixal complex (mainly inflection-like prefixes marking person, tense-aspect-mode, etc.).

Marind is relatively generous in permitting bare verb stems to be used in syntactic slots that are typically filled by nouns, without the presence of any nominalizing morphology. However, this possibility is mostly employed for grammatical purposes, e.g. in structures in which the verb stem is predicated by the Auxiliary or semantically 'light' verbs such as *win* 'become' (see e.g. §15.2). Here is an example of the verb stem *ɣi* 'eat', heading a compound with *kosi* 'little', and predicated by the Auxiliary *wa*:

(152) *awe kosi-ɣi s-a- w-a*
fish little-eat ONLY-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX
'S/he only ate a little of the fish.'
(lit.) 'S/he only did little-eating of the fish' [nb03.52.wbi]

This use of *ɣi* is clearly nominal, since the stem appears in a compound and lacks any of the inflectional prefixes (cf. the prefixes preceding the Auxiliary). The stem is not used referentially, it just fills a slot in a skeletal construction with a literal meaning 'only do a little V-ing'.

Although verb stems frequently occur in positions typically occupied by nouns, there is no widespread use of verb stems as heads of fully referential NPs: out of more than 600 verbs I am only aware of a dozen or so that regularly are put to use as standard nouns, some of which are listed below. In all of these cases the verbal use is much more frequent than the nominal use, so it seems warranted to treat these as verb stems put to use as nouns, and not the other way around. Note that several of these verb stems may exhibit morphological alternation expressing various grammatical categories, but in their use as nouns they are completely fixed. For example, the form *hwetok* is the 3rd person Undergoer stem of the verb 'to think', with other possible forms such as 1st person *hwitanuk* 'to think about me/us', but it is only the stem *hwetok* that is used as a noun.

	as verb stem	as noun
esol	'to make noise'	'noise'
ɣanakeh	'to cook'	'cooking'
ɣod	'to vomit'	'vomit'
hwetok	'to think'	'thought'
kahek	'to climb, to rise'	'height'
kahos	'to chew betelnut'	'betelnut'
nasak	'to fight each other'[13]	'fight'
omos	'to spread out (mat etc.) on ground'	'mat (etc.) on ground'
pig	'to become daylight'	'heat from sun'
sasaɣi	'to work'	'work'
sinik	'to carry'	'things being carried'
tak	'clear, become empty'	'source, well, dug-out hole'

All nominally used verb stems trigger agreement in gender III (for an example, cf. agreement with *weheb* 'to wait' in ex. (842) on p. 509).

[13]This is a fossilized use of the 1st person form of the verb *usak* 'fight'. 1st person stem forms are used in reciprocal contexts regardless of the person configuration involved.

Examples of verb stems *kahos* (a), *omos* (b) and *sinik* (c) used as NPs:

(153) a. *eee kahos mbya k-a-namb-e*
INTERJ chew.betel NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-IPFV
'Oh, I don't have any betelnut.' [0080.17102016.2.wbi]

b. *omos lahwalah k-an-d-ap- ibotok*
spread.out on.top DIR-1.A-DUR-CT- put.PLA
'I put [the sago] on top of the spread out [leaves.]'
[0176.17102016.1.wbi]

c. *i-pe sinik sam ɣa ø-d-ø-em- ola*
I/II.pl-DIST carry big real NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN- be:3sg.U
'They had lots of stuff to carry.' (lit. 'Their things to carry were really big') [0049.28062015.3.wbi]

One descriptive bird name is a compound headed by a verb stem: *kumaɣ-kasanak* (a darter or cormorant). Its segmentation is in (154). This lexicalization is exceptional since deverbal agentive expressions usually are compounds headed by *anVm* (see the section on compounds, §4.4.1.3).

(154) *kumaɣ- ka-sanak*
inside- INESS-search.for.fish
(lit.) 'search for fish inside [the water]'

4.5.2 Deverbal instrument nouns

There are several nouns denoting various kinds of tools that are derived from corresponding verb stems by means of the Instrumental prefix *k-* (*ka-* before a consonant). Examples:

ka-ɣahwek	'sago beating stick'	< *ɣahwek* 'beat, hit'
ka-nalaw	'mirror'	< *n-alaw* '1.U-see'
k-ehway	'paddle'	< *e-hway* 'PLA-paddle'

There have been attempts by Marind speakers to coin words for some modern items using the Instrumental derivation, which suggests that it remains productive to some degree. As far as I know none of these have caught on, however, so speakers use Malay words instead. All examples that I have listed are compounds of the shape Object+*k*-Verb, such as:

pa- k-ihatuk	'hat, helmet'	< *pa* 'head', *i-hatuk* 'PLA-cover'
tatih- k-yalok	'comb'	< *tatih* 'hair (IV)', *y-alok* 'IV-stab'
de- k-usak	'hammer'	< *de* 'wood (III)', *u-sak* 'III-hit.PLA'

Drabbe (1955: 22) lists some more deverbal instrument nouns, most of which appear to have fallen out of use by now.

4.5.3 Participles

Participles are productively derived from verb stems, and have several functions, including attributive modification of nouns and predication of a property (typically a resultative state). It is this similarity to adjectives that motivates the use of the label 'participle' (cf. Haspelmath 1994, Shagal 2017).

4.5.3.1 Form of participles. Participles are derived from verb stems through suffixation of the appropriate Participial suffix (also §9.3.5):

I.sg	II.sg	III	IV, I/II.pl
-la	*-luk*	*-la*	*-lik*

This means that *-la* forms participles in gender I singular (i.e. describing one male human) and gender III (most inanimates), *-luk* participles in gender II singular (i.e. one animal or female human), and *-lik* for gender IV (some inanimates) and plurals of genders I & II. Agreement in participles functions the same way as in agreeing adjectives, so an attributively used participle agrees with the modified head noun etc. (see the following subsection for examples). Cf. also Chapter 6 for general information about the gender system.

There are two reasons for describing these markers as suffixes rather than postpositions: (i) they attach to a single word (a verb stem) and not a phrase, and (ii) they trigger a phonological change in a stem with final /n/, viz. /n/→[t]. This makes them similar to other affixes in the language (which often trigger phonological changes in surrounding material) and makes them different from postpositions, none of which have such effects. As shown in (155), the postposition *lik* 'from' added to the noun *mandin* 'long ago' does not trigger any change in the final /n/, whereas the homophonous Participial suffix *-lik* causes the final nasal in the verb stem *kiska⟨h⟩in* 'stack.on.top⟨2|3pl.U⟩' to be realized as [t].

(155) a. /mandin lik/ → *mandin lik* 'the ones from long ago'

b. /kiskahin-lik/ → *kiskahitlik* '(having been) stacked on top of e.o.'

The Participial suffix attaches to a bare verb stem (see Chapter 9), so none of the inflection-like material that makes up the prefixal complex may enter into a participle. The data in (156) gives an example of a predicatively used verb stem, in (a), which is preceded by the prefixal complex (here with the Perfect *mend-*, the Actualis prefix *b-*, and the zero marking 3sg Actor), whereas the participle in (b) consists of a verb stem without the prefixal material. The use of the Participial suffix *-la* means that this participle can be used as an adjective describing a human male, which belongs to gender I; since the gender III form is also realized by *-la* it could also describe e.g. a dead tree belonging to gender III.

(156)

a.	*menda-b-ø-*	*kahwid*	b.	*kahwid-la*
	PERF-ACT-3sg.A-	die:3sg.U		die:3sg.U-PTCP:I
	'S/he is dead.'			'dead' (human male)

However, any affixes or morphological alternations that are used to form verb stems may also be present in participles (such morphology is part of the stem itself, as opposed to the prefixes of the prefixal complex, which are phonologically separate from the verb stem).

As an example, let us take the verb stem *tahuk* 'stick to a surface', which can be used for e.g. glueing a piece of paper to a wall, and from which a participle such as *tahuk-la* 'stuck to a surface' (gender III) can be formed. The stem *tahuk* allows the derivation of a pluractional stem by means of the prefix *i-*, giving *itahuk*, meaning roughly 'stick to a surface in several places'. This derived stem has a corresponding participle *itahuk-la* 'stuck to a surface in several places'. Further derivational morphology can be added, such as the Inessive *k-* (used for actions taking place in a circumscribed location, e.g. inside a house), giving the stem *kitahuk* 'stick to a surface in several places indoors' and the corresponding participle *kitahuk-la* 'stuck to a surface in several places indoors'.

The verb stem is also the locus of person/number/gender indexing of the so-called Undergoer argument (Section 9.2), and the alternations that realize this category are retained in participles. For example, the verb 'stick to a surface' uses the stem *tahuk* for Undergoers of gender III (e.g. pieces of paper), but a modified stem *tahyohyab* if the Undergoer belongs to gender IV (e.g. a bank note). If the participle is used to modify such a noun, the appropriate form is *tahyohyab-lik* 'stuck to a surface (IV)' (recall that the shape of the Participial suffix is *-lik* in gender IV).

The retention of stem-deriving morphology in the input to participle formation contrasts with the inability of any material from the prefixal complex to be included

in a participle. For example, one cannot add the 1st person Actor prefix *no-* to *tahuk-la* in order to express 'stuck to a surface by me', because the prefix *no-* is part of the prefixal complex and is not used in the derivation of verb stems. (The expression of an agent with a participle would require an instrumental phrase with the postposition *en*, e.g. *nok en* 'by me'; see below).

COMPOUNDS HEADED BY PARTICIPLES. Like other nominals, participles can be the head of compounds (they also function as adjectival modifiers in compounds, as discussed further below). The modifers compounded to participles that are attested in my corpus provide adverbial specification, e.g. location, as in (a),[14] or time, as in (b). (I separate the members of the compound by means of a trailing hyphen here to distinguish them from the affixes).

(157) a. *in- ka-tak-la*
middle- INESS-become.empty-PTCP:III
'clearing in the middle'

b. *noɣ- mat-la*
new- come-PTCP:I
'[male] new-comer'

EXPRESSION OF AN AGENT. The internal syntax of phrases headed by participles demands further research, so I will only comment on the expression of the participial agent here. Such a participant may be realized as a phrase formed with the Instrumental-Possessive postposition *en*. This is shown in the next example, in which the phrase *nahan en* 'by myself' serves to express the agent of the participle *yaɣohla* 'planted'.

(158) *ehe namaɣa nahan en yaɣoh-la k-a, de otih e-he*
here now 1.EMPH INSTR plant.PLA-PTCP:III PRS.NEUT-3sg.A tree all III-PROX
'Here they were planted by myself, all these trees.' [0252.27112016.3.wbi]

The polyfunctional postposition *en* is used to mark both instruments and possessors. I gloss *en* as INSTR in its use marking a participial agent, since this makes it possible to distinguish it from the possessive use, which is possible with participles used as nouns:

(159) *nahan en lod-la*
1.EMPH POSS make.windshield-PTCP
'my own windshield'

[14]The expression *in-katakla* is used in Wambi to refer to the empty corridor that runs between the two rows of houses arranged along the beach in the part of the village where I live.

Whether the postposition *en* is used to express the agent or possessor of the participle is presumably made clear by the context. The speaker with whom I translated (158) stated that *nahan en* refers to the person who planted the trees, regardless of their present owner, but I have not explored this ambiguity further.

4.5.3.2 Functions of participles.

AS NOUNS. Such nouns denote entities that are produced as a result of the event described by the base verb. For example, the verb *ahak* 'spread out sago in banana leafs and wrap it up' is the base of the participle *ahakla*, formed with the gender III Participial suffix *-la*, which is the noun used to refer to such packages of wrapped-up sago.

Another common example is the participle *kahosla*, which is used to refer to the red residue from chewing betel (*kahos* 'chew betel') which is spat out after the desired effect has been achieved. Referentially used participles such as *ahakla* and *kahosla* can fill the same syntactic slots as standard nouns, as in the following example, or example (108) on p. 108.

(160) *ado* *kahosla* *mata-ka-* *haliɣ*
INTERJ betel.spit HORT-PRI- spit
'Oh, just let me spit out the betelnut first.' [0400.16092016.1.wbi]

Other examples of participles that are commonly used as referential expressions are listed below. Some show clear signs of lexicalization, e.g. the irregular loss of /ɣ/ in *alula* 'wound' (cf. *aluɣ* 'wound to form'; I have only observed the form *aluɣla* in elicitation) or the unpredictable meaning of *ɣahwablik* 'arrows with a metal arrowhead' (from the verb *ɣahweb* 'pound, hit', i.e. 'thing that has been pounded flat').[15]

Gender membership of lexicalized participles follow the general tendencies of gender assignment (Chapter 6), so it is not surprising that the hair-related participle *kakim-lik* 'braid' is in gender IV (cf. *tatih* 'hair', IV), etc. There does not seem to be many lexicalized participles denoting animates, so all of the nouns given here are in genders III and IV (the inanimate genders).

[15] *ɣahwablik* is a gender IV noun, and the stem *ɣahwab* is the form of *ɣahweb* used with an Undergoer argument from this gender. Different types of arrows are assigned to either gender III or IV, but I am not aware of the basis of this choice.

Base verb	participle	gender	gloss
lod 'make windshield'	*lodla*	III	'windshield'
kum 'bear fruit'	*kumla*	III	'fruit'
aɣan 'branch off'	*aɣatla*	III	'branch'
keswan 'wash'	*keswatla*	III	'laundry'
aluɣ 'wound to form'	*alula*	III	'wound'
kakim 'braid hair'	*kakimlik*	IV	'braid'
ɣahwab 'hit, pound flat'	*ɣahwablik*	IV	'k.o. arrow'

There are also several nouns that appear to be participles historically, although their origin has been obscured by phonological erosion and/or the loss or meaning change of the base verb.[16]

ADJECTIVAL USE. Participles are used either attributively or predicatively to describe a noun as being in a state resulting from the event expressed by the base verb. The participle-deriving suffix agrees in gender/number with the noun that is describes.

Like most other nominal modifiers, including standard adjectives, participles are compounded to their head noun in their attributive use. The data in (161) nicely illustrate the meaning difference that arises in compounds with the participle *dahipla* 'drunk' vs. the base verb stem *dahip* 'get drunk': the compound with participle in (a) is used to refer to a man who is drunk, whereas the compound with the bare stem in (b) would be used to refer to someone who gets drunk habitually (but who is not necessarily drunk right now).

(161) a. *dahip-la-* *anem*
get.drunk:3sg.U-PTCP:I- man
'drunk man'

b. *dahip-* *anem*
get.drunk:3sg.U- man(I)
'drunkard, alcoholic' [nb04.87.wbi]

The next examples illustrate the predicative use of participles.

(162) *dahip-la* *k-a* *e-pe*
get.drunk:3sg.U-PTCP:I PRS.NEUT-3sg.A I-DIST
'He is drunk.' [nb04.87.wbi]

[16]For example, *waɣuklu* 'young girl' turns out to derive from a participle **waɣuk-luk* (cf. plural *waɣuk-lik*) of the verb *waɣuk* 'turn'. The motivation for this comes from the characteristic hairdo that was given to girls when they reached puberty, involving parts of coconut leaves braided ('turned') into the hair; cf. the description in Geurtjens (1933), p. 335, entry *Wahoek*.

(163) *tamuɣ* *kamit-la* *ø-d-a-* *ola*
food(III) make-PTCP:III NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:III.U
'The food was ready.' [0067.23092016.6.wbi]

Predicative participles also occur in a construction similar to the English Perfect, as discussed in §13.2.5.3.

Since a participle describes a state (rather than an action) of the noun that it modifies, it follows that most attributively used participles are oriented towards the patient of the base verb, because it is usually the case that the patient of a transitive or intransitive verb undergoes a more prominent change than a participant with the semanic role of agent does. This means that speakers often use patient-oriented participles such as ***dahipla*** 'drunk' as noun modifiers, whereas an agent-oriented description such as 'dancing' would require a relative clause construction ('a man who is dancing') rather than a participle.

Although attributive participles are most frequently patient-oriented, like the participles in (161–162), it must be stressed that the crucial parameter is not semantic role but the existence of a clear, new state affecting the modified noun. The data in the following examples show that participles can modify a noun that corresponds to the agent of its base verb, as long as the participant has undergone some change as a consequence of the event described by this verb.

For example, the verb ***saletok*** may be used intransitively with an agent participant who enters into a hiding position (by her own volition and control), and since this event entails a change-of-state ('being in hiding') it is possible to use the participle derived from ***saletok*** to the describe the agent being in this state, as in (a).[17] It is also possible for some agent-oriented participles to be used as noun modifiers as long as they are combined with an adverbial-like element such as ***noɣ*** 'new, recent' in (b). This gives a contrast that is familiar from European languages in which participial constructions such as **an arrived guest* are impossible, but *a newly arrived guest* is fine.

(164) a. *saletok-luk-* *anum*
hide:3sg.U-PTCP:II- woman(II)
'a hiding woman' [nb03.45.wbi]

[17] It would not be possible to use a participle to describe the transitive agent of the same verb, i.e. 'a woman who is hiding something', since the transitive use does not entail a change-of-state of the agent, only of the transitive patient.

b. *noɣ- mat-la- anem*
new- come-PTCP:I- man(I)
'new-comer, newly arrived man' [0009.23042015.1.dmh]

Below are some more examples of attributively used participles. Note that the verb 'die' in (a–b) is suppletive in the plural.

(165) a. *kahwid-la- anem*
die:3sg.U-PTCP:I- man
'dead man'

b. *ɣahwahwih-lik- anim*
many.die:2|3pl.U-PTCP:I/II.pl- people
'dead people'

c. *aɣ⟨e⟩b-la- da*
scrape⟨III.U⟩-PTCP:III- sago
'scraped-off sago pith'

d. *kotib-luk- basik*
get.lost:3sg.U-PTCP:II- pig
'pig that got lost'

e. *kalab-la- kana*
peel:III-PTCP:III- egg
'peeled egg'

ADVERBIAL USE. Participles are used as participant-oriented adverbials, describing an action that the relevant participant is involved in at the time of the situation expressed by the main verb. This is the same use as that of converbs in many languages.

Adverbially used participles are placed in the syntactic slot immediately before the verb complex. The role of the participant involved in the action expressed by the participle is reflected in the use of one of the so-called Orientation prefixes on the verb (described in Chapter 10). The facts are complicated, but for now they can be summarized thus: if the subject of the participle also functions as the subject of the main verb, the verb is prefixed by means of the Neutral Orientation prefix (ø- in non-present time contexts). If the subject of the participle functions as the object of the main verb, another Orientation prefix is used, e.g. the Object prefix *m-* or the Directional prefix *k-*.

The difference is illustrated below. In the elicited example in (166), the subject of the participle *ihw-luk* 'while crying' is also the subject of the main verb *ɣet*, so the Neutral ø-prefix is used on the verb. In (167), an overheard utterance, it is clear from the use of the Object prefix *m-* that the subjects differ, and that the agent of the event corresponding to the participle ('shooting') is the O-argument of the main verb 'look, watch'. Note also the gender agreement with the participial subject in both examples.

(166) *ihw-luk* *ø-no-d-* *ɣet*
be.crying-PTCP:II NEUT-1.A-DUR- be.moving
'I (female) was walking along crying.' [nb04.98.wbi]

(167) *mes* *w-as-lik* *m-a-p-* *hyadih-e*
old.coconut(III) III.U-shoot-PTCP:I/II.pl OBJ-3sg.A-CT- see:2|3pl.U-IPFV
'He is watching them shoot at old coconuts.' [nb04.12.wbi]

I consider the adverbial use of participles to be an instance of the more general construction type called secondary predication. See Section 16.4 for discussion.

Chapter 5

Nominal syntax

5.1 Structure of the noun phrase

Marind noun phrase structure is relatively simple. It seems that speakers prefer techniques other than syntactic modification of nouns in order to narrow down reference. Instead they take advantage of the other possibilities of the language (verb morphology, secondary predication, compounding, loose apposition, etc.) to spread information about participants over different sites of the clause, or—in many cases—over several different clauses.

The basic structure of the noun phrase can be diagrammed as follows, with parentheses around optional elements:

Determiner	Attribute	Head	Determiner
(Demonstrative$_i$)	$\begin{pmatrix}\text{Postp. phrase}\\ \text{Numeral}\end{pmatrix}$	**N**	(Demonstrative$_i$)

The noun phrase core consists of a nominal element ('N') filling the head slot, optionally preceded by an attributive postpositional phrase or a numeral. The head nominal is typically a noun or a compound headed by a noun; it can also be an adjective or a verb stem, although such heads rarely appear with any material filling the attribute slot. Below are examples of a noun modified by a postpositional phrase (168), a numeral (169), and a postpositional phrase containing a numeral (170):

(168) *mandin lik anim*
long.ago from:I/II.pl people
'people from long ago, old-timers'

(169) *inahinah ɣanid*
four day
'four days'

(170) *inahinah tagu ti yahun*
four foot with:III canoe(III)
'car' (lit. 'canoe with four feet')

The noun phrase core is optionally combined with demonstratives (Proximate *Vhe* or Distal *Vpe*) functioning as determiners, placed either before, after, or on both sides of the expression. If the circumposal option is used, the demonstratives on both sides must be identical (i.e. show the same deixis and gender values; this is indicated by the subscript 'i' in the diagram). The next example shows distal demonstratives surrounding a noun with an attributive postpositional phrase. The demonstrative determiners agree in gender III with the head noun *aha*.

(171) *e-pe anup en aha e-pe*
III-DIST EMPH:II POSS house(III) III-DIST
'her own house/that house which is her own' [0223.17102016.1.wbi]

A striking gap in Marind noun phrase syntax is the absence of a slot for attributive adjectives. The language lacks the possibility of syntactic modification by means of adjectives. This niche is taken by compounds (Section 4.4), in which adjectives may occur as the first member, e.g. *noɣ-aha*, literally 'new-house'. An adjective that has entered into a compound is grammatically isolated, just like the first member of English compounds, and may not be further modified by expressions such as *ɣa* 'real, very', which is a common modifier with predicatively used adjectives. A compound also forms a single accentual unit.

Dahl (2004: 225–236) provides the only discussion known to me about languages that choose to compound adjectives with nouns instead of using them as syntactic modifiers. Dahl's main example of obligatorily compounded adjectives come from Lakota as described by Boas and Deloria (1941); he also discusses the cases of Chukchi and certain Swedish dialects, in which adjectives are compounded in some grammatical contexts.

The lack of complex noun phrase structure poses little problems for speakers. The next example shows how precise description of a referent ('big red jerrycans standing like this') is achieved through a number of independent expressions standing in a paratactic relationship rather than as modifiers within a single complex noun phrase.

(172) *epe nda-d-ø- i-lawewt-a-ti ago, jeriken,*
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- PLA-put.many-EXT-DUR PROW:III jerrycan(m)(III)
dohi-jeriken sam eh-ø- w-a ka-bak⟨e⟩h
red:III-jerrycan(m)(III) big ABSC:PROX:III-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX INESS-put⟨III.U⟩
'There were standing what's-it-called, jerrycans, red jerrycans, big, standing like this.' [0104.08092016.1.wbi]

5.1.1 Attributive postpositional phrases

As stated in Section 3.3.6, there are six postpositions that may head attributively used postpositional phrases. An example was given in (168) above. These postpositions, with more examples illustrating their adnominal use, are:

lVk	'from'	ex. (89)
tV	'with'	ex. (96)
nV	'without'	ex. (102)
hV	'like'	ex. (104)
nanggo(l)	'for'	ex. (84a)
en	GEN/INSTR	ex. (171)

The syntactic possibilities of such phrases are very limited. They are strictly placed before the noun that they modify.

Some of the postpositions have the ability to agree in gender, as indicated by the vowel 'V' in four of the items above. With attributively used postpositional phrases, the controller of agreement is invariably the noun that is modified by the postpositional phrases, i.e. the 'higher' noun. This is clear in the following example, since *lVk* appears in its gender II form, triggered by the modified head noun *anum* 'woman'.

(173) *milah luk anum*
village(III) from:II woman(II)
'woman from the village' [0170.27112016.3.wbi]

5.1.2 Demonstrative determiners

If the noun phrase is referential it can be determined by demonstratives, placed either before, after or on both sides of the expression that is being determined. This is illustrated in (174) with the distal demonstrative *Vpe*, agreeing in gender II with the head *nggat* 'dog'. The difference in distribution between the three patterns of

demonstrative ordering seems to be very subtle and is not well understood at the current stage of research. Since all off them clearly share the same deictic function I will treat the three patterns in (b–d) as semantically equivalent in this grammar.

(174) a. *nggat* 'a/the dog'
b. *upe* *nggat* 'the/that dog'
c. *nggat* *upe* 'the/that dog'
d. *upe* *nggat* *upe* 'the/that dog'

Note that the pattern in (d) requires the two demonstratives to be identical, so it is not possible to combine e.g. a preposed proximal demonstrative with a postposed distal demonstrative, nor is it possible to have non-matching agreement values.

The adnominal use of demonstratives is superficially similar to the use of (definite) articles in some familiar European languages, but closer inspection reveals that bare noun phrases (without any demonstrative determiners) are used in many contexts where e.g. English would require the presence of *the*. The main difference between the use of adnominal demonstratives in Marind and definite articles is probably that the Marind demonstratives always retain a deictic meaning element, instructing the hearer to make an effort to identify the referent, typically by paying attention to some entity in the surroundings or in the preceding discourse. If no such effort is required, e.g. because the referent is highly predictable, known to everybody, unique, etc., adnominal demonstratives are not used (cf. Himmelmann 1996 on differences between articles and demonstratives). I will give examples of textual use of bare vs. determined noun phrases in the following two subsections.

The semantic distinctions between the three demonstrative series *Vhe* (proximate), *Vpe* (distal) and *Vhan* (remote) were discussed in Section 3.3.2.1 and will not be repeated here.

5.1.2.1 Uses of bare noun phrases. Noun phrases that are non-referential, like *basik* 'pig(s)' in (175), or non-specific, like *malin-anum* 'a Marind woman' in (176), are always bare.

(175) *basik* *mbya* *ø-a-* *ya-law*
pig NEG NEUT-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-search
'They didn't search for pigs.' [0839.16092016.1.wbi]

(176) This advice was given to me in the form “This is how you should say:”

malin-anum *a-mo-* *kisa* *e-pe,*
[Marind-woman(II) DEP-FUT:1.A- marry:3sg.U] III-DIST

ndame-ø- *n-in* *malin-mayan* *mayay*
FUT-3sg.A- 1.U-become Marind-language able

‘If I marry a Marind woman, I will learn the Marind language.’

[nb03.28.wbi]

(The distal demonstrative *epe* in the last example marks the preceding clause as a conditional—or rather, as a topic—and does not interact with the NP ‘Marind woman’, as shown by the lack of gender agreement.)

Bare noun phrases are also used to introduce new participants in a text, such as that referred to by *rusa* ‘a deer’ in the next example.

(177) *rusa* *epe* *k-a-p-* *man-em* *ago* *e-pe,*
deer(m)(II) there DIR-3sg.A-CT- come-VEN PROW:III III-DIST

aliki-toh *k-a-p-* *man-em*
river-side(III) DIR-3sg.A-CT- come-VEN

‘A deer came along there at the what’s-it-called, it came along the river side.’

[0134.08092016.1.wbi]

Note that the deer is also a participant of the second clause of the example above, but since the referent has already been established it is not expressed by any overt noun phrase in this clause (some linguists call this “zero anaphora”). Pronominally used demonstratives are also common in this function (see §3.3.2.1). But it is also possible to use bare noun phrases for subsequent mention, as in (178), where the participant *patul* ‘boy’ has already been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. Here it is presumably the high topicality of another participant (the husband) that prevents the use of zero or pronominal anaphora for reference to the boy.

(178) Preceding context: ‘I told my husband: “Please carry the boy”.’

tis ka, *patul* *nd-a-* *ɣan⟨e⟩b,* *menda-b-ø-e-* *umuh*
that’s.it boy LOC-3sg.A- carry⟨3sg.U⟩ PERF-ACT-3sg.A-ACPN- go:3sg.U

‘That’s it, then he carried the boy, and went away with him.’

[0131.17102016.1.wbi]

Marind employs bare noun phrases in cases where the referent of an expression is obvious or known to everybody, for example because it is unique, like *mandaw*

'the moon' in (179), or because it is identifiable through association with some other entity in the discourse, like the bodypart *sagid* 'pig's mane' in (180), which clearly is associated with a pig talked about in the preceding discourse. This makes it clear that the Marind determiners are best described as demonstratives rather than definite articles. A language like English, which has articles, would typically use definite NPs in such contexts.

(179) *mandaw oso m-a-p- hawa*
moon(III) start OBJ-3sg.A-CT- emerge:III.U
'The moon was about to come out.' [0216.08092016.1.wbi]

(180) *sagid m-o-ø- ya-deh isawa?*
pig.mane(IV) OBJ-2sg.A-3sg.DAT- IV.U-shoot maybe
'Maybe you shot the mane [of the pig]?' [0021.14052015.2.dmh]

5.1.2.2 Uses of determined noun phrases. Such expressions are used in face-to-face conversation to point to things in the surroundings (exophoric uses), as exemplified in Section 3.3.2.1 above. Here I will give more examples of their textual uses.

Determined noun phrases may be used when the expression is to be understood as pointing to a stretch of the preceding discourse rather than to any specific constituent. This is the so-called discourse deictic use of demonstratives (Lakoff 1974, Lyons 1977: 667ff. Himmelmann 1996: 224). The next example illustrates this use, with the noun phrase *epe ɣap epe* 'that night' being understood as pointing to the temporal setting of the preceding stretch of the text.

(181) *e-pe ɣap e-pe, anum yawal mend-ø-i- o-nggat ehe*
III-DIST night(III) III-DIST woman deceased PERF-3sg.A-RE- 3sg.U-become here
'That night, a woman had passed away here.' [0159.17102016.2.wbi]

The next example shows what has been called the recognitional use of demonstratives: "the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse" (Himmelmann 1996: 230). The excerpt mentions two new participants, 'grandma Kudiwa' and 'that child', in an account of some recent events. The first speaker (speaker A) use the distal demonstrative *upe* with both expressions, and I interpret this as a way to show that the hearers, and especially the co-narrator of the

story (speaker B), are familiar with the referents. Speaker B seems to confirm this familiarity by providing the name of the child in the 2nd line.

(182) 1. *amay* *Kudiwa* *u-pe* *menda-d-a-p-* *mil,* *u-pe* *nalakam*
ancestor K. II-DIST PERF-DUR-3sg.A-CT- be.sitting II-DIST child
u-pe
II-DIST

2. *Maria*
M.

1. (A:) 'Grandma Kudiwa was already sitting, [with] that child.'
2. (B:) 'Maria.' [0082.27112016.4.wbi]

It was mentioned above that a referent, once it is established, is typically referred to by means of zero anaphora, a pronominally used demonstrative, or a bare noun phrase. But if it is likely that the referent is no longer 'active' in the mind of the hearer—e.g. because it has not been mentioned for a while—the speaker may choose to 're-activate' it by means of a demonstrative expression. This is the case with *yahun epe* 'that canoe' in (183), which is the 2nd mention of a canoe, separated from its 1st mention by approximately 20 lines (roughly corresponding to intonation units), during which several other topics were discussed.

(183) *yahun* *e-pe* *ɣe* *ma-n-* *ahus* *patul*
canoe III-DIST INGRS OBJ-3pl.A- pull.out boy
'The boys pulled out the canoe.'
'The [aforementioned] canoe was pulled out by the boys.'
[0130.08092016.1.wbi]

It should be mentioned, however, that there are many examples of robustly established referents that nevertheless are realized by means of determined noun phrases. For example, the referent of *rusa upe* 'that deer' in (184) has already been the dominant topic of several preceding lines, yet the speaker opts for a demonstrative expression in this sentence. My intuitive understanding of this example is that it marks a new 'paragraph' in the narrative, and the expression *rusa upe* is used to announce that it will be the topic of this section (too). Topic-comment structures are further discussed in Section 16.2.2.

(184) Preceding context: some hunters shoot at a deer. The deer is described as having arrows sticking out of its skin, having been shot by other hunters at some previous

occasion.

rusa *u-pe* *kaka* *Way* *e=* *k-ø-um-o-p-*
deer(m)(II) II-DIST elder.sib(M) W. PROX= DIR-3sg.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT-CT-
w-a *kaɣob ago,* *menda-ø-b-* *deh*
3sg.U-AUX guess QUOT PERF-1.A-ACT- shoot:3sg.U
'[About] that deer, Way wrongly thought like this: "I shot it".'

[1152.16092016.1.wbi]

5.1.2.3 Other attributive modifiers. Some kinship terms and other person-denoting words are frequently used as titles followed by a name, e.g. *kak Paulina* 'aunt Paulina' or *ɣasti Tomas* 'old man Tomas'. Other terms that I have recorded in this use are: *ad* 'father', *an* 'mother', *ɣay* 'mother's brother', *onos* 'cousin', *amay* 'ancestor, grandpa/grandma' and *mesiwag* 'old woman'.

5.1.3 Numerals

This section describes some syntactic features of numeral expressions; the basics of the numeral system were described in the Word class chapter, Section 3.3.5.

Marind numerals stand in a much looser relationship to their head nominal than other modifiers do. The following example shows two typical features of these words: numerals are often placed separated from the head, as in line 1, and they are often used as referring expressions on their own, as in line 2.

(185) One hunter telling others about a deer he shot.

1. *rusa* *ndam-in-* *umah* *hyakod* *Heh-Mit,*
   deer(m) FUT:2pl.A-ALL- go:2|3pl.U one H.
2. *hyakod* *epe* *nd-a-* *ka-tel-e*
   one there LOC-3sg.A- INESS-be.lying-IPFV
   1. 'You should go get one deer in Heh-Mit,
   2. there is one lying there.' [0057-0058.28062015.1.wbi]

When a numeral and a noun are placed adjacently, so that they appear to form a phrase, the numeral can be found either before or after the noun. The following elicited data illustrate the two alternatives: preposed numeral (a), postposed numeral (b).

(186) a. *inah anim k-a- nayam*
two people PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come

b. *anim inah k-a- nayam*
people two PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come

Both: 'Two people are coming.' [nb02.81.wbi]

The speaker who gave the above sentences reported that both sound fine and mean the same thing, apart from some subtle difference that he was unable to clarify.

In his grammar of the Eastern dialect, Drabbe (1955: 26) also noted the two possible orderings, and claimed that a preposed numeral gives a definite interpretation ('the two people, both of those people'), and a postposed numeral an indefinite one ('two people'). This conclusion is not supported by my data.[1] Instead, I will argue that there are good reasons to believe that the pattern with a preposed numeral is the more basic structure, and that the numeral in this construction forms a tighter unit with the following numeral than the postposed numeral does. Below I will give examples of the distributional difference between two patterns. It should be admitted from the outset that it is difficult to find any clear semantic explanation for the ordering difference. My intuitive understanding is that the looser pattern with a postposed numerals, as well as numerals that are separated from their head nominal, gives something of a topic-comment flavor to the sentence: '[as for] people, two of them'.

5.1.3.1 Preposed numeral. The preposed option is found when the combination of a numeral and a noun forms a clear, tight constituent, e.g. when the unit functions as the topic of a sentence, like *inah anim ipe* 'those two people' in the following example:

(187) Describing hunters trying to bring their catch back to the village.
inah anim i-pe, mbaymbay k-a sinik
two people I/II.pl-DIST unable PRS.NEUT-3sg.A carry
'Those two people, they can't carry it.' [0050.28062015.3.wbi]

Adverbial expressions containing a numeral modifier always exhibit the preposing pattern, e.g. *hyakod yap* 'one night' in (188), or *hyakod say* 'one spot' in (189).

[1] In fact, it is contradicted by Drabbe's own data. See for example the noun phrase *iwag inah ipe* 'the two women' in Drabbe 1955, p. 164, line 1; this expression has a postposed numeral but can only have definite interpretation in the context (as signaled by the presence of the demonstrative *ipe* 'those').

(188) *hyakod ɣap epe k-ak-i-e- hok*
one night there DIR-1.A-RE-1PL- many.lie.down
'We slept there one more night.' [0087.23092016.7.wbi]

(189) About several deer shot by hunters.
hyakod say ka-d-ø- hihi-h
one place DIR-DUR-3sg.A- fall.PLA-2|3pl.U
'They fell in one spot.' [0048.28062015.1.wbi]

The same order is found in measure phrases that specify the quantity of something. In (190), the measure phrase is *inah plastik* 'two plastic bags'. Note that the measure phrase itself does not form a constituent with the measured noun *kanis* 'betelnut', from which it occurs separated by the verb complex. This is true for all measure phrases in my corpus.

(190) Betelnut had been buried in the ground.
nok kanis ɣe ma-ø- kaw-eg inah plastik
1 betelnut INGRS OBJ-1.A- INESS-dig two plastic.bag(m)
'I started digging up the betelnut, two plastic bags [of it].'
[0250.17102016.2.wbi]

5.1.3.2 Postposed numeral. The unambiguous examples of numerals placed after the head noun that I have observed are found in what might be called grammatically peripheral contexts. One typical instance is in lists. A set of instructions for someone heading for one of the dry-goods stores in the village could be given as follows, with each item on the list consisting of a noun followed by the numeral indicating the quantity:

(191) *kopi inah, od inah, kertas hyakod*
coffee(m) two sugar two rolling.paper(m) one
'[Buy] two [packages of] coffee, two [packages of] sugar, one [pack of] rolling paper.'

Another peripheral context is 'afterthought' constructions in which a noun phrase is appended to a sentence to provide clarification/additional information. Such structures have postposed numerals, e.g. *iwag inah* 'two women' in (192) and *kosi-slup hyakod* 'one small motorboat' in (193).

(192) *sipal ø-d-a- ya-hwala i-pe, iwag inah i-pe*
pregnant NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be I/II.pl-DIST woman two I/II.pl-DIST
'They were already pregnant, those two women.' [0043.16052015.1.dmh]

(193) *slup epe nda-d-ø- hat-a-ti kosi-slup hyakod*
motorboat(m) there LOC-DUR-3sg.A put-EXT-DUR small-motorboat(m) one
'There was a boat lying there, one small boat.' [0097.08092016.1.wbi]

I regard combinations with a head noun and a postposed numeral as making up a topic-comment structure in miniature, in the sense that the noun specifies some entity about which the numeral provides new, unpredictable information. This is clearest in the shopping list in (191) above ('As for coffee: buy two. As for sugar: …'), but this is probably also true for the afterthought constructions, since the head nouns in the extraposed phrases provide predictable or already known infomation, i.e. *iwag* 'women' in (192) and *slup* 'motorboat' (193), whereas the numerals provide less predictable specifications. Compare this to the 'true' focused numerals discussed in the next subsection, in which the numeral is placed in the syntactic (focus) slot preceding the verb complex.

There is one more structure that always exhibits postposed numerals: pronouns. It is unclear if the information-structural account of the ordering of numeral and noun is relevant in this case.

(194) a. *nok inah*
1 two
'the two of us'

b. *yoɣ inah*
2pl two
'the two of you'

5.1.3.3 Focused numerals. It was noted in connection with example (185) above that numerals often appear separated from their head noun. Another example is (374) on page 304. If there is no particular focus on the numeral expression, it can occur anywhere in the clause, e.g. at the end:

(195) *rusa t-e-nd-ah-e- w-amuk hyakod u-pe*
deer(m)(II) GIV-III-LOC-DEP-2pl.A- 3sg.U-hit one II-DIST
'that one deer that you shot at that point' [1135.16092016.1.wbi]

It is very common, however, to place a numeral in the pre-verbal position, which is the site of focused constituents in Marind (focus is the topic of Chapter 10). A clear

illustration of this is in next example, which was volunteered to me during elication of verbs meaning 'bite'. The numeral *inah* 'two' appears in the pre-verbal position, separated from its head noun *nggat* 'dog(s)' by the intervening A-argument *ahyaki* 'snake'.

(196) *nggat ahyaki inah m-a- y-alok*
dog snake two OBJ-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-stab
'The snake struck two dogs.' [nb02.81.wbi]

A reasonable interpretation of this example is that *nggat* 'dog(s)' is an independent noun phrase placed in the left-edge topic position (cf. Section 16.2.2 for topic-comment structures), and that it stands in an appositional relationship to the focused numeral *inah* 'two'. The option of placing the numeral 'two' in the focus position is particularly common, almost to the extent that it seems to fill the function that morphological dual marking (which is absent in Coastal Marind) has in many of the other languages of Southern New Guinea. Examples:

(197) The preceding context describes the whereabouts of the speaker's relatives, with whom he had traveled to Merauke. The speaker then turns to the activities of himself and his wife.
nahan kota inah ø-nan-d-e- nayat
1.EMPH town(m) two NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving
'[As for] ourselves, the two of us walked in town.' [0579.08092016.1.wbi]

(198) *hinabay ti inah ø-nak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah*
mother.in.law:3sg with:I/II.pl two NEUT-1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩
'His mother-in-law and I went.'
(lit. 'With his mother-in-law, the two of us went.') [0034.26102916.1.wbi]

5.2 Postpositional phrases

The noun functioning as the complement of the postposition (e.g. *milah* 'village' in *milah lik* 'from a village') apparently allows little syntactic modification. There are no attested examples with post-posed modifiers such as *ya* 'real; very' or *ap* 'also' added to the complement of a postposition, and I could not get such structures accepted in elicitation (e.g. ??*milah ya lik* 'from a real village'). Pre-posed modifiers are possible, as in (170) above.

Somewhat remarkably, it seems that the complement of a postposition may not be directly modified by demonstratives. Recall that the normal structure of a noun with its determiners is (Dem) N (Dem). With postpositional phrases, however, the demonstratives do not surround the noun itself, but rather the postpositional phrase as a whole, as in (199–200). Semantically, the demonstratives modify the complement NP, although syntactically they flank the PostP.

(199) *e-pe ad nanggo e-pe*
I-DIST father(I) for I-DIST
'for that man (lit. father)' [0434.27112016.4.wbi]

(200) *e-he namakad en e-he*
III-PROX thing(III) INSTR III-PROX
'with this thing' [0273.27112016.4.wbi]

The restricted possibilities of the complement to take modifers and determiners suggests that postpositions form a tight grammatical unit with the preceding noun, although this does not appear to be reflected in phonology.

5.3 Possession

In this section I provide an overview of the strategies that may be used to express attributive possession (conceived broadly) in Marind. There are four available techniques: (i) a postpositional phrase headed by Possessive *en* expressing the possessor; (ii) juxtaposition of the possessor and possessee; and expressing the possessor as an argument of the verb, coded by (iii) the Genitive prefix series, or (iv) the Dative prefix series.

A possessor expression headed by *en* forms a standard postpositional phrase and forms a constituent with the following noun (the possessee). In (201), the PostP [[*yay Ndawil*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *en*]$_{\text{PostP}}$ 'uncle Ndawid's' modifies the head noun *aha* 'house' within the larger NP [[[*yay Ndawil*] *en*] *aha*]$_{\text{NP}}$ 'uncle Ndawil's house'. As shown in (202), possessive phrases can be added recursively (although I have not recorded more than one level of recursion).

(201) *yay Ndawil en aha k-a- itala*
uncle Nd. POSS house PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- be.standing
'Uncle Ndawil's house is standing [here].' [0371.08092016.1.wbi]

(202) *amay en yay en pula*
ancestor POSS uncle POSS taboo.spot
'grandpa's uncle's taboo spot' [0324.17102016.2.wbi]

There are no particular restrictions on the type of ownership expressed by *en* (e.g. alienable/inalienable), so it is common with both juridical possession, as with the owned house in (201), and with kinship terms, as in *amay en yay* 'grandpa's uncle' in (202).

Like possessive constructions in other languages, structures with the Marind Possessive *en* have a much broader range than just marking possession. A general translation of expressions following the pattern ***X en Y*** is more accurately given as 'a Y associated with X' rather than 'X's Y'. For example, it is clear in example (203)—in which the speaker inquires about the whereabouts of a non-Papuan peddler with whom the addressees usually associate—that the relationship with the man is not one of possession, but general association. Similarly, the expression *sah en egog* in (204) does not refer to strict possession but rather association, 'the dance steps of the woman' (or 'the movements associated with the woman').

(203) *yoɣ en pu-anem e-pe, namaya ek-ø- um-e?*
2pl POSS Indonesian.man I-DIST now I:Q-3sg.A- go:PLA-IPFV
'Your Indonesian, does he usually come here now?' [0367.27112016.4.wbi]

(204) From a story in which a man teaches some other male villagers Western-style dancing.
sah en egog oɣ ø-mo-p- ka-ɣa-nggat
married.woman POSS movement 2sg NEUT-FUT:2sg.A-CT- WITH-2sg.U-become
'You will do the dance steps of the woman.' [0041.20052015.5.mkl]

Juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessee is restricted to the expression of kinship. In this function it competes with possession marked by Possessive *en*, and it is not entirely clear what makes speakers choose juxtaposition over the structure with *en*. It appears to be obligatory or strongly preferred when the possessee is a spouse, because the common words *eham* 'her husband' and *uhyum* 'his wife' are unattested with Possessive *en*. A typical example is (205), from a story in which the speaker systematically refers to an in-law (whose name he is not allowed to utter) as *Ndalom-Iwag eham*, literally 'Ndalom-Iwag her husband'.

(205) From a hunting story.

Ndalom-Iwag eham ɣe m-ø-in- umuh
Nd.-I. husband:3sg INGRS OBJ-3sg.A-ALL- go:3sg.U
'Ndalom-Iwag's husband went after [the pig].' [0600.16092016.1.wbi]

Other kinship terms that are recorded only in the juxtaposing structure are ***namek*** 'brother', as in (206), and the words for 'cousin' and 'husband's elder brother' in (207). On the other hand, many kinship terms are attested in the corpus with a Possessive ***en***-phrase, e.g. ***yay*** 'uncle', ***mayay-anem*** 'older brother', ***wanangga*** 'children', ***an*** 'mother'.[2]

(206) *nahan namek a-bat-ø- o-nggat yawal*
[1.EMPH brother DEP-3sg.A-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become deceased]
'our own brother who past away' [0253.27112016.4.wbi]

(207) In a story, a man introduces his wife to his ***onos*** 'cousin'.

nok onos ya k-a e-he, oɣ yakna k-a
1 cousin real PRS.NEUT-3sg.A I-PROX 2sg husband's.elder.bro:2sg PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'This is my cousin, your brother-in-law.' [0418.08092016.1.wbi]

The following example illustrates both the juxtaposing strategy (***nahan onos***) and the postpositional strategy with ***en***:

(208) *nahan onos en Maria u-pe*
1.EMPH cousin POSS M. II-DIST
'My own cousin's [daughter] Maria' [0089.27112016.4.wbi]

Bodyparts may enter into the postpositional structure (e.g. ***nok en pa*** 'my head') but this option is rare in corpus data. The more frequent strategy is to index the owner of the bodypart on the verb by means of the Dative prefix series (see §8.3). This marking option is only available if the bodypart is an argument of the verb (and not e.g. part of an adjunct NP). It is very frequent in expressions such as 'X hit/shot Y in the [bodypart]', as in (209). Example (210) shows Dative indexing on the copula (consisting of the prefixal complex without a following verb stem; see §15.4); a literal translation reflecting the Marind structure would be 'Good hands exist to me'.

[2]My data do not support Drabbe's (1955: 103) claim that it is the kinship terms lacking person forms that appear in the juxtaposing pattern.

(209) *bekaɣ ɣa s-ak-o- dahatuk*
heart real ONLY-1.A-3sg.DAT- shoot
'I shot right in [the wallaby's] heart.' [0222.21092016.1.wbi]

(210) *nok waninggap-sangga k-a-na*
1 good-hand PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT
'My hands are good/I have good hands.' [0229.16092016.1.wbi]

An equivalent structure is available for possessed non-bodyparts, using the Genitive prefixes (§8.4) on the verb instead of the Dative prefixes. In (211) the owner of *aha* 'house' is marked by means of the Genitive prefix. The difference between this example and an example such as (201) above, which uses the postpositional strategy, appears to be very subtle, and both strategies are common for marking owners of things as well as e.g. offspring and domestic animals in the corpus. Genitive marking is used in copula clauses as the standard way of expressing predicative possession, as in (212); see further §15.4.3.

(211) *Yambaya epe nda-d-ø-om- itala-ti aha*
Y. there LOC-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be.standing-DUR house
'Yambaya's house was standing there.' [0233.08092016.1.wbi]

(212) *tamuɣ mbya k-a-namb-e nok maɣay nanggo*
food NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl 1 front for
'We don't have any food for later on.' [0264.08092016.1.wbi]

5.4 Other modification

5.4.1 *isi* 'other'

This common modifier usually means 'other', as in (213). It occurs compounded with the modified noun, like other nominals used as modifiers.

(213) *ehe isi-nggat emba k-a- ɣ-a awan*
here other-dog side DIR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX many.run
'The other dogs were running somewhere else [...]' [0721.16092016.1.wbi]

It is also used independently as an NP 'the others'. In the following example the structure *isi…, isi…* means 'some [did X], others [did Y]':

(214) *isi kay ø-a- nayam, isi ku ti ø-a- nayam*
other road NEUT-3sg.A- many.come other raft with NEUT-3sg.A- many.come
'Some came by land, others came by rafts.' [0019.16052015.1.dmh]

In its modifying use *isi* also has an evaluative function, roughly according to the pattern *isi-X* 'quite some X, an extraordinary X'. In (215) Yustina Mahuze had been recounting some feats of her eldest son, and calls him *isi-anem*, literally 'other man'. In (216), from a story, the speaker had been describing how the villagers in Onggari (the official name; this village is called *Wanggali* in Wambi) had stared at them as they walked through the village at a time before inter-village travel became common. The speaker calls them *isi-kin* '(lit.) other eye', perhaps something like English '[they were] all eyes', i.e. they kept on staring.

(215) The speaker is praising her son.
Budi anep isi-anem ka-bat-ø
B. EMPH:III other-man PRS.NEUT-AFF-3sg.A
'Budi is really extraordinary.' [0139.16092016.1.wbi]

(216) *Wanggali lik isi-kin k-a, ado*
W. from:I/II.pl other-eye PRS.NEUT-3sg.A INTERJ
'The Onggari people like to stare at people, oh my!' [0352.08092016.1.wbi]

Compounded with a verb stem *isi* can mean 'wrongly'. In the next example, taken from the same story as (216), the speaker realizes that he made a mistake in the telling that needs to be corrected. This sentence features *isi* compounded with the nominally used verb stem *lay* 'tell', predicated by the Auxiliary, so a literal rendition could be 'I did other-telling to you'.

(217) *mbya k-a, isi-lay s-ak-um-a- n-a e-pe*
NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A other-tell ONLY-1.A-FRUS-2sg.DAT- 1.U-AUX III-DIST
'Oh no, I told it to you wrongly.' [0113.08092016.1.wbi]

5.4.2 The Associative Plural

Noun phrases marked by the Associative Plural *ke* or *keti* "denote a set comprised of the referent of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associated members" (Corbett 2000: 101; see also Moravcsik 2003). I adopt the convention of

translating expressions of the shape *Yakobus ke* or *Yakobus keti* as 'Yakobus and the others'.[3] The set marked by the Associated Plural is indexed on the verb according the normal rules for person indexing, as shown in the following corpus example.

(218) *amay keti menda-b-na- hus*
ancestor APL PERF-ACT-3pl.A- cross.river
'Grandpa and the others had already crossed the river.'
[0140.23092016.6.wbi]

The form *keti* is most likely a reinforcement of *ke* through the addition of *ti* 'with'. The forms are completely interchangeable and both forms are used by speakers of all ages in my corpus.

In my corpus data the Associative Plural is only attested with proper names, kinship terms, and 1st person pronouns. With 1st person pronouns *nok* 'I, we' and *nahan* 'myself, ourselves' it has a disambiguating function since these are unspecified for number. The addition of *ke* or *keti* is especially common when the 1st person pronoun is in a non-argument position, as in (219), in which it is possessor inside an NP. A 1st person that fills an argument position always has its number reference disambiguated by person indexing on the verb (presence/absence of the 1pl prefix *e-*), which obviates the need for the Assocative Plural.

(219) *nok keti en aha*
1 APL POSS house
'our house'

It is impossible to add the Associative plural to any other pronouns: **oŋ ke* 'you (sg) and the others' can only be expressed by the 2pl pronoun *yoŋ*.

I have not been able to find any context in which the Associative Plural can be used with standard lexical nouns. For example, I once heard the expression *Iyob ke* 'Iyob and the others' used to refer to Iyob, a prominent dog of the household, and some of the neighbor's dogs with which he often associates, but I was told that **nggat ke* 'the dog and the others' sounds strange and cannot be used. Similar lexical restrictions on associative plurals are found across languages (e.g. Daniel and Moravcsik 2013).

5.4.3 Other non-numeral quantifiers

See also Section 3.3.6.7 for information about the postposition *se* 'only'.

[3]The corresponding translation in local Malay is *Yakobus dorang*. *Dorang* is the 3rd person plural pronoun 'they', so literally 'Yakobus they'.

5.4.3.1 *mbya* 'all, completely'. When *mbya* functions as a quantifier it is always placed before the quantified nominal (a noun, adjective, or pronoun). Its interpretation is dependent on the context, and it is difficult to come up with an English gloss that captures its uses. The two main meanings expressed by *mbya* are: (i) exhaustivity or maximality, so the structure *mbya patul* can be translated 'all boys' (as in 'they were all boys') or 'only boys'; (ii) with actions directed at bodyparts, roughly 'straight at X, right in the X'.

The exhaustivity meaning is evident in examples (220–222). Cf. also the common expression *mbya sangga* literally 'all hands', used about hunters returning from a hunt without any catch, i.e. 'empty-handed'. With *ɣanid* 'day', *mbya* has a distributive meaning: *mbya ɣanid* 'every day'.

(220) Describing an injured bodypart.

tagu mbya talagi ø-d-a- ya-hwala
foot all tendon(IV) NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- IV.U-be
'The foot was only tendons.'
'Only tendons remained of the foot. [0020.08092016.1.wbi]

(221) Explaining why a sitting platform broke, causing the people on it to fall down.

mbya yaba-anim ø-nan-d-e-p- hamat-a isala
all big-people NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- many.sit-EXT sitting.platform
'We were all big people sitting on the platform.' [0091.27112016.4.wbi]

(222) Adapted from Drabbe 1955, p. 156, l. 18.
In a story, some children cut sticks for beating up a woman.

mbya dahwagis ka-d-na- l-esad-a
all short:III DIR-DUR-3pl.A- PLA-cut:III.U-EXT
'They cut them all short.'

The following example illustrates the use with actions directed at bodyparts. The expression *mbya muy* can be translated as 'right in the flesh'.

(223) *mbya muy e= k-ø-o-p- yaɣahwig*
all meat(III) PROX.III= DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-CT- plant:III.U
'He shot (lit. planted) it right here in the flesh.' [0135.28062015.2.wbi]

In addition, *mbya* has a specialized use in reciprocal contexts, in which it combines with an emphatic pronoun such as *nahan* 'ourselves'. The addition of this combination is optional and does not seem to contribute any particular meaning, since reciprocity is already marked on the verb (Reciprocal prefix *enam-*, with phonologically conditioned variants).

(224) *mbya nahan ɣe ma-n-d-inm-i-e- anetok*
all 1.EMPH INGRS OBJ-1.A-DUR-RCPR-RE-1pl- divide:III
'We started dividing [the food] amongst each other.' [0262.27112016.3.wbi]

Expressions such as *mbya nahan* are very frequent in the (elicited?) reciprocal examples given by Drabbe (1955), but they are fairly rare in my corpus.

5.4.3.2 Amount quantifiers. Such quantifiers are adverbials and do not form a constituent with the noun. They are usually, but not always, placed in the preverbal syntactic slot.

Large amount is indicated by means of the words *otih* 'many, all' (for count nouns) or *sam* 'big' (for substances). Compare the count noun *betik* (an intrusive fish species, *Anabas testudineus*) in (225a), with the mass noun *bensin* in (b). Some nouns, such as *kanis* 'betelnut', permit conceptualization as either individuable entities or as a substance, and may combine with either *otih* or *sam* (c).

(225) a. *betik otih/*sam ka-mo- lemeh!*
climbing.perch(m) many/big DIR-FUT:2sg.A- catch:2|3pl.U
'Catch lots of climbing perch!'

b. *bensin sam/*otih ndom k-a-nam*
gasoline big/many still PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN
'I still have a lot of gasoline.'

c. *kanis sam/otih ka-mo- ka-man-em!*
betelnut big/many DIR-FUT:2sg.A WITH-come-VEN
'Bring lots of betelnut!' [nb03.51.wbi]

The word *kosi* 'small' is used in the same way but for small amounts ('a little, a few'), and does not show any mass/count distinction.[4]

[4]It is also possible to use the word *papis* (identical to the gender IV form of the agreeing adjective *papVs*, §4.2.1) in the sense 'a few', but this use is only attested in elicited data, while *kosi* is common in the corpus. Drabbe's (1955: 23–24) mention of amount quantifiers in the Eastern dialect suggests a more complex situation than in the Western variety described here, with contrasts such as *papis basik* 'a

When the quantifier occurs in the syntactic slot before the verb and refers to the amount of the O-argument, as in (a) and (c) above, the verb takes the so-called Directional prefix *k-* instead of the usual Object prefix *m-* (see §10.1.4.4).

5.4.3.3 Intensifier *ɣa* 'real; very'. This is the all-purpose intensifier of Marind. It is placed after the word it modifies, e.g. *anim ɣa* 'real people'. There is some evidence that *ɣa* can float to other positions, at least in copula clauses, where it is attested clause-finally:

(226) The speaker is making fun of the shape of the addressee's head.

kata-pa *tu* *k-a* *oɣ* *ɣa*
scrubfowl-head with:II PRS.NEUT-3sg.A 2sg real
'You have a real scrubfowl head.' [0360.16092016.1.wbi]

The English translation of *ɣa* is completely context-dependent, so I will illustrate its use with various kinds of expressions as found in the corpus. The meaning 'real' with a noun was already seen in (226). With adjectives, *ɣa* means 'very' or 'really', i.e. indicates high degree:

(227) *sa* *ɣahyahy* *ɣa* *k-a*
sand soft:III real PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'The sand is really soft.' [0238.27082015.1.wbi]

A verb stem can be moved out of its usual position after the prefixal complex and modified with *ɣa* in a construction meaning 'to really Verb'. The stem+*ɣa* occurs immediately before the verb complex, which is headed by the Auxiliary, as in (228). The structure could be translated literally as 'I did real-seeing'.

(228) The speaker had been accused of lying about witnessing an earlier event.

mombali *k-a,* *anep* *idih* *ɣa* *ka-no-* *n-a*
bullshit PRS.NEUT-3sg.A EMPH:III see:3sg.U real DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX
'That's bullshit, I really saw it.' [0214.27082015.1.wbi]

With nouns denoting bodyparts, *ɣa* can indicate that one is referring to a spot that is really where the bodypart is, and not just close to it. This use is only attested

few pigs' vs. *basik papes* 'a small amount of pig [meat]'. I suspect, however, that Drabbe misinterpreted the placement of the amount quantifier in the pre-verbal position (e.g. [*basik*] [*papes*] Verb) as a fact of NP-internal syntax (i.e. [*basik papes*]$_{NP}$ Verb), when in fact it is an instantiation of the standard Topic–Focus–Verbal Complex template.

with verbs of hitting, shooting, spearing, etc., as in (229), from a hunting story. This use of *ɣa* is synonymous with the use of the preposed modifier *mbya* shown in (223) above.

(229) *bekay ɣa s-ø-o- deh*
heart real ONLY-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- shoot:3sg.U
'He just shot it right in the heart.' [0138.28062015.2.wbi]

The 'exact spot' use of *ɣa* is also found with nouns denoting places, as in the two following examples. All attestations of this use are with verbs of motion or position.

(230) […] *yaba-kayi, hekay ɣa ka-d-ø- umak-a-ti*
big-cassowary clearing real DIR-DUR-3sg.A- be.running-EXT-DUR
'a big cassowary, it was running right in the clearing.' [0944.16092016.1.wbi]

(231) *u-he yaba-rusa u-he, anup elet ɣa nda-d-a-p- tel*
II-PROX big-deer II-PROX EMPH:II far.end real LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT- be.lying
'This big deer, it was sleeping at the very far end [of the swamp].'
[0073.14052015.2.dmh]

With time expressions such as *kwemek* 'morning' and *usus* 'afternoon', *ɣa* narrows down reference to their most characteristic stage: *kwemek ɣa* 'early in the morning', *usus ɣa* 'late in the afternoon'. A corpus example:

(232) *usus ɣa menda-b-ø- ay*
afternoon real PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become
'It's already late in the afternoon.' [0359.08092016.1.wbi]

Nouns denoting bodyparts, locations, and stages of the day are clearly gradeable—something can be 'more or less' in a place, and one can debate when morning turns into noon—so it makes sense that Marind uses a single degree modifier to intensify these concepts.

Instead of describing *ɣa* as being polyfunctional (with multiple context-dependent interpretations) one could perhaps say that *X ɣa* means something like 'an undeniable instance of X': everybody would agree that 5pm is *usus* 'afternoon', and everybody would agree that the hunter in (229) hit the heart, and that the sand in (227) is soft, and so on. This approach to the meaning of *ɣa* undermines its ability to act as a test for distinguishing the word classes noun and adjective (cf. §3.2.2).

5.5 Coordination

According to Drabbe (1955: 110, 135) the particle *a* means 'and', and attaches after each coordinand: *X a Y a* 'X and Y'. In the dictated, carefully edited texts appended to Drabbe's grammar, this is a common pattern, which gives support to the analysis of *a* as a coordinator. In the data collected by myself, however, it is hard to find clear instances of the *X a Y a* pattern. It is more common to use *a* only after the first of two coordinands (*X a Y*), or, especially with longer lists with multiple coordinands, to use simple juxtaposition (without the particle *a*).

The next examples are two of the few convincing attestations of *X a Y a*, with two coordinated placenames *Mangang a Wiyeb a* 'M. and W.' in (233), and three coordinands *sayam a tuban a duy a* 'wallaby, bandicoot, and black bandicoot' in (234).

(233) *yaba-anim Mangang a Wiyeb a epe nda-d-ø- ya-hwala*
big-people M. PTCL W. PTCL there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be
i-pe
I/II.pl-DIST
'Lots of people were there in Mangang and Wiyeb.' [0227.17102016.2.wbi]

(234) *Budi ɣap ma-d-ø- ɣus tuban-sep,*
B. night OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- bake bandicoot-leaf.oven
sayam a tuban a duy a
wallaby PTCL bandicoot PTCL black.bandicoot PTCL
'At night Budi made a leaf oven with the bandicoot [meat]: [there was] wallaby, bandicoot and black bandicoot.' [0138-0139.16092016.1.wbi]

The next example shows the more common *X a Y* pattern in *ɣahu a ɣahway* 'your mother and your father'.

(235) *epe nd-ak-ind-e- tanggiɣ Kalaway, "a-bat- dahetok!*
there LOC-1.A-ALL-1pl- order K. IMP-AFF- return
ɣahu a ɣahway epe nd-a"
2sg:mother PTCL 2sg:father there LOC-3sg.A
'We ordered him away there in Kalawai, [saying] "You go home! Your mother and father are there".' [0650.08092016.1.wbi]

The NPs coordinated by means of *a* can also express alternatives, as in (236–237).

(236) During an expedition inland, a man was injured and could not walk without assistance.

ehe namaɣa nda-m-b-e- n-a og? anem-sinik a, namakad-sinik a?
here now LOC-FUT:1.A-ACT-1pl- 1.U-AUX do man-carry PTCL thing-carry PTCL

'How shall we do now? Carry the things or carry the man?'

[0208-0209.17102016.2.wbi]

(237) *yah mak-ap- w-esoh-a-m ɣapap a ɣopo*
but FUT:1.A-CT- 3sg.U-follow-EXT-VEN tomorrow PTCL day.after.tomorrow

'Then I will follow tomorrow or so.' [0254.27112016.3.wbi]

Chapter 6

Nominal gender

Marind has a gender system comprising four genders. I follow the conventions established by Drabbe (1955) and refer to them as genders I–IV (only replacing Drabbe's arabic numerals with roman ones). The vast majority of nouns that I have recorded are conventionally assigned to one of the four genders, and always trigger agreement according to that gender.

The basis for gender assignment is animacy: all nouns denoting animate beings are assigned to genders I and II, and inanimates to genders III and IV. Within animates, gender I contains male humans, while gender II contains female humans and all animals (regardless of biological sex). In contrast, there is no obvious rationale (semantic or phonological) for the assignment of inanimates to gender III and IV, but note that gender III is considerably larger (452 recorded members) than gender IV (195 members). There are also good reasons to consider gender III a 'default' gender, because when agreeing targets (e.g. demonstratives) occur in syntactic contexts that do not allow agreement (e.g. in some adverbial positions) it is always the gender III form of the target that is used.

Similar four-gender systems—featuring roughly one masculine, one feminine and two inanimate genders—are found throughout the Anim language family. Usher and Suter (2015) present data (from missionary-linguists Roland Fumey and Robert Petterson) showing evidence of four genders in the languages Kuni (of the Lake Murray subgroup) and Ipiko (of the Inland Gulf subgroup), and ongoing research by Phillip Rogers has unearthed four genders in Bitur (of the Lower Fly subgroup). During my own fieldwork I was also able to identify four genders in the other languages of the Marindic subgroup, i.e. Central Marind and the Upper Bian language. It seems reasonable to conclude that four genders were present in the proto-Anim language and that they have been inherited—with some differences in assignment principles—by its present-day descendants.

Like Corbett (1991), I find Hockett's definition of gender as 'classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words' (1958: 231) to be a useful starting point for the investigation. There is a small number of nouns in Marind that exhibit vowel alternations corresponding to assignment to different genders (with a predictable change in meaning), but it is the pervasive phenomenon of gender agreement in targets such as determiners, adjectives and verbs that makes it necessary to posit the category gender for Marind. I provide an overview of the reflection of gender in such 'associated words' in Section 6.1. The principles of gender membership are reviewed in more detail in Section 6.2. More detailed discussion of some agreement phenomena is in Section 6.3.

6.1 Overview of gender agreement

The aim of this section is to provide the basic data that demonstrate that Marind has a gender system. I will do this by showing agreement on two different targets: demonstratives used as determiners, and adjectives. Similar expositions of the Marind gender system have appeared in Foley (1986: 82–83, based on Drabbe 1955: 19) and in Corbett (1991: 116, based on Foley).

The data in (238) illustrate the behavior of the distal demonstrative *Vpe* when it functions as a determiner within a noun phrase. In (a) the demonstrative appears in the shape *epe*, because it combines with the noun *patul* 'boy'. In (b) it has the shape *upe*, because it occurs with the noun *kyasom* 'girl'. These nouns belong to gender I and II, since they denote a male and a female human respectively. In (c–d), plural reference is made, which causes the demonstrative to be realized as *ipe*. Since no distinction between genders I and II is made in the plural, I gloss the *i*-form of the demonstrative as 'I/II.pl'. Note that the nouns themselves are invariant, so the number difference is only manifested in the agreement form of the determining element *Vpe*.

(238)

a. *patul e-pe*
boy I-DIST
'that boy'

b. *kyasom u-pe*
girl II-DIST
'that girl'

c. *patul i-pe*
boy I/II.pl-DIST
'those boys'

d. *kyasom i-pe*
girl I/II.pl-DIST
'those girls'

Consider now the inanimate nouns in (239). The noun *da* 'sago, sago palm' in (a) triggers the demonstrative *epe*, and the noun *bomi* 'termite mound' in (b) triggers *ipe*. These forms happen to be homophonous with the demonstratives used for the gender I noun in (238a) and with the plural forms in (c–d). But the agreement pattern is different for the inanimate nouns 'sago' and 'termite mound' with respect to number: the forms in (239a–b) can be used for both singular and plural reference, whereas the animate nouns above required special plural forms of the demonstrative. The four different agreement patterns (or agreement classes) can be used as evidence suggesting four separate genders in the language.

(239)

a.	*da*	*e-pe*		b.	*bomi*	*i-pe*
	sago	III-DIST			termite.mound	IV-DIST
	'that sago palm'				'that termite mound'	
	'those sago palms'				'those termite mounds'	

We find further support for the four-gender analysis looking at other agreement targets, such as agreeing adjectives. Only a small subclass of 16 adjectives agree in gender, and it is somewhat difficult to find an adjective that is equally compatible with animate and inanimate referents (for example, the agreeing adjective meaning 'ripe' is only used with fruits and vegetables, never with animates). In (240) I illustrate adjectival agreement with *samlaɣVn*, 'mid-size, neither too big nor too small' an adjective that speakers found acceptable with both types of referents.

In its attributive use, the adjective is compounded with the noun. Agreement is signaled by a change in the stem-final vowel of the adjective, marked by boldface. The pattern of exponence differs slightly for different adjectives (cf. Table 4.2 in Section 4.2). As seen below, *samlaɣVn* shows almost the same pattern of exponence as the demonstrative *Vpe*: gender I triggers the vowel *e*, gender II *u*, while gender IV and the plural of genders I & II trigger *i*. The only difference is that this target lacks the homonymy between genders I and III, and exhibits a distinct agreement form with the vowel *a* for gender III.

(240) Agreement on the adjective *samlaɣVn* 'mid-size'

a.	*samlaɣ**e**n-patul*	'mid-size boy'	(I)
b.	*samlaɣ**u**n-kyasom*	'mid-size girl'	(II)
c.	*samlaɣ**i**n-patul*	'mid-size boys'	(I/II.pl)
d.	*samlaɣ**i**n-kyasom*	'mid-size girls'	(I/II.pl)
e.	*samlaɣ**a**n-da*	'mid-size sago palm(s)'	(III)
f.	*samlaɣ**i**n-bomi*	'mid-size termite mound(s)'	(IV)

The patterns of exponence exhibited by the two targets seen so far, *Vpe* 'that' and *samlaɣVn* 'mid-size', are diagrammed in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Exponents of agreement on two targets.

	sg	pl
I	e	i
II	u	
III	e	
IV	i	

Vpe 'that'

	sg	pl
I	e	i
II	u	
III	a	
IV	i	

samlaɣVn 'mid-size'

The four agreement patterns seen with these targets recur with all agreeing targets in the language, although with some differences in the exponent vowels. It will be seen in the following section that each pattern picks out a sufficiently large set of nouns to posit four full-fledged genders in Marind.

A final remark on the exponence pattern shown by the vowels is in place. It was noted that the vowel /i/ marks gender IV, but also the plural of gender I & II. This homophony pattern recurs systematically with all targets, and is potentially worrisome for the four-gender analysis. It is common to find nouns across languages that invariably trigger plural agreement, even in contexts of singular reference, e.g. English *scissors* or Russian *časy* 'clock'. Such nouns are called pluralia tantum, and are generally not considered to form a separate gender—they just happen to have a fixed number value. This suggests an alternative analysis of the Marind gender system, according to which gender IV nouns like *bomi* 'termite mound(s)' do not form a separate gender, but are simply members of genders I or II that happen to have a fixed plural value. I will address this issue in Section 6.3.2.

6.2 Assignment

At the end of my fieldwork, the lexical database contained ca. 1100 nouns, of which I had been able to identify the gender membership of 949. 25 nouns lack conventionalized gender assignment and trigger agreement according to the referent at hand, as discussed in Section 6.2.3. The remainder are nouns that I either did not have the opportunity to check for gender, or nouns for which I failed to get information about gender membership.

Below I repeat the semantic basis for assignment, along with numbers showing the distribution of the 949 nouns that could be assigned to genders:

I	male humans	16	(2%)
II	female humans, all animals	286	(30%)
III	inanimates	452	(48%)
IV	inanimates	195	(20%)

There is only a small number of nouns that exclusively denote either men or women, most of them kinship terms (e.g. *ad* 'father') or terms for age classes (e.g. *mesiwag* 'old woman'). This explains why gender I (male humans) has so few members. The membership of gender II is larger since it includes well over 200 animal names. More details on the assignment of nouns to genders are given in the following subsections.

6.2.1 Assignment of animates

6.2.1.1 Humans. The assignment of male humans to gender I and female humans to gender II has no known exceptions. Nouns that are assigned to gender I include male-denoting kinship terms such as *yay* 'mother's brother', *pap* 'husband's father' and *mbit* 'elder sister's husband' etc., and male-denoting person terms such as *patul* 'boy', *ɣasti* 'old man', *mes-meakim* 'unmarried older man', *ewati* 'young man (of marriageable age)' etc. Nouns denoting female humans in gender II include the kinship terms *ne* 'elder brother's wife', *kak* 'father's sister', *nikna* 'son's wife' etc., and person terms such as *kyasom* 'girl', *iwag* 'woman', *sah* 'married woman', and so on.

Other person-denoting nouns are not restricted to either sex, and may be used to refer to either a man or a woman. Examples are *ɣunaɣon* 'infant' and *onos* 'cousin', which trigger agreement in gender I or II depending on whether the referent given in the context is male or female. In the dictionary I list members of this group of nouns (which also includes some nouns denoting inanimate things) as having 'referential gender' (see Section 6.2.3).[1]

6.2.1.2 Animals. Animals always trigger agreement in gender II. This is true even when reference is made to a male animal (e.g. *gomna* 'male pig') and for most animals with anthropomorphic traits in stories. No special treatment is given according to shape, size or prototypicality: pigs and cassowaries belong to gender II,

[1]The distinction between human-denoting nouns as displaying inherent vs. referential gender is somewhat artificial, since it could be argued that all nouns for humans have referential gender—it just happens that some words, e.g. *yay* 'mother's brother', always have a male human as their referent and therefore invariably trigger gender I agreement. This is a valid point since it captures the fact that gender assignment of humans is completely predictable (cf. German *Mädchen* 'girl', which is grammatically Neuter, not Feminine). Despite this, I choose to treat words such as *yay* 'mother's brother' as having conventionalized gender I, since this makes the usage clearer, and avoids the counter-intuitive conclusion that gender I has zero members.

just like lice, jellyfish and barnacles. In this respect Marind appears to differ from at least some other Anim languages, such as Bitur, in which animals are divided between the Masculine and Feminine genders (corresponding to Marind genders I and II), although the principles behind the assignment are not entirely clear (Phillip Rogers, pers. comm.).[2]

6.2.1.3 Border-line animates and animacy spillover. The real-world distinction between animate and inanimate entities is not always easy to draw, and when languages incorporate this distinction into their grammars it is often the case that some nouns are treated like animates despite denoting items that are clearly inanimate (see e.g. Corbett 1991: 20–21 for Algonquian languages). Here I will list some Marind nouns that denote inanimates, yet 'spill over' into gender II, as if they were animals.

All words for stars and stellar constellations are assigned to gender II. Giving stars animate status is motivated from a cosmological point of view, although it seems that different stars were traditionally considered to be men, women or animals (these finer mythological distinctions are apparently not reflected in gender). For example, the Milky Way is referred to as *ahyaki* 'snake' (I also heard *yalet-ahyaki* 'dangerous snake'). Betelgeuse has the Marind name *olib*, which is also the name of a small flatfish species. The three stars in Orion's Belt are boys spearing the *olib* fish (van Baal 1966: 295fn.113, Wirz 1922/1925: vol. 2, p. 81).[3] However, it appears the both *katane* 'sun' and *mandaw* 'moon' are treated as inanimates and assigned to gender III, despite being male beings in the mythology (van Baal 1966: passim).[4]

The noun *at* 'skin mole' belongs to gender II, as observed by Drabbe (1955: 17). This is perhaps motivated by the similarity between moles and animals living on the skin such as lice and ticks. Other skin conditions belong to gender IV (e.g. *apupin* 'pimple'), as discussed below.

Kites are assigned to gender II. I have only heard the Malay word *layang-layang* used for these aircrafts, but one speaker said that he had heard a native term, although he could not recall it. The motivation for the gender assignment is perhaps the similarity with birds (the Malay term, however, comes from a verb meaning 'to fly' and is unrelated to birds).

[2] I suggest in Olsson (forthcoming) that certain phonological patterns in Marind animal terms indicate that the assignment to gender II is an innovation, and that these words were divided between genders I and II at an earlier stage.

[3] Drabbe (1955: 17) erronously claims that stars are female in Marind mythology.

[4] Admittedly, it is hard to establish with absolute certainty whether the sun and moon belong to gender III or gender I, because the main morphological difference between the two is that gender I nouns trigger *i*-forms in the plural, but I have never recorded 'sun' and 'moon' with plural reference in Marind discourse. This is a point for future investigation.

In addition it can be mentioned that corpses remain animate, so the cadaver of a pig triggers gender II agreement even after it technically has ceased to be animate.

6.2.2 Assignment of inanimates

All inanimates (except for the borderline cases mentioned in Section 6.2.1.3) are divided between genders III and IV, with the majority (70%) of the nouns assigned to gender III. It is not possible to devise hard and fast rules predicting membership of inanimates, so the best advice for a learner of Marind is to memorize all of the minority nouns belonging to gender IV, and to treat the remaining nouns as gender III by default. However, there are some tendencies in gender membership, to be outlined in the following subsections. Some of these admittedly have an ad hoc flavor, and it is possible that other linguists would discern other (robuster) patterns in the same data.

Semantic fields that are predominantly assigned to gender III (e.g. abstracts, places, and wheather phenomena) and gender IV (e.g. skin conditions and body decorations) are listed in §6.2.2.1 and §6.2.2.2 respectively. Semantic fields that are split across genders III and IV (mainly body parts and plants) are presented in §6.2.2.3.

6.2.2.1 Semantic fields predominantly in gender III. Here I list categories whose members appear to be uniformly assigned to gender III, with no known exceptions to date. Examples are given for each semantic field.

- ABSTRACTS AND INTANGIBLES: *dul* 'shame', *abna* 'theft', *emel* 'hunger', *ena* 'heat', *hi* 'song', *imu* 'smell', *sal* 'taboo', *ul* 'news, message', *mayan* 'speech, language', *hwetok* 'thought', *kambala* 'k.o. black magic', *kuy* 'head hunting', *nggathi* 'sing-sing', *bawan* 'clan'.

- PLACES, LANDMARKS: *bob* 'swamp', *aliki* 'river', *duh* 'beach, coast', *tutu* 'current', *etob* 'tide, ocean', *ɣahwaɣah* 'forest', *hekay* 'clearing', *makan* 'ground, land', *mamuy* 'savanna', *pale* 'land ridge', *poya* 'garden', *milah* 'village'. All place-names and locations.

- WEATHER PHENOMENA: *kiwal* 'wind', *wakeh* 'northern wind', *ahwadak* 'light breeze', *ɣe* 'rain', *malob* 'rainbow', *omom* 'clouds', *satap* 'dew', *laku* 'fog', *misalaw* 'clear, blue sky'.

- LIQUIDS: *ahwasi* 'tears', *gel* 'sap', *huhu* 'wound liquid, exudate', *kanola* 'semen', *kono* 'urine', *do* 'blood', *bub* 'milk' (also 'breast'), *adaka* 'water', *sa-halay* 'oil,

gasoline'.

Nouns in the following categories overwhelmingly fall into gender III. Below are sample nouns, after which I list all known exceptions.

- TRADITIONAL ARTIFACTS: *akada* 'fish hook', *bakuma* 'big basket', *kalal* 'trap', *kandala* 'drum', *kipa* 'net', *mbasom* 'axe', *pandu* 'fan', *wad* 'basket strapped to head', *kehway* 'paddle', *aha* 'house', *mih* 'bow', *tangge* 'arrow', *ok* 'k.o. small arrow'.
  - Exceptions, in gender IV: *kahil* 'tongs', *bayis* 'pestle', *imadeh* 'quiver', *nggim* 'bracer'. Several types of arrows, e.g.: *ambata* 'trident arrow', *kapan* 'blunt tip arrow'.
- MASSES: *sa* 'sand', *dalo* 'mud', *ahwa* 'red clay sp.', *ndahwe* 'edible clay sp.', *gumna* 'ashes', *wi* 'contents of fruit/shellfish', *kabel* 'fat, grease', *wah* 'steam, vapor', *lak* 'smoke', *takah* 'firewood' (also 'fire').
  - Exceptions, in gender IV: *ndalom* 'foam', *kangging* 'layer of crushed seashells on the beach', *po* 'white clay sp.'.

6.2.2.2 Semantic fields predominantly in gender IV. I have not been able to identify any semantic field that is entirely restricted to gender IV.

- SKIN CONDITIONS: *apupin* 'pimple', *bunggi* 'boil', *tibol* 'large boil', *dapadap* 'skin disease (prob. Tinea Versicolor)', *gewa* 'k.o. itching rash', *kambi* 'skin disease (prob. Tinea Imbricata)', *mbilambil* 'skin disease (ringworm?)', *samani* 'scabies'.
  - Exceptions, in gender III: *mam* 'skin disease (in dogs)', *mapo* 'disease causing sores in scalp'.
- BODY DECORATIONS: *himbu* 'feathered headdress', *mbalal* 'bracelet worn on upper arm', *panggo* 'pubic shell (traditionally worn by women)', *segos* 'rattan girdle', *baway* 'grass skirt', *kayso* 'feathered stick (worn on arm)', *kindali* 'nautilus shell (hung around neck)', *wale* 'k.o. bracelet', *ihil* 'k.o. earrings', *baba* 'necklace from seeds of Coix Lacryma-jobi'.
  - Exceptions, in gender III: *ud* 'girl's traditional headwear', *sayu* 'pubic shell (traditionally worn by men)', *kalam* 'k.o. necklace'.
- MODERN TECHNOLOGY & TOOLS, ELECTRONIC APPLIANCES: *lahwalah-yahun* 'airplane', *yahun* 'ship' (if used in gender III, this words means 'canoe'), *katal* 'money' (if in gender III: 'stone'). Malay loanwords: *jarum* 'needle', *kunci* 'key', *sensor* 'chain

saw', *bolpen* 'ballpoint pen', *HP* 'mobile phone', *spid* 'motorboat', *cas* 'power cord'.

- Exceptions, in gender III: *nggawil-yahun* 'motorcycle', *lampu* 'lamp' (<Malay).

6.2.2.3 Semantic fields divided between genders III & IV. Two large semantic fields are split between the two inanimate genders: bodyparts (ca. 70% in gender III, and 30% in gender IV) and flora (60% gender III, 40% gender IV). Samples are given in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The proportion of nouns in each gender mirrors fairly well the overall distribution of inanimate nouns in the language (approx. 70%–30% genders III–IV). Synchronically there is no discernible semantic basis explaining why certain bodyparts or plants belong to one gender and not the other.

I have shown elsewhere (Olsson forthcoming) that the stem-final vowels /a/ and /i/ are over-represented in words of gender III and IV respectively, a phonological skewing that arose through the same umlaut process that gave rise to overt gender in some nouns (Section 4.1.1). That the vowels show traces of this historical process can be shown with stastical measures, but it is not valid as a synchronic assignment principle. For example, most nouns in gender IV do not have /i/ as their stem-final vowel, and many nouns with stem-final /i/ belong to gender III.

6.2.3 Referential gender

As mentioned in Section 6.2.1.1 I treat nouns such as *ɣunaɣon* 'infant'—which can trigger gender I or gender II agreement depending on whether the referent is male or female—as exhibiting 'referential gender' (Dahl 2000). It is mostly nouns that denote humans (e.g. kinship terms, see §6.2.1.1) that lack inherent gender, but also a small number of inanimate nouns. So far the following have been recorded:

- *oɣak* 'pillow, headrest'. Any suitable item can be used as a headrest for a nap. The word *oɣak* triggers III agreement if one uses, say, some rolled up clothes (*wanugu*, III) and gender IV if a coconut leaf stalk (*bing*, IV) is used.
- *ageɣ* 'bait' is gender II if a worm (*alo*, II) is used, gender III if the bait is a piece of meat (*muɣ*, III).
- *nen* 'shoot for planting; animal for raising' is gender III if it refers to e.g. a cutting from a kava plant (*wati*, III), and gender IV if a taro corm (*kem*, IV) is being planted. The word *nen* is also used for e.g. pups and piglets, especially when given as gifts for someone to raise, and it then triggers gender II agreement (animals are always gender II).

Table 6.1: Gender assignment of some bodyparts.

Gender III				Gender IV	
anggip-bal	'nostril'	*mbaku*	'nape of neck'	*bi*	'rectum'
atak	'groin'	*mom*	'snot'	*bop*	'bird's chest'
babake	'mouth'	*muk*	'elbow'	*ɣambul*	'upper part of arm'
bayalim	'body odour'	*muy*	'meat'	*galgala*	'shoulder, upper arm'
bekay	'heart'	*na*	'feces'	*halahil*	'lungs'
bub	'breast; milk'	*nay*	'front of neck'	*ibayak*	'kidneys'
bud	'ear lobe'	*ombo*	'scrotum'	*itil*	'nail/claw'
dakum	'navel'	*pa*	'head'	*kalambit*	'tendon'
dam	'collar bone'	*palapal*	'temple'	*kasil*	'breast bone'
ete	'chin'	*pangga*	'buttocks'	*kindiput*	'eyebrows'
ɣandam	'stomach'	*pe*	'intestines'	*ko*	'womb'
ɣas	'beard'	*pela*	'vagina'	*mayos*	'swim bladder of fish'
ɣohwed	'hip'	*pip*	'cheek'	*mig*	'knee'
ɣomu	'brains'	*sangga*	'hand, arm'	*ndas*	'nose bone'
gomna	'fang of pig'	*sews*	'back'	*nggil*	'fin (of shark)'
gon	'tail bone'	*tagu*	'leg, foot'	*on*	'liver'
hayaw	'bone'	*tah*	'wing'	*put*	'feather'
hin	'shin'	*tepod*	'turtle's tail'	*sagasig*	'Achille's tendon'
isalet	'little finger'	*tepod*	'heel'	*sagit*	'pig's mane'
isas	'footprint'	*ugu*	'skin'	*sakih*	'wallaby's leg'
kabel	'fat'	*un*	'white hair'	*saning*	'ankle joint'
kadakda	'Adam's apple'	*unum*	'tongue'	*suh*	'vulva'
kaka	'afterbirth'	*upen*	'fin'	*talagi*	'tendon'
kambet	'ear'	*wahani*	'body'	*tatih*	'hair'
lul	'fur'	*wap*	'thigh'	*tiwna*	'gums'
manggat	'tooth'	*utup*	'lips'	*uhik*	'penis'

6.2.3.1 Overt gender. The reader is referred to Section 4.1.1 for a list of nouns exhibiting overt gender marking—such as *anem* 'man' (I), *anum* 'woman' (II), *anim* 'people' (I/II.pl) etc.—along with some discussion of e.g. their lexemic status. If these nouns are considered to be forms of general lexemes such as *anVm* 'person', then they should also be considered a subset of the nouns exhibiting referential gender.

For example, the stem *namakVd* exhibits overt gender marking and could perhaps be glossed 'non-human entity'. The gender II form *namakud* means 'animal' (plural *namakid* 'animals'), while the gender III *namakad* and gender IV *namakid* both mean 'thing' and are used for unspecified items corresponding to each gender. Thus, I have heard *namakad* used as a euphemism for *pela* 'vagina' (III) and *namakid* as a euphemism for *uhik* 'penis' (IV). The latter uses are clearly instances of referential gender; it is more unclear whether *namakud* 'animal' is a part of the same pattern or should be considered a separate lexeme.

6.2.3.2 Inherited gender. A handful of nouns receive their gender specification through a subtype of referential gender, which I call inherited gender (following

Table 6.2: Gender assignment of some common plants.

Gender III		Gender IV	
ake	'gambier (Uncaria gambir)'	*badi*	'tree sp. (Banksia sp.?)'
bagaw	'ginger'	*elel*	'floating fern sp.'
balok	'yam sp.'	*ɣabo-kambet*	'croton sp.'
bus	'eucalyptus'	*kambali*	'seaweed sp.'
da	'sago'	*kasuk*	'Planchonia papuana'
ɣalah	'mangrove (Rhizophora sp.)'	*kem*	'taro (Colocasia esculenta)'
gal	'Nauclea orientalis'	*kondo-nini*	'croton sp.'
gelud	'Excoecaria agallocha'	*lug*	'Terminalia catappa'
ihw	'lemongrass (Cymbopogon sp.)'	*mamat*	'water lily sp.'
kan	'tree sp.'	*ngganggin*	'croton sp.'
kanis	'betel palm (Areca catechu)'	*nggatnggat*	'fern sp.'
kin-de	'chili pepper'	*ndik-isas*	'croton sp.'
napet	'banana'	*nggeh*	'palm sp.'
od	'sugar cane'	*pak*	'cordyline (?)'
onggat	'coconut'	*pale-yowi*	'garlic'
sote	'palm sp.'	*salingga*	'tree sp. (Pandanus sp.)'
suba	'bamboo'	*song*	'thin bamboo sp.'
ukap	'k.o. galangal'	*tup*	'rattan'
umasa	'kunai grass (Imperata cylindrica)'	*wimap*	'coconut with sweet husk'
wakati	'Hibiscus tiliaceus'		
wati	'kava (Piper methysticum)'		
wiwi	'mango sp.'		
yaluwa	'Barringtonia asiatica'		

Evans 1994). The clearest cases are the nouns *igih* 'name', *abab* 'reflection, shadow' and *nanVh* 'face' (gender II *nanuh*, all other genders *nanih*). These nouns 'inherit' the gender value of the referent to which they are attached, so *igih* 'name' triggers gender I agreement if it refers to the name of a man (*igih e-pe* 'that [male] name'), gender II agreement if it refers to the name of a woman or a named animal (*igih u-pe* 'that [female/animal] name'), and so on. The following commonly heard questions show gender agreement reflected on the interrogative pronoun:

(241) a. *igih ta ka-ha-b-ø?*
name what:I PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A
'What's his name?'

b. *igih tu ka-ha-b-ø?*
name what:II PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A
'What's her/its name?'

According to the speakers I consulted, the agreement on the interrogative pronoun is also observed when the name of an inanimate entity is asked for, so *ta* 'what:III' should be used to ask about any item that one knows/assumes to be in gender III,

and *ti* 'what:IV' for a gender IV item. I do not have any spontaneous data bearing on this issue, but it seems unlikely that this (prescriptive) rule is followed with any strictness, since the gender of unfamiliar items is generally hard to predict.

Corbett (2006: 48), discussing data from the Australian language Nungali, suggests that pairs of nouns with inherited gender might be treated as derivationally related instead of obeying special assignment principles. If this was done for the Marind nouns we would end up with lexemes such as *nanuh* (II) 'face of woman or animal' and *igih* (III) 'name of entity belonging to gender III'. These glosses are oddly specific in their reference to the distinctions of the gender system, so I believe that it is better to retain the gender inheritance analysis and describe a lexeme such as *nanVh* as having the more general meaning 'face', and so on.

6.2.4 Gender doublets

There are several instances of nouns with identical phonological shape belonging to different genders and having different meanings. Some of these are just accidental homonyms, e.g. *wah* 'his/her mother' (gender II) and *wah* 'steam, vapor' (gender III). For others there seems to be a semantic connection, suggesting that the meaning of one noun is a (metaphorical) extension of the other noun, and that the shift in meaning is accompanied by assignment to a different gender.

Consider the following two pairs: the gender II noun *ambay* 'leech' corresponds to the homonymous gender IV noun *ambay* 'uvula', and alongside the gender II noun *saley* 'shrimp' there is the gender IV homonym *saley* 'coconut inflorescence'. It seems likely that the animal terms (in gender II) are primary in this case, and that they have been the sources of metaphorical extensions based on shape: the uvula is somewhat similar to a leech attaching to the palate, and the coconut flower is shaped approximately like a shrimp, with the bent spathe resembling the shell, and the spikelets sticking out of the spathe corresponding to the shrimp's legs. Some more doublets are listed in Figure 6.2.

It is interesting to note that for many of the doublets that I have found in which the innovative member denotes an inanimate, this member is assigned to gender IV, like in the case of 'uvula' and 'coconut inflorescence'. Other examples for which I judge the IV noun to be innovated are e.g.: 'tapeworm' (II) > 'noodles' (IV), 'stone' (III) > 'money' (IV), 'coconut shell' (III) > 'knee cap' (IV). This is suggestive of some metaphorical principle that adds new members to gender IV, although there are not enough examples to elucidate the details behind this principle. There are also exceptions, for 'bow string' (III) is most likely an extension of the word 'rattan' (IV), since rattan often serves as the material for making bow strings.

Figure 6.2: Some gender doublets.

alalin	II	'tapeworm'	*manggon*	III	'coconut shell'
	IV	'noodles'		IV	'knee cap'
saley	II	'shrimp'	*ndakindaki*	II	'firefly'
	IV	'coconut inflorescence'		IV	'bioluminescence'
kayahwek	II	'fish sp. (sawfish)'	*ambay*	II	'leech'
	III	'sago beating stick'		IV	'uvula'
kaniskanis	II	'beetle sp.'	*tup*	III	'bow string'
	III	'plant sp.'		IV	'rattan'
katal	III	'stone'	*yahun*	III	'canoe'
	IV	(i) 'stone used in leaf oven'		IV	'ship'
		(ii) 'money'			
koy	II	'crustacean sp.'			
	III	'lime (calcium oxide)'			

6.2.5 Evidence for an inquorate gender

Corbett (1991: 170–175) discusses cases of exceptional nouns that trigger agreement of one gender in the singular, but another gender in the plural (for example, French *délice* 'delight' triggers masculine agreement in the singular, but has a feminine plural). Corbett argues that if there is only one or a few nouns that correspond to this agreement pattern, then they should not be accorded the status of a separate gender, but instead be treated as an 'inquorate' gender.

In Marind, the noun *yahun* can be described as making up an inquorate gender in one of its uses. In its most frequent use, *yahun* is a gender III noun and means 'canoe' (also extended to cars and motorcycles). There is also a gender IV noun *yahun* that is used about modern ships, and also appears in the compound *lahwalah-yahun* 'airplane' (gender IV; *lahwalah* means 'above, on top'). In addition to these lexemes, *yahun* is used about outrigger canoes, but with exceptional agreement behavior: it triggers gender III agreement when reference is made to a single outrigger canoe, and gender IV agreement when designating several outrigger canoes. This is demonstrated in (242), showing agreement on demonstratives and the adjective *akVk* 'light, not heavy', and in (243), showing agreement in two parts of the verb complex (the prefixal complex and the verb stem).

(242) a. *yahun e-pe akak k-a*
canoe III-DIST light:III PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'That outrigger canoe is light.'

b. *yahun i-pe akik k-a*
canoe IV-DIST light:IV PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'Those outrigger canoes are light.' [nb02.42.dmh]

(243) a. *yahun e-pe t-e-k-a- hawa-la*
canoe III-DIST GIV-III-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- emerge:III.U-EXT
'There's an outrigger canoe coming out.'

b. *yahun i-pe t-i-k-a- huhu-h-la*
canoe IV-DIST GIV-IV-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- emerge.PLA-IV.U-EXT
'There are outrigger canoes coming out.' [nb02.126.wbi]

The exceptional behavior of 'outrigger canoe' is surprising, because such canoes are very rare in my experience (the only outrigger canoe I saw in Wambi seemed to have been lying on land for years). I have no spontaneous data illustrating the gender/number contrast with this noun, so both of the above examples are from elicitation, but from two different occasions and two different speakers (one from Duhmilah, one from Wambi). Since the data was confirmed independently by different speakers I conclude that *yahun* in the sense 'outrigger canoe' makes up an inquorate gender.[5]

6.3 More on agreement

6.3.1 Agreeing targets

The set of ageement targets is rather diverse, and includes e.g. demonstratives, some pronouns, a subset of adjectives, some postpositions, and four of the inflectional verb prefixes that occur in the prefixal complex. Table 6.3 provides a list of the targets, with cross-references to sections providing more information. (The table excludes the over-differentiating adjective 'small', see §4.2.1 for discussion).

[5]My motivation for investigating the agreement behavior of *yahun* was triggered by Drabbe's statement that the use of the *i*-form of the demonstrative with words for boats is because "one then refers to the crew of the boat" (*dan denkt men aan de bemanning*, 1955: 19), i.e. the form *ipe* is the plural of gender I/II and not gender IV. I was not able to find any support for this kind of metonymical agreement in the Western dialect, so it is perhaps a dialectal difference, an obsolete usage, or a misinterpretation by Drabbe.

Table 6.3 also charts the vowels that realize agreement on the various targets. The main observations to be drawn are that the most consistent exponence is found with gender II (realized by *u*) and gender IV (realized by *i*; the gender IV forms are always identical to the plural of genders I and II). Genders I and III exhibit more inconsistency in the choice of vowels: gender I alternates between *e*, *a* and *i*, and gender III between *e*, *o*, *a*, *i*. Since the exponent vowels for gender I and III often merge (as in the demonstratives) it is necessary to take e.g. standard adjectives, which distinguish the two genders, into consideration to prove that the two genders are indeed distinct.

Table 6.3: Overview of agreement targets and their exponents.

Category	Item	I	II	III	IV, I/II.pl
Demonstratives (§3.3.2.1)	*Vpe, Vhe, Vhan*	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
Emphatic demonstr. (§3.3.2.2)	*anVp*	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
Proword (§3.3.3)	*agV*	*e*	*u*	*o*	*i*
Interrogative pronouns (§3.3.4)	*tV* 'what'	*a*	*u*	*a*	*i*
	Vn 'where, which'	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
	VntagV(l)	*e...e*	*u...u*	*e...o*	*i...i*
Agreeing adjectives (§4.2)	*wagVtVk* 'long'	*a...o*	*a...o*	*a...o*	*i...u*
	VhV 'ripe'	—	—	*e...o*	*i...u*
	Color adjectives	*i*	*u*	*i*	*i*
	Other adjectives	*e*	*u*	*a*	*i*
Agreeing postpositions (§3.3.6)	*tV* 'with', *hV* 'like'	*i*	*u*	*i*	*i*
	nV 'without'	*e*	*u*	*i*	*i*
	lVk 'from'	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
Participial suffix (§4.5.3)	*-lVk*	(*-la*)	*u*	(*-la*)	*i*
Verb prefixes (§7)	*anVpand-* (CONT)	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
	Vp-, *Vh-* (ABSC)	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
	Vk- (PRS.Q)	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
	tV- (GIV)	*e*	*u*	*e*	*i*
Verb stem (§9.2.5)	U. alternations				
Indexing prefixes (§8.8)	A. prefixes etc.				

6.3.1.1 Gender and participant indexing. The aspects of gender agreement discussed so far in this chapter make up a relatively straightforward part of Marind grammar. The same can unfortunately not be said about the interaction between gender and participant indexing in the verb. Participant indexing refers to the marking of person/number of arguments through four categories realized in various locations of the verb complex: (i) the Actor prefix series (§8.2), (ii) the Dative prefix series (§8.3), (iii) the Genitive prefix series (§8.4) (all in the prefixal complex), and (iv) alternations in the verb stem marking the Undergoer (§9.2).

The indexing of animate arguments offers no surprises, with three persons and two number (sg/pl) distinguished throughout the indexing system. Gender of animates (i.e. genders I and II) is not reflected in participant indexing, so there is for example only one 3sg Actor prefix *a-*, used regardless of whether the indexed participant is male (gender I) or female/animal (gender II).

The behavior of inanimates (i.e. nouns in genders III and IV) is much more complicated and poses some problems in terms of synchronic description (e.g. morphemic glossing) as well as diachronic origins. The main facts can be summarized as in the following three points:

1. The distinction between genders III and IV is not reflected in Dative and Genitive indexing. It can be probably be argued that indexing with these series is restricted to animate participants, although more research on this issue is required (see Section 8.8).

2. Actor indexing is generally insensitive to the distinction between genders III and IV, with the exception of some intransitive verbs, with which a gender III subject triggers 3sg Actor prefix (*a-*), and a gender IV subject triggers the 3pl Actor prefix (*n-*).

3. In Undergoer indexing, the form of the verb stem used with inanimate participants depends on whether the verb is morphologically invariant or alternating (§9.2.2). An invariant verb uses the same stem regardless of gender membership. With an alternating verb the usage is as follows. A gender III participant triggers either (a) the same stem as used with an animate 3sg participant, or (b) a distinct, derivationally related stem used specifically for inanimates of gender III. This choice is lexical and must be memorized for every alternating verb. A gender IV participant always triggers the same stem as non-1st person plural animates, i.e. the stem glossed '2|3.pl'.

The fact that inanimates in gender III are indexed by means of the same forms as 3sg animates, and, in particular, the fact that the plural of animates are indexed by the same forms as inanimates in gender IV create difficulties for glossing: how should a verb stem such as *hyadih*—the form of the verb 'see' which is used when the Undergoer is either (a) a 2nd or 3rd person plural animate, or (b) one or more items in gender IV—be glossed? As discussed in §9.2.3 I favor readability over faithfulness to the logic of the Marind system and choose to gloss such stems '2|3pl.U' when they index a plural animate, and 'IV.U' when the participant is an inanimate of gender IV. Forcing two different glosses on forms that are systematically identical fails to

capture the important affinity between gender IV and animate plurals, but it makes the content of example sentences easier to parse for the reader. I provide some remarks on this gender/number conundrum below (§6.3.2).

Since the details of gender III and IV encroaching on person/number indexing require a basic understanding of the indexing system, I will postpone discussion of the formal correlates until Chapters 8 and 9. The most complicated issue—indexing of inanimate Undergoers by means of stem alternations—is discussed at length in §9.2.5. Indexing of inanimate arguments by the prefixes in the prefixal complex (i.e. Actor, Dative and Genitive indexing) is limited and usually defaults to 3sg marking, as described in §8.8.

6.3.2 Further remarks on the plural–gender IV affinity

In this section I show that the distinction between genders III and IV is reflected in two contexts that hardly can be described as agreement targets for gender: number suppletion of verb stems (§6.3.2.1) and the choice of comitative strategies (§6.3.2.2). I draw some preliminary conclusions in §6.3.2.3.

6.3.2.1 Gender and suppletive verb stems. The formal identity of forms indexing animate plurals and gender IV even extends to verbs that are entirely suppletive (§9.2.6.1). Consider the following facts. The verb 'come' is suppletive according to number, and uses the stem ***man*** 'one to go' with a singular animate subject, but the unrelated stem ***nayam*** 'many to go' with a plural animate subject (these stems make no further person distinctions). But if the subject is inanimate, the singular stem ***man*** is used if it belongs to gender III, whereas the plural stem ***nayam*** is triggered if the subject belongs to gender IV.

(244) *lahwalah-yahun* *i-pe* *t-i-ka-hat-ø-* *nayam*
airplane(IV) IV-DIST GIV-IV-PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- many.come
'An airplane is coming there.'
'Airplanes are coming there.' [nb03.22.wbi]

Any attempt to describe the identical forms triggered by animate plurals and inanimates in gender IV as being a pattern of accidental homophony collapses when confronted with such data (a similar case is the suppletive adjective 'small', §4.2.1). It is perfectly likely that the shared exponent *i* (in e.g. demonstratives and adjectives) is a case of accidental homophony between animate plurals and gender IV, since the language has only five vowels to choose from, to be divided across four genders. But

the use of the plural stem *nayam* (as opposed to singular *man*) is impossible to treat as a case of chance similarity.

6.3.2.2 Gender and comitatives. Marind has two morphological techniques that allow the verb to add a comitative participant as an argument: the Comitative *k-* (prefixed to the verb stem; §12.1) and the Accompaniment *e-* (prefixed within the prefixal complex; §12.2). Both of these are applicative prefixes, since they increase the valency of the verb. The main difference between the two is that the Comitative *k-* is used when the comitative argument is an inanimate item, whereas the Accompaniment *e-* is used when it is an animate. This means that the role of the comitative participant in the event is usually quite different depending on its animacy. A verb prefixed by means of the Comitative *k-* is typically used about an inanimate item being brought somewhere, e.g. 'go with NP, bring NP', or held while the agent assumes a position, e.g. 'sit down holding NP'. The Accompaniment *e-*, on the other hand, is usually used about chasing an animal (literally 'run with NP'), or assuming a position in somebody's company ('sit down together with NP'). The different uses of the two prefixes—which at first sight seem to involve animacy and not gender—are illustrated in the following examples:

(245) *tamuy mano- k-ambid*
food(III) FUT:1.A- WITH-sit
'I am going to sit down and eat.' (lit. 'sit down with food') [nb04.75.wbi]

(246) About two adult ducks and their their ducklings.
i-pe wanangga ma-n-e- hamat-a
I/II.pl-DIST children(I/II.pl) OBJ-3pl.A-ACPN- many.sit-EXT
'They are sitting with their children.' [1027.16092016.1.wbi]

Looking at more data, this picture turns out to be incomplete. When the comitative argument is a noun belonging to gender IV, it must co-occur with the Accompaniment *e-*, despite being inanimate. Verbs in this context do not mean 'chase', 'sit down together with' etc., but have exactly the same meaning as verbs prefixed with Comitative *k-*. Example (247) illustrates this, again with the verb *ambid* 'sit down'.

(247) *manday e= k-ø-i-e- ambid ebta*
brother.in.law PROX= DIR-3sg.A-RE-ACPN- sit sago.thatch(IV)
'Brother-in-law sat down here [and plaited] sago thatch again.'
(lit. 'sat down with sago thatch') [0292.17102016.1.wbi]

The fact that the Accompaniment *e-* treats gender IV nouns as if they were animate is surprising since neither of the two applicative prefixes interact with gender in any other way. Unlike true agreement targets they make no distinction between e.g. genders I and II—the only interaction with gender is that the Accompaniment prefix lumps gender IV nouns together with humans and animals. This provides further evidence that the identical agreement exponents for (plural) animates and gender IV nouns is not accidental, because these two categories are grouped together even in constructions that are completely unrelated to the gender-indicating vowel changes seen in typical agreement targets.

6.3.2.3 Gender IV and the four-gender analysis. The way that gender IV nouns interact with verbs exhibiting number suppletion and with comitative inflection in the verb complex challenges the traditional description of Marind as having four genders. The four-gender description states that the nouns in gender III and IV are inanimates, and lack grammatical number. As we have seen, gender IV nouns are treated as animates, and trigger plural agreement, which is difficult to reconcile with the tenets of the four-gender description.

As I point out in Olsson (forthcoming) one solution is to abandon gender IV as a gender of its own, and instead describe the former gender IV nouns as members of gender I/II that are lexically specified as plural-only. This parallels the treatment traditionally given to so called pluralia tantum in European languages: nouns such as Italian *forbici* 'scissors' or Russian *sani* 'sledge' invariably trigger plural agreement, but are described as having a fixed number value, not as belonging to a separate gender. Although the morphological facts make the pluralia tantum analysis seem adequate for Marind, there are good arguments against it: (i) it is counter-intuitive since ca. 30% of inanimates would be reclassified as pluralia tantum, as opposed to between handful and a few dozen pluralia tantum in European languages; (ii) the robust generalization that inanimates in Marind lack number makes it strange to claim that a large part of the inanimates nevertheless are lexically specified for plurality; (iii) it would wreak havoc to the semantic basis for gender assignment (animates in gender I & II, inanimates in genders III & IV) since 30% of the inanimates would be assigned to genders I/II (and, incidentally, lexically specified as plural).

