

PARADIGM CLASSES AND DEIXIS IN MARORI

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The paper will discuss the intricacy and significance of the deictic system in Marori (isolate, Papuan, Merauke-Indonesia, highly endangered) and other related information in the paradigm classes with respect to the theory and typology of agreement and feature structures. Deixis is manifested in different domains of the grammar of this language, but the focus of this paper is on determiners, verbs and locative nominals.

On determiners, the system shows a three-way distinction signalling relative distance of a referent with respect to both speaker and hearer (S&H): near (proximal), relatively further away (semi-distal), and remote (distal), e.g. *kefi* X ‘this X’, *nggafi* X ‘that X (in a distance, still seen)’, and *nggwofi* ‘that X far away’. However, when S and H are relatively far apart, a different form is used to refer to location relatively closer to the H than to the S: *pafi* X ‘that X close to H, away from S’. This deictic distinction crosscuts singular (SG) and non-singular (NSG) number distinction, e.g. *kefi* ‘this.SG’ vs. *kemnde* ‘these.NSG’.

Deictic in space is also recorded on verbs of motion, such as ‘return/go(back)’ and ‘bring/take’. The verbal contrast expresses directional meanings, ‘away from’ vs. ‘towards’ the speaker, with the latter being morphologically marked (by *-n*); e.g., *kunonjo* ‘go’ vs. *kunonjon* ‘come (back)’. The deictic morphology is only part of complex morphology on the verb. The verbal forms show number (NUM) distinction with roots possibly having special forms for plural actors, in addition to the presence of other morphology encoding tense, on top of vowel epenthesis and vowel harmony. For example, the deictic marker is realised as *-ne* in *kurfenjreneferi* ‘we all came back (remote past)’ but as *-no* in *kunonjonofori* ‘I came back (remote past)’.

The complexity of deictic system in Marori reflects not only a tight anchoring of referents or movement of referents with respect to locations in space relative to S but also the anchoring of the whole event relative to (abstract) points in time (i.e. speech time, here and now). Thus, there are two locative nouns meaning ‘here’, reflecting realis (REAL) and irrealis (IRR) distinction – the distinction central to the paradigm classes in Marori: *(ko)ku* ‘here.IRR’ vs. *(ke)ke* ‘here.IRR’. The agreement system in Marori therefore is unusual in that it extends beyond verb-argument relations to include adjuncts as well. The (un)acceptability of *keke/koku* in the following examples illustrates the point.

- (1) a. *Keke/*koku tanamba yafa naf-ra.*
here.REAL now rain AUX-PL.REAL.PRES
‘It is raining here now.’
- b. *Koku/*keke pamnggu yafa nofo.*
here.IRR tomorrow rain AUX.IRR
‘It is going to rain tomorrow here.’