

Aspectually Inflected Locatives in Marori

This paper presents fresh empirical evidence for an unusual but clear connection between verbal aspect and inflected (adjunct) locatives in Marori (MOK, Merauke-Indonesia). Previous typological and theoretical studies on aspect typically discuss how lexical aspect (i.e. verb classes such as states, achievements, and accomplishments) interacts with grammatical aspect (e.g. as seen in verbal inflection and related grammatical constraints) (Timberlake 2007). There has also been some work on how a syntactic dependent especially the object of the verb may relate to (e.g., measuring out) aspect (Tenny 1994). However, the existence of aspectually inflected locatives determined by the head predicate's aspect as seen in Marori is perhaps typologically unusual. It is an understudied phenomenon, not much reported in the literature before, and poses a challenge in the analysis of the morphosyntax-semantics interface.

Locatives in Marori are marked by inflected postpositional (clitic) case markers, $=(k)e$ / $=(k)u$ / $=mbe$. Their distributions shown in Table 1 are determined by two semantic features: the relative spatial generality/specificity of the location and telicity (whether the event is thought of as being temporally bounded or not). For example, in the context of a static event (expressed by *te*) as in (1), the noun *kios* (referring to a spatially narrow/specific location) and *Almasu* 'Merauke' (a general region) require the atelic locative markers $=ke$ and $=e$ respectively; $=ku$ is not acceptable. The verb 'sleep' is by default construed as 'atelic' (i.e. a normal single instance of 'sleeping' event is understood as temporally bounded, with an end point). The telic locative marker $=ku$ is therefore used, as seen in (2); $=ke$ is unacceptable. In contrast, if the verb is in progressive aspect (i.e. aspectually unbounded), then the atelic locative $=ke$ must be used, as seen in (3).

Table 1

	Broad/wide Spatial region	Specific Spatial Location
-TELIC	$=e$	$=ke$
+TELIC/IRR	mbe	$=ku$

- 1 John {Almasu= e / kios= ke /* ku } *te*
 John Merauke=LOC kiosk=LOC BE.3NPL.PRES
 'John is in {Merauke/the kiosk}.'
- 2 John kios= ku /* ke *di kufu*
 John kiosk=LOC soon sleep.3NPL.FUT
 'John is going to sleep in the kiosk.'
- 3 Tananmba John kios= ke /* ku *mbe kufa*.
 now John kiosk=LOC PROG sleep.3NPL.PRES
 'John is sleeping now in the kiosk'

Marori also has a set of inflected spatial deictic items where $=ke/ku$ are part of the marking. They show a four way distinction: close to the speaker (*keke/koku* 'here'), close to the addressee (*pake/paku* 'there'), slightly away from the speaker/addressee (*nggake/nggoku* 'there'), and far away from speaker/addressee (*nggwoke/nggwoku* 'over there'). They show the same distributions as the examples given in (1)-(3).

The full paper will sketch out an integrated analysis capturing the aspectual connection between the head predicate and its locative dependent in the interface of morphosyntax-semantics. It will be argued that the inflected locatives in Marori can be straightforwardly accounted for within the LFG (Lexical Functional Grammar)-based theory of agreement (Bresnan et al. 2015) where the inflected locative adjunct and the inflected predicate both carry same aspectual features that must unify in clausal syntax.

References

- Bresnan, Joan, Ash Asudeh, Ida Toivonen, and Stephen Wechler. 2015. *Lexical-Functional Syntax (second edition)*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
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- Timberlake, Alan. 2007. "Aspect, tense, mood." In *Language typology and syntactic description*, edited by T Shopen, 280-333. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.