A more radical solution would be to dispense with the (eurocentric?) notion of gender for the description of Marind, and instead base the description of agreement and indexing patterns on the features of animacy and/or sex, combined with a partly lexically fixed plural feature. In such a system one might define former gender III nouns as being [+inanimate, –plural], and former gender IV nouns as [–inanimate,

+plural], which would capture their similarity with the [–inanimate, ±plural] nouns denoting animates. This description undoubtedly captures the logic of the Marind system better than a traditional four-gender analysis, but adopting it would result in a much less user-friendly grammar, as well as making cross-linguistic comparison involving Marind more difficult. For this reason I will not pursue the issue here. I retain the four-gender analysis presented in Drabbe (1955) while noting that its treatment of the relationship betwen gender IV and inanimate plurals is unsatisfactory.

6.3.3 Agreement controllers

Marind has a large array of possible controllers (i.e. NPs that trigger agreement in agreeing targets), some of which are of typological interest.

Agreement in the nominal domain offers few surprises: demonstrative determiners (§3.3.2) agree with the head noun, as do the subclass of agreeing adjectives (§4.2).

The agreement on agreeing postpositions (§3.3.6) is more spectacular. Adpositions agreeing in gender have been documented for various languages (cf. Corbett 2006: 46, Brown and Chumakina 2014), but it appears to be rare for adposition agreement to be triggered not by the governed noun (i.e. the complement of the adposition) but by the head noun that the adpositional phrase modifies (in an attributive use) or by an argument of the higher clause (if the phrase is used adverbially). It was shown in Section 3.3.6 that this is precisely the situation in Marind: see for example (95) on p. 104 for the adverbial use, and (96) for the attributive use. It appears to be more common that adpositions agree with their complement, so that *from* in *from school* agrees with *school*, but this never occurs in Marind (see e.g. Evans 2000 for adpositions agreeing with the subject in the Iwaidjan languages spoken in Australia; cf. also Brown and Chumakina ms.).

The largest diversity in terms of possible controllers is found within the verb complex. Gender agreement is possible in multiple parts of the verb complex, e.g. in prefixes such as the Continuative *anVpand-* or Present polar question *Vk-*, as well as in the verb stem. Unlike some languages, which restrict gender agreement on the verb to controllers filling a specific role (e.g. subject or absolutive), Marind allows gender agreement to be controlled by any argument of the verb: attested controllers include S-, A- and O-arguments, recipients (indexed by the Dative prefix series) and 'affected possessors' (indexed by the Genitive series). The selection of one argument as the controller (in clauses with more than one argument) seems to be dependent on discourse prominence. For examples, see the sections on the Continuative *anVpand-* (§13.2.4), Present polar question *Vk-* (§17.2.1), the Absconditive *Vp-/Vh-* (§14.2)

and the Given prefix *tV-* (§14.1).

6.3.3.1 Gender resolution. Resolution rules state the agreement value taken by a target when the controllers are conjoined NPs (Corbett 1991: 261ff.). It is easy to imagine sentences in Marind that would require resolution of non-matching gender values, e.g. 'Put the fish (II) and the net (III) in the boat'. However, I have not found a single corpus example of conjoined (or juxtaposed) noun phrases in an agreement triggering context, which suggests that the resolution problem arises rather infrequently in actual discourse (conjoined phrases have a tendency to belong to the same gender, e.g. they are all humans or animals).

The only available information on resolution rules concerns indexing on verbs when the controller is a mix of inanimates from genders III and IV. All speakers that I asked agreed that the verb stem corresponding to gender III is the only option in such contexts. This is not surprising since gender III has other features suggesting a default status (mainly, being the form used in non-agreeing contexts). Unfortunately I have no information on resolution when the conjoined noun phrases mix animate and inanimate referents (e.g. 'the fish and the net'). This is clearly a topic for future investigation.[6]

[6]Although Drabbe makes no mention of gender resolution in his grammar (describing the Eastern dialect), there is one instance of the phenomenon in one of the texts collected in the end of his book. This example shows the pattern that was rejected by my speakers: the juxtaposed nouns belong to gender III (*miz* 'bow') and gender IV (*emadeh* 'quiver'), yet the gender IV verb stem is used:

(i) Eastern dialect (adapted from Drabbe 1955: 171, line 13.)
kwemek miz emadeh yavun ka-d-ø- huka⟨z⟩in-ti
morning bow(III) quiver(IV) canoe DIR-DUR-3sg.A- put.many.inside⟨IV.U⟩-DUR
'In the morning he put bow and quiver in the canoe.'

Chapter 7

The structure and morphotactics of the verb complex

This short chapter is concerned with the morphological building blocks forming the **verb complex** (or simply **verb**) in Marind. I will use this label to refer to the part of the clause in which a verbal root combines with grammatical (inflectional) material expressing tense, person indexing, and a variety of other grammatical meanings. As will be clear from the following description, the Marind verb complex consists of adjacent, but phonologically independent, units that together make up a grammatical verb unit. This makes the Marind verb different from the verbs of languages such as English or French, in which the label 'verb' is used for phonologically unitary words representing an inflectional form of a verbal lexeme (e.g. *sings*, or *brought* in *brought up*).

Below I outline the general structure of the verb complex (§7.1), and describe the ordering of prefixes (§7.2), as well as exceptional variation in the ordering (§7.3). Finally, some remarks on the suffixes that may be added at the end of the verb complex are given (§7.4).

7.1 Macrostructure of the verb complex

The Marind verb maximally consists of three different parts, which are partially phonologically independent of each other, but form a single grammatical unit. These are: (i) the **prefixal complex**, a highly complicated affix cluster; (ii) a **verb stem**, which is often morphologically complex; and (iii) a small set of **outer suffixes** at-

taching after the verb stem.

In the Marind orthography adopted here, I show the boundary between the prefixal complex and the verb stem by means of a hyphen, as in (248a). This example features morphological material from all three parts of the verb complex. In the interlinear glossing, I adopt the convention of writing the prefixal complex with a blank space separating it from the verb stem,[1] with the rightmost prefix followed by a final trailing hyphen indicating that the affix cluster forms a grammatical unit with the following verb stem despite being independent phonological words (see below). These conventions are shown in example (248b), which shows the morphemic segmentation and visualizes the tripartite structure of the verb complex.

(248) a. *anepandad-utmanawnma*

'I used to get kicked all the time' [nb02.122.wbi]

b.

anepanda-	*d-*	ø-	*u-*	*tma⟨n⟩awn*	*-ma*
CONT:I-	DUR-	3sg.A-	PLA-	kick⟨1.U⟩	-PST.HAB
prefixal complex			verb stem		outer suffixes
verb complex					

The main reason for separating the prefixal complex from the verb stem is the complete lack of phonological integration between the two: the prefixal complex is a **phonological word** of its own. The alternations described in Section 2.5 (e.g. presence of epenthetic /a/) are found both within the Prefixal complex and the verb stem, but always apply separately to these domains, and not across them. For example, recall that a closed penultimate syllable is illegal in Marind (§2.4.1), and would motivate the presence of epenthetic /a/ (giving e.g. CV.C*a*.CVC instead of *CVC.CVC). Combining e.g. the Imperative *ah-* with the verb stem *man* 'come' does not result in a heavy-heavy syllable sequence /(ah.man)/, but rather two well-formed phonological words /(ah)$_\omega$(man)$_\omega$/ without any need for epenthetic /a/.

Similarly, there are no situations where the phonological shape of the verb stem affects the realization of affixal material belonging in the prefixal complex, and vice versa.[2] This contrasts with the situation *within* these two domains: in morphemic segmenting and concatenation it will often be necessary to state that some affix takes on a different shape because of the surrounding affixes. For example, within the

[1] I thank Phillip Rogers for suggesting this solution.

[2] The only potential counterexample is the realization of the 3pl Actor prefix *n-*, which often groups phonologically with the verb stem, as discussed in §8.2.1.3.

prefixal complex, the vowel /o/ (as in the 2sg Actor Future prefix *mo-*) merges with initial /i/ of a following prefix, resulting in *u*, as in (249). No such fusion happens if the following /i/ occurs in the verb stem, since it would then be separated by the boundary of the phonological word (250).

(249) /m**o**-**i**s-ap- atin/ → [ˈm**u**.sap a.tin] 'you will step on (it)'
FUT:2sg.A-SEP-CT- stand

(250) /m**o**- **i**tawip/ → [ˈm**o** i.ta.wip] 'you will extinguish (it)'
FUT:2sg.A- extinguish (not *[m**u**.ta.wip])

Prosodically, the prefixal complex and the verb stem are independent domains. If no outer suffixes are present after the verb stem, only the last syllable of the prefixal complex is stressed. For the verb in (249) we get

(251) [mu.ˈsap atin] 'you will step on (it)'

With outer suffixes present, the last syllable of the verb stem is stressed. Thus, (248) is rendered

(252) [a.ne.pa.n͡dad ut.ma.ˈnawn.ma] 'I used to get kicked all the time'

The outer suffixes themselves appear to be more closely bound to the preceding material and are treated as affixes. Although not subject to any phonological alternations (which could show that they are phonologically indepenent), they seem to lack the independence of the other parts of the verb complex as they never take stress, and only occur when a preceding host (the verb stem) is present. (See Chapter 2 for more information on phonology.)

The linear order of prefixal complex and verb stem is fixed, and no other constituents of the clause can intervene between the two, so their phonological independence is not matched by any syntactic freedom. However, one distributional fact suggests some syntactic independence of the prefixal complex vis-à-vis the verb stem: the former occurs alone, without any ensuing verb stem, in non-verbal predication (§15.4). In the interlinear glossing of such clauses, no trailing hyphen is added after the rightmost prefix.

(253) *nu-say* *e=* *ka-bat-ø-om*
sleep-place PROX= DIR-AFF-3sg.A-3sg.GEN
'Here's the poor one's bed.' [0060.19052015.2.dmh]

The occurrence of the prefixal complex without any accompanying verb stem would be quite remarkable if it were described as bound inflectional morphology on the verb—as if the English Past suffix *-ed* could appear unattached to any verb in a sentence such as *it cat ed*, meaning 'it was a cat' or 'there was a cat'. Therefore it is better to think of the Marind verb complex not as a verb word, but as a skeletal construction above the word level, of which the first constructional slot obligatorily accommodates the prefixal complex, while the second is either occupied by a verb stem, or, in the case of non-verbal predication, is left empty.

The lack of integration between the prefixal complex—which is the main locale for inflectional information in Marind—and the associated verb stem is decidedly odd given the (reasonable) intuition that inflectional material should occur inside the verb word, ideally as affixes bound to a lexical root (as in English or French), or at least attached to some auxiliary-like element. Looking at verbs from other polysynthetic languages, it is evident that this intuition must be discarded. Witness, for example, the phonologically independent 'disjunct' and 'conjunct' domains in Athabaskan morphology (e.g. Sapir and Hoijer 1967, McDonough 2000 for Navajo), or the mismatches between the verbal and phonological words in Yimas (as discussed by Foley 1991: 81), Cree and Dakota (Russell 1999), Jarawara (Dixon 2002) or Dalabon (Evans et al. 2008); see also Bickel and Zuñiga (2017) for discussion of multi-unit verbs in polysynthetic languages. Linguists are probably more ready to accept phonologically independent affix clusters in the nominal domain: think of articles, which commonly express grammatical features (e.g. definiteness, number, case) without being bound to the head noun, and often without having much in the way of a lexical root—yet few linguists would find it necessary to say that e.g. the German articles are a 'periphrastic' expression of those features. It is perhaps a helpful analogy to think of the Marind Prefix Cluster as a 'verb article' expressing features relevant to the following verb stem, just like the German article *dem* expresses the features definite, dative and singular in the NP *dem Garten* 'the garden'.

The linguist who is uncomfortable with the idea of a free-floating inflectional cluster might suggest an alternative description of the Marind verb complex as a periphrastic combination of an inflecting auxiliary (the prefixal complex) followed by a lexical verb (the verb stem). According to this view the Marind verb complex has essentially the same structure as e.g. the English Progressive construction *be* Verb-*ing* or the French *Passé Composé* construction *avoir/être*+Participle, in which a finite, inflection-bearing auxiliary precedes a non-finite form of the lexical verb. This description would be misleading for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the notion of periphrasis is usually applied to analytic constructions that

compete with a synthetic mode of expressing corresponding values within an inflectional system (e.g. Haspelmath 2000, Brown et al. 2012). In Marind there is no corresponding, more synthetic, type of verb form that could justify an analysis in terms of periphrasis.

Secondly, it is not clear in what way the prefixal complex could be considered an auxiliary (in the sense of 'supporting verb'[3]). There is no subpart of the prefixal complex that can be said to be the verbal head to which affixes attach: even allowing for some affixal position to be an (abstract) morphological head would not suffice, since there is no such position that is obligatorily filled,[4] or shows any other characteristics that could warrant its promotion to the status of head. Also, using the label 'auxiliary' would necessitate some other terminological innovation for the more typical supporting verb described in Chapter 15, for which the use of this label has been reserved.

7.2 Affix ordering in the prefixal complex

In addition to their phonological realization, the main issues in the description of affixes belonging to the prefixal complex are their **syntagmatic order** (i.e., which affix comes after which) and the **paradigmatic oppositions** into which they enter (which affixes are mutually exclusive). The identification of these issues follows from the 'morphemic' approach to the description of morphological structure typically associated with American structuralism (with Bloomfield 1933 as the locus classicus). The main descriptive device that I will use in the account of the morphotactics is likewise a cornerstone of American structuralism: a system of linearly ordered **position classes**.[5] In such a system, strictly ordered affix classes are stipulated, such that members of a class may appear after members of the preceding class, and before members of the following class, whereas members belonging to the same position class are mutually exclusive and may not co-occur.

To clarify this, imagine a language in which the verb always consists of a stem

[3]Of course, 'auxiliary' could be used in a more vague fashion, denoting any supporting element of unclear category. Since this use of the label is almost completely uninformative, I would still prefer the more informative label 'prefixal complex'.

[4]The only morphosyntactic feature that is always expressed in the verb is person/number of Actor, but these features are expressed in different position classes depending on person (1st and 2nd versus 3rd). It has been suggested that 'flat' morphology lacking hierarchical structure is typical of languages with templatic morphological organization (Simpson and Withgott 1986).

[5]See Bloomfield (1962) for a classic example of position classes in the North American descriptivist tradition. I am not aware of any systematic attempts to describe the morphology of any Papuan language in terms of position classes, but see e.g. Nordlinger (2010) for Murrin-Patha, an Australian language. My description of the position class model takes inspiration from Crysmann and Bonami 2015.

preceded by, say, three inflectional prefixes. The first prefix is any member of the set {PAST *p*-, PRESENT *s*-, FUTURE *t*-}, the second prefix one of {1sg.SUBJ *a*-, 2sg.SUBJ *e*- etc.}, and the third prefix either member of {ACTIVE *x*-, PASSIVE *z*-}. The members of each set are mutually incompatible, so it is not possible to combine e.g. the PAST *p*- and PRESENT *s*- within the same verb form; these prefixes are in paradigmatic opposition. Another property of this system is that the members of each class are ordered in the same way with respect to the prefixes of the other two sets. The 1sg.SUBJ *a*- would be placed after the PAST prefix, but before the PASSIVE prefix; any other of the SUBJ prefixes would also occupy this position, meaning that the members of each set are syntagmatically equivalent.

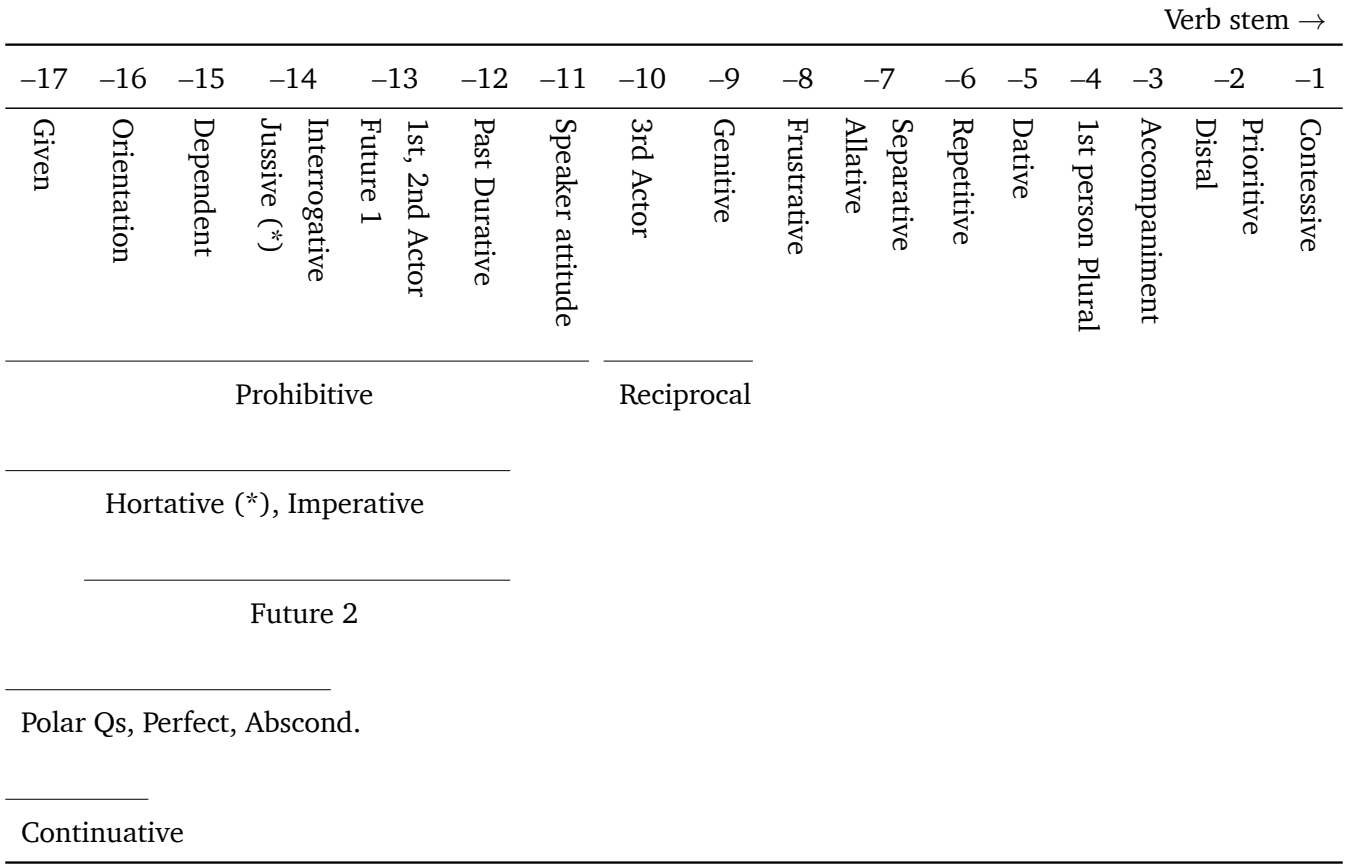
A convenient way to describe this system is to posit three prefixal position classes, corresponding to the three sets of prefixes. A verb form is built by going through the prefix classes and picking one (and only one) prefix from each class, and adding them to the stem in the order corresponding to the order of the position classes. The classes could be named after their semantic content (the 'Tense class', 'Subject class' etc.), or, more typically, numbered according to their position, with '0' being the position of the stem. Position classes in prefixing languages are typically numbered with negative integers, so the three classes of the imaginary language would be numbered '–3', '–2' and '–1' respectively.

This toy example illustrates the approach to the prefixes of the prefixal complex that I adhere to in this grammar. The main differences are (i) that Marind has a larger number of position classes (17 instead of 3), (ii) that the relationship between paradigmatic opposition and class membership often is more complicated, (iii) that variable ordering of some prefixes occurs under certain conditions, and (iv) the existence of multi-class prefixes, which straddle several of the position classes.

A complete overview of the system of position classes in Marind is presented in Figure 7.1. The classes are numbered from –17 up to –1, with –17 being the leftmost prefix position (furthest removed from the verb stem) and –1 being the rightmost position (closest to the stem). Horizontal lines indicate multi-class prefixes, further explained below.

Two illustrative examples with prefixes from 5 different position classes each are in (254). The number corresponding to each class has been added below the morphemic glosses. Note that the prefixes are ordered as prescribed by the ordering of the position classes, and that no more than one member of each class is present in the prefixal complex.

Figure 7.1: Position classes of the prefixal complex.
Assignment is uncertain for prefixes marked with (*).



(254) a. ***a-*** ***pa-*** ***ø-*** ***na-*** ***y-*** *man*
DEP- FUT- 3sg.A- 1.DAT- ACPN- come
–15 –13 –10 –5 –3 (Stem)
'if s/he brings him/her for me'

b. *ta* ***ma-*** ***h-*** ***am-*** ***b-*** ***e-*** *og* *-e*
what OBJ- INT- 1.A- ACT- 1pl- do -IPFV
–16 –14 –13 –11 –4 (Stem) (outer suffix)
'What are we going to do?'

7.2.1 Multi-class prefixes and paradigmatic alignment

Many affixes of the affixes are paradigmatically opposed to members of several adjacent position classes. For example, whenever the Imperative prefix *ah-* (§17.1.1) is used, no prefix from position classes –17 to –12 may occur in the same verb form. The 'rightmost' position class whose members can follow the Imperative is class –11, which is home to the so-called Speaker Attitude prefixes such as the Affectionate *bat-* (giving a nuance of pity or affection to the sentence, 'poor one'):

(255) *a-bat-* *naɣam!*
IMP-AFF- many.come
'Come here, poor ones!'

I describe such multi-class prefixes as spanning several position classes. Multi-class prefixes are shown in the lower part of Figure 7.1 with horizontal lines indicating their positional range.

A notable fact about the Marind position class system is that many of the prefixes in Table 7.1 are in paradigmatic opposition despite being syntagmatically distinct, i.e. belonging to different position classes. For example, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person Actor prefixes (used to index the agent-like participant of verbs such as 'dance' and 'hit') are mutually exclusive and may not co-occur in the same verb form. However, the position class system in Table 7.1 only predicts the paradigmatic opposition between the 1st and 2nd person prefix sets, since they are members of the same position class (class –13). The 3rd person Actor prefixes are positioned closer to the verb stem, in position class –10, which means that their incompatibility with the other Actor prefixes does not follow from the logic of the position class system.

Such mismatches between paradigmatic and syntagmatic oppositions are not unusual (for an illustration from Nepali, see Crysmann and Bonami 2015: 316–317).

Other examples of paradigmatically opposed prefixes from separate position classes are the Future 1 prefixes (of class –13) & Past Durative *d-* (class –12), which are incompatible on semantic grounds, and the Dependent *ah-* (class –15) & Interrogative *h-* (class –14), which are incompatible since they are restricted to different syntactic contexts (subordinate clauses and content questions respectively). Such interdependencies must be posited independently of the position class template, which diminishes the predictive power of the approach somewhat.

7.3 Variable affix ordering

A reasonable expectation is that the ordering of morphs is stable—one would not expect to encounter a new English verb that places the Present 3sg *-s* before the stem instead of after it. The ordering of morphs in Marind is generally fixed, but there are a few exceptions. The most conspicuous is the locus of Undergoer indexing in the verb stem, where the placement of the exponent (as a prefix, suffix or infix) depends on the inflectional class of the verb (see §9.2). Here I will comment on some instances of variable affix ordering within the prefixal complex.

First, consider the 1pl prefix *e-*, which is assigned to position class –4 in Table 7.1. This prefix is a role-neutral person marker used whenever one of the arguments of a verb is 1st person plural (see Section 8.6). The 1pl prefix displays positional instability and occurs either before or after the prefixes of class –2 (the Prioritive *ka-* and Remote *an-*). I describe the prefix as belonging to position class –4, i.e. a position before the Prioritive *ka-* of class –2, but I will show that when placement of *e-* according to the position class system would lead to a clash with phonological requirements, the prefix 'moves' and is realized *after* the Prioritive *ka-* of class –2, i.e. in a position that does not follow from the ordering of the classes.

The data in example (256) show the placement of 1pl *e-* under normal circumstances. In (a), the prefix occurs before the Prioritive *ka-*. Example (b) shows 1pl *e-* preceded by the homophonous 2|3pl Dative prefix *e-*. The sequence /e-e-/ is realized [ej] (written *e-y-*), i.e. the 1pl *e-* is realized as a glide [j] (written *y-*) when it occurs after another tautosyllabic vowel.

(256) a. *epe* *nd-an-d-e-ka-* *hamat-a*
there LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-PRI- many.sit-EXT
'We were sitting there first.' [0162.28062015.3.wbi]

b. *mak-e-y-p-* *esoh*
FUT:1.A-2|3pl.DAT-1pl-CT- follow
'We will follow you.' [0008.30082015.5.wbi]

Recall from Section 2.4 that Marind avoids placing closed syllables in the penultimate position of the phonological word, whereas the final syllable of a word may be closed. This means that a sequence of prefixes that create a closed penultimate syllable must be readjusted, usually by inserting epentetic /a/ (§2.4.1). But epenthesis does not occur when the placement of 1pl *e-*, in its realization as [j], would create a closed penultimate syllable: instead the 1pl prefix is moved to a position where it does not create an illegal sequence of syllables.

This situation occurs if the Prioritive *ka-* (which always occurs in the final syllable of the prefixal complex) is used together with a vowel-final prefix such as the 2sg Dative *a-* (of position class –5). If 1pl *e-* is added to this sequence, the position class system predicts that it will be placed between 2sg Dative *a-* and Prioritive *ka-*, thereby creating a sequence /a-e-ka-/. This sequence would be realized as *aj.ka]$_{\omega}$, i.e. as an illegal syllable sequence *VG.CV]$_{\omega}$. In order to avoid this outcome, 1pl *e-* shifts its position and appears after the Prioritive, forming the acceptable sequence /a-ka-e/ → a.kaj]$_{\omega}$.

Below are two examples illustrating this ordering:

(257) a. *ehe* *mak-is-a-ka-y-* *hok*
here FUT:1.A-SEP-2sg.DAT-PRI-1pl- many.lie.down
'We will lie down here by you first.'

b. *mat-o-ka-y-p-* *takin*
HORT-3sg.DAT-PRI-1pl-CT- wait
'Let's wait for her first.' [0165.17102016.2.wbi]

Apparently, the constraint against a pretonic heavy syllable is stronger than the faithfulness to the linear ordering of the morphemes posited in Figure 7.1, as *ka-* and *e-* (realized as *y-*) appear to have switched positions. The same reordering also occurs with the Accompaniment *e-* of position class –3, under the same circumstances. Compare the following examples, in which the Accompaniment *e-* (or *y-*) has a comitative-like function:

(258) a. *katal a-bt-e-ka- man!*
money IMP-AFF-ACPN-PRI- come
'Please bring money first!'

b. *katal a-bta-na-ka-y- man!*
money IMP-AFF-1.DAT-PRI-ACPN- come
'Please bring my money first!' [nb03.81.wbi]

Another case in which exceptional affix ordering is motivated by phonotactic constraints is the partial affixal metathesis affecting the 1st person Dative prefix *na-*, as described in §8.3.1. One can summarize these observations by saying that some instances of variable affix ordering in Marind follow from constraints on phonological well-formedness; cf. e.g. Noyer 1994 for similar points.

The following case of mobile affix ordering is more difficult to explain. The Dependent prefix *ah-* (which forms subordinate clauses) is the sole member of position class –15. The /h/ in *ah-* is generally lost before a consonant-initial prefix (cf. Section 2.5.4). Compare (259a), where /h/ is retained, with (b–c), where it is dropped:

(259) a. *oɣ ah-o-d- ɣet*
[2sg DEP-2sg.A-DUR- be.moving]
'when you went' [nb04.112.wbi]

b. *kay a-no-d- tak nok*
[path DEP-1.A-DUR- make.way 1]
'the path that I was making' [0655.20052015.3.mkl]

c. *a-mo-y-p- lemed*
[DEP-FUT:2sg.A-2|3pl.DAT-CT- meet]
'if you meet them' [0180.19052015.2.dmh]

In certain contexts the segment *h* is not deleted but is moved out of its position and into the onset of the final syllable of the prefixal complex. This occurs when the Dependent prefix is followed by the 1st person Actor prefix, which in turn is followed by any vowel, or prefix combination containing a vowel. For example, if the 1.A prefix is followed by the Contessive prefix *ap-*, *h-* adjoins before *ap-*. I am not aware of the explanation behind this behavior.

(260) a. *a-nka-h-ap- mil-em*
[DEP-1.A-DEP-CT- be.sitting-VEN]
'while I was sitting' (coming here on the motorcycle) [nb02.120.wbi]

b. *a-n-da-h-e- aɣak-a*
[DEP-1.A-DUR-DEP-1pl- go.inland-EXT]
'when we went inland' [0026.28062015.3.wbi]

As seen in the interlinear glossing above, I follow a suggestion from the Leipzig Glossing Rules for the treatment of bipartite elements (Comrie et al. 2015, Rule 8) and simply repeat the morpheme label (DEP-) for each part of the discontinuous morph.

7.3.1 Further remarks on position class systems

Whereas the position class approach has several advantages (such as restricting affix order in a straightforward way) it also presents some drawbacks. Firstly, the large number of position classes does not reflect the number of affixes that are found on verbs as used in actual discourse: no verb containing morphology from all 17 position classes has been attested, and verb forms with more than 7 or 8 prefixes are extremely rare. In fact, verbs inflected by means of only 2–4 prefixes probably make up the majority of the total number of verb forms in my corpus.

Secondly, there are many affix combinations that are ruled out independently of the restrictions following from the organization of the position classes. In most cases there are clear semantic reasons explaining the incompatibility. For example, 2sg Actor *o-* and 3pl Actor *n-* belong to different position classes (–14 and –11 respectively), which makes them compatible on purely morphotactic grounds, but since person/number of Actor can only be marked once within a single verb it is impossible to employ both prefixes in one form.

Thirdly, many of the position classes in Figure 7.1 are set up to account for only one member (e.g. positions –1 and –6). This diminishes the value of the position class approach, since such single-member classes only serve to restrict syntagmatic ordering, and provide no information on paradigmatic oppositions.[6]

Position class systems have enjoyed a renaissance in the theoretical literature in the current century, and play an important role in the framework of Stump (2001).

[6]Note also that there is generally no reason to consider empty positions in an inflected Marind verb to be filled by 'meaningful zeros' (e.g. there is no reason to consider an empty –6 position as marking a 'non-repetitive' meaning by means of a zero morph). The major exceptions are the 3sg Actor prefix ø- and the past tense allomorph of the Neutral Orientation; see §8.2.1.3 and §10.1.

Major criticism against position classes as a descriptive device was given in Muysken (1986) and Rice (2000). Muysken points out that Yokoyama's (1951) 'slot matrix' cannot predict the variable affix ordering observed in Quechua, that numerous co-occurrence restrictions are unaccounted for, and that the slot matrix implies a flat structure rather than the hierarchical organization that Muysken posits based on scope effects. The last point is crucial for Rice's deconstruction of the Athabaskan position class systems, which in her analysis follow from principles of scopal relations between quantifier-like affixes, thus minimizing the need for arbitrary linear stipulation. Most of these considerations do not apply to Marind: even if some affixes could be said to have quantifier-like meanings (e.g. *s-* 'only', the Reciprocal *enam-* and prefixes with applicative-like functions such as Allative *ind-*), none of them display variable ordering or any other behavior suggesting scopal relations within the inflectional morphology.

7.4 The outer suffixes

In addition to the prefixal complex (discussed in the preceding sections) and the verb stem (discussed in Chapter 9), the verb complex often contains a final suffix from a group of suffixes that I call the **outer suffixes**. These markers show relatively little integration with the preceding material and could perhaps be described as clitics instead of suffixes. I will go through their general characteristics below.

The outer suffixes are listed in Table 7.1, with references to sections describing their use. A maximum of one suffix from this affix class may occur within a single verb, i.e. the outer suffixes are mutually incompatible and can be described as making up one position class.

Table 7.1: The outer suffixes.

Suffix	Label	Gloss	Description
-e, *-et*	Non-past Imperfective	IPFV	§13.2.2
-ti	Past Durative	DUR	§13.2.1
-em	Venitive	VEN	§14.5
-em	Plural Imperative	PL.IMP	§17.1.1
-um	Counterfactual	CTFT	§13.3
-ma	Past Habitual	PST.HAB	§13.2.6
-made	Present Habitual	PRS.HAB	
-motok	Future Habitual	FUT.HAB	

Phonologically the outer suffixes are rather loosely bound to the verb stem, whereas grammatically they are dependent on a preceding host and never occur indepen-

dently. Thus, the outer suffixes behave like the prefixal complex and forms a single phonological word, but an outer suffix may not form a grammatical word on its own. I will briefly review the relevant facts here.

The outer suffixes exhibit no contextual allomorphy (with the marginal exception of Venitive *-em*, see §14.5), and never trigger phonological changes in the preceding stem. Unlike the various affixes that derive verb stems (Chapter 9) the presence of an outer suffix never triggers epenthesis or syncope in the preceding stem. The presence of an outer suffix in the verb complex never triggers vowel gradation (§2.5.1) in the preceding stem, i.e. the addition of a syllable (or two, in the case of *-made* and *-motok*) does not affect the syllable count regulating vowel gradation in the stem.

In contrast, one could argue that in certain other respects the outer suffixes are more tightly attached to the preceding verb stem than the prefixal complex is to the following verb stem: (i) none of the outer suffixes can occur alone (e.g. *motok* may not be used as an independent word, only attached to a verb stem), whereas the prefixal complex frequently occurs independently (namely in non-verbal predication, where it functions as a copula); (ii) there is never a (disfluency) pause between the stem and an outer suffix, whereas such pauses are frequent between the prefixal complex and the verb stem.

I let these latter facts take precedence in deciding to treat *-e* etc. not as postposed function words or clitics but as suffixes. This solution was also favored by speakers in orthography discussions.[7]

[7]Speaker's preference to write the suffixes attached to the stem rather than separated from it is probably due to their shortness, and at least one speaker reported that it is better to write the longest suffix *-motok* as a separate word.

Chapter 8

Participant indexing

8.1 Introduction

There are four types of marking that are used to index participants on the verb:

- The Actor (gloss: A) prefixes (§8.2) index the agent-like participant of transitive and intransitive verbs.
- The Dative (DAT) prefixes (§8.3) index recipients in transfer events.
- The Genitive (GEN) prefixes (§8.4) index affected possessors.
- Undergoer (U) alternations in the verb stem (Chapter 9) index the patient-like participant of transitive and intransitive verbs.

Actor indexing is obligatory in all predicatively used verb forms (the only exceptions are commands formed with the Imperative *ah-* and the Hortative *mat-*). Verbs that lack an agent-like participant (such as certain avalent weather verbs, and patientive verbs like 'fall') automatically appear with 3sg Actor indexing. Dative and Genitive indexing primarily occur in certain contexts (e.g. ditransitive 'give' clauses), but there are also certain verbs that always index one of their arguments with one of these series (e.g. 'meet someone', which always indexes the O-argument by means of the Genitive series; cf. §8.3.2, §8.4.2).

Marind person indexing differs radically from the semantically broad 'subject' category of Standard Average European (Lazard 1990: 246–247) since the sole participant of agentive verbs such as 'dance' is indexed differently from patientive verbs such as 'fall' (by means of Actor and Undergoer indexing respectively), i.e. the kind of alignment that has been labeled e.g. split intransitivity (Merlan 1985), agentive alignment (Mithun 1991) or semantic alignment (Malchukov 2008). There is no

'fluidity' in the system: each Marind verb indexes its participant according to one, and only one, pattern. See e.g. §8.2.2.1 and §11.2.2.2.

Undergoer indexing in the verb stem is lexically restricted to about half of the verbal lexicon (§9.2); the remainder of the verbs do not index a patient-like participant. The reason for referring to the expression of Undergoer indexing in the verb stem as "alternations" is that the locus of exponence depends on the infectional class of the verb (as described in Chapter 9), and may be either prefixing, suffixing, infixing or, for certain verbs, a combination of these. For many stem forms segmentation is difficult or impossible. The label "alternation" covers all of these cases.

Participant indexing generally distinguishes two numbers (singular/plural) of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, and, in the case of Undergoer alternation, also gender of inanimate arguments (genders III and IV). The gender of animates is not reflected in participant indexing. Some minor complications (e.g. syncretism patterns) will be described later in this chapter.[1]

The exponents of all four types are tightly integrated into the rest of the morphology, exhibit various morphophonological changes, and, in the case of the Undergoer alternations in the stem, non-predictable realizations that require inflectional classes to be posited. The three prefixal series are part of the cluster of inflectional affixes called the prefixal complex (Chapter 7). The prefixal complex is separated from the following verb stem by a phonological word boundary, but note that the prefixes themselves occur tightly bound to each other and to other material within the prefixal complex. The participant indexing is not affected by the occurrence or omission of overt arguments in the clause.

Below are four simple examples that illustrate different combinations of indexing types within single verb forms. The purpose of these examples is to give a first impression of participant indexing in the verb complex, but the reader must study the rest of this chapter, as well as Chapter 9, before the details can be grasped.

All examples in (261a–d) contain Actor prefixes, which is the only obligatory indexing category. Note that the Actor indexing in (c) is realized by the portmanteau prefix ***mak***- which simultaneously marks Future tense and a 1st person Actor. Fused expression of tense and person/number is a pervasive feature of the Future prefixes, but not of any other affixes in the language.

Undergoer indexing is observed in examples (b) and (d), because the verb ***usak***

[1]Coastal Marind differs from many other languages of the area in the lack of a dual number category. Dual marking is found in unrelated neighboring languages spoken to the east of Marind, e.g. Marori (Arka 2012) and the languages of the Yam family (e.g. Carroll 2016, Döhler 2016). It is absent in Central Marind but present in the unrelated Maklew at the western edge of Marind territory. Interestingly, the smallest Marindic language, Bian Marind, has a fully productive dual category.

'hit several times' (or 'beat up') is part of the portion of the verbal lexicon that alternates according to person/number of the patient-like participant. The stem alternation takes the shape of a prefix for this verb, because it belongs to the prefixing conjugation class (cf. §9.2.4). The verbs *aɣi* 'say' and *og* 'give' in (a) and (c) are invariant, and do not exhibit stem alternation according to the Undergoer.

Finally, example (c) expresses a transfer event with the recipient indexed by the Dative prefix, and in (d) the affected possessor of the patient-like argument 'dogs' is indexed by means of the Genitive prefix, while the patient is indexed in the verb stem.

(261) a. Actor indexing
Budoy ø-a- aɣi
B. NEUT-3sg.A- say
'Budoy said [it].' [0082.16092016.1.wbi]

b. Actor + Undergoer indexing
menda-b-na- u-sak
PERF-ACT-3pl.A- 3sg.U-hit.PLA
'They already beat him up.' [0080.23092016.7.wbi]

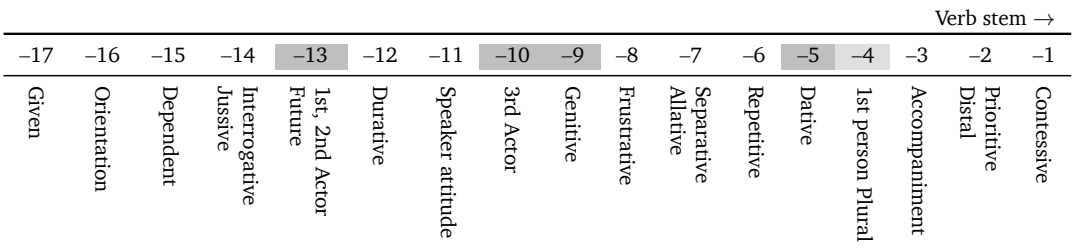
c. Actor + Dative indexing
mak-a- og
FUT:1.A-2sg.DAT- give
'I will give [it] to you.' [0286.27112016.4.wbi]

d. Actor + Genitive + Undergoer indexing
nggat oɣ ø-o-nam- i-sak
dog 2sg NEUT-2sg.A-1.GEN- 2|3pl.U-hit.PLA
'You beat up my dogs.' [0393.20052015.3.mkl]

The person categories that are realized within the prefixal complex—Actor, Dative and Genitive indexing—are spread across different sites in the morphological template posited in Chapter 7. Figure 8.1 is a simplified overview of the position classes of the prefixal complex (showing only single-class prefixes), with the position classes marked in dark gray being the hosts of the three prefixal indexing sets. Note that the Actor prefixes belong two different classes: 1st and 2nd person are in class –13, whereas the 3rd person Actor prefixes are belong to class –10, closer to the verb stem. More details on the position of the indexing prefixes relative to other prefixes are given in the respective sections below.

In addition to the three sets of role-marking prefixes there is a role-neutral 1pl

Figure 8.1: Overview of the position of participant indexing within the prefixal complex.



prefix *e-*, whose position in class –4 of the prefix template is indicated by light gray in Figure 8.1. This prefix occurs in any verb that has a 1st person plural argument, regardless of its role. The role-indicating 1st person prefixes (e.g. the 1st person Dative *na-* in (d) above) do not mark number, but are interpreted as corresponding to a singular participant in the absence of 1pl *e-*. More information about the use of this prefix is given in §8.6.

8.2 Actor indexing

The set of Actor prefixes indexes the agent-like participants of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The formal aspects of Actor indexing are described in §8.2.1; the use of the prefixes is described in §8.2.2.

8.2.1 Form of the Actor prefixes

The Actor prefixes are shown in Figure 8.2. Note that the 1pl prefix *e-*—given inside parentheses in the 1pl cell—is role-neutral and co-occurs with all types of person indexing, not only Actor prefixes (§8.6).

Figure 8.2: The Actor prefixes.

	sg	pl
1	*no-*, *nak-*	*nak-*…(*e-*)
2	*o-*	*e-*
3	*a-*, *ø-*	*n-*

In addition there is a prefix *e-*, used in contexts of a 3pl agent acting on a 1st person participant (of any role). The shape of the prefixes is described in the following subsections. Their use is described in §8.2.2.

8.2.1.1 1st person Actor: *nak-* (1.A). The first person prefix has the most complicated allomorphy of the Actor prefixes. The alternations can be described as involving three allomorphs, *no-*, *nak-* and *ak-*, of which the latter two are affected by Plosive Nasalization (to *nam-*, *nan-* etc.) according to the environment. The allomorphs are used according to the rules A–C.

(A) The allomorph *no-* is used whenever this prefix can be accommodated within the last syllable of the prefixal complex, as in (262a–b).

(262) a. /no- dahetok-e/ → *no-dahetoke* 'I'm about to return.'
1.A- return-IPFV

b. /mend-no-b- dahetok/ → *mendanob-dahetok* 'I already returned.'
PERF-1.A-ACT- return

The environments where this occurs are: whenever 1.A is (i) followed by no other prefixes, or (ii) followed only by Past Durative *d-* or Actualis prefix *b-*.

In casual speech the allomorph *no-* is sometimes dropped, so that (262b) is realized *mendab-dahetok*. This is only happens when there are other prefixes present before *no-* (such as the Perfect *mend-*), and is not possible with the other allomorphs described below.

(B) The allomorph *nak-* is used if additional morphology after the 1.A prefix prevents it from making up the onset and nucleus of the final syllable of the prefixal complex. This occur whenever the ensuing affixal material consists of anything other than a single consonant -C- (the only prefixes with this shape are *b-* and *d-* mentioned above).

(263) a. /nak-e- dahetok-e/ → *nake-dahetoke* 'We're about to return.'
1.A-1pl- return-IPFV

b. /nak-um-e- aɣi/ → *nakume-aɣi* 'I told them in vain.'
1.A-FRUS-2|3pl.DAT- say

(C) The initial /n/ of the allomorph *nak-* is deleted whenever it is preceded by a consonant:

(264) /mend-nak-e aɣi/ → *mendake-aɣi* 'I already told them.'
PERF-1.A-2|3pl.DAT- say

Preceded by a vowel, *nak-* remains intact. There are only a few contexts in which the 1.A prefix occurs preceded by a vowel, since most prefixes that may precede it

are consonant-final. One exception is the Givenness-marking prefix sequence *t-V-* (described in §14.1), illustrated in the following corpus example. The intervening Neutral Orientation prefix (§10.1.2) is realized as zero in past time contexts, so it does not affect the shape of *nak-*.

(265) *e-pe* *t-e-ø-nak-e-* *ka-lahos*
III-DIST GIV-III-NEUT-1.A-1pl- WITH-smoke
'That's [the tobacco] that we used for smoking.' [0069.28062015.1.wbi]

The following complication affects rule C. If 1.A is preceded by the Dependent *ah-* in a context requiring 1.A to be realized as *nak-* according to rule B (e.g. before the 1pl prefix *e-*), we do not find the expected form **ah-ak-e-*, as prescribed by rule C. Instead, the segment *h* of *ah-* 'moves' rightwards into the onset of the final syllable of the prefixal complex (as described in §7.3), and the allomorph *nak-* is used (modulo Antepenultimate syncope, giving *nk-*, and addition of epenthetic *a* giving *nka-*, preventing a cluster **nkh*). The resulting shape of the prefixal complex is:

(266) *a-nka-h-e-* *nayam*
DEP-1.A-DEP-1pl- many.come
'when we came' [0001.01052015.1.wbi]

If the /k/ of the allomorphs covered in rules B and C is followed by a heterosyllabic /b/ or /d/ the sequence undergoes Plosive Nasalization (Section 2.5.2). This means that /k/ becomes a nasal and assimilates to the place feature of the following plosive, becoming [m] before /b/ and [n] before /d/. This is shown for the sequence /kb/ in (267a), in which *nak* is followed by the Affectionate prefix *bat-* (used to soften an utterance; §14.3.3), and for the sequence /kd/ in (b), in which *ak-* (with initial /n/ deleted as per above) is followed by the Past Durative *d-* (§13.2.1).

(267) a. /nak-bat- dahetok-e/ → *nambat-dahetoke* 'I'm about to return.'
1.A-AFF- return-IPFV

b. /mend-nak-d-e- og/ → *mendande-og* 'We already did it.'
PERF-1.A-DUR-1pl- do

The resulting nasal+plosive sequences behave like single segments (i.e. prenasalized plosives), so the syllabifications of the prefix sequences above are [na.m͡bat] for (a) and [me.n͡da.n͡de] for (b).

Positionally, the 1.A prefixes (along with the 2sg and 2pl.A prefixes) belong to class –13, which means that most other prefixes occur closer to the verb stem. Among the prefixes that may precede them are e.g. the Orientation prefixes (§10.1) and some of the prefixes expressing TMA-like notions such as the Perfect *mend-* (§13.2.5) and the Absconditive series (§14.2). The rightmost prefix in the morphological template by which the 1st person Actor prefix can be preceded is the Interrogative *h-* of position class –14 (268). In this context the 1.A prefix is always realized as *am-*, since the prefix *h-* always occurs in combination with the Actualis prefix *b-* to mark a content question (§17.3).

(268) *ta* *ma-h-am-b-e-* *og-e?*
what OBJ-INT-1.A-ACT-1pl- do-IPFV
'What are we going to do?' [nb03.37.wbi]

The leftmost prefix that can occur after the 1.A prefix is the Past Durative *d-* (of position class –12), as in (267b) above.

8.2.1.2 2nd person Actor: *o-* (2sg.A), *e-* (2pl.A). The 2nd person Agent prefixes show no allomorphy, except that they predictably undergo Antepenultimate Vowel Gradation (§2.5.1) to *u-* and *i-* respectively in the third syllable counting from the end of the prefixal complex. This is illustrated in the (b)-examples below, in which the Affectionate *bat-* has been added to the prefixal complex (making the question sound softer), which causes 2nd person Actore prefixes to be realized in the antepenultimate syllable of the prefixal complex.

(269) a. /ap-o-ap- balen/ → *apop-balen?* 'Did you finish?'
PST.Q-2sg.A-CT- finish

b. /ap-o-bat-ap balen/ → *apubatap-balen?* 'Did you finish?'
PST.Q-2sg.A-AFF-CT- finish

(270) a. /ap-e-ap- balen/ → *apep-balen?* 'Did you (pl) finish?'
PST.Q-2pl.A-CT- finish

b. /ap-e-bat-ap balen/ → *apibatap-balen?* 'Did you finish?'
PST.Q-2pl.A-AFF-CT- finish

Note also that the sequence /oiC/ is realized [uC], which affects the 2sg.A prefix *o-* when it is followed by an *i*-initial prefix; cf. example (249) on p. 201.

8.2.1.3 3rd person Actor: *a-* (3sg.A), *n-* (3pl.A), *e-* (3pl>1). The prefixes realizing 3rd person Actors are members of position class –10, so they are closer to the verb stem than the 1st and 2nd person (which are in class –13). The Actor prefixes are mutually exclusive regardless of belonging to separate classes, so it is not possible to combine e.g. a 1st person and a 3rd person Actor prefix within the same verb.

The following examples explain why it is necessary to describe the 3rd person Actor prefixes as member of position class –10. The verb in these example—*ɣoman* 'approach'—can be used to mean 'meet somebody', and then indexes the O-argument by means of the Genitive prefixes (described in §8.4). In the forms below it occurs with a common prefix sequence consisting of the Perfect *mend-* and the Actualis *b-* (see §14.3.1 for this combination). The Actualis (along with the other so-called Speaker Attitude prefixes) belongs to position class –11, and the Genitive prefixes form position class –9, so the 3rd person prefixes must make up an intervening class, position class –10. Note that the prefix *e-* in (c), glossed '3pl>1', is used whenever a plural 3rd person participant acts on a 1st person participant (see further §8.2.2.2 below).

(271) a. *men-b-a-nam- ɣoman*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.GEN- approach
'S/he already met me.'

b. *men-b-an-em- ɣoman*
PERF-ACT-3pl.A-2|3pl.GEN- approach
'They already met you(pl)/them.'

c. *men-b-e-nam- ɣoman*
PERF-ACT-3pl>1-1.GEN- approach
'They already met me.'

Compare the forms above with corresponding 1st person Actor form in (272). The 1.A prefix (realized as *am-* in accordance with the principles in §8.2.1.1) is positioned before the Actualis prefix *b-*, since it belongs to a position class further away from the verb stem (position class –13).

(272) *mend-am-b-am- ɣoman*
PERF-1.A-ACT-2sg.GEN- approach
'I already met you.'

Below I provide more information about the realization of the 3rd person Actor prefixes.

3sg Actor: *a-*. If the 3sg Actor prefix is the only prefix making up the prefixal complex, it takes the shape *a-* (273a). If there are other prefixes present, and these prefixes consist of enough phonological material to make up one or more syllables on their own, the 3sg prefix is zero (written ø- in the morphematic segmentation) (b). If the other prefixes that are used with the 3sg prefix are not sufficient to build a syllable, the Actor prefix will be *a-*, as in (c), where the Directional Orientation prefix *k-* (§10.1.4) is insufficient to form a syllable by itself.

(273) a. *a-* *dahetok-e*
3sg.A- return-IPFV
'S/he's about to return.'

b. *bat-ø-* *dahetok-e*
AFF-3sg.A- return-IPFV
'S/he's about to return.'

c. *tanama* *k-a-* *dahetok*
again DIR-3sg.A- return
'S/he returned again.'

In all other contexts the 3sg.A allomorph is *a-*, but note that it often suffers deletion due to Syncope (§2.4.2), in which case it is written ø-.[2]

3pl Actor: *n-*. The 3pl Actor prefix *n-* usually shows the expected behavior with regards to epenthesis. Used alone, The segment *n-* is followed by epenthetic /a/ allowing it to make up a well-formed CV-syllable *na-* (274a). In contexts where the prefix can form a syllable with surrounding material it is realized as *n-* (b–c).

(274) a. *na-* *dahetok-e*
3pl.A- return-IPFV
'They're about to return.'

[2]Alternatively, the same facts can be described by saying that Marind lacks a 3sg.A prefix, and that a verb without any Actor marking automatically is interpreted as having a 3sg Actor. The distribution of *a-* would then follow from the normal rules of epenthesis (§2.2.1, §2.4.1), plus the addition of one rule explaining why epenthetic /a/ occurs in (273a).

b. *ba-n-* *dahetok-e*
ACT-3pl.A- return-IPFV
'They're about to return indeed.' [0326.27112016.4.wbi]

c. *n-e-* *ayi*
3pl.A-2|3pl.DAT- say
'They said it to you(pl)/them.'

The behavior of *n-* is more remarkable when it is preceded by two or more prefixes that together can form a closed syllable, and there are no inflectional prefixes following *n-*. In such contexts, *n-* does not syllabify with the other prefixes, and instead forms a phonological unit with the verb stem following to the right. This is remarkable since all other prefixes treat the boundary between the prefixal complex and the verb stem as the boundary between two phonological words, and never syllabify across it. It is as if the 3pl.A prefix ignores the word boundary and crosses freely to attach to the stem when there are no intervening prefixes blocking the movement across the border. Consider example (275), containing the three prefixes *m-*, *d-* and 3pl *n-*:

(275) *da* *ma-d-na-* *w-alok*
sago OBJ-DUR-3pl.A- 3sg.U-stab
'They were felling the sago palm.' [nb03.44.wbi]

If the 3pl.A prefix respected the phonological boundary we would expect syllabification to precede from right to left in the prefixal complex, with *d-* and *n-* forming a heavy syllable *dan*, and *m-* plus epenthetic /a/ adding a light syllable: *ma.dan-*. Instead, *n-* joins the verb stem (with insertion of epenthetic /a/) and *m-* and *d-* are left to syllabify on their own. The phonological grouping of (275) is

(276) $(da)_{\omega}(mad)_{\omega}(nawalok)_{\omega}$

It is especially clear that *n-* must have crossed the word boundary when the verb stem is vowel initial, as this allows *n-* to occur without epenthetic /a/ (277a). A tautosyllabic cluster **dn* would be unacceptable, but does not arise since *n-* syllabifies as the onset of the first syllable of the stem (b).

(277) a. *awe* *ma-d-n-* *ibingg⟨a⟩b-ti*
fish OBJ-DUR-3pl.A- gather⟨2|3pl.U⟩-DUR
'They gathered the fish.' [nb03.69.wbi]

b. $(awe)_{\omega}(mad)_{\omega}(nibinggabti)_{\omega}$

The loss of epenthetic /a/ before a vowel-initial stem seems completely optional, and most instances of the prefix sequence above were transcribed as *madna-* rather than *madn-* before vowel-initial stems (the difference is difficult to tell in rapid speech).

This behavior—attaching to the verb stem when no other prefixes intervene—is peculiar to the 3pl *n*-prefix. As discussed in §7.1, all other prefixes belonging in the prefixal complex form a tight morphophonological unit with other such prefixes, and do not 'jump across' to the ensuing verb stem.[3]

3pl>1 *e-*. The prefix *e-* does not exhibit any allomorphy, but undergoes Antepenultimate Gradation in the third syllable from the end of the prefixal complex (like most other prefixes containing mid vowels). In the following examples, the 1pl prefix *e-* is added at the end of the prefixal complex in (b), which causes the 3pl>1 prefix to be in the antepenultimate position, and therefore raised from /e/ to [i]:

(278) a. /k-e-namb- ɣoman/ → *kenam-ɣoman* 'They met me.'
DIR-3pl>1-1.GEN- approach

b. /k-e-namb-e- ɣoman/ → *kinambe-ɣoman* 'They met us.'
DIR-3pl>1-1.GEN-1pl- approach

Again, it is important to note that the 3pl>1 prefix *e-* belongs to position class –10 (like the other 3rd person Actor prefixes), whereas the 2nd person Actor prefixes are assigned to position class –13. This distinguishes the 3pl>1 prefix from the identical 2pl Actor prefix *e-*. The two *e*-prefixes appear to be identical if one compares two verb forms without any prefixes of the intervening position classes present:

(279) a. *yoɣ ø-e- na-sak*
2pl NEUT-2pl.A- 1.U-hit
'You hit me.'

b. *isahih ø-e- na-sak*
children NEUT-3pl>1- 1.U-hit
'The children hit me.' [nb04.109.wbi]

But once a prefix from an intervening position class—e.g. the Affectionate prefix of class –11—is added, it becomes clear that the 2pl Actor prefix adjoins before the

[3] Ger Reesink (pers. comm.) points out that the fact that the 3pl Actor prefix may group with either the prefixal complex or the verb stem is a sign of the unity of the Marind verb complex as a whole: "we're still dealing with a verb, albeit very complex morphologically".

Affectionate, whereas the 3pl>1 prefix adjoins after it. This shows that the 2pl Actor *e-* and the 3pl>1 *e-* are distinct prefixes.[4]

(280) a. *yoɣ ø-e-bat- na-sak*
2pl NEUT-2pl.A-AFF- 1.U-hit
'You hit poor me.'

b. *isahih ø-bat-e- na-sak*
children NEUT-AFF-3pl>1- 1.U-hit
'The children hit poor me.' [nb04.109.wbi]

8.2.1.4 Unlicensed occurrences of 2nd person Actor prefixes. In certain forms, the 2nd person prefixes *o-* (sg) and *e-* (pl) appear in positions that do not correspond to the linear ordering stipulated by the position class schema. This is observed mainly when the 2nd person prefixes co-occur with any of the prefixes *na-* (1.DAT), *namb-* (1.GEN), *o-* (3sg.DAT) and *omb-* (3sg.GEN).

Consider the partial paradigm of *og* 'do, give' in Table 8.1, where *e-* intervenes in the plural addressee forms between the Imperative *ah-* and the Dative prefixes *na-* (1.DAT) and *o-* (3sg.DAT). The other cells given in the paradigm lack a corresponding Actor prefix, for no clear phonological reasons (e.g. 2sg *a-na- og!* rather than **h-**o**-na- og!* 'give me!'; cf. *h-**e**-na- og-em!* 'give me!', pl. adr.). The presence of 2pl.A *e-* in these forms is quite unexpected since the Imperative *ah-* (sometimes realized as *h-*) is mutually exclusive with all prefixes in the position classes from –17 up to –12, as shown by the fact that they never co-occur elsewhere in the language.

	'do'	'give', 1.DAT	'give', 3sg.DAT
2sg.A	*ah- og!*	*a-na- og!*	*ah-o- og!*
	'do it!'	'give me!'	'give him/her!'
2pl.A	*ah- og-em!*	*h-**e**-na- og-em!*	*h-**e**-o- og-em!* (< /ah-e-o-/)
	'do it!' (pl. adr.)	'give me!' (pl. adr.)	'give him/her!' (pl. adr.)

Table 8.1: Imperatives with *og* 'do, give', partial paradigm. Intrusive 2pl.A *e-* in boldface.

It seems to be a peculiarity of the Imperative paradigm that the intrusive 2nd person Actor prefix is restricted to plural addressee cells. A paradigm in which the unlicensed ordering of 2nd person Actor prefixes occurs with both 2sg *o-* and 2pl *e-*

[4]It is possible that the 2pl.A *e-* and 3pl>1 *e-* share a common origin, since all other indexing sets (Dative and Genitive prefixes, Undergoer alternations in the stem) show pervasive syncretism between 2pl and 3pl (e.g. the 2|3pl Dative prefix *e-*, of position class –5).

is in Table 8.2. Here, all combinations of Actor and Dative prefixes are given, along with the Durative Past *d-* (of position class –12). Note that the 1st person Actor prefix *nak-* (realized as *nan-*) occurs in its expected position before the Durative past, whereas the 2nd person Actor prefixes are place after *d-*, despite belonging to the same position class as 1st person *nak-* (class –13).

In the Prohibitive paradigms, intrusive prefixes corresponding to both 2sg and 2pl occur (cf. Table 17.3 and discussion in Section 17.1.4).

Table 8.2: Paradigm of *laɣ* ‘talk, tell’ showing combinations of Actor (in boldface) and Dative marking with Past Durative *d-*. Highlighted cells indicate forms in which Actor prefixes occur in positions that deviate from the order stipulated by the position classes.

	1sg.DAT *na-*	1pl.DAT *na-…e-/y-*	2sg.DAT *a-*	2pl.DAT *e-*	3sg.DAT *o-*	3pl.DAT *e-*
1sg.A	—	—	***nan**-d-a- laɣ*	***nan**-d-e- laɣ*	***nan**-d-o- laɣ*	***nan**-d-e- laɣ*
nak-			‘I told you (sg)’	‘I told you (pl)’	‘I told him/her’	‘I told them’
1pl.A	—	—	***nan**-d-a-y- laɣ*	***nan**-d-e-y- laɣ*	***nan**-d-o-y- laɣ*	***nan**-d-e-y- laɣ*
nak-…e-/y-			‘we told you (sg)’	‘we told you (pl)’	‘we told him/her’	‘we told them’
2sg.A	*d-**o**-na- laɣ*	*d-**o**-na-y- laɣ*	—	—	*d-**ø**-o- laɣ*	***o**-d-e- laɣ*
o-	‘you (sg) told me’	‘you (sg) told us’			‘you (sg) told him/her’	‘you (sg) told them’
2pl.A	*d-**e**-na- laɣ*	*d-**e**-na-y- laɣ*	—	—	***e**-d-o- laɣ*	***e**-d-e- laɣ*
e-	‘you (pl) told me’	‘you (pl) told us’			‘you (pl) told him/her’	‘you (pl) told them’
3sg.A	*d-**a**-na- laɣ*	*d-**a**-na-y- laɣ*	*d-**ø**-a- laɣ*	*d-**ø**-e- laɣ*	*d-**ø**-o- laɣ*	*d-**ø**-e- laɣ*
a-	‘s/he told me’	‘s/he told us’	‘s/he told you (sg)’	‘s/he told you (pl)’	‘s/he told him/her’	‘s/he told them’
3pl.A	*d-**e**-na- laɣ*	*d-**e**-na-y- laɣ*	*da-**n**-a- laɣ*	*da-**n**-e- laɣ*	*da-**n**-o- laɣ*	*da-**n**-e- laɣ*
n-	‘they told me’	‘they told us’	‘they told you (sg)’	‘they told you (pl)’	‘they told him/her’	‘they told them’

8.2.2 Uses of the Actor prefixes

8.2.2.1 General remarks. The use of the Actor prefix series to index the agent-like participant of a verb can be observed in any of the examples in the preceding sections.

It was mentioned above that Marind exhibits semantic alignment (or split intransitivity etc.). The data in (281) show that the 1st person agent of 'dance' is indexed by means of an Actor prefix (a), whereas the 1st person patient of 'fall' is indexed by means of Undergoer alternation in the verb stem (b) (the verb *hi* 'fall' belongs to the suffixing infectional class, so 1.U is realized as a suffix *-n*). Note, however, that Actor indexing is obligatorily present in the verb group, so the 3sg.A prefix *a-* appears by default in (b). (The Neutral Orientation prefix ø- in these examples signals that the constituent preceding the verb complex expresses the S/A-argument; see Chapter 10).

(281) a. *nok* *ø-no-d-* *mahay*
1 NEUT-1.A-DUR- dance
'I danced.' [nb02.126.wbi]

b. *nok* *ø-a-* *hi-n*
1 NEUT-3sg.A- fall-1.U
'I fell.' [nb02.110.wbi]

Patientive verbs such as *hi* are further discussed in the chapter on valency—see §11.2.2.2.

8.2.2.2 Use of 3pl>1 *e-*. If a 3pl Actor acts on a 1st person (singular or plural), the Actor is indexed by means of the prefix *e-* (glossed 3pl>1) instead of the standard 3pl.A prefix *n-*. The formal realization of the prefix was described at the end of §8.2.1.3 above, and some examples of its use were given in (279–280).

The formulation "3pl Actor acts on a 1st person" should be understood as referring to any scenario in which a verb has a 3pl argument triggering Actor indexing, in addition to a 1st person argument in any non-Actor role (see §11.1 for the argument/adjunct distinction in Marind). The 3pl>1 prefix occurs regardless of whether the 1st person participant is indexed by Undergoer alternation in the stem, as in (279–280) above, or by the Dative (282) or Genitive (283) prefix series.

(282) *napet ɣe m-e-na-y- og*
banana INGRS OBJ-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl- give
'They gave us bananas.' [0412.16092016.1.wbi]

(283) *ɣe m-i-namb-e- idih, "e-he nok k-a-namb-e"*
INGRS OBJ-3pl>1-1.GEN-1pl- see:III.U III-PROX 1 PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl
'They saw our [sago], [and said:] "This is ours".' [0217.27112016.3.wbi]

Note that the 1pl prefix *e-* in (282) is realized as a palatal glide (written *y-*) since it is in coda position.

The 3pl>1 prefix also occurs in cases in which a 1st person argument is not indexed by any other overt markers on the verb. This happens when a 1st person participant functions as the patient-like argument of an invariant verb (e.g. a lexeme that lacks the ability to index the Undergoer; §9.2), as witnessed by the elicited example in (284). Here the invariant verb *abun* 'bark' is used transitively, with a 1st person O-argument. The 3pl>1 prefix occurs even though the 1st person participant is not indexed on the verb, since the only requirement is that it is an argument.[5]

(284) *nggat nok ma-d-e- abun*
dog 1 OBJ-DUR-3pl>1- bark
'Dogs barked at me.' [nb03.48.wbi]

For the sake of completeness I add elicited examples below showing that *e-* does not occur in scenarios other than the 3pl>1 configuration. In (285a) a 3pl agent acts on a 2sg patient, so the standard 3pl.A *n-* is used. In (b) the patient is a 3rd person, so again *n-* is used.

(285) a. *nggat oɣ ma-d-na- abun*
dog 2sg OBJ-DUR-3pl.A- bark
'Dogs barked at you.' [nb03.48.wbi]

b. *nggat Yakoba ma-d-na- abun*
dog Y. OBJ-DUR-3pl.A- bark
'Dogs barked at Yakoba.' [nb03.48.wbi]

[5]Drabbe (1955: 63) notes the existence of the prefix *e-* in his grammar of the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, but seems to consider it some sort of morphophonologically conditioned allomorph of the standard 3pl.A prefix *n-*. An account such as "3pl.A *n-* becomes *e-* before *na-* (1.DAT) and *namb-* (1.GEN)" does not explain why *e-* also occurs (i) when the exponent of the 1st person argument is non-adjacent to the 3pl prefix (as when the verb stem is marked according to an Undergoer), and (ii) when the 1st person argument is not indexed at all, as in (284). My description of *e-* as marking the 3pl>1 scenario also solves the problems that Drabbe struggles with in the analysis of the Negative Future (1955: 70).

The 3pl>1 prefix does not occur if the agent is singular:

(286) *nggat nok ma-d-ø- abun*
dog 1 OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- bark
'A dog barked at me.' [nb03.48.wbi]

It should be pointed out that the 3pl>1 *e-* co-occurs with markers indexing the 1st person participant, rather than replacing them. This distinguishes the Marind prefix from the typical cases of transitive portmanteaux expressing person/number of both agent and patient (see e.g. Heath 1991, Heath 1998).

8.2.2.3 Defective 3rd person indexing with suppletive and middle verbs.

There are two contexts in which a 3pl agent-like participant fails to trigger indexing by means of 3pl.A prefix *n-*, and instead triggers the 3sg.A form *a-/ø-*, causing a number mismatch. These are: (i) if the verb is suppletive according to the number of the agent-like participant (§9.2.6), and (ii) if the verb belongs to the so-called middle class (§8.5.1, §11.2.2.3).

The first case is illustrated in (287–288). The verb *dahetok* 'return' in (287) is a standard, regular verb, so number of a 3rd person Actor is distinguished by the use of the 3sg.A (a) and the 3pl.A (b) prefixes. The verb 'lie down' is suppletive and employs the stem *ɣali* if one person lies down, and the unrelated stem *hok* if several people lie down. Example (288) shows that both forms occur with a 3sg.A prefix, i.e. 'defective' number marking.

(287) a. *menda-b-ø- dahetok*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- return
'He already returned.' [0121.27112016.3.wbi]

b. *menda-b-na- dahetok*
PERF-ACT-3pl.A- return
'They already returned.' [0087.14052015.2.dmh]

(288) a. *menda-b-ø- ɣali*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- one.lie.down
'He already lay down [to sleep].' [0134.17102016.1.wbi]

b. *menda-b-ø- hok*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- many.lie.down
'They already lay down [to sleep].' [0073.17102016.2.wbi]

Note that suppletion according to participant number—as here—must be distinguished from suppletion according to event number/pluractionality, which does not trigger defective 3rd person Actor indexing.; see §9.2.6.2.

The second case is illustrated in (289). There are ca. 40 verbs that index their agent-like participant according to the so-called middle pattern (cf. Table 11.3 on p. 347 for a list), meaning that the person/number features of the agent are simultaneously indexed in the Actor prefix and in the Undergoer alternations of the verb stem. One such verb is ***kwamin*** 'enter', so with a 3sg S-argument, as in (a), both the Actor and the Undergoer affixes reflect 3sg indexing. If the agent is 3rd person plural, however, the Actor prefix defaults to 3sg.A, as with the suppletive verb in (288b) above.

(289) a. *menda-b-ø-* *k⟨w⟩amin*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- ⟨3sg.U⟩enter
'[The pig] already entered.' [0561.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *menda-b-ø-* *k⟨y⟩amin*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- ⟨3pl.U⟩enter
'They already entered.' [0014.28102014.3.dmh]

This kind of defective number marking with suppletive and middle verbs is restricted to the 3rd person. 1st and 2nd person agents trigger the singular and plural prefixes as expected, also with suppletive and middle verbs. I have no explanation for the behavior of the 3rd person Actor prefixes.

A further complicating factor is that there are certain situations in which 3pl Actor indexing with suppletive and middle verbs functions according to the standard principles, and is realized by means of 3pl.A *n-* instead of the defective 3sg.A prefix. The contexts with non-defective Actor indexing are (i) if the verb contains a Dative prefix (indexing e.g. a recipient, a benefactor, etc.; §8.3), and (ii) if the verb contains the applicative Accompaniment prefix *e-*. In either of these cases the 3pl.A prefix *n-* occurs, as illustrated with the middle verb 'enter' prefixed with the Dative in (290). In this use the Dative prefix indexes the owner of a bodypart (see §8.3.2).

(290) From a story in which the fur of a dead wallaby turns into mosquitos, who kill the man who had killed the wallaby.
nda-n-o- *k⟨y⟩amin,* *anggip-bal a,* *kin a*
LOC-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- ⟨2|3pl.U⟩enter nose-hole PTCL eye PTCL
'Then [the mosquitos] entered him, [through] the nostrils and the eyes.'
[0164.21112014.1.dmh]

The following data illustrate the same phenomenon with the Accompaniment *e-*, which is prefixed to intransitive motion verbs to form transitive verbs with a comitative meaning (§12.2). The verb *umuh* 'go, take off' (2|3pl stem *umah*) is also a middle verb, so it exhibits defective 3sg.A marking with a 3rd person plural S-argument, as in (291a). When the Accompaniment prefix is added, however, the standard 3pl.A prefix *n-* appears (b).

(291) a. *menda-b-ø-* *umah*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- go:2|3pl.U
'They already left.' [0306.27112016.4.wbi]

b. Describing how some village men were taken to Okaba after a fight.
polisi *men-ba-n-e-* *umah*
police(m) PERF-ACT-3pl.A-ACPN- go:2|3pl.U
'The police already took them away.' [0085.04092015.1.wbi]

The addition of a Dative prefix or prefixation with the Accompaniment clearly increase the "transitivity" of these verbs, but it is not clear how this pattern explains the reappearance of standard Actor indexation. Again, these peculiarities are not observed with 1st and 2nd person Actors, so it is clearly a quirk of the 3pl.A prefix, rather than some general phenomenon. Nevertheless, the effects of this quirk are observed quite frequently since the verbs that it affects (suppletive and middle verbs) are among the most frequent in the language.

8.3 Dative indexing

The Dative prefixes are used to index a participant filling a role such as recipient, benefactor or possessor of a bodypart. Example:

(292) *katal* *men-ba-n-o-* *hahin*
money(IV) PERF-ACT-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- put:IV.U
'They already gave him the money.' [0124.26102016.1.wbi]

Note that the ditransitive theme (the money) is indexed by means of Undergoer alternations in the verb stem, like standard O-arguments with monotransitive alternating verbs, whereas the recipient is indexed by a separate prefix set. In the typological literature this is known as **indirective alignment** (see also §10.1.3.2).[6]

[6]Marind is erroneously classified as aligning the recipient with the monotransitive O in Reesink's study of the GIVE-event in Papuan languages (Reesink 2013: 260). I thank Ger Reesink for bringing this to my attention.

The formal realization of Dative indexing is described in §8.3.1, while the functional range of the Dative series is described in §8.3.2. I use the term 'Dative' since this is the label given to case forms and adpositions with similar semantics in traditional grammar.[7]

8.3.1 Form of the Dative prefixes

The Dative prefixes are shown in Figure 8.3. The prefix *e-* realizes both 2nd and 3rd person plural (glossed 2|3pl.DAT), a syncretism pattern that recurs in all indexing forms except the Actor prefixes (which distinguish 2pl *e-* and 3pl *n-*). The 1pl prefix *e-* in the 1pl cell is role-neutral, and not restricted to Dative indexing.

Figure 8.3: The Dative prefixes.

	sg	pl
1	*na-*	*na-…(e-)*
2	*a-*	*e-*
3	*o-*	

As seen in Figure 8.1 the Dative prefixes belong to position class –5 in the templatic model of the prefixal complex. A paradigm containing the Dative prefixes was given in Table 8.2 above, showing combinations of the Dative series with the Actor prefixes and the Past Durative *d-*.

The only complication affecting the Dative prefixes concerns the 1st person prefix *na-*. Whenever this prefix co-occurs with any of the prefixes belonging to position classes –8 (i.e. the Frustrative *um-*), –7 (Separative *is-* and Allative *ind-*) and –6 (Repetitive *i-*), a kind of partial affixal metathesis occurs, in which the segment *n-* 'moves' leftwards, so that the added prefix appears between the segments of the discontinuous Dative prefix *n-…a-*. This differs from the non-1st person Dative prefixes, which are placed after the prefixes belonging to classes –8, –7 and –6, as predicted by the position class model.

I illustrate this in (293), using the class –8 Frustrative prefix *um-* (expressing that an event almost happened, or that an activity was carried out in vain; see §14.4.1). The 3sg Dative prefix *o-* appears after the Frustrative in (a), which is the expected ordering since the Dative prefix is a member of a position closer to the verb stem (class –5). If *o-* is replaced by the 1st person Dative *na-*, however, the special metathesis kicks in, giving discontinuous *n-um-a-* instead of the expected sequence **um-na-*. As with other instances of discontinuous morphs in the language (e.g. the Dependent

[7] Another possible term would be 'Indirect Object' prefix which would be misleading since it suggests that the prefix is limited to a specific syntactic configuration.

ah-, §7.3), the morpheme label ('1.DAT') is repeated under both substrings in the interlinear glosses (as per Comrie et al. 2015, Rule 8).

(293) a. *basik ø-ø-um-o- haniɣ*
pig NEUT-3sg.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT- bite
'The pig almost bit him/her.'

b. *basik ø-ø-n-um-a- haniɣ*
pig NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT-FRUS-1.DAT- bite
'The pig almost bit me.' [nb03.44.wbi]

(The Dative is used to index the owner of the bitten bodypart in the previous examples, cf. the following subsection).

The following examples contain corpus data illustrating discontinuous *n-…a-*. In (294) the Separative *is-* (signaling motion away from the participant indexed by means of the Dative; §12.3) intervenes between the segments of the 1st person Dative. Examples (295–296) show that more than one intervening prefix may be added between *n-* and *a-*. In these examples the Allative *ind-* signals motion towards the Dative participant, whereas the Repetitive *i-* in (296) serves to express 'again'.

(294) *men-b-ø-n-is-a-y- ihon*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- run.away:3sg.U
'She already ran away from us.' [0378.27112016.4.wbi]

(295) *nok m-a-n-um-ind-a- dahetok-a-m*
1 OBJ-3sg.A-1.DAT-FRUS-ALL-1.DAT- return-EXT-VEN
'He (tried to) came back towards me.' [0197.28062015.2.wbi]

(296) *etob epe k-a-n-ind-i-a-y- man-em*
sea.water there DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-ALL-RE-1.DAT-1pl- come-VEN
'There the sea water came towards us again.' [0031.30082015.4.wbi]

The reason for the splitting of *na-* into *n-* and *a-* in these contexts is perhaps related to the avoidance of a heavy syllable in the penultimate syllable of the phonological word (see Section 2.4). The prefixal complex constitutes a phonological word, so speakers avoid prefix sequences resulting in shapes such as *CVC.CV with a heavy penultimate CVC syllable (usually by insertion of epenthetic /a/, giving e.g. CV.C*a*.CV). Illegal sequences such as **um-na-* (FRUS-1.DAT-), **ind-na-* (ALL-1.DAT-) and **is-na-* (SEP-1.DAT-) would result in heavy penultimate syllables whenever *na-* is in

the final syllable of the prefixal complex, so the metathesis of *n-* could be seen as a way to replace the heavy penultimate syllables with well-formed CV.CV.

However, it is not clear why the conflict between faithfulness to morpheme order and avoidance of heavy penultimate syllables could not have been solved by epenthesis (producing *um-a-na-* etc.) instead of the more radical metathesis of *n-…a-*. It also does not explain why Repetitive *i-*—which could not cause formation of a heavy syllable on its own—is one of the set of prefixes that causes metathesis of *n-*, as in the elicited examples below.

(297) a. *ah-i-o- ayi!*
IMP-RE-3sg.DAT- say
'Say it to him/her again!'

b. *a-n-i-a- ayi!*
IMP-1.DAT-RE-1.DAT- say
'Say it to me again!' [nb04.2.wbi]

8.3.2 Functions of Dative indexing

The range of meanings expressed by the Dative prefix series is similar to the meanings of dative case forms and indirect object indexing in many languages. In addition to the productive uses, there are some verbs that must be lexically specified as indexing one of their participants by means of the Dative series, as listed in the end of this section.

The Dative prefixes index the recipient participant in a typical transfer event. The most neutral way of expressing such events is by means of the pro-verb *og* 'do', which is used as a three-place predicate 'give' if it appears with a Dative prefix (298).[8] The transfer verb *ikalen* 'send' also exhibits Dative indexing (299).

(298) *kak Siana k-an-o- og Cap Lang*
aunt S. DIR-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- do C. L.
'They gave aunt Siana the "Cap Lang" medicine.' [0017.04092015.1.wbi]

(299) *surat mak-o- ikalen Simon*
letter(m)(III) FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT- send:III.U S.
'I'm going to send a letter to Simon.' [nb01.29.dmh]

[8] Do/give macrofunctionality seems to be rare across languages, but is attested in a number of languages in Northwestern New Guinea (Gil 2017).

When verbs of putting and placing are used with a Dative participant they express transfer, e.g. the verb *aten* 'cause to stand' (cf. *atin* 'stand up') which expresses 'give animate to somebody' with Dative indexing (300), and placement verbs such as *bakeh* 'put vertically oriented object' (e.g. a bottle) which are commonly used to express giving instead of the more general *og* (301). Other verbs that may express transfer with the Dative series are e.g. *kwegen* 'throw' (> 'throw to') and *anetok* 'divide' (> 'divide among'), as in (302).

(300) *nggat a-na- aten!*
dog IMP-1.DAT- make.stand:3sg.U
'Give me a dog!' [nb02.109.wbi]

(301) *sopi m-an-um-o- bakeh*
s.(m)(III) OF-3pl.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT- put:III.U
'They tried to give him *sopi* (an alcoholic beverage).'
[0205.19052015.2.dmh]

(302) From an account of a feast organized by the district governor in Merauke.
kwemek sam-ɣasti e-pe namakad k-a-na-y- an⟨e⟩tok
morning big-old.man(I) I-DIST thing(III) DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- divide⟨III.U⟩
'In the morning the governor started dividing the things among us.'
[0258.27112016.3.wbi]

An exception to this indexing pattern of recipients is the verb *koh* 'feed' which codes the feedee by means of prefixed Undergoer marking on the stem (cf. *na-koh* 'feed me/us', *ɣa-koh* 'feed you' etc.; see §8.5).

A closely related use is the indexing of the recipient-like argument of verbs of speaking such as *aɣi* 'say' and *kabed* 'ask':

(303) *namaɣa, patul epe k-ak-e-y- aɣi ago "[…]"*
now boy there DIR-1.A-3pl.DAT-1pl- say QUOT
'Now we said to the boys: "[…]"' [0019.30082015.4.wbi]

(304) *nok ad k-ak-o- kabed, ago "[…]"*
1 father DIR-1sg.A-3sg.DAT- ask QUOT
'I asked father, "[…]"' [0033.28062015.4.wbi]

An exceptional verb that does not use the Dative series to index the addressee-like participant is *wig* 'beg somebody for something', which indexes the person being

begged by means of a Genitive prefix, presumably since this participant is also the owner of the item asked for (Section 8.4).

Dative indexing is used with some verbs meaning 'show, teach', e.g.

(305) *mate, mak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah, kay mend-o-na-y- uman*
okay FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ way PERF-2sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- show
'Okay, let's go, you have already shown us the way.' [0651.08092016.1.wbi]

(306) About some suspects handing themselves over to the police.
nanih k-an-e-p- lawetok
face DIR-3pl.A-2|3pl.DAT-CT- turn
'They showed (lit. turned) them their faces.' (i.e. to the police)
[0124.04092015.1.wbi]

The Dative also extends to contexts in which an action is performed to communicate or signal something to somebody, although the verb in itself is not a verb of communication. Below this is seen with the verbs ***kiwaɣeb*** 'turn, spin' to mean 'wave one's hand at somebody' (307) and ***ɣedak*** 'pound repeatedly', which in the context of (308) refers to a hunter imitating the mating behavior of wallabies by thumping the ground with his knee.

(307) From a hunting story: spotting a wallaby.
mesiwag es nd-a- man-em,
old.woman behind LOC-3sg.A- come-VEN
sangga ɣe m-ak-o- kiwaɣ⟨e⟩b
hand(III) INGRS OBJ-1.A-3sg.DAT- turn⟨III.U⟩
'My wife was coming from behind, I started waving my hand at her.'
(To make her stop.) [0187.21092016.1.wbi]

(308) Still hunting for wallabies.
mate, hyakod a-mo- idih, mak-o- ɣ⟨e⟩dak
okay one DEP-FUT:2sg.A- see:3sg.U FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT- ⟨PLA⟩thump
'Okay, if I see one, I will thump [the ground] at it.' [0121.21092016.1.wbi]

When a bodypart is an argument of a verb, the owner of the bodypart is indexed by means of the Dative prefixes (cf. so-called external possession constructions in many languages; König and Haspelmath 1997). Actions and states involving bodyparts that often occur with this pattern are e.g. 'grasp', 'hit', 'shoot', 'hurt', '[body fluid] come out', and so on. Examples:

(309) Describing a picture in the Family Problems task.

tagu *k-ø-o-* *wa-hanid-a* *namaɣa*
foot(III) DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- III.U-grasp-EXT now
'She is holding [the baby] by its feet.' [0215.19052015.2.dmh]

(310) About a sudden bout of food poisoning.

ɣandam *ɣap* *m-a-na-y-* *keway*
stomach night OBJ-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- break
(lit.) 'At night our stomachs broke.' [0925.16092016.1.wbi]

(311) *uy,* *nok* *mig* *men-b-a-na-* *awih,*
EXCLAM 1 knee(IV) PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT- hurt:IV.U
i-he *ɣ⟨e⟩dak-la* *e-pe*
IV-PROX ⟨PLA⟩thump-PTCP:III III-DIST
'Ouch, my knee is already hurting, [because] of thumping the ground.'
[0227.21092016.1.wbi]

(312) Describing a deer being chased by dogs.

anup *ndalom* *menda-b-ø-o-* *hu-h* *u-pe* *rusa*
EMPH:II foam(IV) PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- emerge-IV.U II-DIST deer(m)(II)
'Foam was already coming out of the deer['s mouth].'
[0194.28062015.2.wbi]

There is an important constraint on the indexing of the owner of a bodypart, namely that the owner indexed by the Dative prefix may not be coreferential with the agent indexed by means of the Actor prefix. To express such reflexive scenarios (e.g. 'I cut my hand') the Dative prefix is dropped, leaving the owner unindexed (literally 'I cut the hand'). See examples in §12.5.

In some expressions the Dative can be seen as signaling an experiencer of a mental or bodily state. Many such idioms involve metaphorical uses of bodyparts, like *bekay* 'heart' in (314), and are difficult to distinguish from the owner-of-bodypart use of the Dative.

(313) *k-a-na-* *w-a* *yalen*
DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX taste.bad
'It tasted bad (to me).' [nb03.79.wbi]

(314) Discussing another—less pleasant—village.

ndom-bekay epe ka-d-a-na- ay-ma nok
bad-heart there DIR-DUR-3sg.A-1.DAT- become-PST.HAB 1
'I used to feel unhappy there.' [0358.27112016.4.wbi]

The Dative may be used to index a participant who benefits from an action. This benefactive use is clearly distinct from that of coding a recipient, since the benefactive Dative can be used even when there is no transfer of a gift (315), as well as with intransitive verbs such as *kahos* 'chew betelnut' (316).

(315) *kay a-na- kab*
door IMP-1.DAT- open
'Open the door for me!' [0015.03062015.1.dmh]

(316) *mesiwag mak-o- kahos-e*
old.woman FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT- chew.betel-IPFV
'I will chew betelnut for grandma.' (Grandma has no teeth.) [nb04.12.wbi]

The negative counterpart to the benefactive—the malefactive Dative—also occurs, expressing that the person is adversely affected by the event. (This use is difficult to render elegantly in English; here I add 'on me' etc. to the free translations).

(317) *ɣaɣew k-a-na- w-a kepad onggat kahek-la*
climbing.rope(III) DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX break:III.U coconut climb-PTCP:I
'The rope (tied around feet and trunk) broke on me while climbing coconut tree.' [nb03.29.wbi]

(318) *nggat tamuɣ mak-a-na- yi, pen ka-mo- w-amuk*
dog food FUT2-3sg.A-1.DAT- eat murder DIR-FUT:1.A- 3sg.U-hit
'The dog might eat the food on me, (if so,) then I will kill it.'
[0162.27082015.1.wbi]

(319) Describing how a person tried to catch some ducklings he found in the bush.

isi e= ka-da-n-o- ka-huhu-h
other PROX= DIR-DUR-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- INESS-emerge.PLA-2|3pl.U
'The rest of them went out on him.' [1040.16092016.1.wbi]

Malefactive uses as in (318) above are often similar to the 'affected owner' use of the Genitive prefix series described in §8.4.2 below, because the adverse action affects

some item owned by the Dative participant. The difference is that the Genitive series imply ownership, whereas the malefactive use of the Dative series gives no particular information of the way in which the participant is involved in the event.

Some verbs must be lexically specified as indexing one of their arguments by means of the Dative series. I list the most important ones here. The following verbs are intransitive, so the Dative indexes the sole argument:

ɣek	'X$_{Dat}$ becomes used to s.t.'
kamob	'X$_{Dat}$ becomes betel-drunk'
isik	'X$_{Dat}$ becomes full (from eating)'
dahuk	'X$_{Dat}$ dies'
luhay	'X$_{Dat}$ remains in a different place'

Recall that all inflected verb forms contain Actor indexing according to my analysis, which defaults to 3sg with these intransitive verbs, e.g.

(320) *adu* *tis ka,* *men-b-a-na-y-p-* *l-isik*
EXCLAM that's.it PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl-CT- PLA-become.full
'Oh my, that's it, we're already full.' [0162.21092016.1.wbi]

Other verbs are transitive, with the agent-like participant indexed by means of the Actor prefixes, and the patient-like argument indexed by means of the Dative prefixes:

takin	'X$_{A}$ waits for Y$_{Dat}$'
ɣina	'X$_{A}$ helps Y$_{Dat}$'
kalalid	'X$_{A}$ invites Y$_{Dat}$'
kahoɣ	'X$_{A}$ frightens Y$_{Dat}$'
lemed	'X$_{A}$ meet Y$_{Dat}$'
hyom	'X$_{A}$ fucks Y$_{Dat}$'[9]
talun	'X$_{A}$ gives Y$_{Dat}$ a push'
dahuɣ	'X$_{A}$ prevents Y$_{Dat}$ from leaving'

These verbs are described as valency classes in Sections 11.2.2.4 and 11.2.3.3 respectively.

8.4 Genitive indexing

The Genitive prefixes have a more limited range of uses than the Dative prefixes, and while the label 'Genitive' is less happy for some of these uses, it captures their most

[9]Note that the verb *hyom* is considered very vulgar; a politer expression used for 'have intercourse' is *kisa* 'grab', which is a standard transitive verb of the alternating class.

common function. In general terms, the Genitive prefixes index a participant which, although not directly involved in the action described by the verb, is affected by (or in some other way important to) the event qua possessor of one of the more central arguments.

There are also a few verbs that have Genitive indexing as a fixed part of their indexing template; the most common are *gan* 'hear' and *ɣoman* 'meet, reach', which always index their patient-like arguments by means of Genitive prefixes. Cf. the end of Section 8.4.2 below.

8.4.1 Form of the Genitive prefixes

The person/number combinations are expressed by the prefixes in Figure 8.4. The Genitive prefixes are identical to the Dative prefixes (Figure 8.3) except for the final segment *mb-*. Synchronically, however, the two series are clearly distinct, since the Genitive prefixes occur in a different position of the prefix template (position class –9) than the Dative prefixes (class –5), and may co-occur with them, as in (324) further below. The sequence *-mb-* does not have any other function.

Figure 8.4: The Genitive prefixes.

	sg	pl
1	*namb-*	*namb-…(e-)*
2	*amb-*	*emb-*
3	*omb-*	

Example (321) shows that a Genitive prefix is ordered before the Frustrative *um-* of position class –8; this example also shows that the /o/ in *omb-* undergoes Antepenultimate vowel gradation to [u] (§2.5.1).

(321) *oso* *m-ak-umb-um-e-* *ɣoman*
start OBJ-1.A-3sg.GEN-FRUS-1pl- approach
'We were almost reaching it.' [0179.28062015.2.wbi]

The other phonological alternation affecting the Genitive prefixes is syllable-final simplification of the prenasalized plosive /m͡b/: when this segment (which is found in all members of the Genitive paradigm) cannot syllabify in onset position, it is simplified to [m] (cf. §2.1.1.1). This is observed in the paradigm given in Figure 8.5, in which the Genitive prefix occurs in the end of the prefixal complex (left column) and followed by the Repetitive *i-* (of position class –6; right column).

	without Repetitive *i-*	with Repetitive *i-*
1sg	*ndap-a-nam- gan* 'S/he will hear me'	*ndap-a-namb-i- gan* 'S/he will hear me again'
2sg	*ndap-ø-am- gan* 'S/he will hear you'	*ndap-ø-amb-i- gan* 'S/he will hear you again'
3sg	*ndap-ø-om- gan* 'S/he will hear it'	*ndap-ø-omb-i- gan* 'S/he will hear it again'
1pl	*ndap-a-namb-e- gan* 'S/he will hear us'	*ndap-a-namb-i-e- gan* 'S/he will hear us again'
2pl	*ndap-ø-em- gan* 'S/he will hear you'	*ndap-ø-emb-i- gan* 'S/he will hear you again'
3pl	*ndap-ø-em- gan* 'S/he will hear them'	*ndap-ø-emb-i- gan* 'S/he will hear them again'

Figure 8.5: The Genitive prefixes: 'S/he$_A$ will hear X$_{Poss}$'
ndap- = FUT, *ø-/a-* = 3sg.A, *e-* = 1pl, *gan* 'hear'.

8.4.2 Functions of Genitive indexing

As stated above, the Genitive series index an owner of one of the other arguments of the verb. The possessed item is never a bodypart, since owners of bodyparts are indexed by means of the Dative prefix series (see §8.3.2). I am not aware of any other constraints on the possessed participant: both animates, as in (322), and inanimates, as in the observed example (323), co-occur with Genitive-marked verbs:

(322) *nalakam elel ø-d-ø-om- ola*
child sick NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be:3sg.U
'Her child was sick.' [0011.04092015.1.wbi]

(323) *de-roko mend-b-a-nam- lahway, takah ø-na-ka- og!*
wood-tobacco(m) PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.GEN- fire.go.out, fire IMP-1.DAT-PRI- give
'My cigarette went out, give me the lighter!' [nb03.41.wbi]

The fact that Dative and Possessive index different types of 'possessors' is clear from cases where they co-occur within the same verb, indexing different participants. Example (324) is the utterance following (322) in an account explaining why a woman had to go to the aidpost with her child. Although both sentences ostensibly are about the child, the Genitive prefix *omb-* marks the mother as being the 'affected owner' of the sick child, while the Dative prefix *o-* in (324) marks the child as being the 'affected owner' of the stomach. The prefixes have been marked with indices; the second, less idiomatic, translation reflects the participants corresonding to the respective prefixes.

(324) *ɣandam k-ø-omb$_i$-o$_j$- w-a ɣadan*
stomach DIR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN-3sg.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX get.swollen
'His$_j$ stomach was swollen.'
'The stomach was swollen to [her$_i$ child$_j$].' [0012.04092015.1.wbi]

It is difficult to explicate in any detail the semantics that license the use of Genitive indexing. Examples (322–323) have an adversely affected possessor, but non-affected possessors also occur. For example, Genitive indexing is used to express predicative possession (325), or the whereabouts of people's belongings (326–327).

(325) *mesiwag Babob mbya ø-d-ø-om- ola kahos*
old.woman B. NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be:III.U betel(III)
'Auntie Babob didn't have any betelnut.' [0250.17102016.2.wbi]

(326) *aha en nda-ha-b-ø-om- itala?*
house where LOC-INT-B-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be.standing
'Where is his/her house?' [nb03.26.wbi]

(327) Said to child who was about to move elder brother's *wati* plants.
wati adeh m-ø-omb-ap- ka-hat-la, ɣap ndame-ø-
kava(III) RLQ OBJ-2sg.A-3sg.GEN-CT- INESS-put:III.U-EXT night FUT-3sg.A-
ikuwad
drink.kava
'Let his *wati* sit there (on the table), he'll drink it tonight.' [nb03.35.wbi]

The entity that is owned by the Genitive participant is often the S-argument of the clause, as in (325–326) above, since verbs expressing predicative possession and location typically are one-place predicates, but it can also be in the O-role, as in (327), or as in (283) on p. 228. I have no information about a possessed entity filling the A-role of a Genitive-marked verb, but note that the possessed participant is not necessarily an argument of the verb, as witnessed by (940b) on p. 553.

The Genitive prefixes are part of the indexing template of the following verbs:[10]

ɣoman 'X$_A$ meets Y$_{Poss}$'
gan 'X$_A$ hears Y$_{Poss}$'
wig 'X$_{A,U}$ begs Y$_{Poss}$ for s.t.'
hayan 'Y$_{Poss}$ becomes quiet'

[10]Drabbe (1955: 105ff.) list some additional verbs, but I was not able to identify their cognates in the Western dialect described here.

Below are examples illustrating *wig* 'beg' (328) and *ɣoman* 'meet'. Note that *wig* 'beg' is a middle verb (§8.5.1), so the agent-like participant is indexed both by the Actor prefix and in the verb stem.

(328) *yah a-me-ø- dahetok-a-m e-pe, kanis ndam-omb-ap- ɣ-ig*
but DEP-FUT-3sg.A- return-EXT-VEN III-DIST betel FUT:2sg.A-3sg.GEN-CT- 2sg.U-beg
'When he returns, you should ask him for betelnut.' [0049.17102016.1.wbi]

(329) 1. *in e= k-ak-em- ka-ɣoman ay?*
middle PROX= DIR-1.A-2|3pl.GEN- INESS-approach Q
'I met you in the middle right?'

2. *ahak epe k-u-namb-e- ka-ɣoman motor-kay*
yeah there DIR-2sg.A-1.GEN-1pl- INESS-approach motorcycle(m)-path
'Yeah you met us there by the motorcycle path'
[0666-0667.16092016.1.wbi]

See also the 'causal' use of the Genitive prefixes described in §12.6.

8.5 Undergoer indexing

Patient-like participants are indexed by means of alternations in the verb stem. I call a participant that triggers such alternations 'Undergoer', and the alternations 'Undergoer alternations' or 'Undergoer indexing'. It was already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that Undergoer alternations are lexically restricted to about half of the verbal lexemes in the language. A verb that has the ability to alternate according to an Undergoer is called 'alternating verb', whereas a verb that lacks different stem forms corresponding to person/number of the Undergoer is called 'invariant'.

The morphology of Undergoer alternation is much more complex that the realization of the indexing prefixes described in the three preceding sections of this chapter. In (330) I give four examples illustrating the four inflectional classes that need to be posited to account for the locus of Undergoer alternations; these examples show the 1st person stem forms. The four classes are: prefixing (a), infixing (b), suffixing (c), and double-marking (d) verbs. Note that inflectional class membership does not correlate with semantics or valency, so there is no specific reason that e.g. the prefixing verb 'hit' in (a) is transitive, or the suffixing verb 'fall' in (c) intransitive, and so on.

(330) a. *mend-a- n-amuk*
PERF-3sg.A- 1.U-hit
'S/he already hit me.'

b. *mend-a- ɣada⟨n⟩awn*
PERF-3sg.A- leave⟨1.U⟩
'S/he already left me.'

c. *mend-a- hi-n*
PERF-3sg.A- fall-1.U
'I already fell.'

d. *mend-a- n-usu-n*
PERF-3sg.A- 1.U-heat-1.U
'I already became warm.'

Alternating verbal lexemes are also classified according to the type of Undergoers they accept. Some verbs only admit animate Undergoers, and some only inanimate Undergoers. Other occur with both animate and inanimate Undergoers. Inanimates are always 3rd person, and do not distinguish singular and plural number, so they do not trigger person/number indexing. Instead, the verb stem alternates according to the gender of the inanimate Undergoer, i.e. either gender III or gender IV (see Chapter 6). An example of a verb that only occurs with inanimate Undergoers is given in (331).

(331) a. *nggat ø-ø-na- haniɣ sangga*
dog NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT- bite:III.U hand(III)
'A dog bit my hand.'

b. *nggat ø-ø-na- hani-h mig*
dog NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT- bite-IV.U hand(IV)
'A dog bit my knee.' [nb02.81.wbi]

No other target in the language indexes both person/number of animates and the gender of inanimates. This renders the description of Undergoer alternations very complex, and it is difficult to predict whether a verb is alternating or invariant (§9.2.2); and for alternating verbs, whether it permits inanimate Undergoers (§9.2.3); and for such verbs, what the forms corresponding to genders III and IV are (§9.2.5). The reader is advised to study the respective sections in Chapter 9 to learn more about these issues.

In the remainder of this section I will mention some issues relevant to semantics of Undergoer indexing, i.e. which of the participants of a verb is given status as the Undergoer. A brief description of the middle indexing pattern is in §8.5.1.

The Undergoer is generally straightforward to identify in the case of alternating verbs describing actions involving and agent and a patient; in such cases the patient-like argument is indexed by means of Undergoer alternations. There are a

few exceptional verbs, such as *kamin* 'make', which exhibits the middle indexing pattern (§8.5.1, §11.2.3.2) and indexes the agent-like participant in the Actor prefix as well as in the verb stem.

For alternating intransitive verbs the sole argument is the Undergoer. This corresponds to two types of verbs: patientive intransitives like *hi* 'fall' (§11.2.2.2) and middle verbs. Intransitive middle verbs are treated as a valency class in (§11.2.2.3); in the next subsection I will briefly describe and exemplify the morphological indexing pattern.

8.5.1 The middle indexing pattern

An alternating verb exhibits the middle indexing pattern if the agent-like participant is simultaneously indexed by means of the Actor prefix series in the prefixal complex and Undergoer alternations in the verb stem. A middle verb such as *umuh* 'go, take off' with, say, a 2nd person singular subject will display the 2sg Actor prefix *o-*, together with the 2sg Undergoer stem *uma⟨ɣ⟩ah* (*umuh* belongs to the infixing class; §9.2.4.2). Middle verbs are the only verbs in which the stem alternates according to person/number of an agent-like participant rather than a patient. Since most middle verbs are intransitive and describe e.g. motion on posture, there is no patient-like argument for the stem to index.

In (332) a complete set showing all six person/number combinations of *umuh* 'go' is given.

(332) a. *menda-no- uma⟨n⟩ah*
PERF-1.A- go⟨1.U⟩
'I already went.'

b. *mend-ak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah*
PERF-1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩
'We already went.'

c. *mend-o- uma⟨ɣ⟩ah*
PERF-2sg.A- go⟨2sg.U⟩
'You already went.'

d. *mend-e- umah*
PERF-2pl.A- go:2|3pl.U
'You (pl) already went.'

e. *mend-a- umuh*
PERF-3sg.A- go:3sg.U
'S/he already went.'

f. *mend-a- umah*
PERF-3sg.A- go:2|3pl.U
'They already went.'

The only exception to the pattern of matching indexing values in the Actor prefix and the verb stem is the 3pl form. Middle verbs is one of the two contexts in which 3rd person indexing is 'defective', and defaults to the 3sg Actor prefix *a-* (§8.2.2.3). The person reference of the form in (f) remains unambiguous since the combination

of the 3sg Actor prefix and a 2|3pl Undergoer verb stem does not occur in any other context.

8.6 The role-neutral 1pl prefix *e-*

The prefix *e-* (glossed 1pl) is obligatory whenever one of the arguments of a verb is a 1st plural participant, regardless of whether this argument is indexed by means of the Actor, Undergoer, Dative or Possessive series. The 1st person indexing affixes themselves do not distinguish singular from plural, just like the 1st person independent pronoun ***nok*** 'I, we', but in the absence of the 1pl prefix *e-* a 1st person index is interpreted as indexing a singular participant.

The prefix is illustrated (333), combined with all four types of participant indexing: 1pl Actor (a), Undergoer (b), Dative (c) and Genitive (d).

(333) a. *nak-e- nayam milah*
1.A-1pl- many.come village
'We came to the village.'

b. *etob ø-ø-e- tangga⟨n⟩ab*
sea.water NEUT-3sg.A-1pl- chase.away⟨1.U⟩
'The (approaching) sea water forced us away.' [0026.30082015.4.wbi]

c. *ø-na-y- ayi ago* […]
3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- say QUOT
'He said to us that…' [0078.15052015.1.dmh]

d. *roko mbya ø-d-a-namb-e- ola*
tobacco(m)(III) NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl- be:III.U
'We didn't have any smokes.' [0107.28062015.2.wbi]

The 1st person prefixes differ from other indexing categories in this regard, since the non-1st person affixes always express both person and number within a single exponent. For example, the 2sg Actor prefix *o-* simultaneously expresses 2nd person and singular number; 1st person ***nak*** on the other hand, marks person but not number. The expression of multiple morphosyntactic categories by a single exponent is known as 'cumulative exponence', and is typical of person indexes across languages. In fact, the expression of first person by means of non-cumulative exponence is is the opposite of what would be expected from a cross-linguistic point-of-view: there is a strong tendency of 1st person person/number marking to be more opaque

(i.e. expressed by person-number portmanteaux) than 3rd person cross-linguistically (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994: 60–64, Siewierska 2004: 93–94).

8.7 Inclusory and associative indexing constructions

In this section two special indexing patterns are mentioned.

8.7.1 Inclusory plural

It is common to express plurality of an argument by combining plural indexing in the verb with a phrase (typically just a name) marked by the postposition *tV*. The *tV*-marked phrase picks out a member of the set indexed by the plural marking on the verb. Thus, a sentence of the form

(A$_i$) X-*ti* 3pl.$_{A_i}$-Verb

can be literally translated as 'The group A, including X, Verbed', or, if A refers to a single participant, 'A and X verbed'. (The noun phrase referring to A can be left out if the identity of A is clear from context, as indicated by the parentheses). Following Lichtenberk (2000) I call this the inclusory construction or inclusory plural.

Corpus examples of inclusory plurals are in (334). The relevant participants fill different argument slots: S-argument of *wayaman* in (b), and patient-like argument of *mahid* 'get angry' in (b). The superset ('we') is indexed accordingly on the verbs, with the A-prefix and a suppletive plural stem in (a), and the Dative prefix in (b) (indexing the patient-like argument by means of the Dative series is an idiosyncracy of the verb *mahid*).

(334) a. *nok Vitalis ti ø-nan-d-e- wayamat-a*
1 V. with:I/II.pl NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.stand-EXT
'Vitalis and I were standing there.' [0863.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *Budoy ti ma-bt-i-n-ind-a-y- mahid*
B. with:I/II.pl OBJ-AFF-3pl>1-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-1pl- get.angry
'They got angry at me and Budoy.' [0961.16092016.1.wbi]

In these examples, context makes it clear that the supersets refer to two people (e.g. 'Vitalis and I') but the same clauses can be used with a superset of any cardinality, although this would correspond to different English translations ('Vitalis and the rest of us', etc.).

Note that the inclusory plurals are different from the use of *tV* to mark comitative constructions (see §3.3.6.2), since comitatives never trigger plural marking on the verb.

8.7.2 Associative indexing

A second special type of indexing consists of a noun phrase with singular reference (typically a proper name), which is indexed on the verb by means of a plural marker. This common pattern has the same meaning as the Associative Plural marker *ke* in the nominal domain (§5.4.2), i.e. 'X and those associated with X'.

Consider (335). The noun phrase *Rovina* refers to a girl named Rovina, but the Actor indexing on the verb is 3rd person plural *n-*. This mismatch gives rise to the associative reading 'Rovina and the others'.

(335) *tis ka, Rovina tanama ka-n- dahetok*
that's.it R. again DIR-3pl.A- return
'That's it, then Rovina and the others went back again.'
[0098.04092015.1.wbi]

8.8 Indexing of inanimate non-Undergoer participants

It was stated in §8.5 that the verb stem has the ability to index gender of inanimates. This contrasts with the argument-indexing prefixes within the prefixal complex, which only index person/number of animates. The Actor prefixes, for example, do not index a gender III inanimate filling the A-argument role differently from a gender IV animate. Number of inanimates is not reflected in indexing (nor in e.g. agreement on demonstratives and other targets). This is illustrated by the minimal pair in (336), showing a gender III noun (a) and a gender IV noun (b) functioning as the A-argument; Actor indexing remains 3sg in both cases.

(336) Elicited; about different items that may fall down from a coconut palm.

a. *onggat ø-a- n-asib*
coconut(III) NEUT-3sg.A- 1.U-hit
'A coconut hit me.'

b. *saleɣ ø-a- n-asib*
coconut.inflorescence(IV) NEUT-3sg.A- 1.U-hit
'A coconut inflorescence hit me.' [nb03.90.wbi]

However, there is one situation in which gender of an inanimate argument *is* reflected in Actor indexing. The context is non-middle intransitive verbs such as ***kahek*** 'climb, ascend' and ***esol*** 'make noise'.[11] When such a verb has an inanimate of gender III as its sole argument, it triggers 3sg Actor indexing in the verb, as in (337a). When the inanimate belongs to gender IV, it triggers 3pl Actor indexing in the verb (b). This follows the general pattern in the Marind gender system, according to which the gender IV agreement forms are identical to agreement forms of animate plurals (see §6.3.2 for discussion).[12]

(337) a. ***harga*** ***menda-b-ø-*** ***kahek***
price(m)(III) PERF-ACT-3sg.A- climb
'The price has gone up.' [nb03.81.wbi]

b. ***dolar*** ***menda-b-na-*** ***kahek***
dollar(m)(IV) PERF-ACT-3pl.A- climb
'The dollar has gone up.' [nb03.74.wbi]

The reason that gender membership triggers a difference in Actor indexing in (337), but not in (336) is presumably related to transitivity: an inanimate IV noun can trigger 3pl Actor agreement if it functions as the S-argument, as in (337), but apparently not when it is the transitive A-argument. A much larger corpus will be needed to bring clarity to these issues.

Similar observations have been made for the other indexing prefixes (e.g. gender IV nouns trigger 2|3pl Dative indexing) but the corpus attestations are not sufficient to describe these phenomena; this will have to be addressed in future work.

[11] Most intransitive verbs that are semantically compatible with inanimate Undergoers are either patientive (§11.2.2.2), and display invariant 3sg.A indexing, or middle verbs (§11.2.2.3), which display 'defective' 3sg.A indexing according to the principle described in §8.2.2.3. Since these verbs invariably are marked for 3sg.A they provide no information about indexing of inanimates.

[12] Example (337b) is observed; it was jokingly uttered to me by a speaker who asked that I bring a bag full of dollars when I return from Sweden. Example (a) was elicited based on (b). I re-elicited both examples on other occasions with other speakers, with the same result.

Chapter 9

The verb stem

9.1 Introduction

I use the label **verb stem** for the morphological unit that appears after the prefixal complex, and to which outer suffixes such as the Imperfective *-e* (see §7.4) may attach. The verb stem, stripped of the prefixal complex and verb suffixes, is nevertheless a site of considerable morphological complexity, since it is the locus of Undergoer indexing and hosts several derivational categories.

The Marind verb stem features morphology that would be associated with finiteness in many languages—i.e. indexing of person and number of an (Undergoer) argument—but it is clearly categorically distinct from a full verb since verb stems are frequently used in constructional slots that are typical of nominals, without the addition of any nominalizing morphology: see e.g. compounds involving verb stems (Section 4.4), verb stems predicated by the Auxiliary (Section 15.2) or verb stems as the object of a postposition (Section 3.3.6). A full-fledged verb complex (with the prefixal complex and additional suffixes present) would not be qualified to enter these constructions. It also appears natural to treat the verb stem separately from the prefixal complex and the outer suffixes since these structures are phonologically independent of each other (as discussed in §7.1), completely different in their distribution, and, as will become clear from the information given below, in their internal morphological make-up.

This chapter addresses four topics with relevance for the formation of verb stems. The longest section describes the stem alternations indexing an Undergoer participant (§9.2). The final section contains shorter treatments of the derivation of Pluractional (§9.3.1), Inessive (§9.3.2), Comitative–Instrumental (§9.3.3) and Extended (§9.3.4) stems.

9.2 Undergoer marking

9.2.1 General remarks

Marind verb lexemes can be divided into two groups: (i) verbs that exhibit stem alternations according to person/number (in the case of animates) and/or gender (in the case of inanimates) of the Undergoer argument (roughly a patient-like participant, see Section 8.5 for further clarification) and (ii) verbs that are invariant and employ the same stem regardless of the presence or absence of an Undergoer. Out of 627 investigated lexemes, 302 (or 48%) were identified as alternating. There is no way to predict with certainty whether a verb is invariant or alternating given only its meaning and/or transitivity, nor from inspecting the phonological shape of e.g. the stem chosen as the lemma in the dictionary (typically the 3sg stem form for alternating verbs), but there are nevertheless some clear correlations (Section 9.2.2).

For an illustration of an invariant and an alternating verb, compare the invariant 'bark' with the alternating 'shoot', here shown with three person/number combinations:

(338) Invariant verb

a. *nok ma-d-ø- abun*
'It was barking at me.'

b. *oɣ ma-d-ø- abun*
'It was barking at you (sg).'

c. *yoɣ ma-d-ø- abun*
'It was barking at you (pl).'

(339) Alternating verb

a. *nok ma-d-ø- n-as*
'S/he was shooting at me.'

b. *oɣ ma-d-ø- ɣ-as*
'S/he was shooting at you (sg).'

c. *yoɣ ma-d-ø- y-as*
'S/he was shooting at you (pl).'

(In these examples, the prefix *ma-* is th Object Orientation, *d-* is the Past Durative, and ø- realizes 3sg Actor.)

Alternating verbs are divided into four superclasses according to the locus of the morphological change within the stem. These classes are summarized in Figure 9.1, along with the stems of one verb from each inflectional class. The largest class is Class 2, with more than 200 members, followed by Class 1, with 26 members, Class 3, with around 20 members and Class 4, with a handful of members. The exponents vary between the classes, but are largely predictable. Each class will be described in detail in Sections 9.2.4.1–9.2.4.4.

The following conventions are used when referring to alternating verb lexemes. When an English gloss of an alternating verb is given, it is given with the shorthand

Figure 9.1: Summary of the four inflectional classes.

	1. Prefixing 'U become tired'	2. Infixing 'chase away U'	3. Suffixing 'U crawl'	4. Double-marking 'snatch from U'
1sg|pl	*n-ihwid*	*tangga⟨n⟩ab*	*lolo-n*	*n-aska⟨n⟩ab*
2sg	*ɣ-ihwid*	*tangga⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*lolo-ɣ*	*ɣ-aska⟨ɣ⟩ab*
3sg	*w-ihid*	*tangg⟨e⟩b*	*lolaw*	*w-asaka⟨ø⟩b*
2|3pl	*ø-ihwid*	*tangg⟨ø⟩ab*	*lolo-h*	*y-aska⟨hy⟩ab*

'U' placed in the position in the English valency frame that best corresponds to the participant that is indexed on the Marind stem. For example, from reading the gloss 'snatch from U', the reader can gather that the stem indexes the participant who is deprived of a thing (and not the thing that is snatched away, or the agent who does the snatching). Secondly, I refer to alternating verb lexemes using the 3rd person Undergoer stem form as the lemma.[1]

9.2.2 Classification of verbs as invariant or alternating

It is not possible to tell with any certainty whether a given verb belongs to the invariant class or the alternating class from only looking at its meaning, or the shape of e.g. the stem chosen as the lemma in the dictionary. Syntactic transitivity does not predict the behavior of a lexeme: typical transitive verbs include both invariant (*keway* 'break') and alternating (*walok* 'stab U') lexemes, just like intransitive verbs can be invariant (*ayak* 'go inland') or alternating (*oha* 'U go down to water'). As suggested by the last examples, it is easy to find pairs of verbs with similar or even synonymous meanings where one verb is invariant and the other alternating. For example, *kayam* 'look up' is invariant whereas *mikeh* 'U look to the side' is alternating, despite their similar meanings. The synonyms *dahuk* and *kahwid* both mean 'die', but only *kahwid* is alternating, and so on.[2]

Nevertheless, there are some clear tendencies, both semantic and formal, in the assignment to the alternating versus invariant classes. I will first consider the semantic correlates of the divide. The most important observation is that verbs that denote

[1] In the rare cases of verbs lacking a 3sg form, the 3pl stem is used as the lemma, e.g. *ibingg⟨ø⟩ab* 'gather⟨2|3pl.U⟩'.

[2] There are also several invariant verbs that are documented as alternating in older sources: for example, *kusatok* 'swallow' is invariant for contemporary speakers of the Western dialect of Coastal Marind, while Geurtjens (1933: 185) reports that its cognate in the Eastern dialect alternates according to the swallowee, e.g. Eastern *kausta⟨h⟩uk* 'swallow⟨2sg.U⟩' (used in a sentence such as 'the crocodile will swallow you'; the corresponding Western dialect form **kusta⟨ɣ⟩uk* is not acceptable according to speakers). Surprisingly, at least one invariant verb, *hway* 'paddle, punt', whose Eastern cognate *vay* is given as invariant also in Drabbe's grammar (1955: 49) is claimed to be alternating by Guertjens (Geurtjens 1933: 328). I have no explanation for this. It seems unlikely that the verb ceased to be alternating in the short period between Geurtjens' and Drabbe's publications.

actions involving a 'highly affected' patient-like participant are often expressed by alternating verbs, whereas verbs on the other end of the transitivity spectrum (involving a participant that does not undergo any change, or involving no participants at all) typically correspond to invariant lexemes.

To get a feel for this, consider Table 9.1. This table lists some semantic verb classes according to the proportion of alternating stems in each class. (This selection was made entirely ad-hoc, by choosing some semantic fields that would allow straightforward classification of at least some verbs; other groupings would certainly be possible.) When counting the proportion of alternating lexemes in the semantic fields, it turns out that verbs of e.g. hitting and breaking are mostly alternating, while most verbs denoting sound emission (e.g. ***kin*** 'sing', ***esol*** 'make noise') and natural phenomena (***alalam*** 'lightning to flash') are invariant.

Table 9.1: Stem types across some semantic classes

semantic field (*n* verbs)	alternating
TYING (6)	1.00
HITTING (12)	.92
PUTTING (23)	.74
HOLD/CARRYING (2)	.70
BREAKING (15)	.67
CUTTING (22)	.59
POSTURE (18)	.56
NON-TRANSLATIONAL MOTION (26)	.42
TRANSLATIONAL MOTION (50)	.40
CONSUMING (9)	.33
COMMUNICATION (11)	.27
EMISSION OF SOUND (10)	.20
NATURAL PHENOMENA (16)	.0

This scale is partly similar to scales on transitivity proposed in typological studies (Tsunoda 1985, Haspelmath 2015), with more highly transitive verbs receiving a higher score. The main surprise is that three typically intransitive semantic classes are turn turn out to have many alternating members (with the scores .40, .42 and .56). These classes consist of verbs that typically involve a single participant undergoing some self-initiated change: posture verbs (e.g. ***ambid*** 'sit down'), verbs of non-translational motion (e.g. ***atuk*** 'flap wings') and translational motion (e.g. ***ihon*** 'run away'). The explanation for this pattern is that the alternating verbs in these classes exhibit the so-called middle indexation pattern, and index the sole participant by A- and U-affixing simultaneously. This is further discussed in Section 8.5.1.

Apart from the tendency of affected undergoer-actions to be expressed by alter-

nating verbs, little can be offered in the way of semantic rules predicting invariant/alternating status. The only generalization is probably that verbs that only combine with a very limited type of Undergoer participants are always invariant (this includes all verbs expressing natural phenomena). For example:

- Avalent verbs, e.g. *ihwim* 'become dark/night', *pig* 'become bright/day'.
- Verbs that only combine with a very narrow range of Undergoers, e.g. *ikuwad* 'drink wati'. Since *wati* (the local variety of kava, a mildly narcotic beverage) is inanimate (lacking number and person values) and always belongs to gender III, there are no shifting feature values that could cause the stem to alternate. Other examples: *ɣol* 'pound sago', *itawip* 'extinguish fire', *lik* 'river to flow', *lod* 'make a windshield', *aɣok* 'cover leaf oven' (the words for 'sago', 'fire', 'river', 'windshield' and 'leaf oven' are always gender III); and *takun* 'make roof from sago thatch' ('sago thatch' is always gender IV).

9.2.3 Paradigmatic structure of alternating verbs

Within the class of alternating verbs the paradigms can be grouped into four main patterns according to the number of cells that are filled by stem forms, and the layout of these cells. These patterns are orthogonal to the distinction between inflectional classes, so the different types of paradigm layouts are found both within e.g. the prefixing and infixing stem classes. (The number of lexemes exhibiting the paradigm pattern is indicated within parentheses.)

1. **Animate-only verbs (*n*=56)** only occur with animate Undergoers, i.e. humans and animals. They have stem forms distinguishing person and number. For example, *wihid* 'become tired' occurs only with animates (one could imagine metaphorical extensions to inanimates of genders III and IV, but this has not been found so far).

wihid 'U become tired'

	sg	pl
1	*n-ihwid*	
2	*ɣ-ihwid*	*ø-ihwid*
3	*w-ihid*	

2. **Inanimate-only verbs (*n*=72)** are restricted to occurring with inanimate Undergoers and have only 2 cells, reflecting the gender of the Undergoer (III or IV; genders I and II consist of animates). Inanimate-only verbs do not have

person forms (since they cannot have 1st or 2nd person Undergoers) and do not distinguish number of the Undergoer. An example is the verb *awiɣ* 'hurt' which only occurs with bodyparts. Its complete paradigm is

awiɣ 'U hurt'

	sg	pl
III	*awiɣ*	
IV	*awi-h*	

The III form could be used with one or both hands (*sangga*, III) hurting, and the IV form with one or both knees (*mig*, IV) hurting.

3. **Unrestricted verbs (*n*=143)** are equally compatible with animate and inanimate Undergoers. The stem used for inanimates of gender III is the same as the 3sg.U stem used for animates; the one used for inanimates of gender IV is the same as the 2|3pl.U stem. An example is *hwagib* 'put away U'. This verb is common both for animates (in meanings such as put away a sleeping child, or euphemistically for burying the dead) and inanimates (e.g. *tamuɣ hwagib* 'put away food', III, or *katal hwagahib* 'save money', IV).

hwagib 'put away U'

	sg	pl
1	*hwaga⟨n⟩ib*	
2	*hwaga⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*hwaga⟨h⟩ib*
3	*hwag⟨ø⟩ib*	
III	*hwag⟨ø⟩ib*	
IV	*hwaga⟨h⟩ib*	

4. **Paired animate-inanimate verbs (*n*=31)** have one lexeme combining with an animate Undergoer (with a full set of person forms), and a second, derivationally related lexeme used with an inanimate Undergoer (with two stems, used for Undergoers of genders III and IV). As with the unrestricted verbs, the stem used with inanimates of gender IV is the same as the animate 2|3pl.U stem. An example is the verb *ambeh* 'wrap up (animate)' (e.g. a small child in a blanket, or fish in banana leaves) which is paired with *ambam* 'wrap up (inanimate)' (e.g. putting bandage around a bodypart). Both verbs share the stem *ambah*, used for 2|3pl.U animates and inanimates of gender IV.

	ambeh 'wrap (anim.)'	
	sg	pl
1	*amba⟨n⟩ah*	
2	*amba⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*amb⟨a⟩h*
3	*amb⟨e⟩h*	

	ambam 'wrap (inan.)'
	sg pl
III	*ambam*
IV	*amb⟨a⟩h*

Setting aside the more complicated paired animate-inanimate verbs for now, we can represent the paradigm structures of the three other classes as follows. The III-stem of inanimate-only verbs is labeled Z to emphasize that it is always distinct from other stem forms, and the IV-stems of inanimate-only and unrestricted verbs are labeled D along with the 2|3pl.U stems with which they are systematically identical.

Animate-only:

	sg	pl
1	A	
2	B	D
3	C	

Inanimate-only:

	sg pl
III	Z
IV	D

Unrestricted:

	sg	pl
1	A	
2	B	D
3	C	
III	C	
IV	D	

This situation leads to a labeling problem, most prominently for the D-cells. It would be misleading to use the label '2|3pl' for the stems used with inanimates (as these do not distinguish person, and—mostly—not number either), and using the label 'IV' when such stems are used with inanimates fails to convey the fact that they are systematically identical to the 2|3pl.U stems. Despite the fact that it does not reflect the system in an accurate way, I opt for the latter solution, and gloss a verb stem such as *hwaga⟨h⟩ib* 'put.away⟨IV.U⟩' if the indexing is triggered by an inanimate (e.g. *katal* 'money', IV) and 'put.away⟨2|3pl.U⟩' if it is triggered by animates (*awe* 'fish'). This difficulty does not arise for inanimate-only verbs, since stems such as *awi-h* 'hurt-IV' lack a corresponding use with animate plurals.

9.2.3.1 Verbs distinguishing number of inanimates. Labeling stems used for Undergoers of gender IV by means of 'IV' instead of '2|3pl.U' (despite their relatedness to the 2|3pl.U-stems of animate-only and unrestricted verbs) turns out to be particularly useful in labeling stems belonging to lexemes for which part (or all) of the plural cells have been taken over by Pluractional stem forms, and/or show

suppletion affecting part of the paradigm. The Pluractional (§9.3.1) is usually a separate derivational category available to many verbs, but in several lexemes it seems to have replaced the original non-Pluractional stems of the plural cells, so that there no longer exists a choice between Pluractional and non-Pluractional stems whenever the indexed participant is plural.

An example is the verb 'fall' which has the singular forms *hi-n* (1st person), *hi-ɣ* (2nd person) and *hi* (3rd person), and the corresponding Pluractional stems *hihi-n*, *hihi-ɣ* and *hihi* (to be used e.g. if one person falls multiple times). If this verb had regular plural forms, we would expect *hi-n* to express 1pl as well, and the form *hi-h* to be recruited for the 2pl and 3pl parts of the paradigm (cf. other suffixing verbs such as 2|3pl *oha-h* 'go down to water'). Instead, 'fall' requires that the Pluractional stems *hihi-n* and *hihi-h* be used, regardless of whether falling occurred e.g. as a group or on different occasions involving different participants—the Pluractional forms have simply taken over this part of the paradigm. However, the Pluractional forms have only taken over the parts of the paradigm that actually involve a plural participant, which means that the form *hi-h* will be used to refer to a single item of gender IV falling, and the 2|3pl form *hihi-h* extending to express that several items of gender IV fall. For these verbs it would make even less sense to gloss the stem used with IV items in the singular as '2|3pl', since that form can never be used with 2nd or 3rd person plurals; the gloss 'IV' on the other hand, is unproblematic for such verbs.

9.2.4 Inflectional classes

The following subsections describe the four inflectional classes that are needed for verbs with stems distinguishing person and number forms. Verb that only take an inanimate Undergoer and alternate according to gender (and not person) are more difficult to fit into the inflectional class schema—at least synchronically—so their discussion is postponed until Section 9.2.5.

9.2.4.1 Class 1: Prefixing verbs. Such verbs are listed in Tables 9.2 and 9.3. The part of the stem that follows the Undergoer prefix is referred to as the **Final**, so that e.g. the stem *w-ahik* 'take him/her/it somewhere' consists of the 3sg.U prefix *w-* and the Final *-ahik*. (The reason for not using terms such as 'Base' or 'Root' for the Final will be clarified in Section 9.2.4.2). Since the 3rd person stem is treated as the lemma, those stems have been given in the left-most column, with 1st, 2nd and 2|3.pl forms following to the right. The verbs are listed with vowel-initial Finals first.

The morphological facts can be summarized as follows. The exponent of 3sg.U

can be thought of as /o-/, generally realized as *w-* since almost all Finals are vowel-initial, with the sequence /oa-/ realized as *wa-*. Before the Final *-hwasig*, /o-/ undergoes regular gradation to *u-* in the antepenultimate syllable: *u-hwasig* 'U go up from sea'. Similarly, 2|3pl.U is expressed by /e-/ which surfaces as *y-* before all vowel-initial Finals except the ones with initial /i-/, where the vowel sequence /ei-/ predictably is reduced to *i-*. The exponents for 1st person and 2sg are *n-* and *ɣ-* respectively, followed by epenthetic /a/ in the case of consonant-initial Finals.

A few prefixing verbs showing various irregularities are listed in Table 9.3. The irregularities are: realization of 3sg.U by Zero and/or clipping part of the Final (*ø-deh*, *ø-koh*, *ø-idih*); forms with unexpected prefixes such as *hya-dih* (2|3.U-see), *u-sak* (3sg.U-hit), *i-sak* (2|3pl.U); the verb *k-w-amin* 'U enter' which apparently consists of a fossilized combination of a Final *-amin* and the Inessive prefix *k-*, with the Undergoer prefix trapped in between. Since this verb no longer occurs without the *k-*, the Undergoer exponent is best described as an infix; I put this verb in the prefixing class since all other infixing verbs in the language have the infix at the right-edge of the stem.

The 26 prefixing verbs likely represent the most archaic type of Undergoer indexing in Marind.[3] Having a subset of verbs that show stem changes according to the patient-like argument is found in other Trans New Guinean languages. Examples are Mian, which has 7 verbs that take an object prefix (Fedden 2011: 265), or Usan, with three prefixing verbs (Reesink 1987: 108).

Table 9.2: Class 1 Prefixing verbs.

3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
w-a	*n-a*	*ɣ-a*	*y-a*	Auxiliary (§15.1)
w-abayed	*n-abayed*	*ɣ-abayed*	*y-abayed*	'U turn head'
w-ahanid	*n-ahanid*	–	*y-ahanid*	'gather U'[a]
w-agum	*n-agum*	*ɣ-agum*	*y-agum*	'scold U'
w-aɣasud	*n-aɣasud*	–	*y-aɣasud*	'U grow big'[a]
w-ahik	*n-ahik*	*ɣ-ahik*	*y-ahik*	'take U somewhere'
w-ahun	*n-ahun*	*ɣ-ahun*	*y-ahun*	'U be hungry'

Continued on next page

[3] See Olsson and Usher 2017 for a diachronic account of Marind Undergoer indexing.

Table 9.2 – continued from previous page

w-alaw	*n-alaw*	*ɣ-alaw*	*y-alaw*	‘U open eyes’
w-alin	*n-alin*	*ɣ-alin*	*y-alin*	‘call out for sb.’
w-alok	*n-alok*	*ɣ-alok*	*y-alok*	‘stab U’
w-amuk	*n-amuk*	*ɣ-amuk*	–	‘hit U’[b]
w-as	*n-as*	*ɣ-as*	*y-as*	‘shoot U’
w-asib	*n-asib*	*ɣ-asib*	*y-asib*	‘hit U’
w-esoh	*n-esoh*	*ɣ-esoh*	*y-esoh*	‘follow U’
w-ig	*n-ig*	*ɣ-ig*	*ø-ig*	‘U beg for st.’
w-ihid	*n-ihwid*	*ɣ-ihwid*	*ø-ihwid*	‘U become tired’
w-in	*n-in*	*ɣ-in*	*ø-in*	‘U become’
ø-um	*n-um*	*ɣ-um*	*y-um*	‘U go habitually’
o-la	*na-hwala*	*ɣa-hwala*	*ya-hwala*	‘U be’
o-nggat	*na-nggat*	*ɣa-nggat*	*e-nggat*	‘U become’
u-hwasig	*na-hwasig*	*ɣa-hwasig*	*ya-hwasig*	‘U go up from sea’

[a] These verbs are only used with a plural Undergoer participant, so for animates only the 1st person and 2|3pl forms are used, while the 3sg form is used for inanimates in gender III, and the 2|3pl form with inanimates in gender IV.

[b] *wamuk* etc. means ‘hit once’ and cannot be used with a plural Undergoer. If several people are hit, *usak* ‘hit, fight’ is used. The verb *wamuk* cannot be used with inanimates, so there is no use for a potential plural form **yamuk* with inanimates in gender IV. For inanimates (and animates), the verb *wasib* is used.

9.2.4.2 Class 2: Infixing verbs. This is the largest class with more than 150 members, some of which are in Tables 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6.

Infixing stems consist of an **Initial** and a **Final** (cf. §9.2.4.1), with the exponent of Undergoer indexing infixed between the two parts. This structure is a remnant of an earlier system in which a lexical element (the Initial) was predicated by means of an inflected auxiliary-like verb (the Final). Some of these collocations fossilized, with the prefix on the Final ‘trapped’ inside as an infix, and survive today as the

Table 9.3: Class 1 Prefixing verbs displaying irregularities.

3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
ø-deh	*n-adeh*	*ɣ-adeh*	*y-adeh*	'shoot U'[a]
ø-koh	*n-akoh*	*ɣ-akoh*	*y-akoh*	'feed U'
ø-idih	*n-idih*	*ɣ-idih*	*hya-dih*	'see U'
u-sak	*na-sak*	*ɣa-sak*	*i-sak*	'hit, fight U'
k-w-amin	*ka-n-amin*	*ka-ɣ-amin*	*k-y-amin*	'U enter'[e]

[a] *deh* means 'shoot once' and can only be used with a singular Undergoer. The plural form *yadeh* is employed when the Undergoer participant belongs to gender IV, e.g. such a bodypart. If the Undergoer is plural, the verb *was* 'shoot (several times)' has to be used.
[e] The prefix *k-* must be Inessive *k-*, attached to cranberry root *-amin*.

monolexemic verbs discussed here. [4] Outside of these (non-productive) alternations the Initials and Finals have no functions in the language, so these labels are to be regarded as purely morphological notions that are useful for explicating patterns of allomorphy, and not as some kind of grammatical categories.

The main morphological division within the infixing class is between stems formed with Finals of the shape -(V|G)C, such as *-b, -h, -wn, -ib, -in* and *-ip* (henceforth (V)C-Finals), and stems formed with the Final *-tuk* (henceforth *tuk*-Finals). Within these two groups there are some further allomorphic subpatterns that can be seen either as dictated by inflectional (sub-)class membership, or derived by abstract rules. Below the major patterns in the Undergoer indexing will be presented, with statements on the deviations.

The (V)C-subclass The infixed exponents of Undergoer indexing for (V)C-Finals are

	sg	pl
1	*-n-*	
2	*-ɣ-*	/-^{h}j-/
3	/-e-/	

[4] The diachronic process of entrapment (a term due to Ultan's seminal paper; see Ultan 1975) has been described for several languages and results in morphological systems similar to the Marind verb stems cross-linguistically, cf. Harris 2002, Nichols 2005 and Yu 2007: Chap. 5.

with the slashes indicating that these formants are subject to further changes according to the phonological environment, mainly deletion of /-e-/ or /-ʰj-/.

The stems corresponding to 1.U and 2sg.U are straightforwardly derived by infixing the exponent after the Initial and before the Final, with addition of epenthetic /a/ preventing illegal cluster formation and/or the formation of a closed stem-penultimate syllable (see §2.4 for general information about these processes). This can be illustrated by the verb 'leave U behind', which is composed of the Initial *ɣad-* and the Final *-wn*. Below are listed potential forms for 'leave me/us behind' and 'leave you (sg) behind'; note how the presence of epenthetic /a/ decides whether a form is acceptable.

Input		Output	Gloss	Constraints violated
/ɣad ⟨n⟩ wn/	→	*ɣada⟨n⟩awn*	'leave 1.U'	(none)
		**ɣad⟨n⟩wn*		Illegal cluster, closed penultimate
		**ɣad⟨n⟩awn*		Closed penultimate
		**ɣada⟨n⟩wn*		Illegal cluster
/ɣad ⟨ɣ⟩ wn/	→	*ɣada⟨ɣ⟩awn*	'leave 2sg.U'	(none)
		**ɣad⟨ɣ⟩wn*		Illegal cluster, closed penultimate
		**ɣad⟨ɣ⟩awn*		Closed penultimate
		**ɣada⟨ɣ⟩wn*		Illegal cluster

1st and 2nd person stems formed with other (V)C-Finals are assembled according to the same pattern, with the difference that the Finals containing a vowel (*-ib, -in, -ip*) require no epenthetic /a/ to prevent cluster formation.

Input		Output	
/tam ⟨n⟩ b/	→	*tama⟨n⟩ab*	'1.U float to surface'
/tam ⟨ɣ⟩ b/	→	*tama⟨ɣ⟩ab*	'2sg.U float to surface'
/mik ⟨n⟩ h/	→	*mika⟨n⟩ah*	'1.U look to the side'
/mik ⟨ɣ⟩ h/	→	*mika⟨ɣ⟩ah*	'2sg.U look to the side'
/hwag ⟨n⟩ ib/	→	*hwaga⟨n⟩ib*	'put away 1.U'
/hwag ⟨ɣ⟩ ib/	→	*hwaga⟨ɣ⟩ib*	'put away 2sg.U'
/kas ⟨n⟩ ip/	→	*kasa⟨n⟩ip*	'scorch 1.U'
/kas ⟨ɣ⟩ ip/	→	*kasa⟨ɣ⟩ip*	'scorch 2sg.U'
/ɣad ⟨n⟩ in/	→	*ɣada⟨n⟩in*	'1.U drown'
/ɣad ⟨ɣ⟩ in/	→	*ɣada⟨ɣ⟩in*	'2sg.U drown'

An /a/ in the 2nd syllable of a disyllabic Initial is usually lost in the 1st and 2nd person stems due to syncope (see §2.4.2):

/ital ⟨n⟩ b/	→	*itla⟨n⟩ab*	'1.U roll around'
/ital ⟨ɣ⟩ b/	→	*itla⟨ɣ⟩ab*	'2sg.U roll around'
/kisak ⟨n⟩ h/	→	*kiska⟨n⟩ah*	'put 1.U to sleep'
/kisak ⟨ɣ⟩ h/	→	*kiska⟨ɣ⟩ah*	'put 2sg.U to sleep'

Note also that verb stems longer than two syllables are subject to vowel gradation (§2.5.1). Compare the fate of the vowel in the Initials *og-* and *men-* in the forms for the 3rd person and 1st person:

/og ⟨e⟩ b/	→	*og⟨e⟩b*	'bury 3sg.U'
/og ⟨n⟩ b/	→	*uga⟨n⟩ab*	'bury 1.U'
/men ⟨e⟩ h/	→	*men⟨e⟩h*	'3sg.U to grunt'
/men ⟨n⟩ h/	→	*mina⟨n⟩ah*	'1.U to grunt'

The infix /-e-/ realizing 3sg.U surfaces unchanged before the vowel-less Finals (*-b*, *-h*, *-wn*). It is lost before the Finals *-ib*, *-in* and *-ip*, as /e/ is elsewhere before /i/.

/ital ⟨e⟩ b/	→	*ital⟨e⟩b*	'3sg.U roll around'
/ɣad ⟨e⟩ wn/	→	*ɣad⟨e⟩wn*	'leave 3sg.U behind'
/kes ⟨e⟩ h/	→	*kes⟨e⟩h*	'spit on 3sg.U'
/hwag ⟨e⟩ ib/	→	*hwag⟨ø⟩ib*	'put 3sg.U away'
/kas ⟨e⟩ ip/	→	*kas⟨ø⟩ip*	'scorch 3sg.U'
/aɣ ⟨e⟩ in/	→	*aɣ⟨ø⟩in*	'3sg.U run around'

/-e-/ is also lost if the Initial ends in a vowel:

/kadi ⟨e⟩ b/	→	*kadi⟨ø⟩b*	'feel, squeeze 3sg.U'
/kaho ⟨e⟩ b/	→	*kaho⟨ø⟩b*	'3sg.U capsize'

(For clarity and consistence, the stems lacking any overt infixed segment are marked by an infixed Zero,⟨ø⟩).[5]

The 2|3pl.U forms are slightly more complicated. The 2|3pl.U infix must have been **-z-* in an earlier stage of Coastal Marind (see §1.2.2.2), which corresponds to present-day *-h-*, *-hy-* or Zero depending on the environment. Here I present the synchronic alternation as being derived from an underlying /-^{h}j-/, as this is a convenient

[5]This device is used here to clarify the morphological differences between paradigm cells; in interlinear glossing such forms are treated as unsegmentable. For example, *italab* '2|3pl.U roll around' would be glossed 'roll.around:2|3pl.U', without infixed material, as opposed to 2nd person *itla⟨ɣ⟩ab* 'roll.around⟨2sg.U⟩'.

way to represent the allomorphy. /-^{h}j-/ is lost whenever an Initial that ends in a consonant is combined with a vowel-less Final (such as *-b*, *-h*, *-wn*). If the Final contains the vowel /i/ (e.g. *-ib*, *-in* or *-ip*), the 2|3pl.U infix surfaces as *-h-*. It is realized as *-hy-* only if an Initial ending in a vowel is followed by a vowel-less Final.

/ital ⟨^{h}j⟩ b/	→	*ital⟨ø⟩ab*	'2|3pl.U roll around'
/ɣad ⟨^{h}j⟩ wn/	→	*ɣad⟨ø⟩awn*	'leave 2|3pl.U behind'
/kes ⟨^{h}j⟩ h/	→	*kes⟨ø⟩ah*	'spit on 2|3pl.U'
/hwag ⟨^{h}j⟩ ib/	→	*hwaga⟨h⟩ib*	'put 2|3pl.U away'
/kas ⟨^{h}j⟩ ip/	→	*kasa⟨h⟩ip*	'scorch 2|3pl.U'
/aɣ ⟨^{h}j⟩ in/	→	*aɣa⟨h⟩in*	'2|3pl.U run around'
/kadi ⟨^{h}j⟩ b/	→	*kadi⟨hy⟩ab*	'feel squeeze 2|3pl.U'
/kaho ⟨^{h}j⟩ b/	→	*kaho⟨hy⟩ab*	'2|3pl.U capsize'
/ɣo ⟨^{h}j⟩ wn/	→	*ɣo⟨hy⟩awn*	'watch, guard 2|3pl.U '

The only exceptions are two verbs with vowel-final Initials that realize 2|3pl.U as *-h-*:

/ɣe ⟨^{h}j⟩ b/	→	*ɣe⟨h⟩ab*	'2|3pl.U slip'
/uti ⟨^{h}j⟩ wn/	→	*uti⟨h⟩awn*	'wake 2|3pl.U up'

The exponent *-h-* in the form *ɣehab* 'slip:2|3pl.U' follows from regular sound change of **z* to *h* after *e* (cf. **ezam* > *eham* 'her husband', **ezon* > *ehon* 'border') whereas the *-h-* in *utihawn* seems to be a pure irregularity (cf. *-hy-* in *kadihyab* 'feel, squeeze 2|3pl.U'). For at least one other verb, there seems to be variation: both *ihe⟨h⟩ab* and *ihe⟨hy⟩ab* have been recorded as 2|3pl.U stems of the verb *aheb* 'pass by, overtake U' (this verb also has a slightly irregular 3sg.U stem instead of the expected **iheb*).

Summing up, we can say that with the exception of such minor complications, the person forms of verbs with (V)C-Finals are straightforwardly predictable given the shape of the Initial, and the above statements account for the stem shapes the vast majority of infixing verbs with (V)C-Finals. Table 9.4 provides the stems for some common verbs displaying regular infixing. The verbs are listed under their respective Finals, with the Initial given in the leftmost column.

Table 9.4: Regular infixing verbs.

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
			FINAL *-b*		
an-	*an⟨e⟩b*	*ana⟨n⟩ab*	*ana⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*an⟨ø⟩ab*	‘take U’s place’
dah-	*dah⟨e⟩b*	*daha⟨n⟩ab*	*daha⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*dah⟨ø⟩ab*	‘tide traps U’
ihe-	*ahe⟨ø⟩b*	*ihe⟨n⟩ab*	*ihe⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ihe⟨h⟩ab*	‘pass, overtake U’
hoɣ-	*hoɣ⟨e⟩b*	*huɣa⟨n⟩ab*	*huɣa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*hoɣ⟨ø⟩ab*	‘silence U’
hus-	*hus⟨e⟩b*	*husa⟨n⟩ab*	*husa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*hus⟨ø⟩ab*	‘pour water on U’
ihul-	*ihul⟨e⟩b*	*ihula⟨n⟩ab*	*ihula⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ihul⟨ø⟩ab*	‘dangle U in air’
ital-	*ital⟨e⟩b*	*itla⟨n⟩ab*	*itla⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ital⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U roll around’
kadi-	*kadi⟨ø⟩b*	*kadi⟨n⟩ab*	*kadi⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*kadi⟨hy⟩ab*	‘feel, squeeze U’
kaho-	*kaho⟨ø⟩b*	*kaho⟨n⟩ab*	*kaho⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*kaho⟨hy⟩ab*	‘U capsize’
kati-	*kati⟨ø⟩b*	*kati⟨n⟩ab*	*kati⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*kati⟨hy⟩ab*	‘lift up U’
kipas-	*kipas⟨e⟩b*	*kipsa⟨n⟩ab*	*kipsa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*kipas⟨ø⟩ab*	‘whip U against s.t.’
lisas-	*lisas⟨e⟩b*	*lissa⟨n⟩ab*	*lissa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*lisas⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U become deaf’
og-	*og⟨e⟩b*	*uga⟨n⟩ab*	*uga⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*og⟨ø⟩ab*	‘bury U’
ol-	*ol⟨e⟩b*	*ula⟨n⟩ab*	*ula⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ol⟨ø⟩ab*	‘trade, exchange U’
ot-	*ot⟨e⟩b*	*uta⟨n⟩ab*	*uta⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ot⟨ø⟩ab*	‘chase U away’
sam-	*sam⟨e⟩b*	*sama⟨n⟩ab*	*sama⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*sam⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U turn (in spot)’
tah-	*tah⟨e⟩b*	*taha⟨n⟩ab*	*taha⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*tah⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U fill (a space)’
tam-	*tam⟨e⟩b*	*tama⟨n⟩ab*	*tama⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*tam⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U float to surface’
tangg-	*tangg⟨e⟩b*	*tangga⟨n⟩ab*	*tangga⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*tangg⟨ø⟩ab*	‘chase U away’
tap-	*tap⟨e⟩b*	*tapa⟨n⟩ab*	*tapa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*tap⟨ø⟩ab*	‘U fly up’
ɣe-	*ɣe⟨ø⟩b*	*ɣe⟨n⟩ab*	*ɣa⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ɣe⟨h⟩ab*	‘U slip’
ɣed-	*ɣed⟨e⟩b*	*ɣida⟨n⟩ab*	*ɣida⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ɣed⟨ø⟩ab*	‘hit U’
ɣin-	*ɣin⟨e⟩b*	*ɣina⟨n⟩ab*	*ɣina⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ɣin⟨ø⟩ab*	‘hit U with fist’
			FINAL *-h*		
ahwik-	*ahwik⟨e⟩h*	*ahwika⟨n⟩ah*	*ahwika⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*ahwik⟨ø⟩ah*	‘put U on shoulder’

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amb-	*amb⟨e⟩h*	*amba⟨n⟩ah*	*amba⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*amb⟨ø⟩ah*	‘wrap U up’
asak-	*asak⟨e⟩h*	*aska⟨n⟩ah*	*aska⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*asak⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U be out of breath’
kes-	*kes⟨e⟩h*	*kisa⟨n⟩ah*	*kisa⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*kes⟨ø⟩ah*	‘spit on U’
kisak-	*kisak⟨e⟩h*	*kiska⟨n⟩ah*	*kiska⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*kisak⟨ø⟩ah*	‘put U to sleep’
lok-	*lok⟨e⟩h*	*luka⟨n⟩ah*	*luka⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*lok⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U peek’
lond-	*lond⟨e⟩h*	*lunda⟨n⟩ah*	*lunda⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*lond⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U look greedily’
men-	*men⟨e⟩h*	*mina⟨n⟩ah*	*mina⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*men⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U grunt’
mik-	*mik⟨e⟩h*	*mika⟨n⟩ah*	*mika⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*mik⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U turn head’
mungg-	*mungg⟨e⟩h*	*mungga⟨n⟩ah*	*mungga⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*mungg⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U hum, buzz’
ol-	*ol⟨e⟩h*	*ula⟨n⟩ah*	*ula⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*ol⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U reach up’
ɣos-	*ɣos⟨e⟩h*	*ɣusa⟨n⟩ah*	*ɣusa⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*ɣos⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U jump along’
ɣuy-	*ɣuy⟨e⟩h*	*ɣuya⟨n⟩ah*	*ɣuya⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*ɣuy⟨ø⟩ah*	‘U become startled’
		FINAL *-wn*			
apan-	*apan⟨e⟩wn*	*apna⟨n⟩awn*	*apna⟨ɣ⟩awn*	*apan⟨ø⟩awn*	‘go visit U’
hwes-	*hwes⟨e⟩wn*	*hwisa⟨n⟩awn*	*hwisa⟨ɣ⟩awn*	*hwes⟨ø⟩awn*	‘examine U’ (?)
kol-	*kol⟨e⟩wn*	*kula⟨n⟩awn*	*kula⟨ɣ⟩awn*	*kol⟨ø⟩awn*	‘laugh at U’
ɣad-	*ɣad⟨e⟩wn*	*ɣada⟨n⟩awn*	*ɣada⟨ɣ⟩awn*	*ɣad⟨ø⟩awn*	‘leave U behind’
ɣo-	*ɣo⟨ø⟩n*	*ɣo⟨n⟩awn*	*ɣo⟨ɣ⟩awn*	*yo⟨hy⟩awn*	‘watch, guard U’
		FINAL *-ib*			
hwag-	*hwag⟨ø⟩ib*	*hwaga⟨n⟩ib*	*hwaga⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*hwaga⟨h⟩ib*	‘put U away’
kamb-	*kamb⟨ø⟩ib*	*kamba⟨n⟩ib*	*kamba⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kamba⟨h⟩ib*	‘scratch U’
kib-	*kib⟨ø⟩ib*	*kiba⟨n⟩ib*	*kiba⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kiba⟨h⟩ib*	‘make U roll’
kot-	*kot⟨ø⟩ib*	*kuta⟨n⟩ib*	*kuta⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kuta⟨h⟩ib*	‘U get lost’
kapangg-	*kapangg⟨ø⟩ib*	*kapngga⟨n⟩ib*	*kapngga⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kapngga⟨h⟩ib*	‘strangle U’
kas-	*kas⟨ø⟩ib*	*kasa⟨n⟩ib*	*kasa⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kasa⟨h⟩ib*	‘U lie on belly’
kaɣas-	*kaɣas⟨ø⟩ib*	*kaɣasa⟨n⟩ib*	*kaɣasa⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kaɣasa⟨h⟩ib*	‘remove U’s skin’
walimɣ-	*walimaɣ⟨ø⟩eb*[a]	*walimya⟨n⟩ib*	*walimya⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*walimya⟨h⟩ib*	‘bend U’
		FINAL *-in*			

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aɣ-	*aɣ⟨ø⟩in*	*aɣa⟨n⟩in*	*aɣa⟨ɣ⟩in*	*aɣa⟨h⟩in*	‘U run around’
idag-	*idag⟨ø⟩in*	*idga⟨n⟩in*	*idga⟨ɣ⟩in*	*idga⟨h⟩in*	‘lean U’
kam-	*kam⟨ø⟩in*	*kama⟨n⟩in*	*kama⟨ɣ⟩in*	*kama⟨h⟩in*	‘U make’
ol-	*ol⟨ø⟩in*	*ula⟨n⟩in*	*ula⟨ɣ⟩in*	*ula⟨h⟩in*	‘U hold on to s.t.’
			FINAL *-ip*		
dah-	*dah⟨ø⟩ip*	*daha⟨n⟩ip*	*daha⟨ɣ⟩ip*	*daha⟨h⟩ip*	‘U get drunk’
kas-	*kas⟨ø⟩ip*	*kasa⟨n⟩ip*	*kasa⟨ɣ⟩ip*	*kasa⟨h⟩ip*	‘scorch U’
ɣun-	*ɣun⟨ø⟩ip*	*ɣuna⟨n⟩ip*	*ɣuna⟨ɣ⟩ip*	*ɣuna⟨h⟩ip*	‘U catch fire’
sas-	*sas⟨ø⟩ip*	*sasa⟨n⟩ip*	*sasa⟨ɣ⟩ip*	*sasa⟨h⟩ip*	‘U get burnt’

[a] In this form, /i/ is apparently lowered to [e] due to the preceding /ɣ/.

A set of exceptional verbs is in Table 9.5. These verbs have Initials ending in a vowel according to the 3sg.U forms; however, this vowel is lost in all other person forms, so that the 1, 2sg and 2|3pl forms verbs behave like the Initial ended in *-a* or in a consonant.

Table 9.5: Some infixing verbs with irregular 3sg.U stems

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
tak(o|a)-	*tako⟨ø⟩b*	*taka⟨n⟩ab*	*taka⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*taka⟨hy⟩ab*	'help U'
tal(o|a)-	*talo⟨ø⟩b*	*tala⟨n⟩ab*	*tala⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*tala⟨hy⟩ab*	'keep U for sb.'
um(u)-	*umu⟨ø⟩h*	*uma⟨n⟩ah*	*uma⟨ɣ⟩ah*	*um⟨ø⟩ah*	'U go, take off'
kag(u)-	*kagu⟨ø⟩b*	*kaga⟨n⟩ib*	*kaga⟨ɣ⟩ib*	*kaga⟨h⟩ib*	'break U'
ikal(e)-	*ikale⟨ø⟩n*	*ikla⟨n⟩in*	*ikla⟨ɣ⟩in*	*ikla⟨h⟩in*	'send U'
kag(u)-	*kagu⟨ø⟩n*	*kaga⟨n⟩in*	*kaga⟨ɣ⟩in*	*kaga⟨h⟩in*	'grab U'
kisak(u)-	*kisaku⟨ø⟩n*	*kiska⟨n⟩in*	–	*kiska⟨h⟩in*	'U be sandwitched'

Some verbs belonging to the (V)C-class (not shown in Table 9.4) have entirely unrelated stems that are used with a plural Undergoer participant: these suppletive verbs are *aheb* 'eat' (with the 1|2|3pl-stem *hi*); *ɣakeh* 'catch' (2|3pl *lemeh*, 1pl *lemem*); *ihon* 'run away' (1|2|3pl *awan*); *kaguh* 'give birth to' (1|2|3pl *ewah*); *kahekon* 'put inside' (2|3pl *ɣukahin*, 1pl *ɣukanin*); *kahwid* 'die' (2|3pl *ɣahwahwih*, 1pl *ɣahwahwen*). See further Section 9.2.6.

The *tuk*-subclass The subclass of infixing verbs with the Final *-tuk* is more difficult to segment than the (V)C-class. The 3sg.U exponent ⟨*e*⟩ is infixed before the Final *-tuk*, but causes the vowel in the Final to be lowered to [o] to agree in height:

Input		Output	
/kipl ⟨e⟩ tuk/	→	*kipl⟨e⟩tok*	'tie 3sg.U'
/law ⟨e⟩ tuk/	→	*law⟨e⟩tok*	'3sg.U turn around'

The corresponding plural stems have the 2|3pl.U exponent ⟨*i*⟩ infixed before the Final, this time with the vowel /u/ intact:

/kipl ⟨i⟩ tuk/	→	*kipl⟨i⟩tuk*	'tie 2|3pl.U'
/law ⟨i⟩ tuk/	→	*law⟨i⟩tuk*	'2|3pl.U turn around'

Surprisingly, the 1.U and 2sg.U exponents ⟨*n*⟩ and ⟨*ɣ*⟩ are not infixed before the

Final, but *inside* it, after the initial *t* of *-tuk*.[6] Note the distribution of epenthetic *a* in the output forms, preventing illegal clusters (e.g. **kipa**ltn**uk*) or heavy penultimate syllables (e.g. **kip**lat**nuk*).

/kipl t ⟨n⟩ uk/	→	*kiplata⟨n⟩uk*	'tie 1.U'
/kipl t ⟨ɣ⟩ uk/	→	*kiplata⟨ɣ⟩uk*	'tie 2sg.U'
/law t ⟨n⟩ uk/	→	*lawta⟨n⟩uk*	'1.U turn around'
/law t ⟨ɣ⟩ uk/	→	*lawta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	'2sg.U turn around'

Some of the most common regular verbs belonging to this class are listed in Table 9.6. The *tuk*-class is overall remarkably regular. The infixed person exponents are identical throughout the class; only a handful of verbs have 3sg.U stems that replace the 3sg.U infix ⟨*e*⟩ with the vowels *a* and *o* (Table 9.7). These vowels were perhaps originally part of the Initial and were lost in the other person stems. There is also the suppletive verb *katmetok* 'father (a child)' which has the plural stem *mamed* 'father several children'.

[6]The explanation for this is historical. For the infixing *tuk*-class, we can reconstruct an original auxiliary verb **-tuk*, with regularly inflected forms **e-tuk*, **na-tuk* etc. When this auxiliary verb merged with the preceding complement, the exponents of Undergoer indexing ended up in the penultimate syllable, as opposed to the other infixing classes, where it is in the final syllable (e.g. *tangga⟨n⟩ab* 'chase⟨1.U⟩'). Paradigmatic leveling motivated metathesis of the 1st person and 2sg forms into the final syllable of the stem, according to the following tentative outline:

(340)	**sal* + **na-tuk*	> **salnatuk*	> *saltanuk*	hide:1.U
	**sal* + **ɣa-tuk*	> **salɣatuk*	> *saltaɣuk*	hide:2sg.U
	**sal* + **e-tuk*		> *saletok*	hide:3sg.U
	**sal* + **i-tuk*		> *salituk*	hide:2|3pl.U

Evidence confirming this scenario come from the related language Bian Marind, where metathesis only affected 1st person stems (giving e.g. *kalad⟨n⟩uk* 'hide⟨1.U⟩') but left the 2sg infixes in their original, penultimate position (*kala⟨ɣ⟩tuk* 'hide⟨2sg.U⟩') (data from Drabbe ms.).

Table 9.6: Infixing verbs *tuk*-verbs.

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
at-	*at⟨e⟩tok*	*atata⟨n⟩uk*	*atata⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*at⟨i⟩tuk*	'remove U'
dh-	*dah⟨e⟩tok*	*dahta⟨n⟩uk*	*dahta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*dah⟨i⟩tuk*	'turn U'
g-	*g⟨e⟩tok*	*agta⟨n⟩uk*	*agta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*g⟨i⟩tuk*	'kill louse (=U)'
hw-	*hw⟨e⟩tok*	*hwata⟨n⟩uk*	*hwata⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*hw⟨i⟩tuk*	'think about U'
hwahw-	*hwahw⟨e⟩tok*	*hwahwta⟨n⟩uk*	*hwahwta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*hwahw⟨i⟩tuk*	'rub U'
igl-	*igl⟨e⟩tok*	*iglata⟨n⟩uk*	*iglata⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*igl⟨i⟩tuk*	'write U's name'
ikuh-	*ikuh⟨e⟩tok*	*ikuhta⟨n⟩uk*	*ikuhta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*ikuh⟨i⟩tuk*	'leave U'
kaɣn-	*kaɣn⟨e⟩tok*	*kaɣanta⟨n⟩uk*	*kaɣanta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*kaɣn⟨i⟩tuk*	'turn to face U'
kipl-	*kipl⟨e⟩tok*	*kiplata⟨n⟩uk*	*kiplata⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*kipl⟨i⟩tuk*	'tie U'
les-	*lis⟨e⟩tok*	*lista⟨n⟩uk*	*lista⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*lis⟨i⟩tuk*	'cut U'
lw-	*law⟨e⟩tok*	*lawta⟨n⟩uk*	*lawta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*law⟨i⟩tuk*	'U turn around'
mas-	*mas⟨e⟩tok*	*masta⟨n⟩uk*	*masta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*mas⟨i⟩tuk*	'U lean forward'
sangg-	*sangg⟨e⟩tok*	*sangta⟨n⟩uk*	*sangta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*sangg⟨i⟩tuk*	'shake U'
sl-	*sal⟨e⟩tok*	*salta⟨n⟩uk*	*salta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*sal⟨i⟩tuk*	'hide U'
tal-	*tal⟨e⟩tok*	*talta⟨n⟩uk*	*talta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*tal⟨i⟩tuk*	'U fall head first'
tangg-	*tangg⟨e⟩tok*	*tangta⟨n⟩uk*	*tangta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*tangg⟨i⟩tuk*	'make U speak'
un-	*un⟨e⟩tok*	*unta⟨n⟩uk*	*unta⟨ɣ⟩uk*		'not recognize U'

9.2.4.3 Class 3: Suffixing verbs. The four members of this class are listed in Table 9.8. The only irregularities are found in the 3sg stems.

The origin of this class is uncertain.[7]

[7]Timothy Usher (pers. comm.) suggests that this class derives from regular infixing verbs whose Final (for some reason) eroded, leaving the Undergoer marker as a remaining suffix.

Table 9.7: Some infixing *tuk*-verbs with irregular 3sg.U stems

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
amb-	*ambatok*	*amta⟨n⟩uk*	*amta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*amb⟨i⟩tuk*	'take U on shoulders'
bak-	*bakatok*	*bakta⟨n⟩uk*	*bakta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*bak⟨i⟩tuk*	'turn U upside down'
yaɣ-	*yaɣotok*	*yaɣta⟨n⟩uk*	*yaɣta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*yaɣ⟨i⟩tuk*	'hold U tight'
ub-	*ubatok*	*ubta⟨n⟩uk*	*ubta⟨ɣ⟩uk*	*ub⟨i⟩tuk*	'laugh at U'

Table 9.8: Suffixing verbs.

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
hu-	*hawa*	*hu-n*	*hu-ɣ*	*hu-h*	'U come out'
hi-	*hi-ø*	*hi-n*	*hi-ɣ*	*hi-h*	'U fall'
lolo-	*lol-aw*	*lolo-n*	*lolo-ɣ*	*lolo-h*	'U crawl'
oha-	*oha-ø*	*oha-n*	*oha-ɣ*	*oha-h*	'U go coastwards'

9.2.4.4 Class 4: Double-marking verbs. Six such verbs have been identified and are listed in Table 9.9.

This highly aberrant class contains verbs where the exponent of Undergoer indexing occurs in two sites of the stem. Only one verb, *w-asak⟨ø⟩ab* 'snatch something from U' can be segmented as having double overt exponents in more than two of the stems; the other verbs restrict the double marking to the 1st person and 2sg stems.

Some of these verbs likely originated as regular single-marking verbs, but a segment in the Initial or Final was reanalyzed as an exponent of Undergoer indexing. For example, the verb 'bite' was probably a regular infixing verb, with the Final *-iɣ*, which is common in verbs denoting mouth-related activities. The 1st person form would have been the expected **daha⟨n⟩iɣ* (here, the asterix marks a hypothesized form), but when the final *-ɣ* in 2sg.U **daha⟨ɣ⟩iɣ* was reinterpreted as a second marker of Undergoer indexing, an analogous 1st person form *daha⟨n⟩i-n* was innovated. Note that this reanalysis of the Final was restricted to the 1st person and 2sg forms; *-iɣ* survives unaltered in the 3sg stem *dahiɣ* and the (suppletive) 2|3pl stem *isiɣ* (although the reanalyzed *isi-h*, with 2|3 plural suffix *-h* is commonly heard).

9.2.5 Stem alternations according to gender of inanimates

In Section 9.2.3 it was claimed that alternating verb lexemes belong to one of four types, depending on whether they index animate and/or inanimate Undergoers. The

Table 9.9: Double-marking verbs.

Initial	3sg.U	1.U	2sg.U	2|3pl.U	Gloss
ikeb-	*ik⟨u⟩baya*	*ik⟨n⟩ebe-n*	*ik⟨ɣ⟩ebe-ɣ*	*ik⟨e⟩be-h*	'U disappear'
sk-	*wa-sak⟨ø⟩ab*	*na-ska⟨n⟩ab*	*ɣa-ska⟨ɣ⟩ab*	*ya-ska⟨hy⟩ab*	'snatch from U'
dh-	*dah⟨ø⟩iɣ*	*daha⟨n⟩i-n*	*daha⟨ɣ⟩i-ɣ*	*isiɣ*	'bite U'
kas-	*kisa*	*kasa⟨n⟩i-n*	*kasa⟨ɣ⟩i-ɣ*	—	'marry U'
lu-	*lu*	*n-ulu-n*	*ɣ-ulu-ɣ*	*hyamin*	'call U's name'
usu-	*usu*	*n-usu-n*	*ɣ-usu-ɣ*	*isih*	'U be heated'

three types that allow inanimate Undergoers are (i) inanimate-only verbs; (ii) unrestricted verbs, which allow both animate and inanimate Undergoers; and (iii) paired verbs, meaning that two different, but derivationally related, verbs are used with animate and inanimate Undergoers respectively. The paradigms for all these verbs will contain stems reflecting the gender (III or IV) of the inanimate Undergoer. In this section the shape of the stems exhibiting gender indexing is discussed.

One of the most pervasive features of gender agreement in Marind is that exponents of gender IV (the second of the two inanimate genders) are homophonous with the forms used for animate (i.e. genders I and II) plurals (as discussed in Chapter 6). For alternating verbs this means that most 2|3pl.U stems, e.g. ***iklahin*** 'send them/you all', are also used with inanimates of gender IV, e.g. ***katal iklahin*** 'send money'. In addition, the verbs that can combine with both animate and inanimate Undergoers ('unrestricted' verbs) usually have a 3sg.U stem that is identical to the stem used for inanimates of gender III, e.g. ***ikalen*** 'send him/her' is also used with nouns such as ***surat ikalen*** 'send letter(s)' (Malay ***surat*** 'letter' is gender III). In a formal account of Marind verb stem formation, this could be expressed by means of 'rules of referral': the stem filling the paradigm stem corresponding to inanimate gender IV Undergoer is always taken from the cell for 2|3pl animate Undergoer, and (for unrestricted verbs) the III-stem is taken from the 3sg.U cell of the same verb. Below I list some verbs that have stems used with inanimates according to this pattern. Only the stems used with inanimates are given.

III (=3sg.U)	IV (=2|3pl.U)	gloss
oleb	*olab*	'exchange, sell U'
taheb	*tahab*	'U fill (a space)'
hwaɣob	*hwaɣahyub*	'hang U'
kadib	*kadihyab*	'feel, squeeze U'
ikubaya	*ikebeh*	'U disappear'
umuh	*umah*	'U go'
ɣunip	*ɣunahip*	'U catch fire'
idih	*hyadih*	'see U'

Other alternating verbs exclusively combine with inanimate Undergoer participants. Such inanimate-only verbs do not have stems for person/number combinations, only two stems distinguishing gender III from gender IV Undergoers. Despite lacking 2|3pl.U stems, it is clear that the IV-stems of these verbs are formed according to the pattern of 2|3pl.U stems of lexemes with full person paradigms. Consider the inanimate-only verb 'to pile up', which uses the stem *betok* for items in gender III being piled up (e.g. scraped sago pith), and the stem *bituk* for items in gender IV (e.g. money). These stems clearly follow the pattern of the *tuk*-subclass of infixing verbs (§9.2.4.2). Compare e.g. *g⟨e⟩tok* 'kill louse⟨3sg.U⟩', which has the 2|3pl.U stem *g⟨i⟩tuk* ('kill many lice'). The main difference between these verbs is that 'pile up' lacks person stems (there is no 1st person stem **bita⟨n⟩uk* 'pile us up' etc.), so the 'rule of referral' mentioned in the previous paragraph would not work for these lexemes.

Although some inanimate stems such as *betok* and *bituk* suggest a straightforward relationship to animate stems (such as *getok* and *gituk*), the correspondence turns out to be less direct for most verbs. A common pattern is for the IV stem to look like a 2|3pl.U stem, while the III stem shows some idiosyncrasy, or is even completely unrelated to the IV stem and shows no formal resemblance to any 3sg.U stem. For an example of mildly idiosyncratic III stems, consider the animate-only verbs listed below. The IV stems follow the pattern of 2|3pl.U stems shown by regular infixing verbs with Finals ending in *i*C (such as those listed in the end of Table 9.4). Before the *i*C-Final, an *h* is infixed, just like for infixing 2|3pl.U stems. However, the III stems below do not have the vowel *i* in the last syllable, making them look like the irregular verbs listed in Table 9.5.

III	IV	Gloss
kalab	*kala⟨h⟩ib*	'peel'
kaɣasub	*kaɣsa⟨h⟩ib*	'scratch'
hwilug	*hwila⟨h⟩ig*	'rub'
isug	*isa⟨h⟩ig*	'cut'
han	*ha⟨h⟩in*	'grasp; put'
amban	*amba⟨h⟩in*	'develop, sprout'

For the majority of inanimate-only verbs the form of the two stems is much more unpredictable, although in some cases the same irregular derivational pattern is shared by several lexemes. The most frequent pattern holding between the gender III- and IV-stems of such inanimate-only verbs is displayed by verbs that have a III-stem ending in *-k* and a IV-stem ending in *-b* (often with *hy* before *-b*, like the 2|3pl.PL stems of infixing verbs ending in *-b*). Thanks to these verbs (so far 22 have been found) we can formulate a rule saying that if a verb alternates according to gender of an inanimate Undergoer and the III-stem ends in *-k*, then its IV-stem will end in *ab*. (Unfortunately there are various other irregularities in many of these verbs preventing the forms to be completely interpredictable). All known verbs exhibiting the *-k* vs. *-b* pattern are listed below. Note that the first 6 verbs also have *hy* added before the *-b*.

Table 9.10: Some inanimate-only verbs with stems in *-k* and *-b*.

III	IV	Gloss
*aho**k***	*ihyohya**b***	pull out
panggak	*panggahya**b***	unfold
*sa**k***	*sahya**b***	wound or boil to disappear
*eɣa**k***	*iɣahya**b***	release, untie
*ihyaɣo**k***	*ihɣahya**b***	break and shatter
*kaka**k***	*kakahya**b***	get lost
*aɣahya**k***	*aɣahya**b***	liana to creep
*ala**k***	*ala**b***	chop off bark from tree
*ata**k***	*ata**b***	brush away/break up soil
*ehwe**k***	*ehwa**b***	get stuck
*ɣahwe**k***	*ɣahwa**b***	pound, slap
*ɣangga**k***	*ɣangga**b***	break, crush (e.g. glass)
*ɣini**k***	*ɣina**b***	hit at s.t.
*hyahya**k***	*hyahya**b***	split wood, coconut
ibangguk	*ibingga**b***	gather
*itala**k***	*itala**b***	dip or roll in sand
*kadaha**k***	*kadaha**b***	cut off top off s.t.
*kupu**k***	*kupa**b***	scatter, sow
*sopa**k***	*sopa**b***	accidentally touch wound/boil
*tapa**k***	*tapa**b***	stick out, protrude
*tawa**k***	*tawa**b***	shave hair on head
*walawa**k***	*walawa**b***	sharpen arrow/spear

Table 9.11: Some inanimate-only verbs with unpredictable III vs. IV stems.

III	IV	Gloss
awiɣ	*awih*	hurt
baɣ	*bah*	finish food/drink (etc.)
haniɣ	*hanih*	bite
ihwaniɣ	*ihwanih*	lick
kamaniɣ	*kamanih*	leave food/drink (etc.)
makuɣ	*makuh*	tree stump to stand; termite nest to stand
kahaleb	*kahlahib*	release, untie
kasab	*kasahib*	tear
katab	*katahib*	pluck fruit
kigalab	*kiglahib*	rip, tear
kamaneb	*kamnihyub*	leave (e.g. food/drink etc.)
awad	*awituk*	scoop up
imanad	*imnituk*	lengthen (rope etc.)
kepad	*kapituk*	break (rope)
mamud	*mamutuk*	grind, crush
sakud	*sakituk*	fasten tight-fitting item
awin	*awahin*	unload, take out
kupan	*kupahin*	take up grain-like substance
otan	*utahin*	fruits hang in abundance
ɣombob	*ɣombab*	cover plants with sea weed
ayob	*ayohyab*	cover
ibotok	*ibutuk*	put horizontally oriented objects
letok	*lituk*	wrap up sago in banana leaves
ayun	*yayuhyawn*	tie in bundle
ɣasug	*ɣasahig*	scrape (fur, wood), shave hair
yaɣahwig	*yaɣhwituk*	plant, penetrate
alalay	*alalih*	become dry
alam	*alah*	get swollen
ahwamun	*ahuhyawn*	soak
tanin	*tanihah*	tie strap to firewood in order to carry it
ahus	*ahwasah*	pull out

Similar patterns are found with other verbs, but with at most a handful of lexemes participating in a pairing of stems ending in one segment with stems ending in another. Some such verbs are tabulated in Table 9.11, in which different shadings indicate groups of verb that share a similar derivational pattern, e.g. verbs with III-stems ending in *-ɣ* corresponding to IV-stems in *-h*, and so on.

For the paired verbs, i.e. verbs for which there in addition to the stems for inanimates of gender III and IV also exists a morphologically related ('paired') animate verb, the same multiplicity of derivational patterns are observed for the inanimate verbs. For example, several show the frequent pattern of the III-stem ending in *-k* and the IV-stem in *-b*. However, the shape of the paired animate verb is always predictable from the shape of the IV-stem (and vice versa), since the IV-stem (with very few exceptions) is identical to the 2|3pl.U stem of the animate verb. Table 9.12

Table 9.12: 'Paired' verbs: Inanimate-only verbs with related animate verbs.

INANIMATE VERB			ANIMATE VERB	
III	IV	Gloss	3sg.U	Gloss
halak	*halab*	move, come loose	*haleb*	s.b. become visible
ibayak	*ibayab*	make s.t. round	*ibayeb*	s.b. become round
ihwaluk	*ihulab*	dangle s.t.	*ihuleb*	dangle s.b.
matapek	*matapab*	put s.t. in corner	*matapeb*	put s.b. in corner
samek	*samab*	turn s.t. (e.g. canoe)	*sameb*	animate turn
husuk	*husab*	pour water on s.t.	*huseb*	pour on s.b.
tahuk	*tahyohyab*	stick s.t. to surface	*tahob*	lean against
tamak	*tamab*	inanimate float	*tameb*	animate float
kasid	*kasituk*	tie s.t. in end of rope	*kasetok*	tie s.b.
masud	*masituk*	bend (wood etc.)	*masetok*	sit (etc.) folded
salad	*salituk*	hide s.t.	*saletok*	hide
sanggid	*sanggituk*	shake s.t.	*sanggetok*	shake
kipalud	*kiplituk*	tie s.t.	*kipletok*	tie s.b.
hwahwid	*hwahwituk*	rub s.t.	*hwahwetok*	rub s.b.
kahakun	*kahkahin*	put s.t. inside	*kahekon*	put (e.g. child) inside
keswan	*kiswahin*	wash (e.g. clothes)	*kiswahen*	wash (e.g. child)
olan	*ulahin*	hang (e.g. clothes)	*olin*	hang, hold on to s.t.
kwagin	*kugahin*	throw s.t.	*kwegen*	throw s.b.
ambam	*ambah*	wrap s.t.	*ambeh*	wrap s.b.
elam	*elah*	hang s.t. on shoulder	*eleh*	hang (e.g. wallaby)
ɣuyam	*ɣuyah*	be loose, wobble	*ɣuyeh*	shake, shiver
aɣad	*aɣab*	split s.t. lengthwise	*aɣeb*	cut (e.g. fish)
esad	*esab*	cut s.t.	*eseb*	cut s.b.
kandakab	*kankahib*	pull s.t.	*kandakib*	pull (e.g. cow)
kahwab	*kahwahwib*	remove tight-fitting item	*kahwib*	release
lalig	*lalah*	string s.t. (e.g. seeds)	*laleh*	string (e.g. fish)
bik	*bituk*	take vertical item	*betok*	grab (e.g. hanging fish)
ugaman	*ogab*	bury s.t.	*ogeb*	bury
ɣi	*hi*	eat s.t.	*aheb*	eat (e.g. fish)
hay	*hih*	inanimate fall	*hi*	animate fall

lists the known paired verbs, with the 3sg.U stem of the corresponding animate verb provided in addition to the two stems of each inanimate verb.

9.2.6 Verbal suppletion according to participant number

Several verbal meanings are expressed by means of morphologically unrelated verbs depending on whether the absolutive participant is singular or plural. By 'absolutive participant' is meant the S-argument of intransitive verbs and the O-argument of transitive verbs. For example, 'one person run away' is expressed by means of the verb *ihon*, whereas 'many run away' is expressed by the unrelated *awan*. The transitive verb *aheb* is used for 'eat one animate' (e.g. eat one sago grub, or one fish), while the verb *hi* 'eat many' is used if several animates are consumed. (The number of the S-argument is irrelevant for transitive verbs, so *aheb* is also used for several

people eating from one fish).

The 16 concepts that are expressed by suppletive verb pairs are in Table 9.13. Verbs that are suppletive according to the S-argument (i.e. intransitive verbs) are on top, and verbs with the O-argument (transitive verbs) as trigger are listed below. Most of these verbs are among the most frequent verbs in my corpus.[8]

The list in Table 9.13 does not imply that there are 16 verbs that are suppletive for number in Marind. It is somewhat difficult to count the number of suppletive verbs, primarily because four of the meanings are expressed by different verbs in the singular depending on whether reference is made to the onset of the event (e.g. *ihon* 'run away, take off running') or to the ensuing situation (*umak* 'be running'), whereas this distinction is expressed morphologically (by means of the Extended suffix *-a*) in the corresponding plural verbs (*awan* 'many run away', *awat-a* 'many be running'). Since *ihon* and *umak* arguably should be considered separate lexemes, but *awan* and *awat-a* probably not, we end up with 16 singular verbs being in a suppletive relationship to 12 plural verbs.

9.2.6.1 Paradigmatic structure of suppletive verbs. Another source of complexity is the fact that different members of suppletive verb pairs often belong to different inflectional types. For example, *ihon* 'run away' is an alternating verb of inflection class 2 (infixing) with the 1.U stem *ihya⟨n⟩on* and the 2sg.U stem *ihya⟨ɣ⟩on*, while the plural counterpart *awan* 'many run away' is an invariant verb, with a single stem used for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural. In Table 9.13 shaded cells indicate alternating verbs. Only two pairs, 'die' and 'put inside', have alternating verbs filling both the singular and plural halves of their paradigms.

The differing behaviors of the stems participating in the suppletive pairings mean that the resulting paradigms exhibit several different layouts. The simplest layouts are found with the verbs of sitting, lying and standing which are invariant and only

[8]The exceptions are *kaguh* 'give birth' and *katmetok* 'father (a child)', with 3 and 0 attestations respectively in texts. (Of the rest of the verbs, 'call' is the rarest, with 37 textual attestations, followed by 'catch', with 61 textual attestations.) The reason for 'give birth' and 'father (a child)' resisting regularization (despite being relatively rare) is perhaps related to the fact that these verbs seem to be associated with quite different meanings with singular and plural participants. This is most striking with 'give birth': when discussing the meaning of this verb, several speakers claimed that the plural form *ewah* is used only about animals, as in a dog whelping, and not about humans (since humans usually give birth to a single child). However, the speakers' metalinguistic intuitions are clearly false in this case, since I have observed *ewah* used about humans in contexts where multiple births are referred to, e.g. talking about habits ('Women used to give birth in maternity huts') and ability ('She can't give birth, she is sterile'), but it is still interesting that speakers stress that the two stems have different meanings (nobody has ever claimed that e.g. 'one come' and 'many come' somehow mean different things). Similarly, 'father (a child)' probably has a connotation of promiscuity ('sleep around') in its plural version *mamed* that is absent from the single-occasion verb *katmetok* (this is speculative as I have not observed this verb used more than a handful of times). Such meaning differences have perhaps played a role in the evolution of these suppletive verbs.

Table 9.13: Suppletion according to participant number.
Shaded cells mark alternating verbs (3rd person stems shown).
Parantheses mark a durative form derived from the punctual form above it.

Singular	Plural	Gloss	Trigger
ihon	*awan*	'run away'	S
umak	(*awat-a*)	'be running'	S
ambid	*haman*	'sit down'	S
mil	(*hamat-a*)	'be sitting'	S
ɣali	*hok*	'lie down'	S
tel	(*hok-a*)	'be lying'	S
atin	*waɣaman*	'stand up'	S
itala	(*waɣamat-a*)	'be standing'	S
man	*naɣam*	'come'	S
ɣet	*naɣat*	'be in movement'	S
kahwid	*ɣahwahwih*	'die'	S
aheb	*hi*	'eat animate'	O
kaguh	*ewah*	'give birth to'	O
katmetok	*mamed*	'father (a child)'	O
lu	*hyamin*	'call (s.b.'s name)'	O
kahekon	*ɣukahin*	'put inside'	O

occur with animate subjects:

	sg	pl
1	*ambid*	*haman*
2		
3		

'sit down'

	sg	pl
1	*atin*	*waɣaman*
2		
3		

'stand up'

	sg	pl
1	*ɣali*	*hok*
2		
3		

'lie down'

The paradigms for 'come' and 'be in movement' are more complex since they add cells for inanimate subjects. The stems used for inanimates of gender IV are the same as the stems filling the plural cells of the paradigms (the inanimates do not have separate singular and plural stems). The use of a suppletive stem triggered by a difference in gender (III vs. IV) is quite surprising, but it conforms to the pattern observed in the paradigms of other alternating verbs, where the cells of inanimates of gender III 'inherit' the stems used for 3sg.U, whereas the cells corresponding to gender IV inherit the stems of the 2|3pl.U cells.

	sg	pl
1	*ɣet*	*nayat*
2		
3		
III	*ɣet*	
IV	*nayat*	

'be in movement'

	sg	pl
1	*man*	*nayam*
2		
3		
III	*man*	
IV	*nayam*	

'come'

The paradigm structures become more complex when alternating stems are involved. Consider the pair *ihon* 'run away'/*awan* 'many run away', of which the first member is alternating and the second invariant, and the pair *kahwid* 'die'/*ɣahwahwih* 'many die', in which both participating stems are alternating. The resulting paradigms are:

	sg	pl
1	*ihyanon*	*awan*
2	*ihyaɣon*	
3	*ihon*	
III	*ihon*	
IV	*awan*	

'U run away'

	sg	pl
1	*kahinad*	*ɣahwahwen*
2	*kahiɣad*	*ɣahwahwih*
3	*kahwid*	
III	*kahwid*	
IV	*kahihad*	

'U die'

The paradigm for 'die' shows one interesting difference from 'run away': the stem used for inanimates of gender IV (*kahihad*, used for e.g. plants in gender IV) is *not* the same as the stem used with animate 2|3pl.U stem *ɣahwahwih*. This is a remarkable exception from the general pattern of homophony between exponents gender IV and inanimate plurals. It is not clear why the plural verb for 'die', formed on a root *ɣahwahw-*, did not extend to inanimates of gender IV, when the plural stem for 'run away', *awan*, did so. All other verbs that are compatible with both animate and inanimate Undergoers seem to exhibit the stem syncretism between gender IV and 2|3pl.

9.2.6.2 Participant number versus pluractionality in verbal suppletion Some of the verbs in Table 9.13 also participate in other pairings that resemble suppletion. Some of the singular stems have an aspectually durative counterpart, as mentioned above, and as discussed further in Section 13.1.3. There are also certain special stems that are used to express event plurality (referred to as Pluractional stems), rather than participant number. For example, corresponding to *ambid* (sg) and *haman* (pl) 'sit down' there is also the Pluractional *anik* 'sit down (on many occasions)'. Since the latter can be used with either singular or plural participants,

it is not considered to be suppletive according to number. For other such verbs the relationship is more complicated: *kahek* 'climb' and *ihw* 'cry' are restricted to a singular participant, and the Pluractional stems *kapet* and *lihwanak* have to be used with plural participants. Again, since the Pluractional forms are also compatible with a singular participant (e.g. crying/climbing on several occasions) they are not classified as suppletive according to number (see Section 9.3.1 for a complete list).[9]

The difference between verbal suppletion triggered by participant number and paired verbs expressing pluractionality is not only semantic, but is also reflected in the behavior of Actor indexing. The facts were described in §8.2.2.3, but will be repeated here. When used with a 3pl participant, intransitive verbs that are suppletive according to participant number, such as *man* 'come', occur with invariant 3sg Actor indexing (just like the so-called middle verbs, Section 8.5.1):

(341) a. *menda-b-ø-* *man*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- come
'S/he came.' [0053.23092016.6.wbi]

b. *menda-b-ø-* *nayam*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- many.come
'They came.' [0020.23092016.7.wbi]

This type of defective indexing pattern with 3rd person Actors is not found with verbs that have suppletive Pluractional stems (e.g. *kapet* 'climb'):

(342) a. *menda-b-ø-* *kahek*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- climb
'S/he climbed.' [nb03.81.wbi]

b. *menda-b-na-* *kapet*
PERF-ACT-3pl.A- climb.PLA
'They climbed.' [0020.30082015.5.wbi]

A second difference is seen when the indexed participant belongs to gender IV, which triggers plural marking across the system of Undergoer indexing. Thus, in (343) the gender IV noun *lahwalah-yahun* 'airplane' requires the plural stem to be used, regardless of the cardinality of the referent(s).

[9] This important point is overlooked by Drabbe, who states that pairs such as *kahek* 'climb' and *kapet* 'climb.PLA' are suppletive according to number (1955: 79).

(343) *lahwalah-yahun* *i-pe* *t-i-ka-hat-ø-* *nayam*
airplane IV-DIST GIV-IV-NF-PRSTV-3sg.A- many.come
'An airplane is coming there.'
'Airplanes are coming there.' [nb03.22.wbi]

Gender does not affect the use of a suppletive stem expressing the Pluractional on the other hand. For example, the stem *takoy* 'fell a tree' is used to refer to the felling of a single tree belonging to either of the tree-containing genders (i.e. genders III and IV), while the Pluractional stem *walok* 'fell several trees' is used when multiple felling events are referred to, regardless of gender of the trees.

This diagnostic can be used to show that a concept such as 'put inside', which has a paradigm similar to that of 'die' (above), is expressed by two separate verbs differing in pluractionality rather than a verb that is suppletive according to participant number. The complete set of forms expressing 'put inside' consist of no less than 9 different stem shapes: besides being composed of alternating verbs, the paradigm has paired animate-inanimate verbs filling the cells of the singular half: the animate 3sg.U stem *kahekon* has the inanimate counterpart *kahakun*, both belonging to the infixing inflectional class. In the plural cells of the paradigm both verbs are replaced by infixing stems formed from an unrelated root *ɣok-/ɣuk-*.

	Non-pluract.	Pluractional
1	*kahkanin*	*ɣukanin*
2	*kahkaɣin*	*ɣukahin*
3	*kahekon*	
III	*kahakun*	*ɣokun*
IV	*kahkahin*	*ɣukahin*

'put U inside'

Since the use of stems based on *ɣok-* is unaffected by the gender of inanimates (the stems *ɣokun* and *ɣukahin* are used with inanimates of genders III and IV as long as several items are put inside) it is better to treat 'put inside' as being expressed by a non-pluractional lexeme *kahekon* (etc.) and a corresponding pluractional lexeme based on *ɣok-/ɣuk-*, rather than as a verb that is suppletive according to participant number (like 'die'). This is confirmed by semantics: although meaning 'put one item inside several times' is unattested in my corpus, speakers reported that *ɣokun* (etc.), and not *kahakun*, would be used in such contexts. Stem alternations expressing event plurality are further described in Section 9.3.1.

9.3 Stem derivation

This section describes four categories that are expressed within the verb stem: the Pluractional, Inessive, Comitative-Instrumental and Extended. The first three are mostly realized by means of prefixes (but also by internal stem changes). The Extended is a suffix, and appears to be somewhat less tightly attached to the verb stem, as discussed in Section 9.3.4. The categories treated here are tentatively grouped under the label 'derivation' since the domains of their application (i.e. the set of verbs with which they may occur) as well as the resulting semantics are much more unpredictable than e.g. the person stems of alternating verbs (discussed in the preceding parts of this chapter). The statements below are mostly concerned with form; cross-references are given to sections dealing with the semantics of the different categories.

9.3.1 The Pluractional

The Pluractional stem forms are used in a range of contexts, typically related to event plurality. Here I describe the form of the Pluractional stems. Their use is described in the chapter on tense, aspect and mode (§13.4).

Verbs that can form a Pluractional stem (around 20–30% of all verbs) do so by means of a prefix. The prefix *l-* is the default prefix with vowel-initial stems:

Base verb	**Derived stem**	
ahwikeh	***l**ahwikeh*	'many carry on shoulders'[10]
ahwasiɣ	***l**ahwasiɣ*	'suck repeatedly'
asik	***l**asik*	'hunt repeatedly'
ehwes	***l**ehwes*	'pile up lots'
esad	***l**esad*	'cut in pieces'
isik	***l**isik*	'many become full'
isiɣ	***l**isiɣ*	'bite repeatedly'

Most consonant-initial verbs use the prefix /e-/, realized as *e-* in monosyllabic stems, and *i-* in polysyllabic stems, as predicted by the rules of vowel gradation (Section 2.5.1).

[10]It is impossible to convey the full semantic range of a Pluractional stem in a gloss; the glosses given are rough approximations chosen for quotability rathern than precision.

baɣ	***e**baɣ*	‘finish (food) repeatedly’
gan	***e**gan*	‘hear repeatedly’
ɣad	***e**ɣad*	‘flash light repeatedly’
bahin	***i**bahin*	‘finish (2|3pl.U) repeatedly’
haniɣ	***i**haniɣ*	‘bite several spots’
hwaɣik	***i**hwaɣik*	‘many get hooked’
kababuɣ	***i**kbabuɣ*	‘many sink’
kahod	***i**kahod*	‘bend head down repeatedly’
lawetok	***i**lwetok*	‘turn around repeatedly’
mahid	***i**mahid*	‘many get angry’

Verbs beginning with one of the coronal obstruents /d t s/ use the prefix /o-/, which is realized as *o-* if the stem is monosyllabic but undergoes gradation (Section 2.5.1) to *u-* if it has two or more syllables:

tad	***o**tad*	‘cause to burn many’
tak	***o**tak*	‘many become empty’
dahetok	***u**dhetok*	‘go back and forth repeatedly’
saletok	***u**sletok*	‘hide in several spots’
samandak	***u**smandak*	‘block off (river) repeatedly’
taheb	***u**taheb*	‘fill several’
tamak	***u**tamak*	‘many float’
timin	***u**timin*	‘many wake up’

An exception to the observation that stems with an initial coronal obstruent take the prefix /o-/ in the Pluractional is a small group of such verbs that have the vowel *u* in their final syllable. The prefix /o-/ (most likely an innovation) has not spread to these verbs, which have prefixed *i-* in the Pluractional forms just like other consonant-initial stems (this is an allomorph of /e-/, although I am not aware of any monosyllabic verb stems with an initial coronal obstruent and the vowel *u* where it would surface as *e-*).

dahuɣ	***i**dahuɣ*	‘hold s.b. back repeatedly’
sakud	***i**sakud*	‘fasten tight-fitting objects (III)’
sakituk	***i**skituk*	‘fasten tight-fitting objects (IV)’
tahuk	***i**tahuk*	‘stick many to surface’
tahun	***i**tahun*	‘clean s.b.’s bottom repeatedly’
takun	***i**takun*	‘make roof repeatedly’
talun	***i**talun*	‘push repeatedly’

A remarkable fact about the alternation between the allomorphs of the Pluractional prefix is that their shape is triggered by the shape of the 3sg stems of the verb: if a stem has a Pluractional form with a prefixed *u-* in 3sg, it retains the *u-* throughout the stem paradigm, even in forms that have a final syllable with the vowel /u/. Thus, the 3sg Pluractional of *saletok* 'hide' is *usletok*, while the 2|3pl stem *salituk* has the Pluractional stem *uslituk*, and not **islituk*. Conversely, the Pluractional of *tahuk* 'stick to a surface' uses the prefix *i-* even in forms without syllable-final /u/, e.g. the stem *tahyohyab* 'stick item of gender IV to a surface', which has the Pluractional stem *ithyohyab*.

A small group of monosyllabic verbs with initial *b* fail to take the expected prefix *e-* (cf. ***e**bay* 'finish food/drink'), for no clear reason:

bad	***o**bad*	'dig wells'
bak	***o**bak*	'perforate in several spots'
bewn	***o**bewn*	'lean forward repeatedly'
bug	***u**bug*	'cut open animals'

Another group of verbs take the prefix *l-* found with vowel-initial stems, but show various idiosyncracies, either in the prefixed material or elsewhere in the stem.

hwis	***lo**hwis*	'many descend'
lik	***la**lik*	'rivers to flow'
masud	***li**masud*	'fold repeatedly'
akam	***lal**akam*	'drip in several spots'
ahuy	*lahu**m***	'many carry strapped to head'
ahus	*lah**os***	'pull out many'

Two small groups of verbs form the Pluractional stem with an infixed vowel after the first consonant, which in the first group always is *k-*:

kasid	*k**i**sid*	'tie many'
kadahib	*k**i**dahib*	'embrace repeatedly'
kahaleb	*k**i**haleb*	'lose grip, drop repeatedly'
kandakib	*k**i**ndakib*	'pull repeatedly'
kahwab	*k**o**hab*	'remove tight-fitting objects'
katab	*k**o**tab*	'pluck many'

It is not clear why these have an infixed vowel or what determines its quality (it is sometimes *i*, sometimes *o*). Other verbs starting with *k-* take the expected prefix, e.g. ***ik**ayam* 'look up'. The second group has stems starting with *ɣ-*:

ɣadak	*ɣedak*	'hit repeatedly'
ɣadan	*ɣedan*	'get blisters'
ɣadewn	*ɣedewn*	'leave (tr.) repeatedly'
ɣadaman	*ɣidaman*	'sky become red all over'
ɣadetok	*ɣudetok*	'pierce bodypart repeatedly'
ɣanetok	*ɣunetok*	'many carry'
ɣanakeh	*ɣunakeh*	'cook (repeatedly?)'

Again, it is not clear why these have an infixed vowel or what determines its quality (apparently /e-/ in the first four verbs above, but *u* in others).

Three common verbs, *hawa* 'emerge', *hi* '(animate) fall' and *hay* 'inanimate fall', express the Pluractional by means of a unique pattern of reduplication of material from the initial syllable. The first two verbs belong to the small class of verbs that index the Undergoer by means of suffixes (cf. Section 9.2.4.3); below forms for 3rd and 1st person Undergoers are given. None of the other lexemes belonging to this inflectional class show this pattern of reduplication.

hawa	*huhu*	'emerge repeatedly (3sg.U)'
hun	*huhun*	'emerge repeatedly (1.U)'
hi	*hihi*	'fall repeatedly (3sg.U)'
hin	*hihin*	'fall repeatedly (1.U)'
hay	*hehay*	'fall repeatedly (inanimate)'

There are ca. 20 verbs that lack Pluractional forms, but for which there exist unrelated verbs with a corresponding Pluractional meaning. Such pairings are listed in the section describing the use of Pluractional forms (§13.4.2).

9.3.2 The Inessive

The Inessive ('INESS' in the glosses) can be prefixed to many verb stems to derive verbs meaning 'to V inside/within a confined space'. For example, the verb *ambid* 'sit' is used for sitting outdoors, whereas its Inessive form *kwambid* 'sit inside' is used for sitting indoors. When glossing Inessive stems I simply add the word 'inside' to the standard gloss, although it will be shown in Section 9.3.2.2 that the meaning of the Inessive is somewhat more complicated in reality.

9.3.2.1 Form of the Inessive. Before the non-back vowels /i e a/ the prefix *kw-* is used:

Base verb	**Derived stem**	
asa	***kw**asa*	‘bark inside’
akam	***kw**akam*	‘drip inside’
eɣak	***kw**eɣak*	‘untie inside’
ehwek	***kw**ehwek*	‘get stuck inside’
ihon	***kw**ihon*	‘run away inside’
isak	***kw**isak*	‘hit inside (2|3pl.U)’

The allomorph *k-* occurs before back vowels /u o/ and glides /j w/:

omos	***k**omos*	‘spread out inside’
umak	***k**umak*	‘run inside’
yaɣahwig	***k**yaɣahwig*	‘plant inside’
yalin	***k**yalin*	‘call inside (2|3pl.U)’
walaw	***k**walaw*	‘search inside’
walok	***k**walok*	‘stab inside’

Before consonant-initial stems, *k-* is used, with epenthetic *a* giving *ka-*:

bakeh	***ka**bakeh*	‘put inside’
dahetok	***ka**dhetok*	‘turn opposite direction inside’
ɣoseh	***ka**ɣoseh*	‘jump along inside’
halay	***ka**halay*	‘become clear inside’
hok	***ka**hok*	‘many lie down inside’
lolaw	***ka**lolaw*	‘crawl inside’
mil	***ka**mil*	‘be sitting inside’
naɣat	***ka**naɣat*	‘many go inside’
tel	***ka**tel*	‘be lying down inside’
hwaɣob	***ka**hwaɣob*	‘hang inside’

The exception is consonant-initial stems on *k-*, which form the Inessive with *i-*:

kababuɣ	***i**kbabuɣ*	‘immerse oneself in water inside’
kahek	***i**kahek*	‘climb inside’
kakok	***i**kakok*	‘hang on back inside’
kipalud	***i**kipalud*	‘tie inside’

With monosyllabic stems beginning with a (non-back) vowel, the Inessive is *kaw-*:

ay	***kaw**ay*	‘become inside’
eg	***kaw**eg*	‘dig inside’
in	***kaw**in*	‘make sound inside (2|3pl.U)’

This follows from the fact that initial clusters containing a glide (CGV) are avoided in closed syllables (*CGVC) (see §2.2), excluding forms such as **kway*, **kweg* and **kwin*. In trisyllabic stems beinning with a closed syllable *i*C, the usual allomorph *kw-* is replaced by *k-* for the same reason.

ibkatok	***k**ibkatok*	'turn many upside down inside'
ihɣaman	***k**ihɣaman*	'many enter water inside'

The sequence *kwa-* is also avoided in the antepretonic syllable, disallowing words of the shape **kwa.σ.σ*. In trisyllabic bases with a first syllable consisting of *a-* or *wa-*, this syllable is deleted and replaced by *ku-*:

ahwasah	***ku**hwasah*	'pull out inside (IV)'
ahwasiɣ	***ku**hwasiɣ*	'suck inside'
alalay	***ku**lalay*	'become dry inside'
aɣanin	***ku**ɣanin*	'run around inside (1.U)'
wahanid	***ku**hanid*	'gather inside'
waɣaman	***ku**ɣaman*	'many stand inside'

There is no corresponding restriction against words of the shape *kwi.σ.σ*, so e.g. trisyllabic *iyalak* 'sweep, gather garbage' has the predicted Inessive *kwiyalak*.

Three exceptional verbs form the Inessive stem by means of the prefix *ika-*:

hi	***ika**hi*	'animate fall inside'
hay	***ika**hay*	'inanimate fall inside'
baɣ	***ika**baɣ*	'finish food/drink inside'

These are all monosyllabic, but note that the prefix *ika-* occurs even when the base is a disyllabic form of the same lexeme, so the Pluractional stem of 'inanimate fall', *hehay*, has a corresponding Inessive stem ***ika**hehay*.

Note finally the verb *kwamin* 'enter' (1.U *kanamin*) which must be an historical Inessive stem, but which lacks a base stem **wamin* synchronically.

The Pluractional prefixes can co-occur with the Inessive described in the following section. The Pluractional then occurs closest to the stem, inside the Inessive prefix.

(344) a. *k-i-hnituk*
INESS-PLA-many.lean
'many (things) to lean inside'

b. *k-u-timin*
INESS-PLA-wake.up
'many to wake up inside'

9.3.2.2 Use of the Inessive. The following corpus examples illustrate the use of Inessive verb stems. In example (345), both the speaker and the addressee (her daughter, ca. 2 years old) were inside my house, so the Inessive form *kwambid* is used. (The speaker also uses the Contessive *ap-* since she is asking the daughter to sit on top of her lap; see §14.4.5). In (346) the Inessive is used since the act of carrying takes place inside the forest.

(345) *oɣ Susana ah-ap- kw-ambid*
2sg S. IMP-CT- INESS-sit.down
'Sit down Susana!' [0002.04092015.1.wbi]

(346) *deg k-ak-e- ka-l-hwik⟨e⟩h-a-m napet-nen*
forest DIR-1.A-1pl- INESS-PLA-carry⟨III.U⟩-EXT-VEN banana-shoot(III)
'We carried the banana shoots through the forest.' [0978.16092016.1.wbi]

The general meaning of the Inessive—'to Verb inside a confined space'—appears straightforward at first sight, but its use is complicated by (i) the question of what exactly constitutes a confined space, and (ii) the fact that verbs differ as to how sensitive they are to this distinction. I will first consider some contexts that call for Inessive forms (listed as A–D below), before commenting on differences between verb types.

(A) Inside houses and huts. Actions inside bivouacs (*puk*) do not trigger the use of the Inessive. Bivouacs are usually simple structures consisting of poles stuck in the ground with tarpaulin or dry leafs as a protection against rain and wind, so they are less confined than the houses in the village.

(B) Inside containers such as bags, boxes. The Inessive stem *ikabaɣ* (from *baɣ* 'finish food/drink') is used for finishing drinking from a glass. The Inessive stem *kawa* of the Auxiliary (3sg.U form *wa*) can be used for a chick chirping inside an egg (cf. §15.1.2.1), as in the following elicited example:

(347) *ayam k-a- ka-w-a*
chicken(m) DIR-3sg.A- INESS-3sg.U-AUX
'A chicken is chirping inside the egg.'

(C) Inside the body:

(348) *ɣandam ɣoɣo* *k-a-na-* *ka-w-it-a*
stomach bubbling.noise DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT- INESS-III.U-become-EXT
'My stomach is rumbling.' [nb04.59.wbi]

(D) Inside certain kinds of terrain. Within the landscape, the spaces that most consistently trigger the Inessive are forest (but not e.g. a coconut grove), water (as long as the agent is partly immersed, e.g. wading through water—but not sitting in a canoe on water), the vast mudflat that is revealed during low tide (but not the dry beach; cf. the Contessive, which makes the same distinction: §14.4.5.1), patches with tall grass, and swamps (both during dry season and when filled with water).

The usage with events taking place in the savanna (*mamuy*) is unclear to me: the Inessive is sometimes used, sometimes not. Some parts of the savanna are perhaps considered more confined than others (e.g. parts with tall grass?).

In addition to the dry beach, some parts of the landscape that never trigger the Inessive are: roads and paths, sand ridges (*pale*), clearings in the forest (*hekay*).

The following example illustrates how the use of the Inessive depends on features of the landscape. The speaker recounts how she buried betelnut during an expedition, in order to retrieve it on the return journey. The speaker with whom I transcribed this story explained that the Inessive is used in the second clause, because Almung is a swamp. (I have no further information on the landscape in Kalakal-Ugu).

(349) *ma* *mayay* *Kalakal-Ugu* *k-an-d-ap-* *ugaman*
PTCL first K.-U. DIR-1.A-DUR-CT- bury
tanama *Almung* *ka-no-d-* *k-ugaman*
then A. DIR-1.A-DUR- INESS-bury
'Um, first I buried betelnut in Kalakal-Ugu, then I buried in Almung.'
[0138.17102016.2.wbi]

Finally, there are lexical differences between different verbs. Many verbs lack an Inessive stem. Some verbs lack an Inessive stem because their semantics are not compatible with 'inside' (e.g. *hawa* 'emerge'), or because they are originally Inessive verbs whose non-Inessive form no longer exists (e.g. *kwamin* 'enter'; there is no **wamin*. Cf. remark in §9.2.4.1). For other verbs it is unclear how to explain the lack of an Inessive form. For example, there is Inessive *kagan* 'hear inside' (< *gan* 'hear'), but I have failed to get **kwidih* 'see inside' (*idih* 'see').

Verbs also differ in how systematically their Inessive form is used. With verbs of position ('sit', 'stand', etc.) and putting the Inessive is obligatory when the action occurs indoors (in the forest, etc.)—it is simply wrong to use *ambid* 'sit' (instead of *kwambid* 'sit inside') if the action occurs indoors—whereas for a verb such as *laɣ* 'talk' the use of the Inessive in the same context seems completely optional. I will leave a more detailed investigation of these issues for the future.

9.3.3 The Comitative–Instrumental

The Comitative-Instrumental prefix (glossed 'WITH') derives stems meaning 'bring' or 'V with (+instrument)', as discussed in Section 12.1. It is *k-* before stems beginning with a vowel or glide:

Base verb	**Derived stem**	
aɣin	***k**aɣin*	'run with'
esad	***k**esad*	'cut with'
isak	***k**isak*	'hit (2|3pl.U) with'
og	***k**og*	'do with'
usak	***k**usak*	'hit (3sg.U) with'
wasib	***k**wasib*	'hit with'

If the base begins with a consonant (except *k-*), epenthetic *a* is added between *k-* and the base:

dahetok	***ka**dhetok*	'return, bring back'
deh	***ka**deh*	'shoot with'
ɣet	***ka**ɣet*	'go with'
hayad	***ka**hayad*	'play with'
haman	***ka**haman*	'many sit down with'
man	***ka**man*	'bring hither'
naɣat	***ka**naɣat*	'many bring along'

If the stem begins with *k-*, *i-* is prefixed:

kab	***i**kab*	'open with'
kahek	***i**kahek*	'climb up with'
kanamin	***i**knamin*	'bring inside (1.U)'
kipalud	***i**kipalud*	'tie with'

Three common verbs have irregular Comitative-Instrumental stems:

mil	*kimil*	'be sitting with'
nin	*kinin*	'sleep habitually with'
tel	*ketel*	'be lying down with'

In addition, the common verb *ɣet* 'walk along' has a special Comitative-Instrumental stem *kat* coexisting with the regular *kaɣet* 'bring along'.

Note that the allomorphy of the WITH-prefix is partly identical to that of the Inessive (Section 9.3.2), giving homonymous pairs such as ***ka**deh* 'shoot with' and ***ka**deh* 'shoot inside'. It is clear from e.g. verbs beginning with non-back vowels that the two are indeed distinct prefixes: cf. ***ki**hon* 'run away with' and ***kwi**hon* 'run away inside'.

9.3.4 Extended: *-la* (EXT)

The main function of the aspectual suffix *-la* is to express the state that holds as a result of a punctual event (see §13.2.3). It is *-la* after a vowel:

Base verb	**Derived stem**	
oha	*oha**la***	'be going down to water'
usu	*usu**la***	'be cooked'

It is *-a* after all consonants (including the glides *w* and *y*), e.g.:

betok	*betok**a***	'be piled up'
masud	*masud**a***	'be bent'
kab	*kab**a***	'be open'
walaw	*walaw**a***	'keep eyes open'
luhay	*luhay**a***	'be fast asleep'

A stem-final *n* is changed to *t* before *-a*:

haman	*hamat**a***	'many be sitting'
gan	*gat**a***	'be listening'

Compared to the prefixal categories described in the three preceding subsections, the Extended seems to be somewhat less tightly integrated into the verb stem, since it shows no irregularities or forms that need to be lexically stipulated. On the other hand, I consider the Extended suffix to be more tightly bound to the stem than the outer suffixes (the inflectional suffixes discussed in §7.4) for three reasons. (i) The Extended suffix triggers a segmental change in the preceding stem, as just seen. None of the Outer suffixes trigger phonological changes in the stem. (ii) Whereas the outer suffixes are mutually exlusive, the Extended may occur between the stem and

an outer suffix such as Past Durative *-ti* or Future Habitual *-motok* (§13.2.6.3). (iii) In constructions where the lexical verb stem is 'moved' to the pre-verbal position, the Extended suffix follows along and remains attached to the stem in its new position (350a). Such 'affixal pied-piping' does not occur with outer suffixes such as the Past Durative *-ti*, which remains within the verb complex even when the lexical stem is preposed (350b). For these reasons, the Extended is described as a derivational suffix forming a derived verb stem, and not as an outer suffix attaching after the stem.

(350) a. *hamat-a s-an-d-e- na-hwala nok*
many.sit-EXT ONLY-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-be 1
'We were just sitting.' [0041.23092016.7.wbi]

b. *saŋam u-pe tel sa-d-ø- w-a-ti*
wallaby(II) II-DIST be.lying ONLY-DUR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX-DUR
'The wallaby was just lying.' [0135.21092016.1.wbi]

9.3.5 Participial *-la, -lVk* (PTCP)

This set of suffixes derive deverbal nominals with a range of uses (adjectives, nouns, converb-like adverbials, etc.) as discussed in Section 4.5.3. The Participial suffix exhibits gender agreement according to the noun that the participle modifies:

I.sg	II.sg	III	IV, I/II.pl
-la	*-luk*	*-la*	*-lik*

For example *dahip-la* 'drunk' (gender I singular) is used for a drunk male, *dahip-luk* (gender II singular) for a drunk animal or female human, *dahahip-lik* (I/II plural) for drunk animals or people (See Chapter 6 for details on the gender system).

The forms *-luk* and *-lik* are identical to the corresponding gender forms of the postposition *lVk* 'from' (Section 3.3.6.1), suggesting that this suffix derives diachronically from the postposition.

Chapter 10

The system of Verb Orientation

This chapter describes one of the most important morphosyntactic resources in Marind, the use of which has consequences for the constituent order and morphological shape of the verb in almost every clause, and additionally plays an important role in some clause combining constructions. The structures discussed below, collectively treated under the rubric Verb Orientation, combine features of information structure and argument flagging in what appears to be a typologically unique way, although some parallels exist with symmetric voice systems as discussed by Austronesianists (e.g. Ross 2002), verbal focus marking in Bantu (Gibson et al. 2016), and with the voice-like systems of some Nilotic languages (e.g. Andersen 2015, from which I borrow the term 'orientation').

The most important factor governing the use of the Verb Orientation system is the function of the constituent placed immediately before the verb complex (henceforth the **pre-verbal constituent**). There are two facets of this: (1) how to choose a constituent to place before the verb, which is a question of how to package the information in a clause, and (2) the grammatical and/or semantic role of the pre-verbal constituent, which governs the use of one of the five Orientation prefixes.

The following discussion will focus on the second issue first, and it will be shown that the Orientation prefixes have functions that are similar to grammatical case in dependent-marking languages, such as flagging a constituent as filling the role of S or A (i.e. the sole argument of an intransitive verb, or the agent-like argument of a monotransitive verb) or O (the patient-like argument of a monotransitive verb), in addition to various other uses, some of which are less suggestive of case marking. Section 10.1 is essentially a catalogue detailing some of the more frequent uses of the Orientation prefixes, and some readers may prefer to skim through these subsections.

The information-structural aspects governing what constituent ends up in the pre-verbal position are discussed in (§10.2), where it is shown that one of its main functions is the expression of **focus**, as shown by the obligatory pre-verbal placement of the questioned constituent in content (or *wh*-) questions, and of the corresponding constituent in answers to such questions.

Section 10.3 discusses some ways in which the Orientation system interacts with other grammatical subsystems in the language.

10.1 The Orientation prefixes

10.1.1 Overview

As stated in §1.1.1.4, Marind is a language with relatively flexible constituent order, so it is up to the speaker to arrange the constituents in a clause in the way that best conveys the intended message. There is no case marking, and it is common to employ bare noun phrases (without adpositional marking) even for the expression of oblique roles. This lack of systematic coding of participant roles in the clause is to some extent compensated by the use of the Orientation prefixes, which signal the role of the pre-verbal constituent.

Example (351) shows some possible orderings of the three arguments of the verb 'to feed'. In each version of this (elicited) example, a different constituent is placed in the pre-verbal slot, with the result that a different Orientation prefix has to be employed. Throughout this chapter the constituent in the pre-verbal position is indicated by putting the corresponding material in the glosses within brackets. Where relevant, the role of the constituent is indicated by means of a subscript abbreviation (e.g. 'A' for the A-argument of the clause).

In (a), the A-argument *patul* 'boy(s)' is in the pre-verbal position, triggering the use of the so-called Neutral Orientation prefix. The Neutral is *k-* in present tense contexts and zero in the non-present (i.e. in past and future contexts), with the zero allomorph indicated by means of 'ø-'. In (b), the constituent *nggat* 'dog(s)' fills the same position, now with the Directional Orientation prefix marking its role as Recipient in the clause. In (c) the Theme *muy* 'meat' fills the pre-verbal slot, which is signaled by the use of the Object Orientation prefix *m-* since it is the patient-like argument (or more specifically, the Theme) of the clause. Note that the constituents that are in positions other than immediately before the verb complex are unmarked. The propositional content of the three versions is identical; the translations give a rough approximation of the difference in information structure between the three

structures.

(351) a. *nggat patul ø-na- y-akoh muy*
dog [boy]$_{A}$ NEUT-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-feed meat

b. *patul nggat ka-n- y-akoh muy*
boy [dog]$_{R}$ DIR-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-feed meat

c. *patul muy ma-n- y-akoh nggat*
boy [meat]$_{T}$ OBJ-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-feed dog

Approximate translations:
a. 'It was the boys who fed meat to the dogs.'
b. 'It was the dogs that were fed meat by the boys.'
c. 'It was meat that the dogs were fed by the boys.' [nb04.86.wbi]

These clauses show no differences in transitivity or in the participant indexing on the verb. There is also no reason to consider one of the version to be derived or less basic than the others. Therefore it would be a mistake to liken these different options to alternations such as the English active-passive—the Marind system of Verb Orientation is more similar to what Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997) call "argument focussing constructions".

In addition to the Neutral, Object and Directional Orientation prefixes there are the Locational *nd-* and Restrictive *s-* Orientation prefixes. An overview listing some main functions of clause constituents and the corresponding Orientation prefixes is in Table 10.1. The uses of each prefix will be described in detail in the following sections; some general remarks will be given here.

There is no requirement that a clause must have a constituent placed before the verb in Marind. A complete clause can, and often does, consist of a single verb (352), or (more rarely) by an initial verb followed by other constituents (353). None of these examples exhibit Orientation prefixes as there are no pre-verbal constituents present.

(352) *nak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah-e*
1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩-IPFV
'We're leaving.' [0020.30082015.4.wbi]

(353) *n-um-e-p- lesad epe lay nanggol epe*
3pl.A-FRUS-ACPN-CT- cross.river there side for there
'[The birds] were about to take [their young] over to the other side of the river.' [1013.16092016.1.wbi]

Table 10.1: Overview of the Orientation prefixes and their uses

Role of pre-verbal constituent	Orientation prefix
Core arguments:	
S/A-argument	Neutral ø-/*k*-
O-argument of monotransitive verb	Object *m*-
Theme argument of ditransitive verb	Object *m*-
Recipient of ditransitive verb	Directional *k*-
Applied arguments:	
Instrument licensed by *k*- (WITH-)	Neutral ø-/*k*-
Comitative argument	Object *m*-
Spatial adverbials:	
Path, goal of motion verb	Directional *k*-
Source of motion, (stative) Location	Locational *nd*-
Depictive secondary predicates:	
S/A-oriented	Neutral ø-/*k*-
O-oriented	Object *m*-
Various adverbials, e.g.:	
mbya NEG, *ndom* 'still'	Neutral ø-/*k*-
oso 'start', *ɣe* 'start'	Object *m*-
X lVk 'because of X', *X nanggo*(*l*) 'for X'	Object *m*-
(Some) time expressions, e.g. 'at night'	Object *m*-
lun 'straight away', *tanama* 'again'	Directional *k*-
Restrictive Focus 'only X'	Restrictive *s*-

In some types of discourse—especially narrative texts—it is commonly the case that the Orientation prefixes in addition to their function of flagging the role of the pre-verbal constituent assume the function of signaling certain inter-clausal relationships (§10.3.3), with the result that almost no verbs in such texts lack Orientation prefixes. Clauses lacking Orientation prefixes are much more frequent in spontaneous conversation, especially since many of the inflectional forms of the verb that are common in face-to-face conversation (the Imperative, the Absconditive, yes/no-questions) are incompatible with Orientation prefixes (see §10.3.1).

Finally, a terminological note is called for. Since most of the Orientation prefixes correspond to a diverse set of functions it is difficult or impossible to find any single labels that appropriately encompass all of their uses. For example, the Neutral Orientation, which is used with a pre-verbal constituent functioning as the A of a transitive verb, as in (351a) above, is also used with the S of an intransitive verb (354a), with a bare NP expressing instrument (licensed by the use of the WITH-applicative), as in (354b), or when the clause is negated (354c). I use the label 'Neutral' for this Orientation, which in addition to its vagueness has the advantage of reflecting the status of the Neutral as the least marked of the five prefixes (with one of its two realizations being zero).

(354) a. *nok ø-no- timin*
[1]$_{S}$ NEUT-1.A- wake.up
'I woke up.' [0925.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *ndon ø-no-d- i-kipalud*
[rope]$_{Instr}$ NEUT-1.A-DUR- WITH-tie
'I tied with rope.' [nb04.59.wbi]

c. *adaka mbya ø-no- lesad*
water [NEG] NEUT-1.A- draw.water
'I didn't draw any water.' [0095.27082015.1.wbi]

The other prefixes are similarly diverse in their uses, which prevents straightforward labeling; the reader is advised to think of the labels as purely mnemonic devices.

The following subsections describe the various uses of the five Orientation prefixes: the Neutral Orientation (§10.1.2), the Object Orientation (§10.1.3), the Directional Orientation (§10.1.4), the Locational Orientation (§10.1.5) and the Restrictive Orientation (§10.1.6). All of these prefixes make up a single position class (class –16) near the left edge of the prefix template (Chapter 7).

10.1.2 Neutral Orientation ø-, *k*-

10.1.2.1 With S/A-arguments. The use of the Neutral Orientation prefixes with S/A-arguments in the pre-verbal position was illustrated in (351a) and (354a) above.

Note that the use of the Neutral Orientation is not affected by the agentivity of an S-argument. In this way the alignment shown by the Orientation system differs from that of the participant indexing system (Chapter 8). The latter is is semantically aligned, and indexes the S-argument of an agentive verb such as 'dance' different from the S-argument of a patientive verb such as 'fall'. The Orientation system shows accusative alignment, so the Neutral Orientation is triggered by all S/A-arguments appearing in the pre-verbal position, regardless of agentivity. Here is an example of the Neutral Orientation triggered by the S-argument of 'fall':

(355) Sitting in the house. The speaker hears a motorcycle stopping on the beach, and looks out to see what is going on. (Yan is a passenger on the motorcycle.)

Yan	*topi*	*ø-ø-o-p-*	*hi-h*
Y.	[hat(m)(IV)]$_S$	NEUT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-CT-	fall-IV.U

'Yan's hat fell off.' (lit. 'to Yan the hat fell') [0056.16092016.1.wbi]

The Neutral Orientation differs from the four other Orientation prefixes since it makes a distinction according to the tense of the clause: the Neutral is ø- (i.e. zero) in non-present contexts, i.e. past and future, and *k*- if the clause is in the present. Thus, both occurrences of the Neutral in (356) employ the zero allomorph since both clauses have past time reference. In examples (357–359) reference is made to the present, so the *k*-allomorph of the Neutral is used. Note that in all examples the constituent in the pre-verbal position fills the role of S- or A-argument of the verb.

(356) The speaker is scolding his children for building a bivouac and thereby making the game disappear from the area.

yoɣ	*ø-e-*	*kama⟨h⟩in*	*e-pe*	*puk,*	*deg*	*yoɣ*	*ø-e-*
[2pl]$_A$	NEUT-2pl.A-	make⟨2|3pl.U⟩	III-DIST	bivouac	forest	[2pl]$_A$	NEUT-2pl.A-

keway
destroy

'You made that bivouac, you ruined the forest.' [0806.08092016.1.wbi]

(357) The speaker is instructing his son to show some visitors the way to a place called Kalaway.

namaɣa oɣ k-o- y-ahik-et aaa Kalaway
now [2sg]$_A$ PRS.NEUT-2sg.A- 2|3pl.U-accompany-IPFV all.the.way.to K.
'Now you are taking them to Kalaway.' [0647.08092016.1.wbi]

(358) Specifying the name of a previously mentioned river.

Obol k-a- lik-a
[O.]$_S$ PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- river.flow-EXT
'The Obol river is flowing/That's the Obol river.' [0201.16092016.1.wbi]

(359) From a hunting story: the speaker had heard the bellowing of a deer.

isawa rusa k-a- kw-itala nggu-bak u-he
maybe [deer(m)]$_S$ PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- INESS-be.standing plant.sp-site II-PROX
'Maybe a deer is standing among the *nggu* grass here.'
[0737.16092016.1.wbi]

The Neutral Orientation also employs the zero morph in future contexts, and is then followed by one of the prefixes from the 1st Future series (these are portmanteaux combining tense and person/number of Actor; see §13.2.7.1). The prefixes realizing the 1st Future (which expresses standard future tense, as opposed to negated future) have longer allomorphs used when they are not preceded by any other prefix (e.g. 2sg.A Future *ndamo-*), and shorter allomorphs that are used when the future prefix is preceded by some other prefix (e.g. 2sg.A Future *-mo-*). Since a verb inflected for the 1st Future preceded by an S/A-argument is prefixed with the Neutral Orientation, the short allomorphs of the 1st Future is used, even though the Neutral Orientation is realized as zero in this context. Therefore it is important to distinguish the absence of the Neutral Orientation (e.g. when there is no constituent in the pre-verbal position), and the presence of the zero allomorph of the Neutral Orientation. An example:

(360) The speaker had a large amount of food to carry, and declares that the rice will be carried by the addresse.

mate, kanamin-kana e-he oɣ ø-mo- ahwik⟨e⟩h
ok rice(III) III-PROX [2sg]$_A$ NEUT-FUT:2sg.A- carry⟨III.U⟩
'Ok, now you will carry the rice.' [0051.28062015.3.wbi]

In the following subsections I describe other uses of the Neutral Orientation.

10.1.2.2 With copula complements. In non-past contexts, the copula consists of the prefixal complex (featuring the appropriate set of prefixes) without any following verb stem. In the past, the verb *ola* 'to be' is used (see further Section 15.4). The copula is obligatorily preceded by the copula complement (i.e. *teacher* in the sentence *Bob is a teacher*). The copula is marked by the Neutral Orientation in nominal and adjectival predication. Examples:

(361) *ey, basik u-he yaman-basik k-a*
EXCLAM pig II-PROX [mean-pig]$_{CC}$ PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'Ouch, this pig is a mean pig.' [0079.20052015.3.mkl]

(362) *igih Anes ø-d-a- ola*
name [A.]$_{CC}$ NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
'[His] name was Anes.' [0123.08092016.1.wbi]

In locative predication the Locational Orientation *nd-* is used instead (see Section 10.1.5.1).

10.1.2.3 With instruments. In addition to appearing when the pre-verbal constituent is an S/A-argument, the Neutral is employed when the pre-verbal constituent expresses an instrument. This treatment of an instrument is only possible if the verb stem is suffixed by means of the WITH-prefix *k-*. The WITH-prefix has an applicative function and its presence allows the instrument role to occur with the Neutral Orientation, which otherwise is reserved for S/A arguments (363). See also example (354b) above.

(363) *nok en motor k-a- k-ihon-e*
[1 POSS motorcycle(m)]$_{Instr}$ PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- WITH-run.away:3sg.U-IPFV
'He's going away with my motorcycle.' [nb04.11.wbi]

Although the obligatory presence of the *k*-prefix on the verb stem differentiates structures with a pre-verbal instrument from those with a pre-verbal S/A-argument, it is still interesting that both structures employ the Neutral Orientation marking. This is perhaps related to patterns of syncretism between instruments and agentive expressions (i.e. ergatives and agent phrases in passives) found in many languages (Stolz 2001).

As an alternative to the construction with a pre-verbal instrument licensed by the WITH-prefix on the verb stem speakers may use a periphrastic construction with a

postposition such as the instrumental *en* 'with'. The periphrastic construction allows an instrument to be expressed in contexts that do not allow Orientation prefixes, such as the Imperative. Compare the overheard example (364a), which employs the Neutral Orientation followed by the Future to form a command with a pre-verbal instrument, with the elicited example in (364b), using the periphrastic option, thus allowing the presence of the Imperative *ah-*.

(364) Dealing with an unfriendly dog.

a. *de* *ø-mo-* *k-u-sak!*
[wood]$_{\text{Instr}}$ NEUT-FUT:2sg.A- WITH-3sg.U-hit

b. *de* *en* *ah-* *u-sak!*
wood with IMP- 3sg.U-hit
Both: 'Throw wood at it/hit it with wood!' [nb03.79.wbi]

10.1.2.4 With secondary predicates controlled by S/A-argument. The Neutral Orientation is used when the pre-verbal position is filled by a constituent functioning as a depictive secondary predicate controlled by the S/A-argument.[1] In (365), the privative ('without') postposition *n*V forms a phrase providing information about the S-argument (with which it agrees in gender and number) and the phrase could be given the literal paraphrase *we, deprived of tobacco, went along*. Example (366) refers to a dog keeping its prey trapped while the rest of the hunting party failed to show up; context makes it clear that the depictive phrase 'all alone' is controlled by the A-argument (referring to the dog) and not the O-argument (the prey), thus motivating the use of the Neutral Orientation.

(365) *roko* *ni* *ø-nan-d-e-* *aɣa⟨n⟩it-a*
[tobacco(m) without:I/II.pl]$_{=S}$ NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- run.around⟨1.U⟩-EXT
'We went without bringing any tobacco.' [0107.28062015.2.wbi]

(366) *kudaɣa* *ɣa* *ø-bat-ø-um-e-* *itala-ti*
[alone real]$_{=A}$ NEUT-AFF-3sg.A-FRUS-ACPN- be.standing-DUR
'It$_i$ [the dog] was keeping them standing there all alone$_i$.'
[0721.16092016.1.wbi]

[1] Drabbe omits S/A-oriented depictive predicates from his discussion of the prefix Orientation prefixes (*schakelelementen* is his terminology) which leads to some erroneous statements, e.g. that the postposition *ti* 'with' always occur without any Orientation prefix (Drabbe 1955: 48), when in fact it triggers Neutral or Object Orientation according to the role of the depictive phrase.

In the glosses the role of the argument about which the depictive phrase is providing information is indicated by subscripted '=S' for the S-argument etc. Depictive secondary predicates are further discussed in §16.4.

10.1.2.5 With adverbials. Certain adverbially used expressions such as *ndom* 'still', *namaɣa* 'just now' and the negator *mbya* are restricted to occurring in the preverbal position, and then invariably co-occur with the Neutral Orientation. It is not clear why these adverbials, which are not participant-oriented like secondary predicates are, should receive the same flagging as S/A arguments. Indeed, other types of adverbials co-occur with other Orientation prefixes, without any clear semantic explanation (see below). Examples are given with *ndom* 'still' in the present (367.1) and past (367.2) and *namaɣa* 'just now' in (368). Note that the word *namaɣa* also occurs with the general meaning 'now, at that point'; in that use it may occur in any syntactic position and does not trigger Orientation marking on the verb. Examples (369a–b) show negated clauses with past and present time reference respectively (see further Section 16.3.1).

(367) The speaker is describing events during a previous day's sago processing.

1. *ago* […] *nok da ndom k-a-nam- b⟨e⟩tok-a*
   QUOT 1 sago [still] PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN- pile.up⟨III.U⟩-EXT
   'I said: "My sago pith is still piled up."' (e.g., still lots to process)

2. *aɣebla-da e-pe, ndom ø-d-a- b⟨e⟩tok-a*
   scraped.off-sago III-DIST [still] NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- pile.up⟨III.U⟩-EXT
   'The scraped off sago, it was still piled up.' [0164–0165.17102016.1.wbi]

(368) The speaker looked out throught the door, at the sky.
omom namaɣa ø-ø-i- ay
cloud [now] NEUT-3sg.A-RE- become
'It just became cloudy again.' [0397.16092016.1.wbi]

(369) a. *udug mbya ø-nak-e- i-hɣaman*
bath [NEG] NEUT-1.A-1pl- PLA-enter.water
'We didn't bathe.' [0179.23092016.6.wbi]

b. *ukna mbya k-a-p- e-nggat-made*
fear [NEG] PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-CT- 2|3pl.U-become.PLA-PRS.HAB
'They are never afraid.' [0255.16092016.1.wbi]

The uses of the Neutral Orientation prefixes are listed in Table 10.2 along with simple (mostly elicited or observed) examples in which the pre-verbal constituents and their equivalents in the English translations have been underlined.

Table 10.2: Uses of the Neutral Orientation prefixes ø- (non-present), *k*- (present)

Role of pre-verbal constituent	Simple example
Arguments:	
S/A-argument	*nok no-ihwin* 'I cried'
S/A-oriented secondary predicate	*inah nake-umanah* 'The two of us went'
Instrument licensed by *k*- (WITH-)	*ayatip nod-katug* 'I scraped with a sea shell'
Various adverbial expressions:	
mbya NEG, *ndom* 'still', *namaya* 'just now'	*mbya no-deh* 'I didn't shoot'

10.1.3 Object Orientation *m*-

10.1.3.1 With O-arguments. The Object Orientation prefix *m*- is used when the constituent in the pre-verbal position is the O-argument of the clause, i.e. the most patient-like argument of a monotransitive verb (370–372).

(370) *da* *ma-d-na-* *ɣol*
[sago]$_O$ OBJ-DUR-3pl.A- pound.sago
'They were pounding sago.' [0423.16092016.1.wbi]

(371) *tamuɣ* *m-ak-e-p-* *balen*
[food(III)]$_O$ OBJ-1.A-1pl-CT- finish:III.U
'We finished the food.' [0673.08092016.1.wbi]

(372) *Kaptel-anim* *wanangga* *ma-n-* *y-ahik-a-m*
K.-people [children]$_O$ OBJ-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-accompany-EXT-VEN
'The Kaptel villagers were bringing their children.' [0109.08092016.1.wbi]

10.1.3.2 With ditransitive Theme arguments. In Marind many verbs can be used ditransitively, as in the expression of a transfer event. The verb in such clauses has two non-subject arguments, and the Orientation marking differs according to whether the constituent expressing the Theme (i.e. the gift) or the Recipient is in the pre-verbal position. With a pre-verbal Theme, the Object Orientation *m*- is used (373–374).

(373) *katal* *m-ak-o-* *og*
[money]$_{T}$ OBJ-1.A-3sg.DAT- give
'I gave him/her money.' [nb03.48.wbi]

(374) *inahinah* *m-e-na-y-* *og* *kanamin-kana*
[four]$_{T}$ OBJ-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl- give rice
'They gave four [kilos] to us, of rice.' [0071.28062015.3.wbi]

It was noted in connection with example (351b) above that the Recipient, when placed in the pre-verbal position, triggers the use of the Directional *k-* (see further §10.1.4.3, including discussion of counterexamples). Ditransitive constructions that exhibit the same marking for the monotransitive O and the ditransitive Theme (or gift) are known in the typological literature as displaying **indirective alignment** (Siewierska 2003, Malchukov et al. 2010). Such typological classification of ditransitive constructions has focused on patterns of case flagging, so it is uncertain whether Marind as a whole should be classified as an 'indirective language' or rather as displaying neutral alignment (i.e., no case marking); what is clear is that the system of Verb Orientation treats the relevant arguments according to an indirective alignment.[2]

10.1.3.3 With secondary predicates controlled by O-argument. Depictive secondary predicates controlled by the S/A-argument were discussed in Section 10.1.2. A depictive phrase in pre-verbal position which is controlled by the O-argument occurs with Object Orientation *m-*; this is the case for *amamun* 'whole' in (375) referring to a deer being carried, and *kandi* 'raw' in (375) referring to a fish being eaten.

(375) *kaka* *Kampanye* *amamun* *ma-d-ø-* *sam⟨e⟩b-a-ti*
elder.sibling(m) K. [whole]$_{=O}$ OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- carry⟨3sg.U⟩-EXT-DUR
'Kampanye carried [the deer] whole.' (without cutting it up)
[1205.16092016.1.wbi]

(376) (cf. also Drabbe 1955: 167, Text 5, line 13)
kandi *ma-d-ø-* *ah⟨e⟩b-ti* *awe*
[raw]$_{=O}$ OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- eat⟨3sg.U⟩-DUR fish
'S/he ate the fish raw.'

See Section 16.4 for more information about secondary predication.

[2]For the alignment of participant indexing in ditransitive clauses, see §8.3.

10.1.3.4 With comitatives and other applied arguments. A comitative argument (i.e. expressing a companion) that is licensed by the use of the WITH-prefix *k-* or the Accompaniment prefix *e-* is treated like a normal O-argument and triggers the Object Orientation if it is in the pre-verbal position. Note that this motivates the description of WITH-*k-* as having two distinct uses: licensing an instrument (which corresponds to the use of the Neutral Orientation, see §10.1.2) and licensing a comitative object (using the Object Orientation). The Accompaniment *e-* has no corresponding instrumental use.

(377) *e-pe trek e-pe adaka m-a- ka-man*
III-DIST truck(m)(III) III-DIST [water]$_O$ OBJ-3sg.A- WITH-come
'That truck brought water.' [0044.08092016.1.wbi]

(378) *namaɣa isawa nggat m-ø-e- umuh*
now maybe [dog]$_O$ OBJ-3sg.A-ACPN- go:3sg.U
'Maybe he brought the dogs along.' [0347.08092016.1.wbi]

Two prefixes of the prefixal complex, the Allative *ind-* and Separative *is-*, are often used with applicative-like functions. If the argument that is introduced by one of these prefixes is in the pre-verbal position the Object Orientation *m-* is used. The meaning of the resulting constructions could be glossed as *X m-…-ind-…V* 'Verb for X, in order to get X' and *X m-…-is-…- V* 'Verb from X, to avoid X' (see further Section 12.3). This is illustrated for the Allative in (379). (See e.g. Figure 12.1 for more examples with the Separative).

(379) *yoɣ m-ak-ind-e- awat-a-m nok*
[2pl]$_O$ OBJ-1.A-ALL-1pl- many.run-EXT-VEN 1
'We came here to get you.' [0209.08092016.1.wbi]

It is also common for the Allative or Separative to be used with a pre-verbal constituent that is construed as a location rather than as a participant in the event. In such contexts the Directional *k-* is used instead of the Object Orientation, as in (405–406) further below.

10.1.3.5 With adverbials. Most of the expressions discussed in the preceding subsections could be thought of as O-arguments of their clauses. In addition, a variety of adverbial expressions occur with the Object Orientation. It is generally

difficult to see any synchronic motivation behind this, since these adverbials have no special affinity with the O-argument.

With some motion verbs the Object Orientation *m-* appears with a bare NP in the pre-verbal position, which then expresses the goal of the movement.

(380) *Merauke m-a- um⟨a⟩h*
[M.]$_{\text{Goal}}$ OBJ-3sg.A- go⟨2|3pl.U⟩
'They left for Merauke.' [0180.16092016.1.wbi]

Other motion verbs that are attested with Object Orientation marking the goal are ***hwil*** 'walk', ***ihon*** 'run away', ***uhwasig*** 'go up from water', ***man*** 'come', ***wahik*** 'accompany', ***hus*** 'cross (river)', ***ɣet*** 'be in movement'. Employing the same marking pattern for O-arguments and (some) goals is a well-known phenomenon in several European languages, e.g. the Latin Accusative in *Roma-m eo* 'I am going to Rome'. The Marind pattern also extends to mark NPs that are not strictly goals, but rather express the meaning 'go to do activity associated with X', e.g. ***ɣandam*** 'stomach'+*m-*[verb of going/sitting] 'to go/sit and take a dump', ***sawanggi*** 'black magic' (<Malay *suanggi*)+*m-*[verb of going] 'go to do black magic'. The NP is commonly headed by a verb stem, and then has a general purposive meaning, as in

(381) *kipa i-k⟨i⟩sid m-a- umuh*
[net INESS-⟨PLA⟩tie] OBJ-3sg.A- go:3sg.U
'He went to tie a net.' [0015.261029016.1.wbi]

Adverbial phrases expressing cause, e.g. ***X lVk*** 'because of X' (the ***V*** in ***lVk*** 'from' marks gender agreement, in this use usually gender III by default) (382) and purpose, e.g. ***X nanggol*** 'for X, in order to X' (383) and ***X awe*** '(searching) for X' (384) occur with Object Orientation *m-* if the adverbial phrase is placed in the pre-verbal position.[3]

(382) *baɣalim-imu lek m-a- ambid*
[body.odor-smell from:III] OBJ-3sg.A sit.down
'[The wallaby] stopped because of [smelling] the body-odor.'
[0951.16092016.1.wbi]

[3]Drabbe (1955: 47) appears to claim that it is the presence of a postposition that triggers the use of Object *m-*. This is incorrect. In fact his own example (from the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind) ***de rek manod-og*** 'I made it from wood' is contradicted by a parallel textual example with the Neutral Orientation on page 158, line 11.

(383) *ɣi nanggol m-e- lesad-e namaɣa otih ay?*
[drink for] OBJ-2pl.A- draw.water-IPFV now all Q
'You're taking up all [this water] for drinking is it?' [0185.27082015.1.wbi]

(384) *tamuɣ awe ma-d-ø- naɣat-ti*
[food for] OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- many.go-DUR
'They went searching for food.' [0017.28102014.3.dmh]

The expression of cause by means of a *lVK*-phrase alternates with a synonymous construction in which the cause is expressed as a companion licensed by the WITH-prefix *k-* on the verb stem, as in (385). A literal translation of (385b) would be 'it is screaming with hunger'. The use of the Object Orientation *m-* in (b) follows the normal use of comitative WITH-verbs (see above). One could speculate that the general use of the Object Orientation with cause/reason expressions (as in (382–383)) is influenced by its occurrence in contexts such as (385b). Its use with expressions of purpose is more obviously related to the use of the Object Orientation with goals, discussed above.

(385) a. *emel lek m-a- esol-e*
[hunger from:III] OBJ-3sg.A- make.noise-IPFV

b. *emel m-a- k-esol-e*
[hunger] OBJ-3sg.A- WITH-make.noise-IPFV
Both: '[The pig] is making noise noise because it is hungry.'
[nb04.83.wbi]

The Object Orientation *m-* also appears in expressions referring to the onset of an event. It forms *oso m-* 'just start to...' with the noun *oso* 'start, beginning'. The frequent inceptive TMA-particle *ɣe* only occurs in the sequence *ɣe m-*.

(386) *adaka oso m-a- kw-eɣak*
water [start] OBJ-3sg.A- INESS-release
'The water was just about to disappear [from the swamps].'
[0025.28062015.3.wbi]

(387) *mes ɣe ma-no- n-alaw*
ripe.coconut [INGRS] OBJ-1.A- 1.U-search
'I looked/started looking for coconuts.' [0142.17102016.1.wbi]

Certain adverbially used NPs expressing calendrical units appear with the Object Orientation *m-* in past time contexts. Nominals found attested in this construction include *ɣap* 'night', *kwemek* 'morning', *ɣanid* 'day', *usus* 'afternoon', *hyakod mandaw* 'one month'.

(388) *tuban ɣap m-ak-e- y-as*
bandicoot [night] OBJ-1.A-1pl- 2|3pl.U-shoot
'At night we shot bandicoots.' [0086.28062015.2.wbi]

(389) *inahinah ɣanid m-an-d-e- na-hwalah*
[four day] OBJ-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-be
'We stayed there for four days.' [0018.28062015.4.wbi]

Other common temporal expressions never occur with the Object Orientation, e.g. *wis* 'yesterday' and *mandin* 'long ago', which typically are placed at the periphery of the clause, outside the pre-verbal position. It is tempting to explain this contrast as one involving more 'nouny' expressions ('night', 'morning' etc.) patterning with O-arguments, while more adverb-like expressions ('yesterday') do not; however, this cannot be right as many expressions that are clearly non-nouny co-occur with the Object Orientation, e.g. *mbaymbay* 'unable, unknowing' in the expression '(come to a place) for the first time' (390), or *adida* 'temporarily, for a short while' (391). The possibility of such items to participate in the Object Orientation-pattern seems to be an idiomatic feature of some expressions, and not due to any particular semantic commonality.

(390) *ane mame! mbaymbay ma-bat-ø- man-em e-he anem e-he*
oh my! [unknowing] OBJ-AFF-3sg.A- come-VEN I-PROX man(I) I-PROX
'Oh my! This man is coming here for the first time/not knowing the place.'
[0342.08092016.1.wbi]

(391) *adida ma-no- man*
temporarily OBJ-1.A- come
'I came for just a short while (not intending to stay).' [nb04.83.wbi]

The uses of the Object Orientation *m-* are listed in Table 10.3 along with simple (mostly elicited or observed) examples in which the pre-verbal constituents and their equivalents in the English translations have been underlined.

Table 10.3: Uses of the Object Orientation prefix *m-*

Role of pre-verbal constituent	Simple example
Arguments:	
O-argument of monotransitive verb	*basik* ***m****a-deh* 'he shot a pig'
Theme argument of ditransitive verb	*dadami* ***m****ake-hahin* 'I gave them betel pepper'
O-oriented secondary predicates	*kandi* ***m****ad-ahebti* 'he ate him raw' (=(376))
Applied arguments	*mes* ***m****a-kaman* 's/he brought coconuts'
	eham ***m****is-ihon* 's/he ran from her husband'
Various adverbial expressions:	
Goal (with some motion verbs)	*Okaba* ***m****a-nahik* 's/he took me to Okaba'
	sageru-ɣi ***m****a-umuh* 'he went to drink sageru'
Expressions of cause, purpose	*nok nanggo* ***m****a-man* 's/he came for me'
Inceptive particle *ɣe*	*ɣe* ***m****a-kahek* 's/he started climbing'
with *oso* 'start, beginning'	*oso* ***m****a-ihwim* 'it was just starting to get dark'
Some temporal expressions	*kwemek* ***m****ap-hawa* 's/he went home in the morning'
Other adverbials	*adida* ***m****ano-man* 'I came (to stay) temporarily'

10.1.4 Directional Orientation *k-*

The function of the prefix *k-* ranges from the marking of various adverbial notions, mostly spatial in nature, to the flagging of the pre-verbal constituent as the Recipient-like participant of a ditransitive verb. It is likely that its use in coding spatial relations is (diachronically) primary, so I will discuss its appearances with pre-verbal adverbials before describing its use with Recipient arguments. In addition *k-* has important uses in clause combining, which are addressed in §10.3.3.

10.1.4.1 With spatial/directional adverbials. The Directional prefix is used when the pre-verbal constituent refers to the goal of motion, or the path along which a movement takes place. Thus, with verbs expressing motion towards an endpoint or entry into a posture the expression before the *k-*marked verb refers to the place in which the moving participant ends up as a result of the event.

(392) *epe* *k-a-* *hi-n* *nok*
[there]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-3sg.A- fall-1.U 1
'I fell there.' [0145.28062015.3.wbi]

(393) *sam-milah epe ka-mo- ɣali*
[big-village there]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-FUT:1.A- lie.down
'I will sleep (lit. lie down) there in the main village.' [0225.08092016.1.wbi]

(394) *pa epe k-ak-e- kwagin*
head(III) [there]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-1.A-1pl- throw:III
'We threw the head there.' [0200.08092016.1.wbi]

(395) *hyakod say ka-mo- ibotok*
[one place]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-FUT:2sg.A- put.PLA
'You should put them together in one spot.' [0171.17102016.1.wbi]

Often the spatial adverbial is expressed by a bare NP, as in the examples above. It can also be expressed by a constituent containing a postposition or relational noun:

(396) *katpale lahwalah ka-n-ap- lun napet*
[brush.turkey.mound on.top]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-3pl.A-CT- plant banana
'They planted bananas on top of a brush turkey mound.'
[0980.16092016.1.wbi]

(397) "You can say like this if somebody asks why you didn't write down new words."
pa kumaɣ ka-no- i-hwagib
[head inside]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-1.A- PLA-save
'I saved them inside my head.' [nb04.53.wbi]

k- occurs with verbs that express the inception of movement, e.g. *man* 'come' (more accurately translated as 'take off hither' in Marind) and *umuh* 'go' (or rather 'take off, leave') when the pre-verbal constituent refers to the path along which the ensuing movement takes place (398-400).

(398) *kaɣ k-a- man-em*
[road]$_{\text{Path}}$ DIR-3sg.A- come-VEN
'He came by the road.' [0062.28062015.1.wbi]

(399) *pale ka-no- uma⟨n⟩ah e-pe*
[land.ridge(III)]$_{\text{Path}}$ DIR-1.A- go⟨1.U⟩ III-DIST
'I went by land.' [0128.28062015.2.wbi]

(400) *Kalaway, epe ka-mo- oha-ɣ*
K. [there]$_{\text{Path}}$ DIR-FUT:2sg.A- go.down.to.water-2sg.U
'In Kalaway, there you go down.' [0626.08092016.1.wbi]

With verbs that do not have motion or entry into posture as part of their meaning the Directional *k-* can be used to express the location of a punctual event denoted by the verb, e.g.

(401) *i-he namaɣa epe ka-bt-i-n-ind-a-y- mahid*
I/IIpl-PROX now [there]$_{\text{Loc}}$ DIR-AFF-3pl>1-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-1pl- become.angry
i-he
I/IIpl-PROX
'There they became angry at us.' [0961.16092016.1.wbi]

(402) *bak k-e-na-y- og*
[outside]$_{\text{Loc}}$ DIR-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl- give
'They gave it to us outside.' [0046.23092016.7.wbi]

If the event referred to is durative, the Locational *nd-* must be used in the expression of place (§10.1.5). An exception to this is if reference is made to the path along which a durative movement takes place. In that case, the pre-verbal Path-expression is followed by a *k*-marked verb, as in (403). This is the same pattern as with the punctual verbs in (398–400) above. If the motion verb expresses a durative movement that does not take place along a Path the Locational Orientation *nd-* (§10.1.5) is used, as in (404), an overheard example reporting the play activities of some children.

(403) *duh ka-d-a-na-y- umak*
[beach]$_{\text{Path}}$ DIR-DUR-3sg.A-1.DAT-ACPN- be.running
'He drove us along the beach.' [0487.08092016.1.wbi]

(404) *duh nd-an-d-e-p- ku-ɣa⟨n⟩it-la*
[beach]$_{\text{Loc}}$ LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- INESS-run.around⟨1.U⟩-EXT
'We were running around on the beach.' [nb02.52.dmh]

The expression of goal by means of the Directional *k-* is mostly used with pre-verbal constituents referring to stereotypical locations (e.g. geographical landmarks) and with deictic expressions ('here', 'there'). To express movement towards an animate the Allative *ind-* is usually added (§12.3):

(405) During a hunt, a pig tried to hide in the undergrowth. Iyob (a dog) followed it.

yah nama Iyob anup ɣa ka-d-ø-in- ɣet-ti
but now I. [EMPH:II very]$_{Goal}$ DIR-DUR-3sg.A-ALL- be.moving-DUR
'But then Iyob was going straight towards it (*anup ɣa* 'itself'=the pig).'
[0565.16092016.1.wbi]

Somewhat confusingly, the Directional *k-* is also used with the Separative *is-*, which has the opposite meaning of the Allative ('away'). The pre-verbal constituent typically refers to something fled from, as in (406). This use of *k-* is exceptional since the Locational Orientation *nd-* (§10.1.5) is used in most other contexts where the pre-verbal constituent expresses the source of movement.

(406) Looking for crabs in a swamp when the high tide entered.

etob k-ak-is-e- awan
[sea.water]$_{Source}$ DIR-1.A-SEP-1pl- many.run
'We ran from the [approaching] sea water.' [0027.30082015.4.wbi]

10.1.4.2 Expressing actions on possessed bodyparts. Many verbs alternate between coding the pre-verbal participant by means of Directional *k-* and Object Orientation *m-*. This is expecially prominent with verbs describing actions on bodyparts, as in the three pairs in (407–409). The meaning difference between the (a)-sentences (with Directional *k-*) and the (b) sentences (with Object *m-*) is subtle, and is perhaps similar to the alternation in English between *I hit his leg* and *I hit him on the leg* (the so-called "body-part possessor ascension alternation"; Fillmore 1970, Levin 1993: 71).

(407) a. *wap k-ak-o- wa-hanid*
[thigh]$_{O}$ DIR-1.A-3sg.DAT- III.U-grasp.many
'I grabbed hold of [the deer's] thighs.' [1166.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *sangga m-enam- wa-hanid ehe*
[hand]$_{O}$ OBJ-RCPR- III-grasp.many here
'They are shaking hands.' [0263.19052015.2.dmh]

(408) a. *tagu k-a-n-is-a-p- ka-lemed*
[foot]$_O$ DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-CT- INESS-stand.repeatedly
'He stepped on my foot.' [0935.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *nggat tagu m-a-na-p- ihwaniɣ-e*
dog [foot]$_O$ OBJ-3sg.A-1.DAT-CT- lick-IPFV
'The dog is licking my foot.' [nb03.60.wbi]

(409) a. *kalambit ɣa k-ø-o- ya-deh*
[tendon real]$_O$ DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- IV.U-shoot
'He hit [the pig] right at the [Achilles] tendon.' [0089.28062015.3.wbi]

b. *isawa mbya ugu m-ø-o- deh*
maybe [all skin(III)]$_O$ OBJ-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- shoot:III.U
'Maybe he shot its skin only.' [1047.16092016.1.wbi]

The bodyparts are tentatively subscripted as O-arguments. More research will perhaps show that the pre-verbal constituents in the (a) vs. (b) variants bear different semantic roles.

10.1.4.3 With ditransitive Recipient arguments. The Directional *k-* is used with ditransitive verbs if the pre-verbal constituent refers to the Recipient (in a transfer event) or Recipient-like participant (e.g. the addressee of verbs of communication). It is not surprising that the same marking is used to express goal (and related meanings) and Recipient (cf. the English preposition *to* covering those two functions).

(410) *maɣay nggus nok k-a-na-p- kisak⟨e⟩h*
first crab [1]$_R$ DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-CT- lay.down⟨3sg.U⟩
'First he gave me a crab.' [0298.16092016.1.wbi]

(411) *Alamem k-ø-o- aɣi ago,"menda-b-ø- ɣali"*
[A.]$_R$ DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- say QUOT PERF-ACT-3sg.A- lie.down
'He said to Alamem: "He has fallen asleep".' [0150.21112014.1.dmh]

It was observed in connection with examples (373–374) above that a pre-verbal constituent referring to the Theme participant in a ditransitive clause patterns with the O-argument of a monotransitive clause and triggers the use of the Object Orientation

prefix *m-*. The pair in (412) shows the difference between a pre-verbal Recipient-like argument (a) and Theme-like argument (b), triggering prefixation with *k-* and *m-* respectively.

(412) a. *nok k-u-n-ind-a- tanggiŋ-e*
[1]$_R$ DIR-2SG.A-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT- order-IPFV
'You keep giving me orders.' [0108.27082015.1.wbi]

b. *namakad ma-n-um-ind-a- tanggiŋ-a*
[thing]$_T$ OBJ-3PL.A-FRUS-ALL-2SG.DAT- order-EXT
'They are ordering you [to get] things.' [0131.27082015.1.wbi]

The description of Directional *k-* as flagging a pre-verbal Recipient and Object *m-* a pre-verbal Theme appears to be too simplistic, however, since there are a few attestations of *m-* appearing with a pre-verbal Recipient. The contexts in which this marking variant is allowed are not understood at present. A (grammatically impeccable) corpus example is given below; attempts at eliciting analogous senteces failed as speakers preferred the Directional *k-* with the Recipient argument in pre-verbal position.[4]

(413) *kak Ndalom-Iwag eham nok m-a-na- aŋi*
aunt Nd.-I. 3:husband [1]$_R$ OBJ-3SG.A-1.DAT- say
'Aunt Ndalom-Iwag's husband told me.' [0591.16092016.1.wbi]

10.1.4.4 With non-spatial adverbials. Certain adverbial expressions without any discernible spatial meaning (at least synchronially) occur in the pre-verbal position followed by Directional *k-* prefixed to the verb. This is true for expressions such as *hyakod a* 'together', *kosi* 'small' (in the sense 'a little'), *sam* 'big' (in the sense 'lots') and *otih* 'many, all'. These adverbials could perhaps be thought of as describing the 'extent' of the event; but note that e.g. *kudaŋa* 'alone' patterns with secondary predicates (cf. example (366)) and not with 'together', despite expressing related meanings.

(414) *hyakod a k-an-d-e-p- ka-hu-t-a aŋ?*
[together] DIR-1.A-DUR-1PL-CT- INESS-emerge-1.U-EXT Q
'We went back together, right?' [0425.16092016.1.wbi]

[4]Note that Drabbe's description (1955: 46–47) gives the impression that Object *m-* and Directional *k-* are interchangeable with a preceding Recipient argument. This is incorrect according to my data.

(415) *yah bing kumaɣ epe da kosi k-a- kw-ambid*
but leaf.base inside there sago [little] DIR-3sg.A- INESS-sit
'But in the output trough only a little sago settled.' [0071.17102016.1.wbi]

(416) *otih k-e- i-sak?*
[many]$_{=O}$ DIR-2pl.A- 2|3pl.U-hit.many
'Did you catch a lot (of fish)?' [0049.15052015.1.dmh]

Interestingly, the use of the Directional *k-* in combination with *otih* 'many, all' only occurs when *otih* refers to the O-argument. When *otih* refers to the S/A-argument it patterns with secondary predicates and is followed by the Neutral Orientation prefix, e.g.

(417) *otih ø-i-n-ind-a- mahid*
[many]$_{=A}$ NEUT-3pl>1-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT- become.angry
'All/many of them became angry at me.' [nb02.128.wbi]

The common temporal adverbial *tanama* 'again' occurs followed by a verb prefixed with the Directional *k-*. This probably has a diachronic explanation: *tanama* is related to the adjective *tanamV* 'old', so the original construction perhaps meant '(back) to the old (place/situation)' which acquired the meaning 'again'. Examples of *tanama* 'again':

(418) *tanama ka-n- dahetok*
[again] DIR-3pl.A- return
'They went home again.' [0015.04092015.1.wbi]

(419) *tanama k-ak-i-e- ɣusig usus e-pe*
[again] DIR-1.A-RE-1pl- make.fire afternoon III-DIST
'We lit [the leaf oven] again in the afternoon.' [0124.28062015.3.wbi]

Other expressions that always occur with Directional *k-* are the particle *lun*, in a construction meaning roughly 'straight away', and the nominal *pen* 'murder' with the meaning 'to hit (etc.) somebody dead'.

(420) *Petrus lun k-a- man-em*
P. [PTCL] DIR-3sg.A- come-VEN
'Petrus came straight away.' [0582.16092016.1.wbi]

(421) *anem pen* *ka-n-* *w-amuk*
man [murder] DIR-3pl.A- 3sg.U-hit
'They killed a man.' [nb04.87.wbi]

10.1.4.5 Other uses. The Directional *k-* is used in meta-linguistic expression with verbs meaning 'call', 'say' etc. The following example shows a type of utterance that is extremely frequent in the linguistic socialization of small Marind children: the speaker attracts the attention of a toddler, points to someone in the vicinity (or to him/herself) and instructs the child to call out the appropriate kinship term for this person. The kinship expression is in the pre-verbal position, and the verb is marked for Directional Orientation.

(422) Addressing a small child, pointing to the child's mother's brother (*yay*).
yay *ka-mo-p-* *lu!*
[uncle] DIR-FUT:2sg.A-CT- call:3sg.U
'Say *yay* to him/call him *yay*!' [nb04.63.wbi]

If the pre-verbal position is occupied by an expression referring to the entity being named (instead of the name itself), it behaves like a normal O-argument and triggers the use of the Object Orientation *m-* on the verb:

(423) *Alamem nok* *m-e-* *nulun-e*
A. [1]$_{O}$ OBJ-3pl>1- call:1.U-IPFV
'I am the one they call Alamem.' [0075.21112014.1.dmh]

The uses of the Directional Orientation *k-* are listed in Table 10.4 along with simple (mostly elicited or observed) examples in which the pre-verbal constituents and their equivalents in the English translations have been underlined.

10.1.5 Locational Orientation *nd-*

10.1.5.1 With adverbials expressing source/location. When flagging the role of the pre-verbal constituent, the Locational *nd-* has two functions: marking the location of a durative situation, and marking the source of punctual events. Thus, the meaning of this structure depends on the aspectual contrast durative vs. punctual. Examples of the Locational *nd-* marking location of durative situations:

Table 10.4: Uses of the Directional Orientation prefix *k-*

Role of pre-verbal constituent	Simple example
Adverbial (spatial):	
Direction of motion	*epe* ***k****a-ambid* 'S/he sat down there'
Path	*duh* ***k****ap-manem* 'S/he came along the beach'
Place of punctual event	*Okaba* ***k****a-nin* 'I was born in Okaba'
Arguments:	
Act on possessed bodypart	*muk* ***k****ako-han* 'I grabbed his/her elbow'
R-argument of ditransitive verb	*Oskar* ***k****akop-oleb* 'I sold it to Oskar'
Various (non-spatial) adverbials:	
hyakod a 'together', *sam* 'lots'	*sam* ***k****amo-ɣi* 'You should eat lots!'
tanama 'again', *lun* 'straight away' (etc.)	*tanama* ***k****aki-ɣol* 'I pounded sago again'

(424) *nok bak nd-an-d-e- hamat-a*
1 [outside]$_{Loc}$ LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.sit-EXT
'We were sitting outside.' [0058.23092016.7.wbi]

(425) *Kabaim nda-d-na- nin-ma i-pe sasaɣi-anim*
[K.]$_{Loc}$ LOC-DUR-3pl.A- sleep.PLA-PST.HAB I/II.pl-DIST work-people
'They used to sleep in Kabaim, the workers.' [0039.08092016.1.wbi]

(426) *hyakod epe nd-a- ka-tel-e*
one [there]$_{Loc}$ LOC-3sg.A- INESS-be.lying-IPFV
'One [deer] is lying there.' [0057.28062015.1.wbi]

(427) *da epe nda-p-e- ɣol epe*
sago [there]$_{Loc}$ LOC-FUT:1.A-1pl- pound.sago there
'We are going to pound sago there.' [0045.17102016.1.wbi]

In this use *nd-* is also common marking the copula in a locative predication. In (428) the copula consists of *nd-* followed by the 3sg.A prefix *a-*. The present tense copula does not contain any verb stem (see §15.4).

(428) *nanggit deg kumaɣ nd-a i-pe anip*
mosquito [forest inside]$_{Loc}$ LOC-3sg.A I/II.pl-DIST EMPH:I/II.pl
'The mosquitos are inside the forest.' [0849.16092016.1.wbi]

In its function of marking the pre-verbal constituent as source, *nd-* is most often found with motion verbs, as in (429), but it is also frequent with non-motion verbs, as in (430–431).

(429) *Mopa* *nd-am-bat-e-* *uma⟨n⟩ah*
[M.]$_{\text{Source}}$ LOC-1.A-AFF-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩
'We went from Mopa.' [0537.08092016.1.wbi]

(430) *nok Simson epe* *nd-a-n-ind-a-* *tanggiɣ*
1 S. [there]$_{\text{Source}}$ LOC-3sg.A-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT- order
'Simson sent me from there.' [0120.28062015.2.wbi]

(431) *pal oso m-ak-e-p-* *wayaman, epe* *nd-ak-ind-a-y-*
bridge start OBJ-1.A-1pl-CT- many.stand [there]$_{\text{Source}}$ LOC-1.A-ALL-2sg.DAT-1pl-
n-alaw, *ah-o-* *umak-em*
1.U-search [DEP-2sg.A- be.running-VEN]
'We had just stopped at the bridge, from there we looked for you, when you came driving hither.' [0054.17102016.1.wbi]

Just like the Directional *k-*, the Locational *nd-* is mostly used with stereotypical locations (e.g. geographical landmarks) and with deictic expressions ('here', 'there'), especially in its function of marking motion away from a Source. Speakers seem to prefer to use other marking options to express movement away from less typical entities. If the Source is animate (e.g. 'flee from somebody') the Separative *is-* is employed (this prefix has applicative-like functions, see Section 12.3), and the verb then takes the Directional prefix *k-* if the pre-verbal constituent refers to the Source, as in (406) above. If the Source is an inanimate non-landmark, the postposition *lVk* can be added to unambiguously mark the pre-verbal constituent as a Source, with Locational *nd-* still appearing on the verb:

(432) *nok sembayang* *lik* *nd-ak-e-* *hu-n*
1 [church.service(m) from:I/II.pl]$_{\text{Source}}$ LOC-1.A-1pl- emerge-1.U
'We came out from the church service.' [0005.23092016.6.wbi]

(433) During a trip, the speaker and other villagers crossed a river, where a truck was waiting for them.
belang-yahun *lik* *nd-an-d-e-p-* *ikyalun,*
[outrigger(m)-canoe from:I/II.pl]$_{\text{Source}}$ LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- jump
inahinah tagu ti yahun *k-an-d-e-* *ka-lemed*
[four feet with canoe]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-1.A-DUR-1pl- INESS-stand.PLA
'We jumped from the boat, and stood in the truck.' [0150.23092016.6.wbi]

The second clause in example (433) has a verb ('come to a standstill') marked with the Directional *k-* since the pre-verbal constituent is a Goal.

10.1.5.2 In 'when'-questions and with calendrical units. The Locational Orientation is used in certain temporal expressions. It combines with an interrogative phrase headed by the general question word *ta* 'who/what' to form 'when'-questions (there is no word for 'when' in Marind):

(434) *Alatep ta nda-h-o-b- ɣet?*
A. [what] LOC-INT-2sg.A-ACT- go
'When did you go to Alatep?' [0097.16092016.1.wbi]

(435) *ta katane nda-h-am- man?*
[what sun] LOC-INT-FUT:1.A:ACT- come
'What time shall I come?' [nb02.110.wbi]

The Locational *nd-* is also used when the pre-verbal constituent expresses a calendrical unit such as year, month or day:

(436) *1987 nd-a- n-in*
[1987] LOC-3sg.A- 1.U-become
'I was born in 1987.' [nb02.129.wbi]

(437) *ɣanid e-pe nd-ak-inm-e-ka- n-idih*
[day III-DIST] LOC-1.A-RCPR-1pl-PRI- 1.U-see
'On that day we met.' (lit. saw each other) [0114.27112016.3.wbi]

The Locational Orientation is not used with any other temporal expressions. Compare the Object Orientation prefix *m-* which is used with a broader range of time adverbials (Section 10.1.3.5). It is not clear how the use of *nd-* marking source/location (described in the preceding subsection) is related to its use with 'when?' and with calendrical units. Note that in its temporal use *nd-* combines freely with both durative verbs (such as *ɣet* 'go, be in movement' in (434)) and punctual verbs (such as *man* in (435)) whereas such verbs give rise to (static) location vs. source readings respectively when the Locational Orientation combines with a place adverbial.

10.1.5.3 The *epe te-nd-...- V* construction 'at that point, V'. This structure corresponds in meaning to the adverbial expression *epe nde epe* 'at that point (in time)' (*epe* 'there' is the gender III form of the distal demonstrative, and *nde* 'in' is a general locative postposition). It consists of the Locative Orientation prefix *nd-* preceded by the Given *t-* and the vowel *e-* showing gender agreement (for gender III) (see Section 14.1 for these prefixes). This prefix sequence is usually (but not always) preceded by the demonstrative *epe*. An utterance of the shape *X, epe t-e-nd-...- V* can usually be translated as 'X happened, that's when V' or 'X happened, at that point V'. The first of the following two examples illustrated the use of the adverbial expression *epe nde epe*, placed at the periphery of the clause (not in the pre-verbal position, since this slot is occupied by the negator *mbya*). The second example shows the parallel construction with the Locational Orientation *nd-* and *epe* in the pre-verbal slot.

(438) The speaker is locating the time of a reminiscence with respect to a recent feast.

epe nde epe mbya ø-na- ɣanakeh
at.that.point [NEG] NEUT-3pl.A- cook

'At that point they hadn't started preparing the food [for the feast] yet.'

[0003.261029016.1.wbi]

(439) *oso ma-d-ø- ihwim katane, epe t-e-nd-ak-e-*
[start] OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- become.dark sun [there] GIV-III-LOC-1.A-1pl-

hus
cross.river

'It was already getting dark, at that point we crossed.'

[0167.08092016.1.wbi]

There is no discernible difference in meaning when *epe* is dropped from the 2nd clause, as in (440). Structurally, however, this example is unlike any other data presented so far in this chapter, as there is no constituent in the pre-verbal slot whose role in the clause is 'flagged' by the Orientation prefix (the preceding clause belongs to a different intonantion contour and does not fill the pre-verbal position).

(440) *usus menda-b-ø-o- w-in, t-e-nd-ak-e-p- hu-n*
afternoon PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- III.U-become GIV-III-LOC-1.A-1pl-CT- emerge-1.U

'It had already become afternoon, that's then we came home.'

[0619.08092016.1.wbi]

10.1.6 Restrictive Orientation *s-*

The Restrictive Orientation means 'only', scoping over the pre-verbal constituent. This prefix differs from the other Orientation prefixes in being insensitive to the syntactic/semantic role of the pre-verbal constituent: for example, it occurs with the S-argument in (441) and with the O-argument in (442), roles that correspond to the use of the Neutral (§10.1.2) and Object (§10.1.3) Orientations respectively.

(441) *sembayang mbya ø-nak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah, anip amay ke*
church.service(m) [NEG] NEUT-1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ EMPH:I/IIpl [ancestor APL]$_S$
sa-d-ø- nayat
ONLY-DUR-3sg.A- many.be.moving
'We didn't attend the church service, only grandpa and the others went.' [0106.23092016.6.wbi]

(442) The speaker describes how she went home after processing sago.
ka s-ak-ap- ka-ɣad⟨e⟩wn
[sago.waste(III)]$_O$ ONLY-1.A-CT- INESS-leave⟨III.U⟩
'I only left the waste pith.' [0077.17102016.1.wbi]

Marind *s-* differs from the English quantifier *only* in being scopally unambiguous. No part of the clause other than the pre-verbal constituent can be interpreted as being in the scope of *s-*. For (442) this corresponds to the (written) English reading *I only left the wáste píth (and brought everything else)*; the reading *I only léft the waste pith (I didn't throw it away)* is impossible and would require pre-posing of the verb stem (see Section 15.2.2).

The Restrictive Orientation is used in some contexts where *only* does not occur in the English free translation. One interesting case is the expression of '(do something) *n* times' which consists of a numeral combined with *s-*.

(443) Describing how a truck brought people home from a feast in another village.
inhyakod s-a-p- u-dhetok
[three] ONLY-3sg.A-CT- PLA-return
'It went back and forth three times.' [0244.27112016.4.wbi]

This is the normal way of expressing '*n* times', and there is no particular emphasis on the fact that something was done only *n* times and not more than *n* times (in the Malay translations offered during transcription, 'only' was never used). Note that

there is a synonymous periphrastic expression with the particle *se* 'only': *hyakod se* 'once', *inah se* 'twice' etc.

Another use of the prefix *s-* is as part of a common construction in which the adversative particle *yah* 'but' fills the pre-verbal position. This combination has a contrary-to-expectation meaning, typically involving negative outcomes.

(444) (Commenting on the water level in a well.)
kosi yah s-a- ay, sam ɣa ø-d-a- ola
little [but] ONLY-3sg.A- become [big very] NEUT-DUR-3sg.A be:III.U
'There is a little water left, [before] there was a lot.' [0019.27082015.1.wbi]

The literal translation of *yah* and *s-* would be 'but only', which never occured in the Malay translations given during transcription. It is probably best to think of this combination as having non-compositional semantics, as discussed in Section 3.3.9.7.

The Restrictive *s-* also occurs in some idiomatic combinations expressing adverbial meanings, e.g. with *hindun* 'long time', resulting in the continuative meaning 'keep on V-ing', as in

(445) *hindun sa-p-e- naɣat*
[long.time] ONLY-FUT:1.A-1pl- many.go
'We are going to keep on going.' [0021.30082015.4.wbi]

10.2 Discourse function of the pre-verbal constituent

The previous sections of this chapter were concerned with how the choice of an Orientation prefix depends on the function of the constituent placed in the pre-verbal position. In this section I will provide some clues as to how speakers choose what constituent to place in this position. The reader looking for hard and fast rules is likely to be disappointed: there are both pragmatic and grammatical factors involved in the choice of an occupant for this slot in the clause, and the precise nature of these factors beyond what can be covered in a descriptive grammar. The following discussion is limited to the most prominent generalizations about the pre-verbal position. In Section 10.2.1 I describe the function of this syntactic slot as the position in which a focused constituent is placed.

It was mentioned above that a few expressions obligatorily appear in the pre-verbal position. This is true for e.g. the negator *mbya* and the temporal adverb *ndom*

'still'; further discussion is in Section 10.3.2. I am not aware of any 'deeper' synchronic explanation for the strict placement of these words, so it will just be treated as an idiosyncratic fact about *mbya* and *ndom*.[5]

10.2.1 Expressing constituent focus

In most contexts, the choice of what constituent to place in the pre-verbal position is governed by pragmatic concerns. This choice is part of the way the speaker models an utterance as to best structure the information to be conveyed to the listener. The most salient pragmatic function of the pre-verbal position is as the site of the constituent that is in **focus**. A focused constituent can be thought of as being highlighted by the speaker because it specifies which one of several possible alternatives holds, and that this information is relevant for the topic at hand. (For example, the utterance *The président ate the sandwich* specifies that it was the president and nobody else, while *The president ate the sándwich* highlights that it was a sandwich and nothing else; see Krifka 2008). Another way of thinking about the focused part is as the more unpredictable piece of information in an utterance. The speaker then uses focus to contrast the unpredictable, most informative piece of information, with the information that is shared with the addressee (the 'presupposed' part of the utterance; see Halliday 1967, Lambrecht 1994).

If a constituent is in focus in Marind, it is usually in the pre-verbal position. Since this slot also can host non-focused constituents (for example, there are no reasons for considering the pre-verbal adverbial *ndom* 'still' to be focused), it would not be appropriate to label it as the 'focus slot'. Referring to this syntactic slot as the 'pre-verbal position' is neutral with respect to the function it is used to express.

The most conspicuous use of the pre-verbal position is as the site of the questioned element in a content question, and as the site of the corresponding constituent in the answer to such a question. These expressions can be considered to be in focus since they mark the point in the utterance where unpredictable information is requested or provided.[6] In Marind, these elements obligatorily occur immediately before the verb complex:

[5] There is probably a diachronic explanations for the obligatory pre-verbal placement of the negator *mbya*. As discussed in Section 16.3.1, *mbya* originally only had the meaning 'all, completely' (which is still retained in its use as a nominal modifier today) and was used under focus in negated clauses as a generalizer '(not) at all'. This structure was the input to the familiar process called Jespersen's Cycle; the innovated negator *mbya* would then reflect its pre-verbal position from its original use as a focused generalizing adverb.

[6] There is an enormous literature addressing the parallelisms between focus constructions and content questions; see e.g. Horvath 1986 and Cheng 1991 for classic studies within a generative framework.

(446) 1. *onggat ta ø-b-ø-in- kahek?*
coconut [who]$_A$ NEUT-ACT-3sg.A-ALL- climb
'Who climbed for coconuts?'

2. *kaka Budi ø-d-ø-in- kahek*
[elder.sib(m) B.]$_A$ NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-ALL- climb
'Budi climbed for coconuts.' [0082–0083.16092016.1.wbi]

Restricting the placement of the interrogative phrase to the preverbal position appears to fairly common across languages, and it has even been claimed to be a characteristic feature of many SOV languages (Kim 1988, but see also Herring and Paolillo 1995; Marind is at most mildly SOV). Content questions are further discussed in Section 17.3.

It is often helpful to think of a focused constituent in the pre-verbal position as providing an answer to a question that is not expressed, but nevertheless is implicit in the context (Krifka 2008). For example, the first speaker in the following exchange is trying to answer the implicit question *Who followed him?*, with the crucial piece of the response, *oɣ* 'you', in focus in the first turn, which is reaffirmed by the use of focused 'my nephew here' in the last turn.

(447) 1.→ *oɣ ø-o-d- ɣet ay? oɣ ø-o-d-o-p- esoh*
[2sg]$_S$ NEUT-2sg.A-DUR- go Q [2sg]$_A$ NEUT-2sg.A-DUR-3sg.DAT-CT- follow
ay?
Q

2. *ahak*
yeah

3.→ *ahak, nama kemlaɣ e=t-e-ø-d-ø-o-p- esoh*
yeah now [nephew I:PROX=]$_A$GIV-I-NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-CT- follow
1. (Aunt:) 'It was you who went, right? It was you who followed him?'
2. (Nephew:) 'Yeah.'
3. (Aunt:) 'Yeah, then my nephew here followed him.'
[0095–0097.261029016.1.wbi]

Another common use is that of 'replacing' a constituent in a previous utterance, as when the first speaker in the following exchange ('we felt the smell') is corrected by the second speaker ('*I* felt the smell'). Note how the 'information packaging' is completely different in the two turns. In the first turn, speaker A does not even express the first person experiencer 'we' by an overt noun phrase (since the identity

of the smeller is not at issue), and the locative *epe* 'there' is in the pre-verbal position (but probably not focused; see further below on this common feature in narrative texts). In the second turn, B repeats most of the content from the previous turn, but adds the 1st person pronoun *nok* placed in the pre-verbal position, as it is the crucial piece of information distinguishing her contribution from that of the previous turn.

(448) 1. *yah nggus-imu epe k-a-na-y- kw-esak*
but crab-smell [there] DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- INESS-hit

2.→*nok k-a-na- kw-ehek nggus-imu e-pe*
[1]$_{\text{Exper}}$ DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT- INESS-get.caught crab-smell III-DIST

1. (A:) 'Then we felt the smell of crabs there.'
2. (B:) 'It was *I* who felt the smell of crabs.' [0282.16092016.1.wbi]

(The literal translations of these expressions are something like 'the smell hit us' and 'the smell got caught at me'; however I label the pre-verbal constituent *nok* in the 2nd turn Experiencer rather than Location. The change in verbs—*kwesak* vs. *kwehek*—between the two turns is probably irrelevant to the point about the information packing.)

Another type of replacive focus, **expression focus** (the term is from Krifka 2008), is used in metalinguistic corrections, which are fairly frequent in the corpus.

(449) In a previous turn, the addressee had used the Malay word *rica* to refer to chili pepper, instead of the native equivalent *kin-de* (lit. 'eye-tree', presumably because it stings in your eyes.)

rica tamohat- lu e-pe,
[chili.pepper(m)(III)] PROH:2sg.A- call:III.U III-DIST

kin-de ka-mo- lu
[eye-tree(III)] DIR-FUT:2sg.A- call:III.U

'Don't call it *rica*! Call it *kin-de*!' [0804.16092016.1.wbi]

In utterances where the pre-verbal constituent is focused it is usually given some prosodic prominence, especially in cases where focus is used to correct a previous utterance (and less so in e.g. content questions).

10.2.2 In topic-comment structures

In utterances where the speaker mentions some topic and says something about this topic (so-called **topic-comment** sentences; see also §16.2.2), the constituent in

the pre-verbal position is usually not focused, but forms a unit (the comment) together with the verb. (The pre-verbal constituent in a topic-comment sentence can be focused if the speaker wants to emphasise this part of the comment for some reason).

This type of information-packaging strategy is easiest to demonstrate with examples showing nominal predication. In such clauses, the predicative expression (i.e. *teacher* in *He is a teacher* is always in the pre-verbal position, while the referential noun phrase (*He*), if it is expressed, appears in the periphery of the clause, e.g. as a left- or right-dislocated topic, as in (450) and (451) respectively.

(450) Talking about Wariso, a former school principal in Wambi. (Biak is an island off the northern coast of Papua.)

Wariso e-pe, Biak-anem ø-d-a- ola
W. III-DIST [B.-man] NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
'Wariso, he was Biakese/a Biak Islander.' [0069.17102016.2.wbi]

(451) *ndom-milah k-a e-he*
[bad-village] PRS.NEUT-3sg.A III-PROX
'This is a bad village.' [0163.27112016.4.wbi]

I consider such structures to be instantiations of the more general topic-comment pattern since in these cases the pre-verbal constituent is not interpreted as focused, but rather it is packaged together with the verb complex into a comment unit which adds information about the topic.

The same structure is also common in standard predicative sentences, and I will give some examples with monotransitive clauses (having an A- and an O-argument) here. In examples (452–453) the A-arguments are topics, and the O-arguments together with the verb complex are packaged as comment units. As in the examples from nominal predication, the topic is found in a more peripheral position, either before (452) or after (453) the comment.

(452) My sister in Wambi had described how she was preparing the equipment for sago washing, and now turns to the activities of her husband:

manday e-he, da k-a-p- kahyab
brother.in.law I-PROX [sago]$_O$ DIR-3sg.A-CT- remove.bark
'[As for] your brother-in-law, he cut the sago bark.' [0121.17102016.1.wbi]

(453) In the previous utterance the speaker mentioned a truck belonging to some road workers.

adaka *ma-d-ø-* *k-umak-ti* *trek*
[water]$_O$ OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- WITH-be.running-DUR truck(m)
'It was bringing water, the truck.' [0042.08092016.1.wbi]

In the next example it is the O-argument (*upe Siska upe*) that is topical, and the A-argument (*age* 'what's-his-name') constitutes the comment together with the verb.

(454) The previous utterance introduced two new participants: "Siska and Yakub came along".

u-pe *Siska* *u-pe,* *age* *ø-a-* *u-sak,* *Paskalina* *eham*
II-DIST S. II-DIST [PROW:I]$_A$ NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit P. husband:3sg
'[As for] Siska, she had been beaten up by what's-his-name, Paskalina's husband.' [0266.27112016.4.wbi]

There is no reason to believe that the speakers wanted to put focus on the pre-verbal constituents in these examples; these constituents are placed in this slot because they belong together with the verb complex information-wise, as they are both part of the comment.

For clarity it must be stressed that the topic itself is not qualified to enter the pre-verbal position. The role of the topic constituent is never reflected in the Orientation prefix since these prefixes are sensitive only to the constituent in the pre-verbal slot. I interpret the following example as an instance of a left-dislocated topic, followed by a verb without Orientation marking. The topic, *namaɣa* 'today', is separated from the comment by means of the proximate demonstrative *ehe* (this use of demonstratives was also seen in (450) and (452)).

(455) The speaker is announcing his plans for the day.

namaɣa *e-he* *no-* *dahetok-e*
now III-PROX 1.A- return-IPFV
'[As for] now, I'm going home.' [0082.27112016.3.wbi]

10.2.2.1 On the high frequency of pre-verbal locative adverbials. It is an extremely common feature of narrative texts to place a locative adverbial in the pre-verbal position. In many cases the locative adverbial can be interpreted as in

focus, as in (456), where the pre-verbal constituent *say* 'place' arguably is highlighted as it contrasts to alternative (more expected) locations (e.g. 'at home').

(456) Speaker and his friends found some ducklings in the forest. Some escaped, the rest they ate right away, instead of bringing them home.

isi *say* *k-ak-e-* *ɣahwiɣ*
other [place]$_{Loc}$ DIR-1.A-1pl- eat
'The others we ate on the spot.' [1036.16092016.1.wbi]

In general, however, the frequent placement of locative expressions in the pre-verbal position seems to follow a general text-building technique in narratives, in which the storyline progresses through the establishment of a series of topics, which are typically the names of places that the protagonists visit, each followed by a comment specifying what happened in this place. The following excerpt from a hunting story is rather typical in this regard:

(457) 1. *ɣawelib, pale* *k-ak-e-p-* *naɣam-em*
Gh. [savanna]$_{Path}$ DIR-1.A-1pl-CT- many.come-VEN

2. *Ulolya kay epe* *k-ak-e-p-* *hu-n*
U. road [there]$_{Loc}$ DIR-1.A-1pl-CT- emerge-1.U

3. *yahaa ago,* *Alwetang onggat epe* *nd-an-d-ind-e-*
all.the.way.to PROW:III A. coconut [there]$_{Loc}$ LOC-1.A-DUR-ALL-1pl-
kapet
climb.PLA

4. *Ambay a age Meka epe* *k-inam-um-* *na-sak*
A. PTCL PROW:I M. [there]$_{Loc}$ DIR-RCPR-FRUS- 1.U-hit.PLA

1. 'In Ghawelib, we walked along the savanna,
2. to Ulolya, there we went out along the road,
3. to um Alwetang, there we climbed coconut trees,
4. Ambay and um Meka almost started to fight there.'

[0091–0094.28062015.1.wbi]

Since the names of the relevant places have already been mentioned in this example, they are referred to by placing *epe* 'there' in the pre-verbal position in turns 2–4. It is also possible to use pre-verbal *epe* even when the place has not been specified yet. This cataphoric use is common when the more specific locative expression is a heavy, multi-word constituent, since speakers prefer to place such constituents later on in

the sentence. This is seen in the following example, where *epe* refers cataphorically to the entire expression 'in Yow…are standing', which is placed after the verb complex.

(458) The speaker is telling me where she had met her husband walking back to the village.

epe *k-ak-inam-e-* *n-idih* *Yow* *duh* *epe,*
[there]$_{Loc}$ DIR-1.A-RCPR-1pl- 1.U-see Y. beach there

lug *ip-ø-* *ehaɣa* *i-pe,* *mayay* *k-o* *oɣ?*
tree.sp ABSC:IV-3sg.A- be.standing IV-DIST knowing PRS.NEUT-2sg.A 2sg

'We met there in Yow at the beach, where the *lug* (Terminalia Catappa) trees are standing, do you know?' [0097.27112016.3.wbi]

10.3 Some morphosyntactic issues in the description of the Orientation system

10.3.1 Incompatibility of Orientation prefixes with certain clause types

The Orientation prefixes are incompatible with several prefixes occurring close to the left edge of the prefixal complex. Following the templatic system in Chapter 7 we can describe this incompatibility as a matter of competition for slots in the position class system: a prefix such as the Imperative *ah-* may not co-occur with any of the Orientation prefixes since they would fill the same slot, and only one prefix may occur in a slot at any one time (the Orientation prefixes belong to position class –16 and the Imperative is a multi-class prefix covering all classes between –17 and –12, including class –16; cf. Table 7.1). Since it is difficult to see any particular semantic or functional reason why a category like the Imperative should not be used with the Orientation system I will not attempt to find any 'deeper' explanation for this and the other incompatibilities. It is simply a rule of Marind morphosyntax.[7]

The prefixes that do not combine with Orientation prefixes are:

[7] Some of the impossible combinations could perhaps be explained diachronically. It is likely that some prefixes are incompatible with the Orientation prefixes because they are originally combinations of Orientation prefixes with other material that later merged into single, unanalyzable prefixes. For example, the Perfect *mend-* and the Continuative *anVpand-* could be hypothesised to have evolved from **me* + *nd-* and *anVpa* + *nd-*, with the sequence *nd-* being the Locative Orientation prefix, and the preceding element some unknown material (perhaps adverbials). This would be an interesting topic for comparative reconstruction.

- most Prefixes used to form commands: the Imperative *ah-*, the Hortative *mat-* and the Prohibitive series (*tamohat-* etc.) (but not the Jussive *anam-*)
- the 2nd Future, i.e. the Future series used under negation and in apprehensive contexts
- the polar question prefixes *ap-* (Past Polar Question) and *Vk-* (Present Polar Question)
- the Absconditive series (*Vp-* etc.)
- the Perfect *mend-* and the Continuative *anVpand-*.

Clauses in which the verb contains one of these prefixes lack the ability to express e.g. constituent focus, since such structures require an Orientation prefix on the verb. The constituent in the pre-verbal position of these claues do not have any particular information-structural prominence.

The absence of Orientation prefixes is often compensated for by the use of postpositional marking in clauses that do not allow Orientation prefixes. For example, expressions that would use the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-* with a pre-verbal adverbial typically employ a periphrastic variant with a phrase headed by the postposition *nde* 'at, in' in contexts where Locational *nd-* is not allowed. The following example shows that a postpositional *nde*-phrase has to be used since the Prohibitive prefix is on of the prefixes that do not combine with Orientation marking:

(459) *in-ɣanid nde tamohat- uma⟨ɣ⟩ah!*
middle-day at PROH:2sg.A- go⟨2sg.U⟩
'Don't go at noon!'

A constituent expressing a core argument of the clause, such as an S/A- or O-argument, may always occur before the verb in contexts that do not allow orientation prefixes, without requiring any postpositional flagging. The only difference from a clause with Orientation marking is that the pre-verbal constituent cannot be interpreted as in-focus, and that the lack of Orientation prefixes potentially makes the role of this argument ambiguous. The corpus examples in (460) show imperatives with an S-argument, O-argument and the R-argument of a ditransitive before verbs marked with the Imperative *ah-*, which does not allow Orientation marking.

(460) a. *wanangga ah- hwehway-em!*
[children]$_S$ IMP- get.ready-PL.IMP
'You children get ready!' [0381.27112016.4.wbi]

b. *Mili sep ah- ɣad!*
M. [leaf.oven]$_O$ IMP- uncover
'Mili, open the leaf oven!' [0154.16092016.1.wbi]

c. *inhindah i-he ah- ya-koh-em tamuɣ!*
[guest I/II.pl-PROX]$_R$ IMP- 2|3pl.U-feed-PL.IMP food
'Give food to the guests!' [0017.23092016.7.wbi]

The same generalization extends to applied objects, i.e. O-like arguments introduced through applicative uses of e.g. the Comitative-Instrumental *k-* (461a) or Allative *ind-* (b) may be used freely even when Orientation prefixes are absent.

(461) a. *yal ah- ka-nayam!*
[banana.leaf]$_O$ IMP- WITH-many.come
'Bring banana leaves!' [0039.27112016.3.wbi]

b. *piring ah-in- uma⟨ɣ⟩ah!*
[plate(m)]$_O$ IMP-ALL- go⟨2sg.U⟩
'Go get a plate!' [0233.27082015.1.wbi]

The absence of Orientation prefixes indicating the role of the pre-verbal constituent does not seem to cause any major ambiguities in actual discourse, and I have for example not been able to locate any truly ambiguous Imperative clauses in the textual corpus.

There are several types of expression that require the presence of the Orientation prefixes, which means that they are incompatible with the prefixes listed above. For example, the instrumental use of the 'WITH-prefix' *k-* differs from its comitative use, seen in (461a) above, since the expression of an instrument in this construction always requires the use of the Neutral Orientation. Since Orientation marking is not available with e.g. the Imperative *ah-*, a command formed with the Future must be used instead (462b).

(462) a. **bolpen ah- k-igletok!*
[ballpoint.pen(m)]$_{Instr}$ IMP- WITH-write
(intended:) 'Write with a ballpoint pen!'

b. *bolpen* *ø-mo-* *k-igletok!*
[ballpoint.pen(m)]$_{\text{Instr}}$ NEUT-FUT:2sg.A- WITH-write
'Write with a ballpoint pen!' [nb04.41.wbi]

Alternatively, a completely different construction is employed, such as the periphrastic variant using the postposition *en* 'with', as in (364) above.

Another structure that requires Orientation marking, and therefore is impossible with the prefixes listed above, is pre-verbal goal of motion. In Section 10.1.4 it was seen that the Directional *k-* is used to signal that an adverbial in the pre-verbal position expresses the goal of a motion event (e.g. 'throw at'). In a command formed with the Imperative prefix *ah-* this option is not allowed, since the presence of the Imperative prefix blocks the use of the Directional Orientation prefix. There is no corresponding postposition that can be used to flag this meaning periphrastically. Instead, the adverbial constituent must be placed in some other position, e.g. after the verb, as in (463a), or the command has to be formed with the Future instead of the Imperative, since the Future allows an Orientation prefix to be present (b).

(463) a. *ah-ap-* *ka-han* *meja* *lahwalah!*
IMP-CT- INESS-put [table(m) on.top]$_{\text{Goal}}$

b. *meja* *lahwalah* *ka-mo-p-* *ka-han!*
[table(m) on.top]$_{\text{Goal}}$ DIR-FUT:2sg.A-CT- INESS-put
Both: 'Put it on the table!' (e.g. a book) [nb04.50.wbi]

Various other adverbial expressions are also incompatible with the Imperative (and other prefixes that fail to combine with Orientation marking), e.g. *mbya hyakod* 'same' (lit. 'all one') (464), in which the speaker expresses the command with a Future prefix instead. Charting the entire range of adverbial expressions that require an appropriate Orientation prefix to be present will be left for a future study, however.

(464) Instructing people what to do with sago and scraped coconut.
mbya *hyakod* *ka-mo-* *i-lwetok*
[all one] DIR-FUT:2sg.A- PLA-turn
'Mix them together!' [0013.17102016.2.wbi]

10.3.2 Competition for the pre-verbal position

Section 10.3.1 discussed some cases where the Orientation prefixes are in conflict with other prefixes filling the same slots in the position class template of the verb

complex. Other clashes, but of a syntactic nature, happen when two expressions that both require the pre-verbal position as their host are to be combined in the same clause. It seems that there are two different outcomes of this situation: either the two expressions simply cannot occur in the same clause (so that two clauses have to be used instead), or the conflict is resolved by putting one of the constituents in the pre-pre-verbal position, followed by the constituent that manages to make it into the pre-verbal position.

By 'expressions that require the pre-verbal position as their host' is meant expressions such as the temporal adverbial *ndom* 'still', which may not be placed elsewhere in the clause, or the negator *mbya*, which always occurs in the pre-verbal slot in its function as a negator (as a nominal modifier, *mbya* means 'all, completely'; see Section 5.4.3.1. There is no alternative construction expressing negation to be used e.g. NP-internally, such as English *no books* or *none of them*).

By contrast, most other expressions that can be placed in the pre-verbal position can also occur elsewhere in the clause, possibly with adpositional marking flagging the role of the constituent. For example, adverbials occurring with the Locational Orientation *nd-* discussed in Section 10.1.5 are free to occur elsewhere in the clause, typically with the postposition *nde* 'in, at'. This is illustrated in examples (465–466), which contain adverbial constituents marked by *nde*. The reason for expressing the location with a postpositional phrase in these example is that the pre-verbal position is occupied by *ndom* 'still' (465) and negative *mbya* (466) which both demand to be placed in the pre-verbal position.

(465) *nok lay nde ndom ø-nan-d-e- na-hwala*
1 side at [still] NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-be
'We were still there on the other side of the river.' [0059.23092016.6.wbi]

(466) *da e-pe mahut nde mbya ø-nak-i-e- og, anep say e-pe*
sago III-DIST far at [NEG] NEUT-1.A-RE-1pl- do EMPH:III place III-DIST
'We processed the sago not far from there, in that spot.'
[0136.27112016.4.wbi]

Other types of expressions that pattern with the negator *mbya* and *ndom* 'still' in requiring accommodation in the pre-verbal position are: adverbial expressions such as the inceptive particles *ye* and *oso* (which always combine with the Objective Orientation prefix *m-*, see Section 10.1.3.5), constituents expressing an instrument licensed by the use of Instrumental *k-* (see Section 10.1.2.3), and focused constituents, including the interrogative phrase in a content question (see Section 10.2).

We are now in position to ask what happens if we attempt to combine two expressions that only can be placed in the pre-verbal position in the same clause. The only available data showing such combinations involve the negator *mbya* in combination with an interrogative phrase. It turns out that speakers prefer to relegate the negator to the pre-pre-verbal position, while letting the focused interrogative phrase retain its usual position immediately before the verb complex. This structure is the only known instance where *mbya* occurs outside the pre-verbal position and still expresses negation.[8]

(467) a. *mbya ti ø-b-a- nayam?*
NEG [who:I/II.pl]$_S$ NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- many.come
'Who didn't come?' [nb04.81.wbi]

b. *mbya ta ø-b-a- dapat?*
NEG [who]$_A$ NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- get(m)
'Who didn't get any?' [0648.16092016.1.wbi]

Testing the behavior of other expressions that require the pre-verbal position will be left for future research.

10.3.3 The Orientation prefixes in clause combining constructions

In this section I offer some brief remarks about the use of Orientation prefixes on dependent verbs (§10.3.3.1) and in narrative sequences (§10.3.3.2).

10.3.3.1 In dependent clauses. The clause type that I call 'dependent' here is characterized by the use of the Dependent prefix *ah-*; in addition to this there are some restrictions on the use of Orientation prefixes that distinguishes this clause type from independent clauses. The clearest difference is that the Object Orientation *m-* never occurs in dependent clauses, even in contexts such as with a preceding O-argument (468a) or with adverbials that normally trigger the Object Orientation, such as *oso* (b).

[8]Note that the question in (b) features a Malay verb, *dapat* 'get'. Like its English counterpart, this is a monotransitive verb casting the receiving participant as the A-like argument. There are no indigenous verbs that allow this alignment: transfer verbs in Marind always treat the receiver as an O-like argument (triggering the Object Orientation prefix, and indexing by means of the U-affixes on the stem) or as a Recipient (triggering Directional Orientation, and indexing by means of the Dative prefix series). The exotic behavior of this verb has no bearing on the points about the placement of the constituents in the example sentences.

(468) a. *uhyum ah-ø- u-sak e-pe*
[wife:3 DEP-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit.PLA] III-DIST
'when he beat up his wife' [0280.19052015.2.dmh]

b. *oso a-nka-h-e- nayam e-pe*
[start DEP-1.A-DEP-1pl- many.come] III-DIST
'when we first came here' [0006.01052015.1.wbi]

The other Orientation prefixes may occur in dependent clauses. For example, the Directional *k-* (which can mark the O-argument of 'hear, listen') is used in the following example:

(469) *nok k-ah-e-nam- gan-um kwemek*
[1 DIR-DEP-2pl.A-1.GEN- hear-CTFT morning]
'if you had listened to me in the morning' [0746.20052015.4.mkl]

10.3.3.2 In narrative sequences. The Orientation prefixes can be used to mark clauses as part of narrative sequences ("A happened, then B happened"). Often such chains of clauses resemble so-called head-tail linkage (de Vries 2005), which is a frequently used technique in the presentation of narrative sequences in Papuan languages. In Marind this typically consists of one clause (the head), usually describing some durative action, followed by a second clause (the tail), describing a punctual event that interrupts or succeeds the event of the first clause. The verb in the first clause is always marked by the Locational Orientation *nd-*, while the second clause is marked with the Directional *k-*. An example is in (470). In other cases the two clauses merely express sequence, without the repetition of the verb from the first clause that characterizes head-tail linkage (471).

(470) *nd-an-d-e- nayat, da k-ak-e- takoy, nd-an-d-e-*
LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving sago DIR-1.A-1pl- fell LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-
takoy
fell
'We went, then we started felling a sago palm, we felled the palm, [then we…].' [0011.17102016.1.wbi]

(471) *kosi tamuɣ nd-ak-e- ɣahwiɣ, udug k-ak-e- k-uma⟨n⟩ah*
small food LOC-1.A-1pl- eat bath DIR-1.A-1pl- WITH-go⟨1.U⟩
'We ate a little, then we went for a bath.' [0071.23092016.6.wbi]

This use of the Orientation prefixes is very frequent in the corpus, since most of the recordings are of narratives. It is strikingly different from all other uses of the Orientation prefixes, since the function of these prefixes in all other contexts is to provide information about the role of the constituent placed before the verb, which is not the case in these clause linkage structures. Nothing is known about the origins of this use.

Chapter 11

Valency

This chapter provides some brief comments on the usefulness of the argument/adjunct distinction in Marind (§11.1), and a longer description of valency classes (§11.2).

11.1 The argument/adjunct distinction in Marind

Linguists often distinguish between arguments and adjuncts in language description. Intuitively, arguments realize verb-specific roles (e.g. the direct object of 'eat' expressing the eaten item) whereas adjuncts serve to express props and circumstantials that are not tied to any specific verb meaning (e.g. 'in the house'). This semantic distinction often has language-particular grammatical reflexes. For example, the arguments expressing core participants may appear in certain syntactic positions (e.g. next to the verb), be obligatory, appear as bare NPs (without adpositional marking), trigger person/number indexing, and have the ability to participate in passives or relativization constructions. Adjuncts may lack some or all of these properties, in accordance with their status as more peripheral to the described event. (See e.g. Creissels 2014 for a critical assessment of the argument/adjunct notions).

Most such diagnostics fail to provide support for an argument/adjunct distinction in Marind. No restrictions on the ordering of core vs. peripheral elements of the clause have been found; bare NPs are common even in the expression of many adverbial notions; no passive exists; and relative clauses seem to be in a relatively loose relationship with the modified nominal. NPs are not obligatory, even when they express participants that are central to the event, as in (472), where none of the three participants indexed on the verb are realized by NPs. One could probably argue that NPs are only added to utterance in case their referents are not recoverable from the context, and that under 'normal' circumstances they are left out.

(472) Previous utterance, addressing nurses at the aid post: "Auntie Siana's child is sick."

ndame-om- *idih*

FUT:2pl.A_i-3sg.GEN$_j$- see:3sg.U$_k$

'You$_i$ should have a look at her$_j$ [child$_k$]' [0024.04092015.1.wbi]

Since none of these criteria can be used to distinguish arguments from adjuncts we are left with participant indexing (and gender agreement) in the verb, which I would suggest are the only phenomena that motivate a distinction between arguments (which have the ability to trigger indexing and agreement) and adjuncts (which don't). Consider example (473), in which the benefactive participant ('for us') is construed as an adjunct (in this case expressed with the postposition *nanggo*). Since it is an adjunct, there is no indexing of the 1pl participant on the verb; notably, the role-neutral 1pl prefix *e-* (used whenever a 1pl participant is an argument; see §8.6) is absent. Instead, plurality of the 1st person pronoun *nok* is indicated in the NP by means of the Associative Plural *ke*, which is highly frequent when *nok* 'I/we' is used as an adjunct, since its number reference can only be disambiguated by indexing when *nok* functions as an argument.

(473) A line from a popular Christian song.

nok ke nanggo ma-me-ø- man-em

1 APL for OBJ-FUT-3sg.A- come-VEN

'He will come for us.'

Compare this to (474), in which the benefactive participant is construed as an argument, and therefore receives full indexing within the verb complex in no less than three sites: the 3pl>1 ('3pl acting on 1st person'; §8.2.2.2) prefix *e-*, the Dative prefix *na-* (§8.3), and the role-neutral 1pl prefix *e-* (realized as a glide *y-* in coda position). Note that the pronoun *nok* appears without the Associative Plural *ke*, since plurality is marked on the verb.

(474) During inauguration of a new church, there was not room for everybody inside.

nok tenda-aha bak ka-d-e-na-y-p- yak

1 tent(m)-house outside DIR-DUR-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl-CT- pitch

'They pitched a tent for us outside.' [0078.23092016.6.wbi]

The participants used to define valency classes in Section 11.2 are expressed by arguments according to the indexing/agreement criterion. The only exceptions are frozen nominals such as *emel* 'hunger' in *emel wahun* 'become hungry', which

correspond to fixed 3sg indexing in the verb, but then it probably makes sense to consider such frozen elements as less typical arguments.

11.2 Valency classes

This section describes the basic valency classes in Marind, as defined by the use of participant indexing (Chapter 8) and Orientation prefixes (see Chapter 10). The valency classes are 'basic' in the sense that they do not include verbs that are formed by derivational morphology, e.g. the Comitative *k-* prefix. (The valency patterns exhibited by such verbs are described in the respective sections, e.g. §12.1 for derived comitative verbs).

Some of the classes defined by comparing the behavior of person indexing and the Orientation system are quite marginal, and only contain one or a few members. For example, only one verb, *kayanad* 'become low tide' has been assigned to valency Class 0b ('Avalent verbs with frozen Dative index'). Other patterns are much more frequent and can probably be considered productive, e.g. those of standard monotransitive verbs. A class such as 2b (monotransitive verbs with invariant stems) readily accommodates Malay loan verbs and is perhaps better described as an open frame than as a class with a finite set of members. For simplicity, however, I label all of the patterns described here as 'classes'.

The classes are exemplified with verbs that commonly (or always) occur with the specific Orientation marking and indexing pattern prescribed by their class. This is a rather drastic simplification, because it would be more accurate to describe for each verb in the language whether or not it has the potential to follow the different valency patterns, and if so, with what consequences for meaning. This enormous task will be left for future research, and an idealized version where most verbs are members of only one class is presented here.

The classes to be described below are listen in Table 11.1. Sample verbs have been added to the table to illustrate the different classes, along with verb-specific role labels (e.g. 'Fallee' for the sole argument of 'fall') linked to their respective index sets. I refer to such fine-grained roles (rather than classic Fillmorean case roles; Fillmore 1968) to emphasise that the overall mapping from participant roles to index sets is often idiosyncratic (for example, the patient of *dahuk* 'die' is indexed by means of the Dative prefix set, whereas the patient of the synonymous verb *kahwid* 'die' is indexed by means of Undergoer alternations).

Table 11.1: Valency patterns.

Type	Example verb	Gloss	Participant role(s)	Orientation	Index set
			AVALENT VERBS		
0a	*ihwim*	'become dark/night'	–	–	A[3sg]
0b	*kaɣanad*	'become low tide'	– –	– –	A[3sg] Dat[3sg]
			MONOVALENT VERBS		
1a	*ihw*	'cry'	Cryer	Neut	A
1b	*hi*	'fall'	– Fallee	– Neut	A[3sg] U
1c	*hawa*	'emerge'	Emerger	Neut	A, U
1d	*kamob*	'become betel-drunk'	– Betel-Drunkee	– Neut	A[3sg] Dat
			DIVALENT VERBS		
2a	*wamuk*	'hit'	Hitter Victim	Neut Obj	A U
2b	*keway*	'break'	Breaker Broken object	Neut Obj	A –
2c	*kamin*	'make'	Maker Product	Neut Obj	A, U –
2d	*ɣina*	'help'	Helper Helpee	Neut Obj	A Dat
2e	*gan*	'listen'	Hearer Emitter of sound	Neut Obj (?)	A Poss
2f	*emel*$_{N}$ *wahun*$_{V}$	'get hungry'	*emel* 'hunger' Sufferer	Neut Neut	A[3sg] U
			TRIVALENT VERBS		
3a	*koh*	'feed'	Feeder Feedee Food	Neut Dir Obj	A U –
3b	*oleb*	'sell'	Seller Buyer Goods	Neut Dir Obj	A Dat U
3c	*kabed*	'ask'	Asker Addressee Question	Neut Dir Obj	A Dat –
3d	*wig*	'ask/beg for'	Begger Addressee Goods	Neut Obj Obj	A, U Poss –

11.2.1 Avalent verbs

Avalent verbs do not take any arguments, so inflected forms of avalent verbs carry the 3sg Actor prefix by default. Two subclasses are distinguished.

11.2.1.1 Plain avalent verbs (Type 0a). A small number of verbs belong to this class. Most of them refer to stages of the day (*alen* 'almost be day/sunrise', *pig* 'become day/bright', *ihwim* 'become night/dark') or natural phenomena (*alalam* 'lightning to flash'). Note the default 3sg Actor marking:

(475) *menda-b-ø- ihwim*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become.dark
'It's already dark.' [0100.23092016.6.wbi]

Most other expressions depicting natural phenomena belong to the class of monovalent verbs (Type 1a; §11.2.2.1) and appear with a fixed noun (e.g. *kiwal* 'wind') in combination with the verb (as in *kiwal ahwadak* 'wind to blow').

11.2.1.2 Avalent verbs with frozen Dative index (Type 0b). This pattern, with the invariant 3sg Dative prefix *o-* in addition to the 3sg Actor prefix, is marginal, and is only frequent with the verb *kaɣanad* 'become low tide' (476). It also occurs with the verb *win* 'become' in an expression meaning 'become high tide', but then usually (but not always) combined with the noun *etob* 'sea, tide'.

(476) *mahut k-ø-o- kaɣanad-e*
far DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- low.tide-IPFV
'The water goes down far at low tide.' [nb04.11.wbi]

11.2.2 Monovalent verbs

Monovalent verbs take a single argument, and can be further subdivided into four subtypes according to by what means (e.g. by what prefix series) their sole argument is indexed in the verb complex. All monovalent verbs (regardless of the indexing type) behave the same way with regards to the Orientation system, since the constituent expressing the sole participant, when placed in the pre-verbal position, triggers the use of the Neutral Orientation prefixes (§10.1.2) in the verb complex.

11.2.2.1 Plain intransitive verbs (Type 1a). Such verbs index their sole participant by means of the Actor prefix series. They have to be distiguished from the patientive intransitives, which index the sole participant in the Undergoer affixes on the verb stem. Most non-patientive intransitives involve an agent that instigates the action. Verbs that are typical in this regard are *mahay* 'dance', *ambid* 'sit down', *nahek* 'stay awake throughout the night', *ɣet* 'go, be in movement', and so on. In the following example, note the 1st person Actor prefix on the verb, and the S-argument *nok* which triggers the Neutral Orientation (expressed by zero ø- in past time contexts), which are the two characteristics of this class.

(477) Describing a hunting party.

mayay	*ya*	*nok*	*ø-no-d-*	*ɣet-ti*
first	real	1	NEUT-1.A-DUR-	be.moving-DUR

'First of all, I went.' [1028.16092016.1.wbi]

I also include intransitive verbs that only combine with some fixed (inanimate) S-argument, e.g. (*kiwal*) *ahwadak* '(wind) to blow'. All non-patientive intransitives are classified as 'plain intransitives'; the patientives are discussed in the next subsection.

A few common intransitive verbs are noteworthy because their translation equivalents in other languages would often allow transitive uses as well, whereas the Marind verbs are strictly intransitive. These verbs are *alalay* 'dry', *huhu* 'boil' and *aluy* 'flame up, (lamp) turn on' (a fourth verb, *taheb* 'fill', belongs to the patientive class and is discussed in §11.2.2.2).

The strictly intransitive nature of these verbs is visible in command formation, since none of them allow a (transitive) command to be formed with the Imperative *ah-*. Instead the Jussive *anam-* must be used, so that the literal translation of the example in (478) could be 'Make the water boil!'.

(478)

anam-	*huhu*	*adaka!*
JUS-	boil	water

'Boil the water!' [nb02.134.dmh]

The verb *huhu* 'boil' is identical to the Pluractional form of *hawa* 'emerge, come out', i.e. *huhu* 'come out repeatedly', so the meaning shift 'water come out repeatedly' > 'water boil' explains why this verb remains intransitive.

Table 11.2: Some patientive intransitives.

kahwid	'die'	*ɣunip*	'catch fire'
ahwaleh	'still be hungry'	*kweseb*	'ones waist to get thin'
ɣuɣeh	'become startled'	*lahwaseb*	'get stuck in mud'
hi	'fall'	*sasip*	'get burned'
tameb	'float to surface'	*usu*	'be heated'
ɣadin	'drown'	*ɣeb*	'slip'
ipih	'become constipated'	*kotib*	'get lost'
waɣasud	'grow big'	*aɣip*	'almost burn out'
alalay	'become dry'	*ikubaya*	'disappear'
kahob	'capsize'	*taheb*	'fill a space'
win	'become'		

11.2.2.2 Patientive intransitives (Type 1b). The verbs in this class index their sole argument by means of Undergoer marking in the verb stem. The inflected verb form always carries an invariant 3sg Actor prefix.

Patientive verbs express events that the sole participant is affected by without being instigator or in control of the event. Some members of this class are listed in Table 11.2. The correlation between the types of intransitive verbs and agentivity is not absolute, so a few verbs that express situations that could be seen as involving no or little control on the part of the S-argument are nevertheless members of the plain intransitive class (cf. the preceding subsection). This is true for *ihw* 'cry', *ihwin* 'burst into tears', *oɣad* 'yawn', *ɣod* 'throw up', which treat their sole participant as an agent, and index it by means of the Actor prefix series.[1]

A typical patientive verb is *hi* 'fall':

(479) *epe k-a- hi-n nok*
there DIR-3sg.A- fall-1.U 1
'There I fell.' [0145.28062015.3.wbi]

Since patientive verbs always exhibit Actor indexing, one could ask whether these verbs are not rather transitive verbs meaning 'it fell me' (and not 'I fell') etc., with the patient as the O-argument and some (unspecified) force as the agent. I will now 'test' these two analyses (patientive intransitive versus standard transitive) using two structures that are sensitive to the number of participants expressed in a clause, and it will be shown that the two tests give contradictory results: according to the use of Orientation prefixes, patientive intransitives behave like intransitive verbs, and according to the Prohibitive they behave like standard transitive verbs.

[1] It has often been noted that languages with semantic alignment ('active' languages) show inconsistencies in their classifications of verbs; see e.g. Mithun 1991.

Recall that the verb must be prefixed with a Neutral Orientation prefix (ø- in non-present, *k*- in present time contexts) if the constituent in the pre-verbal position functions as an S-argument, and with the Object Orientation *m*- if it is the O-argument (Chapter 10). If the patientive intransitives are in fact transitive verbs we would expect the Object *m*- to be triggered by the patient-like argument. The following (elicited) examples show that this is not the case, for the verb *hi* 'fall' appears with the Neutral prefix, just like any other intransitive verb. The Object prefix *m*- is completely ungrammatical (c).

(480) a. *ta ø-b-a- hi?*
who NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- fall:3sg.U
'Who fell?'

b. *nok ø-a- hi-n*
1 NEUT-3sg.A- fall-1.U
'I fell.'

c. **nok m-a- hi-n*
1 OBJ-3sg.A- fall-1.U
'(lit.) It fell me.' [nb03.29.wbi]

Consider now the use of the Prohibitive prefix series. The Prohibitive distinguishes between 'Addressee-oriented' negative commands in which the Addressee is also the agent of the event (as in 'Don't you (sg) Verb!' expressed by the prefix *tamohat-*), and 'causative' or 'mediated' negative commands in which the Addressee is told to make the agent stop V-ing (as in 'Don't let him/her Verb!', expressed by the prefix *tapahat-*). Thus, the utterance in (481a) involves only one participant (other than the speaker), while the utterance in (b) involves two: the Addressee and the agent of the verb *esol*.

Compare the distribution of the Prohibitive prefixes with a patientive verb such as 'fall', presented in (482). Since the sole participant of patientive verbs is not indexed in the Actor prefixes, the Addressee-oriented *tamohat*-form may not be used. Instead the causative/mediated Prohibitive is employed, as in (482b). Thus, the formation of the Prohibitive treat patientive verbs as if they expressed two-participant events, as suggested by the literal translation to (482b).

(481) a. *tamohat- esol!*
PROH:2sg.A- make.noise
'Don't make noise!'

b. *tapahat-ø- esol!*
PROH-3sg.A- make.noise
'Don't let him/her make noise!' [nb03.51.wbi]

(482) a. **tamohat- hi-ɣ!*
PROH:2sg.A- fall-2sg.U
(Intended: 'Don't fall!')

b. *tapahat-ø- hi-ɣ!*
PROH-3sg.A- fall-2sg.U
'Don't fall!' (lit. 'Don't let it fall you!') [nb02.83.dmh]

We can conclude that the first diagnostic, that provided by the Orientation system, suggests that *hi* 'fall' is intransitive with the patient as the S-argument, whereas the second diagnostic, Prohibitive formation, treats it as a transitive verb with the patient as the O-argument, which reflects the fact that patientive verbs always are inflected by means of the 3sg Actor prefix.

The ambivalence between transitive and intransitive status of such 'transimpersonal' verbs (Malchukov 2008; the term is originally from Haas 1941) has been noted by several researchers (e.g. Keenan 1976) and can be thought of as a stage in the development of the patient-like argument from an object to a more subject-like argument. In this development it is typically the syntactic subject properties (in Marind, this would correspond to the ability of S/A-arguments to trigger the Neutral Orientation prefix) that are aquired before the morphological alignment is reanalyzed (as shown in Marind by the presence of 3sg Actor marking, and especially, by Prohibitive formation), as discussed by Malchukov (2008: 90). In the description of 'fall' and similar verbs, I let the facts of the Orientation system take precedence over the indexing, treating them as a subtype of intransitive verbs.

One somewhat noteworthy patientive verb is *taheb* 'fill', which apparently has as its sole argument the entity that fills up some space (the 'filling entity'). Unlike English, the space that is being filled may not function as the O-argument of the clause, so *taheb* always indexes the filling entity by means of Undergoer marking inside the verb stem. In addition, I was not able to elicit this verb with the space in the pre-verbal position and marking with the Object Orientation prefix (which would identify it as the O-argument; see Section 10.1.3).

This means that the first clause in (483) is intransitive, with the verb having a 1pl S-argument indexed in the verb stem, and that the NP *epe yahun epe* 'that truck (lit. canoe)' is best thought of as an adjunct.

(483) Referring to people standing on the back of a truck.

mbya	*ø-ø-e-p-*	*taha⟨n⟩ab*	*e-pe*	*yahun*	*e-pe,*
NEG	NEUT-3sg.A-1pl-CT-	fill⟨1.U⟩	III-DIST	canoe(III)	III-DIST
ndom	*ø-d-a-p-*	*tak*			
still	NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-CT-	empty			

'We didn't fill the truck, there was still space.' [0157.23092016.6.wbi]

Since English *fill* is transitive but Marind *taheb* a patientive intransitive, 'fill' is not really appropriate as a gloss. The Marind valency frame is better captured by e.g. 'become completely extended throughout a space', but I will stick to the gloss 'fill' for simplicity (the local Malay gloss given by speakers is *pono* 'full').

11.2.2.3 Middle intransitives (Type 1c). Verbs index their S-argument according to the middle pattern if the person/number features are indexed in the Actor prefix and in the stem simultaneously. Ca. 40 verbs are lexically specified as being middle-marking, almost all of which are primarily intransitive. For example, the middle verb *uhwasig* 'go up from water' used with a 1sg S-argument requires that the 1st person Actor prefix is used along with 1st person Undergoer marking on the verb stem (*uhwasig* is a prefixing verb, with the 1st person stem *nahwasig*):

(484)

nok	*epe*	*nda-no-*	*na-hwasig*
1	there	LOC-1sg.A-	1.U-go.up.from.water

'I went up from there.' [0065.28062015.2.wbi]

From this it follows that only verbs that exhibit stem alternations according to person/number of an argument (see Section 9.2) can be classified as middle-marking. No invariant verbs belong to the group of verbs that index their S-argument according to the middle template, since such a verb must exhibit indexing in both the Actor prefix and in the verb stem.

Drabbe (1955: 69) uses the label 'reflexive' for the middle indexing template, but since it is better to reserve this label for constructions that express truly reflexive situations (such as 'vote for oneself', i.e. performing an action on oneself that is usually performed on others), I opt for the term 'middle'. There is no doubt that the middle indexing pattern originated as a reflexive construction in Marind, but it can no longer be used productively to express actions performed on oneself (for reflexives, see Section 12.5). For more information about the morphological aspects of the middle template, see Section 8.5.1.

Intransitive verbs that index their S-argument according to the middle template are listed in Table 11.3. Most of these belong semantically to one of three types of events: translational motion (i.e. motion along a path), non-translational motion (moving e.g. a body part, while remaining in place) and posture verbs. (Since these are partly overlapping, I will not attempt a verb-for-verb classification). Typologically, these three categories are among the typical semantic domains that are expressed by middle forms across languages (Geniušienė 1987, Kemmer 1993).

Several languages of the Southern New Guinea region have been described as having special 'middle' indexing templates, for example the Yam languages Nen (Evans 2015b) and Komnzo (Döhler 2016), and the isolate Marori (Arka 2015). The existence of middle verbs in Marind is perhaps a consequence of some sort of areal preference in the lexicalization of intransitive verbs. However, the 'middles' in the Yam languages are very different from the Marind indexing template: the Yam middles cover a much larger part of the lexicon (for example, the majority of intransitive verbs in Komnzo are middles; Döhler 2016: 230) and they are formed with dedicated middle affixes, and not through simultaneous use of (co-referential) Actor and Undergoer affixes as in Marind. In the latter respect Marori is more similar to Marind, by which it has been heavily influnced, since one of the Marori middle constructions described by Arka is signaled by means of co-referential Actor and Undergoer affixes.

Table 11.3: Some intransitive middle verbs.

ihon	'run away'	*idagin*	'lean, cling'
italeb	'roll around'	*meneh*	'grunt'
kwamin	'enter'	*munggeh*	'hum, buzz'
lolaw	'creep, crawl'	*olin*	'hang/hold on to'
um	'go habitually'	*sameb*	'turn (in spot)'
umuh	'go, take off'	*ɣakeh*	'lie down on back'
lokeh	'peek'	*tapeb*	'fly up'
kasib	'lie down on stomach'	*wabayed*	'turn head back'
hawa	'emerge'	*tahob*	'lean against, cling to'
oleh	'reach up'	*aɣin*	'run around'
ɣoseh	'jump along'	*oha*	'go down to beach'
taletok	'fall with head first'	*uhwasig*	'go up from water'
mikeh	'turn one's head'		

11.2.2.4 Dative Experiencer intransitives (Type 1d). Such verbs have a single participant, indexed by means of the Dative prefix set. The Actor prefix is invariant 3sg. For most verbs the role of the sole participant is best described as an experiencer. Examples are: *kamob* 'become intoxicated from betel nut', *isik* 'become full (eating)', *ɣek* 'become used to, learn'. The common Dative Experiencer

verb *dahuk* 'die' (used about animals) has a patient-like participant rather than an experiencer (other near-synonymous verbs, such as *kahwid* 'die', are patientive verbs and index the S-argument through Undergoer alternations in the verb stem). For another verb of this class, *luhay* 'S_{Dat} remain in a different place' it is more unclear how to classify the role of the S-participant indexed by the Dative.

Evidence that the affected participant of these verbs functions as S-argument (rather than O-argument, with the A omitted or unspecified) comes from elicited data showing that the Neutral Orientation is used when the argument is placed in the pre-verbal position. In the following example this is seen with *nok* 'I, we' preceding the Neutral-marked verb:

(485) *nok* *ø-ø-na-y-p-* *kamob*
1 NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl-CT- betel.drunk
'We became intoxicated from betel nut.'

This is a small valency class, with only the five verbs cited above having been identified as members so far.

11.2.3 Divalent verbs

11.2.3.1 Transitive verbs with alternating (Type 2a) and invariant (Type 2b) stems. Standard transitive verbs (with an agent-like and a patient-like participant) always occur with the Object Orientation prefix *m-* if the patient-like argument is in the pre-verbal position (see examples in Section 10.1.3.1).

The Marind verbal lexicon is split between verbs that exhibit stem alternation indexing person/number (for animates) and/or gender (for inanimates) of the patient-like participant (the Undergoer) and verbs that have invariant stems (see Section 9.2.2). This split affects syntactically intransitive as well as transitive verbs. Almost all transitive verbs that can take an animate O-argument index this participant by means of stem alternations, and belong to class 2a in Table 11.1. An example is *wamuk* 'hit'. One of the exceptions is *asa* '(dog) bark at (animal)' which does not index the O-argument and therefore belongs to valency class 2b. Verbs that occur with inanimate O-arguments are split between classes 2a and 2b: *kasab* 'rip, tear' is an invariant 2a-verb and alternates according to gender (with the stem *kasahib* used for inanimates in gender IV, e.g. a rupiah banknote), while *keway* 'break' is invariant 2b-verb.

There is no obvious difference in affected- or effectiveness ('semantic' transitivity) between class 2a and 2b; it is best to regards their members as being lexically

specified as alternating or not.

11.2.3.2 Middle transitive (Type 2c). There is only one clear example of a standard transitive verb (involving an agent acting on a patient) with participant indexing following the middle pattern (cf. intransitive middles in Section 11.2.2.3 above, and Section 8.5.1). This is the verb *kamin* 'make'. As seen in (486) this verb indexes its A-participant in both the Actor prefix and the Undergoer stem infix, which makes it a middle verb.

(486) *gambar* *ma-no-d-* *kama⟨n⟩it-a*
picture(m) OBJ-1.A-DUR- make⟨1.U⟩-EXT
'I took (lit. made) pictures' [nb03.40.wbi]

Drabbe reports that this verb can index the O-participant if it refers to an animate. I have not observed this usage, so I cite the only example given by Drabbe:

(487) Eastern dialect; adapted from Drabbe (1955: 69)
Allah *ø-a-* *kama⟨n⟩in*
God(m) NEUT-3sg.A make⟨1.U⟩
'God made me.'

A candidate for inclusion in the middle transitive class is *walaw*, which can be used as a transitive verb with the meaning 'search for'. This verb is also used intransitively with the meaning 'open one's eyes'. This is probably the original meaning of *walaw*, which would explain that it is a middle verb, since many verbs denoting body actions (e.g. moving a body part) exhibit middle indexing. This indexing pattern was retained when the verb acquired its transitive use.

(488) From a hunting story.
otih *ap* *awe* *m-an-d-e-* *n-alaw*
many too game OBJ-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-search
'All of us were searching for animals.' [0062.28062015.4.wbi]

11.2.3.3 Dative O transitives (Type 2d). Such verbs have an agent and a patient-like participant, with the latter indexed by means of the Dative prefix set. Like the O-arguments of other transitive verbs, the constituent expressing the patient triggers the use of Object Orientation *m-* if it is placed in the pre-verbal position. Example with the verb *takin* 'wait':

(489) *nok m-e-na-p- takit-a*
1 OBJ-3pl>1-1.DAT-CT- wait-EXT
'They are waiting for me.' [nb02.132.wbi]

Other verbs that pattern with *takin* are: *ɣina* 'help', *kalalid* 'invite', *kahoɣ* 'frighten', *lemed* 'meet', *hyom* 'fuck' and *talun* 'give s.b. a push', *dahuɣ* 'prevent s.b. from leaving'.

11.2.3.4 Genitive O transitives (Type 2e). Only two verbs are known to index their O-argument with the Genitive prefix series, but both of these verbs, *gan* 'hear, listen' and *ɣoman* 'approach, meet', are relatively frequent.

(490) *namaɣa rusa nahan ø-nak-om- gan*
now deer(m) 1.EMPH NEUT-1.A-3sg.GEN- hear
'Then I heard the deer myself.' [0734.16092016.1.wbi]

For an example with *ɣoman* 'approach, meet' see (329) on p. 243.

The verb *gan* 'hear, listen' occurs in several valency frames. It can also be used intransitively, e.g. 'listen (to some unspecified stimulus)'. Another option is to use it transitively with an inanimate stimulus, such as *lala* '(high-pitched) noise' in (491). It is more common to specify the source of the sound with the Genitive prefixes, as when the speaker in (492) links the stimulus (*gugu* 'thumping noise') to a previously mentioned wallaby. This construction, with its original O-argument (i.e. the sound itself) omitted, must have provided the source for the construction in which the emitter of the sound is the O-argument, retaining the indexing by means of the Genitive prefix series from the source expression.

(491) *oso m-ak-um- uma⟨n⟩ah lala epe nda-no- gan*
start OBJ-1.A-FRUS- go⟨1.U⟩ noise there LOC-1.A- hear
'I had just started to walk, [then] I heard a noise there.'
[0054.20052015.1.mkl]

(492) Hunters going after a wallaby.
maɣay gugu mahut ɣa nd-an-d-omb-e- gat-a
first thumping.noise far real LOC-1.A-DUR-3sg.GEN-1pl- hear-EXT
'First we heard its thumping from very far away.' [1074.16092016.1.wbi]

The Genitive coding of the transitive O can be understood as an extension of a situation in which only sound-denoting O-arguments were allowed with 'hear', which is the situation found in e.g. the highlands language Usan (Reesink 1987: 135).

11.2.3.5 Complex pseudo-transitives (Type 2f). This interesting pattern is attested with a few complex verbal expressions, but more research is needed to establish how widespread it is. Marind has many idiomatic expressions denoting mental or bodily events such as 'become hungry', 'die', 'become sleepy', etc., consisting of a fixed nominal (e.g. *emel* 'hunger') and a verb, often with no discernible meaning (e.g. *wahun*, which only occurs in the expression 'become hungry'). In these expressions the patient/experiencer is always indexed by means of Undergoer marking on the verb stem, and the Actor prefix is invariable 3sg. Therefore it would seem reasonable to think of these verb expressions as standard transitives, with the fixed nominal (e.g. *emel* 'hunger') functioning as the A-argument, the patient/experiencer as the O-argument, and with literal glosses such as 'hunger affects me' (cf. Pawley et al. 2000 on similar idioms in the Papuan language Kalam).

However, comparing the effect of pre-verbal placement of *emel* or the patient-like argument on the use of Orientation prefixes reveals that these expressions are not standard transitives. Recall that the A-argument of a standard transitive verb triggers the use of the Neutral Orientation, while the O-argument requires the Object Orientation prefix. With expressions such as *emel wahun* 'get hungry' we find the Neutral prefix with *both* the fixed nominal *emel* 'hunger', as in (493a) and the patient-like argument; in (493b) this is the interrogative *ta* 'who'.

(493) a. *emel* *ø-bat-ø-* *w-ahun*
hunger NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-get.hungry
'S/he is hungry, poor one.' [nb03.39.wbi]

b. *emel* *ta* *ø-b-a-* *w-ahun?*
hunger who NEUT-INT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-get.hungry
'Who is hungry?' [nb04.116.wbi]

Thus, it seems that these expressions are 'double-subject' expressions, since both *emel* 'hunger' and the patient-like argument *ta* 'who?' behave like S/A-arguments and trigger the Neutral Orientation. This pattern is not attested outside the class of idiomatic expressions with fixed stimulus-denoting nominals.[2]

11.2.4 Trivalent verbs

Most of these verbs express transfer events ('give something to somebody'). Such verbs have two object-like arguments: a theme (typically an inanimate) and a recipient-

[2]The only other case is derived verbs with the applicative WITH-prefix, which also have two arguments that trigger the Neutral Orientation: the S/A-argument and the constituent expressing the instrument (§10.1.2.3).

like participant (typically animate). The default pattern with respect to the Orientation prefixes is that a recipient placed in the pre-verbal position triggers the Directional *k-* on the verb (cf. Section 10.1.4.3), and the theme triggers the Object prefix *m-* (§10.1.3.2).

11.2.4.1 Ditransitives with secundative indexing (Type 3a). For this class, the recipient is indexed by means of Undergoer alternations in the verb stem, just like the O-argument of alternating transitive verbs (indexing and case flagging patterns treating the monotransitive O and the ditransitive recipient are called secundative in e.g. Malchukov et al. 2010). The theme is not indexed in the verb complex.

This is a small class. The only transfer verb exhibiting this pattern is *koh* 'feed', as in example (351) on p. 295. In addition, I include the verbs *kwaneb* and *wasakab*, both meaning roughly 'snatch something from somebody', in this class. The animate who is deprived of something is indexed in the verb stems of these verbs, and the stolen item is unindexed, but triggers the Object Orientation prefix *m-* when placed in the pre-verbal position.

11.2.4.2 Standard ditransitives with alternating (Type 3b) and invariant (Type 3c) stems. This is the major pattern for the expression of transfer and similar three-participant events. Such verbs index the recipient-like participant by means of the Dative prefix series, and only differ in whether they are lexically specified as having an alternating verb stem or not. If the verb is alternating the theme is indexed within the verb stem, as with *ɣadewn* in (494). The main examples of invariant verbs used ditransitively are *og* 'give' and *kabed* 'ask', which do not index the theme, and therefore belong to class 3c.

(494) The speaker found some jerry cans with fresh water hidden in the forest.

adaka	*e-he*	*nok*	*k-e-na-y-*	*ɣad⟨e⟩wn*	*i-pe*	*agi,*	
water(III)	III-PROX	1	DIR-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl-	leave⟨III.U⟩	I/II.pl-DIST	PROW:I/II.pl	

Kaptel-anim
K.-people

'The water was left for us by um, Kaptel villagers.' [0108.08092016.1.wbi]

11.2.4.3 Middle ditransitive 'beg for' (Type 3d). The frequent verb *wig* 'beg for' has a unique valency pattern: it indexes the A-participant according to the

middle pattern (cf. the middle intransitives, Section 11.2.2.3) and indexes the person from whom one begs (i.e. the owner of the desired item) by means of the Genitive series. The theme is not indexed. Judging from corpus data the Orientation system treats the theme and the owner alike in deploying the Object prefix *m-* when either is placed in the pre-verbal position.

(495) *kaka* *Ambay* *m-ø-omb-ap-* *w-ig* *tangge* *ago,* *Ambay* *e!*
elder.sib(m) A. OBJ-3sg.A-3sg.GEN-CT- 3sg.U-beg arrow QUOT A. PTCL
'He asked Ambay for arrows, saying "Hey, Ambay!"' [0009.28062015.2.wbi]

11.2.5 Patient-preserving lability

In this section I discuss verbs that may occur in two different valency frames with some predictable difference in meaning between the two patterns. These alternations are uncoded, meaning that there is no added morphology on the verb (e.g. passive or causative markers) signaling the shift in valency. There are several coded alternations (e.g. applicative constructions) in Marind, to be discussed in Chapter 12.

Many Marind verbs may be used according to two different valency patterns: one in which the verb is used transitively, with an agent-like participant (the A-argument) and a patient-like participant (the O-argument), and one in which the verb is used intransitively, with the sole argument having the semantic role of patient, so that the S-argument of the intransitive use corresponds to the O-argument of the transitive use. Compare *The referee$_A$ started the game$_O$* with *The game$_S$ started*. I refer to this possibility as **patient-preserving lability** (or **P-lability**; these terms are from Dixon 1994. Other researchers use the label causative-inchoative alternation for the two uses of P-labile verbs).[3]

Since Marind allows arguments to be omitted, one has to make sure that the seemingly intransitive use of a verb is not better described as the transitive use with the A-argument omitted (e.g. because it is recoverable from the context), i.e. *Ø started the game*. Since the system of Verb Orientation (Chapter 10) tracks the role of the argument placed in the pre-verbal position by distinguishing S/A-arguments (which requires the Neutral prefix ø- or *k-* on the verb, see Section 10.1.2) from O-arguments (which require the Object prefix *m-*), it is easy to identify the intransitive use of verbs from transitive uses with an omitted A-argument by observing examples

[3] P-lability contrasts with agent-preserving lability (or A-lability), as in *Mary is writing her dissertation/Mary is writing*.

with the patient-like argument in the pre-verbal position. My identification of P-labile verbs is based on this diagnostic. In Section 11.2.5.1 I consider the reasons for giving the facts of Orientation marking precedence over another diagnostic, person marking.

The use of the Neutral *k-* in the following example shows that the transitive verb ***keway*** 'break, ruin' also allows the intransitive use with the patient-like participant expressed as the S-argument. Compare (a), in which the A-argument ***ahan*** 'you, yourself' is in the pre-verbal position, with (b), where the patient-like argument ***ɣandam*** 'stomach' is in the same position. Since the verb form in (b) employs Neutral marking instead of Object *m-* (see Section 10.1.3) it must be concluded that ***ɣandam*** is an S-argument and not an O, and that this sentence represents an intransitive use of ***keway***, and not a transitive use with an omitted A-argument.

(496) a. Removing dirt from the well. The speaker complains that the addressee's cleaning efforts are doing more harm than good.

adaka ahan k-o- keway-a
water EMPH:2sg PRS.NEUT-2sg.A- break-EXT
'You are the one ruining the water!' [0038.27082015.1.wbi]

b. Said about a puppy that was throwing up.

ɣandam ø-bat-o- keway
stomach NEUT-AFF-3sg.DAT- break
'Its stomach is upset' (lit. 'The stomach broke to it') [nb03.59.wbi]

Other verbs manifesting P-lability are listed in Table 11.4, on page 358.

Most of these have English translation equivalents that are P-labile, except ***kakak*** 'lose' which unlike its English counterpart can be used intransitively in the sense 'get lost, disappear'. Conversely there are labile verbs in English whose counterparts in Marind are not P-labile, such as ***kahaleb*** 'drop' or ***tad*** 'burn'. For example, ***kahaleb*** can be used to express *The dog dropped the bone* but not intransitive *The bone dropped from its mouth*.

11.2.5.1 P-lability and person marking. While labile verbs are straightforwardly identifiable in Marind from the behavior of the Orientation prefixes, things get more complicated once person marking is taken into account. As explained in Section 9.2, about half of the verb lexemes in the language index the patient-like participant by means of stem alternations ('alternating verbs'). In its transitive use, a labile alternating verb such as ***saletok*** 'hide' indexes the O-argument in the verb

stem, as in (497a). In its intransitive use, it is the S-argument that is indexed in the stem, as in (b).[4]

(497) a. *katal* *ah-* *sal⟨i⟩tuk!*
money(IV) IMP- hide⟨IV.U⟩
'Hide the money!' [nb03.116.wbi]

b. *ah-* *salta⟨ɣ⟩uk!*
IMP- hide⟨2sg.U⟩
'Hide!' [nb02.68.dmh]

Verbs are lexically specified as being alternating or not, so there is no semantic difference between labile verbs that have invariant stems, such as ***keway*** 'break, ruin' in (496) above, or the alternating, but semantically similar, ***kagub*** 'break, break off' in (498).

(498) a. *isala* *ø-a-* *kagub*
sitting.platform NEUT-3sg.A- break:III.U
'It was the platform that broke.' [0077.27112016.4.wbi]

b. *ngganggin* *ah-* *kaga⟨h⟩ib-em*
croton IMP- break⟨IV.U⟩-PL.IMP
'Break off croton twigs!' [nb03.93.wbi]

The indexing pattern seen in the (b)-sentences of (497–498) could be thought of as a consequence of the obligatory stem alternations affecting verbs such as ***saletok*** and ***kagub***: since the intransitive versions lacks an O-argument that can be indexed in the stem, indexing happens with the only available argument (the S-argument).

Alternatively, the indexing pattern in the (b)-sentences could be regarded as a derivational process allowing a transitive verb to be used intransitively. Indeed, Nichols et al. (2004: 159) state that P-labile verbs ("ambitransitive verbs" in their terminology) in languages with both subject and object agreement will only have subject agreement when used intransitively, so Marind ***saletok*** 'hide' and ***kagub*** 'break, break off' would not qualify as labile in this classification, but as having a derived intransitive version (a "reduced verb" in Nichols et al. 2004). In another much cited work on the same phenomenon, Haspelmath 1993, the intransitive versions only count as derived if they exhibit some additional marking distinguishing them from

[4]It is important to note that this is not a reflexive construction, and it could not be used to express situations such as *Mary saw herself/voted for herself*. See Section 12.5.

the transitive base verbs, which arguably is not the case with the relevant Marind verbs (since verb stems such as *saletok* and *kagub* index an argument in both their intransitive and transitive uses).

Since I consider the distinction between alternating and invariant verbs to be a matter of inflectional class membership that is at most indirectly related to transitivity, I classify verbs as labile regardless of whether they index the Undergoer in the stem (like *kagub*) or not (like *keway*), although this seems to be at odds with Nichols et al.'s scheme. Alternating verbs are so indicated in Table 11.4.

11.2.5.2 P-labile verbs with patientive intransitives. A second issue concerns whether or not the S-argument of the intransitive version of a labile verb is reflected in the Actor indexing prefixes (Section 8.2). Most alternating labile verbs behave like *saletok* and index the S-argument by means of an Actor prefix and verb stem alternation simultaneously (these belong to the so called 'middle' verbs, see Section 8.5.1), as in (499). In addition, it is only middle verbs that allow Imperative formation in the intransitive use, as seen with *saletok* in (497b) above.

(499) *anem e= nd-a- sal⟨e⟩tok-a e-he bus e-he*
man PROX= LOC-3sg.A- hide⟨3sg.U⟩-EXT III-PROX eucalyptus III-PROX
'Somebody is hiding here among the eucalyptus trees.'
[0526.20052015.3.mkl]

The indexing of the S-argument in the Actor prefix corresponds to the agentive semantics of the verb (since hiding oneself requires an instigating agent), while the simultaneous indexing of the S by means of the Undergoer alternation in the stem follows from the fact that the stem indexes the only available argument in the absence of an O-argument.

But at least some P-labile verbs lack agentive semantics in their intransitive use. These verbs follow a patientive indexing template (cf. 11.2.2.2) when they are used intransitively, meaning that the S-argument is indexed only in the verb stem, while the Actor prefix is invariant 3sg. The most common P-labile verb that is patientive in its intransitive use is *balen* (2|3pl stem *bahin*) 'finish'. The transitive use of this verb is shown in (500a), where it describes truck drivers herding villagers onto trucks until they have finished herding all. The intransitive use, which could be translated as 'become finished, run out, be none left', is in (b), where the verb 'finish' displays the patientive indexing template with invariant 3sg.A along with a 1st person Undergoer stem *banin* 'finish us'.

(500) a. Some Kimaam Islanders were taken in trucks and transported to Merauke for a celebration.

mayay mbya Kimaam-anim m-a- y-ahik,
first all K.-people OBJ-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-accompany

Kimaam-anim aaa, ka-n-ap- ba⟨h⟩in
K.-people DIR-3sg.A-CT- finish⟨2|3pl.U⟩

'First they took the Kimaam people, all the Kimaam people until…they finished them.' [0180–0181.27112016.3.wbi]

b. *inah ti ø-nan-d-e- huhu-n,*
two with NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- emerge.PLA-1.U

yahaa k-ø-e-p- ba⟨n⟩in
all.the.way.to DIR-3sg.A-1pl-CT- finish⟨1.U⟩

'We went out two by two, until none of us were left.' [nb02.76.dmh]

Other P-labile verbs that have an intransitive variant with patientive indexing are ***oleb*** 'change', ***ibayeb*** 'make round; become round' and ***walimayeb*** 'bend; become bent, crooked'. Note that ***walimayeb*** has a slightly different meaning than the non-patientive verb ***masetok***, which also means 'bend' as a transitive verb but 'lean forward' in its intransitive use. This agentive meaning explains that it is middle marking and not patientive in its intransitive use.

Table 11.4 indicates whether a labile verb has alternating (indexing person/number of the Undergoer) or invariant stems, and the type of indexing template exhibited by the verb in its intransitive use. For verbs that are attested only with inanimate undergoers it is not possible to distinguish the middle and patientive patterns, since inanimates lack number and trigger 3sg Actor marking by default.

Table 11.4: P-labile verbs.

verb	gloss	alternating	itr. indexing
tak	'clear, empty'	no	n/a
keway	'break, ruin'	no	n/a
kamak	'start'	no	n/a
kab	'open'	no	n/a
lalid	'close'	no	n/a
betok	'pile up'	yes	n/a
ɣuyam	'rock, shake'	yes	n/a
hyahyak	'split'	yes	n/a
ihwaluk	'dangle'	yes	n/a
panggak	'unfold'	yes	n/a
kakak	'lose'	yes	n/a
kibib	'roll'	yes	?
ibinggab	'gather'	yes	middle
hwaɣob	'hang'	yes	middle
masetok	'bend; lean forward'	yes	middle
saletok	'hide'	yes	middle
dahetok	'turn'	yes	middle
lawetok	'turn'	yes	middle
oleb	'change'	yes	patientive
ibayeb	'make round'	yes	patientive
walimaɣeb	'bend'	yes	patientive
balen	'finish'	yes	patientive

Chapter 12

Valency-changing constructions

This chapter describes constructions in which a verb is used with a different number of arguments compared to its standard use outside the construction. These valency-changing structures are marked by the presence of prefixes in the verb complex: the Comitative–Instrumental *k-* (§12.1); the Accompaniment *e-* (§12.2); the Allative *ind-* and Separative *is-* (§12.3); and the Reciprocal *enam-* (§12.4).

All of these structures, with the exception of the Reciprocal, are valency-increasing, meaning that they add an extra participant to the verb. The added participant behaves similarly to a standard O-argument, so I consider these constructions to be various types of applicatives (Peterson 2007).

Marind has no structures that correspond straightforwardly to reflexives or causatives of other languages. There are various ways to express reflexive situations and causation, and I give overviews of these in Sections 12.5 and 12.6 respectively.

12.1 Comitative–Instrumental *k-* (WITH-)

The prefix *k-* is realized as *ka-* before vowel, and as *i-* before a /k/; its form is described in the chapter on verb stem formation (§9.3.3). The prefix attaches to the verb stem, so it could be described as a derivational prefix deriving new stems with the meaning 'V with'. The prefix occurs in two distinct structures: (i) a comitative construction, in which an inanimate item that is e.g. brought along is cast as an argument of the verb, and (ii) an instrumental construction, in which a bare NP expressing an instrument is promoted to argument status. These two constructions have different syntactic properties, as reflected primarily in the behavior of the Orientation prefixes on the verb (see further below). I take advantage of the polysemy

of the English word *with* and gloss the prefix as 'WITH-', instead of giving it separate glosses depending on whether it occurs in the comitative or instrumental structure.

12.1.1 Comitative use

In this use the WITH-prefix is overwhelmingly found with motion verbs. Common pairs are: *man* 'come' > *ka-man* 'bring here', *umuh* 'go, take off' > *k-umuh* 'bring away', *ihon* 'run' > *k-ihon* 'run away with' etc. The comitative theme (i.e. the item being brought etc.) is treated as an O-argument, and triggers the use of the Object Orientation prefix when it is placed in the pre-verbal slot (see §10.1.3.4). In (501), the noun phrase *ndom-tas ɣa* 'a really bad bag' expresses the comitative theme licensed by the WITH-prefix.

(501) From a hunting story. Some bananas later fell out through a hole in the bag.

nok keti en napet, Ambay ndom-tas ɣa ma-d-ø- ka-ɣet
1 APL POSS banana A. bad-bag(m) real OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- WITH-be.moving
'[For] our bananas, Ambay was bringing along a really bad bag.'
[0619.16092016.1.wbi]

If an argument is recoverable from the context it is often left unexpressed, as in (502), in which the comitative theme 'sago' is implicit.

(502) The speaker had been asked to bring sago.

kwemek mano- k-uma⟨n⟩ah, mate
morning FUT:1.A- WITH-go⟨1.U⟩ never.mind
'I'll bring [it] in the morning, don't worry.' [0230.08092016.1.wbi]

The comitative theme shows the same syntactic distribution as standard O-arguments. It is placed in the pre-verbal slot if the speaker wishes to put focus on it, or if it makes up the comment unit together with the verb complex (§10.2). The speaker can also choose to place the comitative theme elsewhere in the clause, e.g. clause-finally, as in (503), according to the information packaging requirements. (The expression *inahinah tagu ti* 'with four feet' combines with *yahun* 'canoe' to denote cars and trucks).

(503) *i-pe* *t-i-ø-me-ø-* *ka-nayam-em* *yahun,* *inahinah*
I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-NEUT-FUT-3sg.A- WITH-many.come-VEN canoe four
tagu *ti*
foot with
'Those are the ones who are going to bring the vehicle—the truck.'
[0017.23092016.6.wbi]

The relatively unconstrained placement of the comitative theme contrasts with the behavior of an instrument NP licensed by the WITH-prefix, which usually has to be placed in the pre-verbal slot (cf. next section). The comitative structure is also compatible with morphology that does not permit focused arguments, such as the Perfect *mend-* (504). This feature further distinguishes the comitative from the instrumental use discussed below, as the latter only combine.

(504) This is the continuation of ex. (502).
kak *Wobi* *da* *menda-b-ø-* *ka-man*
aunt W. sago PERF-ACT-3sg.A- WITH-come
'Aunt Wobi already brought sago.' [0252.08092016.1.wbi]

The frequent combination of the WITH-prefix and the generic motion verb *ɣet* has given rise to a reduced portmanteau stem: the full form *ka-ɣet*, as in (501) above, is interchangeable with the shortened form *kat*, with exactly the same meaning. A corpus example:

(505) Same speaker and context as (504).
kwemek *da* *ma-d-ø-o-* *kat*
morning sago OBJ-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- be.moving:WITH
'In the morning she brought the sago for her.' [0262.08092016.1.wbi]

The following three position verbs have irregular WITH-stems: *mil* 'be sitting' > *kimil* 'be sitting with' *tel* 'be lying' > *ketel* 'be lying with', and *nin* 'lie/sleep repeatedly' > *kinin* 'lie/sleep repeatedly with'. These are not sufficiently well attested in corpus data, but my host mother Yustina volunteered the illustrative sentences in (506). Cf. example (245) on p. 194.

(506) a. *tamuɣ m-a-p- kimil-e*
food OBJ-3sg.A-CT- be.sitting:WITH-IPFV
'S/he's sitting eating.' (lit. 'sitting with food') [nb04.75.wbi]

b. *sidwad m-a- ketel-e*
lime.gourd OBJ-3sg.A- be.lying:WITH-IPFV
'S/he's sleeping with a lime gourd.' (e.g. hiding it from thieves)
[nb04.65.wbi]

The main semantic restriction on the comitative use of the WITH-prefix is that it may only be used with inanimate nouns as comitative theme, and, among inanimates, only with nouns that fall into gender III (most inanimate nouns are in gender III, cf. Chapter 6). If a gender IV item is brought along, the comitative structure must be formed with the Accompaniment prefix *e-* (see below), which is also used with animate companions. It is a remarkable quirk of Marind grammar that gender IV nouns are treated as if they were animates in all structures that distinguish between animates and inanimates. I discussed these facts in relation to the gender system in §6.3.2.2.

The person indexing in the verb complex is not affected by the use of the WITH-prefix, so the indexing template of the derived comitative verb is inherited from that of the base verb. This is also the case when the base verb has a suppletive plural stem. For example, the verb *ɣet* 'be moving' is suppletive according to the number of its S-argument, with the plural counterpart being *naɣat* 'many be moving'. This plural stem is also used when the verb appears in the comitative structure, as in (507). The derived verb *ka-naɣat* is formally ditransitive, and takes an A-argument (the agent) and an O-argument (here, *tamuɣ* 'food'). This type of situation—a suppletive intransitive verb turned into a suppletive transitive verb—is the only case in which a transitive verb is suppletive according to the number of its A-argument. With non-derived verbs suppletion always follows an absolutive S/O pattern (§9.2.6).

(507) *tamuɣ kosi k-an-d-e- ka-naɣat*
food little DIR-1.A-DUR-1pl- WITH-many.be.moving
'[...] we only brought a little food.' [0921.16092016.1.wbi]

There are some idiomatic expressions that are based on the comitative construction, but apparently without comitative meaning. The noun *ukna* 'fear' appears in the comitative construction with the meaning 'to Verb out of fear, because one is afraid', or more literally 'Verb with fear'. Examples are in (508–509). The construction in

(510) is also an instance of the comitative structure, although the derivation of the meaning 'take a bath' is less transparent. See also example (385) on p. 307.

(508) *ukna m-a- k-abun*
fear OBJ-3sg.A- WITH-bark
'[The dog] is barking out of fear.' [nb04.83.wbi]

(509) The speaker, an older man, is complaining that hunters nowadays hide from the pig instead of attacking it.
ukna m-e- k-u-sl⟨i⟩tuk-e namaɣa lik
fear OBJ-2pl.A- WITH-PLA-hide⟨2|3pl.U⟩-IPFV now from:I/II.pl
'You hide out of fear, you young people (lit. from nowadays).'
[0812.16092016.1.wbi]

(510) *udug ap-o- ka-ɣ-in*
bath PST.Q-2sg.A- WITH-2sg.U-become
'Did you take a bath?' [nb03.59.wbi]

12.1.2 Instrumental use

In this use the prefix *k-* licenses a bare NP referring to an instrument. This use also extends to vehicles ('by motorcycle') and certain manner expressions used adverbially ('with speed'), as described further below.

The instrumental use of the WITH-prefix *k-* needs to be distinguished from the comitative use of the same prefix, because the added NPs have different morphosyntactic properties in the respective structures. There are three clear differences: (i) the added instrument NP, if it is given overt expression, is strictly placed in the preverbal slot, whereas the comitative NP can be placed anywhere in the clause; (ii) the presence of the instrument NP triggers the use of the Neutral Orientation prefix on the verb, whereas the comitative NP triggers the Object Orientation prefix *m-*; (iii) the instrument NP can be headed by a noun of either gender III or IV, whereas only gender III nouns enter into the comitative construction.

The following examples show the obligatory pre-verbal placement of the applied instrument NP and its co-occurrence with the Neutral Orientation prefix (*k-* in present, ø- in non-present contexts). See also §10.1.2.3 for discussion of the use of the Neutral Orientation with instrument NPs.

(511) *nggat manggat k-a- i-kaɣasub-a*
dog tooth(III) PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- WITH-scratch-EXT
'The dog is scratching itself with its teeth.' [nb04.59.wbi]

(512) *tagu ø-nak-e- ka-naɣam*
foot(III) NEUT-1.A-1pl- WITH-many.come
'We came here by foot.' [0108.23092016.7.wbi]

(513) *ember ø-mo- ka-lesad maɣay*
bucket(m)(III) NEUT-FUT:2sg.A- WITH-draw.water first
'Draw water with the bucket first!' [0236.27082015.1.wbi]

The preceding examples illustrate instruments in gender III; elicited data such as (514) confirm that gender IV instruments also are possible (*alib* is an arrow made from a species of nibong palm).

(514) *alib ø-no-d- ka-w-as*
arrow.sp(IV) NEUT-1.A-DUR- WITH-3sg.U-shoot.PLA
'I was shooting with *alib*-arrows.' [nb03.86.wbi]

Like other arguments the instrument is usually omitted if it is easily recoverable from the context. In (515), the instrument in the second clause is omitted, since it was already established in the preceding clause ('an old thing').

(515) About a plant that had been used to inflict an injury.
e-he tanama-namakad k-a,
III-PROX old:III-thing(III) PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
anim mbya k-enam- ka-na-sak-e
people NEG PRS.NEUT-RCPR- WITH-1.U-hit.PLA-IPFV
'This is an old thing, people don't fight each other with [it] anymore.'
[0272.27112016.4.wbi]

Recall from §3.3.6.6 that the postposition *en* can be used to mark an instrument. An instrument expressed by a postpositional phrase does not co-occur with applicative marking on the verb, and is not restricted to any particular syntactic slot of the clause. The postpositional option is chosen in clauses that do not permit focused arguments, e.g. commands formed with the Imperative prefix *ah-*. See example (364) on p. 301 for an illustration of this contrast.

Means of transportation are treated as instruments and can be licensed by the WITH-prefix, as in the next two examples. The conflation of these two semantic roles is only made in the applicative structure: the corresponding postpositional phrases distinguish instruments, marked by the postposition *en*, from means of transportation, marked by the postposition *tV*. Cf. e.g. example (95) on p. 104 for this use of *tV* 'with'.

(516) About some men working at a river crossing.

slup *ø-da-n-* *ka-hwasetok-ma*
motorboat(m) NEUT-DUR-3pl.A- WITH-transport-PST.HAB
'They would transport things with the motorboat.' [0099.08092016.1.wbi]

(517) *dagis-slup* *ø-d-ø-em-* *ola,*
sago.stalk-motorboat(m)(III) NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN- be:III.U

Kolum *ø-d-a-* *k-um*
K. NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- WITH-go.PLA:3sg.U
'They had a motorboat made from sago stalk, Kolum was bringing it along.'
[0074.16092016.1.wbi]

The instrumental use is extended to certain manner expressions, as in (518). A literal translation would be 'I walked with slow[ness]'.

(518) *alil* *ø-no-d-* *ka-ɣet*
slow NEUT-1.A-DUR- WITH-be.moving
'I walked slowly.' [0032.28062015.2.wbi]

12.2 Accompaniment *e-*

The Accompaniment prefix *e-* (realized as *y-* in coda position) is part of the prefixal complex. It is assigned to position class –3 in the morphotactic template, and should not be confused with the 1pl prefix *e-*, with which it can co-occur. The Accompaniment prefix is mostly used with motion verbs, and adds one argument to the verb. The added participant (or accompanee) is a participant in the motion event, typically being brought along or chased by the agent. The accompanee must be either (a) an animate or (b) an inanimate belonging to gender IV. It is not possible for the added participant to be an inanimate in gender III—such nouns are only compatible with the WITH-prefix *k-*. This difference between the Accompaniment prefix and the

comitative use of the WITH-prefix was also described in §12.1.1. For the importance of this remarkable patterning for the analysis of the gender system was discussed, see §6.3.2.2.

The added argument behaves syntactically like a standard O-argument. An accompanee that is placed in the pre-verbal slot triggers the use of the Object Orientation prefix *m-*, as seen in (519), in which the added argument is ***hyakod*** 'one'. This example also shows an important morphological fact about the Accompaniment construction: in other contexts, the indexing of a 3rd person plural Actor with a suppletive verb is usually defective and defaults to 3sg marking (instead of 3pl), but the 3pl Actor prefix is reinstated when the Accompaniment prefix is present (see §8.2.2.3).

(519) *uhetagu dohu u-he, hyakod ma-n-e- nayam*
like.this:II fish.sp(II) II-PROX one OBJ-3pl.A-ACPN many.come
'A fish (sp.) this size, they brought one [such fish].' [0337.16092016.1.wbi]

(520) The speaker tells her husband to take away their infant son so she can work.
ah-e- hwil, nok da mano- yol
IMP-ACPN- walk 1 sago FUT:1.A- beat.sago
'You go away with him, I'm going to beat sago.' [0130.17102016.1.wbi]

(521) About an injured man being carried home by other villagers.
mayay anem Poce ø-ø-e- umuh
first man P. NEUT-3sg.A-ACPN- go:3sg.U
'First it was [that] man Poce who brought him.' [0254.17102016.2.wbi]

The following examples show three gender IV nouns as the added arguments: ***nggol*** 'betel leaf', ***bing*** 'leaf base' (leaf bases from sago palms are used for various purposes) and *po*, a kind of white clay.

(522) *ahan nggol mend-o-y- man?*
2sg.EMPH betel.leaf(IV) PERF-2sg.A-ACPN- come
'You yourself brought betel?' [0063.16092016.1.wbi]

(523) *Budoy yaba-bing anep epe nda-bat-ø-e- umuh*
B. big-leaf.base(IV) EMPH:III there LOC-AFF-3sg.A-ACPN- go:3sg.U
Moyga e-pe
M.(III) III-DIST
'Budoy brought a big leaf base from there in Moyga.' [0990.16092016.1.wbi]

(524) About preparations for a feast. White clay is used to paint one's face.
mayi k-ø-e- w-a ihwa⟨n⟩ab,
decoration DIR-3sg.A-1pl- 3sg.U-AUX lack⟨1.U⟩
po s-an-d-e-y- nayat
white.clay(IV) ONLY-1.A-DUR-1pl-ACPN- many.be.moving
'We didn't have any decorations, we only brought white clay.'
[0244.27112016.3.wbi]

With verbs meaning 'run' the presence of Accompaniment *e-* can signal bringing, as in (525), but it more commonly refers to hunting or chasing (i.e. 'cause to run'), as in (526).

(525) About a truck transporting people from a feast in a neighboring village.
nd-ø-e- umak-em, e= ka-d-ø- luya⟨hy⟩ab
LOC-3sg.A-ACPN- be.running-VEN PROX= DIR-DUR-3sg.A- pour⟨2|3pl.A⟩
'Then it drove them hither, and unloaded (lit. 'poured') them here.'
[0150.27112016.4.wbi]

(526) *Petrus menda-b-ø-e- umak-em yaba-basik*
P. PERF-ACT-3sg.A-ACPN- be.running-VEN big-pig
'Petrus was already chasing a big pig.' [0704.16092016.1.wbi]

The Accompaniment prefix is common with position verbs such as *atin* 'stand up, come to a standstill', *ambid* 'sit down', *mil* 'be sitting' etc. This is much more common than the use of the WITH-prefix *k-* with position verbs, cf. example (506) above. The accompanee assumes or remains in the position expressed by the verb, but typically because of something that the agent does. Consider examples (527) and (528). The usual way to express 'stand/sit with someone' is to use the postposition *tV* 'together with'. In these examples the Accompaniment applicative is used instead, with the semantic effect presumably being something like 'keeping them standing/seated'. This asymmetrical relationship between the agent and a more passive accompanee seems to be crucial for the use of the Accompaniment prefix.

(527) The speaker describes how he came across some birds in the bush.

mboha *wanangga* *epe* *nda-da-n-e-* *wayamat-a*
magpie.goose children there LOC-DUR-3pl.A-ACPN- many.stand-EXT
'Magpie geese were standing there with their chicks.' [1011.16092016.1.wbi]

(528) *payum* *nanggah* *e-pe* *Waliwam* *wanangga*
candlenut tree.base(III) III-DIST W. children
e= *nda-d-ø-e-p-* *mil-ti*
PROX= LOC-DUR-3sg.A-ACPN-CT be.sitting-DUR
'Under the candlenut tree Waliwam was sitting with her children.'
[0585.08092016.1.wbi]

With verbs meaning 'stand, come to a standstill' the Accompaniment prefix forms expressions meaning 'cause to come to a standstill', i.e. 'stop'. These expressions are especially frequent in hunting contexts, in which they refer to dogs keeping the game at bay and vocalizing until the hunter arrives with bow and arrow, as in the following example.

(529) *nama* *nggat* *anup* *a,* *hekay-mamuy* *ya* *ka-n-e-* *wayaman*
now dog EMPH:II PTCL clearing-savanna real DIR-3pl.A-ACPN- many.stand
'Now the dogs stopped [the pig] right in the open savanna.'
[0091.28062015.3.wbi]

The Accompaniment prefix may co-occur with the WITH-prefix *k-*, as in (530). There are no examples of such clauses with both added arguments expressed overtly, however, so it is not clear if this is really a 'double' applicative.

(530) *yahun* *ø-ø-e-* *k-ayin* *namaya*
canoe NEUT-3sg.A-ACPN- WITH-run.around:3sg.U now
'Then he hunted with the motorcycle.' [0191.28062015.2.wbi]

12.3 The Allative and the Separative

These valency-increasing prefixes have the basic meanings 'towards' (the Allative *ind-*) and 'away from' (the Separative *is-*). A motion verb prefixed with either of these describes motion towards or away from a participant. The added participant behaves like an O-argument and may occur in the pre-verbal position, with the verb

marked for the Object Orientation (§10.1.3). Together they make up position class –7 (see Chapter 7) and are therefore mutually exclusive.

The following example illustrates the use of both prefixes. In the first clause the verb *umak* 'be running' is prefixed with the Allative *ind-* (the segment /n͡d/ is realized as [n] in coda position, giving *in-*) which allows *Yan* (a hunter) to be expressed as an O-argument. In the second clause the verb *kahek* 'climb' combines with the Separative *is-*, giving the meaning 'climb away from, to escape somebody'. The added participant (the pig from which Yan is fleeing) is recoverable from the context and not given overt expression.

(531) From a hunting story: a pig trying to attack a hunter.

tanama Yan m-ø-um-in- umak-em, deg k-ø-is- kahek
then Y. OBJ-3sg.A-FRUS-ALL- be.running-VEN forest DIR-3sg.A-SEP- climb

'Then it tried to run towards Yan, [but] he climbed in the bush away [from it].' [0584-0585.16092016.1.wbi]

Person/number of the added participant is indexed on the verb by means of the Dative series if the participant is in the 1st person or 2nd person singular. There is usually no Dative indexing if the added participant is 3rd person (as in the preceding example) or 2nd person plural. Compare (532a), in which the added 2sg participant is coded in the verb by means of the 2sg Dative prefix *a-*, with (b), with an unindexed 2pl participant.

(532) a. *oɣ m-ak-is-a- ihya⟨n⟩on*
2sg OBJ-1.A-SEP-2sg.DAT- run⟨1.U⟩
'I ran away from you (sg)'

b. *yoɣ m-ak-is- ihya⟨n⟩on*
2pl OBJ-1.A-SEP- run⟨1.U⟩
'I ran away from you (pl)' [nb04.57.wbi]

This valency pattern—triggering the use of the Object Orientation prefix, and indexing by means of Dative series—also occurs with some basic (non-applicative) verbs, and was referred to as the 'Dative O transitive' pattern (Type 2d) in §11.2.3.3. For basic verbs the indexing occurs with all persons, and is not restricted to 1st person/2nd person singular.

A full paradigm of the Separative with the verb 'run' is in Figure 12.1.

Figure 12.1: Paradigm of *ihon* ‘run away’ showing combinations of Actor and Dative marking with Separative *is-*.

	1sg.DAT	1pl.DAT	2sg.DAT	2pl.DAT
1sg.A	–	–	*oɣ m-ak-is-a- ihya⟨n⟩on* ‘I fled from you’	*yoɣ m-ak-is- ihya⟨n⟩on* ‘I fled from you’
1pl.A	–	–	*oɣ m-ak-is-a-y- awan* ‘we fled from you’	*yoɣ m-ak-is-e- awan* ‘we fled from you’
2sg.A	*nok m-u-n-is-a- ihya⟨ɣ⟩on* ‘you fled from me’	*nok m-u-n-is-a-y- ihya⟨ɣ⟩on* ‘you fled from us’	–	–
2pl.A	*nok m-i-n-is-a- awan* ‘you fled from me’	*nok m-i-n-is-a-y- awan* ‘you fled from us’	–	–
3sg.A	*nok m-a-n-is-a- ihon* ‘s/he fled from me’	*nok m-a-n-is-a-y- ihon* ‘s/he fled from us’	*oɣ m-ø-is-a- ihon* ‘s/he fled from you’	*yoɣ m-ø-is- ihon* ‘s/he fled from you’
3pl.A	*nok m-i-n-is-a- awan* ‘they fled from me’	*nok m-i-n-is-a-y- awan* ‘they fled from us’	*oɣ ma-n-is-a- awan* ‘they fled from you’	*yoɣ m-an-is- awan* ‘they fled from you’

	3sg.DAT, 3pl.DAT
1sg.A	*nggat m-ak-is- ihya⟨n⟩on* ‘I fled from the dog(s)’
1pl.A	*nggat m-ak-is-e- awan* ‘we fled from the dog(s)’
2sg.A	*nggat m-ø-us- ihya⟨ɣ⟩on* ‘you fled from the dog(s)’
2pl.A	*nggat m-ø-is- awan* ‘you fled from the dog(s)’
3sg.A	*nggat m-is- ihon* ‘s/he fled from the dog(s)’
3pl.A	*nggat ma-n-is- awan* ‘they fled from the dog(s)’

Some remarks about formal aspects of the two prefixes are provided in next section. The functions of the Allative are described in §12.3.2, and the functions of the Separative in §12.3.3.

12.3.1 Form and combinatorics

The initial /i/ of the Separative and Allative merges with a preceding vowel /o/, resulting in [u]. Prefixes ending in /o/ positioned before the class –7 prefixes are e.g. 2sg Agent *o-* and the 2sg Agent/Future portmanteau *ndamo-*. Example:

(533) /ndamo-ind- man-em/ → *ndamun-manem* 'you will come to get (it)'
FUT:2sg.A-ALL- come-VEN

This example also illustrates the already mentioned realization of *ind-* as [in] in coda position.

Recall from Section 8.3.1 that the prefixes belonging to position classes –8, –7 and –6 trigger metathesis of the segment *n-* of the 1st person Dative prefix *na-*. The Dative series belong to position class –5 and attach to the right of the Separative and Allative, as in (532a) above, since these belong to class –7. But the expected sequences **ind-na-* (ALL-1.DAT) and **is-na-* (SEP-1.DAT) do not occur: instead the segment *n-* 'jumps' across the preceding prefix and attaches before it. This causes the 1st person Dative prefix to appear as a discontinuous sequence *n-...a-*. I gloss each part of this discontinuous prefix as '1.DAT' (following the Leipzig Glossing Rules, #9). The resulting sequences are *n-ind-a-* (1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-) and *n-is-a-* (1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-). Compare the columns marked '1sg.DAT' and '1pl.DAT' in Figure 12.1.

12.3.2 Functions of the Allative *ind-*

The most concrete use of the Allative is with motion verbs, with the added O-argument expressing the goal of the movement, as illustrated above in (531). Other examples:

(534) From a hunting story: a deer trying to escape.
mbya Panus s-ø-ind-ap- ikyalun
all P. ONLY-3sg.A-ALL-CT- jump
'It just jumped right at Panus.' [0077.14052015.2.dmh]

(535) Describing how a boy approached a traveling party, asking for food.

ɣap m-a-n-ind-a-y- lolaw-em
night OBJ-3sg.A-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-1pl- crawl:3sg.U-VEN
'At night he came sneaking towards us.' [0074.08092016.1.wbi]

Often the meaning of a construction with *ind-* involves purpose, not just direction. The agent moves towards the object in order to acquire it, as in (536). In this purposive use there is not necessarily much motion towards the goal involved, as in (537), in which the participants kneeled down to receive the transubstantiated wafer distributed as part of the Eucharist.

(536) *ebta mak-ind-e-ka- aɣak*
sago.thatch FUT:1.A-ALL-1pl-PRI- go.inland
'We will go inland for sago thatch.' [0253.17102016.1.wbi]

(537) The speaker described how the congregation received communion during Catholic mass.

nok ap k-ak-ind-e-p- ilumun
1 also DIR-1.A-ALL-1pl-CT- kneel.down
'We also kneeled down for it.' [0049.23092016.7.wbi]

The Allative is also used to express purposeful action more generally. In this rather abstract use it seems to lack any applicative function, because no object-like participant is added. Consider (538). The verb ***kagub*** 'break' (***kagahib*** with a gender IV O-argument) is mostly used for items being broken by accident. In the example, taken from an account of sago processing, the speaker explains how she broke off twigs in order to braid a cradle for the sago washing trough to rest on. This purpose motivates the use of *ind-*.

(538) Preparing the apparatus for sago processing.

ihimi ye m-ak-in- kaga⟨h⟩ib, kandi-ihimi
sago.shoot(IV) INGRS OBJ-1.A-ALL- break⟨IV.U⟩ unripe-sago.shoot
'I started breaking off sago shoots, young sago shoots.'
[0085.17102016.1.wbi]

12.3.2.1 Lexicalized uses. The Allative has a variety of uses that can be considered lexicalized to some degree. A few non-motion verbs participate in an alternation in which the verb prefixed by *ind-* adds a participant towards which e.g. a mental state is directed. For example, the intransitive verb *mahid* 'become angry' corresponds to the transitive 'become angry at somebody' when the Allative is present. As with motion verbs, the added participant is indexed by means of the Dative prefix series:

(539) *oŋ m-ø-ind-a- mahid*
2sg OBJ-3sg.A-ALL-2sg.DAT- become.angry
'S/he is angry at you.' [nb02.126.wbi]

This alternation does not appear to be productive. Other verbs that show a similar pattern when *ind-* is added: *tanggiŋ* 'give orders' > 'order somebody', *takad* 'open one's mouth' > 'open one's mouth at somebody (e.g. in surprise)', *hayad* 'play' > 'disturb, bother somebody'.

For a few verbs the addition of the Allative results in a different meaning, apparently without any directional semantics or applicative function. For example, the verb *kamak* means 'try' with the Contessive prefix *ap-* (540a), but 'start' with the Allative (b). Such uses are completely idiomatic (and has to be memorized by the learner), not unlike e.g. English phrasal verbs.

(540) a. *sinik ah-ap- kamak-em!*
carry IMP-CT- try-PL.IMP
'Try to carry them!' [0390.27112016.4.wbi]

b. *tis epe lek, ŋol k-ak-ind-e- kamak*
that's.it after.that pound.sago DIR-1.A-ALL-1pl- start
'That's it, after that we started pounding the sago.'
[0038.17102016.1.wbi]

Finally, there is an idiomatic construction in which a movement verb prefixes with *ind-* appears with the noun *kin* 'eye' and an O-argument. The construction means 'go (etc.) have a look at'.

(541) In a story, the protagonist instructs a bird to fly to check whether his nemesis, whom he plans to kill, is asleep.

h-ind-i-ap- *uma⟨ɣ⟩ah* *kin* *age,* *Sigawle*
IMP-ALL-RE-CT- go⟨2sg.U⟩ eye PROW:I S.(I)
'Please go have a look at what's-his-name, Sigawle.' [0125.21112014.1.dmh]

12.3.3 Functions of the Separative *is-*

The Separative has a much larger range of uses than the Allative *ind-*, and I will spend the following pages describing the most common ones.

In its most concrete use the Separative *is-* adds a participant to a motion verb. The motion is directed away from the added participant. This use was illustrated in (531) and (532) above. More examples:

(542) About a woman who left the village many years ago, under dramatic circumstances.
eham *m-ø-is-* *ihon*
husband:3sg OBJ-3sg.A-SEP- run:3sg.U
'She fled from her husband.' [nb03.44.wbi]

(543) *ɣasti* *oso-pig* *m-a-n-is-a-y-* *dahetok*
old.man start-daylight OBJ-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- return
'The old man went away from us in the early morning.'
[0089.27112016.3.wbi]

Recall that the added participant is indexed by the Dative prefixes series in the 1st person, as in the last example, or in the 2nd person singular. An added 3rd person or 2nd person plural participant is not indexed in the verb.

In the 'motion away' use of the Separative the action often involves fleeing or avoiding. This use is also extended to non-motion contexts, as in the following observed example:

(544) *nanggit* *m-ak-is-* *kalemed* *wanugu*
mosquito OBJ-1.A-SEP- wear clothes
'I put on clothes [to avoid getting bitten by] mosquitos.' [nb04.56.wbi]

The Separative prefix is sometimes used to express that some inanimate entity reaches beyond the added participant. This seems to be an extension of the 'motion away' use, although there is usually no motion involved in such contexts. For example, if the water in a swamp is so deep that one cannot reach the bottom with one's feet without putting the head under water, one can say:

(545) *adaka k-a-n-is-a-p- w-a kaw-ay*
water DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-CT- 3sg.U-AUX INESS-become
(lit.) 'The water is past/goes beyond me.' [nb04.72.wbi]

It seems likely that the 'go beyond' use of the Separative is the source of the common idiomatic expression 'forget'. This construction consists of the noun ***kambet*** 'ear', invariant 3sg Actor marking, Separative ***is-*** and the verb ***kaway***, which probably is the same form as in (545), although I gloss it as unanalyzable 'forget'. If this etymology is correct, the original meaning of (546) was perhaps 'it went beyond my ear' = 'I forgot it'.

(546) *kambet k-a-n-is-a-p- kaway*
ear DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-CT- forget
'I forgot it.' [0330.08092016.1.wbi]

In 'forget', the Dative prefix indexes the owner of the bodypart 'ear'. When the Dative indexes the owner of a bodypart it does so regardless of the person/number of the participant. This means that the restriction against indexing of 3rd person and 2nd person plural participant with the Separative is overridden. Example (547) shows Dative indexing in 3sg (a) and 2pl (b).

(547) a. *kambet k-ø-is-o-p- kaway*
ear DIR-3sg.A-SEP-3sg.DAT-CT- forget
'He forgot.' [0047.20052015.6.mkl]

b. *kambet tapt-is-e-p- kaway!*
ear PROH:3sg.A-SEP-2pl.DAT-CT- forget
'Don't forget!' (pl. addressee) [nb02.82.dmh]

It is very common to use ***is-*** with a verb expressing the passing of time. The added participant is someone affected by the elapsing time, e.g. travelers during an excursion, trying to reach home before dark. In the following two examples, I add 'on us' and 'as we reached' to the English translations so that they better convey the Marind structure.

(548) *Mbian k-a-n-is-a-y- hayaman katane*
Mb. DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- enter.water sun
'By the Bian River the sun went down on us.' [0172.27112016.3.wbi]

(549) *Walakem k-a-n-is-a-y- ka-pig*
W. DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- INESS-become.day
'It dawned as we reached Walakem.' [0042.28062015.2.wbi]

The Separative is used with verbs meaning 'disappear', 'get lost' and 'hide', with the added argument expressing the person from whom something disappears etc. The next three examples illustrate this use. This use is closely related to the general 'motion away' meaning of the Separative. Examples (550) and (551) could perhaps be subsumed under the more general use, since disappearing and getting lost usually involve motion away from somebody. For (552) it is clearer that the use of *is-* does not necessarily involve motion away; this sentence can be used for e.g. sneaking up towards a person and hiding behind them.

(550) The speaker compares today's fishing with that of his youth.
saleɣ mbya k-a, menda-b-ø-n-is-a-y- ikebeh
shrimp NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- disappear:2|3pl.U
'There is no shrimp, they have disappeared on us.' [0075.01052015.1.wbi]

(551) A hunting story. The speaker was asked where his friend had gone.
ago e-pe isawa ø-ø-n-is-a- kotib
QUOT I-DIST maybe NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT- get.lost:3sg.U
'I said: "Maybe he got lost from me".' [0072.28062015.2.wbi]

(552) *nok tumtu-n-is-a- salta⟨ɣ⟩uk*
1 PROH:2sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.A- hide⟨2sg.U⟩
'Don't hide [yourself] from me!' [nb02.68.dmh]

The Separative can be prefixed to verbs meaning 'put, place', giving expressions meaning 'cover'. The added participant seems to correspond to the item or surface being covered (I have no clear examples of the covered entity expressed overtly in the same clause, so it needs to be investigated whether this use really has applicative syntax). It is difficult to understand what this use of *is-* has to do with the meaning 'motion away', which I suggested is the basic meaning of the prefix. It is perhaps related to the use with the verb 'hide' in (552) above, since the act of hiding something often implies covering it.

(553) Describing the final stage of sago processing: baking the sago loaves.

salaku ɣe m-ak-is-ap- ibotok
dry.sago.leaf INGRS OBJ-1.A-SEP-CT- put.many
'I covered [the sago loaves] with dry sago leaves.' [0082.17102016.1.wbi]

(554) Describing how a leaf oven was prepared.

katal ɣe ma-d-n-is-ap- lawawt-a
stone(IV) INGRS OBJ-DUR-3pl.A-SEP-CT- put.many:IV.U-EXT
'They started putting the stones on top [of the oven].'
[0049.27112016.3.wbi]

(555) Two speakers talking about an event that happened at night.

1. *mandaw menda-d-ø- ola*
moon(III) PERF-DUR-3sg.A- be:III.U
'The moon was already out.'

2. *ka-d-ø-is-ap- w-a l-ehwek-ma*
DIR-DUR-3sg.A-SEP-CT- 3sg.U-AUX PLA-put.across-PST.HAB
'It was covered [in clouds].' [0171-0172.23092016.6.wbi]

A verb describing the spilling or pouring of a substance can be prefixed with the Separative. This adds a participant onto which the substance is spilled/poured, as seen in the examples below. The participant may be an inanimate, as in (557). Again, this use appears unrelated to the 'motion away' meaning of the Separative prefix, especially since the substance being poured/spilled moves towards the added participant, not away from it. One could speculate that there is a relationship with the 'cover' use discussed above, since an item onto which something is spilled might end up covered in it (e.g. a liquid).

(556) Addressing some children:

udug ah- i-ɣaman-em, mak-is-ap- luɣad-e
bath IMP- PLA-enter.water-PL.IMP FUT:1.A-SEP-CT- pour-IPFV
'You bathe! I will pour water on you (pl).' [0003.27082015.1.wbi]

(557) *adaka ma-d-ø-is-ap- luɣad wati*
water OBJ-DUR-3sg.A-SEP-CT- pour kava
'S/he watered the kava plants.' [nb03.42.wbi]

(558) *adaka* *ø-ø-n-is-a-p-* *hay*
water(III) NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-CT- fall:III.U
'[A drop of] water fell on me.' [nb03.69.wbi]

(559) Some women (in a story) are sitting on a platform with large trays filled with sago pith. The platform breaks and the speaker, lying on the ground with the trays on top, asks a bystander for help.
ah- og-em e-he, ah- og-em e-he,
IMP- do-PL.IMP III-PROX IMP- do-PL.IMP III-PROX
mak-a-n-is-a-y- *i-bkatok*
FUT2-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- PLA-turn.upside.down
'Take it, take it, [the trays] might flip over on us!' [0094.27112016.4.wbi]

There is another enigmatic use, typically with positional verbs (sit, lie, stand), in which the Separative *is-* indicates that the agent e.g. steps on (560) or lies down on (561) the added participant. This use does not have the meaning component 'motion away'—rather the opposite—but can perhaps be seen as an extension of the 'cover' meaning mentioned above.

(560) *tagu* *mus-o-p-* *atin*
foot FUT2:2sg.A:SEP-3sg.DAT-CT- stand
'[Watch out,] you'll step on his/her foot.' [nb03.50.wbi]

(561) *agi* *k-ak-is-e-p-* *hok,* *mingguy*
PROW:I/II.pl DIR-1.A-SEP-1pl-CT- many.lie.down maggot
'We lay down on top of the what's-it-called, maggots.'
[0069.08092016.1.wbi]

I have also observed this use when there was no actual physical contact involved—e.g. a person lying down close to where someone else is sitting—so it is perhaps sufficient that the agent encroaches on the personal space of the added participant. This could explain the use of *is-* in (562), which describes how some villagers were taken in a truck to another village. The owners of the truck stopped and let even more people climb up onto the crowded truck, invading the space previously occupied by the speaker.

(562) *nok ɣe m-i-n-is-a-y-p- ɣuka⟨h⟩in*
1 INGRS OBJ-3pl>1-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl-CT- put.inside⟨2|3pl.U⟩
(lit.) 'They loaded [the new passengers] unto us.' [0163.23092016.6.wbi]

I identify one use of the Separative that can be called 'dissociated action'. The agent performs some action without the participation of others, and usually in a different location. A clear example is in (563). A hunter is complaining about the behavior of one of his dogs, who he claims kept sleeping while another dog was pursuing the game. The verb 'sleep' (literally 'be lying down') is prefixed with *is-*, which I interpret as signaling that this dog is doing something completely different, in another place.

(563) *kudaɣa ø-d-a- asa, hyakod u-he ka-d-ø-is- w-a*
alone NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- bark one II-PROX DIR-DUR-3sg.A-SEP- 3sg.U-AUX
tel
be.lying
'She alone was barking, whereas this one was sleeping.'
[0328.20052015.3.mkl]

Another example of dissociated action is in (564), again from a hunting context. Here the first clause describes the hunting party, while the following clauses describe the speaker and his associates (all teenage boys) lagging behind, looking for bush food. The Separative is borne by the verbs describing the last two actions, which contrasts them with the hunters going first.

(564) *ohan mayay ka-d-na- ayad-a-ti,*
hunt front DIR-DUR-3pl.A- lead.hunt-EXT-DUR
es nd-ak-is-e- nayam-em,
back LOC-1.A-SEP-1pl- many.come-VEN
alib-nggal s-an-d-is-e- ka-ɣahwiɣ
palm.sp ONLY-1.A-DUR-SEP-1pl- INESS-eat
'They were leading the hunt in front, we were coming from the back, we were just eating palm (sp.) shoots.' [0964.16092016.1.wbi]

12.4 Reciprocal

The prefix *enam-* serves to express reciprocal situations, i.e. 'each other':

(565) About some former enemies.

alil en ɣe m-enam- layɣ mayan
slow with INGRS OBJ-RCPR- talk speech
'Slowly they started talking to each other.' [0116.26102016.1.wbi]

Many languages allow verbs that commonly describe reciprocal situations to be interpreted as reciprocal even when there is no reciprocal marking present, as long as the subject is plural (so called 'naturally' reciprocal actions; Kemmer 1993: 102ff.). For example, *Bob and Mary married* would be taken to mean that Bob and Mary married each other, unless the context disambiguates. I am not aware of any Marind verbs that systematically allow reciprocal interpretations without the *enam*-prefix. Prototypically reciprocal actions such as 'fight' and 'meet' are always explicitly marked by *enam-* in reciprocal contexts in my corpus. A possible exception is *layɣ* 'talk' which is attested both with the Reciprocal prefix, as in (565) above, and without it, as in the next example. More attestations are with *enam-* (a total of 6) than without it (only 2).

(566) *nok Yambaya mayan m-an-d-e-p- layɣ-a-ti a in-ɣap*
1 Y. speech OBJ-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- talk-EXT-DUR until middle-night
'Yambaya and I talked until the middle of the night.' [0244.08092016.1.wbi]

The Reciprocal prefix *enam-* interacts with person indexing in the verb complex in various interesting ways. The effects are seen in the Prefixal complex as well as in the verb stem. I will consider the prefixal complex first.

12.4.1 Person indexing in reciprocals

In the templatic model of the prefixal complex (Chapter 7) the Reciprocal prefix *enam-* was described as a multi-class prefix, covering the position classes –10 and –9, since it can co-occur with prefixes from the surrounding classes (classes –11 and –8) but not with the 3rd person Actor prefixes (class –10) or the Genitive prefix series (–9). Accordingly there was no Actor indexing in (565) above, since the standard 3pl Actor prefix (*n-*) is replaced by *enam-*. The Dative prefix series are also not used if the Reciprocal prefix is present, so although the verb *layɣ* 'talk' usually indexes the recipient argument by means of the Dative prefixes they cannot be added to (565).[1]

[1]This can be seen as a general consequence of the constraint against co-referential indexing in Marind. A Dative prefix may not index the same participant as, say, the Actor prefix in the same verb form, and so on. In a reciprocal form such as 'they sent letters to each other' the set that would have been indexed by the Actor prefixes (the senders) is identical to the set indexed by the Dative prefixes

Indexing of a 1st person Actor by means of *nak-* (realized as *ak-* after a consonant) occurs as usual when the Reciprocal prefix is present. The 1st person Actor prefix is a member of position class –13, so it does not clash morphotactically with the Reciprocal *enam-*. The 1st person plural prefix *e-* (position class –4) is always added to 1st person reciprocal forms since a reciprocal situation necessarily involves plural participants. The next example illustrates a 1st person reciprocal. Note the predictable phonological changes in the Reciprocal prefix *enam-*: the /a/ is deleted due to antepretonic syncope (§2.4.2), giving /k-ak-enam-i-e-/→/ka.ken.mi.e/, and the /e/ undergoes antepretonic gradation (§2.5.1) to [i], giving the output [ka.kin.mi.e].

(567) *kwemek epe k-ak-inm-i-e- lay, ago "mate"* […]
morning there DIR-1.A-RCPR-RE-1pl- talk QUOT never.mind
'In the morning we talked to each other there, saying "Never mind" […].'
[0251.27112016.4.wbi]

Reciprocals with a 2nd person plural subject are uncommon in my corpus; see (576) further below for an example. It is unclear how Actor indexing behaves in such contexts, although elicited data suggest that it the 2pl Actor prefix *e-* is deleted when the Reciprocal *enam-* is present.[2]

12.4.2 The use of 1st person verb stems in reciprocals

The reciprocal structure also affects the verb stem. Recall from §9.2 that Marind has two types of verbs: alternating verbs, which exhibit stem modifications according to the person/number (animates) or gender (inanimates) of the Undergoer argument, and invariant verbs, whose stems lack such person forms. Invariant stems such as *lay* 'talk' appear in their usual shape in the reciprocal structure (cf. the preceding examples). Alternating stems, on the other hand, fail to show the expected

(the receivers), so the presence of both would have violated the constraint. One could, of course, imagine situations in which the recipient-like participant is not involved in the reciprocal action, e.g. 'they sent each other letters for me/for my benefit'. I do not know if Marind allows the Reciprocal to co-occur with Dative prefixes in such sentences, so this is a topic for future investigation.

[2]The crucial data are in (i), apparently showing that the 2pl Actor marker *e-* is deleted since the Reciprocal *enam-* is present. The 2pl prefix belongs to position class –13 and normally attaches before the Durative prefix *d-* (of class –12).

(i) *wis epe nda-d-enam- na-sak-a-ti yoɣ?*
yesterday there LOC-DUR-RCPR- 1.U-hit.PLA-EXT-DUR 2pl
'Did you (pl) fight each other there yesterday?' [nb03.48.wbi]

The absence of the 2pl prefix is surprising since it belongs to a different position class than the Reciprocal *enam-* and should therefore be compatible with it. The two prefixes co-occur in the Eastern variety (Drabbe 1955: 102).

person/number forms, and instead appear in the stem form corresponding to a 1st person Undergoer, regardless of the person/number of the participants involved in the reciprocal action. The only exceptions are ditransitive clauses in which the verb indexes gender of the theme participant. In such clauses the stem takes the shape according to the gender of the theme, without intrusion from the 1st person stems.

I will describe the occurrence of 1st person stems in reciprocals first, and thereafter cover the ditransitive exceptions.

Compare the following three examples. Example (568) is a standard transitive clause, describing how one group of villagers attacked another group during a recent conflict. The verb 'hit repeatedly, fight' is alternating and belongs to the prefixing subclass (3sg.U form *u-sak*). In the example the verb stem appears in the expected 2|3pl form *i-sak*, corresponding to the 3rd person plural Undergoer. The elicited example in (569) is also transitive, now with a 1st person Undergoer 'me', so the verb stem is the expected 1st person form *na-sak*. Example (570) describes a reciprocal situtation, as indicated by the Reciprocal *enam-* prefix. The verb stem is the 1st person form *na-sak*, despite the participants being 3rd person. This is a fixed feature of the reciprocal construction, so an alternating verb used reciprocally appears in its 1st person form, regardless of whether the participants are 1st, 2nd or 3rd person.

(568) *ɣe ma-n- i-sak*
INGRS OBJ-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-hit.PLA
'They started fighting them.' [0102.04092015.1.wbi]

(569) *isahih ø-e- na-sak*
children NEUT-3pl>1- 1.U-hit.PLA
'The children hit me.' [nb04.109.wbi]

(570) *epe k-enam- na-sak*
there DIR-RCPR- 1.U-hit.PLA
'There they started fighting.' [0077.23092016.7.wbi]

Below I give some more examples of 1st person stems in reciprocal contexts. The elicited example in (571) happens to have a 1st person subject, while the two following corpus examples involve 3rd person participants. In all of them the verb stem is the 1st person form.

(571) *epe k-ak-inam-e-p- ihe⟨n⟩ab*
there DIR-1.A-RCPR-1pl-CT- pass⟨1.U⟩
'We went past each other there.' [nb04.9.wbi]

(572) *men-b-enam- n-idih*
PERF-ACT-RCPR- 1.U-see
'They already met (lit. saw) each other.' [0040.04092015.1.wbi]

(573) *Kolum bapa Tayon mbam i= k-at-enam- ka-n-alaw-a*
K. father(m) T. louse I/II.pl= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-RCPR- INESS-1.U-search-EXT
'Kolum and uncle Tayon are searching each other for lice.'
[0266.16092016.1.wbi]

This special use of 1st person stems does not occur in ditransitive clauses in which a verb is used that indexes the theme-like participant by means of stem alternations. Such verbs continue to index gender of the theme in the verb stem even when they enter the reciprocal construction, unlike e.g. standard transitive verbs, which invariably appear in the 1st person form (as long as the verb belongs to the alternating class).

This is illustrated in the following two examples, which express transfer events. In (574), the verb *ikalen* 'send' appears in the form *iklahin*, indexing the gender value (IV) of the theme *katal* 'money'. The Reciprocal prefix replaces the 3pl Actor prefix, as well as the Dative prefix series, which usually index the recipient-like participant. The same principles are at work in (575), in which the verb stem *anetok* 'divide' indexes the gender (III) of the theme *muy* 'meat'.

(574) *katal m-enam- ikla⟨h⟩in*
money(IV) OBJ-RCPR- send⟨IV.U⟩
'They sent each other money.' [nb04.99.wbi]

(575) *muy ye m-ak-inam-e- an⟨e⟩tok*
meat(III) INGRS OBJ-1.A-RCPR-1pl- divide⟨III.U⟩
'We started dividing the meat amongst each other.' [0104.28062015.3.wbi]

Not all ditransitive verbs index the theme-like participant in the verb stem. A small number of transfer verbs index the recipient-like participant in the verb stem, and leave the theme unindexed (this valency class was described in §11.2.4.1). Two such verbs are *koh* 'feed something to somebody' and *kwaneb* 'snatch something from

somebody, steal'. When these verbs are used in the reciprocal construction the expected stem forms are replaced by 1st person stems. Compare these with the previous two examples, in which the theme participants were indexed by means of stem alternations, which allowed the stems to avoid being replaced by 1st person stems.

(576) *yoɣ nahwin ihan wati m-enam- n-akoh*
2pl fathers:1 2pl.EMPH kava OBJ-RCPR- 1.U-feed
'You men are sharing (lit. feeding each other) the kava.'
[0264.27112016.3.wbi]

(577) About hunting dogs getting in each other's way while wading across a swamp.
anip kay m-enam- kuna⟨n⟩ab
EMPH:I/II.pl path(III) OBJ-RCPR- snatch.from⟨1.U⟩
(lit.) 'They stole the path from each other.' [0635.20052015.4.mkl]

I end this section by giving more examples of reciprocal clauses in which the stem shows standard indexing instead of 1st person forms by fiat. The following two examples both express actions directed at body parts. Verbs in such contexts behave similarly to most ditransitive verbs since they index the owner of the body part by means of the Dative prefix series, and the gender of the body part by means of alternations in the verb stem. This corresponds to indexing of recipients and themes with most ditransitive verbs. Since the stems in the examples below alternate according to gender of the theme-like participant (e.g. the body part), they are not replaced by 1st person stems:

(578) *nd-ak-inam-e- wa-hanid sangga*
LOC-1.A-RCPR-1pl- III.U-grasp.many hand(III)
'Then we shook each other's hands.' [0063.23092016.6.wbi]

(579) Discussing a conflict between the addressees.
i-he anggip anip mayay m-inam-is- kuha⟨h⟩ig-a
IV-PROX nose(IV) because.of.this OBJ-RCPR-SEP- throw⟨IV.U⟩-EXT
'Because of this you are turning your faces (lit. throwing the noses) from each other.' [0017.22052015.1.mkl]

The occurrence of 1st person stems in the reciprocal structure is one of the great enigmas of Marind morphosyntax. The closely related Central Marind language has exactly the same construction. The situation is more unclear in the more distantly

related Upper Bian language, although here the Reciprocal marker itself (corresponding to Costal *enam-*) has the shape *namb-*, which is identical to the 1st person Genitive prefix *namb-* (the same shape as the cognate Genitive prefix in Coastal Marind). I am not aware of any explanation for these facts.[3]

12.4.3 Remark on pluractionality and reciprocals

There are many pairs of near-synonymous verbs in Marind that differ in event number, so that one verb expresses a single action, and the other expresses multiple or repeated actions. Some are morphologically unrelated, e.g. *wasib* 'hit (once)' and *usak* 'hit repeatedly, fight'. Others are derived through with the Pluractional prefix: *mahid* 'get angry', *i-mahid* 'many get angry, get angry repeatedly'. The single-event member of such pairs is blocked from occurring in the reciprocal structure, so it is always the pluractional forms that is used, if such a form is available. Marind apparently treats reciprocal events as necessarily involving multiple actions, which clearly is true for e.g. 'hit each other'. One could point out that 'embrace each other' is a single action, but even this verb (*kadahib*) appears in its pluractional variant in reciprocal contexts, as in the next example. (The Pluractional is realized as an infix with this verb).

(580) *menda-d-inam-ap- i-k⟨i⟩dha⟨n⟩ib-ti*
PERF-DUR-RCPR-CT- INESS-⟨PLA⟩embrace⟨1.U⟩-DUR
'They embraced each other.' [0189.21112014.1.dmh]

The majority of verbs, however, do not make any distinction between single and multiple actions.

12.5 Expressing reflexive situations

There is no grammaticalized reflexive construction in Marind, i.e. there is no devoted structure for expressing that an agent performs on herself an action that usually is

[3] One possibility is of course that the Reciprocal and 1st person Undergoer exponents are accidental homophones, and that the Reciprocal originally is unrelated to the person marker. I believe that the fact that the *n*-stems are not used when the ditransitive theme is indexed in the stem, as well as the fact that the Upper Bian language shows the same 1st person/Reciprocal homophony, but in a completely different of the verb complex, point to a deeper relationship between the two categories. One reviewer pointed out that the Tai-Kadai language Lao has (a marginal) reciprocal construction in which the sequence "I Verb you, you Verb me" is added after the main verb, using the 1st and 2nd person pronouns regardless of the persons involved in the reciprocal situation (Enfield 2011: 144). This is similar to the Marind phenomenon since both constructions involve frozen person markers, and hints at a potential grammaticalization path.

performed on others (as in 'Mary voted for herself'). There are, however, some types of expressions that usually are interpreted as reflexives, although they cannot be considered grammaticalized.

First, a bodypart in an O-argument role is usually interpreted as belonging to the participant filling the A-argument role if the verb lacks Dative indexing. Recall from Section 8.3.2 that the Dative prefix series are used to index owners of bodyparts in contexts such as 'I hit him on the hand' (In Marind: 'I 3sg.DAT-hit the hand'; see examples on p. 234). Such indexing is only used if the bodypart is attached to someone other than the agent, however. If the Dative indexing is removed ('I hit the hand') a reflexive reading is permitted ('I hit my hand', 'I hit myself on the hand'). This use is illustrated in the following examples:

(581) a. *e-he ɣasti sangga s-a- haniɣ*
I-PROX old.man hand ONLY-3sg.A- bite
'This old man$_i$ is just biting his$_i$ hand.' [0216.19052015.2.dmh]

b. *sangga parang ø-no- k-esad (*naka-na- k-esad)*
hand(III) machete(m) NEUT-1.A- WITH-cut:III.U (*1.A-1.DAT- WITH-cut:III.U)
'I cut my hand with a knife.' [nb03.53.wbi]

c. *wahani m-a-p- ihwaniɣ-e*
body OBJ-3sg.A-CT- lick-IPFV
'[Dog] is licking itself/its body.' [nb03.60.wbi]

Such reflexive readings only arise when permitted by the context. The following example also contains a body part (*pa* 'head') in the O-argument role and a verb form without Dative indexing, but in this context (a headhunting story) it is obvious that the heads are not attached to the agents.

(582) *kum-anim a-n- dahetok, pa ndom ø-na- k-u-dhetok*
Kumb-people DEP-3pl.A- return head too NEUT-3pl.A- WITH-PLA-return
'When the Kumb people returned, they brought heads with them.'

A related strategy is to use the noun *wahani* 'body' in the O-argument role, again without any Dative indexing. The expression 'We killed the bodies' in (583a) is interpreted as 'We killed our own bodies', i.e. 'We killed ourselves', while (b), literally 'Hide the body!' means 'Hide yourself!'. One could imagine this type of expression developing into a grammaticalized reflexive construction; however, these are the only instances of reflexives with *wahani* 'body' that I have found in the corpus, so

there is no indication that Marind is on the way to establishing any true reflexive structure.

(583) a. *a-nka-h-e- ɣahwiɣ e-pe ahaaa,*
DEP-1.A-DEP-1pl- eat III-DIST until
wahani pen ɣa k-ak-e- u-sak
body murder real DIR-1.A-1pl- III.U-hit.PLA
'When we ate, we really ate ourselves to death (lit. killed our bodies).'
[0049-0050.14052015.2.dmh]

b. *wahani ah- hwagib!*
body(III) IMP- put.away:III.U
'Hide yourself!' [0121.20052015.3.mkl]

Second, the emphatic demonstratives (*anVp*; see §3.3.2.2) and the emphatic pronouns (*nahan* 'myself' etc.; see §3.3.1) are sometimes used in reflexive contexts. I have only observed this in possessive contexts, however, as in (584), and it does not seem to be a major function of these expressions.

(584) a. *nd-ak-e- u-dhetok-a-m, nahan keti en tamuɣ k-ak-e- sasaɣi*
LOC-1.A-1pl- PLA-return-EXT-VEN 1.EMPH APL POSS food DIR-1.A-1pl- work
'Then we returned, and we prepared or own food.'
[0241.27112016.3.wbi]

b. *ahan en mayan ek-o- gat-a?*
2sg.EMPH POSS speech PRS.Q:I-2sg.A- hear-EXT
'Can you hear yourself?' (on the recording) [nb01.138]

12.6 Expressing causation

Marind also lacks any grammaticalized means of expressing causation. My impression is that causal situations such as 'I made him write the letter' would be expressed by some circumlocution in Marind, e.g. 'I told him: "Write the letter!"'. There is a causative use of the verb *kamin* 'make', but this is only used with adjectives, i.e. 'make something Adj.', as in

(585) *nd-a- kama⟨h⟩in sasodeh*
LOC-3sg.A- make⟨2|3pl.U⟩ cold
'Then they made [the food] cool down.' [0177.16092016.1.wbi]

There is also an interesting causal use of the Genitive prefix series, seen in the following examples. The verbs in these sentences, 'die' and 'be cornered', are used as one-place predicates, but the Genitive prefixes are added to indicate the participant that caused the situation to arise. These structures are rare in the corpus, so they remain poorly understood. This is clearly not a causative construction, since the argument undergoing the caused change remains in the S-argument role.

(586) a. Describing how some men beat a pig during a pig feast.

tis, menda-b-ø-em- kahwid basik
finished PERF-ACT-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN- die:3sg.U pig
'That's it, the pig was dead/they had made the pig die.'
[0067.27112016.3.wbi]

b. During hunt, a pig was forced into hiding by a large fallen tree.

ndom-say nda-d-ø-em- matap⟨e⟩b-a
bad-place LOC-DUR-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN- corner⟨3sg.U⟩-EXT
'It had been cornered by them in a bad place.' [0363.20052015.3.mkl]

Chapter 13

Tense, aspect, mode and pluractionality

This chapter is divided into four main sections. Section 13.1 provides general information about the tense-aspect system. Some readers might prefer to skim through this section and instead focus on Section 13.2, which describes the tense-aspect affixes in detail. Section 13.3 is a brief description of the only unambiguously modal affix in the language, the Counterfactual *-um*. Section 13.4 describes the use of Pluractional forms.

There are various other grammatical resources that express notions related to tense, aspect and mode, but whose main functions lie elsewhere. Information about these categories is found in other chapters. See e.g. the Neutral Orientation, whose allomorphs distinguish between present and non-present (§10.1.2); the Absconditive, which is restricted to present time contexts (§14.2); the 'Speaker attitude prefixes', some of which have modal-like meanings (§14.3); and the pre-verbal adverbials, expressing negation and various aspectual notions (§16.3).

13.1 Overview of the tense-aspect system

The heart of the Marind tense-aspect system is the battery of affixes listed in Table 13.1. Most of the affixes are difficult to categorize according to any strict division between tense vs. aspect, because they are sensitive to distinctions associated with both of these domains. For example, the Past Durative *d-* (§13.2.1) is obligatory with all situations in the past (a tense distinction) that are presented as durative (an aspectual distinction). Others are more clearly aspectual in their nature, e.g. the Extended *-la* (§13.2.3) and the Continuative *anVpand-* (§13.2.4), because they may occur in clauses with any kind of time reference (past, present, future).

Note that it is possible for a verb to occur without any of the tense-aspect affixes, in which case the tense value of the clause depends on the semantics of the verb (basically present tense for inherently durative verbs, and past for punctual verbs; §13.1.1).

Table 13.1: Overview of tense-aspect morphology.

Category	Form	Gloss	Main functions	Time frame
Perfect	*mend-*	PERF	Current relevance	n/a
Continuative	*anVpand-*	CONT	'keep V-ing'	n/a
Future 1	*ndame-* (etc.)	FUT	Prediction, intention, etc.	Future
Future 2	*mak-* (etc.)	FUT2	Neg. future, apprehensive	Future
Past Durative	*d-*	DUR	All durative situations	Past
Pluractional	*e-, i-* (etc.)	PLA	Iteration, distributivity	n/a
Extended	*-la*	EXT	Resultative	n/a
Non-past Imperfective	*-e*	IPFV	On-going, habitual	Non-past
Past Durative	*-ti*	DUR	Optional with DUR *d-*	Past
Past Habitual	*-ma*	PST.HAB	'used to V'	Past
Present Habitual	*-made*	PRS.HAB	'usually V-s'	Present
Future Habitual	*-motok*	FUT.HAB	'will V habitually'	Future

The affixes in Table 13.1 occur in various morphological sites within the verb complex, so there is no dedicated 'tense-aspect slot'. Five categories are realized by prefixes within the prefixal complex (The Perfect *mend-*, Continuative *anVpand-*, the two Futures, and Past Durative *d-*), two by affixes attaching directly to the verb stem (the Pluractional prefixes and the Extended suffix *-la*), while the remaining five categories are realized as suffixes in the outer slot after the stem. More information is given in the respective subsections below.

13.1.1 The basic ingressive–durative distinction

The semantic distinction between ingressive and durative is crucial for understanding how Marind speakers employ aspect-sensitive morphology. The distinction is also manifested in verbal lexicalization patterns. These notions will be clarified before addressing the details.

An event such as running can be thought of as consisting of three parts: the onset or initial boundary (start to run, take off running), the ensuing activity phase (be running), and the endpoint or final boundary (stop running). We can refer to these three part as the ingressive part, the durative part, and the completion of the event. The most central concepts in discussions of aspect has been completion, because linguists traditionally described the major difference between verb forms in e.g. Ancient Greek, Slavic, and Romance languages as either implying completion (aorists or perfective forms) or not implying completion (imperfective forms).

In Marind the notion of completion is largely irrelevant for the description of the tense-aspect morphology. Instead the main distinction is between situations that are presented as ingressive (i.e. referring to their initial boundary or starting point) and situations that are presented as durative. One facet of this is visible in lexicalization of actionality distinctions (or 'Aktionsart'): Marind almost completely lacks state-denoting verbs such as 'be hungry' or 'be round', but there is a large number of verbs denoting the onset of such states, e.g. *wahun* 'become hungry' and *ibayeb* 'become round'. The corresponding states are expressed by derived Extended forms (§13.2.3), e.g. *wahut-a* 'be hungry'. This pattern recurs with e.g. motion verbs, so there are verbs such as *tapeb* 'fly up, take off flying' but no verb simply meaning 'fly'. To refer to the durative part of such situations one uses the derived Extended form, e.g. *tapeb-a* 'be flying, be in flight'.

A second concomitant of the importance of the initial boundary of events is that Marind appears to lack any grammaticalized resources that imply the completion of an activity. I made many attempts to probe this by discussing sentences like (587)—taken either from texts, or, as here, from elicitation—with speakers, but I failed to identify any (affixal or non-affixal) material that narrow down the meaning of activities such as working, cooking, eating, etc. to include their final boundary. I suggest that telicity is not grammaticalized in Marind (cf. Smith's analysis of Navajo as lacking grammaticalized telicity; Smith 1997: 297).

(587) *hyakod mandaw ma-no-d- sasaɣi-ti aha*
one month OBJ-1.A-DUR- work-DUR house
OK: 'I built the house in one month [and now it's finished].'
OK: 'I was working on the house for one month [but didn't finish].'
[nb03.23.wbi]

Not even head-tail linkage (de Vries 2005), a technique which is abundantly used in narratives, carries any implication of completion in Marind. Consider the narrative excerpt in (588). Scraping of coconuts is first mentioned in line 1, then reiterated in line 2. The verbs are prefixed with the Directional Orientation *k-* and Locational Orientation *nd-*, which together are the hallmark of head-tail linkage. But the meaning of this structure is not 'We scraped coconuts. After we had scraped coconuts, we…'. Rather, it is 'We started scraping coconuts. We scraped coconuts [for a while], then we…'. The reiteration of the verb (the 'tail') does not signal completion, but describes the durative phase of the activity, whereas the first mention (the 'head') refers to the onset of the activity.

(588) 1. *tis, kumbu k-am-bat-e- atug*
that's.it coconut DIR-1.A-AFF-1pl- scrape.coconuts
'Then, we started scraping coconuts.'

2. *kumbu nd-an-d-e- atug aaa balen*
coconut LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- scrape.coconuts all.the.way.to finish
'We scraped coconuts, until we finished all.' [0017-0018.27112016.3.wbi]

Of course, speakers have the option to indicate completion by lexical means. In the previous example the speaker used the gesture-like 'preposition' *aaa* (which can be lengthened for rhetorical purposes) followed by the bare verb stem *balen* 'finish, become finished' to signal the completion of the coconut-scraping. Surprisingly perhaps, lexical expression of completion is not used much in the narratives that I collected, with a total of about 50 attestations (20 of which were contributed in a single 19-minute recording by one speaker).

Another example is in (589). Again there is no marking indicating the endpoints of any of the durative situations ('we went', 'we ate'); they are only understood as having come to an end because of the intervening mentions of punctual, ingressive events ('started eating', 'lay down').

(589) 1. *nd-an-d-e- nayat, tamuɣ k-ak-e- ɣahwiɣ*
LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving food DIR-1.A-1pl- eat
'We went, and then we started eating.'

2. *tamuɣ nd-an-d-e- ɣahwiɣ, epe k-ak-e- hok*
food LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- eat there DIR-1.A-1pl- many.lie.down
'We ate, and then we lay down.' [0067-0068.23092016.6.wbi]

The centrality of the ingressive-durative distinction (as opposed to completion) has been described for other languages of the South New Guinea area, notably languages in the Yam family (Evans 2015a, Döhler 2016: 271, Carroll 2016: 179), and is foreshadowed by Drabbe's distinction between *momentaan* [punctual] and *duratief* [durative] verbs (Drabbe 1955: 31ff.).

13.1.2 Temporal interpretation of verb forms

The indication of tense is somewhat more complicated in Marind than in, say, English, because there is no straightforward distinction between e.g. past and present

forms of the verb. As seen in Table 13.1, however, there are several tense-aspect affixes that are sensitive to tense distinctions, e.g. the Past Durative *d-*, which only may occur in past time contexts. There is also a clear distinction between verbs marked by the Future prefixes and non-future forms, although the Future prefixes may refer to past events in some contexts (cf. §13.2.7.6). Below I will mention one factor that aides the temporal interpretation of clauses (§13.1.2.1) and one that adds further complication (§13.1.2.2).

13.1.2.1 The default temporal interpretation. The contrast between punctual (ingressive) and durative verbs is reflected in what can be called the 'default' temporal interpretation of Marind verb forms. An inherently durative verb (such as *ɣet* 'be moving') occurring as part of a verb complex without any of the tense-aspect morphology in Table 13.1 always describes a present situation, whereas a punctual verb (such as *hi* 'fall') in the same form is understood to refer to a past event:

(590) a. *epe* *k-a-* *ɣet*
there DIR-3sg.A- be.moving
'S/he is walking along there.' [nb02.73.wbi]

b. *epe* *k-a-* *hi*
there DIR-3sg.A- fall:3sg.U
'S/he fell there.' [0135.28062015.3.wbi]

This behavior corresponds to the well-known observation that stative verbs 'automatically' have present-time reference and non-stative ones past-time reference in many languages lacking obligatory tense marking (see e.g. Comrie 1976: 82, Dahl 1985: 177).

13.1.2.2 Current relevance interpretation of past punctual events. It is commonly the case that Marind speakers use forms that have a past punctual meaning to describe presently on-going states or activities. A frequently heard example is (591). I would often drive some villager on my motorcycle, and the person would utter this when we came to a segment of the road that had been destroyed by the elements. The verb *keway* 'break, become broken' is a punctual verb, and since the verb complex contains no durativizing morphology, the expected meaning should be as in (i), 'The road broke'. Yet, speakers use this form to refer to a present state, as in (ii), 'The road is broken'. This is a potential problem for the statement in the preceding section, in which unmarked punctual verbs were said to be interpreted as

referring to the past, and not to the present. (The Auxiliary construction is used here to indicate a thetic, 'all-new' statement, and does not interact with aspect or tense; see §15.1).

(591) *kay* *k-a-* *w-a* *keway*
road DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX break
i. 'The road broke.'
ii. 'The road is broken'

I believe that the explanation for this is that Marind is relatively generous in allowing verb forms describing the onset of states and activities to be used to talk about a state or activity that is on-going at the time of reference. Discussion of the 'current relevance' of past events is familiar from studies of perfects (e.g. Dahl and Hedin 2000). It is clear that the encoded meaning of the previous example is (i), and that the state described in translation (ii) is not part of the encoded meaning, because it is impossible to combine the verb *keway* with adverbials implying a present state without adding durativizing morphology. Thus, the stative predication 'The road is still broken' is expressed as in (592), with the Extended suffix *-la* (realized as *-a* after a consonant) deriving a stative expression 'be broken'.

(592) *kay* *ndom* *k-a-* *keway-a*
road still PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- break-EXT
'The road is still broken.' [nb02.105.wbi]

It is not clear in what contexts the 'current relevance' uses of past punctual forms are possible, but it seems that they are especially frequent with verbs of destruction (like *keway*).

13.1.3 Remarks on the aspectual classification of verbs

A particularly impressive feat of Drabbe's grammar of the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind is the detailed classification of verbs according to their combinability with tense-aspect affixes (1955: 31–37). Drabbe investigated e.g. whether a verb could combine with (using my terminology) the Past Durative *d-* and the Extended *-la*, and, based on these aspectual 'tests', he arrived at a taxonomy consisting of four aspectual verb classes. Approximately 200 verbs are listed according to their membership in the four classes, and it appears that Drabbe tested the classification on a total of ca. 700 verbs (taken from Geurtjens 1933). This accomplishment is especially awe-

inspiring in that it predates the general interest in Vendlerian verb classifications among grammarians.

Although I do not wish to diminish the ingenuity of Drabbe's insight that Marind verbs need to be classified according to their aspectual potential, I am somewhat perplexed by the details of his classification. Of the four aspectual classes, it seems that Drabbe's 3rd class, consisting of punctual verbs that have a corresponding durative counterpart formed with the Extended suffix *-la*, is the most convincing grouping. My own description of the resultative use of this suffix (§13.2.3.1) is fully compatible with Drabbe's verb class.

My impression is that the three remaining classes suffer from a confusion of several different issues. Drabbes 1st class consists of verbs that supposedly are inherently punctual, and therefore are incompatible with affixes that signal durative situations (e.g. the Past Durative *d-* or the Extended *-la*). The 2nd class consists of inherently durative verbs, which always require the presence of some such affix (e.g. *d-* in the past). I largely agree with Drabbe that the verbs in class 1 are used to describe punctual events, and that most of them may not combine with e.g. Past Durative *d-*.[1] The 2nd, durative, class is more problematic. Its most convincing members are a handful of high-frequency verbs that exclusively express durative situations. The explanation for the inability of these verbs to express punctual situations is the existence of a corresponding set of verbs (assigned to class 1) that express the onset of the durative situations. The pairs are listed in Table 13.2.

Table 13.2: Punctual-durative verb pairs.

Punctual		Durative	
umuh	'take off, go'	*ɣet*	'be in movement'
ambid	'sit down (sg)'	*mil*	'be sitting (sg)'
ɣali	'lie down (sg)'	*tel*	'be lying (sg)'
atin	'stand up'	*itala*	'be standing'
ihwin	'burst into tears'	*ihw*	'be crying'
win, ay	'become'	*ola*	'be'

None of the remaining verbs in Drabbe's 2nd class appear to be inherently durative according to my data. For example, the verb *ɣol* 'pound sago' commonly appears without the Past Durative *d-* in past time contexts in which the onset of the activity is referred to, i.e. 'start pounding sago'. Similarly, the verb *akam* 'drip' occurs in

[1] For a few verbs it seems that Drabbe did not realize that they may combine with e.g. Past Durative *d-* to describe multiple events in the past (this is the case for *ikalen* 'send' and the plural verb *ewah* 'give birth to many'). The verb *bakatok* 'turn upside-down' is a clear error, and should have been assigned to class 3, along with other (caused) position verbs, since it appears with the Extended suffix to encode the state 'be upside-down'.

past time without *d-* if it describes a single drop falling (i.e. a punctual situation), as opposed to repeated dripping (a durative situation). The assignment to Drabbe's 4th class—composed of verbs that are compatible with both punctual and durative uses—seems more accurate, despite some spurious members.[2]

I am not capable of offering a revised model of aspectual verb classification here, but I will give a brief outline of an approach that I believe is more appropriate for the Marind data.[3] According to this view, the following five classes capture the main interactions between the tense-aspect affixes described in Section 13.2 and the semantics of individual verbs. Most verbs would be assigned to the first two classes, and a smaller remainder to the last three.

- *Ingressive activity verbs*. When these verbs appear without any affixes signaling durative situation, they express the onset of an activity, e.g. ***ɣol*** 'pound sago, start to pound sago'. With affixes like the Past Durative *d-*, reference is made to the activity phase, i.e. 'was pounding sago, pounded sago (for a while)'.

- *Punctual-resultative verbs*. These verbs express the entry into a state or activity in their base form, and combine with the Extended ***-la*** to express the corresponding durative situation. Example: ***saletok*** 'hide', ***saletok-a*** 'be hidden'. See §13.2.3.1.

- *Durative-only verbs*. A small set of verbs that are incapable of expressing punctual events, e.g. ***itala*** 'be standing'; cf. Table 13.2.

- *Punctual-only verbs*. A small number of verbs that describe the entry into a state, but lack a corresponding Extended form, e.g. ***kahwid*** 'die'; in addition, the punctual verbs in Table 13.2.

- *Multiplicative verbs*. Verbs that describe a single semelfactive 'micro-event' if used without any durativizing morphology, e.g. ***akam*** 'drip (once)', but a set of repeated events when affixes like Past Durative *d-* are present ('was dripping').

The most noteworthy feature of this taxonomy is that it lacks anything corresponding to Vendlerian accomplishments, in accordance with the emphasis that Marind puts on aspectual onsets—to the detriment of endpoints—as discussed in Section 13.1.1.

Finally, it should be pointed out that any attempt to construct a taxonomy of aspectual classes for Marind faces the same problem as Vendlerian classification does for any language, viz. the question of what kind of entities (Stems, lexemes, uses of

[2]For example, the verbs ***kab*** 'open' and ***keway*** 'break' should have been assigned to Drabbe's class 3 according to my data.

[3]My inspiration for this classification is the aspectual model presented in Tatevosov 2002.

lexemes, clauses…) should be classified (see e.g. Sasse 2002). It is clear that many verbs that at first sight appear to be straightforwardly assignable to some class have uses that match one of the other classes. For example, the high-frequency verb *ay* 'become' is clearly a punctual-only verb, since it describes an entry into a state and corresponds to the unrelated durative-only verb *ola* 'be' if reference is made to the state itself. However, there is one use of *ay*, in the expression 'become rain, start to rain', in which *ay* behaves like a standard ingressive activity verb, and appears with the Past Duratives *d-* and *-ti* to express the on-going situation 'be raining':

(593) *ɣe epe nda-d-ø-i- ay-ti*
rain there LOC-DUR-3sg.A-RE- become-DUR
'It was raining there again.' [0429.16092016.1.wbi]

Further investigation will without doubt reveal many more similar cases, which complicates the task of aspectual classification.

13.2 Functions of tense-aspect affixes

In this section I provide descriptions of the affixes that were listed in Table 13.1.

13.2.1 The Past Duratives *d-* and *-ti*

The main marker of durative events in the past is the prefix *d-*. The suffix *-ti* seem to have exactly the same function as *d-* and is optionally added to forms containing the prefix *d-*. They are treated separately in the following subsections.

13.2.1.1 The Past Durative prefix *d-*. This prefix is obligatorily present when a past event is presented as having duration. It cannot be used if the event is conceived of as punctual.

The Past Durative is the sole member of position class –12 of the prefixal complex, and is deleted whenever it is immediately followed by a prefix starting with /b/. The following position class (class –11) contains four *b*-initial prefixes (see §14.3) which means that *d-* often is lost. A prefix sequence such as /mend-d-b-/ (PERF-DUR-ACT-) is realized in the Eastern variety (which lacks this deletion rule) as *mendadab-*, whereas the Western variety described in this grammar loses the *d-*, giving *mendab-*. I do not indicate the presence of a deleted *d-* in the morphemic analysis (e.g. by a zero) since it sometimes is difficult to determine whether the Durative has been deleted or whether the event is presented as punctual.

If one of the inherently durative verbs is used in a past time context, *d-* is present, as in the following examples. Such verbs lack the capability of expressing an event as instantaneous, so they cannot be used in past time contexts without *d-*.

(594) *inahinah ɣanid m-an-d-e- na-hwala*
four day OBJ-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-be
'We stayed for four days.' [0018.28062015.4.wbi]

(595) *Kolka-puk mbya ø-d-e- naɣat*
K.-bivouac NEG NEUT-DUR-2pl.A- many.be.moving
'You didn't go to the bivouac in Kolka.' [0671.16092016.1.wbi]

(596) *epe laɣ takah nda-d-ø- mil*
there side fire LOC-DUR-3sg.A- be.sitting
'She was sitting on one side of the fire.' [0354.16092016.1.wbi]

The Past Durative *d-* is also obligatory if any affix with a durativizing function is present. For example, the Extended *-la* (realized as *-a* after consonant, with stem final *-n* realized as [-t]) converts the punctual verb *kamin* 'make' into the durative 'be making'.

(597) *i-pe anip senter ma-d-ø- kama⟨h⟩it-a*
I/II.pl-DIST EMPH:I/II.pl flashlight(m) OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- make⟨2|3pl.U⟩-EXT
waninggap
good
'They were repairing (lit. making good) the flashlight.'
[0131.16092016.1.wbi]

The other durativizing affixes with which *d-* obligatorily occurs are the Past Habitual *-ma* (§13.2.6.1) and the Continuative *anVpand-* (§13.2.4). The Past Durative cannot be omitted if any of these affixes are present and the clause has past time reference.

For verbs that are compatible with both punctual and durative interpretations (without adding durativizing affixes such as the Extended *-la*) the Durative *d-* signals that the durative interpretation is intended. An example is the verb *idih* 'see', which can have the punctual meaning 'catch sight of', or 'find', as in (598), or the durative meaning 'watch, look at', as in (599). (In the sense 'look at' the Contessive prefix is added; see §14.4.5).

(598) *Kaler ø-a- idih kana*
K. NEUT-3sg.A- see:III.U egg(III)
'Kaler found the eggs.' [0645.16092016.1.wbi]

(599) About a Westerner that the speaker had seen in Merauke, and tried to befriend.
dehi ma-d-a-p- n-idih, mayan mbya ø-ø-na- aɣi
hard OBJ-DUR-3sg.A-CT- 1.U-see speech NEG NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT- say
'He just looked straight at me, he didn't say anything.' [nb03.22.wbi]

Verbs that describe instantaneous events such as 'jump' and 'blink' occur without *d-* when they refer to single events in the past. However, when such verbs are used to refer to several repetitions of the same punctual event, with each repetition involving the same participant(s), the Past Durative is used. The repetition of punctual events on a single occasion should not be confused with habituals, which describe longer periods that are characterized by events occurring habitually on multiple occasions—see §13.2.6.

(600) About a wallaby.
ehetagol tinggi e= ka-d-a-p- ikyalun,
like.this high(m) PROX= DIR-DUR-3sg.A-CT- jump
a-da-h-a-p- ikyalun e-pe, walak anup
DEP-DUR-DEP-3sg.A-CT- jump III-DIST fast EMPH:II
'It was jumping high like this, when it was jumping, very fast.'
[0703.16092016.1.wbi]

This use (which also occurs with the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* for present events) is only possible with events that are easily repeatable (e.g. jumping or blinking several times). Punctual, non-repeatable verbs such as *kahwid* 'die' never occur with the Past Durative.

The use of *d-* is more complicated for punctual events that are distributed over several participants. It seems that forms without *d-* are preferred if the events occur in the same place and at approximately the same time, whereas events that are distributed over different locations and are separated by longer intervals of time usually trigger *d-*. Compare (601), which refers to two women falling to the ground when their sitting platform breaks, to (602), which refers to a wallaby and a pig that were shot by my adoptive brother Ambai. The animals were shot during one hunting occasion, but clearly not at the same time (which would require a single arrow killing

two animals), and presumably in two separate spots. Only the latter example uses the Past Durative *d-*, since the events are spread out in time and space.

(601) Repeated from (94).

isala *ti* *ø-ø-e-* *hihi-n*
platform(III) with:I/II.pl NEUT-3sg.A-1pl- fall.PLA-1.U
'We fell with the sitting platform.' [0058.27112016.4.wbi]

(602) *say* *ka-d-ø-* *hihi-h*
place DIR-DUR-3sg.A- fall.PLA-2|3pl.U
'They fell right in the spot [where they were shot].' [0769.16092016.1.wbi]

Another context in which punctual verbs may occur with the Past Durative *d-* is with mass nouns participants. Verbs like *ikyalun* 'jump' and *hawa* 'emerge' are strictly punctual when they describe a single participant jumping once or coming out of a house, but can be presented as durative if they are used to describe events such as blood splashing or smoke coming out.

(603) Commenting on one of the pictures in the Family Problems task.

e-he *do* *ø-d-a-p-* *ikyalun* *isawa*
III-PROX blood(III) NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-CT- jump maybe
'Maybe this blood was splashing.' [0192.19052015.2.dmh]

(604) *iwag* *u-pe* *nd-ø-um-* *w-alaw* *ehetago* *a,*
woman II-DIST LOC-3sg.A-FRUS- 3sg.U-open.eyes like.this PTCL
lak *a-d-ø-* *hawa* *e-pe*
[smoke(III) DEP-DUR-3sg.A- emerge:3sg.U III-DIST]
'The woman looked and surprisingly there was smoke coming out.'
[0011.21112014.1.dmh]

13.2.1.2 The Past Durative suffix *-ti*. A verb prefixed with the Past Durative prefix *d-* may optionally be suffixed with *-ti*. This suffix, which I gloss DUR (the same gloss as the synonymous *d-*), belongs to the set of mutually incompatible outer suffixes (§7.4). These are 'outer' since they can attach after the Extended suffix *-la* (*-a* after a consonant), which then is 'inner' as it is suffixed directly to the verb stem:

(605) *Kiwi nd-an-d-e-p- ku-hamat-a-ti*
K. LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- INESS-many.sit-EXT-DUR
'We sat inside [the forest] in Kiwi.' [0787.16092016.1.wbi]

I have not found any context in which the presence of *-ti* is obligatory, or where it adds any meaning other than that already contributed by the prefix *d-*.[4] A rough estimate (based on searches with regular expressions) gives at hand that the suffix *-ti* is added to somewhere between 10%–15% of the durative forms in my corpus.

Below are two near-identical clauses from my corpus, spoken by two different speakers at different points in the same recording. There is no meaning difference that explains the use of *-ti* in (b). Nor is there any difference between different idiolects: both of these two speakers (which are amply represented in my corpus) use past durative forms with and without *-ti*, as do other speakers in my data.

(606) a. *Yakobus mbya ø-d-a- ɣet*
Y. NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be.moving
'Yakobus didn't go.' [0393.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *kaka Kadoy mbya ø-d-a- ɣet-ti*
elder.sib(m) K. NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be.moving-DUR
'Kadoi didn't go.' [0103.16092016.1.wbi]

For another near-minimal sentence pair, compare (607) with (596) above.

(607) *epe nda-d-ø- ka-mil-ti*
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-be.sitting-DUR
'[The pig] was sitting there.' [0096.28062015.3.wbi]

The suffix *-ti* may occur in contexts in which the lexical verb stem is 'moved' out of its position after the verb complex, and placed in the pre-verbal position (i.e. immediately preceding the prefixal complex). The Auxiliary *wa* then obligatory fills the former site of the stem. Like the other outer suffixes, *-ti* does not move along to the pre-verbal position but stays in the original site, now attached to the Auxiliary:

[4] *pace* Drabbe 1955: 40, who states that *-ti* signals a longer duration than *d-*. Drabbe also claims that three verbs obligatorily occur with *-ti* in the past. These are, in the original Eastern spelling: *mir* 'be sitting' (Western *mil*), *rik* 'become a river' (Western *lik*) and an unattested verb *amasin* 'be averse, disgusted (?)' (Dutch *vies zijn van*). It is unclear why Drabbe was under this impression: past forms of *mil* without the suffix *-ti* are found later in Drabbe's grammar, e.g. on p. 134, and the verb *lik* 'become a river' is always used with the Extended suffix *-la* in past durative contexts in my own data (giving *lik-a* 'river to flow'), never with *-ti*.

(608) *n-idih* *sa-d-ø-* *w-a-ti*
1.U-see ONLY-DUR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX-DUR
'She was just watching me.' (not doing anything else)
[0590.08092016.1.wbi]

A suffix *-ti* also participates in another stem-preposing construction, but apparently without any durative meaning—see Section 15.2.3.

13.2.2 Non-Past Imperfective *-e, -et*

The Non-Past Imperfective *-e* (rarer variant: *-et*) expresses currently on-going events ('I am singing'), events that are about to happen ('I'm going to sing, about to sing') and present habituals ('I usually sing'). It may also be used in forms with the Future prefixes, which is why I label it 'Non-Past' rather than 'Present'. The Non-Past Imperfective (henceforth, the Imperfective) differs from the Past Durative *d-* in its temporal meaning, but also in its aspectual semantics. For example, the Past Durative is obligatory with past states (and all other durative situations in the past), whereas *-e* never occurs with stative verbs formed with the Extended suffix *-la* or with some inherently durative verbs such as *ɣet* 'be moving' and *ola* 'be'.

The Imperfective is a member of the outer suffix class (§7.4) and attaches after the verb stem:

(609) *awe* *ma-n-* *ɣahwiɣ-e*
fish OBJ-3pl.A- eat-IPFV
'They are eating fish.' [nb03.24.wbi]

The Imperfective is the only outer suffix with the ability to occur attached to the copula, although it seems completely optional in this context. In present time context the copula consists of the prefixal complex alone, without any following verb stem, as explained in Section 15.4. When the Imperfective suffix is used with the copula it attaches directly after the prefixes of the prefixal complex:

(610) *Meka* *epe* *nd-a-e?*
M. there LOC-3sg.A-IPFV
'Is Meka there?' [0139.27082015.1.wbi]

Alternatively, one can say *epe nda-et* or *epe nda*, with the same meaning.

Like the other outer suffixes the Imperfective does not participate in affixal pied-piping (see §7.4), so it 'stays behind' in cases where the lexical verb stem is moved

to the pre-verbal position, and appears suffixed to the verb (hosted by the Auxiliary, which is obligatory in such constructions):

(611) Complaining about how the addressees were drawing water from the well.

timba ap ndom-kuhig k-e- y-a-e
bucket also bad-throw.PLA:III.U PRS.NEUT-2pl.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX-IPFV
'You're throwing the bucket badly!' [0229.27082015.1.wbi]

Semantically *-e* is compatible with various kinds of situation that overlap with the present. As stated above, it is used with presently on-going activities, as illustrated in these corpus examples:

(612) People were searching for a rope for drawing water.

isahih ap ipa-n-um-e- y-alaw-e
children also ABSC:I/II.pl-3pl.A-FRUS-2|3pl.DAT- 2|3pl.U-search-IPFV
'The children are also searching for [a rope] for you.' [0163.27082015.1.wbi]

(613) Describing a picture from the Family Problems picture task.

i-he sopi ma-n- ɣi-e
I/II.pl-PROX alcohol(m) OBJ-3pl.A- drink-IPFV
'Here they are drinking alcohol.' [0067.19052015.2.dmh]

The Imperfective *-e* may combine with verbs expressing momentaneous events such as 'fall', 'die' and 'start' to refer to the preliminal phase leading up to the event itself, i.e. 'be about to fall' or 'be falling' etc. Example (614) is from a recording featuring some children of different ages around a well. The speaker jokingly made a movement as if she was about to push a younger child over the edge and into the well, and made this exclamation.

(614) *a- ika-hi-e*
3sg.A- INESS-fall:3sg.U-IPFV
'She's falling into it!' [0058.27082015.1.wbi]

The 'preliminal' use is very common in 1st person contexts to express one's plans for the immediate future, as in the following example, uttered right after I turned on the camera:

(615) *namaɣa nak-ind-e- kamak-e mayan*
now 1.A-ALL-1pl- start-IPFV speech
'Now we're going to start the story.' [0001.23092016.6.wbi]

Punctual verbs may also occur with the Imperfective *-e* if the punctual event occurs repeatedly. Cf. the use of *d-* for past repeated events, discussed in §13.2.1.

(616) *tabak k-a- n-alok-e*
hiccup PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- 1.U-stab-IPFV
'I'm having hiccups.' (lit. 'hiccups are stabbing me') [nb03.43.wbi]

(617) *ka-no- n-a taman-e nok*
DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX fire.arrow-IPFV 1
'I'm shooting arrows.' [nb03.86.wbi]

The Imperfective *-e* competes with the Present Habitual suffix *-made* (§13.2.6.2) in the expression of habitually occurring events overlapping with the present. I am not aware of any semantic or distributional difference between these two alternatives in habitual contexts (although the Imperfective of course is potentially ambiguous between on-going and habitual readings with some verbs).

(618) *epe ep-ak-e- anik-e e-pe*
[there ABSC:III-1.A-1pl- sit.PLA-IPFV] III-DIST
'there where we usually sit' [0231.16092016.1.wbi]

(619) *ndom-milah k-a, dino k-a- ay-e ɣap*
bad-village PRS.NEUT-3sg.A dark PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- become-IPFV night
'It's a bad village, it becomes really dark there at night.'
[0356.27112016.4.wbi]

Note that verbs used in habitual contexts appear in their Pluractional form (§13.4), if there is such a form for the given verb. In the two preceding examples, 'sit' is expressed by the Pluractional *anik* 'sit repeatedly' instead of the non-Pluractional *haman* 'many to sit down', whereas the verb *ay* 'become' (only used for inanimates in gender III) lacks a separate Pluractional form.

13.2.3 Extended *-la*

The Extended suffix is added to the verb stem to form a new stem with a stative or progressive meaning. The stative meaning arises if the base verb describes a change-of-state (e.g. 'be hungry' from a base verb 'become hungry'), and the progressive meaning if the base verb describes the entry into an activity (e.g. 'be running' from a base verb 'start to run'). This use is described in §13.2.3.1. Some other uses are mentioned in §13.2.3.2.

The suffix *-la* is formally and semantically related to the Participial suffix (§4.5.3), which has the shape *-la* in gender I and III. However, the Extended *-la* does not exhibit gender agreement. Also, the Extended (but not the Participial) is usually reduced to *-a* after consonant-final stems,[5] and only the Extended occurs suffixed to a verb stem used in a fully inflected verb complex (the Participial basically derives adjectives). They are semantically related since they both express resultative meanings, i.e. state-like situations following as the result of some previous dynamic event (Nedjalkov 1988).

13.2.3.1 Resultative use. In its most common use the Extended combines with a verb stem expressing entry into a state or activity to form a verb expressing the resulting durative situation. In the case of entry-into-state verbs this is often accompanied by a change in the valency potential of the verb, so that a verb that is transitive, or allows both transitive and intransitive uses, only appears intransitively in the Extended form.

Consider the verb *hanituk*. In its base form this verb is used transitively to mean 'lean', i.e. 'cause something to enter a leaning position'. This use is seen in the imperative form in (620a), which can be used to e.g. ask someone to put down a bamboo pole or a bow that they are holding so that it leans against something. (I have not recorded any intransitive use of *hanituk* in its base form). Contrast this with (620b), which describes a stative situation in which a bamboo pole is leaning. The clause in (a) is transitive with the handled item as the O-argument, whereas (b) is intransitive, with the leaning item being the S-argument.

(620) a. *suba* *ah-* *hanituk!*
bamboo IMP- lean
'Lean the bamboo!'

[5] I have recorded reduced and unreduced forms of *-la* after consonants, i.e. *keway-la* 'broken' as well as *keway-a*. The reduced forms are overwhelmingly more common in Wambi, so I have standardized the orthography to show consistent *-a* after consonants. Speakers were divided on this issue.

b. The addressee had asked for a bamboo pole:

ep-ø- *hanituk-a*
ABSC:III-3sg.A- lean-EXT
(Pointing:) 'It's leaning over there.' [0156.27082015.1.wbi]

The verb ***ihon*** 'run away, take off running' describes the onset of the activity 'run' in its base form (621a). To describe the on-going activity 'be running' the Extended is added after them stem (b). (The Locational Orientation *nd-* signals motion away from a source, and the Directional Orientation *k-* describes motion along a path in these examples. See §10.1.4.1, §10.1.5.1),

(621) a. *e=* *nd-a-* *ihon*
PROX= LOC-3sg.A- run.away:3sg.U
'S/he ran from here.' [0090.28062015.3.wbi]

b. *e=* *k-a-* *ihot-a*
PROX= DIR-3sg.A- run.away:3sg.U-EXT
'S/he is running along here.' [1129.16092016.1.wbi]

We learned in the previous subsections that on-going activities are marked by means of the Past Durative *d-* (in the past) and the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* (in the present and future). Verbs such as ***ihon*** are an exception to this pattern since they add the Extended *-la* to describe activities. Verbs that behave like ***ihon*** express past activities by combining *d-* and *-la*, as in (605) above, and present activities by mean of *-la* only (the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* may not be added after *-la*). One can generalize by saying that verbs such as ***hanituk*** 'lean' and ***ihon*** 'run away' are punctual-resultative, describe then onset of a durative situation, but lack the ability to express the durative phase resulting from the onset unless they are suffixed by means of *-la*.

Verb forms that express states with a subset of verbs and on-going activities with others are common across languages (e.g. Chafe 1980). In Marind this is not caused by some sort of polyfunctionality of the Extended suffix, but follows from the fact that verbs like ***hanituk*** 'lean' describe the entry into a state, whereas verbs like ***ihon*** 'run away' describe the entry into an activity.

Some other common punctual-resultative verbs are listed in Table 13.3. An attempt has been made to put more state-like verbs in the top part of the table, and more activity-like verbs in the bottom.

Table 13.3: Some extended stems with resultative meaning.

Base verb		Extended	
alam	'swell up'	*alam-a*	'be swollen'
ihwim	'become dark'	*ihwim-a*	'be dark'
isik	'become full' (after eating)	*isik-a*	'be full'
wahun	'become hungry'	*wahut-a*	'be hungry'
ipah	'become constipated'	*ipah-a*	'be constipated'
betok	'become pile (itr.), pile up (tr.)'	*betok-a*	'be piled up'
kab	'open (itr./tr.)'	*kab-a*	'be open'
lalid	'close (itr./tr.)'	*lalid-a*	'be closed'
masud	'bend (itr./tr.)'	*masud-a*	'be bent'
tak	'clear (tr.), become empty (itr.)'	*tak-a*	'be empty'
mbin	'flatten (tr.)'	*mbit-a*	'be flat'
kalemed	'put on (garment)'	*kalemed-a*	'be wearing'
samandak	'block off river'	*samandak-a*	'river be blocked'
lik	'become river'	*lik-a*	'river be flowing'
han	'put horizontal item'	*hat-a*	'horizontal item be lying'
hatuk	'cover'	*hatuk-a*	'be covering'
hok	'many lie down'	*hok-a*	'many be lying'
haman	'many sit down'	*hamat-a*	'many be sitting'
ilumun	'kneel down'	*ilumut-a*	'be kneeling down'
mikeh	'turn one's head'	*mikeh-a*	'keep one's head turned'
gan	'hear'	*gat-a*	'be hearing, listening'
saletok	'hide (itr./tr.)'	*saletok-a*	'be hidden/hiding (itr.)'
takin	'start to wait'	*takit-a*	'be waiting'
bik	'grasp vertical item'	*bik-a*	'be holding vertical item'
takad	'open one's mouth'	*takad-a*	'keep one's mouth open'
tapeb	'take off flying'	*tapeb-a*	'be flying'
esoh	'start to follow'	*esoh-a*	'be following'
uhwasig	'go up from water'	*uhwasig-a*	'be walking up from water'
ihon	'run away'	*ihot-a*	'be running'
awan	'many run away'	*awat-a*	'many be running'
kamin	'start making'	*kamit-a*	'be making'

more state-like ⟷ more activity-like

Given the meaning of the base form of a verb it is often possible to predict whether it belongs to the group of verbs that express a present durative situation with *-e* or *-la*. Verbs that belong to the latter type are:

1. Putting verbs, e.g. *bakeh* 'put down vertically oriented item (e.g. a bottle)' > *bakeh-a* 'such item be standing'.

2. Other verbs describing a change-of-state of the S/O-argument, e.g. *alam* 'swell up' > *alam-a* 'be swollen' and *kab* 'open' > *kab-a* 'be open'.

3. Change-of-posture verbs such as *ilumun* 'kneel down' > *ilumut-a* 'be kneeling down'.

4. Bodypart actions, e.g. *walaw* 'open one's eyes' > *walaw-a* 'keep one's eyes open'.

5. Verbs of grasping and carrying, e.g. *ahwikeh* 'take on one's shoulders' > *ahwikeh-a* 'be carrying on one's shoulders'.

6. Motion verbs, e.g. *dahetok* 'return, turn around' > *dahetok-a* 'be returning, be on the way home'.

There are some non-motion activities that belong to this class, for unknown reasons. An example is the verb *kamin* 'start making', with the Extended form *kamit-a* 'be making'. Note also that *gan* 'hear' is in this class (*gat-a* 'be hearing, be listening') whereas *idih* 'see, look at' is a standard activity verb without an Extended form—despite being a perception verb just like *gan*.

Most other verbs that can express an activity in progress do so without *-la*, e.g. *ɣahwiɣ* 'eat', *usak* 'hit, fight', *sasaɣi* 'work', *mahay* 'dance', and so on.

A small group of frequent verbs turn out to lack Extended forms, despite describing e.g. the onset of motion (*umuh* 'go, take off') or entry into a position (*ambid* 'sit down'). The explanation for this aberrant behavior is that there happens to exist underived durative verbs that have the same meaning as the expected Extended form of these verbs would have. The existence of these verbs blocks the creation of Extended verb forms to express the same meaning. For example, *ambid* lacks the Extended form **ambid-a* 'be sitting', since there is a morphologically unrelated verb *mil* 'be sitting' with precisely that meaning. The full list of such pairs was given in Table 13.2. Several of the inherently durative verbs end in *-l* or *-la* which suggests that they are historically Extended forms whose base form has been lost, e.g. *itala* 'be standing' (< **ita* ?).

Finally, it should be pointed out that the classification of verbs as allowing or not allowing suffixation with the Extended to refer to the associated durative situation is a simplification, and that it should be uses of verb rather than the verbs themselves that should be classified. Some verbs that under normal circumstances do not combine with *-la* may do so when they are used with extended meanings. Verb of hitting, for example, do not occur with *-la* to express e.g. the state of having been hit (this could be expressed with the Perfect *mend-*). However, there are extended uses of hitting verbs to describe bodily changes-of-state such as 'become hungry' (lit. 'hunger hit me' etc.) or 'become sick' ('sickness hit me'). Such uses readily permit the Extended *-la* to be added to the verb of hitting, in order to describe the resulting state.

(622) *tik* *k-a-* *w-asib-a*
illness PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit-EXT
'S/he's suffering from illness.' [nb01.53.dmh]

There are some Extended forms that may have both stative and progressive, activity-like meanings corresponding to different uses of the base verb. This is evident for verbs of putting, many of which also are used with the meaning 'grasp'. For example, *han* may be used to mean either 'put a horizontally oriented object' or 'grasp a horizontally oriented object'. In the former use the corresponding Extended form is used intransitively to describe the state 'be lying' (i.e. 'having been put'), as in (623). In the latter use the Extended form is transitive, and describes the activity of holding something in one's hand (624).

(623) Describing a new road.

namaɣa aspal ep-a-p- hat-a epe
now asphalt(m) ABSC:III-3sg.A-CT- put-EXT there
'Now asphalt is lying there.' [0484.08092016.1.wbi]

(624) Referring to my video camera.

e-pe namakad ep-o- hat-a e-pe, igih ta
[III-DIST thing(III) ABSC:III-2sg.A- grasp:III.U-EXT] III-DIST name what
ka-ha-b-ø?
PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A
'That thing that you're holding, what is it called?' [0210.16092016.1.wbi]

There are also uses of Extended forms that do not correspond to any use of the same verb without the Extended suffix. Consider the form *hat-a* 'horizontal object be lying', used to describe a scar in (625). (Scars are classified as horizontally oriented items, as opposed to e.g. skin boils, which are vertically oriented and require the verb *bakeh*). There is no corresponding use of the dynamic base verb *han* 'put a horizontally oriented object' to describe e.g. how the scar came about, since scars are not 'put' on the body (this would be expressed with the verb *ay* 'become').

(625) Child showing an almost healed wound.

e sa-p-a-na- hat-a
scar(III) ONLY-FUT-3sg.A-1.DAT- put:III.U-EXT
'Only the scar will remain on me.' [nb02.43.dmh]

13.2.3.2 Distributive–ambulative use. The Extended *-la* interacts with plurality and distributivity in ways that remain poorly understood. For some verbs there

seems to be a preference to mark a presently on-going activity by means of Non-Past Imperfective *-e* if the S/O argument is singular, and with *-la* if it is plural. In the past this corresponds to a verb marker with the Past Durative *d-* (in the singular), and verb marked with both *d-* and the Extended *-la* in the plural (optionally the Past Durative suffix *-ti* can be added to both forms).

For example, a speaker with whom I discussed the difference between the forms *ɣi-e* (eat-IPFV) and *ɣi-la* (eat-EXT) suggested that the Imperfective variant is appropriate for describing a pig eating one tuber, whereas the variant with the Extended suffix is better for a pig eating a lots of tubers. Other speaker offered similar comments, although I have not been able to find any clear patterns in the data confirming that this is the relevant distinction. A confounding factor seems to be that the likelyhood of speakers using the Extended *-la* with plural S/O arguments seems to be higher if the subject performs the action while moving around (eat one tuber, then move, then eat another, etc.), giving a distributive or ambulative meaning (see also §13.4.3.2 for similar uses of Pluractional forms).

The ambulative use is evident in data such as the following. Example (626) was given to me when I asked a speaker what his daughter was doing as she was walking around, bent over, in the vegetation on the upper beach. In (627) a speaker described how he was killing mosquitos inside his mosquito net, which I imagine involves killing them in different spots. In both examples the Extended *-la* is used, which contrast to other uses of these and similar verbs involving no movement. In such contexts the verbs occur unsuffixed (in the past) or with Imperfective *-e* (in the present).

(626) *nggalnggamil-nggol m-a- kepad-a, yanakeh nanggo*
creeper.sp-leaf(III) OBJ-3sg.A- break.off:III.U-EXT cook for
'She's plucking creeper (sp.) leaves, for cooking.' [nb03.33.wbi]

(627) *nanggit m-an-d-a-p- kw-i-sak-a*
mosquito OBJ-1.A-DUR-3sg.A-CT- INESS-2|3pl.U-hit.PLA-EXT
'I was killing mosquitos.' [0039.28062015.3.wbi]

13.2.4 Continuative *anVpand-*

The Continuative prefix *anVpand-* (or *anVpanda-*, before a consonant) expresses that a situation continues longer than one could have expected, i.e. 'keep V-ing' or 'stay

V-ed'. As indicated by the notation *V*, the prefix is host to a gender marking vowel, which alternates according to the following paradigm.[6]

	sg	pl
I	*anepand-*	*anipand-*
II	*anupand-*	
III	*anepand-*	
IV	*anipand-*	

Almost all corpus attestations of the Continuative are with one-place predicates (in which the prefix agrees with the sole argument), so it is not known which argument triggers agreement with e.g. mono- and ditransitive verbs. Elicited data suggest that any argument of such verbs can act as the agreement controller of the *anVpand-*, perhaps based on topicality or some other kind of prominence, but a much larger corpus will be needed to establish this.

The Continuative prefix appears with punctual verbs that have been converted into duratives by means of suffixation with the Extended *-(l)a*, as in (628–629), or with inherently durative verbs such as *nayat* in (630).

(628) Commenting on my video camera.

anepand-a- kab-a e-pe, e-he mayan e-nak-e-p- lay-e
CONT:III-3sg.A- open-EXT III-DIST III-PROX speech ABSC:III-1.A-1pl-CT- tell-IPFV

epe k-a- kwamin-e
there DIR-3sg.A- enter:III.U

'It stays open, what we are saying now enters there.' [0235.16092016.1.wbi]

(629) From an account of sago processing.

wanangga anipanda-d-ø- wayamat-a
children CONT:I/II.pl-DUR-3sg.A- many.stand-EXT

'The children kept standing [by the washing troughs].'

[0192.27112016.4.wbi]

(630) *Balaw-Mit nanggo anipand-an-d-e- nayat*
B.-M. toward CONT:I/II.pl-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving

'We kept walking toward Balaw-Mit.' [0019.28062015.2.wbi]

[6]The Continuative is perhaps diachronically related to the 3rd person emphatic demonstratives *anVp* (Section 3.3.2), followed by the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-*. The emphatic demonstrative has the same exponents of gender as the Continuative prefix, although it is difficult to see any semantic connection between the two grams.

Since the last two examples express durative situations in the past the Past Durative *d-* must be present.

The Continuative can combine with verbs that denote punctual events to express that the event keeps repeating, as in the following examples. Again, the verb stem must be followed by a durativizing suffix such as the Non-Past Imperfective in (631) or the Extended in (632) for such readings to be possible.

(631) During a hunt.

pu-suba *bangi* *anepand-a-* *walin-e*
rifle sound.of.gun(III) CONT:III-3sg.A- call:III.U-IPFV
'The gun shots keep on sounding.' [0623.20052015.4.mkl]

(632) About a man who was grinding his teeth.

manggat *lili,* *lala* *anepanda-d-ø-o-* *w-it-a*
tooth noise noise CONT:III-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- III.U-become-EXT
'His teeth kept making noises.' [0151.08092016.1.wbi]

The only situation in which a verb prefixed with the Continuative and appearing in a past time context is not also prefixed with the Past Durative *d-* is if the verb stem is followed by the Venitive suffix *-em* 'hither'.

(633) *Dadami-Mit* *mbya* *ø-nak-e-* *haman,* *anipand-ak-e-* *nayam-em*
D.-M. NEG NEUT-1.A-1pl- many.sit CONT:I/II.pl-1.A-1pl- many.come-VEN
'We didn't stop in Dadami-Mit, we kept on walking hither.'
[0150.28062015.3.wbi]

13.2.5 The Perfect *mend-*

13.2.5.1 Form of the Perfect. The Perfect is expressed by a multi-class prefix *mend-*, occurring at the left edge of the prefixal complex. The prefix spans position classes –17 to –14, meaning that the Perfect is incompatible with e.g. the Orientation prefixes (Chapter 10) and the imperative and question-forming prefixes (Chapter 17). The shape *mend-* only occurs before a vowel-initial prefix. Before a consonant, the prefix is *menda-*, with epenthetic /a/, or, if the epenthetic vowel is lost due to Antepretonic Syncope (§2.4.2), *men-* (with /n͡d/ simplified to [n] in coda position; §2.1.1.1). Examples:

(634) *“muy mak-a- og” ago, “ehe yaba-sayam menda-no- w-asib”*
meat FUT:1.A-2sg.DAT- give QUOT here big-wallaby PERF-1.A- 3sg.U-hit
‘“I will give you meat”, I said, “I have killed a big wallaby”.’
[0424.08092016.1.wbi]

(635) *nok wanangga men-ba-n-ap- kw-i-mahid*
1 children PERF-ACT-3pl.A-CT- INESS-PLA-become.angry
‘My children had already become angry.’ [0330.27112016.4.wbi]

The Perfect escapes Antepenultimate heightening of /e/ to *i*. This is seen in (635) above, in which the /e/ of of the Perfect prefix is in the penultimate syllable of the prefixal complex, but is unaffected by gradation (see further Section 2.5.1).[7]

13.2.5.2 Functions of the Perfect. The Perfect can be generally understood as signaling a previous change-of-state with consequences or relevance for the present. It is commonly used to express that one is now in a state (tired, hungry, grown-up, etc.) that had not been attained before.

It is useful to contrast the meaning of the Perfect with that of the Extended *-la*, since both can express a stative situation, but with the difference that the Extended only asserts the state itself, without presupposing a change-of-state. Consider the sentences in (636). The utterance in (a) is the usual way of announcing during a meal that one has had enough food, that the others can finish the rest of the food, etc. The utterance in (b) would not be used in this context. A typical context is the following: I was sitting eating some sago when one of the boys in the family walked past. I asked if he would like to share the sago with me. He declined and uttered (b).

[7]The failure to undergo Antepenultimate gradation suggests that *mend-* historically involves a word boundary. A likely origin would be an unknown particle **me* occurring before the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-*, which would explain the incompatibility of *mend-* with Orientation prefixes synchronically. In the closely related Central Marind, the Perfect is expressed by the seemingly non-cognate prefixes *bed-* and *ah-* (depending on the village), suggesting a relatively recent grammaticalization of the Perfect. Contrastive examples from my field notes:

(i) Coastal Marind, Wambi variety: *nu **mend**abap- nihwid*
Central Marind, Alatep variety: *nu **bed**ap- nehig*
Central Marind, Domande variety: *nu **ah**ap- nehig*
} ‘I am sleepy’

(636) a. *tis ka, men-b-a-na-p- isik*
that's.it PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT-CT- become.full
'That's it, I'm full.'

b. *k-a-na-p- w-a isik-a*
DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-CT- 3sg.U-AUX become.full-EXT
'I'm full.' [nb02.54.dmh]

The difference between (a) and (b) is that for (a), the change from the preceding state (not being full) is relevant for the present, because one can now do something that was not possible before (stop eating). For (b) the change-of-state is irrelevant. What matters is that the speaker is presently full; whether there was a preceding state of not being full does not matter for the purpose of declining the sago.

The meaning of the Perfect makes it especially frequent in contexts expressing change reached through accumulation of some property, e.g. 'become ripe' or 'become big':

(637) *napet-eho, eho menda-b-ø-am- ay*
banana.sp(III) ripe:III PERF-ACT-3sg.A-2sg.GEN- become
'Your bananas, they're already ripe.' [0477.16092016.1.wbi]

(638) About a pig.
papes-yaba menda-b-ø- w-in,
small-big PERF-ACT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become
gomna menda-b-ø-o- hawa
tusk(III) PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- emerge:III.U
'It was already pretty big, its tusks had already come out.'
[0526-0527.16092016.1.wbi]

The Perfect is not sensitive to the time reference of the clause, so it can be used to refer to a present situation (as in the preceding examples) or to a situation that held in the past:

(639) *adaka ti ø-d-a- ola, adaka menda-b-ø-e-*
water with NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:III.U water PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1pl-
daha⟨n⟩ip
become.thirsty⟨1.U⟩
'They were filled with water, and we were already thirsty [so we drank].'
[0105.08092016.1.wbi]

(640) *yah namaɣa e=* *ka-d-na-* *hwetok ago,* *“anup* *Bakaluk*
but now PROX- DIR-DUR-3pl.A- think QUOT EMPH:II B.
up-ø-e”,
ABSC:II-3sg.A-IPFV
padahal *Bakaluk* *menda-b-ø-* *umuh*
in.fact(m) B. PERF-ACT-3sg.A- go:3sg.U
‘Now they thought: “That must be Bakaluk”, but in fact Bakaluk had already left.’ [0284.16092016.1.wbi]

It is unclear whether the Perfect can combine with the Future prefixes to refer to a change-of-state that will occur in the future (e.g. ‘When you come back, I will already be gone’). The only attestations of the Perfect followed by a Future prefix are in contexts describing habitual sequences of events, as in (641), which was part of explanation of how to cook in a leaf oven. Such clauses are not good examples of future time reference, because they may be used for habitual sequences that only took place in the past (e.g. headhunting) as well as presently occurring habits. See further Section 13.2.7.6.

(641) *imu* *a-me-ø-* *hawa* *e-pe,* *menda-me-b-ø-*
smell(III) DEP-FUT-3sg.A- emerge:III.U III-DIST PERF-FUT-ACT-3sg.A-
usu
become.cooked:III.U
‘When the smell appears, it will already be cooked.’ [nb04.21.wbi]

An important difference between the Marind Perfect and the English *have V-ed* Perfect follows from the emphasis that Marind puts on the onset, or initial boundary, of activities. If a verb such as *atug* ‘scrape coconuts’ is marked with the Perfect, it does not mean ‘X has already scraped coconuts’ but rather ‘X has already started scraping coconuts’ or simply ‘X is scraping coconuts’. A corpus example is in (642), from a story. The speaker is urging the addressee to join some villagers to help them scrape coconuts for a feast. The context makes it clear that the activity is still on-going, because later when the addressee joins them, they are still scraping.

(642) *anim* *menda-b-na-* *atug* *kumbu*
people PERF-ACT-3pl.A- scrape.coconuts coconut
‘People are already scraping coconuts.’ [0012.27112016.4.wbi]

To make it explicit that it is the final boundary of an activity that has been crossed, one can use the verb *balen* 'finish':

(643) *mend-am-b-e-p-* *i-balen* *kumbu* *atug,*
PERF-1.A-ACT-1pl-CT- PLA-finish coconut scrape.coconuts
t-e-nd-a-p- *hu-h* *i-pe*
GIV-III-LOC-3sg.A-CT- emerge-2|3pl.U I/II.pl-DIST
'We had already finished scraping the coconuts, that's when they arrived.'
[0199.27112016.4.wbi]

13.2.5.3 A perfect-like use of participles. In Section 4.5.3 I discussed participles, i.e. adjectival forms derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-la/-lVk*.

There is some evidence suggesting that participles predicated by the copula have come to occupy a special niche within the tense-aspect system of Marind, similar perhaps to the so-called 'hot news' use of the English Perfect (as in *Bill has just arrived*; Comrie 1976: 60). The crucial difference between this use and the adjectival uses of participles is that the participle does not have a strictly resultative meaning here, but rather one of temporal recency, which makes it possible to use participles derived from verbs without a clear end-result (e.g. 'dance') in this construction.

The following observed example clarifies this. One evening outside my house in Wambi, I met one of the daughters in my host family, and I asked where she was coming from. Her answer used the participle *mahay-luk*, which surprised me, since I thought that this unfamiliar construction must mean something like 'I am danced'. Context made it clear, however, that she meant that she was returning from the sing-sing that was taking place in another part of the village, and that she had been dancing there before returning. Since the Participial suffixes *-la* and *-lVk* likely originated from the postposition *lVk* 'from' (cf. Section 9.3.5), a good literal translation of this construction would perhaps be 'I am from dancing'.[8]

(644) *mahay-luk* *ka-ø* *nok*
dance-PTCP:II PRS.NEUT-1.A 1
'I (female) just danced.' [nb02.126.wbi]

Another instance of the same use is in the following example, which was volunteered by a speaker when I asked for an example with the verb *alam* 'swell up'. The literal

[8]This is reminiscent of the famous *be after*-Perfect of Irish English, with similar semantics.

translation in this case would be 'we are from fighting'.[9]

(645) *wahani k-a-na-y- w-a alam-a,*
body DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- 3sg.U-AUX swell.up-EXT
na-sak-lik k-ak-e nok
1.U-fight-PTCP:I/II.pl PRS.NEUT-1.A-1pl- 1
'Our bodies are swollen, [because] we were fighting just now.'

13.2.6 The Habituals

Habituals "describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time" (Comrie 1976: 27–28), a definition that covers most uses of the suffixes *-ma* and *-made*, which are used for such situations in the past and present respectively. These make a triad with the suffix *-motok*, which I tentatively label the Future Habitual, although as explained in the last subsection its function is less well understood than functions of the other two. The three suffixes are members of the outer suffix group (§7.4).

13.2.6.1 Past Habitual *-ma*. The suffix *-ma* serves to express a habitual situation holding in the past. Since habituals always describe multiple events, the Pluractional form (§13.4) of the verb is typically used, if the verb has such a form. Corpus examples:

(646) From a description about traditional *wati* [kava] agriculture.
e-pe mandin gogo,
III-DIST long.ago sun.shade(III)
gogo ø-da-n- k-i-hwagib-ma
sun.shade NEUT-DUR-3pl.A- WITH-PLA-put.away:III.U-PST.HAB
'In the old days [it was] a sun shade, they put the [kava] away using a sun shade.' (i.e. to protect the plants from sunshine) [0134.05072015.1.wbi]

[9] The verb stem *nasak* is the 1st person Undergoer stem of the verb *usak* 'fight'. The 1st person stem of alternating verbs (i.e. verbs that modify their stem according to person/number of the patient-like participant) is always used in reciprocal contexts, so *nasak* means both 'fight me/us' and 'fight each other'.

(647) From a story about Stork (*ndik*), the ancestor of the Ndikend clan.

nok amay e-pe, e= nda-d-a-p- huhu-ma,
1 ancestor(I) I-DIST PROX= LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT- emerge.PLA:3sg.U-PST.HAB

epe nda-d-ø- lemed-ma, Ndalil
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- stand.PLA-PST.HAB Nd.

'My ancestor, he used to travel down from here, and he used to land there, in Ndalil.' [0001-0003.03062015.1.dmh]

(648) *e-pe yahun-jaga-anem, yahun a-d-a-p- kw-anik-ma*
I-DIST canoe-watch(m)-man(I) [canoe DEP-DUR-3sg.A-CT- INESS-sit.PLA-PST.HAB]

'the boatsman, the one who used to sit in the boat' [0123.08092016.1.wbi]

Many verbs lack a Pluractional stem, and then appear in their usual shape in habitual contexts. This is the case for *hus* 'cross river' in (649). Note also that the verb *ola* occurs without the Past Habitual suffix *-ma*. It appears that habitual marking is used only if the verb describes repeated events that characterize a period, not when it describes a stative situation lasting throughout a period.

(649) Describing a place near the village Urumb, where there is a bridge nowadays.

Palputi, mandin Palputi ø-d-a- ola,
P. long.ago P. NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be

epe ka-d-na- hus-ma mandin
there DIR-DUR-3pl.A- cross.river-PST.HAB long.ago

'Palputi, in the old days it was [called] Palputi, they used to cross the river there in the old days.' [0500-0501.08092016.1.wbi]

The distinction between past and present habituals is not found in the Eastern variety of Coastal Marind, which uses *-made* for both past and present (Drabbe 1955: passim).

13.2.6.2 Present Habitual *-made*. The suffix *-made* has the same habitual meaning as *-ma*, but is used when the period associated with the habitual activity overlaps with the present. It is unclear what the morphological relationship between *-ma* and *-made* is; there is no suffix **-de*, so further segmentation of *made* is not possible. It seems that *-made* is always interchangeable with the Non-Past Imperfective *-e*, which also may serve to express habituality, among various other meanings (§13.2.2).

As with the Past Habitual *-ma*, a verb suffixed with *-made* typically occurs in its Pluractional form (§13.4), if it has a such a stem. This is seen in (650): the verbs 'go' and 'become' are expressed by the Pluractional forms *yum* 'go repeatedly (2|3pl.U)' and *enggat* 'become repeatedly (2|3pl.U)'. A few verbs can appear in habitual contexts in either their Pluractional or non-Pluractional form, without any known meaning difference. Cf. 'hide' in (651), using the non-Pluractional stem *salituk*, with example (509) on p. 363, in which Pluractional *uslituk* appears.

(650) The speaker is complaining about two elderly women, who had been scared out of their wits when he and some other teenage boys played a prank on them in the village, at night. How come they are so afraid when they are in the village, he asks, yet they are not afraid to go far away looking for food.

yah dak ip-ø- y-um-made,
but fish.with.rod ABSC:I/II.pl-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-go.PLA-PRS.HAB

ukna mbya k-a-p- e-nggat-made
fear NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-CT- 2|3pl.U-become.PLA-PRS.HAB

'But when they go fishing, then they're never afraid.' [0255.16092016.1.wbi]

(651) *ihus m-e- sal⟨i⟩tuk-made deg epe nd-ah-e*
2|3pl:wives OBJ-2pl.A- hide⟨2|3pl.U⟩-PRS.HAB forest [there LOC-DEP-2pl.A]
'You hide your mistresses in the forest, there where you are.'
[0816.16092016.1.wbi]

It was already pointed out above that verbs that lack a Pluractional counterpart appear in their standard form with *-made*. The verb *ay*, which is used with inanimates (of gender III) to express 'become', has no Pluractional stem and may therefore appear freely in habitual contexts (652). Compare this with the verb *win* 'become', used for animates (and inanimates of gender IV), whose Pluractional stem *enggat* was seen in (650) above.

(652) The addressee had opined that pig manure does not smell very bad, because pigs eat a lot of different things. The speaker replied sarcastically:

ee yah ɣel ɣa ka-bat-ø- ay-made
EXCLAM PTCL tasty real PRS.NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- become-PRS.HAB
'Oh yes, it usually becomes very tasty.' [0897.16092016.1.wbi]

13.2.6.3 Future Habitual *-motok*. The functions of the suffix *-motok* are less clear than those of the two preceding suffixes. The tentative labeling of it as a 'future habitual' is partly based on its formal and paradigmatic relatedness with the other habituals *-ma* and *-made*, because it also seems to have various non-habitual functions. The habitual use of *-motok* is clearest with verbs marked with one of the Future prefixes (§13.2.7). Consider first the data (653), which was volunteered to me while working on Dative indexing. The speaker's intuition about the contribution of *-motok* is given in (b).

(653) a. *epe nda-p-o- sasaɣi-e*
there LOC-FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT- work-IPFV
'I'm going to be working for him/her there.'

b. *epe nda-p-o- sasaɣi-motok*
there LOC-FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT- work-FUT.HAB
[Speaker's comment: "You work again and again, work for a long time."]
[nb04.113.wbi]

The following corpus example is also consistent with a future habitual analysis:

(654) A speaker joking (?) about what to do with my camera when I leave the field.
nok ka-mo-na- ɣad⟨e⟩wn, mano- poto-motok yah
1 DIR-FUT:2sg.A-1.DAT- leave⟨III.U⟩ FUT:1.A- take.picture(m)-FUT.HAB PTCL
'You should leave it for me, [then] I will be taking pictures.'
[0216.16092016.1.wbi]

However, *-motok* also combines with inherently durative verbs such as *ola* 'be' (655) and *naɣat* 'many be moving' (656) to express non-habitual, state-like situations in the future.[10] These examples do not use the Future prefixes. There are no corresponding uses of the Past and Present Habituals *-ma/-made*.

(655) Referring to a feast that was going to take place a couple of weeks later.

[10]Drabbe considers the cognate suffix *-moto* in the Eastern variety of Coastal Marind to be a marker of durative proximate future, and contrasts its use with that of the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* (1955: 42–43). Drabbe claims that the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* combined with the verb 'tie' would be used for e.g. 'We're about to tie a knot' (this is what I call the preliminal phase use of the Imperfective, see §13.2.2), whereas the same verb with *-moto* would express e.g. 'We're going to tie a fence'. I believe this rigid emphasis on punctual/durative or (short/long duration) is something of an oversimplification. Drabbe also claims that *-moto* is used exclusively in the future, but there is a textual example of past use in one of his texts (p. 163).

e-pe Bruno ndom k-o- ɣa-hwala-la-motok ehe nde e-he
III-DIST B. still PRS.NEUT-2sg.A- 2sg.U-be-EXT-FUT.HAB here at III-PROX
'That [date], Bruno you are still going to be here.' [0446.27112016.4.wbi]

(656) *mesiwag ay, alil k-ak-e- ka-nayat-motok*
old.woman VOC slow PRS.NEUT-1.A-1pl- WITH-many.be.moving-FUT.HAB
'Auntie, we're going to be walking slowly.' [0252.17102016.2.wbi]

The suffix *-motok* is occasionally used in past time contexts in narratives, as in the next example. This use does not involve habituality (or durativity), so it is completely unclear what function *-motok* has in these structures.

(657) *nd-a- ka-timin-motok, lampu epe k-a- kwagin*
LOC-3sg.A- INESS-wake.up-FUT.HAB lamp there DIR-3sg.A- throw
'Then he woke up, and threw the lamp over there.' [0092.16092016.1.wbi]

13.2.7 The Futures

Marind has two sets of Future prefixes, the 1st Future and the 2nd Future. Their main uses can be summarized as follows:

- 1st Future
  i. Future events in general (predictions, intentions): 'I will Verb/I am going to Verb'.
  ii. Habitually occurring sequences of events 'I would do X, then I would do Y'.
- 2nd Future
  i. Negated future 'I will not Verb'.
  ii. Apprehensive 'I might Verb/lest that I Verb'.

The formal realization of the Future involves various complicated processes, described in Sections 13.2.7.1 and 13.2.7.2. Function is discussed in Sections 13.2.7.3 to 13.2.7.6.

13.2.7.1 Form of the First Future. The 1st Future is described here as belonging to position class –13, along with the 1st and 2nd person Actor prefixes. An example supporting this assignment is provided in (658); an extra line has been added to show the phonemic representation of the affixes (separated by blanks for clarity), since the Future prefix *p-* undergoes Plosive Nasalization before *b-*, surfacing as *m-*. It is preceded by the Interrogative prefix *h-* (of position class –14) and followed by the modal prefix *b-* (of class –11). The Future prefixes do not combine with Past Durative *d-* (of position class –12); I consider this incompatibility purely semantic, so it does not affect the assignment to position classes.

(658) *ta nda- ha- m- b- e- sasaɣi*
/nd- h- p- b- e-/
what LOC- INT- FUT:1.A- ACT- 1pl- work
'When are we going to work?' [nb03.28.wbi]

(In this example the combination *ta* 'what' and the Locative Orientation *nd-* expresses 'what time'—see §17.3.2.3).

The Future prefixes that are used together with 1st and 2nd person Actors (i.e. the Actors that are indexed in position class –13) conflate future tense marking with Actor indexing (i.e., the prefixes are portmanteaux), whereas the expression of future tense combined with 3rd person Actor indexing (which is realized in position class –10) allows morphemic segmentation since the two categories are realized in separate position classes. The allomorphy of the Future is more complicated than other inflectional prefixes, and shares some forms with the 2nd Future (discussed in §13.2.7.2).

The allomorphs used with a 2nd person Actor are more straightforward than the 3rd and 1st person forms, and will be discussed first. I distinguish between the heavy and light allomorphs:

	heavy form	light form
2sg.A	*ndamo-*	*-mo-*
2pl.A	*ndame-*	*-me-*

The light form of the Future is used after another prefix (659); elsewhere, the heavy form (augmented with the formative *nda-*) is used (660).

(659) *emba ka-mo- i-lawewn*
side DIR-FUT:2sg.A- PLA-put
'you (sg) will put them on the side' [0119.27082015.1.wbi]

(660) *ndame-bat- dahetok*
FUT:2pl.A-AFF- return
'you (pl) will return home' [0134.04092015.1.wbi]

When the Future co-occurs with a 3rd person agent, its allomorphs do not vary according to number, since 3rd person actors are indexed in position class –10. Unlike the 2nd person forms, the allomorphs used with a 3rd person Actor vary according to the right-side context: forms ending in *me-* are used immediately before the right boundary of the prefixal complex (symbolized by means of '#'), or if only a prefix of the shape -C- intervenes (i.e. the 3pl.A prefix *n-* or the Actualis prefix *b-*); if any other prefix follows the Future, allomorphs ending in *p-* are used.

	Context	heavy form	light form
(3sg/pl.A)	_#, _C#	*ndame-*	*-me-*
	elsewhere	*ndap-*	*-p-*

Corpus data illustrating the heavy forms of the Future combined with 3rd person Actors are in (661–662); the light forms are found in examples (663–664).

(661) *ndame-ø- kw-ambid*
FUT-3sg.A- INESS-sit
'(the water) will settle' [0181.27082015.1.wbi]

(662) *ndap-ø-ap- ɣ-idih-e*
FUT-3sg.A-CT- 2sg.U-see-IPFV
'he will watch you' [0069.27082015.1.wbi]

(663) *ka-me-n- y-a ɣunakeh-e*
DIR-FUT-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX cook-IPFV
'then they will be cooking' [0033.05072015.1.dmh]

(664) *a-p-a- aɣi*
[DEP-FUT-2sg.DAT- say]
'if he says so to you' [0013.23042015.1.dmh]

The allomorphs used in 1st person display the same contextual sensibility as the 3rd person forms. Note that the light forms are identical with allomorphs from the paradigms of the 2nd (*-mo-*) and 3rd (*-p-*) persons, while the heavy forms differ from

the heavy forms seen above (which involved a formative *nda-*) but are identical to the common sequences of the Object Orientation prefix (*m-*) and the regular 1st person Actor prefixes (*no-* and *ak-*)—it is as if the Future paradigm of the 1st person has been assembled by recycling parts of other paradigms:

	Context	heavy form	light form
1.A	_#, _C#	*mano-*	*-mo-*
	elsewhere	*mak-*	*-p-*

Corpus data illustrating the allomorphy are in (665–668). Note that plurality of a 1st person argument is indexed separately by the prefix *e-* (of position class –4, cf. 8.6), which means that the allomorphs in the upper row (*mano-* and *mo-*) never occur with a 1pl Actor.

(665) *mano- ɣ-amuk*
FUT:1.A- 2sg.U-hit
'I will kill you' [0016.03062015.1.dmh]

(666) *mak-e- dahetok*
FUT:1.A-1pl- return
'we will return' [0030.28062015.4.wbi]

(667) *e= ka-mo- asik*
PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A- hunt
'I will hunt here' [0053.28062015.1.wbi]

(668) *epe ka-p-e- uma⟨n⟩ah*
there DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩
'we will go there' [0159.28062015.3.wbi]

All allomorphs of the Future that end in plosives (e.g. 1st person *mak-*, 3rd person *ndap-*) undergo Plosive nasalization (§2.5.2) before prefixes with initial *b-*:

(669) *mam-bat-e- uma⟨n⟩ah*
FUT:1.A-AFF-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩
'(poor us,) we are leaving' [0016.28062015.3.wbi]

(670) *ndam-bat-ø- kahwid*
FUT-AFF-3sg.A- die:3.U
'he will die (poor one)' [nb03.73.wbi]

An exemplary paradigm of the Future with the verb *kab* 'open (e.g. a door)' in various morphological combinations is given in Table 13.4.

13.2.7.2 Form of the Second Future. The 2nd Future is best described as a multi-class prefix set, since its members are mutually exclusive with all prefixes in classes –16 to –12; it is treated in this section because of its morphological affinity with the 1st Future. The use of these prefixes (mainly expressing negated future) is described in Section 13.2.7.

The 2nd Future prefixes partly look like simplified versions of the 1st Future counterparts:

Context	1	2sg	2pl	3
_#, _C#	*mano-*	*mo-*	*me-*	*me-*
elsewhere:	*mank-*	*mo-*	*me-*	*mak-*

The main differences with the 1st Future (as discussed in the previous subsection) are the absence of the formative *nda-* and the *p*-allomorphs, and the presence of a 1st person allomorph *mank-* and 3rd person allomorph *mak-*. The allomorphs of the top row are used when the 2nd Future is followed by no other prefixes, or, in the case of 3rd person, when it is followed by 3pl.A *n-*.[11] The reason for the resemblance between the 3rd person *mak*-allomorphs and the 1st Future 1st person allomorph *mak-* is unknown.

The 2nd Future also differs from the 1st Future in not having special allomorphs triggered by preceding prefixes. The only prefix that may be present before the 2nd Future is the Given prefix of class –17, exemplified in (671).

(671) *i-pe t-i-mak-an-o-p- esak*
I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-FUT2-3pl.A-3sg.DAT-CT- break.off
'Those were the ones who would break up [the soil].' [0061.05072015.1.wbi]

A paradigm with the verb *kab* 'open' is in Table 13.5.

The following subsections describe the functions of the two Futures.

[11] The only other prefix of the shape C-, the Actualis prefix *b-*, is not attested with the 2nd Future.

Table 13.4: Future 1.
a. Future/Actor marking; b. Future preceded by Dependent *a*(*h*)-; c. Future followed by 3sg Dative *o*-; d. Future preceded by Dependent *a*(*h*)- and followed by 3sg Dative *o*-.

	1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg	3pl
a.	*mano- kab*	*mak-e- kab*	*ndamo- kab*	*ndame- kab*	*ndame-ø- kab*	*ndame-n- kab*
	'I will open'	'we will open'	'you will open'	'you will open'	's/he will open'	'they will open'
b.	*a-mo- kab*	*a-p-e- kab*	*a-mo- kab*	*a-me- kab*	*a-me-ø- kab*	*a-me-n- kab*
	'if I open'	'if we open'	'if you open'	'if you open'	'if s/he opens'	'if they open'
c.	*mak-o- kab*	*mak-o-y- kab*	*ndam-o- kab*	*ndame-o- kab*	*ndap-ø-o- kab*	*ndap-an-o- kab*
	'I will open for him/her'	'we will open for him/her'	'you will open for him/her'	'you will open for him/her'	's/he will open for him/her'	'they will open for him/her'
d.	*a-p-o- kab*	*a-p-o-y- kab*	*a-m-o- kab*	*a-me-o- kab*	*a-p-ø-o- kab*	*a-p-an-o- kab*
	'if I open for him/her'	'if we open for him/her'	'if you open for him/her'	'if you open for him/her'	'if s/he opens for him/her'	'if they open for him/her'

Table 13.5: Future 2. With *mbya* 'NEG'.
a. Future 2/Actor marking; b. Future 2 followed by 3sg Dative *o*-.

	1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg	3pl
a.	*mbya mano- kab*	*mbya mank-e- kab*	*mbya mo- kab*	*mbya me- kab*	*mbya me-ø- kab*	*mbya me-n- kab*
	'I will not open'	'we will not open'	'you will not open'	'you will not open'	's/he will not open'	'they will not open'
b.	*mbya mank-o- kab*	*mbya mank-o-y- kab*	*mbya m-o- kab*	*mbya me-o- kab*	*mbya mak-ø-o- kab*	*mbya mak-an-o- kab*
	'I will not open for him/her'	'we will not open for him/her'	'you will not open for him/her'	'you will not open for him/her'	's/he will not open for him/her'	'they will not open for him/her'

13.2.7.3 1st Future marking future events. The 1st Future prefixes mark various types of future situations: e.g. future conditionals/predictions (672), intentions (673), and ability (674).

(672) *bekay ka-p-a-p- ɣ-alok, ka-me-ø- w-a kahi⟨ɣ⟩ad*
heart DIR-FUT-3sg.A-CT- 2sg.U-stab DIR-FUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX die⟨1.U⟩
'If [a cow] stabs you in the heart, you will die.' [nb03.78.wbi]

(673) *nok e= k-ak-e- n-a aɣi, mano- i-sak yoɣ*
1 PROX= DIR-1.A-2|3pl.DAT- 1.U-AUX say FUT:1.A- 2|3pl.U-hit.PLA 2pl
'I said like this to them: "I'm going to hit you".' [0210.08092016.1.wbi]

(674) The speaker was struggling to remember a term relating to traditional kava agriculture.
pu-igih en mak-e- lu, yah malin-igih m-ak-um- hwetok
Indo.-name INSTR FUT:1.A-1pl- call:III but Marind-name OBJ-1.A-FRUS- think
'We can call it by the Indonesian name, but I'm trying to think of the Marind name.' [0121.05072015.1.wbi]

It is very common to use the 2nd person Actor forms of the 1st Future to formulate commands. Such commands are less direct than commands formed with the Imperative *ah-* (§17.1.1), and often sound more like a suggestion.

(675) The speaker invited some bypassers to join the recording session.
manemna ndame-p- laɣ, e= ka-me- ku-haman
story FUT:2pl.A-CT- speak PROX= DIR-FUT:2pl.A- INESS-many.sit
'You should tell stories, you should sit down here.' [0001.27112016.3.wbi]

Note that the Non-Past Imperfective (§13.2.2) may be used to describe a situation that is in its preliminary phase, e.g. about to happen.

13.2.7.4 2nd Future marking negated future. To express that something is not going to take place the standard negator *mbya* (§16.3.1) is used in combination with the 2nd Future prefixes.

(676) *e-pe mbya me-ø- man*
I-DIST NEG FUT2-3sg.A- come
'He is not going to come.' [0369.27112016.4.wbi]

(677) *makan mbya mank-e- haman, nggat otih k-a*
ground NEG FUT2:1.A-1pl- many.sit dog many PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'We can't sit on the ground, there are [too] many dogs.'
[0211.17102016.1.wbi]

13.2.7.5 2nd Future in apprehensional contexts. The other main use of the 2nd Future is in what has been called apprehensional contexts (Dixon 1977, Lichtenberk 1995), i.e. clauses expressing some unpleasant or unwanted event that might happen unless steps are taken to avoid it. In (678) the speaker suggest letting the pig run to avoid getting killed by it.

(678) From a hunting story. The hunters encounter a large boar but decide not to pursue it.
yaba-basik k-a, mawta ka, mak-ø-e- n-asak
big-pig PRS.NEUT-3sg.A never.mind FUT2-3sg.A-1pl- 1.U-hit.PLA
'It's a big pig, never mind it, it might kill us.' [0988.16092016.1.wbi]

Such apprehensional clauses are often combined with some other clause indicating the kind of action that should be undertaken to avoid the unpleasant event, e.g. *make-umanah* 'Let's go' in (679). The apprehensional clause can be rendered in English as 'it might Verb', or, perhaps more idiomatically, 'so that X doesn't Verb' (more archaically: 'lest X Verb'). Note, however, that the apprehensional clause is a fully independent clause, and shows no signs of being subordinate to the preceding clause. It is also very common to hear apprehensional clauses with the interjection *way!* 'Watch out, careful!', as in (680).

(679) *mak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah, katane me-ø- ay ɣap*
FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ sun FUT2-3sg.A- become night
i. 'Let's go, it might become dark.'
ii. 'Let's go, so that it doesn't become dark.' [0110.17102016.2.wbi]

(680) *way! me-ø- ɣa⟨ɣ⟩ab!*
EXCLAM FUT2-3sg.A- slip⟨2.U⟩
'Careful! You might slip!'
'Careful! So that you don't slip!' [nb02.118]

It seems that the 2nd Future leaves it somewhat open whether the menacing event will happen or not, as captured by the word 'might' in the free translations.

The pig in (678) will perhaps kill the hunters, or maybe it won't—in any case it is not worth the risk. Speakers sometimes choose to present the unpleasant event as unavoidable by using the 1st Future instead, as in (681). The participants were looking for a bamboo pole for climbing down a well, in order to clean it.

(681) 1. *ndakla* *ne* *ka-lohwis* *mayay* *k-a*
bamboo.pole without:I INESS-descend.PLA able PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'You can go down without a bamboo pole.'

2.→ *ane!* *mbaymbay* *k-a,* *hayaw* *ka-p-ø-a-*
EXCLAM unable PRS.NEUT-3sg.A bone(III) DIR-FUT-3sg.A-2sg.DAT-
kagub
break:III.U
'No way! It's impossible, you will break your bones.'
[0196-0197.27082015.1.wbi]

I end the discussion of future time reference with a short excerpt from a story illustrating both Future prefix series. The speaker recounts how she and another lady fell from a platform. An onlooker laughed at them instead of coming to their rescue. The quoted phrase in line 1 uses the 1st Future. In line 2 the speaker quotes herself using the 2nd Future, which I interpret as an epistemically weaker version of the quote from the other lady (who used the 1st Future). The onlooker replies using the 2nd Future—since the clause is negated—in line 3.

(682) 1. *ka-p-ø-e-* *w-a* *ɣahwahwen* *nok,* *men-m-b-ø-ind-e-*
DIR-FUT-3sg.A-1pl- 3sg.U-AUX die.PLA:1.U 1 PERF-1.A-ACT-ALL-1pl-
mahid
become.angry
'"We're going to die", we scolded him.'

2. *mak-ø-e-* *ɣahwahwen* *ehe*
FUT2-3sg.A-1pl- die.PLA:1.U here
'[I said:] "We might die here".'

3. *ah,* *mbya* *me-ø-* *ɣahwahwih*
EXCLAM NEG FUT2-3sg.A- die.PLA:2|3pl.U
'[He replied:] "Pfft, you're not going to die".' [0075.27112016.4.wbi]

13.2.7.6 Expressing habitually occurring sequences of events. In this use the prefixes of the 1st Future may occur in descriptions of series of events that used to take place in the past (e.g. headhunting), as well as sequences of events that still occur.

In the next example I provide an excerpt from a discussion of traditional kava agriculture. A man would summon a group of men (relatives and/or clan members) to prepare the plantbed for him in exchange for kava and food. The speakers made clear in the beginning of the conversation that the description concerns past (*mandin* 'long ago') events, yet all steps in the description are expressed with Future prefixes, since they are presented as a repeatedly occurring set of action. (Some repetitions and false starts have been omitted).

(683) 1. *nda-pa-n-ap- balen wambad*
LOC-FUT-3pl.A-CT- finish make.plantbed
'They would finish making the plantbed.'

2. *nda-p-a-p- hu-h, milah* […]
LOC-FUT-3sg.A-CT- emerge-2|3pl.U village
'Then they would return to the village'

3. *wati ka-me-n- ɣi usus e-pe* […]
kava DIR-FUT-3pl.A- drink afternoon III-DIST
'In the afternoon they would drink kava.'

4. *wati ɣi nda-p-enam- n-akoh-a, tis ka*
kava drink LOC-FUT-RCPR- 1.U-feed-EXT that's.it
'They would share the kava amongst each other, that's it.'

5. *da nda-p-enam- n-akoh-a*
sago LOC-FUT-RCPR- 1.U-feed-EXT
'They would share the sago amongst each other.'

6. *wambadla menda-me-b-ø- ay*
plant.bed PERF-FUT-ACT-3sg.A- become
'The plant bed would already be finished.'

7. *menda-m-ba-n-o- wambad e-pe*
PERF-FUT-ACT-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- make.plantbed III-DIST
'They would already have made the plantbed for him.'

[0069-0080.05072015.1.wbi]

This use of Future prefixes is also typical of procedural texts, in which it combines either with 1st or 3rd person ('we/they do like this, then we/they…') or 2nd person (as instructions 'you should do like this, then…').

Statements about habitual sequences are often similar to the apodosis in future conditionals: compare *Whenever I hunt, I'll kill a deer* to *If I hunt, I'll kill a deer*. In the following example the speaker argues that meat fills you up better than other foods. He makes clear that he is referring to a habitual situation by using the Present Habitual *-made* in the first clause. The use of the Future in the second clause can probably be seen either as expressing a habitually occurring event, or as the apodosis of an implicit conditional (if you eat meat, it will make you full).

(684) *muy ti e-pe k-a- w-a ay-made,*
meat with III-DIST DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX become-PRS.HAB
anep ka-p-ø-a-p- w-a isik, ay tete?
EMPH:III DIR-FUT-3sg.A-2sg.DAT-CT- 3sg.U-AUX become.full Q grandpa(m)
'With meat it's usually like that, it really makes you full, right grandpa?'
[0923.16092016.1.wbi]

The use of grams that also express futurity or irrealis to mark habitually occurring sequences is not uncommon cross-linguistically (e.g. the Kayardild Potential suffix, which may mark "repeated actions in the past"; Evans 1995: 260). There is an unfortunate tendency in the literature (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994: 157–158, Cristofaro 2004) to conflate the expression of such sequences with habituals proper, i.e. stative-like descriptions of a habit as characterizing a whole period. Languages like Marind, which distinguish state-like habituals (marked by the Habitual suffixes described in §13.2.6) from habitually occurring sequences of events, show that it is useful to separate the two types of contexts.

The use of future/irrealis forms for habitual sequences seems to be common in the South New Guinea area and has been documented for e.g. Yam languages spoken to the east of Marind (Döhler 2016: 305, Carroll 2016: 177).

13.3 The Counterfactual *-um*

The suffix *-um* (a member of the outer suffix class; see §7.4) has two rather different uses: it marks counterfactuals and continuative imperatives ('keep on Verb-ing!'). The counterfactual use is found in conditionals describing past, unrealized states-of-affairs. The suffix *-um* is added to the verb of the apodosis, as in (685), or simultaneously to both the protasis and the apododis, as in example (136) on p. 119.

(685) I had met a villager who just came back from a successful hunt. Another speaker later wondered why I hadn't asked the hunter for some meat.

ah-ø-o- *kabed,* *menda-b-ø-a-* *og-um*
DEP-2sg.A-3sg.DAT- ask PERF-ACT-3sg.A-2sg.DAT- give-CTFT

'If you had asked him [for meat], he would have given to you.'

[nb03.51.wbi]

A slightly more complex corpus example is in (686). The speaker was recounting how she and another lady fell from a platform along with several large trays filled with sago, during the preparations of a feast meal. In the following counterfactual scenario she details what would have happened if the sago had spilled out of the trays. All of the four verb forms in this excerpt are marked with the Counterfactual *-um*.

(686) 1. *e-pe* *da* *ah-ø-* *luyad-um,* *ndom-n-in* *s-ø-e-*
III-DIST sago DEP-3sg.A- spill-CTFT bad-1.U-become ONLY-3sg.A-1pl-
w-a-um
3sg.U-AUX-CTFT

'If that sago had spilled, then it would only have been bad for us.'

2. *sep* *anep* *ndom-ay* *e-pe* *k-a-* *w-a-um*
leaf.oven(III) EMPH:III bad-become:III.U III-DIST DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX-CTFT

'Then the cooking (lit. leaf oven) would have been bad.'

3. *sep* *isawa* *mbya* *ø-nak-e-* *og-um,* *ayok*
leaf.oven maybe NEG NEUT-1.A-1pl- do-CTFT prepare.leaf.oven

'The leaf oven, maybe we would not have done it, [I mean] prepare it.'

[0059.27112016.4.wbi]

The preceding example contains two instances of verb stems that are 'fronted' to a position before the verb complex (*nin* and *ay*, both compounded with *ndom* 'bad') while the Auxiliary fills the slot in the verb complex vacated by the verb stem (see §15.2 for more information about these structures). In such constructions *-um* behaves like the other outer suffixes, and retains its place within the verb complex, now attached to the Auxiliary. It does not move along with the fronted verb stem. Cf. also example (350b) on p. 292.

In its second use, *-um* may be added to a standard imperative form (containing the Imperative prefix *ah-*), as in (687–688), to urge the addressee to continue doing an action that was already initiated. It may also combine with the Hortative

mat- (689) or the Jussive *anam-*, see—again—example (350b), p. 292. There is no corresponding use with the Prohibitive forms (§17.1.4).

(687) *ah- ɣet-um!*
IMP- go-CTFT
'Keep on going!' [nb03.43.wbi]

(688) *ah- ɣahwiɣ-um! ɣahyahy ndame-ø- ay*
IMP- eat-CTFT soft:III FUT-3sg.A- become
'Keep chewing! [The meat] will become soft.' [nb03.60.wbi]

(689) *da idih mat-ind-i-e-p- naɣat-um*
sago(III) see:III.U HORT-ALL-RE-1pl-CT- many.be.moving-CTFT
'Let's keep going, and have a look at the sago.' [0042.28062015.4.wbi]

There are various restrictions on the use of *-um* in commands. First, the suffix may only be added to verbs that express durative events, so punctual verbs such as *umuh* 'go, take off' do not combine with *-um* to express commands. (This constraint does not apply in the counterfactual uses of *-um*).

Second, the suffix *-um* may only be used with the Imperative *ah-* if the addressee is singular. Imperatives directed to several addressees take the Plural Imperative suffix *-em* (§17.1.1), which also belongs to the class of outer suffixes. At most one outer suffix may be added after the verb stem, so combinations such as **naɣat-um-em* (many.go-CTFT-PL.IMP) are excluded.

It is likely that the counterfactual use and imperative use of *-um* are diachronically related, because similar patterns of polyfunctionality (between irrealis forms and continuative imperatives) have been noted for several western Pama-Nyungan languages in Australia (Dixon 2004b: 214, McGregor 2013: 121ff.).

Another interesting diachronic observation is that the suffix *-um* clearly is related to the Frustrative prefix *um-* (§14.4.1). In the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind, as described by Drabbe, there is only a prefix *um-*, which functions both as a marker of counterfactuality and a frustrative (Drabbe 1955: 129–130). It is common across languages to find markers that code both frustratives and counterfactuals (Kroeger 2017, Overall 2017).

13.4 Pluractionality

13.4.1 General remarks

The Pluractional[12] form of a verb serves to express multiple events, i.e. that an action is distributed over time (occurring several times in succession/habitually) or distributed in space (occurring in different places). There is frequently interaction with participant number, so that a Pluractional form must be used with a plural S/O participant, or because the action is performed individually rather than collectively.

Consider the verb 'carry on one's shoulders', which uses the stem *ahwikeh* with a 3sg Undergoer (e.g. an animal being carried) or an inanimate Undergoer from gender III, such as one or several bamboo poles. As seen in (690), however, the Pluractional stem *lahwikeh* (formed with a prefix *l-*) must be used if the act is distributed over time, as indicated by the word 'repeatedly' in the translations of (b); it is also used if multiple participants carry one or several poles each, as indicated by 'individually' in translation (ii) of example (b) (alternatively, this could be considered distribution over space, since each person carries in a different spot).

(690) a. *ahwikeh*

i. one person carry bamboo pole(s) once

ii. several people (collectively) carry one bamboo pole once

b. *lahwikeh*

i. one person carry bamboo pole(s) repeatedly

ii. several people (individually) carry bamboo poles once/repeatedly

iii. several people (collectively) carry one bamboo pole repeatedly

Pluractional marking, which expresses plurality of events, must be distinguished from person indexing in the verb stem, which marks person/number of animates (and gender for inanimates)—see §9.2. Number indexing and pluractionality are orthogonal categories and verb stems may be marked simultaneously according to both. Thus, the 2|3pl.U stem *ahwikah* is used for several animals (e.g. a bag full of shrimp) being carried by one person, whereas its Pluractional form *lahwikah* would be used for several people carrying several animals independently, and so on.

Pluractional marking is only relevant for a subset of Marind verbs. I have identified ca. 120 verbs for which corresponding Pluractional stems exist (20% of known

[12]Terminology introduced by Newman 1990. Pluractionality is prominent in many of the languages spoken in the South New Guinea area, e.g. Yelmek-Maklew (Tina Gregor, pers. comm.), Marori (Arka 2012) and the languages of the Yam family (Carroll 2016: 246–258, Lee 2016, inter alia).

verbs), derived by means of prefixes *l-*, *e-*, *i-*, *o-*, *u-*. The distribution of these prefixes is somewhat complicated and shows various irregularities (such as being realized as infixes for a small number of verbs); the details were given in the chapter on verb stem derivation (§9.3.1), and will not be repeated here. A small number of verbs are considered inherently Pluractional, as discussed in §13.4.2. Of the remaining 500-odd verbs in my lexical file there are probably some for which I failed to identify the Pluractional form, so the actual proportion of verbs with a Pluractional counterpart is perhaps closer to 25–30%.

The semantics of Pluractional forms are addressed in §13.4.3.

13.4.2 Inherently Pluractional verbs

Ca. 20 verbs have inherently pluractional semantics, e.g. ***anik*** 'sit down on several occasions'. This verb covers the range of meanings that a Pluractional form of ***ambid*** 'sit down' would have, and therefore blocks the prefixal derivation of a stem **l-ambid*, resulting in a suppletion-like relationship between lexemes such as 'sit down' and 'sit down on several occasions'. Again, pluractionality must be kept separate from number indexing: ***ambid*** has a suppletive plural stem ***haman***, which is used for more than one person sitting down. This stem is not Pluractional, because it may only be used about several people sitting down on one occasion. If several people sit down on different occasions, the Pluractional ***anik*** is used (***anik*** does not distinguish the number of the subject).

Certain verbs lack stems used for plural S/O arguments, and one must instead employ the corresponding Pluractional verb. This seems to be the case especially when the action is such that plural S/O participants are unlikely to act/be acted upon collectively. For example, ***kahek*** 'climb' is only used with a singular subject, and the Pluractional verb ***kapet*** must be used with a plural subject, even if the climbing occurs on a single occasion and in one place. One could speculate that the Pluractional form has ousted the standard form in plural-subject contexts because climbing typically is performed individually. If several people climb in one tree, they do so in different spots, hanging on to different branches, which matches the semantics of Pluractional forms.

I list all verbs that correspond to distinct Pluractional verbs in Table 13.6. The table also indicates which of these verbs have stems that are suppletive in the plural. Number-suppletion is restricted to non-Pluractional verbs. The table is divided into two halves. The rightmost, labeled 'Multiple events', shows the verbs that would be used in contexts that normally trigger Pluractional forms, i.e. actions distributed in time/space (cf. §13.4.1). The left half, labeled 'One event', shows verbs that are

used in contexts in which those conditions are not met. As seen in the lower part of the table, several Pluractional verbs have intruded into the left half, and are used whenever plural S/O arguments are used, even if there is no distribution in space or over several occasions. I still consider such verbs inherently Pluractional, so *kapet* is glossed 'climb.PLA' regardless of whether it is used to mean 'one person climb on several occasions' or 'several people climb on one occasion'.

Table 13.6: Inherently pluractional verbs (light gray cells) and suppletive plural stems (dark gray).

	One event		Multiple events	
Gloss	sg S/O	pl S/O	sg S/O	pl S/O
'item be standing'	*itala*	*itala*	*ehaɣa*	*ehaɣa*
'grasp vertical item'	*bik*	*bituk*	*loban*	*lobah*
'plant'	*yaɣahwig*	*yaɣahwig*	*yaɣoh*	*yaɣoh*
'become'	*win*	*in*	*onggat*	*enggat*
'throw'	*kwegen*	*kugahin*	*kuhig*	*kuhahig*
'go, leave'	*umuh*	*umah*	*um*	*yum*
'be moving'	*ɣet*	*naɣat*	*um*	*yum*
'sit down'	*ambid*	*haman*	*anik*	*anik*
'stand up'	*atin*	*waɣaman*	*lemed*	*lemed*
'lie down'	*ɣali*	*hok*	*nin*	*nin*
'run away'	*ihon*	*awan*	*bamet*	*bamet*
'climb'	*kahek*	*kapet*	*kapet*	*kapet*
'cry'	*ihw*	*lihwanak*	*lihwanak*	*lihwanak*
'shoot'	*deh*	*yas*	*was*	*yas*
'put horizontal item'	*han*	*ibutuk*	*ibotok*	*ibutuk*
'grasp horizontal item'	*han*	*yahanid*	*wahanid*	*yahanid*
'put vertical items'	*bakeh*	*ilawewn*	*ilawewn*	*ilawewn*
'plant coconut'	*bakeh*	*ɣok*	*ɣok*	*ɣok*
'catch'	*ɣakeh*	*lemeh*	*lemem*	*lemeh*
'hit'	*wamuk/wasib*	*isak*	*usak*	*isak*
'put inside'	*kahekon*	*ɣukahin*	*ɣokun*	*ɣukahin*
'give birth to'	*kaguh*	*ewah*	*ewah*	*ewah*

Interestingly, there are few clear examples of Pluractional forms derived by prefixes that have become obligatory whenever the S/O argument is plural. The only clear case is *haɣaman* 'enter water', since its Pluractional stem *ihɣaman* (not in the table) has to be used if several people enter water. For some other verbs there is a strong preference for the Pluractional to be used with plural participants, but it is not exceptionless. For example, *hwis* 'go down' normally occurs in its Pluractional form *lohwis* with a plural subject, but the simplex form *hwis* seems to be acceptable if the participants form a unitary group (e.g. traveling in a vehicle).

13.4.3 Functions of Pluractional forms

The Pluractional is semantically heterogeneous. Just as the formation (and existence) of a Pluractional form for a given verb typically is more or less unpredictable, it seems that the semantics of Pluractional forms vary from verb to verb. For certain verbs the Pluractional seems largely optional in contexts referring to plural events, whereas other verbs obligatorily appear in their Pluractional form whenever the described action is distributed in time or space. For some verbs distribution in space appears to be more relevant that distribution in time, and vice versa. Despite spending considerable time in the field attempting to systematize these differences, I was not able to arrive at any comprehensive taxonomy, so this will be left for future investigation. Below I present a selection of uses that are typical for some, but probably not all, Pluractional forms.

13.4.3.1 Distribution over time. See §13.2.6 for the use of Pluractionals in habitual contexts. Pluractional forms are also used with expressions of exact cardinality ('*n* times', usually expressed by a numeral plus *se* or the prefix *s-*, both meaning 'only'). In this respect Marind differs from many other languages in which pluractionals may not be used if the number of events is made explicit (Hofherr and Laca 2012: 16).

(691) a. *hyakod sa-mo- w-asib!*
one ONLY-FUT:2sg.A- 3sg.U-hit
'Hit him/her once!'

b. *inah sa-mo- u-sak*
two ONLY-FUT:2sg.A- 3sg.U-hit.PLA
'Hit him/her twice!' [nb04.15.wbi]

Pluractional forms are used in contexts describing general ability or potential, as in the following examples. See also example (681.1) above.

(692) *mbya k-a- ewah-e*
NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- give.birth.PLA-IPFV
'She is sterile/can't give birth.' [nb04.70.wbi]

(693) *kambet menda-b-ø- lissa⟨n⟩ab, mbya ka-ø- e-gan-e*
ear PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become.deaf⟨1.U⟩ NEG PRS.NEUT-1.A- PLA-hear-IPFV
'I've become deaf, I can't hear.' [nb03.85.wbi]

Verbs describing events that typically consist of multiple identical microevents performed in succession and involving the same participants ('multiplicative' actions in Xrakovskij 1997) do not use Pluractional forms to express this. For example, the verbs *atuk* 'flap wings', *ɣoseh* 'wallaby to jump', *mamud* 'grind' and *alak* 'chop off bark' lack separate Pluractional stems, and employ standard durativizing morphology such as the Past Durative *d-* or Non-Past Imperfective *-e* to express 'be flapping one's wings' and so on. The verb *akam* 'drip' has a Pluractional stem *lalakam* but uses it for distribution in space, i.e. 'dripping in several places', as when a ceiling is leaking in several spots. Other verbs require the Pluractional to express multiplicative actions, e.g. *e-ɣad* 'PLA-uncover' in the sense 'keep flashing a flashlight', or *ɣ⟨e⟩dak* 'thump repeatedly' (from *ɣadak* 'thump once'), as in:

(694) A hunter describing how he attracted a wallaby by imitating mating behavior.

nama k-ak-o- n-a ɣ⟨e⟩dak: gu, gu, gu
now DIR-1.A-3sg.DAT- 1.U-AUX ⟨PLA⟩thump
'Now I started thumping the ground at it: bang, bang, bang.'
[0194-0195.21092016.1.wbi]

Another prefix whose meaning involves more than one event is the Repetitive *i-* 'again' (§14.4.2). The difference is that the use of *i-* presupposes rather than asserts multiple events, so I do not consider *i-* to be a pluractional marker. The use of the Repetitive does not require the verb to be in the Pluractional form, as seen in the following example, because *hi* here refers to a single falling event (although a previous falling event is presupposed).

(695) *Yaba-Takah epe k-ø-i- hi muy ti*
Y.-B. there DIR-3sg.A-RE- fall:3sg.U meat with
'There Yaba-Takah fell again with the meat.' [0138.28062015.3.wbi]

The Repetitive may combine with a Pluractional verb (such as *hihi* 'fall.PLA') to describe e.g. a person falling several times after having fallen on a previous occasion.

Recall also that Pluractional forms are used in the formation of some nominal forms suggesting plurality of events: in compounds such as *onggat-kapet* 'climbing of coconut palms' (< *kapet* 'climb.PLA'; §4.4.1.5), and in deverbal instrument nouns such as *kehway* 'paddle' (< *e-hway* 'PLA-paddle'; §4.5.2).

13.4.3.2 Distribution over space. The following examples illustrate events in single vs. multiple locations with the verb 'fill'. In (696) reference is made to a

single location (a church) being filled up with people, so the non-Pluractional form 2|3pl.U *tahab* is used. In (697) several boxes are filled up with sago, hence the use of Pluractional *utaheb* (as well as the Past Durative *d-*).

(696) *gereja ah-ø- kyamin ehetago Makaling, k-a-p- w-a*
church(m) DEP-3sg.A- enter:2|3pl.U like.this M. DIR-3sg.A-CT- 3sg.U-AUX
tahab
fill:2|3.pl.U
'When they entered the church in Makaling, they filled it up.'
[0034-0035.23092016.7.wbi]

(697) *da karton ka-d-e-na-y- yokun,*
sago(III) box(m) DIR-DUR-3pl>1-1.DAT-1pl- put.inside.PLA
ka-d-a-p- w-a u-tah⟨e⟩b, […]
DIR-DUR-3sg.A-CT- 3sg.U-AUX PLA-fill⟨III.U⟩
'They put sago in boxes for us, it filled up [the boxes]. […]'
[0083.23092016.6.wbi]

Some verbs can appear in the Pluractional form to express that the action is performed while moving around, i.e. an ambulative use (Dressler 1968). Consider the inherently Pluractional verb *loban*, which usually is used in the sense 'grasp several vertically oriented items' (e.g. two bottles; the corresponding non-Pluractional verb is *bik*). In the following overheard example, however, the verb is used about a single camera bag that I had asked a boy to carry while I was taking photographs. The friend who asked what he was carrying used the Pluractional verb despite there being only one carried item, since the boy was carrying it while walking around.

(698) *ta ma-h-o-b- loban-e?*
what OBJ-INT-2sg.A-ACT- grasp.PLA-IPFV
'What are you carrying around?' [nb04.74.wbi]

13.4.3.3 Distribution over participants. Pluractional forms are used in various contexts that imply a plurality of events because the action is distributed over several participants. For example, Pluractional verbs are used with distributive numeral expressions, as illustrated by the elicited data in (699). Example (a) describes a single event of giving (literally: putting), so the non-Pluractional *hahin* is used. In (b) one gift is distributed to each recipient. Each giving-event involves a single gift

given to a single recipient, but since this implies multiple giving events, the situation as a whole must be expressed by means of the Pluractional verb *ibutuk*.

(699) a. *dadami* *kyasom* *hyakod* *m-ak-e-* *hahin*
betel.pepper(IV) girl one OBJ-1.A-2|3pl.DAT- put:IV.U
'I gave the girls one betel pepper.' (to share)

b. *dadami* *hyakod* *ti* *m-ak-e-* *ibutuk*
betel.pepper(IV) one with OBJ-1.A-2|3pl.DAT- put.PLA:IV.U
'I gave them one betel pepper each.' [nb04.55.wbi]

The same situation obtains in reciprocal contexts (700). Since 'give each other' implies at least two different acts of giving, the Pluractional form of the verb (if there is such a form) is used, as in (b). A corpus example is in (701). Note that the Pluractional stem inflects for 1st person Undergoer, in accordance with the principles described in §12.4.2.

(700) a. *katal* *m-ak-o-* *hahin*
money(IV) OBJ-1.A-3sg.DAT- put:IV.U
'I gave him/her money.'

b. *katal* *m-enam-* *ibutuk-a*
money(IV) OBJ-RCPR- put.PLA:IV.U-EXT
'They are giving each other money.' [nb04.95.wbi]

(701) *epe* *k-inam-i-* *y⟨i⟩da⟨n⟩awn*
there DIR-RCPR-RE- ⟨PLA⟩leave⟨1.U⟩
'There they left each other again.' [0106.23042015.1.dmh]

It is sometimes impossible to distinguish distribution over participants from distribution in space. Consider the corpus data in (702). The speaker described how she and other villagers were about to return home after a gathering. When transcribing this text, I was initially confused by the Pluractional form *huhun* in line 1, followed by the non-Pluractional version *hun* in line 2. The speaker with whom I was working explained that in line 1, the speaker is referring to all the different villagers who were about to return to their respective houses. The Pluractional is used since each group of participants is going to a different place. In line 2, the speaker refers to herself and her family, who returned to the house where I recorded her. A single group of participants went to one place, hence the non-Pluractional form *hun*.

(702) 1. *nok ka-p-e-p- n-a huhu-n*
1 DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl-CT- 1.U-AUX emerge.PLA-1.U
'Each of us were going to go home.'

2. *nok k-ak-e-p- n-a hu-n*
1 DIR-1.A-1pl-CT- 1.U-AUX emerge-1.U
'We went home.' [0065-0066.23092016.7.wbi]

Chapter 14

Various verbal categories

In this chapter I discuss some grammatical categories that are difficult to fit into any of the other chapters. The categories are realized by affixes on the verb, and I have organized this chapter according to the approximate position of the affixes in the verb complex. First I describe the Given prefix *tV-* (§14.1) and the Absconditive series (§14.2), both of which occur at the leftmost periphery of the prefixal complex. I treat the prefixes in position class –11 as a group (the 'Speaker Attitude prefixes') in §14.3, since they all express meanings that relate to the stance of the speaker towards the expressed state-of-affairs. The prefixes described in §14.4, on the other hand, are lumped together out of convenience and have no shared meaning in common. In the last section a suffix is described, the Venitive *-em* (§14.5).

14.1 Givenness marker *tV-*, *t-*

The Givenness (or Given) prefix *tV-* or *t-* is the sole member of the leftmost position class in the templatic model of the prefixal complex (Chapter 7), which means that no other prefixes may precede it. The affixal status is less clear for the Given prefix than for other prefixes, which might be expected from a marker at the very edge of the prefixal complex. The Given prefix exhibits phonological behavior that differentiates it from other prefixes, and some of this could be interpreted as evidence for word-hood rather than affix-hood (§14.1.1). However, other criteria identify it as an affix, and speakers never add a blank after the Given marker when writing in Marind. Therefore I treat it as a prefix in the orthography used in this grammar.

Understanding the function of the Given prefix requires a basic grasp of the system of Verb Orientation and the function of the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb (Chapter 10). The most important function of the pre-verbal slot is as the site of a focused constituent (§10.2). The Given prefix is employed whenever the

focused constituent, occurring in the pre-verbal slot immediately before the Given prefix, is either (a) a demonstrative used as a 3rd person pronoun or (b) any other noun phrase determined by a demonstrative.

There are two demonstratives that commonly are used as pronouns and as determiners: Proximal *Vhe* and Distal *Vpe* (§3.3.2). When the Proximal *Vhe* is used as a pronoun ('this one') or as a postposed determiner (e.g. *nggat uhe* 'this dog') and occurs in the pre-verbal slot, it always appears in a reduced shape, with the final syllable *-he* deleted. I treat the remaining gender marking vowel as a clitic *V=*, leaning on the following verb. The Distal always occurs in its full form *Vpe*.

The presence of a focused constituent always triggers the use of one of the so-called Orientation prefixes (§10.1) on the verb, e.g. the Neutral *k-* (in contexts with present time reference) or ø- (in the non-present) corresponding to a pre-verbal constituent in an S/A role, or the Object *m-* corresponding to a constituent functioning as the transitive O. This means that the Givenness *t-* always occurs with an Orientation prefix present in the same verb form. We can devise the following mini-template for the structure in which the Given-prefix occurs:

… DEM	***t-*** (***V-***) ORIENTATION- (other prefixes)- VERB STEM
Pre-verbal slot	Verb complex

The following corpus data will be used to illustrate the use of the Given prefix and its interaction with the material in the pre-verbal slot. These utterances are taken from a recording of the Family Problems picture task. The two speakers are watching and discussing a series of pictures. Here, the picture shows a policeman and a prisoner. One of the speakers points to the policeman and utters (703.1), 'This is the one who caught him'. The pronominal reference to the policeman is made by means of the Proximal clitic *e=* 'this one'. In line 3 (an intervening remark has been omitted in line 2) he shifts the attention to the prisoner and explains, using the same structure, 'This is the one that he caught' (or 'This one got caught'). Speakers often choose to use focus structures in contexts where different participants are contrasted from each other. Since the in-focus expressions in this case are demonstrative forms, the Given prefix *t-* must be used.

(703) 1. *e=* *t-e-ø-a-* *ɣak⟨e⟩h* *e-he*
PROX:I= GIV-I-NEUT-3sg.A- catch⟨3sg.U⟩ I-PROX
'This is the one who caught him.'

2. […]

3. *e=* *ta-m-ø-* *ɣak⟨e⟩h*
   PROX:I= GIV-OBJ-3sg.A- catch⟨3sg.U⟩
   'This is the one that he caught.' [0028-0030.19052015.2.dmh]

As indicated by the notation '*tV-*', and as seen in (703.1), the segment *t-* may be followed by a vowel marking gender agreement. The vowels follow the same pattern as the initial vowels of the demonstratives: *e-* (gender I and gender III), *u-* (II), and *i* (gender IV, and the plural of genders I/II). I do not consider this agreement marking vowel to be a prefix in its own right (i.e. belonging to a separate position class), since it can only occur if the segment *t-* is present. Using terminology from Harris 2016, the *t-V-* sequence can be described as a morphologically complex affix, with *t-* being a carrier affix hosting a dependent affix *V-*.

The distribution of the agreeing *tV-* versus non-agreeing *t-* is described in §14.1.2.

14.1.1 Form of the Given prefix

Some of the phonological behavior of the Given prefix suggests that it forms a separate phonological word, distinct from the rest of the Prefixal Comples.

Firstly, consider the allomorphy of the 3sg Actor prefix, which always is realized as ø- if the other prefixes with which it occurs in the prefixal complex are sufficient to build a syllable. Otherwise it is realized as *a-*, for example if it is the only prefix present in the prefixal complex. The Given prefix and a following gender-marking vowel has the shape CV-, e.g. *te-* in (703.1) above. However, it is as if the Given prefix were invisible to the phonology, because the 3sg Actor prefix is always realized as *a-* when combined only with this prefix (the Neutral Orentation is always ø- in past time contexts, and does not affect the realization of either prefix).

Secondly, recall from §2.4 that there are constraints on how open and closed syllables may be arranged within the phonological word in Marind. A closed penultimate syllable is avoided, so a word of the shape *CVC.CV is turned into an acceptable syllable sequence by means of epenthetic *a*-insertion: CV.C*a*.CV. However, the syllable formed by the given prefix escapes this constraint. In (704), the prefixal complex (preceded by the reduced demontrative clitic) forms a phonological word of the shape V.CVC.CV (*e.tam.da*), which goes against the prohibition of closed penultimate syllables.

(704) *e=* *ta-m-d-a-* *w-alaw-a*
   PROX:III= GIV-OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-search-EXT
   'That's what he was looking for.' [nb03.39.wbi]

This behavior of the Given prefix suggests that it is phonologically detached from the rest of the prefixal complex. On the other hand, the fact that the exponent *m-* of the Object Orientation prefix syllabifies with the Given *ta-* suggest that they are part of the same phonological word, because consonants do not syllabify across word boundaries in Marind. The Object prefix *m-* is clearly a member of the prefixal complex, so the Given prefix must also be part of the prefixal complex, because otherwise they would not syllabify together. Note also that the Given prefix may not carry prosodic stress, which it would be expected to do if it were an inpendent word. The final result is ambiguous, with the Given prefix behaving partly as an independent word and partly as one of the affixes in the prefixal complex.

14.1.2 Gender agreement with the Given prefix

The presence of gender agreement depends on the choice of Orientation prefix, which in turn depends on the role of the focused constituent appearing in the preverbal slot (as described in Chapter 10). Gender agreement is obligatory with the Neutral Orientation *k-/ø-*, the Locative *nd-* and the Restrictive *s-* ('only'). It is usually absent with the Object Orientation *m-* (see below). There is no data on combinations of the Given prefix with the Directional Orientation *k-*.

The gender value shown by the agreeing segment in *tV-* is always the same as that of the preceding demonstrative. The exponence patterns are identical for the two targets so the resulting sequences are (with the Distal *Vpe*) *epe te-*, *upe tu-* and *ipe ti-*. The alliterative character of these sequences is even more prominent in allegro speech, where these common sequences usually are reduced to [epete], [uputu] and [ipiti] respectively (this is not reflected in the orthography).

The following examples show gender agreement with the Neutral Orientation.

(705) a. *e-pe t-e-k-a- deh-e*
I-DIST GIV-I-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A shoot:3sg.U-IPFV
'He is the one who is going to shoot it.' [0199.28062015.2.wbi]

b. *u-pe t-u-k-a- deh-e*
II-DIST GIV-II-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A shoot:3sg.U-IPFV
'She is the one who is going to shoot it.' [Elicited based on (a)]

c. *i-pe t-i-k-an- y-as-e*
I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-PRS.NEUT-3pl.A 2|3pl.U-shoot.PLA-IPFV
'They are the ones who are going to shoot them.' [Elicited based on (a)]

Gender agreement is usually absent with the Object *m-*, as in (706). The insertion of epenthetic */a/* after *t-* prevents formation of a cluster **tm-*. Occasionally some speakers add gender agreement between *t-* and Object *m-*, as in (707). (All locations are assigned to gender III). This appears to be a completely optional variant; other attested examples of the verb 'go' in the same context lack agreement, without any noticeable difference in meaning.

(706) *e-pe mayan e-pe ta-m-an-d-ap- lay*
III-DIST speech III-DIST GIV-OBJ-1.A-DUR-CT- talk
'That's the story that I told.' [0187.23092016.6.wbi]

(707) *nok nama epe t-e-ma-no- uma⟨n⟩ah-e*
1 now there GIV-III-OBJ-1.A- go⟨1.U⟩-IPFV
'Now I'm going to go over there.' [0018.27112016.4.wbi]

14.1.3 Function of the Given prefix

It was stated above that the main factor triggering the use of the Given prefix is the presence of a focused constituent that either consists of a demonstrative or is determined by a demonstrative. The function of demonstratives used as determiners can be regarded as an instruction to the hearer to retrieve the referent from the discourse context (§5.1.2). The hearer can be expected to have some familiarity with the referent, or at least access to it, e.g. because it has been mentioned before or because it is present in the physical surroundings.

The pragmatic notion of focus, on the other hand, has something of the opposite function: it singles out a piece of information because it is judged to be relatively unpredictable, and therefore informative. This is reflected in Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997: 205) account of focus structure, in which they rank different types of expressions according to their "markedness" as focal elements. Indefinite NPs are less marked than definite NPs, which are less marked than pronouns. (The most marked case would be a zero focus, which does not occur; cf. zero topics, which are common in grammatical analyses).

Van Valin and LaPolla's markedness of focal expressions corresponds directly to marking with the Given prefix in Marind: pronominally used demonstratives (corresponding to Van Valin and LaPolla's pronouns) always trigger Given marking when they are in focus, as do noun phrases with demonstrative determiners (corresponding roughly with Van Valin and LaPolla's definite NPs). It seems likely that the *tV-* prefix

is a reflex of the Proto-Anim demonstrative root **tV* (reconstructed by Usher and Suter 2015: 118). This Proto-Anim demonstrative was replaced by ***Vpe*** in Marind, but apparently a remnant of it survives as part of the focus construction.

Below I give some further corpus examples to illustrate the use of *tV-*.

The next example exhibits a standard topic-comment articulation (§16.2.2), with the topical expression 'that house of ours' prosodically detached from the rest of the utterance (the comment). Within the comment, 'Father' is given focal prominence, since it is the fact that Father is the house-builder that is the crucial piece of information that the speaker wants to convey. The word *ad* 'father' is determined by the Distal demonstrative *epe*, presumably because the referent, who was not present at the time, had been discussed before the recording started. Since the focal expression is determined by a demonstrative, the verb is marked with Given *tV-*.

(708) *e-pe nok keti en aha, ad e-pe t-e-ø-d-a- ambad*
III-DIST 1 APL POSS house(III) father(I) I-DIST GIV-I-NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- build
'That house of ours, it was Father who built it.' [0100.27112016.3.wbi]

A common strategy is to introduce a participant as a left-dislocated topic, which then is recast as a focused constituent in the comment: *As for X, it was S/HE who Verb-ed*. The following example is from a telling of some recent events. A truck had approached the speaker, and the driver turned out to be a man that she had encountered previously:

(709) *wis lek e-pe, e-pe t-e-ø-ø-i- man-em*
yesterday from:I I-DIST I-DIST GIV-I-NEUT-3sg.A-RE- come-VEN
'The [man] from the day before, it was he who came again.'
[0282.27112016.4.wbi]

Example (710) has a similar structure. A new referent (some wooden planks or poles) is mentioned in line 1. In line 2 *de* 'wood' is brought into focus, which triggers the use of *tV-* on the verb since it is determined by demonstratives.

(710) 1. *rusa de k-ø-um- kapet,*
deer(m) wood DIR-3sg.A-FRUS- climb.PLA
a-d-ø- ehwes-a-ti de beko e-pe
[DEP-DUR-3sg.A- put-EXT-DUR wood bulldozer(m)(III)] III-DIST
'The deer tried to climb the wood that was lying there by the bulldozer.'

2.→*e-pe* *de* *e-pe* *t-e-ø-na-* *k-u-sak*
III-DIST wood(III) III-DIST GIV-III-NEUT-3pl.A- WITH-3sg.U-hit.PLA

Sanggahe-patul a, *epe* *k-a-* *kahwid*
S.-boy PTCL there DIR-3sg.A- die:3g.U

'With that wood they hit [the deer], the boys from Sanggase, and there it died.' [0138-0139.08092016.1.wbi]

It is also very common for the focused expression to refer to something given in the surroundings, as in (711). The speaker shows her hand, describing how to receive the consecrated bread during the Eucharist. The focused expression is determined by the Proximal *Vhe*, so the postposed demonstrative immediately before the verb is reduced to the gender-marking vowel only.

(711) *e-he* *sangga* *e=* *t-e-ø-mo-* *ka-han*
III-PROX hand(III) PROX:III= GIV-III-NEUT-FUT:2sg.A- WITH-take:III.U

'You should take it with this hand.' [0050.23092016.7.wbi]

14.2 The Absconditive *ep-* (etc.)

The Absconditive prefix series has two main uses: they are used to talk about current states-of-affairs that are outside the addressee's focus of attention, and they are used to form present tense relative clauses (§14.2.2). Their formal properties are addressed before the description of their functions.

14.2.1 Form of the Absconditive

The Absconditive consists of the substring *V-* marking gender agreement, followed by either *h-*, marking proximal deixis, or *p-*, marking distal deixis. I consider the variant with *p-* to be the unmarked choice, so only the Proximal *h-* is labeled in the morphemic analysis ('PROX'). The combinations of gender vowels with *h-/p-* are shown in Table 14.1. Compare the proximal and distal demonstratives *Vhe* 'this, here' and *Vpe* 'that, there' (Section 3.3.2), from which the Absconditive forms are probably somehow derived.

Since the gender marking vowel and the proximal/distal segments never occur separated, the combination is best thought of as a compound affix, and not as two separate prefixes occupying separate position classes. The gender vowel is not separated from the deictic component in the interlinear glossing, so the sequence is

	PROX		DIST	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
I	*e-h-*	*i-h-*	*e-p-*	*i-p-*
II	*u-h-*		*u-p-*	
III	*e-h-*		*e-p-*	
IV	*i-h-*		*i-p-*	

Figure 14.1: The Absconditive

treated as a unit, e.g. *up-* 'ABSC:II' or *ih-* 'ABSC:PROX:I/II.pl'. Judging from the available data it seems that any argument in the clause may act as the controller of gender agreement in the Absconditive prefix. For example, S-arguments are controllers in examples (712–714) below; a recipient-like argument in (715), further below; a transitive O-argument in (721) on p. 455; and a transitive A-argument was seen in (1a) on p. 26. The choice of a controller in clauses with multiple arguments (with different genders) is probably related to relative prominence or topichood; a much larger corpus is needed to investigate this.

The Absconditive spans position classes –17 to –14. It can be followed by the 1st or 2nd person Actor prefixes of class –13, e.g. 1st person *no-* (although it is incompatible with the Future of the same class).

(712) *epa-no- man-em!*
ABSC:I-1.A- come-VEN
'I'm coming!' [nb02.29.dmh]

As the preceding example shows, the vowel *e-* (here marking the singular of gender I) escapes antepenultimate raising to [i] (§2.5.1), despite being in the third syllable from the right edge of the prefixal complex. The preservation of *e* always happens when the vowel is the exponence of gender (e.g. in the Present Polar Question prefix *ek-*, 17.2.1).

14.2.2 Functions of the Absconditive

14.2.2.1 Realignment of attention. This is the most prominent use of the Absconditive in face-to-face conversation, and the label 'Absconditive' was coined with this use in mind (from Latin *absconditus* 'hidden'). In brief, a verb form marked with the Absconditive series is used to make a statement about a current state-of-affairs that is outside the addressee's focus of attention, usually with the implied meaning that the Addressee should shift his or her attention to the state-of-affairs

Figure 14.2: Use of the Absconditive.

in question, thereby aligning it with the attention of the speaker. This function is essentially the opposite of that of the Presentative prefix *hat-*, which signals that a state-of-affairs is in plain sight (see §14.3.5).

I will clarify the attention-realigning function of the Absconditive by discussing some examples. Consider first the scene in Figure 14.2, which shows a still from a video recording of some teenagers cleaning out the well outside my house in Wambi. Dula, the boy in the left periphery of the image (marked by 'Spr'), sees someone approaching (to the right, off camera) carrying two large buckets. He addresses Pau and Yakoba, the boy and the girl who are busy drawing water from the well (both marked 'Adr'), with the utterance given in glossed form in (713). (Teo, the younger boy standing with his back against the camera, does not seem to be intended as an addreessee of Dula's utterance).

(713) *ep-ø- man-em, dua ɣa m-a- ka-man*
ABSC:I-3sg.A- come-VEN two(m) real OBJ-3sg.A- WITH-come
'There he's coming, he's bringing two.' [0103.27082015.1.wbi]

The use of the Absconditive (agreeing in gender I, since the subject is a male person) in the first clause of the utterance is motivated by the fact that the two addressees are focusing their attention on the well, away from the referent that Dula wants to bring to their attention. After hearing Dula's statement, the addressees turn around and look at the approaching person. They realign their focus of attention with that

Figure 14.3: Use of the Absconditive.

of Dula, meaning that the interactional goal implied by his use of the Absconditive is achieved.

Another occurrence of the Absconditive, from the same video recording, is illustrated in Figure 14.3. The speaker Teo (ca. 7 years old; marked 'Spr') has just been told to go away from the well by Pau, who is drawing water. Pau wants Teo and his younger sister Susana (visible behind Teo) to take off their shirts so that Pau can pour water on the children. Teo is not interested in showering, so he refuses and attempts to deflect Pau's attention from this by pointing out that there is a little fish swimming around inside the well (or so he imagines). Teo's utterance, given in (714), uses the Absconditive since he wants Pau to shift his attention away from him and his sister, and look at the fish in the well.

(714) Repeated from (624).

mbya ka,	*ade!*	*kosi-awe*	*up-ø-*	*kw-aɣit-a*
no	EXCLAM	small-fish(II)	ABSC:II-3sg.A-	INESS-run.around:3sg.U-EXT

'No, wait! There's a little fish swimming around inside.'

[0006.27082015.1.wbi]

The Absconditive series may also be used to redirect attention in a more abstract sense, as when one corrects some erroneous assumption made by the addressee. This is how I interpret the use of the Absconditive in (715), which was observed in the following situation. I was sitting with an elderly woman who was talking to me in Marind. During a pause in the conversation, my adoptive brother-in-law walked

by, and must have assumed that we had been sitting in silence, because he said to the lady 'You should talk to him in Marind, so that he learns'. The lady replied as in (715). The function of the Absconditive in this utterance is clearly not to redirect the addressee's attention to some physical state-of-affairs (unlike the previously discussed examples), but rather to shift his attention away from the erroneous assumption that he had made ('She is not talking to him') to the actual situation.

(715) *ep-ak-o- lay-e!*
ABSC:I-1.A-3sg.DAT- talk-IPFV
'I *am* talking to him!' [nb03.35.wbi]

Note that (715) features the 'Distal' *p*-version of the Absconditive, yet the state-of-affairs that it points to is not distant from either of the participants. It is because of uses like this that I consider the Distal variant to be unmarked: it does not seem to contribute much of a deictic specification. This contrasts with the Proximal version of the Absconditive, which always indicates that the state-of-affairs is 'here' with respect to the speaker. Most attestations are in copula clauses (§15.4), in which the speaker draws the attention of the addressee to some item, e.g. one that the speaker is holding:

(716) *muy eh-ø-am*
meat ABSC:PROX:III-3sg.A-2sg.GEN
'Here you go, here's your meat.' [0343.21092016.1.wbi]

The suggestion that the Distal Absconditive provides little information about deixis corresponds to the observation that the Distal demonstrative *Vpe* seems to be relatively vague in its specification for distance (see §3.3.2.1).

14.2.2.2 In present tense relative clauses. Relative clauses with present time reference are always formed with a verb form prefixed with the Absconditive series. This use is unrelated to the attention-aligning use described above, and occurs regardless of whether the situation described in the relative clause is within or outside the addressee's focus of attention.

Relative clauses with the Absconditive are mostly found in topic position, like relative clauses in general. The peripheral position identifies these clauses as dependent on another clause—other than that there are no signs that present relative clauses are subordinate. The relative clause is typically followed by a demonstrative,

which is a common way of marking topics in general. The deictic value of the demonstrative (Proximal *Vhe* or Distal *Vpe*) always matches that of the Absconditive prefix. The gender value of the following demonstrative matches that of the Absconditive prefix, but apparently only when the gender controller is a third person argument. Matching deixis and gender values are seen in the following two examples:

(717) *e-pe namakad ep-o- hat-a e-pe, igih ta*
[III-DIST thing(III) ABSC:III-2sg.A- grasp:III.U-EXT] III-DIST name what
ka-ha-b-ø?
PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A
'The thing that you're holding, what's it called?' [0210.16092016.1.wbi]

(718) *heh inah ip-ø- kw-ehaɣ-a i-pe,*
[tree.sp(IV) two ABSC:IV-3sg.A- INESS-many.stand-EXT] IV-DIST
epe nda-d-ø- ka-tel
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-be.lying
'Where the two *heh* trees are standing, there he was sleeping.'
[0060.28062015.2.wbi]

If the gender value of the Absconditive is controlled by a non-third person argument, the demonstrative defaults to gender III agreement, as in (719), in which the subject 'we' controls gender I/II plural agreement in the Absconditive, whereas the demonstrative following the relative clause is in the default form *ehe*. This example also illustrates a further phonogical change in the Absconditive: the Proximal element *h-* is deleted before the following consonant in this context, since epenthetic /a/ has been deleted by Antepenultimate Syncope (/ihanake-/>/ihnake/>[inake-]).

(719) *nama i-nak-e- hamat-a e-he,* […],
[now ABSC:PROX:I/II.pl-1.A-1pl- many.sit-EXT] III-PROX
milah-igih Ihil-Otih k-a
village-name I.-O. PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'Where we are sitting now, […], it's called Ihil-Otih.' [0005.16052015.1.dmh]

Marind relative clauses are usually full-fledged clauses, with the head nominal (if there is any) expressed inside the relative clause, as in (717) above. The clause stands in loose apposition to the rest of the utterance, and there is no explicit marking of the semantic relationship of the relative clause to the main predication (similar to what Hale 1976 termed 'adjoined relative clauses'). Thus, whether a relative

clause describes an entity ('the one who…') or a location ('the place where…') is determined purely by contextual clues. In an example such as (720), only the adverbial/locational interpretation makes sense. The interpretation in which the relative clause describes the subject of the main clause is excluded since a river cannot stand (*itala*). In other contexts, the entity/location distinction seems to have little impact on the meaning of the sentence, as in (721), for which I give two equivalent translations.

(720) *kosi ep-ø- ka-lik-a e-pe,*
[small ABSC:III-3sg.A- INESS-become.river-EXT] III-DIST
epe nda-d-ø- kw-itala
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-be.standing
'Where there's a small river, he was standing there.'
*'The small river, it was standing there.' [0105.28062015.2.wbi]

(721) *pe ɣa e-pe, ep-ak-e- tapid-made*
intestine(III) real III-DIST [ABSC:III-1.A-1pl- clean.out.intestine-PRS.HAB]
e-pe, kukala k-a
III-DIST large.intestine? PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'That very intestine, the one we usually clean out, it's called *kukala*.'
'That very intestine, where we usually clean out [the dirt], it's called *kukala*.'
[0908.16092016.1.wbi]

Non-present relative clauses are marked by the Dependent prefix *ah-*.

14.3 Speaker attitude prefixes

In this section I describe the Actualis *b-* (§14.3.1), the Mirative *bam-* (§14.3.2), the Affectionate *bat-* (§14.3.3), the Self-interrogative *bah-* (§14.3.4), and the Presentative *hat-* (§14.3.5).

I treat these five prefixes together, since they belong to a single slot in the morphotactic template (position class –11), and since all of them have meanings that reflect the stance or attitude of the speaker to what is being said.

The five prefixes share two phonological similarities: the segment /b/ reoccurs in *b-*, *bah-*, *bam-* and *bat-*, and the sequence /at/ appears in both *bat-* and *hat-*. This is perhaps the result of concatenation of what once were independent affixes; synchronically, however, no further segmentation is possible.

A noteworthy property of the prefixes in this class is that they do not occur preceded by the Past Durative *d-*, despite the fact that *d-* belongs to the preceding position class. The reason for this is mainly phonological: the Western variety of Coastal Marind deletes /d/ before /b/, so *d-* cannot surface before the *b*-initial prefixes *b-*, *bah-*, *bam-* and *bat-* (this phonological rule does not apply in the Eastern variety described in Geurtjens 1933 and Drabbe 1955). The Presentative *hat-* (§14.3.5) is used in clauses with present time reference and is therefore not attested with the Durative *d-*, which only occurs in past time context.

14.3.1 Actualis *b-*

I classify the occurrences of the Actualis prefix *b-* into three types: (i) in combinations with the Perfect *mend-* (i.e. *mend-…b-…*); (ii) in content questions; (iii) all other uses. I will start by commenting on type (iii), which I will consider the 'basic function' of the prefix, since the contribution of *b-* in the two first contexts remains largely opaque.

14.3.1.1 Basic function. In its use outside forms with the Perfect *mend-* and content question, the prefix *b-* expresses actuality. I think of forms with *b-* as expressing roughly 'one could have suspected that it would not happen, but it really *did* happen'. A verb marked with *b-* cannot be modified by *isawa* 'maybe'. According to Drabbe (1955: 125), *b-* is used when one "wants to assert something with certainty or emphasis".[1] I am not able to narrow down these vague statements much further. The Actualis is rare in my corpus (about a dozen attestations), expect for the collocations with the Perfect and in content questions, in which it is extremely common (see further below).

Corpus data illustrating the use of *b-* is given below.

Consider the following example. The speakers describes how he and some other hunters feasted on a pig. In the context of eating, the expression 'kill oneself' (literally 'kill one's body') refers to eating a very large amount of food, i.e. 'gorge oneself' or 'eat like a horse'. This is the second time the speaker repeats this expression—cf. example (583) on p. 387 for the first mention—but now he adds the prefix *b-*, which I interpret as a way of adding force to the hyperbolic expression (*we really gorged ourselves—I really mean it!*).

[1] "*De modus-wijzer* b- […] *drukt uit dat men iets met beslistheid of nadrukkelijk wil beweren*". Drabbe also claims (p. 126) that the Presentative *hat-* (§14.3.5) has the same meaning as *b-*. It is unclear to me how he came to this conclusion.

(722) *pen* *ɣa* *k-am-b-e-* *u-sak* *wahani*
murder real DIR-1.A-ACT-1pl- III.U-hit.PLA body(III)
'[Indeed] we really ate ourselves to death.' [0053.14052015.2.dmh]

The speaker with whom I translated this text conveyed this emphasis by means of Malay *memang*, approximately 'indeed', which I have added within brackets.

In the next example, a truck driver had been asked by the speaker to bring a group of villagers back to Wambi from another village. He replies that he will only do this on condition that they supply him with palm wine. The villagers had no wine, so the driver refused to take them. The speaker marks the verb form in 'He didn't take them' with *b-*: the driver was not just making an empty threat, he really did not take the villagers.

(723) 1. *sageru* *me-na-* *og,* *yah* *mano-* *y-ahik*
palm.wine(m) FUT:2pl.A-1.DAT- give PTCL FUT:1.A- 2|3pl-accompany

2.→*mbya* *ø-b-a-* *y-ahik,*
NEG NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- 2|3pl-accompany

sageru *mbya* *ø-d-a-namb-e-* *ola-la*
palm.wine(m) NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl- be:3sg.U-EXT

1. '"[The driver said:] You're going to give me palm wine, and then I will take you [home]".'
2. '[And indeed] he didn't take them, [because] we didn't have any palm wine.' [0247-0248.16092016.1.wbi]

The following example comes from a discussion after a failed hunting expedition. The speaker is scolding one of the other hunters, who wasted a valuable metal arrowhead. The addressee shot a deer, but the shot failed to kill it, and the deer ran away with the arrow sticking out of its skin. The addressee should have been able to kill the deer, according to the speaker, because the dogs had chased it close to where the addressee was standing guard. But:

(724) *anup* *ugu* *m-o-b-o-* *deh*
EMPH skin(III) OBJ-2sg.A-ACT-3sg.DAT- shoot:III.U
'[In fact] you shot it in the skin.' [0560.20052015.4.mkl]

I interpret this use as a way of contrasting the potential outcome ('you could have killed it') with what actually happened ('you shot its skin').

14.3.1.2 With the Perfect *mend-*. The Perfect prefix *mend-* (§13.2.5) collocates strongly with the Actualis *b-*: of 671 attestations of the Perfect in the corpus, 540 (or 80%) are followed by *b-*. This means that the bulk of the occurrences of *b-* are in combination with the Perfect. I have not been able to identify the function of *b-* in such forms, but it is clear that the prefix lacks the meaning of certainty of actuality that it is expresses in its basic use (as discussed in the previous subsection). For example, verbs prefixed with Perfect *mend-* and *b-* are free to co-occur with the adverb *isawa* 'maybe':

(725) *napet* *menda-b-ø-* *usu* *isawa*
banana(III) PERF-ACT-3sg.U- become.ripe:III.U maybe
'Maybe the bananas have become ripe.' [0127.16092016.1.wbi]

Speakers with whom I discussed the use of *b-* typically reported that *mend*-forms mean the same thing with and without *b-*, and I was long under the impression that the variants were interchangeable. It was not until a late stage of fieldwork that I was corrected for using a *mend*-form with *b-* by a speaker who told me that in this context, I should not use *b-*. On this occasion I was standing outside my house when the speaker, Mili, approached me and asked if I had seen his father, Paulus. I wanted to reply that I had seen the father, but that I did not know where he went. I used the variant with *b-* given in (726a), but Mili corrected me saying that I should say as in (b).

(726) a. *menda-no-b-* *idih*
PERF-1.A-ACT- see:3sg.U

b. *menda-no-* *idih*
PERF-1.A- see:3sg.U
Both: 'I have seen him.' [nb04.54.wbi]

When asked when to use the variant in (a), Mili only offered the cryptic explanation "You can say like that if you have seen a thief". This contrast of course opens up a variety of interpretations, and I have tried—but failed—to identify any patterns in the corpus data that are compatible with Mili's explication of the contrast. I add such uses of *b-* to the inventory of issues for future investigation.

14.3.1.3 In content questions. Content questions (§17.3) are formed by placing an interrogative phrase ('who', 'where' etc.) in the pre-verbal syntactic slot, and adding the Interrogative prefix *h-* to the prefixal complex, followed by the Actualis

b-. The prefix sequence *h-…b-* has as its only function that of signaling that the verb is used in a content question—a typological oddity since the presence of an interrogative pronoun (combined with intonation) is sufficient in most languages to mark an utterance as a content question.

It is not possible to assign a meaning to *b-* when it appears as a part of content questions. It is not a completely fossilized part of such structures, however, because *b-* may be replaced by the Affectionate *bat-* (see §14.3.3), which is one of the other 'speaker attitude' prefixes occurring in position class –11.

(727) a. *en nda-h-o-b- man?*
where LOC-INT-2sg.A-ACT- come
'Where are you coming from?' [0058.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *en nda-h-o-bat- man?*
where LOC-INT-2sg.A-AFF- come
'Where are you coming from[, poor one]?' [nb03.72.wbi]

14.3.2 Mirative *bam-*

This prefix is used to signal that the state-of-affairs described by the verb is surprising to the speaker or represents a sudden, unexpected discovery. I label it Mirative in line with DeLancey (1997) and many other descriptions of categories expressing surprise. I have only observed the Mirative *bam-* used to express surprise or sudden discoveries on the part of the speaker. To signal that a development in a narrative is surprising for the characters inside the story, other strategies are used (§14.3.2.1). The Marind Mirative is restricted to the 'here and now': although it can be occur in contexts with both past and present time reference, the Mirative always signals that the speaker experiences surprise at the moment of speech. This means that the Mirative *bam-* is frequent in face-to-face conversation, but rare in narratives, where it is largely restricted to the reported speech of the characters in the narrative.

Below some examples are given, from the corpus and from observed usage, to illustrate the meaning conveyed by the Mirative.

The first example is from an account of a trip to the provincial capital Merauke. The narrator and his family had arrived at the Domande village at night, and went to sleep in the outskirts of the village. Their arrival was noticed by the villagers, and in the morning a woman comes with food for the them. She discovers that one of the visitors (the narrator) is a relative of hers. The sense of surprise is expressed by the Mirative:

(728) *o, yoɣ ø-e-bam- naɣam ɣap*
oh 2pl NEUT-2pl.A-MIR- many.come night
'Oh, it was you who came at night.' [0261.08092016.1.wbi]

This examples illustrates the point about the Mirative always expressing surprise in the moment of speech. Although the verb describes a past event ('you came at night'), it is now that the speaker discovers the identity of the visitors that she is surprised.

The second example comes from an interaction taking place in the kitchen of my host family's house in Wambi. This day, there had been a standing joke about Kolum, one of the teenage boys that usually loiters around the house, who had been carrying around a toy boat made from sago stalk (*gis*). When Kolum appeared in the doorway, Paulus Yolmend, the father in the family, exclaimed, feigning surprise:

(729) *ee slup-k-um-anem ka-bam-ø-e*
EXCLAM motorboat(m)-WITH-go.PLA:3sg.U-man PRS.NEUT-MIR-3sg.A-IPFV
'Oh my! It's the motorboat helmsman!' [0068.16092016.1.wbi]

The following example was overheard. The mother in my host family was sitting by my house with a saucepan containing some food next to her. She asked a young girl to go get a lid for the saucepan in the kitchen nextdoor. The girl returns with a lid, tries to put it on top of the saucepan, but finds that it does not fit. She announced the discovery using the Mirative *bam-* and returned to the kitchen to look for another lid.

(730) *mbya ka-bam-ø*
NEG PRS.NEUT-MIR-3sg.A
'It's not [this one].' [nb04.74.wbi]

The final example is from a story. In this excerpt the protagonist of the story had encountered a man, Sigawle, with whom he chewed betelnut before taking leave. However, Sigawle follows in the tracks of the protagonist, and manages to pass him. The protagonist, unaware of this, reacts with surprise when he sees Sigawle sitting in wait for him:

(731) *ee e-he Sigawle ka-bam-ø-i-ap- mil-e e-he*
EXCLAM I-PROX S. PRS.NEUT-MIR-3sg.A-RE-CT- be.sitting-IPFV I-PROX
'Oh! Sigawle is sitting here again!' [0087.21112014.1.dmh]

14.3.2.1 Expressing surprise in narratives. Surprising developments in a narrative are expressed by means of a biclausal structure, consisting of an initial clause containing an idiomatic sequence of independent and affixal elements which together serve to express surprise, and a second clause describing the surprising event itself. The verb of the first clause is built with the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-*, the relevant Actor prefix (reflecting the participant experiencing the surprise), the Frustrative *um-*, and a verb stem, usually *og* 'do' or a motion verb. To the predicate is often added either the word *ago* (the gender III form of the 'pro-word' *agV*, see §3.3.3) or a property demonstrative (§3.3.2.3) such as *ehetago* 'like this'.

The following three corpus examples show three different instantiations of this construction. It is unclear how the initial clauses are best translated into English. In the corpus I have oscillated between renderings such as 'Suddenly, X happened', 'We were surprised to see X happen', and so on. Below I retain whatever translation I used during transcription:

(732) The speaker encountered a man while walking along the beach late one afternoon.

nd-ak-um-e- og a,
LOC-1.A-FRUS-1pl- do PTCL

Sukegel lek anem ka-d-ø- w-a ola
S. from:I man(I) DIR-DUR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX be:3sg.U

'Unexpectedly, there was a man from Sukegel.' [0145.27112016.3.wbi]

(733) This is the reported reaction of the man in (732).

ehetagol nd-ø-um- og,
like.this:III LOC-3sg.A-FRUS- do

ane! an ke i= k-ø-at- ŋayam
EXCLAM mother APL I/II.pl= PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-PRSTV- many.come

'He was surprised and said, "Oh! Mother and the others are coming".'

[0147.27112016.3.wbi]

(734) *bapa Mili ago nda-d-ø-um- ŋet,*
father(m) M. PROW:III LOC-DUR-3sg.A-FRUS- be.moving

na jari-jari k-a- huhu
feces(III) fingers(m) DIR-3sg.A- emerge.PLA:III.U

'Unexpectedly, Uncle Mili shat all over his fingers.' [0926.16092016.1.wbi]

The combination of words and and affixes is non-compositional, and I cannot explain how this particular structure came to be conventionalized in the expression of narrated surprise.[2]

14.3.3 Affectionate *bat-*

By using this prefix the speakers express that they regard the participants in the predicated event with pity, solidarity, or affection in general. When asked about some sentence in which the Affectionate is used, speakers explain its presence using the Malay verb *sayang* 'to pity, feel sorry for' (also used as a noun 'darling, poor one'), as in *kita sayang dia* 'we pity/feel sorry for him/her'. I add 'poor one' (within brackets) to the translations below in an attempt to convey this. This translation should not be taken too literally, because the prefix does not convey sadness. Rather, the effect of *bat-* is mainly to provide an affectionate or empathetic nuance to the utterance. Its frequent use could perhaps be likened to the use to e.g. diminutive forms of personal names in Slavic languages.

A typical example is (735). Here *bat-* appears twice. Both instances are in copula clauses, so there are no lexical verb stems present. In a story, a woman meets a long-lost brother for the first time in many years:

(735) *ane mame namek ka-bat-ø-e, mayay-anem ka-bat-ø*
EXCLAM EXCLAM brother PRS.NEUT-AFF-3sg.A-IPFV front-man PRS.NEUT-AFF-3sg.A
'Oh my! It's my brother, it's my elder brother[, poor one]!'
[0259.08092016.1.wbi]

It is also very common to add the Affectionate *bat-* to commands, which lends them a gentler quality:

(736) *a-bat- man!*
IMP-AFF- come
'Come here[, poor one]!' [0206.16092016.1.wbi]

It is difficult to generalize about the referents that typically occur as arguments in *bat-*marked clauses. Utterances about children are natural targets for *bat-*prefixation, especially if the children are portrayed as small or helpless in some way (737–738).

[2]Local Malay (but not the standard Indonesian language) also uses a biclausal structure in these contexts, with the first clause being either *X lihat begini* 'X looked like this' or *X jalan begini* 'X went like this'. Thus, the Malay translation that I got for example (733) was *Dia lihat begini, "Ya! Mama dorang ada datang ini!"*, literally 'He looked like this, "Woah! Mother and the others are coming here!"'.

It is also no surprise that *bat-* is used in reference to a recently deceased relative (739).

(737) *noŋ-anem ndom ø-d-a- ola,*
young-man still NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
wanangga isahih ndom ø-bat-ø-om- ya-hwala
children small.PL still NEUT-AFF-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- 2|3.U-be
'He was still a young man, his children were still small[, poor ones].'
[0026.08092016.1.wbi]

(738) *kadam ti ø-bat-ø- ola, patul e-he, Sil*
clubfoot with:I NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- be:3sg.U boy I-PROX S.
'He had a clubfoot[, poor one], this boy, Sil.' [0641-0642.08092016.1.wbi]

(739) *nahan namek a-bat-ø- o-nggat yawal, Nasem epe*
1.EMPH brother DEP-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become deceased N. there
'our own [poor] brother who passed away, there in Nasem'
[0253-0254.27112016.4.wbi]

But many uses of the Affectionate *bat-* involve referents that one would not normally think of as deserving of pity or empathy. For example, while walking along the beach away from the village I have observed speakers exclaim 'Oh there *bat-*are coconut palms there', pointing to some trees in the distance. It is not clear to me whether such occurrences of the Affectionate are motivated by the fact that the coconut is a totemic plant, or whether one feels affection towards it for its general usefulness, or perhaps because a coconut grove is a sign of human presence.

The use of *bat-* in reference to coconuts is also observed when the coconut is represented in a drawing or photograph. The following utterance was made in reaction to one of the drawings in the Family Problems picture task, in which some palms are visible in the background.

(740) *aywa onggat ka-bat-ø- ehaŋ-a e-he*
EXCLAM coconut PRS.NEUT-AFF-3sg.A- many.stand-EXT III-PROX
'Oh my, there are coconut trees standing here.' [0247.19052015.2.dmh]

In fact the Affectionate is especially common when speakers make comments about people visible in photographs or in my video recordings. In example (741) I was recording some teenagers cleaning a well. A bypasser looked over my shoulder

and saw the image of the teenagers on the monitor of the camera. He comments on this using *bat-*. My impression is that the affection one feels for people is intensified when seeing them in pictures, possibly because of the tiny size of people in most graphic representations.

(741) *nok mat-i-ap- hyadih, tepta epe nda-bat-na- lesad*
1 HORT-RE-CT- see:2|3pl.U EXCLAM there LOC-AFF-3pl.A- draw.water
'Let me see them, holy cow, there they are drawing water[, poor ones].'
[0150.27082015.1.wbi]

Verbal categories that are similar to the Affectionate *bat-* have been reported for other languages. In the same geographic area, Suki (a language of the Gogodala-Suki family spoken across the border in Papua New Guinea) has a verb suffix *-dr* which van Tongeren (2015) labels the SORRY-morpheme, usually translated as "poor X". Further away, Ngalakan (a Gunwinyguan language of Northern Australia) has a "compassion prefix" *wirli-* with the meaning "poor thing" (Merlan 1983: 66), and Cup'ik (a dialect of Central Alaskan Yup'ik) has an affix *-rurlur-* which can be applied to either nouns or verbs with the meanings 'poor dear Noun' and 'poor dear (subject) Verbs' respectively (Woodbury 1998: 241).

14.3.4 Self-interrogative *bah-*

This prefix almost always occurs in the same interrogative structure that is used to form content question (with a question word/interrogative phrase in the pre-verbal position; §17.3), but without the prefix sequence *h-…b-* (i.e. the Interrogative *h-* and the Actualis *b-*). The use of *bah-* signals that the question should not be interpreted as seeking information from the hearer, but rather conveying that the speaker lacks the relevant information and does not expect to get access to it. A Marind question of the form "What *bah-*is that?" could be translated into English as 'What on earth could that be' or 'I wonder what that is'.[3]

Such (non-)questions are used when one does not expect an answer from the addressee, or when one directs the question at oneself. The following textual example shows such a self-directed question. In the story, a Wambi villager is walking in

[3]I am not aware of much research on this type of question. Obenauer (2004), in a study of an Italian dialect, labels questions of this type "can't find the value"-questions, signaling that the speaker has exhausted the possible values without finding an appropriate answer. A vaguely similar morpheme is found in Ngiyambaa (a Pama-Nyungan language of Australia), which has an 'Self-interrogative' marker *-ga:* that attaches to question words, converting them to non-questions in a way similar to Marind *bah-* (Donaldson 1980, Mushin 1995). An earlier version of this thesis used the label 'Self-interrogative' also for the Marind prefix, but a reviewer pointed out that this term is better reserved for question words and indefinite pronouns, and suggested the label 'Self-interrogative' instead.

the dark towards a house in a neighboring village. The owner of the house sees the approaching man and delivers the following soliloquy:

(742) *Wambi-age k-a- man-em e-he,*
W.-PROW:I PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- come-VEN I-PROX
anem ta ka-bah-ø- man-em
man who:I PRS.NEUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A- come-VEN
'A Wambi villager is coming here, what man could that be coming.'
[0406.08092016.1.wbi]

A *bah*-marked question is also an evasive and perhaps politer way to express that one does not have the answer to a previous (information-seeking) question. Variations on the following mini-dialogue often occured in Wambi. I would ask for the name of some item for my lexical file, as in (743.1), whereupon the speaker would provide a non-reply as in (743.2):

(743) 1. *e-he namakad, ta ka-ha-b-ø?*
III-PROX thing what:III PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A
'What is this thing?'

2. *ta ka-bah-ø*
what:III PRS.NEUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A
'What on earth could that be.'

The Self-interrogative *bah-* also appears in contexts that are similar to indirect questions in English grammar. In (744) the *bah*-marked verb appears after a clause with the expression *mbaymbay* 'don't know, unable'. I provide two translations: one literal with two independent clauses, and one more idiomatic with an embedded question.

(744) *e-he kemlaŋ e-he mbaymbay ka-ø nok,*
I-PROX nephew I-PROX not.knowing PRS.NEUT-1.A 1
ta ti ø-bah-ø- awat-a
who with NEUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A- many.run-EXT
'As for my nephew here, I don't know, who on earth did he go with?'
'I don't know who my nephew went with.' [0114.26102016.1.wbi]

There is also a use of the Self-interrogative which has a similar meaning to English exclamative *wh*-constructions (e.g. *What an idiot he is!*). In the following example

the interrogative phrase is *untagul ukna-anum*, literally 'what kind of coward'. The speaker with whom I transcribed this text rendered this sentence in Malay as *Nene Mia ini tukang takut sekali* 'Grandma Mia is a real coward', but I believe that my English translation reflects more closely both the form and the meaning of the Marind original.

(745) *nene* *Mia* *untagul* *ukna-anum* *ka-bah-ø*
grandma(m) Mia how:II fear-woman(II) PRS.NEUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A
'Grandma Mia, what a coward she is!' [0356.16092016.1.wbi]

The use of the Self-interrogative is very rare outside interrogative constructions (with an interrogative pronoun, as in all the preceding examples), and only a couple of examples have been recorded. In the following example the copula clause *Kapio kabah* expresses something like 'perhaps it's Kapio?' or 'could it be Kapio?'. Again, although I use a question mark in the translation, there is no sign that the expression is information-seeking.

(746) *tak* *epe* *nd-a,* *Kapio* *ka-bah-ø,*
source there LOC-3sg.A K. PRS.NEUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A
mbaymbay *ka-ø* *nok* *tak* *e-pe*
not.know PRS.NEUT-1.A 1 source(III) III-DIST
'A source is there—could it be Kapio? I don't know [the name] of that source.'
[0115.23092016.6.wbi]

The Self-interrogative may also occur in what is formally a yes/no-question, formed with the polar question prefix *ap-* (*apa-* before consonant). All attestations of this use were volunteered to me during elicitation, so this use of *bah-* is unattested in the corpus. The *bah*-marked verb occurs as part of a command, roughly 'check if P or not P':

(747) *kin* *h-ind-i-ap-* *ka⟨ɣ⟩amit-a-m,*
eye IMP-ALL-RE-CT- ⟨2sg.U⟩enter-EXT-VEN
patul *e-pe* *nu* *apa-bah-ø-* *ɣali*
boy(I) I-DIST sleep PST.Q-SLF.INT-3sg.A- lie.down
'Please go in and see whether the boy is sleeping.' [nb01.95.dmh]

Apparently the use of *bah-* extends outside the content question-construction, but more corpus attestations are needed before this can be explored further.

14.3.5 Presentative *hat-*

All attestations of the prefix *hat-* are as a part of the Presentational construction, so the reader is also advised to consult Section 16.5.[4] The Presentational construction only occurs in present time contexts, so *hat-* is also restricted to verb forms describing present situations (although see below for an exception). The prefix serves to express that the state-of-affairs described by the verb can be seen (or perceived) by everyone, because it is in plain sight, right in front of the participants, or obvious in some other way. It occurs in the type of contexts in which the Presentational construction is used, e.g. with motion verbs ('There's an X coming') or position verbs ('There's an X sitting there') etc.

I provide a still from a video recording in Figure 14.4 showing a typical use of the Presentative *hat-*. The two boys in this interaction were engaged in cleaning the well in front of them. The addressee (indicated by 'Adr' in the image) had asked for a bamboo pole, and the speaker points to a location (off camera) and replies that the bamboo is there. The bamboo is located in the direction they are both looking, in plain sight, which justifies the use of the Presentative. The fully glossed version is given below.

(748) *onggat mit e= k-at-ø- hanituk-a*
coconut at PROX:III= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- lean-EXT
'It's leaning there by the coconut tree.' [0195.27082015.1.wbi]

The /h/ in *hat-* can only surface if the sequence *hat-* makes up the final syllable of the Prefixal complex, as in

(749) *rusa u= ka-hat-ø- man*
deer(m)(II) PROX:II- PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- come
'There's a deer coming.' [0135.08092016.1.wbi]

However, the /h/ is usually elided even in the final syllable, so that the form above is pronounced *rusa uk**at**-man* instead of *rusa uka**hat**-man*, at least in casual speech. In all other positions, the prefix is invariably *at-*:

[4]This is a major difference between my description of Marind and Drabbe's (1955) grammar of the Eastern dialect. Drabbe (pp. 126–127) lists a range of forms with past and future time reference. None of these forms are attested in my data. According to Drabbe, *hat-* means 'decidedly' [*beslist*] or 'really, actually' [*werkelijk*]. This gloss does not fit with my observation and I find no support for it in the texts collected by Drabbe.

Figure 14.4: Use of the Presentative *hat-*.

(750) *i=* *k-at-a-p-* *hu-h-a-m*
PROX:I/IIpl= PRS.NEUT-1.A-PRSTV-3sg.A-CT- emerge-2|3pl.U-EXT-VEN
'Here they are, they're returning home.' [0196.27112016.4.wbi]

(The verb *hawa* 'emerge' has the idiomatic meaning 'return home' when prefixed with the Contessive *ap-*).

The basic meaning of *hat-*, 'in plain sight' or 'obvious to everyone', is evident in contexts where speaker and addressee interact face-to-face within a delimited space, and share the visual access to the referent. But I have also recorded instances in which *hat-* is used without any shared visual access to the relevant state-of-affairs.

Consider the following corpus example, in which Yustina, the mother in my host family in Wambi, addressed me from the other room to remind me about a bunch of bananas that had been donated to me by a villager. The speaker was probably worried that someone might steal bananas from me, or that they were going to go bad unless I ate them. I could not see the bananas, since the kitchen (where I was sitting) is separated from the adjacent room by a bamboo wall (and I was sitting with my back against this wall).

(751) *Bruno napet-eho* *e=* *k-at-ø-am-* *ka-hwaɣob-a*
B. banana.sp(III) PROX:III= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A-2sg.GEN- INESS-hang:III.U-EXT
'Bruno, your bananas are hanging in here.' [0473.16092016.1.wbi]

My hypothesis about such uses is that the speaker wants to communicate that the referent is in the open, and potentially available for the addressee to view at a later point in time. The bananas, which were hanging from a crossbeam in the ceiling, are also plain for everybody else to see, which could be of relevance if the worry is that they will be stolen unless I stash them away.

Compare with the use of the Absconditive prefix, which is used as an invitation to the hearer to realign her attention to some referent that is outside her current focus (§14.2). According to my understanding, the Absconditive is not used here since the speaker is not asking me to get up, move to the doorway, and direct my attention to the bananas—she only informs me that the bananas are there, plainly visible, and will remain so until I take care of them.

The prefix *hat-* is not only used with referents or state-of-affairs that are visually evident, but also when it is the sound of an event or the noise made by the referent that can be clearly perceived. Example (752) can be said if one hears a motorcycle approaching in the distance; the motorcycle does not have to be visible for *hat-* to be used. The utterance in (753) was said as an explanation for the noises that were coming from a bag with newly caught fish that the speaker was holding. The fish itself was not visible to either the speaker or me. (The use of the Auxiliary *wa* to express animal vocalizations is described in §15.1.2.1).

(752) *motor* *e-pe* *t-e-k-at-ø-* *walin-em*
motorcycle III-DIST GIV-III-PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- call:3sg.U-VEN
(lit.) 'There's a motorcycle making noise hither.' [nb03.90.wbi]

(753) *banggabang* *u=* *ka-hat-ø-* *w-a*
pufferfish PROX:II= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX
'There's a pufferfish making noise.' [nb05.12.wbi]

There is a single example of *hat-* (out of a total of ca. 50 corpus attestations) in a past time context. The speaker was describing the search for a person who was separated from the rest of the group during a hunt. In the account of these events, one of the protagonists sees tracks in the grass and says

(754) *e=* *k-at-ø-* *toman,* *kwemek* *epe*
PROX= DIR-PRSTV-3sg.A- descend.to.swamp morning III-DIST
'Here's where he went down, in the morning.' [0081.28062015.2.wbi]

which clearly has past time reference, as indicated by the context (the person had disappeared in the morning) and the explicit use of the time adverbial 'in the morning'.[5] Interestingly, the reason *hat-* is used must be the presence of tracks in the grass, which are plainly visible at the (narrated) moment of speech. A possible interpretation of this is that *hat-* may be used about past events as long as they are inferred from presently available evidence (i.e. basically an evidential use). This is an interesting possibility that needs to be explored in future work on Marind.

14.4 Miscellaneous prefixes

14.4.1 Frustrative *um-*

The Frustrative prefix serves to express that the expected outcome of an event was going to materialize, but did not, because something else happened instead. It is the only member of position class –8 (cf. Chapter 7). There are no known co-occurrence restrictions on the Frustrative with other prefixes of the prefixal complex.

I distinguish the following uses: (A) failed attempt, (B) unfulfilled intention, (C) action performed in vain, (D) action performed with unexpected consequences, and (E) narrowly averted events in general. These are illustrated with examples below. Where possible, I have chosen examples in which the intervening event (preventing the realization of the Frustrative-marked action) is given explicit mention, which makes interpretation easier for the reader.

(A) Failed attempt. The verb marked by *um-* describes an action that the agent attempted unsuccessfully:

(755) The speaker was making roofing from sago thatch (*ebta*, gender IV).

ba⟨h⟩in *k-ak-um-ind-e-* *ka-n-in,*
finish⟨IV.U⟩ DIR-1.A-FRUS-ALL-1pl- WITH-1.U-become

nu *menda-b-ø-e-p-* *n-ihwid*
sleep PERF-ACT-3sg.A-1pl-CT- 1.U-become.sleepy

'We were trying to finish, [but] we were already [too] sleepy.'

[0284.17102016.1.wbi]

[5] In this example, the *k-* prefix must be the Directional Orientation, which is used to signal location with punctual events (§10.1.4.1). The preceding clitic must be the reduced version of the adverb *ehe* 'here', rather than the gender clitic of the Presentational construction. The prefix *k-* is identical to the allomorph of the Neutral orientation used in present time contexts, but it is not possible to interpret this clause as having present time reference ('here he is going down').

(756) *tis, nama ago ma-d-ø-um- wayamat-a,*
that's.it now PROW:III OBJ-DUR-3sg.A-FRUS- many.stand-EXT

i-pe wati menda-b-ø-e-p- mabuk
I/II.pl-DIST kava PERF-ACT-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT-CT- drunk(m)

'That's it, now they were trying to keep standing up, [but] they were already drunk from the kava.' [0051.17102016.2.wbi]

(B) Unfulfilled intention. The *um*-marked verb describes an action that the agent intended to perform, but something else intervened before the action was attempted:

(757) *mayay e= k-ak-um-e- uma⟨n⟩ah Ulolya,* […]
first PROX= DIR-1.A-FRUS-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩ U.

ago nok a mak-e- uma⟨n⟩ah-e Buy
QUOT 1 PTCL FUT:1.A-1pl- go⟨1.U⟩-IPFV B.

'First we were going to go to Ulolya, [but the others] said: "We are going to Buy".' [0004-0007.30082015.5.wbi]

(758) *nok ø-nak-um-ap- dahuy, yah mawta ka*
1 NEUT-1.A-FRUS-CT- ask.to.bring but never.mind

'I was going to ask him to get me something, but [I thought:] never mind.' [26102016.1.wbi]

(C) Action performed in vain. The Frustrative signals that the agent managed to perform the action, but the intended outcomes did not occur. This use is especially frequent with the verb *walaw* 'search', i.e. 'search for without finding', as in (759). Note also the use in (761), in which *um-* is prefixed to *ayi* 'say', since the act of saying did not have the expected result.

(759) *nda-d-ø-um- y-alaw-a,*
LOC-DUR-3sg.A-FRUS- 2|3pl.U-search-EXT

rusa wahani mbya ø-n-o- idih
deer body(III) NEG NEUT-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- see:III.U

'Then they searched for deer, [but] they didn't see a single one.' [0149.28062015.2.wbi]

(760) *ehetagol ah-ø-um- deh, padahal mbya ø-a- deh,*
like.this:III DEP-3sg.A-FRUS- shoot:3sg.U in.fact(m) NEG NEUT-3sg.A- shoot:3sg.U
emba k-ø-is-ap- og
side DIR-3sg.A-SEP-CT- do
'When he shot like this, in fact he didn't shoot it, he shot at the side.'
[1149.16092016.1.wbi]

(761) *"mak-e- lemeh", koyhi-anem ø-ø-um- ayi,*
FUT:1.A-1pl- catch.many white-man NEUT-3sg.A-FRUS- say
"mbya k-a, oy dalo me-ø- y-in, adeh m-o ay"
NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A 2sg mud FUT2-3sg.A- 2sg.U-become RLQ OBJ-2sg.A Q
'"Let's go catch [fish]", Bruno said [like that], [I said:] "No, you'll get covered in mud, you stay here, ok".' [0028.30082015.5.wbi]

(D) Unintended consequences. In this use, the action is performed successfully, but eventually leads to some other, typically unfavorable, event. I illustrate this use with the following two examples. In (762) the verb *bug* 'cut up animal in order to disembowel it' is marked with the Frustrative in the first clause since the action unexpectedly led to the agent being sprayed with fecal matter, as described in the subsequent clauses. Example (763) sets the scene for a description of a prank that a neighboring boy played on a couple of elderly women. The women were resting by the fire at night when the boy suddenly jumped up with bow and arrow, as if to attack them. In this sentence, the verb *tel* 'be lying' is marked by the Frustrative *um-*, since it lead to the elderly lady being subject to the boy's prank.

(762) *Vitalis ø-ø-um-o-p- bug,*
V. NEUT-3sg.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT-CT- cut.up.animal
na k-ø-o- w-a isug,
feces DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX cut
Vitalis na ti ø-d-a-p- tel,
V. feces with:I NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-CT- be.lying
na k-ø-o- w-a taman
feces DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX shoot
'Vitalis cut it up, he cut up its gut (lit. feces), then Vitalis was lying covered in feces, the feces sprayed up on him.' [0889.16092016.1.wbi]

(763) *tanama Walmeleng a, takah nda-d-ø-um-ap- tel-ti*
then W. PTCL fire LOC-DUR-3sg.A-FRUS-CT- be.lying-DUR
'Then Walmeleng, she was sleeping by the fire.' [0256.16092016.1.wbi]

(E) Narrowly averted events, 'almost V-ed'. This use differs from the previous ones as there is no conscious effort to bring about the event. It is illustrated below in a corpus example (764) and two observed utterances. Example (765) was uttered by Pau Yolmend, who had rushed out of the house after eating a tuber that was left from last day's dinner—it had apparently gone bad. In example (766) Pau's cousin Yakobus described how he and I almost fell with my motorcycle while driving on the beach.

(764) *k-ak-um-e-p- n-a ihe⟨hy⟩ab*
DIR-1.A-FRUS-1pl-CT- 1.U-AUX pass⟨2|3pl.U⟩
'We almost went past them.' [0320.08092016.1.wbi]

(765) *nak-um- ɣod*
1.A-FRUS- throw.up
'I almost threw up.' [nb04.49.wbi]

(766) *e= k-ø-um-e- hihi-n*
PROX= DIR-3sg.A-FRUS-1pl- fall.PLA-1.U
'We almost fell there.' [nb03.46.wbi]

This use of the Frustrative is also common with a verb preceded by the aspectual particle *oso* 'start, beginning', as described in §16.3.4. The resulting construction has the meaning 'was just about to V, but didn't'. I admit that it is difficult to tell how this meaning differs from 'almost V'. My impression is that the structure with *oso* and *um-* is preferred with agentive actions, perhaps to cancel readings such as 'in vain', whereas *um-* alone is suffucient with less agentive actions such as 'throw up', since the presence of the Frustrative with such verbs is unlikely to invite the 'in vain'-reading (one rarely throws up 'in vain').

There are some other uses of the Frustrative that are difficult to fit into any of the five functions listed above. For example, *um-* may appear with verbs meaning 'say', 'guess' etc. to express 'wrongly', as in (767).

(767) *kihwa k-ak-um-o-p- kaɣub,* […],
saratoga DIR-1.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT-CT- guess
mbya k-a, ago kalambu k-a
NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A QUOT mullet PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'I wrongly guessed it was a saratoga fish […], [then I realized:] "No, it's a mullet".' [0027-0029.28062015.4.wbi]

Note also the use of *um-* in some constructions expressing surprising developments in narratives: see §14.3.2.1.

Interaction between the Frustrative and other grammatical categories is an interesting topic that remains largely unexplored. I end with an example of Frustrative *um-* occurring in a negated clause (768). The speaker makes an apology after being corrected by one of the other participants in the conversation. It seems most likely that this is the 'unintended consequence' use of the Frustrative, which clearly is outside the scope of negation, i.e. roughly 'I'm not thinking, which had the consequence that I misspoke'.

(768) *o ahak, mbya k-ak-um-ap- hwetok*
oh yes NEG PRS.NEUT-1.A-FRUS-CT- think
'Oh right, I'm not thinking/not paying attention.' [0280.16092016.1.wbi]

14.4.2 Repetitive: *i-*

This prefix has the same meanings as English *again*, i.e. 'for a second time' (repetitive use) and 'back to the previous situation' (restitutive use; see e.g. Kamp and Rossdeutscher 1994). Positionally it belongs to position class –6 of the prefixal complex. It is the sole member of this position class, so it can co-occur with any other prefixes. To keep the interlinear glosses short, I gloss it 'RE' (like the English prefix *re-* in *re-consider* or *re-start*).

In its most common use, the addition of *i-* to a verb signals repetition, i.e. that the event takes place for a second (or third, or *n*-th) time:

(769) The speaker described how the sago beating equipment was taken care of after a sago pounding session.

aphan ago, adeh m-a-p- l-ehwek-a,
washing.trough QUOT RLQ OBJ-3sg.A-CT- PLA-put.in.bifurcation-EXT

ɣapap mak-i-e- yol
tomorrow FUT:1.A-RE-1pl- pound.sago

'[About the] washing trough, I said: "Let it be, tomorrow we will pound sago again".' [0074.17102016.1.wbi]

The prefix is more rarely attested in the restitutive use. A corpus example is in (770). The preceding context describes how the participants got a lift from a neighboring village with a truck driver. The driver let the passengers alight as they reached Awidab, the easternmost part of Wambi. This is the first time the participants alight from the truck, so the prefix *i-* does not signal 'for the second time', rather it expresses a return to a previous state, i.e. the state of being outside the truck.

(770) *Awidab, anep kay masuk ɣa k-ø-i-e- luɣa⟨n⟩ab*
A. EMPH:III road enter(m) real DIR-3sg.A-RE-1pl- pour⟨1.U⟩

'In Awidab, he dropped (lit. poured) us off again by the road that goes in.' [0422.27112016.4.wbi]

An elicited example showing the restitutive use is in (771). In the second clause the addressee is urged to return the door to its previous state of being closed. In Malay this would correspond to the unambiguous *tutup kembali* (lit.) 'close return', whereas the Marind and English equivalents are ambiguous between the repetitive and restitutive readings.

(771) *kay ah- kab! ah-i- lalid!*
door IMP- open IMP-RE- close

'Open the door! Close it again!' [nb01.69.dmh]

Another corpus example illustrating the restitutive use is in (772). Note that the verb in the first clause is marked with the Prioritive *ka-*. This prefix presents something of a mirror image of *i-*, since it presupposes a following event, whereas *i-* presupposes a preceding event (cf. §14.4.3).

(772) Complaining about a small child playing in the kitchen as others were cooking.

mayay	*mend-a-ka-*	*kwamin,*	*ehe*	*tanama*	*e=*	*k-ø-i-*
first	PERF-3sg.A-PRI-	enter:3sg.U	here	again	PROX=	DIR-3sg.A-RE-

hawa
emerge:3sg.U

'First she went in, then she went out again.' [0348.16092016.1.wbi]

As seen in (772) Marind has a second expression meaning 'again', viz. the adverb *tanama* (§16.3.2). This adverb seems to be preferred over *i-* in certain contexts, notably with motion verbs to express the restitutive 'back to the previous place' (e.g. 'they went back again'). In other contexts the two markers are freely interchangeable, and they frequently co-occur within the same clause, as in (773). This reinforcement does not affect the meaning 'again'.

(773) *yamu-ɣanakeh* *tanama* *ka-n-i-* *y-a,* *mayay-milah* *e-pe*
mourning.feast-cook again DIR-3pl.A-RE- 2|3pl.U-AUX front-village III-DIST
'They prepared a *yamu* feast again, in the western part of the village.'
[0229.27112016.4.wbi]

Cf. Wälchli (2006) on 'light' and 'heavy' *again*-expressions.

14.4.3 Prioritive *ka-*

In its main use the Prioritive *ka-* expresses a preceding event (§14.4.3.1). Less frequently it appears with a similative meaning (§14.4.3.2). The Prioritive is assigned to position class –2 in the templatic system presented in Chapter 7, i.e. the next-to-last position class. There seem to be no co-occurrence restrictions on the Prioritive, so it can be combined with any other prefix of the prefixal complex, except for the Remote prefix *an-*, which is the other member of position class –2.

14.4.3.1 Expressing a preceding event. In this use, *ka-* serves to express 'first', as in 'do something before doing something else'. This presupposes some other event that follows the event expressed by the verb marked by Prioritive *ka-*. (Cf. *i-* 'again', which presupposes a preceding event; §14.4.2). A corpus example:

(774) Describing events that led up to an encounter with a wild boar.

nd-ak-e-ka- *k-ihɣaman* *bus-yah* *e-pe,*
LOC-1.A-1pl-PRI- INESS-enter.water eucalyptus-grove(III) III-DIST

tanama *ø-nak-um-e-p-* *lesad* *laɣ* *nanggo*
then NEUT-1.A-FRUS-1pl-CT- cross.water side for

'First we entered the water by the eucalyptus grove, then we were crossing to the other side.' [0517.16092016.1.wbi]

The following example contains three occurrences of the Prioritive prefix. The first two express that the unprocessed sago pith will remain temporarily in its place before the speaker starts to process it; I translate this as 'for now' rather than 'first' to make the English more idiomatic. The second clause features the copula clause *adeh maka* 'let it remain first', consisting of the Relinquitive particle *adeh-* followed by a copula containing the Prioritive prefix; there is no verb stem following the prefixes since the copula has a 'zero stem' in non-past contexts—see §15.4.

(775) *da* *epe* *nda-d-a-ka-* *ola,* *ago* *adeh* *m-a-ka,*
sago(III) there LOC-DUR-3sg.A-PRI- be:III.U QUOT RLQ OBJ-3sg.A-PRI

tamuɣ *mata-ka-* *ɣahwiɣ*
food HORT-PRI- eat

'The sago stayed there for now, [I thought:] "Let it be for now, I'm going to eat first".' [0145.17102016.1.wbi]

The Prioritive is very frequent in commands and hortatives, as in (776). In such contexts the presupposition of a following event is usually backgrounded, and the function of the Prioritive is primarily as a way of making the command sound less imposing. For example, the addressees in (777) were not—as far as I can tell—planning to engage in some other activity that the speaker wanted them to postpone (teenage boys sitting idly in the kitchen). The speaker tells them to speak up, since I am recording the interaction, and she uses the Prioritive to soften the command ('Please'). The same use is in (778), which is a standard formulation used before taking leave.

(776) *ah-* *man* *oɣ,* *mak-e-ka-* *ɣahwiɣ* *tamuɣ*
IMP- come 2sg FUT:1.A-1pl-PRI- eat food

'Come here, let's eat first!' [0297.17102016.1.wbi]

(777) *mayan ha-ka- ka-laɣ-em!*
speech IMP-PRI- INESS-talk-PL.IMP
'Please speak, you all!' [0364.16092016.1.wbi]

(778) *nok mat-e-ka- uma⟨n⟩ah*
1 HORT-1pl-PRI- go⟨1.U⟩
'We'll excuse ourselves, if you dont mind.' (lit. 'Let us go first')
[0275.16092016.1.wbi]

For an extra layer of politeness, the Prioritive can be combined with the Contessive (§14.4.5), as in the following two examples. This combination can also be used in polar questions, to make them less intrusive (780).

(779) In a story, a priest talks sense into some drunk men.
yoɣ mabuk-anim ha-ka-p- haman-em
2pl drunk(m)-people IMP-PRI-CT- many.sit-PL.IMP
'You drunkards, please have a seat.' [0132.23092016.6.wbi]

(780) *Meka ap-e-ka-p- idih?*
M. PST.Q-2pl.A-PRI-CT- see:3sg.U
'Excuse me, have you seen Meka?' [0138.27082015.1.wbi]

14.4.3.2 Similative use. In this use the *ka*-marked verb is preceded by a noun phrase in a similative role, with the meaning 'Verb like an NP' or 'as if Verb-ing an NP'. The following examples clarify this. Example (781) is taken from the Family Pictures task: the speaker looks at a drawing in which a small child is sitting on its mother's hip, holding on to her. The noun *pakapak* provides a participant-oriented specification: the child is clinging on to the mother as if it were a frog.

(781) *nalakam pakapak k-ø-o-ka-p- tahob-a*
child frog PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-PRI-CT- cling.on.to:3sg.U-EXT
'The child is clinging on to her like a frog.' [0219.19052015.2.dmh]

The next example is from a discussion about the best way to climb down a well to clean it. One participant suggested using a bamboo pole into which steps could be carved. In order to climb out of the well the addressee would be able to climb up the pole just like one climbs up a coconut palm:

(782) *tanama onggat ma-mo-ka- kahek-a-m*
then coconut OBJ-FUT:2sg.A-PRI- climb-EXT-VEN
'Then you will climb up hither as [if climbing] a coconut palm.'
[0222.27082015.1.wbi]

Note that the use of Orientation prefixes with these verbs shows that the nouns preceding the verb group are participant-oriented, rather than functioning as manner adverbials. In (781) the Neutral Orientation *k-* is used since *pakapak* 'frog' describes the S-argument *nalakam* 'child', whereas the Object Orientation *m-* is used in (782) since it describes the O-argument of the verb *kahek* 'climb something'.

It is not clear how the similative use of *ka-* relates to its more common temporal use ('first').[6] Drabbe (1955: 124) also noted the similative use of *ka-*, and provides very similar examples of it, from the Eastern variety described in his grammar. The marking of a similative role on the verb instead of on the noun itself (as in English, which marks the similative role by means of the preposition *like*) is typologically interesting. To my knowledge no such head-marking structures have been reported in the literature on similatives (Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998, Nose 2009).

14.4.4 Remote *an-*

This is probably the most poorly understood prefix in the prefixal complex, because it is only sparsely attested in corpus data. Attestations are mostly with motion verbs, and the only function of the prefix appears to be to express direction towards some distant goal. In its occurrences in the corpus the Remote always appears as part of the Predicated Manner construction (§15.3.2), which consists of the Auxiliary followed by a lexical verb stem, and a demonstrative preceding the prefixal complex. When the Remote is used, the demonstrative element may only be *e=*, i.e the reduced proclitic form of the Proximal *ehe*, as in (783). The speaker typically indicates the direction by means of a gesture.

(783) *e= k-ø-an- w-a ihon yahun a*
PROX= DIR-3sg.A-REM- 3sg.U-AUX run.away:3sg.U canoe PTCL
'The truck drove away to over there.' [0410.27112016.4.wbi]

The clitic *e=* is a fixed part of the structure in which the Remote *an-* occurs and does not seem to provide any distance specification with regards to the goal of the motion event. A deictically used demonstrative may be added elsewhere in the

[6] Interestingly, the use of a similative morpheme as a marker of anteriority in clause combining is described for the Cushitic language Kambaata by Treis (2017).

same clause, but then the demonstrative must be the Remote demonstrative *ehan*, as in (784). Speakers claimed that neither the Distal *epe* nor (the full form of) the Proximal *ehe* may co-occur with the Remote prefix *an-*.

(784) *nggol* *e=* *ka-d-ø-an-* *w-a* *ola* *emba* *ehan*
top.of.tree PROX= DIR-DUR-3sg.A-REM- 3sg.U-AUX be:3sg.U side over.there
'The top of the tree was in that direction over there.' [0366.20052015.3.mkl]

Elicited data shows that the Remote prefix has the same morphotactic distribution as the Prioritive *ka-* (§14.4.3), with which it is mutually exclusive. Therefore both of these prefixes are assigned to position class –2, the second right-most class before the Contessive prefix *ap-*.

14.4.5 Contessive *ap-*

The Contessive prefix is very common, but it is difficult to understand its function. Its most productive use is with position, putting and motion verbs, with which the Contessive expresses placement or movement on a surface off of the ground (§14.4.5.1).[7] The Contessive also has minimizing or attenuative uses (§14.4.5.2 and §14.4.5.3). Most uses, however, seem to be lexicalized and need to be memorized for each lexeme (§14.4.5.4).

The Contessive is the sole member of the rightmost position class (class –1), which means that it is never followed by other prefixes of the prefixal complex.

14.4.5.1 Marking contact with surface/off of the ground. This use of the Contessive is the easiest to understand, and it appears to be completely systematic with position verbs (e.g. *ambid* 'sit down', *mil* 'be sitting down', *ɣali* 'lie down'), verbs of putting (e.g. *han* 'put, grasp horizontally oriented object', *bakeh* 'put vertically oriented object', *eɣawn* 'put down what one is carrying') and motion verbs, at least those describing motion on land (*man* 'come', *ɣet* 'be moving', *umak* 'be running', *aɣin* 'run around' etc.). The same distinction can also be made with some other verbs (e.g. *iyalak* 'sweep'), but I have not figured out if there is any pattern predicting whether a verb permits the use of the Contessive to signal that the action is carried out on a surface off of the ground.

The Contessive is obligatory if an entity is positioned on top of a surface such as a chair, table, sitting platform, the roof of a house, a tree top, and so on. It is never

[7] The label 'contessive' is used in descriptions of some languages of the Caucasus to denote a nominal case signaling contact with a surface, e.g. Khalilova 2009: 83.

used for an entity that is positioned or moves directly on the ground. However, the Contessive is also always used when the surface is the part of the beach that is exposed to water (below the vegetation limit), as well as the surface of the enormous mudflat that is exposed during low tide. Apparently, this part of the beach does not count as 'on the ground'. The sand dune just above the beach, on top of which houses are built in Wambi, behaves like the rest of the ground, and is not associated with use of the Contessive. I am not sure of the reason for this; perhaps it is related to the fact that the sand on the wet beach has a relatively solid surface, while the soft, dry sand on the dune is less firm and more irregular, i.e. less of a surface. With motion verbs the use of the Contessive typically expresses movement on the beach (since one rarely walks on top of e.g. a table).

In the following I illustrate the use of the Contessive *ap-* with contrastive examples from the corpus.

In (785a) a wallaby sits down on the ground, so the verb *ambid* 'sit down' is not prefixed with the Contessive (nor is the verb *kalim* 'defecate'). In (b) the speaker sits on a motorcycle. Since this is a surface off of the ground the Contessive must be used.[8]

(785) a. *u-pe sayam nama nok na a-no-d- kalim e-pe,*
II-DIST wallaby(II) now 1 feces DEP-1.A-DUR- defecate III-DIST

epe k-a- ambid
there DIR-3sg.A- sit.down

'The wallaby, where I had been pooping, there it sat down.'

[0949.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *nd-ak-e- nayam motor nd-ak-o-p- ambid*
LOC-1.A-1pl- many.come motorcycle(m) LOC-1.A-3sg.DAT-CT- sit.down

'Then we came back and I got on the motorbike.' [0203.28062015.2.wbi]

Example (786a) describes how the participants camped outside the new church during its inauguration, because there were too many people inside. The absence of the Contessive shows that they lie down on the ground. In (b) the participants lie down on an *isala*, a simple sitting platform made of planks. This is a surface off of the ground, so the verb must be prefixed with the Contessive.

[8] As in this example, the 3sg Dative prefix *o-* is often used with a sitting verb in the sense 'sit on a motorcycle', for unknown reasons.

(786) a. *nok bak k-am-bat-e- hok*
1 outside DIR-1.A-AFF-1pl- many.lie
'We lay down outside.' [0037.23092016.7.wbi]

b. *nok Yamay-Pale isala k-am-bat-e-p- hok*
1 Y.-P. platform DIR-1.A-AFF-1pl-CT- many.lie
'In Yamay-Pale we lay down on a platform.' [0526.08092016.1.wbi]

Example (787a) describes a wild boar in its nest. Boars build their nests directly on the ground, so the Contessive is not used. The following examples show uses of the Contessive: in (b) it is used since the sitting occurs in a tree, and in (c) because it is on the beach, which counts as off of the ground for the purposes of the Contessive.

(787) a. *ala nda-d-ø- ka-mil*
nest LOC-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-be.sitting
'[The pig] was sitting in its nest.' [0463.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *de k-ø-is- kahek, lahwalah nda-d-ø-is-ap- mil*
tree DIR-3sg.A-SEP- climp on.top LOC-DUR-3sg.A-SEP-CT- be.sitting
'He climbed up the tree, and was sitting on top.' [0586.16092016.1.wbi]

c. *onos Babu, duh nda-d-a-p- mil*
cousin B. beach LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT- be.sitting
'My cousin Babu, he was sitting on the beach.' [0459.08092016.1.wbi]

In (788a) the verb *han* 'put' is used to describe how a truck is parked next to a river (the Contessive would have been used if it had been parked on the beach). In (b) a package of sago is placed on top of somebody's outstretched hands. This is a surface off of the ground, so the Contessive is used.

(788) a. *lay Mbian epe ka-n- han mobil*
side Mb. there DIR-3pl.A- put:III.U car(m)(III)
'They parked the truck there on the side of the Bian river.'
[0156.08092016.1.wbi]

b. Handing over sago during a ritual.
da e-pe sangga lahwalah e= ka-p-e-p- han
sago(III) III-DIST hand on.top III= DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl-CT- put:III.U
'We put the sago on top of the hands.' [0048.17102016.2.wbi]

The following example also illustrates the 'beach' use of the Contessive, in the first clause with *mil* 'be sitting', and in the second clause with the motion verb *man* 'come':

(789) Two lines from a popular Marind song (modified).[9]

duh nd-an-d-ap- mil
beach LOC-1.A-DUR-CT- be.sitting

anum wayuklu duh k-a-p- man-em
woman girl beach DIR-3sg.A-CT- come-VEN

'I was sitting on the beach. A young woman came walking along the beach.'

14.4.5.2 Attenuative use. In some contexts the Contessive can have a minimizing effect, weakening the effects of the action described by the verb somewhat. The minimal pairs in the next examples are elicited, but were checked with two different speakers. It is not known to what degree this function is productive, and whether it can be extended to e.g. all verbs of hitting.

(790) a. *pa e= k-a- w-asib*
head PROX:III= DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-hit
'S/he hit/punched the head.'

b. *pa e= k-a-p- w-asib*
head PROX:III= DIR-3sg.A-CT- 3sg.U-hit
'S/he hit lightly on the head.' (just playing, tapping not so hard)

(791) a. *tagu k-a-na- w-a alam-a*
foot DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX become.swollen-EXT
'My foot is swollen.'

b. *tagu k-a-na-p- w-a alam-a*
foot DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-CT- 3sg.U-AUX become.swollen-EXT
'My foot is a little swollen.' [nb03.69.wbi]

[9] When this song is performed, the shape of the verb in the first line is usually *ndakadap-mil*, in which the final /k/ of the 1.A prefix *ak-* has escaped Plosive Nasalization to [n]. This means that the prefixal complex has the same shape (*ndakadap-*) as in the Eastern Dialect, in which Plosive Nasalization does not occur. Since the Eastern variant *ndakadap-* has three syllables it fits better with the melody than two-syllable *ndandap-*. The stem, however, is clearly the Western variant *mil* (Eastern is *mir*). Mixing the dialects makes the song sound better, speakers told me.

The Contessive is frequently used together with the Prioritive *ka*-prefix (§14.4.3) in order to soften a request or command. This use of the Contessive is perhaps related to the attenuating use seen above. It does not involve contact with a surface off of the ground. For example, in (793) the addressee was asked to move a pile of firewood to a dry spot on the ground below the overhanging eaves of the roof, as it was starting to rain.

(792) *roko* *ek-o-ka-p-* *ka-ɣ-um?*
tobacco(m) PRS.Q:I-2SG.A-PRI-CT- WITH-2SG.U-GO.PLA
'Are you bringing tobacco?' [0111.28062015.2.wbi]

(793) *pindopo* *epe* *ka-mo-ka-p-* *ibotok!*
eaves.of.roof(m) there DIR-FUT:2SG.A-PRI-CT- put.PLA:III.U
'Put [the firewood] there under the eaves!' [0592]

Other examples of this use were given at the end of Section 14.4.3.

14.4.5.3 The conative *i-…ap-* sequence. The Contessive frequently appears in combination with the prefix *i-* 'again' (§14.4.2) in order to soften a command, a request, or a suggestion (typically one involving the addressee). The meaning of the resulting prefix sequence *i-…ap-* is non-compositional, because it does not involve the meaning 'again' or 'in contact with a surface'—it only makes the command sound less harsh. Speakers translate these forms using the Malay word *coba* 'try', which is used in Malay with a similar function. This is why I call this sequence 'conative', although the Marind prefix cannot be used to mean 'try, attempt to do something'. For this the verb *kamak* 'try' has to be used.

Some corpus examples:

(794) *h-i-ap-* *sinik-em!*
IMP-RE-CT- carry-PL.IMP
'Please carry!' [0392.27112016.4.wbi]

(795) *usus* *mak-i-ap-* *uma⟨n⟩ah* *asik,*
afternoon FUT:1.A-RE-CT- go⟨1.U⟩ hunt
e= *nda-p-i-ap-* *kw-asik-a* *ehe* *e-he*
PROX= LOC-FUT:1.A-RE-CT- INESS-hunt-EXT here III-PROX
'In the afternoon I will hunt, I will hunt here.' [0118.28062015.2.wbi]

14.4.5.4 Lexicalized uses of the Contessive. Many verbs always occur with the Contessive *ap-*, and lack a corresponding use without this prefix, as far as I have been able to establish. Such verbs have to be listed with this information in the dictionary, and be memorized by the learner. Some examples: ***balen*** 'finish', ***baɣ*** 'finish food/drink', ***hayan*** 'become silent, wind stop blowing', ***kamaneb*** 'leave (food) for sb.', ***kamob*** 'get intoxicated from betel', ***taheb*** 'fill', ***wig*** 'beg sb. for st.', ***nu wihid*** 'become tired'.

There are also verbs that have a different meaning when the Contessive is present, seemingly without following any clear pattern. I consider such pairs to correspond to two separate lexemes: one with the Contessive, and one without it. For example, ***aheb*** means 'eat' without the Contessive, but 'pass' with the Contessive. It is difficult to find any connection between these two meanings, and the two uses are clearly different lexemes, because 'eat' has a suppletive stem with a plural object (***hi*** 'eat many') whereas 'pass' has a non-suppletive 2|3pl.U stem (***ihehab*** 'pass you all/them'). Below I list a few common pairs.

hawa	−Contessive:	'emerge, come out, appear'.
	+Contessive:	'arrive at coast/village from inland'
laɣ	−Contessive:	'talk to sb.; speak [a language]'.
	+Contessive:	'chat; tell a story'
ɣanid	−Contessive:	'push (an inanimate)'.
	+Contessive:	'pick sb. up (Malay *jemput*)'
anetok	−Contessive:	'divide, distribute'.
	+Contessive:	'remove from fire'
kamem	−Contessive:	'suffice'.
	+Contessive:	'suffice for sb.'
oleb	−Contessive:	'change'
	+Contessive:	'exchange, sell'
dahuɣ	−Contessive:	'prevent sb. from leaving'.
	+Contessive:	'order st. from sb.'
ɣuyeh	−Contessive:	'shake, shudder'.
	+Contessive:	'become startled'
lesad	−Contessive:	'cut in pieces; draw water'.
	+Contessive:	'cross river'

14.5 The Venitive suffix *-em*

The suffix *-em* expresses that the action described by the verb occurs while moving towards the deictic center.

umak	*umak-**em***	'be running hither'
dah	*dah-**em***	'limp hither'
kibib	*kibib-**em***	'roll hither'
ihw	*ihw-**em***	'cry (while coming) hither'

Most motion verbs denote the inception of movement in their base form ('fly up') and take the Extended suffix *-la* in the expression of the ensuing durative phase ('be in flight') (see §13.2.4). When the Venitive occurs with such verbs, they are always in their Extended form, after which the Venitive has the shape *-**m***:

hawa	*hawa-la-**m***	'be coming out hither (3sg.U)'
hi	*hi-la-**m***	'be falling hither (3sg.U)'
dahetok	*dahetok-a-**m***	'be returning hither'
isaman	*isamat-a-**m***	'be taking shortcut hither'

The Venitive does not combine with any other suffixes. In constructions where the verb stem appears in the pre-verbal position the Venitive (like the other outer suffixes) remains within the verb complex, attached to the Auxiliary which replaces the lexical stem (796). This Auxiliary construction is described in §15.2.1.

(796) *kosay- nayam k-ak-e- n-a-em*
difficult- many.come DIR-1.A-1pl- 1.U-AUX-VEN
'We came here with difficulty.'
(lit. 'We difficult-coming did-hither') [0277.17102016.2.wbi]

In corpus data the Venitive is mostly used with motion verbs such as 'run' or 'return'. But the suffix may also be used with state-like verbs such as *mil* 'be sitting', as when one sits in/on a vehicle moving towards the deictic center. This is seen in (797), which also features the non-motion verb *kahod* 'duck, bend head down' suffixed with the Venitive. The literal meanings of the forms are *milem* 'be sitting while moving hither' and *kahodam* 'be ducking while moving hither'.

(797) *motor* *lahwalah* *a-nka-h-ap-* *mil-em* *,*
[motorcycle(m) on.top DEP-1.A-DEP-CT- be.sitting-VEN]

ka-ø- *n-a* *kahod-a-m*
DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX duck-EXT-VEN

'While I was sitting on the motorbike, I was bending my head down.'

[0181.28062015.2.wbi]

Verbs suffixed with the Venitive exhibit special aspectual behavior, in that they never appear with the Past Durative prefix *d-* in past contexts. Inherently durative verbs such as *mil* 'be sitting' and verb suffixed with the Extended, such as *kahod-a* 'be bending head down', obligatorily occur with *d-* in the past, except when the Venitive is added, as in (797) above. It is unclear whether the absence of *d-* indicates that the Venitive somehow turned these verbs into punctual verbs, because there is nothing in the meaning of this sentence that suggests that the events are punctual. Note also that verbs suffixed with the Venitive frequently occur in forms with present time reference, as in (798). Punctual forms are not allowed in present tense contexts, so this is also evidence against analyzing the Venitive as a punctualizing suffix.

(798) *u=* *k-at-ø-* *w-alit-a-m*
PROX:II= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- 3sg.U-call-EXT-VEN

'Here she comes screaming.' [0660.08092016.1.wbi]

Chapter 15

The Auxiliary, copula clauses and light verbs

The first three sections of this chapter provide general information about the most frequent verb in Marind, the Auxiliary (§15.1, §15.2 and §15.3). The fourth section describes copula clauses, which differ from other clauses in the language in that the verb complex may lack a verb stem (§15.4). The last section describes four common verbs that I call 'light verbs' (§15.5).

15.1 Form and function of the Auxiliary *wa*

I distinguish the lexical uses of the Auxiliary (§15.1.2), in which it functions as a standard verb (albeit wihout any clear semantic content), from its grammatical uses (§15.2, §15.3), in which it forms a periphrastic expression together with a lexical verb stem (similar to *be* in the English Progressive *be Verb-ing*).

15.1.1 Form of the Auxiliary

Morphologically, the Auxiliary is a verb that belongs to the prefixing stem class (§9.2.4.1). Its full stem paradigm is

	sg	pl
1	*n-a*	
2	*ɣ-a*	*y-a*
3	*w-a*	

Like any verb, the Auxiliary forms the verb complex of a clause together with the preceding prefixal complex. In its lexical uses, the Auxiliary occurs without any other verb stem (§15.1.2). In its grammatical uses, the lexical verb stem occurs either

before the verb complex (§15.2), or immediately following the Auxiliary (§15.3), depending on the construction. The lexical verb stem in these structures appears bare, i.e. not preceded by any of the prefixes belonging in the prefixal complex. The lack of inflectional prefixes makes it similar to an infinitive in English (e.g. *will run*, not **will runs*), but note that the stem itself may display the full range of (stem-deriving) modifications described in Chapter 9.

The person-indexing exhibited by the stem of the Auxiliary follows the same principle as the so-called middle verbs (§8.5.1), meaning that the prefixed person marker on the stem reflects, or copies, the person/number features of the Actor. I illustrate this in (799) using structures with a postposed lexical verb stem, viz. the Thetic Predication construction, but the same indexing patterns recur in all grammatical uses of the Auxiliary. (The meaning of this construction is discussed in §15.3.1; here the only concern is the morphological facts).

(799) a. *ka-no- n-a ɣol*
DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX beat.sago
'I beat sago.'

b. *k-o- ɣ-a ɣol*
DIR-2sg.A- 2sg.U-AUX beat.sago
'You beat sago.'

The only effect that the use of an Auxiliary construction has on the shape of the prefixal complex is that it restricts the use of the Orientation prefixes (§10.1) in some contexts, notably in the structures with a postposed lexical verb stem, in which the Directional Orientation *k-* is a fixed component (as in the preceding examples). All other prefixes (e.g. person indexing) occur just like they would do if the Auxiliary were not present. This includes prefixes that are a fixed part of the morphological template of a verb. For example, the verb ***balen*** is always prefixed with the Contessive prefix *ap-* (cf. §14.4.5.4), so if ***balen*** is used in a periphrastic structure with the Auxiliary, the Auxiliary will be prefixed with the Contessive. One could say the prefixal complex that precedes the Auxiliary 'inherits' whatever set of prefixes is required by the lexical verb.

A consequence of the fact that the stem of the Auxiliary simply appears in the person/number of the Actor, without having any effect on the indexing in the prefixal complex, is that none of the various quirks that affect person indexing in Marind interact with the Auxiliary. I will illustrate this with middle and reciprocal verbs.

Recall from §8.2.2.3 that middle verbs exhibit defective person indexing in the 3rd person: the Actor prefix is 3sg even when the Actor is plural. Compare the Actor indexing of the non-middle ***ayak*** 'go inland' (a) with that of the middle verb ***umuh*** 'go, take off' (b).

(800) a. *tanama ka-n- aɣak*
again DIR-3pl.A- go.inland
'They went inland again.' [0170.17102016.2.wbi]

b. *tanama k-a- umah*
again DIR-3sg.A- go:2|3pl.U
'They left again.' [0221.17102016.2.wbi]

Since the Auxiliary behaves like a middle verb in that its stem indexes the person/number of the Actor, one could expect that it too would trigger defective 3sg.A marking with a 3rd plural subject. This is not the case, as (801) shows, because the Actor indexing of the prefixal complex simply follows the pattern associated with the lexical verb. In (a), indexing is realized by 3pl.A since 'go inland' is a non-middle, and in (b) it is 3sg.A since 'go' is a middle verb.[1]

(801) a. *ka-n- y-a aɣak*
DIR-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX go.inland
'They went inland.' [0102.27112016.3.wbi]

b. *k-a- y-a umah*
DIR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX go:2|3pl.U
'They left.' [0186.16092016.1.wbi]

Recall from §12.4.2 that reciprocals of monotransitive verbs like 'hit' are formed from the 1st person Undergoer verb stem, regardless of whether the subject is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. This—illustrated in (802a)—does not have any effect on the Auxiliary which appears in the 2|3pl.U shape that corresponds to the 3rd person subject.

(802) a. *epe k-enam- n-asak*
there DIR-RCPR- 1.U-hit.PLA
'They started to fight each other there.' [0077.23092016.7.wbi]

b. *k-enam- y-a n-asak*
DIR-RCPR- 2|3pl.U-AUX 1.U-hit.PLA
'They started to fight each other.' [0154.04092015.1.wbi]

[1]Drabbe (1955: 93) claims for the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind that the Auxiliary agrees with the O-argument when it is used with a transitive lexical verb and the O-argument is animate. It seems that this rule is meant to apply in contexts where the verb stem is preposed. Unfortunately, I have not found any examples supporting this in the texts collected in the back of Drabbe's grammar. There is no such rule in the Western dialect described here.

It is as if the Auxiliary were plugged into the verb complex at a stage after all of the complicating interactions of Marind person indexing had been resolved. Therefore, the middle indexing pattern of the Auxiliary does not affect the Actor indexing in the prefixal complex in (801a), nor is the Auxiliary affected by the presence of the Reciprocal in (802b).

There is, however, a single situation in which the person indexing on the Auxiliary is affected by the presence of a prefix within the prefixal complex, viz. the 3pl>1 constellation discussed in Section 8.2.2.2. Whenever a 3rd person plural Actor acts on a 1st person, a special divalent Actor prefix *e-* is used. For some reason, the Auxiliary appears in the 3sg.U form *wa* in this context instead of the usual 3pl.U stem *ya*. Compare (a) below, in which the Auxiliary copies the 3pl feature from Actor indexing (according to the normal rules outlined above), with the 3pl>1 constellation in (b), in which the 3sg form *wa* is used, despite the 3pl subject.

(803) a. *k-an- y-a ɣed⟨e⟩b*
DIR-3pl.A- 3pl.U-AUX hit⟨3sg.U⟩
'They hit him/her.'

b. *k-e- w-a ɣida⟨n⟩ab*
DIR-3pl>1- 3sg.U-AUX hit<1.U>
'They hit me.' [nb02.118.wbi]

The following corpus example shows the same phenomenon. (Here, the 1pl prefix *e-* is deleted since it occurs after another prefix of the shape *e-*).

(804) *i-he anim a, k-e-ø-p- w-a n-idih-em nok*
I/II.pl-PROX people PTCL DIR-3pl>1-1pl-CT- 3sg.U-AUX 1.U-see-VEN 1
'These people, they are watching us.' [0304.08092016.1.wbi]

15.1.2 Lexical uses

The Auxiliary appears in various combinations in which the predicated element is not a verb stem—as in the other, more grammaticalized, constructions in this chapter—but e.g. an ideophone or a noun. Some of these combinations appear to be productive constructions that can combine with various lexical items according to some predictable semantic principle (§15.1.2.1, §15.1.2.2), whereas others are unpredictable idioms that must be fully specified in the dictionary (§15.1.2.3). It seems that the Auxiliary is interchangeable with the light verb *win* 'become' in these constructions, without any perceivable meaning difference.

15.1.2.1 Characteristic vocalization. In this interesting use the Auxiliary occurs with a subject referring to an animal to express that it is making the vocalization that is characteristic for that animal. I have only observed this use for smaller animals (e.g. birds and frogs) never for larger animals like deer or pigs. For dogs, *abun* 'bark' would be used.

(805) *salaw k-a- y-a*
friarbird DIR-3sg.A- 3pl.U-AUX
'The friarbirds are singing/making their call.'

Note that in this and other lexical uses the Auxiliary behaves like a standard middle verb and triggers defective 3sg Actor marking with a 2rd person plural S/A-arguments (§8.2.2.3). This does not happen in the grammatical uses of the Auxiliary, as explained above.

Syntactically the Auxiliary functions as a standard lexical verb in this context, and may for example occur in the Thetic Predication construction (described in §15.3.1). In this construction the Auxiliary—in its grammatical use—is placed between the prefixal complex and the verb stem. In (806) this means that there will be two consecutive occurrences of the Auxiliary, the first licensed by the Thetic Auxiliary construction (signaling an 'all-new' or 'out-of-the-blue' utterance), and the second being the Auxiliary in its lexical use expressing the chirping sound of the pufferfish.

(806) This example was offered as an alternative way of expressing (753) on p. 469.
banggabang k-a-na-y-p- w-a w-a
pufferfish DIR-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl-CT- 3sg.U-AUX 3sg.U-AUX
'The pufferfish is making noise at us.' [nb05.12.wbi]

15.1.2.2 Emission of sound. In this use the Auxiliary predicates a sound that the subject is doing, typically referred to by an ideophone such as *tataɣa* 'munching/smacking sounds from eating' (807). The same use is also attested with a linguistic expression in its 'mention' usage, as with *ahak* 'yes' in (808).[2]

(807) *tataɣa tamohat- ɣ-a!*
IDEO PROH:2sg.A- 2sg.U-AUX
'Don't make noise while eating!' [nb03.65.wbi]

[2]It is not clear what the function of the 3sg Genitive prefix *omb-* is in this example. It is possibly the causal use discussed in §12.6, i.e. 'I kept saying "yes" because of him', referring to the person with whom she was having the conversation.

(808) The speaker tells about a conversation she had had earlier.

yah nok “ahak” s-an-d-omb-ap- n-a
but 1 yes ONLY-1.A-DUR-3sg.GEN-CT- 1.U-AUX
‘I just kept saying “yes”.’ [0062.22052015.1.mkl]

15.1.2.3 Other idiomatic uses. Examples of verb idioms in which the Auxiliary *wa* is used as the predicating element are *bekay wa* ‘catch one’s breath’ (< *bekay* ‘heart’; in this idiom the Contessive prefix *ap-* always occurs) and *nggem wa* ‘paint one’s face with white clay’ (< *nggem* ‘k.o. white clay’), as when women mourn a deceased relative.[3]

(809) *bekay epe nd-an-d-e-p- n-a*
heart there LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- 1.U-AUX
‘We caught our breath there.’ [0049.30082015.5.wbi]

(810) *amimil Doyo, e= nda-bat-ø- w-a nggem*
grown.up D. PROX= LOC-AFF-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX white.clay
‘Elder sister Doyo, she is painting her face with white clay here.’
[0435.08092016.1.wbi]

15.2 The Auxiliary predicating a preposed verb stem

In this construction the verb stem appears before the Auxiliary. Preposed, a verb stem functions nominally, heading a noun phrase, which allows it to appear with nominal modifiers such as *ɣa* ‘real, very’ or *mbya* ‘all, completely’ (812).[4] These modifiers are only used adnominally (not adverbially), so in order to use them for describing an event the verb stem has to be ‘converted’ into a nominal by moving it out of its normal position inside the verb complex. I add brackets around the nominal phrases in these two examples.

(811) [*haman ɣa*]$_{NP}$ *ka-me- y-a!*
many.sit real DIR-2pl.FUT- 2|3pl.U-AUX
‘You (pl) sit properly!’ [nb03.32.wbi]

[3] These idioms belong either to the middle intransitive valency class (§11.2.2.3) or the middle transitive class (§11.2.3.2), depending on the argument status of the co-nominal *bekay/nggem*, which remains unclear.

[4] Positioned before the inflected verb, *mbya* expresses negation; see §16.3.1.

(812) Commenting on bad luck during hunt.

awe [*mbya keway*]$_{NP}$ *mend-am-b-e-* *n-a*
game all destroy PERF-1.A-ACT-1pl- 1.U-AUX
'We already ruined the animals completely.' (i.e. scared them away)
[0157.28062015.2.wbi]

To simplify the parsing of these sentences one can imagine that the Auxiliary means 'do', so that (811) can be translated 'Do real sitting!' etc.

The most common type of modification of a preposed verb stem is compounding, described in §15.2.1. A second consequence of preposing a verb stem is that it can be assigned constituent focus, which is associated with the pre-verbal slot (Chapter 10). This possibility is primarily used to express 'only'-focus, i.e. 'only Verb', as discussed in §15.2.2. Another construction, with an element *-ti* added to the preposed verb stem, is described in (§15.2.3).

15.2.1 Predication of verb compounds

Compounds headed by a verb stem that are predicated by the Auxiliary usually have a nominal first member (typically an adjective) that provides some kind of adverbial specification. A straightforward example from the corpus is in (813), in which the Pluractional verb stem *isak* is compounded with *yaba* 'big'. Using pseudo-English we could render this more literally as 'They did big-beating on them'.

(813) *yaba-i-sak* *ka-n-* *y-a*
big-2|3pl.U-fight DIR-2|3pl.A- 3pl.U-AUX
'They beat them up big-time.' [0105.04092015.1.wbi]

Some of the most common first members in this structure are *mayay* 'first' and *ndom* 'bad'. The two following examples illustrate the use of compounds with *mayay*. The meaning difference between these examples and other expressions meaning 'first', viz. the word *mayay* used as an independent adverbial and the Prioritive prefix *ka-* (§14.4.3) appears to be rather subtle.

(814) About the preparations for a feast.

nok *mayay-atug* *ø-nak-e-* *n-a* *kumbu*
1 first-scrape NEUT-1.A-1pl- 1.U-AUX coconut
'We scraped coconuts beforehand.' [0198.27112016.4.wbi]

(815) From a hunting story.

basik a, mayay-ka-hawa ø-ø-n-is-a-y- w-a
pig PTCL first-INESS-emerge:3sg.U NEUT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- 3sg.U-AUX
'A pig, it went out first [running] away from us' [0495.16092016.1.wbi]

The following examples show *ndom* 'bad' compounded to the verb stem. Such compounds are the only way to use *ndom* in the adverbial sense 'badly' or 'wrongly'.[5]

(816) The speaker had accused a neighbour of steeling some wati from him.

namakad ndom-k-u-hanid e-pe t-e-k-a-nam-
thing bad-INESS-3sg.U-take.PLA III-DIST GIV-III-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-
w-a-e
3sg.U-AUX-IPFV
'He takes my thing badly (i.e., without asking)' [0007.24082015.1.wbi]

(817) During the telling of a story, the speaker hesitated and asked a co-narrator to help her remember the names of some of the participants.

ndom-hyamin mano- n-a
bad-call:2|3pl.U FUT2:1.A- 1.U-AUX
'I might say [their] names wrong.' [0114.27112016.4.wbi]

Compounds headed by verb stems are also common outside the construction with the Auxiliary (see §4.4.1.5).

15.2.2 Restrictive focus on verb stems: 'only/just Verb'.

Recall that the preferred way of expressing 'only' in Marind is by means of the Restrictive Orientation prefix *s-*, which has scope over the constituent placed in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb (see §10.1.6). This slot is associated with the expression of focus, so an expression must be placed in this position in order for it to be interpreted as in-focus. To express the meaning 'only Verb' or 'just Verb' (i.e. 'do nothing but Verb'), with the verb in the scope of *s-*, the verb stem has to be placed in the preverbal position. The Auxiliary, attached after the prefixal complex, is used to predicate the preposed verb stem.

These expressions are common in the corpus, with about 85 attestations. Some examples:

[5]There is an independent adverb with the shape *ndom*, viz. the homophonous *ndom* 'still' (§16.3.3) or 'also' (§3.3.9.1), so one could speculate that *ndom* 'bad' needs to be compounded with the verb stem in its adverbial use in order to avoid ambiguity with 'still'/'also'.

(818) *hok* *s-ak-e-* *n-a*
many.lie.down ONLY-1.A-1pl- 1.U-AUX
'We just lay down/went to sleep.' [0231.17102016.2.wbi]

(819) *nok idih* *s-an-d-e-p-* *n-a-ti*
1 see:3sg.U ONLY-1.A-DUR-1pl-CT- 1.U-AUX-DUR
'We were just watching him.' [0045.28062015.3.wbi]

(820) *ɣambeɣay,* *naɣat* *s-an-d-e-* *n-a* *epetagol* *e-pe*
slippery many.go ONLY-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-AUX like.that:III III-DIST
'[It was] slippery, we just went like that.' [0061.28062015.3.wbi]

(821) *ikyalun* *sa-me-p-* *y-a!*
jump ONLY-2pl.A.FUT-CT- 2|3pl.U-AUX
'You just jump down!' [0191.27082015.1.wbi]

Unlike the English word 'just', the Marind combination of a verb stem and *s-* cannot be used to convey the temporal meaning 'just Verb-ed, Verb-ed just now', i.e. the signaling of a zero interval between the moment of reference and the preceding event. For the temporal 'just', Marind uses the word *namaɣa* 'now' or the construction with *oso* 'start' described in §16.3.4.

15.2.3 The Verb-*ti*–Auxiliary construction

In this structure an element *-ti* appears suffixed to the stem, which is placed in the pre-verbal position. The verb always carries the Neutral prefix ø-.

(822) *bes* *kw-ehwek-ti* *ø-n-e-* *y-a*
beating.stick INESS-pile.up-TI NEUT-3pl.A-3pl.DAT- 2|3pl.U-AUX
'They handed over the beating sticks to them.' [0060.27112016.3.wbi]

This construction is restricted to narrative contexts, and is used to describe punctual events (including the onset of an activity; cf. §13.1.1) in the storyline. The same structure can be used to describe a durative event if the Auxiliary is replaced by the verb *ola*, as exemplified in §15.5 below.

The Verb-*ti*–Auxiliary structure appears to be similar to the construction with a postposed verb stem discussed in §15.3.1 in that it reports an event without presenting any constituent as being particularly prominent/within focus. In my corpus it is

rare, and most attestations come from two narratives recorded by a single speaker, an elderly woman, although it seems that members of all generations understand and can produce the construction.

The function of *-ti* in this construction is not known. It is unclear whether this *-ti* is related to the Past Durative suffix *-ti* (§13.2.1.2), especially since the construction has punctual semantics, and since outer suffixes such as *-ti* are normally not allowed to appear on a dislocated verb stem. One possibility is that the verbal suffix *-ti* developed from the comitative postposition *ti* 'with'. In such a scenario the comitative postposition attached to a nominally used verb stem, just like the postposition *lVk* seems to be the source of the Participial suffix *-lVk* (§9.3.5). One could speculate that this somehow led to *-ti* being associated with past tense semantics, and that it spread from the auxiliary construction into past durative contexts (cf. McGregor 2003 for comitative case developing into progressive markers in some Australian languages). I gloss *-ti* as 'TI' in this section in order not to anticipate its proper analysis.

Below are two more corpus examples.

(823) *nd-a- y-um-am, wati ɣi-ti ø-na- y-a*
LOC-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-go.PLA-VEN kava drink-TI NEUT-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX
'Then they came forward, and started drinking the kava.'
[0057.27112016.3.wbi]

(824) *muy han-ti ø-ø-o-p- w-a,*
meat(III) put:III.U-TI NEUT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-CT- 3sg.U-AUX
"ah- uma⟨ɣ⟩ah oɣ, usus menda-b-ø- aɣ"
IMP- go⟨2sg.U⟩ 2sg afternoon PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become
'He put the meat [on the horse], [and I said,] "Go now, it's already afternoon".' [0108.14052015.2.dmh]

The rarity of this construction in my corpus is a striking difference between my data and the texts collected in Drabbe (1955), in which the Verb-*ti* construction is frequent (although Drabbe does not mention it in his treatment of the grammar). This could be a dialect difference, since Drabbe's texts represent the Eastern variety of Coastal Marind, or it could be a sign that the popularity of the construction has waned in the almost 70 years since Drabbe's data were collected.

15.3 The Auxiliary predicating a postposed verb stem

There are two important structures in which the verb stem appears after the Auxiliary: the Thetic Predication construction (§15.3.1) and the Predicated Manner construction (§15.3.2).

An important structural difference between these and structures with a preposed verb stem is that the verb stem forms a tight unit together with the prefixal complex and the intervening Auxiliary, as shown by the fact that nothing may intervene between the Auxiliary and the following verb stem. There are no signs of the verb stem having any sort of nominal function, and it may occur suffixed with outer suffixes (§7.4) just like when it is directly attached to the prefixal complex.

15.3.1 The Thetic Predication construction

This construction is used to make statements in which no particular constituent is presented as being in focus, i.e. statements that the speaker presents as containing 'all-new' information, with all parts being equally important and informative. According to my understanding the use of this structure is similar to the function of what has been called "event-reporting" (Lambrecht 1994: 124) or "thetic" (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987) sentences. Its structure, from left to right, is

i. The prefixal complex, with Directional Orientation *k*- (§10.1.4) as the only fixed member.

ii. The Auxiliary.

iii. A lexical verb stem.

This is schematized in §15.1. Other constituents are placed before and/or after the verb complex.

Figure 15.1: The Thetic Predication construction.

k-…-	AUXILIARY	VERB STEM

of morphological focus marking on the verb, realized by the 'Orientation prefixes' (§10.1).

The types of expressions that are placed in the pre-verbal slot are e.g. question words and constituents under contrastive focus. There are also cases in which the pre-verbal constituent is not focused, but rather packaged together with the verb because the two form a unit. This is the case in topic-comment structures (§10.2.2), in which the constituent in the pre-verbal position forms the main part of the comment, along with the verb. Clauses with a constituent placed in the pre-verbal position (because it is focused or part of the comment) always have a standard verb unit consisting of the prefixal complex combined with a lexical verb stem.

By contrast, most forms of the verb complex containing only the set of prefixes and a verb stem are not appropriate in contexts where equal attention is given to all parts of the proposition, as in the answer to the question "What happened?". In fact, the speaker with whom I discussed (825a) struggled to think of any context to use this form, although this combination of a person prefix and a stem is impeccable from a morphological point of view. The idiomatic way to answer this question is by means of the Thetic Auxiliary construction, as in (b).

(825) 'What happened?'

a. ?*no- oɣad*
   1.A- yawn
   'I yawned.'

b. *ka-no- n-a oɣad*
   DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX yawn
   'I yawned.'

The structure in (b) is also used in 'out-of-the-blue' contexts. When eliciting e.g. person forms I would ask the speaker to translate 'I yawned' (or whatever verb I was investigating) from Malay, and invariably get replies as in (b), using the Auxiliary.

The Thetic Auxiliary construction is not used to answer content questions asking about information about some participant ('Who Verbed?') or circumstance ('When did you Verb?'), since answers to such question contain a constituent that provides the crucial information that is being requested, and therefore occurs in the pre-verbal position. Thus, (a) below is an appropriate answer to 'Who yawned?' whereas (b) is not.

(826) 'Who yawned?'

a. *nok* *ø-no-* *oɣad*
1 NEUT-1.A- yawn
'It was I who yawned.'

b. #*nok* *ka-no-* *n-a* *oɣad*
1 DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX yawn
'I yawned.'

The utterance in (b)—the same as in (825b), with *nok* 'I' added—is structurally flawless, and could be used as an anwer to 'What happened?', but is pragmatically odd in contexts that require focus to be placed on *nok*.

In addition to these basic information packaging constraints on the use of the construction, there are various grammatical factors that restrict its use.

First, recall from Chapter 10 that certain expressions are grammatically associated with focus, meaning that they only appear in the pre-verbal position, and with a certain Orientation prefix that must be specified for this particular expression. Examples are the negator *mbya*, which triggers the use of the Neutral Orientation prefix (§10.1.2.5), or aspectual particles such as Ingressive *ɣe* (§10.1.3.5, §16.3.5), which invariably occurs with the Object Orientation prefix *m-*. The Thetic Auxiliary construction may not combine with these adverbials, presumably because the function of the structure is to "remove" the possibility of focus from the clause.

Second, there are several prefixes belonging to the prefixal complex that are similar to the Thetic Auxiliary construction in that they do not allow the expression of a focused constituent in the pre-verbal position, and block the occurrence of Orientation prefixes (see §10.3.1). These prefixes do not occur in the Thetic Auxiliary construction. Among the prefixes are command-forming prefixes such as the Imperative *ah-*, the polar question prefixes *ap-* and *Vk-*, the Perfect *mend-* and the Absconditive prefix series. Such prefixes are excluded from contexts that require a constituent to be within focus, e.g. content question. I assume that since clauses with these prefixes are already 'focus-less', there is no reason for them to combine with the Auxiliary in a structure whose primary function is to suppress focus.

The Thetic Auxiliary construction is very common in the corpus, with approximately 600 occurrences out of a total of ca. 8200 inflected verbs (i.e. 7%; I exclude the present tense copula from the count since it does not contain a verb stem). Below I discuss some representative corpus examples.

In the narrative excerpt in (827) the speaker has introduced a woman who went to the aidpost. The first sentence is a copula clause ('Her child was sick'). Copula clauses always have a topic-comment articulation, with the copula complement in

the pre-verbal position (§15.4), and do not occur in the Thetic Predication construction. In the second clause the speaker explains what was wrong with the child, as if answering an implicit question 'What was the matter?'.[6] This is a typical case of a thetic statement, so the construction with the Auxiliary is used.

(827) Repeated from (322/324) on p. 242.

1. *nalakam* *elel* *ø-d-ø-om-* *ola*
   child sick NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be:3sg.U

2.→ *ɣandam* *k-ø-omb-o-* *w-a* *ɣadan*
   stomach DIR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN-3sg.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX get.swollen
   1. 'Her child was sick.'
   2. 'His stomach was swollen.' [0011-0012.04092015.1.wbi]

The next example is from an account of how a man was injured during an expedition and had to be carried back to the village. The narrator quotes stupefied onlookers who are wondering how the party is going to manage with all their belongings and an injured man. The first clause appears to be a standard topic-comment structure '[As for] these [people], will they carry the man?'. The second clause contains the verb *sinik* 'carry things', which appears without any overt arguments, so there is no other constituents in this clause that can be cast as in-focus. Rather, focus is on the event as a whole, i.e. 'do thing-carrying', corresponding to the use of the Thetic Predication construction.

(828) 1. *i-he* *anem* *ka-me-n-* *l-ambatok* *ay,*
   I/II.pl-PROX man DIR-FUT-3pl.A- PLA-carry.on.shoulders Q

2.→ *ka-me-n-* *y-a* *sinik?*
   DIR-FUT-3pl.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX carry.things
   1. 'Will these [people] carry the person,
   2. '[or] will they carry the things?' [0241.17102016.2.wbi]

The construction described in the next section is formally similar to the Thetic Predication structure, and could perhaps be seen as a variant of it.

[6] Cf. Lambrecht's (1994: 137) discussion of an exactly parallel example.

15.3.2 The Predicated Manner construction

The Auxiliary construction described here is used to express the manner in which some action is carried out, i.e. 'Verb like this/that' or 'Verb in this/that way', as when answering a question 'How did X Verb?'. The construction is made up of four elements, listed from left to right:

i. The distal demonstrative *epe* or the proximal clitic *e=* (the reduced form of the proximal demonstrative *ehe*) in the pre-verbal position.

ii. The Directional Orientation prefix *k-* in the prefixal complex (followed by other prefixes, as required by the context).

iii. The Auxiliary.

iv. A lexical verb stem.

The demonstrative element is always in the default gender III form in this construction, so I gloss it DIST or PROX without indication of gender. The structure can be schematized as in Figure 15.2. Note that the only formal difference between this construction and the structure discussed in §15.3.1 is the presence of the preposed demonstrative element.

Figure 15.2: The Predicated Manner construction.

e=/epe	*k-…-*	AUXILIARY	VERB STEM

This construction is non-compositional: there is no sub-part of the construction that provides the meaning 'like' as in English 'like this/that'. Below are two simple examples with the lexical verb *og* 'do', and a 3sg and 1sg subject respectively.

(829) a. *epe* *k-a-* *w-a* *og*
DIST DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX do
'S/he did like that.'

b. *epe* *ka-no-* *n-a* *og*
DIST DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX do
'I did like that.'

See the next section for more information about the use of the Predicated Manner construction.

The expression of manner by means of a semantically opaque auxiliary construction is most likely a cross-linguistic rarissimum. Deictic expressions referring specifically to manner have not been subject to as much research as standard demonstratives (cf. Diessel 1999: 74), but is likely an area of interesting cross-linguistic differences. For example, Dixon (2003: 72, 101) discusses 'verbal demonstratives', by which he means verbs with the deictic meaning 'to do like this/that', based on data from Fijian and Dyirbal. Also, McGregor (2017) discusses a set of remarkable manner-indicating structures in Shua (a Khoe-Kwadi language of Botswana) that are somewhat similar to the Marind Predicated Manner construction in that they also are clause-level constructions. However, I am not aware of any reports of manner-indicating auxiliary constructions similar to the Marind structure in the literature.

15.3.2.1 Functions of the Predicated Manner construction. These constructions are used to refer to an action that the speaker is mimicking, or to refer to the manner in which someone else performs an action. A corpus example of the mimicking use is in (830). The construction may also be used to refer to some more abstract state-of-affairs, such as the contents of a stretch of discourse (831).

(830) The speaker shows an action using her hands.

ehe *e=* *k-o-d-* *ɣ-a* *og* *ay?*
PROX PROX= DIR-2sg.A-DUR- 2sg.U-AUX do Q
'You were doing like this, right?' [0123.27082015.1.wbi]

(831) In a story, a person informs someone that their relative in another village has died. The person ends like so:

e= *k-a-* *w-a* *ay* *mayan*
PROX= DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX become speech
'That's how the message is.' [0255.27112016.4.wbi]

The discourse-referring function is often used in narrative to introduce direct speech or thought, i.e. 's/he said like this: "…"'. The quotative marker *ago* (§3.3.3.4) is often present, which might seem redundant since it also has function of signaling a shift to reported discourse.

(832) *e=* *ka-n-e-* *y-a* *aɣi,* *ago* *“na* *m-an-d-e-*
PROX DIR-3pl.A-2|3pl.DAT- 2|3pl.U-AUX say QUOT feces OF-1.A-DUR-[1]PL-
ka-naɣat”
INESS-many.go
‘They said like this to them: “We went to take a dump”.’
[0047.04092015.1.wbi]

The meaning of the Predicated Manner construction overlaps partly with that of the property demonstratives *epetago* ‘like this’ etc. (§3.3.2.3), which sometimes (albeit more rarely) are used to point to manner. In their other uses they are distinct. For example, the Predicated Manner construction may not be used to express amount or extent indicated by showing on/with a body part (‘The water was deep like this’—showing with the hand on one’s leg), which is one of the functions of the *tago*-series.

The Predicated Manner construction corresponds to a special type of content question. Unlike all other information questions in Marind, manner questions do not contain an interrogative pronoun, so there is no word meaning ‘how’. Instead the Auxiliary is used, like in the Predicated Manner construction, but without a preceding demonstrative and with the Directional prefix *k-* replaced by the Locational *nd-*. The prefixal complex also contains the usual prefix sequence *h-…b-* (INT-…ACT-), which is used to mark all context questions in Marind. See §17.3.2.5 for examples.

15.3.2.2 In subordinate clauses. The Predicated Manner construction is often instantiated as a subordinate clause, which allows the structure to function as a complex adverbial within another clause. Thus, instead of the two-sentence utterance like ‘We usually do it like this. You should also do like that’ one can say ‘You should do it [the way that we usually do it]’, with the *the way*-clause corresponding to the subordinate Predicated Manner construction in Marind.

Subordinate clauses differ in their morphosyntax from main clauses and this affects how the Predicated Manner construction is instantiated in these contexts. As shown in Figure 15.3, there is no demonstrative element in the pre-verbal slot, and the Directional prefix is omitted. Instead the verb is prefixed with the Dependent prefix *ah-* (if the time reference is to the non-present) or with the appropriate form of the Absconditive (if reference is to the present; §14.2). Other constituents within the subordinate clause are realized before the verbal comlex.

Figure 15.3: The Subordinate Predicated Manner construction.

[(…) DEP-/ABSC-…- AUXILIARY VERB STEM] (*epe/ehe*)

A straighforward example from my notebooks is in (833). I had asked how we were going to get to a place outside the village, and whether we should take my motorcycle. The speaker gave the elliptical reply below, meaning that we should go by foot, like we had done the day before.

(833) *wis* *a-n-da-h-e-* *n-a* *nayat* *epe*
[yesterday DEP-1.A-DUR-DEP-1pl- 1.U-AUX many.be.moving] DIST
'Like we went yesterday.' [nb04.17.wbi]

As observed above, there is no element corresponding to English *like* or *the way* in these structures. The manner component is an inherent part of the semantics of the Predicated Manner construction.

Another observed instance is in the next example. The speaker urged me and others to sit ***batman*** 'cross-legged', like himself. The first clause features a modifier-verb compound predicated by the Auxiliary, i.e. the structure described in §15.2.1. The second clause describes the manner, and uses the Absconditive prefix on the verb since the clause refers to a present situation. The Absconditive, as well as the postposed demonstrative, is in the proximate form since the speaker is indicating a situation that is 'here' from his point-of-view.

(834) *batman-haman* *ka-me-* *y-a* *yoɣ!*
cross.legged-many.sit DIR-2pl.A:FUT- 2|3pl.U-AUX 2pl

eha-no- *n-a* *mil* *ehe*
[ABSC:I:PROX-1.A- 1.U-AUX be.sitting PROX]
'You sit cross-legged! Like I am sitting now.' [nb03.32.wbi]

The following corpus examples are slightly more complex. The first is from a description of meal preparations in a narrative. Again, the Absconditive prefix is used since the manner clause refers to the present (in this case habitual present, which is clear from the context).

(835) *yal* *nda-d-na-* *og-a,*
banana.leaf LOC-DUR-3pl.A- do-EXT

namakad *anep* *ep-ak-e-* *n-a* *og-e* […]
[thing(III) EMPH:III ABSC:III-1.A-1pl- 1.U-AUX do-IPFV]
'Then they prepared the banana leaves, like we usually do those things […].'
[0106.27112016.4.wbi]

In the next example the speaker was expressing her admiration for some young men in a neighboring village, who according to her always follow orders from elders. The Future prefixes are used here because the speaker is referring to a habitually occurring sequence of events (see §13.2.7.6).

(836) *anip* *a-pa-n-e-* *y-a* *laɣ-e* *epe,*
[EMPH:I/II.pl DEP-FUT-3pl.A-2|3pl.DAT- 2|3pl.U-AUX tell-IPFV DIST]

epe *ka-p-an-o-p-* *y-a* *esoh-a*
DIST DIR-FUT-3pl.A-3sg.DAT-CT- 2|3pl.U-AUX follow-EXT

(lit.) 'The way they tell them [to do something], they follow like that.'

[0218.27112016.4.wbi]

The interpretation of the subordinate clause in this example is similar to the reported discourse in example (832) above, since the manner that is predicated is not that of the verb *laɣ* 'tell' (e.g. speaking loudly, or clearly), but rather the implied contents of the imagined speech event (i.e. the orders that were given).

15.4 The copula and copula clauses

15.4.1 Nominal and adjectival predication

Copula clauses are used in e.g. adjectival (837) and nominal predication (838). This clause type differs from all other clause types in that the verb stem is omitted in the non-past, leaving the prefixal complex without any following lexical verb. Compare the past tense clauses in the (a)-examples, in which the verb complex consists of the prefixal complex followed by verb stem 'be' (here in its 3sg shape *ola*), with the present tense clauses in the (a)-examples, in which the prefixal complex alone makes up the verb unit. The stem-less copula also occurs in the future tense, but I have only recorded such forms in locational clauses; cf. (843b) further below.

(837) a. About a boy mentioned previously.
waninggap *ø-d-a-* *ola*
good. NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
'[The boy] was good.' [0150.08092016.1.wbi]

b. About recording indoors.
waninggap *k-a*
good PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'[It] is good.' [0233.16092016.1.wbi]

(838) a. *igih Basik ø-d-a- ola*
name B. NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
'His name was Basik.' [0314.21092016.1.wbi]

b. *milah-igih Saslimbu k-a*
place-name S. PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'The name of the place is Saslimbu.' [0049.23092016.6.wbi]

The subject is indexed in the Actor prefix series, and, when *ola* is present, in the verb stem. The indexing patterned exhibited by *ola* in copula clauses is the so-called middle pattern (§8.5.1), with coreferential Actor and Undergoer marking. In the 3rd person, the middle indexing template has an invariant 3sg Actor prefix *a-*, so the 3pl.A prefix *n-* does not occur with the copula. Interestingly, this pattern is also found with the non-past copula, as if the 'deleted' verb stem were a middle verb. Thus, the copula in the present is *k-a* for both singular and plural 3rd person subjects, never **ka-n*. A paradigm of the present tense forms of the copula is given in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1: The present tense copula.

	sg	pl
1	*ka-no* PRS.NEUT-1.A	*k-ak-e* PRS.NEUT-1.A-1pl
2	*k-o* PRS.NEUT-2sg.A	*k-e* PRS.NEUT-2pl.A
3	*k-a* PRS.NEUT-3sg.A	

The Non-past Imperfective *-e* or *-et* (a member of the outer suffix class, which usually attaches after the verb stem; §7.4) may optionally be added to the non-past copula:

(839) *i-he sayam a, mbya k-a-et i-he*
I/II.pl-PROX wallaby PTCL NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-IPFV I/II.pl-PROX
'The wallabys, they're not here.' [0118.21092016.1.wbi]

Zero copulas that are restricted to the present tense are well-known from Russian and other languages (see e.g. Stassen 1997: 64), although in Marind it is only the verb stem that is omitted, whereas the cluster of inflectional affixes remains in place. The Western dialect described here differs from the Eastern dialect in that copula clauses in the latter lack a verb stem in all tenses (see Drabbe 1955: 58ff.).

Copula clauses follow the word order pattern of topic-comment sentences (§10.2.2) with the predicative expression (or copula complement) placed in the position immediately preceding the verb complex (with which it forms the comment). The referential expression (the topic) can be placed either before, as in (838) above, or, less commonly, after the comment (840). The topic is often omitted if it is retrievable from the context, as in (837a) above. The verb is marked with the Neutral Orientation prefix in nominal and adjectival predication (§10.1.2).

(840) *Papu ø-d-a- ola igih*
P. NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be name
'His name was Papu.' [0077.16052015.1.dmh]

The Neutral Orientation may be replaced by the Restrictive Orientation *s-* to express 'It is only X' etc., as in example (50) on p. 81.

In present tense copula clauses with a 1st or 2nd person subject there is a strong preference to add a corresponding pronoun after the prefixal complex. Thus, the question 'Who's there?' can be answered either by (841a) or by the much more common (b). See also Drabbe (1955: 58) for the same situation in the Eastern dialect.

(841) a. *nok k-ak-e*
1 PRS.NEUT-1.A-1pl
'It's us.' [0044.28062015.3.wbi]

b. *nok k-ak-e nok*
1 PRS.NEUT-1.A-1pl 1
'It's us.' [0045.28062015.3.wbi]

The copula forms an idiomatic expression with *bekay* 'heart' meaning 'to like':

(842) The speaker was waiting for some undisciplined youth to start the sago processing.
nok bekay mbya k-a ehetago weheb e-he
1 heart NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A like.this:III wait III-PROX
'I don't like waiting this long.' (lit. 'this kind of waiting')
[0318.27112016.4.wbi]

15.4.2 Locative predication

To predicate a location the Locational Orientation *nd-* (§10.1.5) is prefixed to the verb. As in the previous section, the verb in a past tense copula clause consists of the prefixal complex followed by the verb stem 'be' (843a), while in a non-past clause the verb consists of the prefixal complex alone (b).

(843) a. *yoɣ emba nd-e-d- ya-hwala*
2pl side LOC-2pl.A-DUR- 2|3pl.U-be
'You were somewhere else (lit. on the side).' [0815.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *milah nda-p-e nok ɣapap*
place LOC-FUT:1.A-1pl 1 tomorrow
'We will be at home tomorrow.' [0183.17102016.1.wbi]

15.4.3 Predicative possession: *to have*

To express 'X has Noun' the copula clause is used, with the possessor indexed in the prefixal complex by means of the Genitive prefix series (§8.4). This is basically an existential clause, i.e. 'Noun exists to X'. The verb contains the verb stem 'be' in past time contexts, as in (844), or as in example (517) on p. 365.

(844) *tamuɣ mbya ø-d-a-namb-e- ola*
food(III) NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-1.GEN-1pl- be:III.U
'We didn't have any food.' [0105.08092016.1.wbi]

In non-past clauses the verb stem is omitted, as per above. A characteristic of predicative possession is that speakers almost always use the Absconditive prefix series to speak about present possession (845), unless the possessed item is in sight at the time of speech, or in contexts that do not allow the Absconditive, e.g. negated clauses (846). See §14.2 for information about the Absconditive.

(845) *katal ti anem k-a, katal ip-ø-omb-e*
money with:I man(I) PRS.NEUT-3sg.A money(IV) ABSC:IV-3sg.A-3sg.GEN-IPFV
'He is a rich man, he has money.' [0419.16092016.1.wbi]

(846) *mbya k-a-namb-e kanis*
NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-IPFV betelnut
'I don't have any betelnut.' [0050.17102016.1.wbi]

If the possessed item is a bodypart, the Dative prefix series must be used, in accordance with principles described in §8.3.

(847) *isawa kambet sam k-ø-e*
maybe ear big PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT
'Maybe they have big ears.' [nb03.69.wbi]

15.4.4 Copula marking topics

The 3rd person present copula *ka* is often used to announce a topic in the beginning of an utterance. This is one of several strategies for indicating topics (see §16.2.2), and it seems to be especially common when the topic is a list of referents: 'As for X, Y and Z, …'. Strangely, this use of the present form *ka* also occurs in past time contexts, as in (848), so it is perhaps better to consider *ka* an unanalyzable particle.

(848) *nama u-he yay-sah k-a, yay k-a, menda-b-ø-*
now II-PROX uncle-wife PRS.NEUT-3sg.A uncle PRS.NEUT-3sg.A PERF-ACT-3sg.A-
umah
go:2|3pl.U
'Now, the aunt, and the uncle, they had already left.' [0312.27112016.4.wbi]

15.5 Light verbs

The four verbs *ola*, *win*, *ay*, and *onggat* occur in a wide range of contexts. It is often difficult to determine what the meaning of these verbs are, because their meaning shifts according to the expression or construction in which they appear. In this sense they are semantically 'light' (see Butt 2010 for the use of the term). Judging from their most frequent uses, I have decided to gloss *ola* as 'be'; *win* and *ay* as 'become'; and *onggat* as 'become.PLA' (i.e. Pluractional). The detailed description of these verbs in the Eastern Dialect is one of the highlights of Drabbe's grammar (1955: 85–102). Here I will provide a brief overview of their various uses.

***ola* 'be'.** The use of *ola* 'be' as a copula verb in past tense contexts was described in §15.4. There are various verb idioms with *ola* as a fixed part. Examples: with *kambet* 'ear' and the Contessive prefix *ap-* in an idiom meaning 'remember' (849); with the noun *mombali* 'lie' in an idiom meaning 'to lie'. Both idioms are middle indexing (§8.5.1).

(849) *kambet ndom k-ak-ap- na-hwala*
ear still PRS.NEUT-1.A-CT- 1.U-be
'I still remember it.' [nb02.73.dmh]

(850) *mombali ma-d-ø- ya-hwala*
lie OBJ-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be
'They were lying.' [0198.08092016.1.wbi]

The verb *ola* occurs in periphrastic constructions with a lexical verb stem placed before the verb complex. These structures correspond to the constructions with a preposed verb stem predicated by the Auxiliary described in §15.2, but emphasize the duration of the event. This use is most frequent with the Restrictive Orientation prefix *s-* scoping over the preposed verb stem, expressing 'only be V-ing, only remain V-ing'. Compare the construction with the Auxiliary in (851a) with the corresponding durative version in (b). In the latter the preposed verb stem is in its Extended form (*hamata* 'many be sitting'), predicated by the 'be' verb.

(851) a. *haman s-ak-e- n-a*
many.sit ONLY-1.A-1pl- 1.U-AUX
'We just sat down.' [0330.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *hamat-a s-an-d-e- na-hwala*
many.sit-EXT ONLY-1.A-DUR-1pl- 1.U-be
'We just remained sitting.' [0202.17102016.2.wbi]

Another corpus example is in (852). The speaker, Yohanes, was making a fire on the ground and asked his niece Biliwag (ca. 7 years old) to fetch tongs for stirring the fire. Biliwag declined, suggesting that he could use his hands. A literal translation of (852.2) would be something like 'You should just remain hand-turning it'.

(852) 1. *Biliwag ago kahil mbya k-a-namb-e*
B. PROW:III tongs(IV) NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A-1.GEN-IPFV

2. *sangga en i-lwetok sa-mo-ka-p- ɣa-hwala*
hand INSTR PLA-turn ONLY-FUT:2sg.A-PRI-CT- 2sg.U-be
1. (Yohanes:) 'Biliwag, I don't have any what's-it-called, tongs.' (i.e., you go get the tongs for me)
2. (Biliwag:) 'You can just turn [the fire] with your hands.'
[0049.24082015.1.wbi]

It seems that *ola* is used to form a durative version of the poorly understood Verb-*ti*–Auxiliary construction (§15.2.3), as in the next example.

(853) *muy* *ibotok-a-ti* *ø-da-n-ap-* *ya-hwala*
meat(III) put.PLA:III.U-EXT-TI NEUT-DUR-3pl.A-CT- 2|3pl.U-be
'They spread out the pieces of meat [on top of the sago].'
[0105.27112016.4.wbi]

***win* and *ay* 'become'.** These verbs frequently express a change-of-state: *win* if the participant that undergoes the change is animate, or an inanimate of gender IV, and *ay* if it is an inanimate of gender III. The noun or adjective that expresses the result of the change occurs in the pre-verbal position and triggers the use of the Directional prefix *k-*. The person or gender features of this expression are not reflected in the indexing on the verb, which follows the patientive pattern (§11.2.2.2),

(854) From a story.
namaɣa *iwag* *i-he,* *dul* *lek* *ɣubyala* *k-a-*
now woman I/II.pl-PROX shame from Syzygium.sp(III) DIR-3sg.A-
in
become:2|3pl.U
'Now these women, because of the shame, they turned into rose apple trees.'
[0243.21112014.1.dmh]

There are various verb idioms involving the 'become' verbs. For example, *win* combined with *ɣandam* 'stomach' is an idiom 'become pregnant' (855). Other idioms with nominals and *win/ay* are *mayay win* 'realize' (*mayay* 'able, knowing'), *abna win* 'steal' (*abna* 'theft'), and expressing of life stages such as *SMP win* 'start junior high school' (children in Indonesia start SMP, or *sekolah menengah pertama*, around the age of 12).

(855) From a story.
kwemek *ah-ø-* *pig* *ehetago,*
morning DEP-3sg.A- become.bright like.this
ɣandam *menda-b-ø-* *in*
stomach PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become:2|3pl.U
'When it became morning, unexpectedly, they were already pregnant.'
[0042.03062015.1.dmh]

These verbs are also used to express 'be born' or 'come alive', as in examples (877) on p. 525 and (857a) further below; or to express that the subject has reached a location:

(856) *etob* *ɣeɣ* *mit* *menda-b-ø-* *ay*
tide(III) land at PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become
'The tide was already close to land.' [0295.08092016.1.wbi]

***onggat* 'become.PLA'.** This verb is primarily the Pluractional counterpart of *win* 'become' (*ay*, used for inanimates in gender III, does not have any Pluractional equivalent), and means roughly 'become multiple times'; see §13.4 for general information about pluractionality. In (857a) *nin* (the 1st person form of *win*) is used to refer to the birth of the speaker, a single event. In (b), the speaker refers to the births of himself and all his paternal ancestors in the *Ndiken* (Stork) clan, i.e. events taking place at multiple occasions, which means that the Pluractional verb must be used. (Multiple births that take place on a single occasion, as when a woman gives birth to twins, is referred to by means of the non-Pluractional verb *win*).

(857) a. *nok* *Bamay* *e=* *k-a-* *n-in* *Duhmilah* *ehe*
1 B. PROX= DIR-3sg.A- 1.U-become D. here
'I, Bamay, was born here in Duhmilah.' [0073.03062015.1.dmh]

b. *nok* *e=* *k-ø-e-* *na-nggat*
1 PROX= DIR-3sg.A-1pl- 1.U-become.PLA
'We were born here.' [0146.16052015.1.dmh]

Verb idioms involving *win* 'become' also express multiple or habitual occurrences by means of *onggat*, so *abna win* 'steal' corresponds to *abna onggat* 'steal on several occasions' etc.

In addition, there are various verbal idioms that involve *onggat* regardless of not describing multiple events. Examples are *alil onggat* 'do carefully, properly; finish (tr.)' (*alil* means 'slow' outside this idiom) and *hi onggat* 'perform sing-sing' (*hi* 'song'), both of which index their S/A-arguments according to the middle template; and *elel onggat* 'become sick' (*elel* 'sick') and *yawal onggat* 'pass away' (*yawal* has no use outside this idiom, but I gloss it 'deceased' for clarity), both of which exhibit patientive indexing.

Chapter 16

Basic clausal syntax

The obligatory kernel of the clause is the verb complex, so a clause consisting of only a verb can be considered the minimal sentence in Marind (§16.1).

Marind is a prime example of what generative grammarians once called 'discourse configurational language', in which the syntactic organization of the clause is not based on syntactic or semantic roles (subject, object, agent, etc.) but on discourse functions such as topic and focus. The discourse functions of arguments usually have consequences for the shape of the verb, most importantly in the choice of a so-called Orientation prefix marking the role of the focused constituent. This means that it is often impossible to tease apart syntax from morphology. The morphosyntax of focus was dealt with in Chapter 10, so in Section 16.2 of this chapter I will summarize some of that information and put it in a broader syntactic context, along with brief discussion of topics and the placement of adjuncts.

In §16.3 I describe a small class of adverbial expressions that have a fixed position before the verb complex. Secondary predicates are discussed in §16.4. The final section is a brief description of the Presentational construction (§16.5).

16.1 The minimal sentence

A verb is sufficient—and necessary—to make up a complete sentence in Marind. The verb complex consists of two units: the Prefixal complex, which is a cluster of inflection-like prefixes (Chapter 7), followed by a verb stem (Chapter 9). These two units are two separate phonological words, but together they make up a single grammatical unit. No other constituents may intervene between the Prefixal complex and the stem. Some examples:

(858) *mak-e-na- haniɣ*
FUT2-3pl>1-1.DAT- bite
'They might bite me.' (so I better flee) [0097.28062015.3.wbi]

(859) *ap-e- hwehway*
PST.Q-2pl.A- put.in.order
'Are you ready/prepared?' [0371.27112016.4.wbi]

(860) *ip-inam-ap- n-ig-made*
ABSC:I/II.pl-RCPR-CT- 1.U-beg-PRS.HAB
'They habitually ask each other for things.' [nb05.05.wbi]

The prefixal complex, without a following verb stem, may form a full sentence if it is used as a copula. In clauses with non-past reference, the copula is simply the string of appropriate prefixes of the prefixal complex. (Alternatively, one can think of the Marind copula as being expressed by a verb stem without phonological content—i.e. a zero verb stem—in the non-past). Such sentences, consisting only of a bare prefixal complex, are mostly used in existential contexts, as in the answer in the following typical exchange:

(861) a. *tamuɣ ek-e?*
food(III) PRS.Q:III-IPFV
'Is there any food?'

b. *ep-e*
ABSC:III-IPFV
'[Yes,] there is.'

Copula clauses are discussed in §15.4.

16.2 Constituent order

16.2.1 Arguments

All logically possible orderings of a verb and its arguments are attested, so one could say that Marind has relatively free word order, with the caveat that the orderings often differ drastically in their information structural properties. There is a preference to place the verb complex after any overt arguments, so Marind is arguably a verb-final language, albeit not strictly so.

A useful metaphor for describing the relationship between the verb and the syntactic positioning of constituents in the clause is the solar system (borrowed from Evans 2003: 548). The verb is in the centre, pulling certain constituents into its immediate vicinity, while leaving others floating at the periphery of the clause. The syntactic slot that is most intimately connected with the verb is the position immediately preceding the verb complex (referred to as the pre-verbal position). This is the site of e.g. a focused constituent (such as the question word in a content question). The discourse function of the material in the pre-verbal position was discussed in §10.2, so I will only reiterate the main points here.

Consider example (862) below. Several fundamental principles of constituent order are at work in this exchange. In the first turn, the speaker pointed to a man (sitting with his family) in one of the drawings in the Family Problems picture task, and asked a content question. Interrogative phrases (here *ta* 'what') are always considered in focus in content questions so *ta* therefore occupies the pre-verbal position. The man to which the speaker is pointing clearly constitutes the topic of the question, so the demonstrative *ehe* 'this one' is realized clause-initially, like most topics.

Since the topic is already established it is not repeated in the reply (line 2). This clause is best described as a comment, providing information about the (implicit) topic. Comment structures usually involve a verb preceded by a constituent in the pre-verbal position. In a monotransitive clause it is often the O-argument that occupies the pre-verbal position, as in this example, where the O-argument *mayan* 'speech' (in a phrasal expression 'tell speech', i.e. 'talk, chat') is placed before the verb. The pre-verbal constituent is usually not in focus in such contexts. Rather, the reason for this constituent being placed in the slot preceding the verb is that this piece of information together with the verb make up the most important part of the comment.

(862) 1. *e-he ta ma-b-ø-ind-e-p- k-umat-a?*
I-PROX what OBJ-ACT-3sg.A-ALL-2|3pl.DAT-CT- INESS-show-EXT
'This one, what is he teaching them?'

2. *mayan m-ø-e-p- ka-lay-a*
speech OBJ-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT-CT- INESS-tell-EXT
'He is talking to them.' [0234.19052015.2.dmh]

The roles of the constituents placed in the pre-verbal position are signaled by means of the Orientation prefixes. In (862) the Object Orientation *m-* (§10.1.3.1) marks the pre-verbal constituents *ta* 'what' and *mayan* 'speech' as O-arguments of

their clauses.

Consider also the performance error in (863). The speaker intends to say 'the dogs are barking at a pig', but switches the positions of the arguments. The sentence in line 1 can only have the—however unlikely—interpretation that *nggat* 'dog(s)' is the O-argument, since it is placed immediately before a verb bearing the Object Orientation prefix *m-*.

(863) 1. *basik i-he nggat ma-n- asa-e,*
pig I/II.pl-PROX dog OBJ-3pl.A- bark-IPFV
'The pigs are barking at a dog,'

2. *ee! nggat i-he basik ma-n- asa-e*
EXCLAM dog I/II.pl-PROX pig OBJ-3pl.A- bark-IPFV
'…Eh!, [I mean:], the dogs are barking at a pig.' [0309.20052015.3.mkl]

If the A-argument of a transitive clause is in focus, it will be placed in the pre-verbal position, and the verb prefixed by means of the Neutral Orientation prefix (realized as zero in non-present contexts). In (864) the A-argument, realized by the 2sg pronoun *oɣ*, is given focal prominence and occupies the pre-verbal position. The O-argument *kipa* 'net' is in the more peripheral topic position. The same articulation is found in (865), with the emphatic 1st person pronoun *nahan* expressing the focused A-argument.

(864) From an account about a recent event: the police accuse a villager for having sold a stolen net.
kipa oɣ ø-o-p- ol⟨e⟩b
net(III) 2sg NEUT-2sg.A-CT- sell⟨III.U⟩
'It was *you* who sold the net.' [0108.26102016.1.wbi]

(865) From a story in which the protagonists quarrel over some land.
e-he say nahan ø-no- ɣak⟨e⟩h mayay e-he
III-PROX place(III) 1.EMPH NEUT-1.A- catch⟨III.U⟩ first III-PROX
'It was *I* who claimed this place first.' [0059.21112014.1.dmh]

Speakers adhere to the pre-verbal placement of focused arguments even when they have trouble retrieving the proper lexical item. If this is the case, the pro-word *agV* is used as a place-holder 'what's-it-called' in the position corresponding to the focused constituent, and the right lexical item can then be filled in at the end of the utterance.

(866) The speaker and other villagers traveled in a truck on a dirt road.

nanih ago ø-d-ø-e- yaɣo⟨n⟩ab-a gumna
face PROW:III NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-1pl- cover⟨1.U⟩-EXT dust(III)
'Our faces were covered by what's-it-called…dust.' [0028.23092016.6.wbi]

The preceding discussion should have made it clear that it makes little sense to classify Marind using labels from traditional whole-language typology such as 'AOV' or 'OAV' (or 'SOV' etc.). These fail to capture the key role that information-packaging plays in Marind clausal syntax. In a monotransitive clause with two overt arguments the A or the O will be placed in the pre-verbal slot depending on the whether the A-argument is in focus (giving OAV or AVO) or cast as a topic (AOV or OVA). The two options correspond to different morphological Orientation marking on the verb, as discussed at length in Chapter 10.

Certain forms of the verb are incompatible with the Orientation prefixes, and clauses in which such verb forms occur lack the ability to place focus on a constituent. The prefixes that are incompatible with focus were listed in §10.3.1. Constituent focus is also absent in the common Thetic Predication construction (§15.3.1), whose function is to give prominence to the entire clause instead of focusing on any specific constituent. Constituent order in these clause types appears to be largely free, and I am not aware of any particular ordering preferences.

Below are two transitive clauses containing the Imperative *ah-*, a prefix that is incompatible with focus. The O-argument *da* 'sago' is placed before the verb complex in (a), but after it, now together with the A-argument *yoɣ* 'you (pl)', in (b). All other permutations are also possible, without any change in the mapping of the NPs to roles.

(867) 1. *da ah- takoy-em!*
sago IMP- fell-PL.IMP
'Fell a sago palm!'

2. *ah- takoy-em yoɣ da!*
IMP- fell-PL.IMP 2pl sago
'You all fell a sago palm!' [0159-0160.27112016.4.wbi]

16.2.2 Topics

It is common to start an utterance by naming some entity—the topic—about which the following discourse provides information. As Hockett famously put it, "the speaker

announces a topic and then says something about it" (Hockett 1958: 201). A topic may be pronounced under a separate intonation contour, and with a pause distinguishing it the from the rest of the utterance, or be completely integrated within the intonation contour of the following material. If a topic is new, important, and stands in contrast to other potential topics, it is usually given more intonational prominence. It may also be marked either by the particle *a* or by a demonstrative.

The following examples show the use of *a* marking the topic. Example (868) is reported dialogue from a story, about how a man who was injured during a trip inland had to be carried back to the village. In the story, someone asks the returning travelers what has happened. In the response, *Mbakos* is announced as the topic, about which the following material—the comment—gives information.

(868) a. *aw, yoɣ nda-ha-b-ø- y-a in?*
EXCLAM 2pl LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-AUX become:2|3pl.U
'Hey, what happened to you?'

b.→ *Mbakos a, awe-upen ø-a- w-alok*
Mb. PTCL fish-fin NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-stab
'Mbakos, the fin of a fish stung him.' [0205–0206.17102016.2.wbi]

The next example is also from a narrative. The speaker talks about how he arrived at a relative's place in another village. A new participant, 'the boy', is here introduced for the first time, in the form of a topic followed by the particle *a*. The speaker goes on to talk about this boy in the following 7 turns, before talking about other things.

(869) *patul a, imimil-patul menda-b-ø-om- w-in,*
boy PTCL grown.up-boy PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- 3sg.U-become
elel ø-d-ø-om- ola
sick NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- be:3sg.U
'The boy, her boy had already become big, he was sick.'
[0017.08092016.1.wbi]

The topic is often followed by a demonstrative, used in some of the deictic functions described in §5.1.2.2. In (870) 'the fish' points back to fish that had been mentioned earlier in the discourse. In (871) a plant is introduced, and it is stated that it was used in black magic. This is presumably a recognitional use, signaling that the speakers should use their general knowledge to pin down the class of referents.

(870) *awe i-pe, kilub pe*
fish I/II.pl-DIST catfish intestines(III)
ɣe m-ak-e-y- ka-l-ahos
INGRS OBJ-1.A-2|3pl.DAT-1pl- INESS-PLA-pull.out:III.U
'As for the fish, we cleaned out the intestines of the catfish.'
[0201.17102016.1.wbi]

(871) *manenggop-nak e-pe, e-pe t-e-d-a- i-kipas⟨e⟩b*
plant.sp(III) III-DIST III-DIST GIV-III-DUR-3sg.A- WITH-whip⟨3sg.U⟩
'That *manenggop-nak* plant, that's what he hit her with.'
[0267.27112016.4.wbi]

Another type of topic that typically is followed by a demonstrative is conditional clauses, as in (872); cf. Haiman (1978) for the topichood of conditionals. Demonstratives always appear in their default gender III form *epe* in this use.

(872) *anim a-p-e- ya-koh kopi epe, gula mbya k-a*
people DEP-FUT:1.A-1pl- 2|3pl.U-feed coffee DIST sugar NEG PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'If we are going to give people coffee, there is no sugar.' (so we need to buy)
[0074.26102016.1.wbi]

(This example is an instance of what is known in the literature as a "biscuit conditional"; see e.g. (176) on p. 157 for a non-biscuit conditional).

In fact, there is no requirement that the topic noun phrase must correspond to some argument position, semantic role, etc., in the clause that follows the topic. It is not uncommon to hear a topic announced at the beginning of an utterance that has no direct relationship to the following verb. For example, the sentence-initial topic in the following example is *sep* 'leaf oven'. The information added about this topic is literally 'they didn't bring any'. From the preceding discourse it is clear that the speaker is referring to an insufficient amount of fish that had been brought, and that this fish was supposed to have been cooked in the leaf oven. There are no overt clues as to the relationship of the comment to the topic in this example, but any hearer with the right contextual and cultural knowledge will be able to compute how the information in the comment is of relevance to the topic.

(873) Previous utterance: "They only brought a little fish."

sep *mbya* *ø-n-e-* *nayam*
leaf.oven NEG NEUT-3pl.A-ACPN- many.go
'The leaf oven, they didn't bring any [fish] for [cooking in it] .'
[0214.17102016.2.wbi]

See (501) on p. 360 for another good example of a topic in an indirect relationship to the comment.

Note finally that it is important to distinguish the syntactic position of the topic, a peripheral position of the clause, from the slot immediately preceding the verb complex. This position hosts a constituent that is in focus, or that makes up the comment together with the verb complex, and interacts with the Orientation marking on the verb—see §10.2.2.

16.2.3 Adjuncts

Non-arguments follow the same basic ordering principles as arguments, so an adjunct appears in the pre-verbal position if it is under focus or if it forms a comment unit together with the verb. See e.g. Sections 10.1.3.5 and 10.1.4.1 for examples of adverbials placed in the pre-verbal position. There is a class of common adverbial expressions that always (or almost always) occur in the pre-verbal position. I describe these in a separate section, §16.3.

A very noticeable feature of Marind narratives is the importance of locations. This is manifested by the frequent placement of locative adverbials in the pre-verbal position, especially the demonstrative elements *epe* 'there' and *e=* 'here' (the clitic version of Proximal *ehe* is used in this position). See §10.2.2.1 for examples of this.

Subordinate clauses show little integration into the main clause and are often realized under a separate intonation contour, as in (874).

(874) *e-he* *mayan* *ɣa* *k-a* *ay,* *kipa* *ah-e-p-* *ol⟨e⟩b* *e-pe*
III-PROX speech real NEUT-3sg.A Q [net(III) DEP-2pl.A-CT- sell⟨III.U⟩ III-DIST]
'Is it the truth? That you sold the net.' [0091.261029016.1.wbi]

16.3 Pre-verbal adverbials

The six expressions discussed here appear in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb complex. Their meanings include negation (*mbya*) and various temporal-aspectual notions (the rest).

Since the pre-verbal position is the site for the expression of focused constituents (Section 10.2) it is likely that some or all of these six words grammaticalized from lexical material that was placed in focus. It will be seen that the source constructions for these developments are reconstructable for four of the words, which helps us make sense of their synchronic function and the fact that they are heterosemous, since the original source expressions still exist in the language, although in other functions.

A central phenomenon in Marind morphosyntax are the so called Orientation prefixes that signal the function of whatever constituent is placed in the pre-verbal position. In the following subsections I will mention what Orientation prefix is associated with each pre-verbal modifier, but the reader must consult Chapter 10 for a full account of the Orientation system.

Of the adverbials described below, *ɣe* ('Ingressive'; §16.3.5), *lun* ('no hesitation'; §16.3.6) and *adeh* ('Relinquitive'; §16.3.7) seem to be specific to the Western dialect, because they are not attested in the missionary data on the Eastern dialect (Geurtjens 1933, Drabbe 1955).

16.3.1 Negator *mbya*

Negation is realized by means of *mbya* placed before the verb complex (875). The verb is always marked with the Neutral Orientation prefixes (ø- in non-present time contexts, *k*- in present).

(875) *mbya* *ø-a-* *man*
NEG NEUT-3sg.A- come
'S/he didn't come.'

Marind lacks alternative strategies for expressing negation (with the exception of the Prohibitive, i.e. a negated command, Section 17.1.4), meaning that there is no special construction for forming e.g. constituent negation. Placing *mbya* before a nominal does not negate the nominal, but has the maximalizing meanings 'all, completely' or 'every': cf. *mbya patul* 'all boys' (as in 'they were all boys/only boys') and *mbya ɣanid* 'every day'. To restrict the scope of negation to a certain constituent, a standard negated clause such as the one in (875) is used, in which the negated constituent is placed before *mbya* and given prosodic prominence: *María mbya a-man* 'MARY didn't come (it was Bill who did)'.

It is surprising that *mbya* has almost opposite meanings with verbs ('not V') and with nominals ('all, completely N'), but there is a clear diachronic explanation for

this situation that I will outline now.

At an earlier stage, pre-Marind must have had a negator of a shape similar to **tea*. Reflexes of this old negative morpheme survive as the negative particle *tuy* in Central Marind, which is closely related to Coastal Marind, and the negative prefix *tea-* in the Upper Bian language, which is more distantly related to the other two. It is also likely that the segment *ta-* in the Coastal Marind Prohibitive prefix *tamohat-* continues the pre-Marind negator.

Pre-Marind also had a word **mba*, with a meaning similar to that of the Coastal Marind adnominal *mbya* (in the coastal villages between Wambi in the west and Domande in the east) and *mba* (in coastal villages west of Wambi and east of Domande), viz. 'all, completely'. I assume that speakers along the coast often added this word before the negator for emphasis, giving something like **mba tea* 'not at all'. With time, this sequence merged into a monomorphemic, non-emphatic negator, giving Wambi (and all villages until Domande) **mba tea* > **mbea* > *mbya*, and other coastal villages **mba tea* > *mbat*. (This dialectal difference is an important shibboleth and is usually mentioned by Marind speakers when asked about dialect variation.)

This development—the evolution of negation through the reanalysis of a reinforcing emphatic as the negator—is familiar from various languages, and has become known as Jespersen's Cycle (Dahl 1979; cf. Jespersen 1917).[1] Identifying this diachronic origin of today's negation allows us to make sense of several synchronic facts. First, it explains why *mbya* has so different interpretations with nominals ('all N') and with verbs ('not V'): the adnominal use reflects the original function of the word. Second, it explains the strictly pre-verbal position of the negator *mbya*, since this is the position in which emphasized or focused constituents are realized in Marind (Section 10.2). Third, the development **mba tea* > **mbea* > *mbya* gives a clue to the odd phonological shape of the negator, which is the only word in Marind that begins with a CG-cluster where the first consonant is not /k/ (there are many words with CG-clusters, but all starts with either *kw-* or *ky-*).

16.3.2 *tanama* 'again'

This form, which is identical to the gender III form of the adjective *tanamV* 'old', usually appears in the pre-verbal slot, with the verb marked by the Directional prefix *k-*. It seems likely that this structure originally meant something like 'back to the old

[1] Marind differs from the most cited case, that of French, since it is a 'maximizing' particle (**mba* 'all, completely') rather than a minimizer (French *pas* 'step' in *ne…pas* 'not [walk etc.] a step') that has given rise to the innovative negator.

[place]' (cf. the section on the Directional *k-*: §10.1.4.4). It is most common with motion verbs:

(876) *tanama ka-n- dahetok*
again DIR-3pl.A- return
'They returned/went home again.' [0015.04092015.1.wbi]

With non-motion verbs *tanama* gives restitutive ('back to the previous situation'), as in (877), as well as repetitive readings ('for a second time'), as in (878). There is a tendency to add the inflectional repetitive prefix *i-* (also with the meaning 'again') to the verb in these contexts, as is done in these two examples.

(877) About the ailing hibiscus tree outside my house.
kiwal lek k-ø-um- w-a kahwid,
wind from DIR-3sg.A-FRUS- 3sg.U-AUX die:III
yah tanama k-ø-i- ay
but again DIR-3sg.A-RE- become
'[The tree] almost died from the wind, but then it lived again.'
[nb04.19.wbi]

(878) *usus basik tanama k-i-n-i-a-y- w-asib*
afternoon pig again DIR-3pl>1-1.DAT-RE-1.DAT-1pl- 3sg.U-hit
'In the afternoon they killed a pig for us again.' [0269.27112016.3.wbi]

The positioning of *tanama* is less strict than for the other pre-verbal adverbials, and it is also possible to place it in other positions of the clause.

16.3.3 *ndom* 'still'

This is the only 'phasal' adverbial in Marind, i.e. there are no other expressions corresponding to 'already', 'no longer' or 'not yet' (cf. van der Auwera 1998).

(879) *usus mbya ø-a- ay, ɣanid ndom ø-d-a- ola katane*
afternoon NEG NEUT-3sg.A- become day still NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be sun
'It had not become afternoon, it was still noon.' [0193.27112016.4.wbi]

The origin of *ndom* is unknown, so it is not clear whether its strict pre-verbal placement has anything to do with being in focus. There is a homophonous additive focus

particle *ndom* 'too', apparently restricted to comitative motion contexts ('bring someone too'), but this particle is not sufficiently well understood to tell how it is related to the temporal *ndom* 'still'.

16.3.4 *oso* 'just about to V, just V-ed'

This word is also a noun meaning 'start, beginning'. It is used before a verb (always marked with the Object Orientation prefix *m-*) as a temporal/aspectual particle 'just about to V' (880) or 'had just V-ed' (881). In the former use it is typically used to indicate that some event was interrupted by another just before its culmination.

(880) *yahun luk oso m-ak-ap- hwis epe*
canoe from:II start OBJ-1.A-CT- descend there
'I was just about to step down from the truck[, when X said…]'
[0428.27112016.4.wbi]

(881) *Henki oso m-a- kisa agu, Apliw u-he*
H. start OBJ-3sg.A- grab PROW:II A. II-PROX
'Henki had just married what's-her-name, Apliw.' [0520.08092016.1.wbi]

If the intervening event means that the attempted action fails, the Frustrative prefix *um-* (§14.4.1) is added:

(882) *oso m-um-ø- toman kala nanggo,*
start OBJ-FRUS-3sg.A- descend.to.swamp depression toward
dalo t-e-nd-a- kuhas⟨e⟩b
mud GIV-III-LOC-3sg.A- get.stuck⟨3sg.U⟩
'He was about to enter the swamp, and that's when he got stuck in the mud.'
[0030.30082015.5.wbi]

(883) The context following this line describes how the participants pitched a tent to protect them from the rain.
oso m-ak-um-e- hok e-pe, ɣe t-e-nd-a- ɣanid-a-m
start OBJ-1.A-FRUS-1pl- many.lie III-DIST rain GIV-III-LOC-3sg.A- push-EXT-VEN
'We were just about to sleep, that's when the rain started.'
[0828.16092016.1.wbi]

Compare Kuteva's (1998) investigation of constructions meaning 'was on the verge of V-ing, but didn't V', which she labels avertive constructions.

16.3.5 Ingressive *ɣe*

Although this marker (and its variant *ɣiti*, mostly used by younger speakers) is extremely common, its function is very hard to nail down. It precedes the verb, which invariably carries the Object Orientation prefix *m-*, and it has no other use outside this construction. Speakers translate verbs preceded by *ɣe* as 'start to V' (Malay *mulai* + V), which is why I label the marker the 'Ingressive'. Indeed, a translation with English 'start' often seems appropriate:

(884) *nama nd-a- umak-em a, k-a-p- han,*
now LOC-3sg.A- be.running-VEN PTCL DIR-3sg.A-CT- put:III.U
nok ɣe m-ak-e- ɣokun namakad
1 INGRS OBJ-1.A-1pl- put.inside:III.U thing(III)
'Then the truck was coming, it stopped, and we started loading the things.'
[0031.27112016.4.wbi]

However, it is often completely unclear how 'start' fits into the sentence, as when the verb preceded by *ɣe* unambiguously marks the entry of a state or process even without *ɣe*. This is the case in (885), since the verb *atin* 'stand up, come to a standstill' denotes a punctual action (the 'beginning' of being in a standing position).

(885) *Lukas ɣe m-a- atin, "Yawim, aw!"*
L. INGRS OBJ-3sg.A- stand.up Y. EXCLAM
'Lukas stood up, [and said:] "Hey, Yawim!".' [0635.08092016.1.wbi]

It is not easy to understand what contribution 'begin' could make in this context, yet, the speaker with whom I translated this text provided a Malay translation with *mulai berdiri* 'start to stand', which sounds as odd in Malay as it does in English (given this context), so it looks like a Marind calque. It is likely that *ɣe* in addition to the ingressive meaning has some other, not yet understood, meaning, but that speakers generalize Malay *mulai* 'start' to cover all of these uses.

The construction *ɣe m-…- V* is extremely frequent in texts, and occurs more than 300 times in my corpus, so a better account of its function should be a priority for future research.

16.3.6 *lun* 'without hesitation'

This marker always co-occurs with the Directional Orientation prefix *k-* on the verb, and means something similar to 'without hesitation', 'straight away' or 'directly'.

Speakers mostly translate it to Malay *langsung* which has this meaning, although one speaker, when asked, pointed out that there is some difference between ***lun*** and Malay ***langsung*** although he could not identify it more precisely.

(886) *anep tamuɣ alilala ø-d-a- ola,*
EMPH:III food(III) ready NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:III.U
lun k-an-d-e- naɣat e-pe, tamuɣ k-ak-e- ɣahwiɣ
NO.HES DIR-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.go III-DIST food DIR-1.A-1pl- eat
'The food was done, we went directly, then we started eating.'
[0023-0024.23092016.7.wbi]

16.3.7 Relinquitive *adeh*

The word *adeh* occurs before the Object Orientation prefix *m-* and forms a command urging the addressee to inaction, i.e. to let the situation expressed by the verb continue without interference:

(887) Referring to the left-overs from a feast.
ihwatok e-pe adeh m-a- ibotok-a,
remains(III) III-DIST RLQ OBJ-3sg.A- put.PLA:III.U-EXT
anim i-pe es nda-me-n- sasaɣi
people I/II.pl-DIST back LOC-FUT-3pl.A- work
'Let the left-overs remain lying, people will take care of it later.'
[0277.27112016.3.wbi]

The most common use of the Relinquitive is in a copula clause expressing that the subject should remain in place. With a 3rd person subject the meaning is 'let it be' etc. With a 1st person subject, 'let's stay here', as in (888). With a 2nd person subject, the meaning is 'you stay here' as in (889). Recall from §15.4 that the copula in non-past contexts consist of the prefixal complex without any following verb stem.

(888) *adeh m-ak-e-ka nok, yamu ka-p-o-y-p- takin*
RLQ OBJ-1.A-1pl-PRI 1 mourning.feast DIR-FUT:1.A-3sg.DAT-1pl-CT- wait
'Let's stay here for now, we will wait for the mourning feast.'
[0233.17102016.1.wbi]

(889) *adeh m-e yoɣ*
RLQ OBJ-2pl.A 2pl
'You stay here.' (don't come with me) [0013.28062015.3.wbi]

I have no information on the origin or meaning of *adeh*. The word is not attested in other functions.

16.4 Secondary predication

This section concerns the function of expressions like *ihwla* 'crying' in (890) and *amamun* 'whole' in (891). The construction that these expressions instantiate shares a number of semantic and morphosyntactic properties that distinguish it from standard adverbial-like expressions in Marind. Some of these properties are similar to those of English *naked* in *I wrote the letter naked*, i.e. the types of expressions called 'depictive attributes' (Halliday 1967) or, more generally, 'secondary predicates'. This section draws on the studies in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004 and Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005.

(890) *ihw-la ø-no-d- yet*
be.crying-PTCP:I NEUT-1.A-DUR- be.moving
'I [male] was walking along crying.' [nb04.98.wbi]

(891) *amamun m-a- kusatok*
whole OBJ-3sg.A- swallow
'S/he swallowed it whole.' [nb04.86.wbi]

The main properties that characterize secondary predicates in Marind are:

i. A secondary predicate conveys information about one of the participants (the controlling argument) in the event. Typically, it expresses a state or an activity that holds at the reference time of the main predicate of the clause.

ii. The secondary predicate, if it is headed by a target capable of gender agreement, agrees in gender with the controlling argument.

iii. A secondary predicate placed in the pre-verbal slot triggers the use of the Orientation prefix corresponding to the role of the controlling argument.

iv. The secondary predicate is not referential, and does not realize an argument.

Criterion (i) differentiates secondary predicates from standard adverbials, which add information about the event expressed by the verb or clause as a whole, rather than about a participant. The expressions *ihwluk* 'crying' and *amamun* 'whole' in the preceding examples describe the respective participants (the walking person/the eaten item), not a special type of walking/eating event. Compare this to adverbials meaning 'to school' or 'fast' which would describe the event rather than the participants. Secondary predicates describing states are formed with adjectives (e.g. *amamun* 'whole') or nouns (giving e.g. similative meanings, see below). Participles (§4.5.3) describe either a state or—like *ihwluk* in (890)—an activity, depending on the semantics of the base verb.

Criterion (ii) was illustrated by the agreeing participle *ihwla* in (890) above. Another illustration is provided by the agreeing postposition *lVk* in (892), which forms a secondary predicate with the action noun *walak* 'speed, fast running'. In (a), the secondary predicate describes the A-argument of the verb 'see', i.e. 'I', and agrees in gender I (whose members are male humans). This clause does not indicate the gender of the O-argument of 'see'. In (b), the same expression is used to describe the O-argument. Gender agreement is with gender II, so the controlling argument is either an animal or a female human (see Chapter 6).

(892) a. *walak lek ø-no- idih*
running from:I NEUT-1.A- see:3sg.U
'I [male] saw him/her/it running (=while I was running).'

b. *walak luk ma-no- idih*
running from:II OBJ-1.A- see:3sg.U
'I saw her/it running (=while she/it was running).' [nb04.87.wbi]

Criterion (iii) explains how we are able to determine that *walak lek* in (892a) describes the A-argument, while *walak luk* in (b) describes the O-argument. The main predicate in (a) bears the Neutral Orientation prefix (realized as ø- in past time contexts; §10.1.2), which signals that the constituent in the pre-verbal syntactic slot corresponds to the S/A-argument. In (b) the Object Orientation prefix *m-* (§10.1.3) indicates that the constituent corresponds to the O-argument. (I have no data on secondary predicates describing participants in roles other than S, A and O, e.g. recipients).

Criterion (iv) distinguishes secondary predicates from arguments. Secondary predicates describe arguments, and do not realize them. Since secondary predicates are not referential they never appear determined by demonstratives. This also

explains why secondary predicates seemingly may cause mismatches in the person indexing. Consider the expression *mbya yaba-anim*, roughly 'all big people' or 'only big people' in (893). If this expression realized the subject of the clause, we would expect the verb to show person indexing according to 3rd person plural, and the translation to be 'They were all big people…'. In fact, this expression describes the subject argument 'we' as consisting of plus-size people. The secondary predicate does not realize the argument, and does not interact with the person indexing in the verb.

(893) Explaining why a platform broke.

mbya	*yaba-anim*	*ø-nan-d-e-p-*	*hamat-a*	*isala*
all	big-people	NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl–CT-	many.sit-EXT	platform

'All of us were big people sitting on the platform.' [0091.27112016.4.wbi]

The preceding examples showed secondary predicates describing activities, as in (890), and physical states (891). It is also common for secondary predicates to have proprietive or comitative meaning ('having X, with X'), expressed by the postposition *tV*, or privative meaning ('lacking X, without X'), expressed by the postposition *nV*.

The following example illustrates a secondary predicate with *nV* 'without'. The verb 'run around' functions as a transitive verb 'run around with, bring along' due to the presence of the Accompaniment prefix *e-*. The secondary predicate *baju ne* 'shirtless, without a shirt' describes the O-argument *nalakam* 'child' (here, a boy) as indicated by the use of the Object Orientation prefix *m-* on the verb, and the gender I form of the postposition *nV*. The same secondary predicate used to describe the A-argument (the parents bringing the boy along) would have triggered the Neutral Orientation prefix, and the plural form *ni* 'without:I/II.pl', since they A-argument 'they' is plural.

(894) Describing a picture from the Family Problems picture task.

nalakam	*baju*	*ne*	*ma-n-e-*	*aɣa⟨h⟩it-la*
child	shirt(m)	without:I	OBJ-3pl.A-ACPN-	run.around⟨2|3pl.U⟩-EXT

'They are bringing along the [male] child without a shirt.'

[0238.19052015.2.dmh]

See §3.3.6.2 for basic examples of *ti* forming secondary predicates with a proprietive/comitative meaning. Here I note that there are various idiomatic secondary predicates headed by *tV*. For example, it can form a secondary predicate expressing sound emission, as in (895). In (896) the expression *kin ti*, lit. 'with eyes' (something

like 'be all eyes', i.e. be fully awake and alert) first appears predicated by the copula (I treat copula clauses as a separate from secondary predication, see §15.4) and then as a secondary predicate describing the O-argument of the verb 'return with' (again, this is a verb that has been transitivized by the Accompaniment prefix *e-*).

(895) From a hunting story: making noise while chasing a pig.

kuku ti ø-nan-d-e- nayat
IDEO with:I/II.pl NEUT-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.go
'We went [while screaming] "kuku".' [0553.16092016.1.wbi]

(896) The speaker had asked her husband to take their toddler for a walk, in the hope that the toddler would fall asleep.

anep kin ti ø-d-a- ola, kin ti m-ø-e- dahetok
EMPH:I eye with:I NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U eye with:I OBJ-3sg.A-ACPN- return
'He was all eyes, [my husband] brought him back with eyes wide open.'
[0136-0137.17102016.1.wbi]

Another common function of secondary predicates is to quantify one of the arguments, e.g. by means of a numeral (897) or an adjective such as *sam* 'big', which can have the meaning 'much, lots of' in this context' (898).

(897) *mandin a, amay u-he, inah ø-nam-bat-e- asik-a-ti*
long.ago PTCL ancestor II-PROX two NEUT-1.A-AFF-1pl- hunt-EXT-DUR
'Long ago, [with] this old lady, the two of us went hunting.'
[0004.21092016.1.wbi]

(898) *muy sam m-ak-e-p- ka-hu-n*
meat big OBJ-1sg.A-1pl-CT- WITH-emerge-1.U
'We brought home lots of meat.' [1113.16092016.1.wbi]

The secondary predicate may also be a plain noun and be interpreted as a similative 'like X'. The main verb is often marked with the Prioritive *ka-* as described in §14.4.3.2, but the same interpretation is sometimes possible without any special marking on the verb. The clearest corpus example of this comes from a speaker of the dialect spoken in Makaling, a village to the east of Wambi. However, a speaker of the Wambi dialect with whom I discussed this sentence assured me that the same phrasing would be used in the Wambi variety as well. The noun *kyasom* 'girl' describes the subject of the sentence, i.e. the group of men to which it is addressed.

(899) The addressee and his party had met a pig in the forest, but had nothing to shoot it with. The speaker comments on their failure:

kyasom *ø-e-d-* *nayat*
girl NEUT-2pl.A-DUR- many.go
'You went like girls.' (i.e. without bringing bow and arrow)

[0064.20052015.1.mkl]

16.5 The presentational construction

The Presentational construction is used to point to a referrent that is in a position described by the verb (sitting, lying, …), or that is engaged in an activity described by the verb (sleeping, approaching, …). The construction is restricted to referring to present situations, so it is not used about past or future events, nor can the verb be punctual (since punctual events never overlap with the present). The restriction to the here-and-now means that the Presentational construction is very common in face-to-face conversation, whereas the only occurrences in narrative discourse are in reported speech attributed to the characters within the narrative.

The structure can be diagrammed as in Figure 16.1.

Figure 16.1: The Presentational construction.

(N)	DEMONSTRATIVE	(*tV-*)*k-…-hat-…-*	VERB STEM	(*-e/-la*)

From left to right, the components are:

i. Optionally, a noun or noun phrase naming the participant that one is pointing out.

ii. A demonstrative element: either the distal *Vpe* or the proximal clitic *V=*. The demonstrative agrees in gender/number with participant that one is pointing out.

iii. In the prefixal complex the present allomorph *k-* (*ka-* before consonant) of the Neutral Orientation always appears, usually preceded by the Given prefix *tV-* (the vowel *V-* shows the same agreement as the demonstrative).

iv. The Presentative prefix *hat-* (§14.3.5) is almost always added to the prefixal complex.

v. A verb stem, either inherently durative (e.g. *mil* 'be sitting') or an activity verb (e.g. *ɣi* 'eat') suffixed with the Non-Past Imperfective *-e* or the Extended *-la*.

Motion verbs meaning 'come' or suffixed with the Venitive *-em* (§14.5) are also common in the construction, as illustrated in (900) below.

Clauses with this structure can often be translated by English *There is a Noun Verb-ing*, and have a function similar to French *voilà* and *voici*. There is some variation in the realization of the construction, primarily omission of the Given prefix, as in (b), and/or the Presentative prefix (c). It is unclear if these omissions cause any differences in meaning.

(900) a. *anim i-pe t-i-ka-hat-ø- ŋayam*
people I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come
'There's people coming.' [0320.21092016.1.wbi]

b. *anim i=* *k-at-ø-* *ŋayam*
people PROX:I/II.pl= PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- many.come
'There's people coming here.' [0305.08092016.1.wbi]

c. *amay keti i-pe t-i-k-a-* *ŋayam*
ancestor APL I/II.pl-DIST GIV-I/II.pl-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come
'Grandpa and the others are coming.' [0174.17102016.2.wbi]

The next example contains two instances of the construction, with a position and an activity verb respectively.

(901) *saŋam u=* *t-u-k-at-a-p-* *mil-e,*
wallaby(II) PROX:II= GIV-II-PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A-CT- be.sitting-IPFV
u= *k-at-a-p-* *ɣi-la*
PROX:II PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A-CT- eat-EXT
'There's a wallaby sitting there, there it is eating.' [0129.21092016.1.wbi]

The status of the demonstrative element preceding the verb complex is somewhat ambiguous. It does not function as a determiner of the preceding noun, because the noun usually refers to a new, indefinite participant, and such nouns are usually not determined by demonstratives. It does not function as a locative adverbial 'here'/'there' either, because such adverbials do not agree in gender. Rather it seems that the demonstrative element combines features of both. This unique behavior is only found in the Presentational construction.

Almost all corpus attestations of the Presentational construction are with intransitive verbs, or transitive verbs used in an intransitive frame, like *ɣi* 'eat' in the second clause of (901) above. In all attestations in transitive clauses it is clearly the

A-argument that is given prominence, as in example (573) on p. 383. Thus, agreement on the demonstrative element is with the S/A-argument of the clause.

It seems, however, to be possible to find contexts in which the demonstrative element agrees with a participant that is not an S/A-argument. I have only observed this in clauses in which a bodypart is the S-argument, but in which the owner of the bodypart arguably is more important or topical, as in the second clause of (902). The first clause is a copula clause, without any verb stem (cf. §15.4). In the second clause *utup* 'lip(s)' is the S-argument of the verb *alam* 'become swollen', and the owner of the bodypart is indexed in the verb by means of the Dative prefix *e-*. The preposed demonstrative *i=* clearly agrees with the owner, and not with the bodypart, which would have triggered the gender III form *e=*.

(902) About some boys that had been beaten up.

i-he	*patul*	*i=*	*t-i-k-a,*
I/II.pl-PROX	boy	PROX:I/II.pl=	GIV-I/II.pl-PRS.NEUT-3sg.A

utup	*i=*	*k-at-ø-e-*		*alam-a*
lip(III)	PROX:I/II.pl=	PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT-		become.swollen-EXT

'Here are the boys, here are their swollen lips.' [0198.27112016.3.wbi]

Chapter 17

Non-affirmative speech acts

This chapter describes commands (§17.1), polar questions (§17.2) and content questions (§17.3).

17.1 Commands

This section describes the following types of expressions: commands with the Imperative *ah-* ('Verb!'; 17.1.1), the Jussive *anam-* ('Make him/her Verb!'; §17.1.2), the Hortative ('Let me Verb!'; §17.1.3), and the Prohibitive series ('Don't Verb!'; §17.1.4). There is an additional type of command formed with the Relinquitive *adeh*, discussed in §16.3.7.

17.1.1 Singular and plural imperatives

The Imperative prefix appears on the left edge of the prefixal complex. In the templatic model (Chapter 7) it is a multi-class prefix, incompatible with all prefixes belonging to position classes –17 to –12. Examples:

(903) a. *ah- ɣi!*
IMP- eat
'Eat!' [0479.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *a-bat- man!*
IMP-AFF- come
'Come here!' [0206.16092016.1.wbi]

c. *ah-ap- ambid!*
IMP-CT- sit.down
'Sit down!' [0166.28062015.2.wbi]

The leftmost prefix with which the Imperative occurs is the Affectionate *bat-*, of class –11, as in (903b). (The *bat*-prefix softens a command). Note the pre-consonantal loss of /h/ (§2.5.4) in (903b). /h/ is unaffected when *ah-* appears as the sole prefix, as in (a), or before a vowel-initial prefix, as in (c).

If the addressee of the command is plural, the Plural Imperative suffix *-em* is added:

(904) a. *yoɣ da ah- i-k⟨y⟩amin-em*
2pl sago IMP- WITH-⟨2|3pl.U⟩enter-PL.IMP
'Bring the sago inside, you all!' [0437.27112016.4.wbi]

b. *ah- waɣaman-em!*
IMP- many.stand-PL.IMP
'Stand up!' [0189.27112016.3.wbi]

The Plural Imperative suffix is optional with a single verb, 'come', which has the suppletive plural stem *naɣam*. Both variants *ah-naɣam!* and *ah-naɣamem!* 'you all come!' are common and have the same meaning. Other suppletive verbs, such as *waɣaman* 'many stand' in (904b) above, are obligatorily suffixed with *-em* if the addressee is plural.

The suffix *-em* is only used together with the Imperative *ah-*, and does not occur in any of the other command types described in the following subsections. Note also that *-em* is homophonous with the Venitive suffix *-em* (§14.5).

17.1.2 The Jussive *anam-*

The prefix *anam-* is a 3rd person imperative, most frequently used to tell the addressee to make someone else perform the action described by the verb. Jussive forms can often be translated as 'make X Verb!' or 'tell X to verb!'. Some examples are in (905). The standard 3rd person Actor prefixes are added after the Jussive prefix.

(905) a. *anam-ø- man*
JUS-3sg.A- come
'Make him/her come!' [nb04.95.wbi]

b. *isahih anam-na- kapet*
children JUS-3pl.A- climb.PLA
'Tell the children to climb up!' [0303.27112016.4.wbi]

c. *i-pe* *anim* *i-pe* *anam-ø-* *nayam-em*
I/II.pl-DIST people I/II.pl-DIST JUS-ø- many.come-VEN
'Make those people come here.' [0117.04092015.1.wbi]

Sometimes the most idiomatic translation of a Jussive form uses a completely different verb, e.g. a transitive verb where Marind has an intransitive verb, as in (906a). See also example (478) on p. 342.

(906) a. *lampu* *anam-ø-* *aluy*
lamp(m) JUS-3sg.A- flame.up
'Turn the light on!' (lit. 'Make the lamp flame up!') [nb02.108.wbi]

b. From a song.
hyakod *bekay* *anm-a-na-y-* *ay*
one heart JUS-3sg.A-1.DAT-1pl- become
'Let us unite!' (lit. 'Cause our hearts to become one!') [nb04.48.wbi]

Note that the second /a/ in *anam-* is syncopated in (b) due to Antepenultimate Syncope (§2.4.2).

So-called patientive verbs (e.g. 'fall') index the sole participant by means of Undergoer prefixes on the verb stem, whereas the Actor prefix is invariable 3sg (§8.2.2.1). The Jussive is used to form a command directed at the sole argument of such verbs; it is impossible to use the Imperative *ah-* in this context. The expression *silaline win* 'become quiet' exhibits patientive indexing; a literal translation of (907) would be 'Make it silence you!'.

(907) *silaline* *anam-ø-* *y-in!*
quiet JUS-3sg.A- 2sg.U-become
'Be quiet!' [nb02.118.wbi]

The combinatorics of *anam-* differ from those of the Imperative prefix *ah-*, so I prefer to describe the two prefixes as separate categories rather than a single imperative paradigm with different person forms. The Imperative *ah-* is a multi-class prefix and may not be preceded by any other prefixes in the prefixal complex. The Jussive, on the other hand, can be preceded by e.g. the Orientation prefixes of position class –16 such as Restrictive *s-* or Directional *k-* (908). Unlike the Imperative *ah-*, the Jussive may be used with the Auxiliary *wa*, e.g. in the Auxiliary construction with a preposed verb stem, as in (b) (see §15.2.2 for this construction), and in the Thetic Predication construction (§15.3.1).

(908) a. *in k-anam-a-p- ika-hay!*
middle DIR-JUS-3sg.A-CT- INESS-fall
'Fill half of the bottle!' (lit. 'Make it fall to the middle') [nb04.74.wbi]

b. *timte-o- lay-e yoy, lay s-anam-ø- w-a-um*
PROH:2pl.A-3sg.DAT- talk-IPFV 2pl talk ONLY-JUS-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX-CTFT
'Don't talk to him, just let him keep talking!' [0004.20052015.1.dmh]

c. *k-anam-ø- w-a ye⟨y⟩ab!*
DIR-JUS-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX slip⟨2sg.U⟩
'Slide down!' [0202.27082015.1.wbi]

Note that the verb *yey* 'slip, slide' in (c) is patientive, like 'become quiet' in (907) above, so the Jussive is added to express an imperative with this verb.

The exact position of the Jussive in the prefixal template (see Figure 7.1 on p. 205) is somewhat uncertain. I tentatively assign the prefix to position class –14 based on elicited data, but more work is needed on the morphotactic properties of *anam-*.

17.1.3 The Hortative *mat-*

The prefix *mat-* (*mata-* before a consonant) is primarily used to urge the addressee(s) to let the speaker perform the action expressed by the verb, as in (909). The Prioritive *ka-* is often added to make the appeal sound less intrusive. Often forms with *mat-* are used as a polite way of announcing one's plans. Example (909b) was uttered as the speaker stood up and left the conversation that was being recorded. The speaker was not expecting any explicit permission from the addressees, but it would be impolite to just get up and leave without any signal.

(909) a. Addressing a child.
oy Mikaela ah- man ago, mata-ka- yana⟨y⟩ab
2sg M. IMP- come PROW HORT-PRI- carry.on.hip⟨2sg.U⟩
'Come here Mikaela, let me carry you.' [0384.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *nok mata-ka- kw-atin*
1 JUS-PRI- INESS-stand.up
'Let me stand up.' [0365.16092016.1.wbi]

With the role-neutral 1pl prefix *e-* present, *mat-* usually expresses an appeal to the addressee to join the speaker in the action:

(910) *nggol* *mat-e-* *kap⟨i⟩tuk*
betel.leaf(IV) HORT-1pl- break.off⟨IV.U⟩
'Let's pluck betel leafs.' [0298.17102016.2.wbi]

Almost all examples of 1pl Hortatives have an 'inclusive' meaning (including the addressee in the action), but 1pl Hortatives may also be used to ask the addressee to allow an action to be performed by a group that includes the speaker but excludes the addressee, as in the following example.

(911) *yoɣ* *adeh* *me* *yoɣ,* *nok* *mat-e-ka-* *toman*
2pl RLQ FUT:2|3pl.A 2pl 1 HORT-1pl-PRI- descend
'You stay here, we will go down to the swamp.' [0075.28062015.3.wbi]

The Hortative is occasionally used as an appeal to inaction, i.e. to ask the addressee to let someone perform an action without being disturbed (912a), or to let an item be (b). These functions are more commonly expressed by means of the Relinquitive particle *adeh* (see §16.3.7).

(912) a. Telling some stalkers off.
i-he *iwag* *mat-namb-e-* *nayat,*
I/II.pl-PROX woman HORT-1.GEN-1pl- many.be.moving
nahan *ke* *en* *iwag* *k-a*
1.EMPH APL POSS woman PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'Let our women keep walking, they are our women'
[0212.08092016.1.wbi]

b. Referring to chopped-off pieces of *dapa* (III) 'sago bark'.
mat- *ibotok-a*
HORT- put.PLA:III.U-EXT
'Let them lie there.' [0128.17102016.1.wbi]

The Hortative prefix is similar to the Imperative in its distribution and appears leftmost in the prefixal complex, never preceded by other prefixes.[1] *mat-* is not attested with any prefixes from classes –17 through –11, so I describe it as a multi-class prefix spanning those positions. The leftmost prefix with which it occurs is the Reciprocal, itself a multi-class item filling positions –10 and –9:

[1]Drabbe 1955: 131 gives one example from the eastern variety of Coast Marind of *mat-* preceded by the Given prefix of position class –17. This combination does not occur in the western variety described here.

(913) *mat-enam- na-sak-e*
HORT-RCPR- 1.U-hit-IPFV
'Let them fight each other.' [nb03.25.wbi]

17.1.4 The Prohibitive series: *tamohat-* etc.

The Prohibitive prefix series serve to express negative commands, i.e. 'Don't Verb!'.

(914) *awe tamohat- ah⟨e⟩b! imu tu k-a*
fish(II) PROH:2sg.A- eat⟨3sg.U⟩ smell with:II PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'Don't eat the fish! It's rotten.' [nb03.81.wbi]

The Prohibitive prefix series derive from originally transparent combinations of prefixes that have been fossilized as units, and various phonological irregularities have been introduced in this process. I will first introduce the 'basic' forms and explain their origin, which will be of help in understanding the alternations affecting these series. The Prohibitive spans position classes –17 to –11, except that the sequence *hat* in *tamohat-* may be replaced by the Affectionate *bat-* of position class –11, as explained below. The Prohibitive may not be preceded by other prefixes.

Table 17.1 gives the paradigm according to person/number of the potential Actor of the verb. The 3rd person forms mean 'Don't let him/her/them do it!'.

	SG	PL
2	*tamohat- og!*	*tamehat- og!*
3	*tapahat-ø- og!*	*tapahat-na- og!*

Table 17.1: The Prohibitive 'Don't do it!' etc.

These forms are partly decomposable. We can identify *hat-* as the prefix discussed in §14.3.5, while the preceding *mo-*, me- and *p-* are the Future prefixes for 2sg, 2pl, and 3rd person respectively. The usual 3pl Actor prefix *n-* (or *na-*) distinguishes 3pl Prohibitive from the 3sg form. What about the initial *ta*-sequence? Since these forms express a negative command, a guess would be that this is a remnant of an old negative morpheme that has disappeared from the rest of the language. This hypothesis is confirmed by comparative data: the related language spoken at the Upper Bian, Bian Marind, is more conservative in this respect and retains the cognate prefix *tea-* as its standard negator (cf. discussion in §16.3.1). Thus, for all persons the same straightforward scenario can be posited, here illustrated for 2sg:

(915) Reconstruction of the Prohibitive

* *ta-mo-hat-*	*og*	>	*tamohat-*	*og*
NEG-2sg.A.FUT-PRSTV-	do		PROH:2sg-	do

which in turn has been subject to further changes resulting in partly interchangeable variants, as explained below.

Before turning to allomorphy, it should be noted that the sequence *hat* in *tamohat-* etc. can be replaced by the Affectionate prefix *bat-* (§14.3.3) as in

(916) *sapi* *tamobat-* *w-asib!*
cow(m) PROH:2sg.A:AFF- 3sg.U-hit
'Don't hit that poor cow!' [nb03.81.wbi]

which shows that the forms are still partly decomposable. However, *hat-* does not contribute to the meaning of the Prohibitive in any detectable way, so the long forms *tamohat* etc. will not be segmented in the interlinear glosses.

The allomorphic variations are as follows. If a vowel-initial prefix is added after *tamohat-* etc., two changes occur. For 2sg, the sequence *-amo-* is metathesized producing /tomahat-/. The /o/ in this form undergoes vowel gradation to [u] (§2.5.1), giving *tumahat-*. However, the /h/ is subject to intravocalic /h/-deletion (§2.5.4.2), giving the actual form *tumat-*. The 2pl forms show corresponding metathesis of /ame/ to *-ima-* (via gradation of /e/ to [i]), giving *timat-*. The 3rd person forms are only affected by /h/-deletion, as seen in the paradigm in Table 17.2.

	SG	PL
2	*tumat-ap- laɣ!*	*timat-ap- laɣ!*
	'don't talk!'	'don't talk!'
3	*tapat-ap- laɣ!*	*tapt-an-ap- laɣ!*
	'don't let him/her talk!'	'don't let them talk!'

Table 17.2: The Prohibitive + *ap-* 'CT'
'Don't talk!' etc.

If addition of morphological material results in two syllables following the Prohibitive prefixes, the final /a/ in *tumat* etc. will be elided in accordance with Antepretonic Syncope (§2.4.2), giving *tumt-*, *tapt-* etc. Examples with the Reciprocal *enam-*:

(917) a. *timt-enam- na-sak!*
PROH:2pl-RCPR- 1.U-fight
'Don't fight each other!'

b. *tapt-enam- na-sak!*
PROH-RCPR- 1.U-fight
'Don't let them fight each other!' [nb02.82.wbi]

(The 2nd and 3rd person Actor prefixes are always replaced by the Reciprocal *enam-*, as described in §12.4.1).

The only consonant-initial prefixes that may follow the Prohibitive are the 1st person Dative (*na-*) and Genitive (*namb-*) prefixes. Intervening between the Prohibitive and these prefixes we do not find epenthetic /a/ as expected, but a vowel corresponding to the Actor prefix: /o/ for 2sg Prohibitives, and /e/ for 2pl (affected by vowel gradation to *u* and *i* as described in §2.5.1). I refer to these vowels as 'intrusive' 2nd person Actor prefixes in Section 8.2.1.4, since they intrude without being licensed by the position class schema.

(918) *timt-i-n-ind-a-y- hayad-a*
PROH:2pl.A-2pl.A-1.DAT-ALL-1.DAT-1pl- disturb-EXT
'Don't disturb us!' [nb02.61.dmh]

A 2pl Actor intrusive *e-* also occurs before the vowel-initial prefix *o-* '3sg.DAT' and *omb-* '3sg.GEN'. Since an /o/ following an /e/ always syllabifies separately, usually preceded by an epenthetic glide [j] in casual speech, it effectively behaves as if it were a consonant-initial sequence.

(919) *timt-e-o- lay-e*
PROH:2pl.A-2pl.A-3sg.DAT- talk-IPFV
'Don't talk to him!' [20052015.1.mkl]

The reason why the 'intrusive' Actor prefixes are present in these forms is probably related to the preferred placement of heavy syllables described in §2.2.1. Note that forms such as *timteo-* (with the Actor marker *e-* intruding before *o-*) syllabify as [tim.te.ˈjo], which is one of the preferred patterns (CVC.CV.*σ́*) described in §2.4.2. It is not known why the standard epenthetic /a/ is not used, however.

The alternations are visible in the paradigm in Table 17.3.

	2sg.A		2pl.A	
	POSS SG	POSS PL	POSS SG	POSS PL
1	*tumt-o-nam- gat-a* 'Don't listen to me!'	*tumt-u-namb-e- gat-a* '…to us!'	*timt-e-nam- gat-a* '…to me!'	*timt-i-namb-e- gat-a* '…to us!'
3	*tumat-om- gat-a* 'Don't listen to him/her!'	*tumat-em- gat-a* '…to them!'	*timt-e-om- gat-a* '…to him/her!'	*timat-em- gat-a* '…to them!'

Table 17.3: The Prohibitive + Genitive.
'Don't listen to X['s voice]!'

17.2 Polar questions

There are three strategies for forming polar questions: the Present Polar Question prefix *Vk-* (§17.2.1), the Past Polar Question prefix *ap-* (§17.2.2) and the sentence-final particle *ay* (§17.2.3). Polar questions can be answered with *ahak* 'yes' or *mbya ka* 'no'. It is also common to reply by giving a full affirmative sentence, as shown in examples (923) and (926) below.

17.2.1 Present Polar Question *Vk-*

The Present Polar Question (glossed PRS.Q) is used to form yes/no-question about states or activities (920a) or habitual situations (b) overlapping with the present. The prefix is made up of two substrings: a vowel showing gender agreement, and the segment *-k-*. Like other compound affixes I do not segment the substrings in the morphemic analysis.

(920) a. *rusa* *ik-o-* *hyadih-e* *i-he?*
deer(m) PRS.Q:I/II.pl-2sg.A- see:2|3pl.U-IPFV I/II.pl-PROX
'Do you see the deer?' [0043.21092016.1.wbi]

b. *sopi* *ek-o-* *ɣi-e?*
palm.liquor(m)(III) PRS.Q:III-2sg.A- drink-IPFV
'Do you drink *sopi*?' [nb03.27.wbi]

One of the most frequent uses of *Vk-* is in copula clauses, to ask about existence or possession (921). The present tense copula consists of the prefixal complex alone, without any following verb stem (see §15.4).

(921) *ngganggin* *e=* *ka-ø-* *n-a* *ikla⟨h⟩in,* *ik-ø-emb-e?*
croton(IV) PROX= DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX send⟨IV.U⟩ PRS.Q:IV-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN-IPFV
'I sent croton leaves here, do you have them?' [0250.27112016.3.wbi]

Another example:

(922) From a story, in which the speaker meets his sister for the first time in several years.

nok ta ka-h-am nok? ek-o- n-idih-e?
1 who:I PRS.NEUT-INT-1.A:ACT 1 PRS.Q:I-2sg.A- 1.U-see-IPFV

mayay ek-o oɣ?
able PRS.Q:I-2sg.A 2sg

'Who am I? Can you see me? Do you recognize [me]?

[0599.08092016.1.wbi]

17.2.2 Past polar question *ap-*

The prefix *ap-* is used to form yes/no-questions with past time reference. Like other forms with past reference, such questions refer to a punctual event without the Past Durative prefix *d-* (923), and to a durative event when *d-* is present (924).

(923) Discussing a hunt.

1. *ap-e- w-amuk?*
PST.Q-2pl.A- 3sg.U-hit
'Did you kill it?'

2. *mbya ø-nak-e- w-amuk*
NEG NEUT-1.A-1pl- 3sg.U-hit
'We didn't kill it.' [0464-0465.16092016.1.wbi]

(924) The speaker was trying to remember who went on an excursion to Alatep.

oɣ ap-o-d- ɣet Alatep?
2sg PST.Q-2sg.A-DUR- be.moving A.
'Did you go to Alatep?' [0096.16092016.1.wbi]

Speakers often use forms referring to the onset of a past event to talk about some presently on-going activity or current state (§13.1.2.2). The question in (925) is from a story in which the speaker and his companion hear splashing noises in the swamp, and try to see if it is humans or malevolent spirits that are causing them. Since the verb is a past non-durative form, a more literal translation would be 'Did you catch sight of anyone?'. Cf. (920a) above.

(925) *anim ap-o- hyadih?*
people PST.Q-2sg.A- see:2|3pl.U
'Do you see anyone?' [0330.21092016.1.wbi]

17.2.3 Sentence final *ay*

As mentioned in Section 3.3.9.2, the particle *ay* can be used to signal that the speaker wants the addressee to confirm or reject the statement preceding the particle. There are several differences between questions formed with utterance-final *ay* and the prefixed Polar question markers *ap-* and *Vk-* described above. For example, only the strategy with *ay* can be used to form a yes/no question about the future, as in (926), since the Future prefixes are incompatible with the Polar question prefixes.

(926) Reported dialogue from a story.

a. *ndamo- ɣi ay?*
FUT:2sg.A- eat Q
'Are you going to eat?'

b. *mano- ɣahwiɣ, emel ø-a- n-ahun nok*
FUT:1.A- eat hunger NEUT-3sg.A- 1.U-become.hungry 1
'Yes I am, I am hungry.' [0076.08092016.1.wbi]

A question formed with *ay* is also the only option when the question introduces a referent from a set of possible referents, and asks the addressee if this alternative is the correct one. The question in (927) picks one of the members of the set {*amnanggib-basik* 'boar', *sah-basik* 'sow'} and asks for confirmation. Constituents that present such alternatives are always placed in the pre-verbal position (since they are within focus), and the verb is always prefixed with one of the Orientation prefixes described in Chapter 10. These prefixes are incompatible with the Polar question prefixes, so the question must be formed with *ay* instead.

(927) *amnanggib-basik ø-d-a- ola ay?*
married.man-pig NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U Q
'It was a boar, right?' [0579.16092016.1.wbi]

The same principle is at work in the following conversational excerpt. The speaker in line 1 wants to know whether Muli is the right alternative, so this constituent is

placed before the verb complex, and the statement is made into a question by adding *ay*.

(928) 1. *oɣ Muli nd-o- ihya⟨ɣ⟩on namaɣa ay?*
2sg M. LOC-2sg.A- run⟨2sg.U⟩ now Q

2. *Wewung nd-ak-e- naɣam, Wewung nda-no- man*
W. LOC-1.A-1pl- many.come W. LOC-1.A- come

3. *o Wewung nd-o- man*
EXCLAM W. LOC-2sg.A- come

1. (A:) 'You drove from Muli now, is it?'
2. (B:) 'We came from Wewung…I came from Wewung.'
3. (A:) 'Oh, you came from Wewung.' [0057-0060.16092016.1.wbi]

17.3 Content questions

This section describes content questions, i.e. questions containing interrogative phrases such as 'where?' or 'what boy?'. A related expression type, 'Self-interrogatives', a kind of rhetorical question, was mentioned in §14.3.4; some more illustrations will be given in §17.3.3 below. Both structures place the interrogative element in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the verb complex, which can be described as the focus position in Marind (see further Chapter 10, especially §10.2).

17.3.1 Morphology of content questions

The prefixal complex in a content question contains the prefix sequence *h-…b-* (*ha-* before a consonant). An example:

(929) *patul e-he namaɣa ta ka-ha-b-ø-e- umuh-e e-he*
boy I-PROX now who PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A-ACPN- go:3sg.U-IPFV I-PROX
a, Mbelom-Takah-Ahap-Kasip
PTCL M.
'This boy, who can bring him now, to Mbelom-Takah-Ahap-Kasip?'' [0272.17102016.2.wbi]

I label the prefix *h-* 'Interrogative' (INT); it has no other use outside content question constructions. I identify the prefix *b-* as the Actualis prefix of position class –11 (§14.3.1). As pointed out in §14.3.1.3, it is not possible to say what meaning is

expressed by *b-* in content questions, so I treat it as a fossilized component of this structure along with *h-*. Note, however, that *b-* may be replaced by the Affectionate prefix *bat-*, as in example (727) on p. 459.

I assign *h-* to position class –14. The prefix must be distinguished from the Dependent *ah-* (of class –15), with which it is mutually exclusive. The Dependent *ah-* is used in subordinate clauses, and unlike the Interrogative it is positionally unstable (cf. §7.3).[2]

Since the syntax of content questions dictates that the immediately pre-verbal position in a content question be filled by an interrogative phrase (e.g. *ta* 'who/what'), the verb always carries an appropriate Orientation prefix of position class –16, which marks the role of the interrogative phrase in the clause (see §10.1). The question in (929) above uses the Neutral Orientation prefix since the preceding interrogative phrase corresponds to the S/A role. The next example has the Locative Orientation *nd-* since the question asks for a source of movement.

(931) *en* *nda-ha-b-ø-* *nayam-em?*
where LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- many.come-VEN
'From where are they coming?' [nb03.22.wbi]

The 1st and 2nd person Agent prefixes occur between the *h-* and the *b-* since they belong to the intervening position, class –13. The 1.A allomorph *ak-* (§8.2.1.1) undergoes Plosive Nasalization before *b-*, and therefore always appears as *am-* in content questions.

(932) *ta* *ma-h-am-b-e-* *og?*
what OBJ-INT-1.A-ACT-1pl- do
'What did we do?'

[2] It is clear from comparative data that the Interrogative *h-* is historically distinct from the Dependent *ah-*. In the Eastern coastal variety of Marind, the Dependent is also *ah-*, but the Interrogative is *s-* (see Drabbe 1955: 113ff.). This is surprising since Western *h* and Eastern *s* do not form any regular sound correspondence (the expected forms would be *s-* in both varieties). The related language spoken in Sanggase, Central Marind, patterns with Western coastal Marind in the use of a prefix *h-* in content question, but differs from both varieties of coastal Marind in the absence of any prefix *b-* in these forms. This is seen in the following (tentatively glossed) example.

(930) Central Marind (Sanggase variety)
te *h-ø-deh-me* *oy* *u-he?*
who:I INT-3sg.A-shoot:3sg.U-ASPECT wallaby(II) II-PROX
'Who shot this wallaby?' [Alatep fieldnotes, 2015]

The corresponding verb forms with 2nd person Agent prefixes *o-* (2sg) and *e-* (2pl)—at least as pronounced in deliberately slow, elicited speech—are given below:

(933) a. *ta ma-h-o-b- og?*
what OBJ-INT-2sg.A-ACT- do
'What did you (sg) do?'

b. *ta ma-h-e-b- og?*
what OBJ-INT-2pl.A-ACT- do
'What did you (pl) do?'

In casual speech, the 2nd person forms have the following morphological peculiarity. The /a/ placed between the Focus marker and *h-* is typically assimilated to the following Agent prefix, so instead of the expected forms *mahob-* and *maheb-* (as in ex. 933) we find the forms *mohob-* and *meheb-* (934):

(934) a. *ta mo-h-o-b- og?*
'What did you (sg) do?'

b. *ta me-h-e-b- og?*
'What did you (pl) do?'

The assimilated variants in (934) are by far the most commonly heard options; the options in (933) seem to occur in deliberately slow speech only. This phonological idiosyncrasy affecting the 2sg and 2pl forms suggest that the prefix sequences *mohob-* etc. are completely lexicalized, so that it is no longer meningful to disassemble them into morphological components. In order to simplify the interlinear glossing I have chosen to write all content questions in this grammar according to the more conservative variant in (933).

The Interrogative *h-* undergoes phonologically conditioned deletion in two contexts: (i) it is always lost word-initially; (ii) it is optionally (but almost always) omitted if it occurs in any syllable other than the final syllable of the prefixal complex. Situation (i) only occurs in past-tense questions with an interrogative phrase in the S/A-role, since the Neutral Orientation prefix used with S/A-arguments in past tense has the shape ø- (i.e. zero, see §10.1.2). The loss of /h/ avoids formation of an illegal cluster *[hb] (epenthetic *a* is usually not inserted to rescue /h/ from cluster formation outside of the tonic syllable, see §2.5.4):

(935) *ta* *ø-b-a-* *ø-deh?*
who NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-shoot
'Who shoot it?' [1075.16092016.1.wbi]

If additional prefixes follow the *h-...b-* sequence, *h-* is practically always lost in casual speech, as in (936). No ambiguity arises from the deletion of /h/ since the construction is redundantly marked (in addition to *h-* and *b-* by the question word *ta*).

(936) *ta* *m-o-b-ap-* *ol⟨e⟩b?*
what OBJ-2sg.A-ACT-CT- exchange⟨III.U⟩
'What did you (sg) exchange?'

Speakers often drop *h-* even when it occurs in the final syllable of the prefixal complex, at least in fast, casual speech. As a consequence, the question *ta mohob-og?* in (934) has the shortened variant *ta mob-og?*. It seems that the *h*-prefix is on its way to becoming optional, so whenever it is absent in an example I omit it from the interlinear gloss, rather than re-instating it by means as a zero placeholder ø-.

The use of dedicated verb morphology (the sequence *h-…b-*) in content questions is a typological rarity. It is common across languages to use interrogative morphology in polar questions (e.g. Finnish interrogative suffix *-ko/-kö* or the Latin enclitic *-ne*) but employing a separate verb form for content questions appears to be rare, presumably since the presence of a question word makes the use of additional morphology redundant.[3]

17.3.2 Types of content questions

The three interrogative pronouns in Marind were presented in §3.3.4; they are: *tV* 'who, what', *Vn* 'where, which', *VntagV* (or *VntagVl*) 'what kind, how many'. This is a small inventory by cross-linguistic standards, although not exceptionally so (cf. Diessel 2003: 640–643). The inventory of semantic categories that are distinguished in content question is actually larger than the set of interrogative pronouns, since the prefixes making up the system of Verb Orientation (Chapter 10) add some further distinctions. The types of content questions are listed in Table 17.4; examples are given in the subsections below.

A structurally distinct question type expresses manner ('how?'), and does not contain any interrogative pronoun (§17.3.2.5).

[3]See however the Interrogative suffix *-wa* in Kashaya (a Pomoan language of California), which seems to mark content questions, just like its Marind counterpart (Oswalt 1961: 286).

Table 17.4: Semantic categories in content questions.

Interrogative expr.	Pred. orientation	Category
tV	NEUT/OBJ/DIR	Person/thing: who/what
en	DIR	Place: towards where
en, Vn	LOC	Place: at, from where
ta	LOC	Time: when
Vn	NEUT/OBJ/DIR	Selection: which
VntagV	NEUT/OBJ/DIR	Property/amount: what kind/how many

17.3.2.1 Person/thing: who/what? Examples of questions with the interrogative pronoun *tV* were already given in the preceding pages. Further examples are in (937). The Orientation prefix at the beginning of the prefixal complex signals the role of the interrogative phrase: Neutral Orientation (which is realized as zero in past time contexts) for the S/A-argument in (a), Object Orientation for the O-argument in (b) and (c), and the Directional Orientation flagging the recipient argument in (d); for more information about the Orientation prefixes, see §10.1. Example (c) shows that an interrogative pronoun may be used adnominally, as in *ta mayan* (lit.) 'what speech'.

(937) a. *ta ø-b-a- aɣi?*
who:I NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- say
'Who said it?' [0881.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *ta ma-h-o-b- ɣ-alit-a?*
who:I OBJ-INT-2sg.A-ACT- 2sg.U-call-EXT
'Who are you calling for?' [0168.27082015.1.wbi]

c. *ta mayan ma-b-ø-ap- laɣ-a-ti?*
what:III speech(III) OBJ-ACT-3sg.A-CT- tell-EXT-DUR
'What was he talking about?' [0031.16092016.1.wbi]

d. *ta ka-mo-b-o- ikalen?*
who:I DIR-FUT:2sg.A-ACT-3sg.DAT- send:III.U
'To whom are you going to send it?' [nb04.113.wbi]

Further distinctions are made with postpositional phrases such as *ta lek* 'because of what' (lit. 'from what') in (938a) or *ta ti* 'with whom' in (b). There are special principles governing the use of the Orientation prefixes with such expressions; for these two examples see §10.1.3.5 and §10.1.2.4 respectively.

(938) a. *ta lek ma-ha-b-na- u-sak?*
what from OBJ-INT-ACT-3pl.A- 3sg.U-hit.PLA
'Why did they beat him up?' [0190.19052015.2.dmh]

b. *ta ti ø-b-a- nayam?*
who with:I/II.pl NEUT-ACT-3sg.A- many.come
'With whom did he come?' [0168.16092016.1.wbi]

Other question types derive their meaning from the use of special verb morphology, e.g. applicative-like prefixes such as the Allative *ind-*. This prefix can be used to add an O-argument expressing purpose (see §12.3.2), as in the following example.

(939) Discussing one of the pictures in the Family Problems task.
yah kosi-patul ta ma-b-ø-ind-i- lalak-a e-he
but small-boy(I) what OBJ-ACT-3sg.A-ALL-RE- reach.up-EXT I-PROX
'But what is this little boy reaching up for?' [0119.19052015.2.dmh]

Possession ('whose') is questioned either by means of an interrogative phrase with the Possessive postposition *en*, as in (940a), or by using Genitive indexing (§8.4) on the verb, as in (b).

(940) a. *ta en ka-ha-b-ø yaba-ember?*
who:I POSS PRS.NEUT-INT-ACT-3sg.A big-bucket(m)
'Whose is this big bucket?' [0132.27082015.1.wbi]

b. *oy ta k-o-b-omb-o-p- mil-em*
2sg who:I DIR-2sg.A-ACT-3sg.GEN-3sg.DAT-CT- be.sitting-VEN
nggawil-yahun e-pe?
motor.cycle(III) III-DIST
'Whose motorcycle did you sit on coming here?' [0061.15052015.1.dmh]

The latter example could be given the more literal paraphrase 'To whom did you sit on his motorcycle?'.[4] For the copula structure in (a), see §15.4.

17.3.2.2 Place/selection: where/which? Questions about direction towards a location trigger the use of the Directional Orientation *k-*, as in (941a–b). The Directional is also used in questions about the location of punctual events in general

[4]The 3sg Dative prefix is often used with sitting verbs to describe sitting on a motorcycle.

(c). The question word *Vn* 'where, which' does not show agreement in this context since it is used adverbially, so it appears in its default gender III form *en*.

(941) a. *kipa en ka-h-e-b- kwagin?*
net(III) where DIR-INT-2pl.A-ACT- throw:III.U
'Where did you throw the net?' [nb04.23.wbi]

b. *en ka-ha-m-b-e- hok?*
where DIR-INT-FUT:1.A-ACT-1pl- many.lie.down
'Where shall we lie down [to sleep]?' [0012.23092016.7.wbi]

c. *en ka-b-a-n-is-a-y- ihwim?*
where DIR-ACT-3sg.A-1.DAT-SEP-1.DAT-1pl- become.dark
'Where did it get dark on us?' [0443.16092016.1.wbi]

(For the use of the Separative in (c) above, see §12.3.3).

The Locational Orientation *nd-* is used in questions about motion away from a source (942a) or static location (b).

(942) a. *Rovina en nda-h-o-b- man?*
R. where LOC-INT-2sg.A-ACT- come
'Rovina, where are you coming from?' [0048.04092015.1.wbi]

b. *en nda-ha-b-ø- hamat-a?*
where LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- many.sit-EXT
'Where are they sitting?' [nb04.53.wbi]

Surprisingly, the question word 'where' occasionally shows gender agreement with the subject in questions about static location, as in the copula clause in (943). This rare type of adverbial agreement seems to be completely optional, but is not uncommon in this context. According to speakers such agreement can only occur in present-tense contexts.

(943) *wanangga in nda-ha-b-ø-e?*
children where:I/II.pl LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A-IPFV
'Where are the children?' [0023.27112016.4.wbi]

Used adnominally, *Vn* means 'which'. In this use it always agrees in gender with the head noun, e.g. *un nggat?* 'which dog?' (gender II), *en aliki?* 'which river' (gender III). A remarkable exception occurs when the interrogative phrase is embedded

under the agreeing postposition *lVk* 'from' (i.e. 'from which N'). In this context the interrogative pronoun copies whatever agreement is exhibited by the postposition. In the following example, *lVk* agrees with the subject *yoɣ* 'you (pl)', so the plural agreement percolates down to *Vn* 'which' as well.

(944) *in milah lik ka-h-e-b yoɣ?*
which:I/II.pl village(III) from:I/II.pl PRS.NEUT-INT-2pl.A-ACT 2pl
'From which village are you?' [nb03.46.wbi]

17.3.2.3 Time: when? Time expressions (e.g. dates) combine with the Locative orientation on the verb, as described in §10.1.5.2. The corresponding content questions are formed by placing *ta* 'what' or a phrase such as *ta katane* 'what time' (lit. 'what sun') or *ta ɣanid* 'what day' before the verb complex. Examples:

(945) a. *muy ta nda-ha-b-ø- y-alaw e-he?*
meat(III) what LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-search III-PROX
'When did they go looking for meat?' [0166.16092016.1.wbi]

b. *ta ɣanid nda-m-b-e-p- hu-n?*
what day LOC-FUT:1.A-ACT-1pl-CT- emerge-1.U
'What day shall we go home?' [0033.28062015.4.wbi]

17.3.2.4 Property/amount: what kind/how many? The interrogative pronoun *VntagV* (or *VntagVl*, with the same meaning) is used to ask about property, i.e. 'what kind', and amount, 'how many, how much'. I gloss the interrogative pronoun 'how'. It is not clear whether there are any syntactic differences that distinguish the two meanings. During elicitation, one speaker claimed that if the interrogative pronoun is separated from the noun, as in (946a) the reading 'how many' is more likely, whereas a continuous noun phrase such as *intagi awe* in (b) would be understood as meaning 'what kind'.

(946) a. *indtagi m-o-b-ap- olab awe?*
how:I/II.pl OBJ-2sg.A-ACT-CT- buy:2|3pl.U fish(II)
'How many fish did you buy?'

b. *indtagi awe m-o-b-ap- olab?*
how:I/II.pl fish(II) OBJ-2sg.A-ACT-CT- buy:2|3pl.U
'What kinds of fish did you buy?' [nb02.25.dmh]

According to the speaker this seems to be a preference rather than a rule, so the translations above can be swapped. There is not sufficient corpus data to evaluate these intuitions, unfortunately.

Below are some more examples of the 'how many' use.

(947) a. *elel entago mandaw ma-ha-b-ø- ɣ-ahwala?*
sick how:III moon(III) OBJ-INT-ACT-3sg.A- 2sg.U-be
'How many months were you sick?' [nb03.25.wbi]

b. *intagi ø-nam-b-e- nayat*
how:I/II.pl NEUT-1.A-ACT-1pl- many.be.moving
'How many of us went?' [0381.16092016.1.wbi]

17.3.2.5 Manner questions. Manner questions ('How did you Verb' etc.) are formed using a special Auxiliary construction; this is the interrogative equivalent of the Predicated Manner construction described in §15.3.2. The verb is formed using the Locational Orientation prefix *nd-* (without any preceding interrogative phrase), the usual *h-…b-* sequence, the Auxiliary, and a following lexical verb. The Auxiliary is a middle verb and alternates by copying the person/number of the Actor argument, as described in §15.1.

Here is a question-answer pair illustrating a manner question (a) as well as the affirmative Predicated Manner construction (b):

(948) a. *nda-ha-b-ø- w-a hi-ɣ?*
LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX fall-2sg.U
'How did you fall?'

b. *e= k-a- w-a hi-n*
PROX= DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX fall-1.U
'I fell like this.' (showing) [nb02.110.wbi]

Manner questions have a rather broad range of uses. In addition to expressing manner, the same structure is used to ask 'What happened to X', as in (949a) (lit. 'How did X become?), and in metalinguistic questions such as 'How do you say "X"?', as in (b), or 'What did X say?', as in (c).

(949) a. A line from a popular song.

nok ø-nak-um-o- kabed, nda-ha-b-ø- w-a ɣ-in
1 ø-1.A-FRUS-3sg.DAT- ask LOC-INT-ACT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX 2sg.U-become
'I asked her: "What happened to you?"'

[nb04.91.wbi]

b. The speaker was trying to think of a Marind term to use in the recording.

nda-ha-m-b-e- n-a lu-e e-he, jeriken
LOC-INT-FUT:1.A-ACT-1pl- 1.A-AUX call:III.U-IPFV III-PROX jerrycan(m)(III)
e-he
III-PROX
'What shall we call them, these jerrycans?'

[0289.27112016.4.wbi]

c. *nda-b-ø-a- w-a ayi, waninggap k-a ay?*
LOC-ACT-3sg.A-2sg.DAT- 3sg.U-AUX say good PRS.NEUT-3sg.A Q
'What did he say to you? It's good right?'

[0224.16092016.1.wbi]

17.3.3 Self-interrogative questions

The structure used for content questions—with an interrogative phrase in the preverbal position—is also used to form 'self-interrogatives' marked by the prefix *bah-*, i.e. questions that express one's ignorance without being truly information-seeking (something like 'Who could have Verb-ed?', 'Who on earth Verb-ed?' etc.). General information about the meaning of these forms was given in Section 14.3.4.

Below I provide examples showing the Self-interrogative structure with some of the semantic categories that were described above for standard content questions.

Place:

(950) *nd-an-d-e- nayat eee ago,*
LOC-1.A-DUR-1pl- many.be.moving all.the.way.to PROW:III
en nd-am-bah-e- hamat-a-ti
where LOC-1.A-SLF.INT-1pl- many.sit-EXT-DUR
'We went to um, where was it that we were sitting…'

[0777.16092016.1.wbi]

(951) From a hunting story: the reported thoughts of a wallaby.
namuk un nda-bah-ø-e sayam u-he?
clan.mate:II where:II LOC-SLF.INT-3sg.A-IPFV wallaby(II) II-PROX
'Where on earth could my wallaby mate be?'

[0199.21092016.1.wbi]

Time:

(952) *ta* *nda-m-bah-ø-* *u-hwasig* *duh* *luk?*
what LOC-FUT-SLF.INT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-go.up.from.water beach from:II
'Who knows when she will come up from the beach.' [nb03.23.wbi]

Manner:

(953) *anum* *k-a-* *w-a* *w-alit-a-m,*
woman PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX 3sg.U-call-EXT-VEN
nda-bah-ø- *w-a* *w-in*
LOC-SLF.INT-3sg.A- 3sg.U-AUX 3sg.U-become
'Some woman is screaming, what could have happened to her?'
[0657.08092016.1.wbi]

Appendices

Appendix A

Sago processing

This is a description of how Wambi villagers extract the starch from the sago palm. Many example sentences used in the grammar refer to activities that are part of the sago processing.

Before the starch can be extracted from the sago palm, the sago processing apparatus must be prepared. For the lower part of the apparatus, the settling trough (*puki*[1], IV), the stalks from two dead, dried sago leaves are lined up into one long basin on the ground. The lower end of the washing trough (i.e. the upper part of the apparatus, described below) is inserted into the end of the front stalk (*mayay-puki*) with an overlap of ca 10 cm. Waste pith (*ka*, III) from previous sago processing is wedged into the openings at the joint between the two to prevent leakage.

To the ca. 3 meter long front stalk is appended a ca. 1 meter long second stalk (*es-puki*), with an overlap of a few centimeters at the joint where the end of the shorter stalk is placed inside the end of the longer stalk. These two stalks are fixed to each other and the ground by 3–5 pairs of ca. 40 cm long sticks (*hahik*, III) made from bamboo or the stalk of sago seedlings (*gis*, IV; the seedlings are called *ihimi*, IV), which are planted pair-wise (with ca 20 cm between each pair) in the ground along the sides of the end portion of the *mayay-puki* (i.e. where it adjoins to the *es-puki*). At the top of each pair of sticks, a rope (commonly from the bark of Hibiscus tiliaceus, *wakati*, III) is tied, pulling the two sticks towards each other, thereby pressing the side of the *mayay-puki* inwards and downwards, which then causes the *es-puki* to be tightly jammed into position. In order to prevent the sides of the settling trough from curling inwards from the pressure, short (ca 15 cm) sticks (*pandal*, IV) made from

[1] Under influence of the Malay word *puki* 'vagina', the traditional Marind term for the settling trough is currently undergoing taboo-motivated replacement by the word *bing* (IV) 'leaf stalk'. I use the traditional *puki* in the account of sago processing, although all speakers seem to prefer the more general term *bing*, at least when talking to me. Ironically, the closest Marind equivalent to Malay *puki* 'vagina', *pela*, is used abundantly by all speakers as a (relatively mild) swear word.

the leaf stalks of sago seedlings are pressed between its edges at each point where the paired sticks apply pressure. At the distal end of the settling trough a sluice made from a chip of sago bark (*mam*, III) is inserted and secured by means of another pair of upright sticks tied together.

The *mayay-puki* is raised slightly higher than the *es-puki* by making it rest on a piece of wood, which causes the liquid to concentrate towards the distal end of the basin. To increase the amount of liquid that can be contained without overflow the walls of the distal portion are extended by means by long pieces of fresh sago leaflets. These ca. 10 cm broad pieces (called *puki-ihatuk*, from *ihatuk* 'cover up, fence off') are patched along each side of the basin (fastened overlapping the rims by ca. 5 cm) and tightly fastened with about a dozen double-headed pinches (*ayiy*, IV) made from cleaved bamboo splinters placed ca. 10 cm apart. Finally, the settling trough is secured against the ground with a couple of hook-shaped sticks (*kandel*, IV) which are planted in the ground closer to the near end of the trough, pulling it downwards and preventing it from tipping over from the weight of the starch settling in the other end of the trough.

For the upper part of the apparatus a large leaf is pulled out from the palm, its leaflets are removed and the end of the stalk is cut off so that a 3–4 meter long leaf base remains. This part is the washing trough (*aphan*, III). The distal end of the washing trough rests on the end of the settling trough on the ground, while the adaxial end of the stalk rests on a second leaf base (*yayahwig*, III; also a verb meaning 'to plant') which has been cut off ca. 130 cm from the base, and which is planted firmly into the ground by pressing and wiggling (*abanud*) with the concave adaxial end upwards, onto which the upper end of the washing trough is fitted.

Two sago seedlings (*ihimi*, IV) are taken for braiding. The leaflets are braided (*kitanad*) pairwise, still attached to the leaf, to produce ca. 1 meter long collars (*pandapna*, III; this word also refers to the pectoral fins of sting rays) to be fastened along the edges of the upper part of the washing trough (where small holes are made for tying) thereby increasing its depth by a few centimeters and preventing spilling during the washing. The seam between the floor of the washing trough and these extension walls is secured by tying the midrib of a young sago leaf (*tay*, III) on top of it, preventing pith and liquid from leaking out. In order to form a third small "wall" at the open (back) end of the washing trough, horizontal incisions into the wood at the "floor" can be made with a bush knife; these are then bent upwards, forming a barrier preventing the pith from falling out at the end.

At the other end of the washing trough, a membrane for filtering the liquid is placed. This membrane (*paya*, III) is made from a piece of the fibrous tissue that en-

velops old coconut leaf bracts. A rectangular piece of this tissue is folded (*hyanggod*) so as to form a cone-shaped filter into which the sago pith can be pressed to squeeze out the liquid. The filter is attached to the washing trough where the *pandapna* collar ends by fixing it to the wall on each side with *aɣiɣ* pinches. The filter is secured at the bottom (*komos* 'spread out a mat') by a short piece of elastic sago midrib (*taɣ*, III) which stretches between the two pinches forming a bow that presses the filter against the floor, preventing any liquid from escaping under the filter.

A sago palm is chosen for harvesting. It generally takes around a decade from planting before the palm reaches the best stage for harvest (before the enormous inflorescence in its top starts depleting the starch contents of the tree), although villagers reported that trees are harvested as early as 5 years after planting. The sago gardens are generally located in a swamp or next to a source, as access to water is required for the processing. Typically husband and wife go to the sago garden (*dapata*, III) in the early morning hours (accompanied by children and perhaps other volunteering relatives) and the tasks are strictly divided between the sexes. The sago palm is felled (*takoy*), its bark (*dapa*, III) removed (*kahyab*), before the trunk is cut (*lesad* or *otak*) into shorter pieces of about 70 cm which are split (*hyahyak*) and carried and placed on a sitting mat (*iga*, III); these steps constitute the husband's contribution to the sago processing. Meanwhile the wife has assembled the apparatus as described above, unless one was in place from before and only needed smaller renovations. She now sits down in front of the exposed, flat side of the split trunk which is placed so it leans at about a 20 degree angle, and starts scraping (*aɣeb*) the pith from the inside of the trunk, using a bamboo stick (*kebo*, IV) which has been specifically sharpened (*kaɣunaɣah*) for this purpose.[2] When the scraped pith (*aɣebla-da*) forms a large pile on the sitting mat below the trunk, it is moved into a basket (*wad*, III) and carried over and poured into the washing trough.

A dipper (*lut*, IV) is assembled by tying a coconut shell (*bobo*, III) to the midrib of a sago seedling using a piece of liana or rope. This is used to draw water (ideally found within a couple of meters from the apparatus) which is poured over the sago pith. The pith is turned over and mixed (*kaloban*) with both hands to ensure that it is thoroughly wet; the process of extracting the starch from the pith then starts. The wet pith is squeezed (*kaɣob*) with the hands and then pressed against the *paɣa*

[2]This differs markedly from the technique for pith extraction described elsewhere in eastern Indonesia and Melanesia which involves an adze or similar tool (e.g. Ellen 2004: 605). In the inland communities, e.g. along the upper stretches of the Bian river, an adze (*ambuk*, IV) made from naturally angled wood is used for the same purpose. The same regional difference was observed almost a hundred years ago by Paul Wirz (1922/1925: 88; see his plate 28.4 for an illustration). Some Wambi villagers reported that *ambuk*-style adzes occasionally are used along the coast due to influence from the inland, although I personally never observed this.

filter which allows the water and the extracted starch (*da-gel*, III) to pass down to the settling trough while the residual pith remains in the washing trough.

The next step is the most remarkable stage in the processing, and it is the one from which sago processing in general (*da ɣol*) derives its name in Marind. A beating stick (*kaɣahwek*, III) measuring about a meter and made from a hard, heavy wood (*kan*, III, an unknown species), held with both hands near its thicker end, is used to subject the remaining pith to a series of vigorous blows, with the beating stick brought back above the head of the operator (who stands next to the washing trough approximately between the *paɣa* filter and the point where it joins the settling trough) in an elliptical motion before the following strike. The strikes are aimed so that the first in a series hits the pith slightly at the side of the central axis of the washing trough and the second on the opposite side, so that the force from the two blows causes part of the pith to concentrate in the middle of the trough; this thicker layer of middle pith is then dealt two successive blows, of which the second usually brings the beating stick in contact with the surface of the trough, giving a characteristic four-note rhythm with accent on the up-beat (tak-tak-tak-TAK) at a rate of 50–60 bpm. A total of around 24 strikes are performed before the pith is considered drained of starch contents and the remains, now called *ka*, are discarded. A fresh load of pith can now be scraped from the trunk and the whole process repeated; this is done about 7–10 times, meaning that the work continues until the afternoon.

The starch extracted from the pith settles in the settling trough, from which surplus water is drained by lightly tipping part of the trough sidewards after each iteration. Towards the afternoon the starch has formed a compact sediment which is cut into loaves (*ega*, III) and removed by hand. A total of 5 loaves are produced, with the largest, also referred to as *ega*, in the distal end of the settling trough, followed in size by the *maɣay-lek*, *dadoh-lek*, *es-wad* and *tutu-lek* (all gender III) since the settling trough gets narrower towards the front.

Fresh sago seedlings (*kandi-ihimi*) are now arranged on the ground, the 5 sago loaves piled up on top, and covered by dry sago leaves (*salaku*, III). The dry leaves are put on fire and quickly blaze up before being extinguished with a brush.[3] The soot is wiped off (*ihwaɣak*) and the jelly-like skin (*babu*, III—a highly appreciated delicacy) produced by the heat is peeled off and eaten, before the sago is packed and carried to the village along with the reusable parts of the equipment. Often it is possible to collect protein-rich sago grubs (*way*, II) from a decomposed upper part of the sago trunk (*nggol-da*, III) which has been left behind from earlier sago processing

[3]This part of the process is not practised in the inland, which causes the stored sago to ferment faster, giving it a slightly acid taste, as noted by Wirz (1922/1925: 89)).

due to its low starch contents.

Appendix B

Texts

B.1 A Ndiken clan myth

This text was recorded on June 6, 2015 in Duhmilah, the village neighboring the one where I carried out most of my fieldwork (Wambi), by Augustinus Bamai Ndiken (the adoptive father of my adoptive father in Duhmilah, Rafael Samkakai). The text contains fragments of the mythology of the Stork (*ndik*) clan, and catalogues the ancestry of the speaker, who passed away in 2016. Some important motives from Marind mythology can be glanced from this short text, such as the importance of the clan's totem *ndik*,[1] portrayed here as a wandering hero who introduces humans to kava (*wati*) on his journey from east to west.[2]

1	*nok*	*amay*	*e-pe*	'My ancestor,'
	1	ancestor(I)	I-DIST	
2	*e*=	*nda-d-a-p-*	*huhu-ma*	'used to travel down from
	PROX=	LOC-DUR-3sg.A-CT-	emerge.PLA:3sg.U-PST.HAB	here.'

In combination with the Contessive prefix *ap-*, the verb *hawa* 'emerge' (here in its Pluractional variant *huhu*, since the context expresses habituality) usually means 'arrive at the village/beach from inland', but can also mean 'travel southeast' when talking about travel along the coast (which stretches from the northwest to the southeast). The corresponding expression for north-eastward travel along the coast is *kapet* 'climb'.

[1] Here given the name *Salibay*; cf. Wirz 1922/1925: vol. 2, p. 109ff. where the same character is called *Wonatai*.

[2] Unfortunately, the interpretation of the *wati* segment of the text (line 40 below) contains some uncertainties; see Wirz' version and the summary thereof in van Baal 1966: 301ff. For the importance of wandering hero myths in Southern New Guinea, see Busse 2005.

3 *epe nda-d-ø- lemed-ma* ‘He usually landed there,’
there LOC-DUR-3sg.A- stand.PLA-PST.HAB

4 *Ndalil* ‘in Ndalil.’
Nd.

5 *epe ka-n- ɣak⟨e⟩h* ‘They caught him there.’
there DIR-3pl.A- catch⟨3sg.U⟩

6 *ndik ø-d-a-p- huhu-ma* ‘The stork used to travel down,’
stork NEUT-DUR-3sg.A-CT- emerge.PLA:3sg.U-PST.HAB

7 *epe ka-n- ɣak⟨e⟩h* ‘there they caught him.’
there DIR-3pl.A- catch⟨3sg.U⟩

8 *Sisil epe ka-da-n-o- lod* ‘They made a cage for him in Sisil.’
S. there DIR-DUR-3pl.A-3sg.DAT- make.enclosure

9 *Sisil nda-d-ø- kw-itala* ‘He stayed in Sisil.’
S. LOC-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-be.standing

10 *epe nda-d-na- ɣot-a mesiwag* ‘There he was guarded by some old women.’
there LOC-DUR-3pl.A- guard:3sg.U-EXT old.woman

11 *kumbu awe ka-d-ø- nayat* ‘The women went for coconuts, and the men went hunting,’
coconut for DIR-DUR-3sg.A- many.be.moving
sah, amnangga ohan k-ø-um-
married.woman married.men hunting DIR-3sg.A-FRUS-
k-awan
WITH-many.run

12 *w-amuk nanggo* ‘to kill.’
3sg.U-hit for

13 *es k-ø-in- ol⟨e⟩b, ndik* ‘Behind [their backs] he changed, the stork that was standing there,’
behind DIR-3sg.A-ALL- change⟨3sg.U⟩ stork
ø-d-a- kw-itala
NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- INESS-stand

14 *anem es k-a- w-in* ‘he secretly became a human.’
man behind DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become

15 *mesiwag hyakod k-a-p- w-a*
old.woman one DIR-3sg.A-CT- 3sg.U-AUX
lu Dukong "kay a-na- kab!"
call:3sg.U D. door IMP-1.DAT- open
'He shouted to an old woman, Dukong: "Open the door for me!"'

16 *"mbya a-mo-na- kab, mano-*
NEG DEP-FUT:2sg.A-1.DAT- open FUT:1.A-
ɣ-amuk! e-he kupa e=
2sg.U-hit III-PROX stone.club(III) III=
t-e-ka-no- ka-ɣ-amuk-e!"
GIV-III-PRS.NEUT-1.A- WITH-2sg.U-hit-IPFV
'"If you don't open the door, I will hit you! I m going to hit you with this stone club!"'

The last clause illustrates the instrumental use of the WITH-prefix *k-* (§12.1.2). The instrument (*kupa*) is placed in the pre-verbal (focus) position, and since it is determined by demonstratives, the verb carries the Givenness prefix *t-* (see §14.1).

17 *menda-b-ø-o- kab, nd-a-*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A-3sg.DAT- open LOC-3sg.A-
man-em
come-VEN
'She opened the door, and he came.'

18 *Yawimbo, Nasem onggat epe nda-d-na-*
Y. N. coconut there LOC-DUR-3pl.A-
kapet sah
climb.PLA married.woman
'In Yawimbo and Nasem, the women were climbing for coconuts.'

19 *epe ka-n-ind-ap- ya-bayed*
there DIR-3pl.A-ALL-CT- 2|3pl.U-turn.head
"e! anem waninggap-ewati e=
EXCLAM man(I) good-unmarried.man(I) I=
t-e-ka-hat-ø- ɣet!"
GIV-I-PRS.NEUT-PRSTV-3sg.A- be.moving
'They turned their heads [to look] at him, and said "That's a handsome young man walking past!"'

20 *anep kumaɣ-mayan "Salibay ka-no-*
EMPH:I inside-speech S. PRS.NEUT-1.A-
ɣet, no- uma⟨n⟩ah"
be.moving 1.A- go⟨1.U⟩
'He thought for himself: "Here I, Salibay, am walking along, I'm going."'

Here the reported thought of Salibay is signaled by means of the expression *kumaɣ-mayan* '(lit.) inside-speech'; cf. the title of Reesink's (1993) paper on reported thought-constructions in Papuan languages. A more common way of explicitly introducing reported discourse involves the quotative particle *ago*, see e.g. example (5) on p. 29 and Section 3.3.3.4.

21 *"adeh m-e- kapet-e onggat!"*
RLQ OBJ-2|3pl.A- climb.PLA-IPFV coconut
'"You just keep on climbing those coconut trees!"'

22 *nda-d-ø-um- naɣat,*
LOC-DUR-3sg.A-FRUS- many.be.moving
mbya ø-d-a- ola
NEG NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- be:3sg.U
'Then they went back, and unexpectedly he wasn't there anymore.'

Note the construction expressing narrated surprise: an initial clause featuring a motion verb marked with the Locational Orientation *nd-* and the Frustrative *um-*, and a second clause expressing the state-of-affairs causing the surprise. See §14.3.2.1 for more examples.

23 *Salibay menda-b-ø- man Walahatin*
S. PERF-ACT-3sg.A- come W.
'Salibay already arrived in Walahatin.'

24 *ehe e-he Lepro ka-n- lu-et*
here III-PROX L. DIR-3pl.A- call:III.U-IPFV
e-pe
III-DIST
'Now, they call that [place] Lepro.'

25 *epe nd-a- umuh a*
there LOC-3sg.A- go:3sg.U all.the.way.to
Ambay-Aho-Haniɣ
A.-A.-H.
'He went from there to Ambay-Aho-Hanigh.'

26 *Ambay-Aliki ka-n- lu-et ehe*
A.-A. DIR-3pl.A- call:III.U-IPFV here
'They call it Ambay-Aliki now.'

27 *epe nd-a- umuh a*
there LOC-3sg.A- go:3sg.U all.the.way.to
'He went from there…'

28 *Alib-Sawlam k-a-p- sangg⟨i⟩tuk*
A.-S. DIR-3sg.A-CT- shake⟨IV.U⟩
put
feather(IV)
'In Alib-Sawlam he shook his feathers.'

29 *put epe k-a-p- sangg⟨i⟩tuk* 'He shook his feathers there.'
feather(IV) there DIR-3sg.A-CT- shake⟨IV.U⟩

30 *epe k-a- hwis* 'He went down there,'
there DIR-3sg.A- descend

31 *Hyanang* 'to Hyanang.'
Hy.

32 *Takolep epe k-ø-om- ɣoman* 'There he met Takolep.'
T. there DIR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- approach

33 *wanangga inah ø-d-a- ya-hwala* 'He had two children.'
children two NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be

34 *Takolep wanangga inah* 'Takolep [had] two children.'
T. children two

35 *Takolep e-pe Gebhe k-a, Gebhe* 'Takolep is from the Gebze clan, he is from the Awaba subclan.'
T. I-DIST G. PRS.NEUT-3sg.A G.
Awaba lek k-a
A. from:I PRS.NEUT-3sg.A

These parenthetical clauses follow a clear topic-comment articulation, adding information about the topic (Takolep). It is not uncommon for the topic to be marked by a demonstrative (*As for that Takolep, …*); see §16.2.2.

36 *Salibay epe k-ø-om- ɣoman* 'Salibay met him there.'
S. there DIR-3sg.A-3sg.GEN- approach

37 *"usus k-a, mbya mank-e-* '[He said:] "It's already late in the day, we can't cross the river, let's sleep here."'
afternoon PRS.NEUT-3sg.A NEG FUT2:1.A-1pl-
hus, e= ka-p-e-ka- hok"
cross.river PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A-1pl-PRI- many.lie.down

38 *Takolep wanangga* 'He had intercourse with Takolep's two daughters that night.'
T. children
ɣap m-a- kaga⟨h⟩in
night OBJ-3sg.A- have.sex⟨2|3pl.U⟩

39 *kwemek* '[It became] morning.'
morning

40 *ɣandam k-ø-ind-ap- u-sak,*
stomach DIR-3sg.A-ALL-CT- 3sg.U-hit.PLA
nggupanggop-wati umuɣ kwagin,
wati.species(III) ? throw:III
wati ɣa e= nd-ø-in- ahus
kava(III) real PROX= LOC-3sg.A-ALL- pull.out:III
[*The translation of this part is unclear.*] 'He hit on his belly, he threw out (?) kava [sp.], he pulled real kava out from here.'

41 *menda-b-ø- haɣa⟨h⟩ip*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A- get.drunk⟨2|3pl.U⟩
'They got drunk.'

42 *kwemek ah-ø- pig ehetago,*
morning DEP-3sg.A- become.bright like.this
ɣandam menda-b-ø- in
stomach PERF-ACT-3sg.A- become:2|3pl.U
'When it became morning, unexpectedly, [the daughters] were pregnant.'

The proximate property demonstrative *ehetago* can be used clause-finally to signal narrated surprise. Often this use occurs in combination with the construction seen in line 22 above, although this speaker frequently uses it as a stand-alone mirative particle, as in lines 46 and 48 below. This function of the property demonstratives merits further exploration.

43 *sipal ø-d-a- ya-hwala i-pe,*
pregnant NEUT-DUR-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be I/II.pl-DIST
iwag inah i-pe
woman two I/II.pl-DIST
'They were pregnant, those two women.'

44 *Takolep a "ɣandam e= ta-m-ø-om-*
T. PTCL stomach I= GIV-OBJ-3sg.A-3sg.GEN-
in"
become:2|3pl.U
'Takolep thought "They must be pregnant because of him."'

The particle *a* (§3.3.9.3) is often employed to mark topics in topic-comment structures; here it marks the speaker to which the following quote is attributed (perhaps this can be regarded as a topic-comment structure too, then). Note the causal use of the Genitive prefix series ('because of him') mentioned in §12.6. Finally, the analysis of the sequence *e= ta-m-* on the verb remains a mystery. Elicitation and a couple of additional corpus attestations suggest that this combination can be employed to express inferential evidentiality ('must be') but more data is needed before this use can be clarified.

45 *“mano- k-w-alok in-aliki*
FUT:1.A- INESS-3sg.U-stab middle-river(III)
e-he”
III-PROX
‘“I will stab him in the middle of the river.”’

46 *a-n- hus ehetagol*
DEP-3pl.A- cross.river like.this
‘When they crossed, unexpectedly,’

47 *put in e-pe k-ø-o-*
feather middle(III) III-DIST DIR-3sg.A-3sg.DAT-
l-ahwasab
PLA-pull.out:IV.U
‘feathers started to come out on him in the middle [of the river].’

The precise meaning of the verb *ahwaseb* is difficult to pin down: here I follow the speaker with whom I transcribed the text and gloss it ‘pull out’; in other contexts the same root is used to express e.g. ‘get stuck’ (typically for feet sinking into mud). The use of the Dative prefix series to index the owner of a bodypart is described in §8.3.

48 *Takolep oso m-ø-um- og ehetago*
T. start OBJ-3sg.A-FRUS- do like.this
‘Takolep was just getting ready [to kill him],’

49 *menda-b-a-p- tapaman Walahatin*
PERF-ACT-3sg.A-CT- fly W.
‘then [Salibay] flew to Walahatin,’

50 *Palputi e-he*
P.(III) III-PROX
‘here in Palputi.’

51 *epe k-a- atin tanama*
there DIR-3sg.A- stand again
‘He landed there again.’

52 *tanama epe nd-a- ihon*
again there LOC-3sg.A- run:3sg.U
‘Then he went from there again,’

53 *Ndiwin*
Nd.
‘to Ndiwin [a cape outside Okaba].’

54 *Bilukande epe k-ø-em- ɣoman,*
B. there DIR-3sg.A-2|3pl.GEN- approach
Bulon epe nda-d-na- kw-anik-ma
B. there LOC-DUR-3pl.A- INESS-sit.PLA-PST.HAB
‘He met with the Bilukande clan, they used to hang out there in Bulon.’

55 *epe nd-a- ya-hwala*
there LOC-3sg.A- 2|3pl.U-be
‘They live there.’

56 *Bulon epe k-ø-e- wayuk*
B. there DIR-3sg.A-2|3pl.DAT- join
Bilukande
B.
'In Bulon he joined the Bilukande clan.'

57 *epe k-a- kisa*
there DIR-3sg.A- mate:3sg.U
'He mated there,'

58 *Mayuhe-iwag*
M.-woman
'[with] a woman from the Mahuze clan,'

59 *ɣoyom*
Gh.
'[named] Ghoyom.'

60 *igih Mulaw k-a*
name M. PRS.NEUT-3sg.A
'[Her real] name is Mulaw.'

61 *epe k-a- kisa*
there DIR-3sg.A- mate:3sg.U
'He mated with her there.'

62 *Seko epe k-a-p- ka-lib*
S. there DIR-3sg.A-CT- INESS-be.born:3sg.U
'Seko was born there.'

63 *Salibay hib k-a Seko*
S. son PRS.NEUT-3sg.A S.
'Seko is the son of Salibay.'

64 *epe k-a-p- ka-lib,*
there DIR-3sg.A-CT- INESS-be.born:3sg.U
Ndiwin-duh
Nd.-beach
'He was born there, at the beach in Ndiwin.'

65 *Seko k-ø-e- ihon*
S. DIR-3sg.A-ACPN- run:3sg.U
'He brought Seko along,'

66 *Hyabug*
Hy.
'to Hyabug.'

67 *Seko ah-ø- katm⟨e⟩tok Bayis k-a-*
S. DEP-3sg.A- father⟨3sg.U⟩ B. DIR-3sg.A-
w-in
3sg.U-become
'(lit.) When Seko fathered a child, Baghis was born.'

68 *Bayis*
B.
'Baghis.'

69 *Bayis nd-a- kamin,*
B. LOC-3sg.A- make:3sg.U
Yalen k-a- w-in
Y. DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become
'Baghis was made, then [a child named] Yalen came.'

70 *Yalen ah-ø- umuh Monga k-a-*
Y. DEP-3sg.A- gp:3sg.U M. DIR-3sg.A-
w-in, Monga ah-ø- umuh
3sg.U-become M. DEP-3sg.A- go:3sg.U
hindun a
long.time PTCL
'Yalen went and Monga was born, and Monga went on and…'

71 *Kanepe*
K.
'[fathered] Kanepe'

72 *Mambol k-a- w-in ehe*
M. DIR-3sg.A- 3sg.U-become here
Duhmilah e-he, Yani-Ap-Hawa
D.(III) III-PROX Y.-A.-H.
'Mambol was born here in Duhmilah, in Yani-Ap-Hawa.'

73 *nok Bamay e= k-a- n-in*
1 B. PROX= DIR-3sg.A- 1.U-become
Duhmilah e-he
D.(III) III-PROX
'I, Bamai, I was born here in Duhmilah.'

74 *e= ka-p-ap- balen Bamay*
PROX= DIR-FUT:1.A-CT- finish B.
e= k-a- n-in
PROX= DIR-3sg.A- 1.U-become
'Here I will end [my days], since I, Bamai, was born here.'

75 *epe nd-a- hay-a*
there LOC-3sg.A- fall-EXT
'[The story] reaches to there.'

76 *tis ka*
that's.it
'That's it.'

Appendix C

Wordlist

This appendix contains the Leipzig-Jakarta wordlist (Tadmor et al. 2010) for the Western dialect (described in this grammar) and the Eastern dialect (described in Drabbe 1955) of Coastal Marind. The Leipzig-Jakarta wordlist is a list containing basic vocabulary that is particularly resistant to borrowing, which makes it useful for studying historical relationships between languages. The list is given here ranked according to the stability of the meanings, with the words that are the least likely to be replaced presented first. See Tadmor et al. (2010) for more details.

Table C.1: Leipzig-Jakarta wordlist for Coastal Marind.

Rank	Meaning	Western dialect	Eastern dialect
1	fire	*takah*	*takav*
2	nose	*anggip*	*anggip*
3	to go	*umuh*	*umuv*
4	water	*adaka*	*adaka*
5	mouth	*babake*	*babake*
6	tongue	*unum*	*unum*
7	blood	*do*	*do*
7	bone	*hayaw*	*hayaw*
9	2SG pronoun	*oɣ*	*oh*
9	root	*itit*	*itit*
11	to come	*man*	*man*
12	breast	*bub*	*bub*
13	rain	*ɣe*	*he*
14	1SG pronoun	*nok*	*nok*
15	name	*igih*	*igiz*

Continued on next page

Table C.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Rank	Meaning	Western dialect	Eastern dialect
15	louse	*mbam*	*mbamb*
17	wing	*tah*	*tah*
18	flesh/meat	*muy*	*muy*
19	arm/hand	*sangga*	*sangga*
20	fly	*mbulambul*	*mburambur*
20	night	*ɣap*	*hap*
22	ear	*kambet*	*kambet*
23	neck	*nay*	*nah*
23	far	*mahut*	*mahut*
25	to do/make	*og*	*og*
26	house	*aha*	*aha*
27	stone/rock	*katal*	*katar*
28	bitter	*yalet*	*yaret*
28	to say	*ayi*	*ahi*
28	tooth	*manggat*	*manggat*
31	hair	*tatih*	*mbavak*
32	big	*sam*	*samb*
32	one	*hyakod*	*izakod*
34	who?	*ta* (m), *tu* (f)	*te* (m), *tu* (f)
34	3SG pronoun	*epe* (m), *upe* (f)	*epe* (m), *upe* (m)
36	to hit/beat	*wamuk*	*wamuk*
37	leg/foot	*tagu*	*tagu*
38	horn	–	–
38	this	*ehe*	*ehe*
38	fish	*awe*	*awe*
41	yesterday	*wis*	*wis*
42	to drink	*ɣi*	*hi*
42	black	*kunayhi*	*kunayhi*
42	navel	*dakum*	*dakum*
45	to stand	*atin*	*atin*
46	to bite	*haniɣ*	*hanih*
46	back	*sews*	*sevta*
48	wind	*kiwal*	*kiwar*
49	smoke	*lak*	*rak*

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Table C.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Rank	Meaning	Western dialect	Eastern dialect
50	what?	*ta*	*to*
51	child (kin term)	*nalakam*	*narkam*
52	egg	*kana*	*kana*
53	to give	*og*	*og*
53	new	*noɣ*	*noh*
53	to burn (intr)	*ɣunip*	*hunip*
56	not	*mbya*	*mba*
56	good	*waninggap*	*waninggap*
58	to know	*mayay win*	*meay win*
59	knee	*mig*	*mig*
59	sand	*sa*	*sa*
61	to laugh	*ɣi win*	*hi win*
61	to hear	*gan*	*gan*
63	soil	*makan*	*makan*
64	leaf	*nggol*	*nggor*
64	red	*dohi*	*dohi*
66	liver	*on*	*on*
67	to hide	*saletok*	*saretok*
67	skin/hide	*ugu*	*ugu*
67	to suck	*ahwasiɣ*	*avasih*
70	to carry	*sinik*	*sinik*
71	ant	*kanamin*	*kanamin*
71	heavy	*kanil*	*kanir*
71	to take	*han*	*han*
74	old	*tanama*	*tanama*
75	to eat	*ɣi*	*hi*
76	thigh	*wap*	*wap*
76	thick	*hyumbahyum*	*zumbazumb*
78	long	*wagatok*	*wagatok*
79	to blow	*imahiɣ*	*ehamih*
80	wood	*de*	*de*
81	to run	*ihon*	*ivon*
81	to fall	*hay*	*hay*
83	eye	*kin*	*kind*

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Table C.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Rank	**Meaning**	**Western dialect**	**Eastern dialect**
84	ash	*gumna*	*gum*
84	tail	*wak*	*wak*
84	dog	*nggat*	*nggat*
87	to cry/weep	*ihw*	*iv*
88	to tie	*kipalud*	*kiparud*
89	to see	*idih*	*idih*
89	sweet	–	–
91	rope	*ndon*	*ndond*
91	shade/shadow	*matul*	*matur*
91	bird	*uhyub*	*uzub*
91	salt	*etob-adaka*	*etob-kase*
91	small	*papes*	*papes*
96	wide	–	–
97	star	*ohom*	*wayar*
97	in	*kumaɣ*	*kumah*
99	hard	*dehi*	*dehi*
100	to crush/grind	*mamud*	*amud*

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