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Introduction to the Yali - English - German dictionary with a short grammatical sketch

Sonja Riesberg

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Part I:

Introduction to the
Yali – English – German
dictionary with a short
grammatical sketch

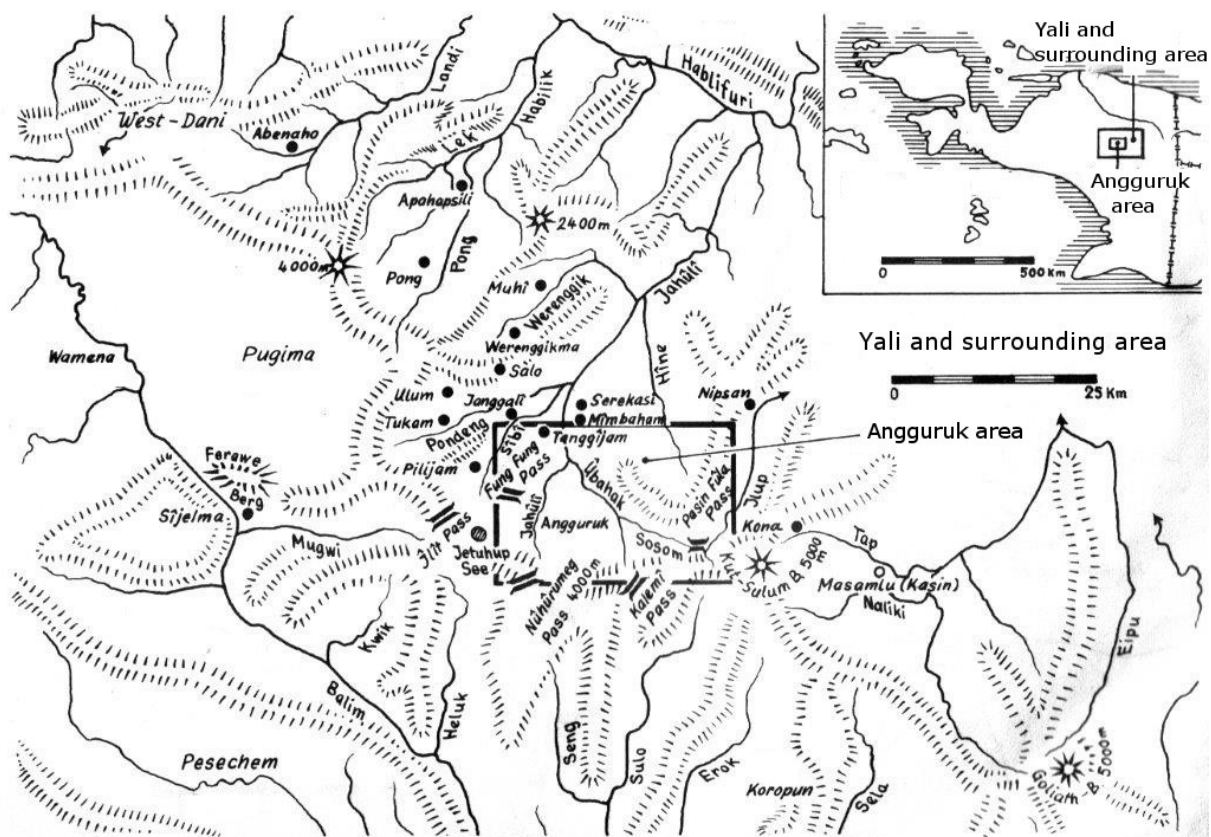
Sonja Riesberg

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1 The Yali and their language

Yali is a Trans-New Guinea language, spoken in the highlands of West Papua¹, Indonesia. It belongs to the Dani family of the West Trans New-Guinea linkage, and is spoken by approximately 30,000 people in the mountainous area north-east, east, and south-east of the city of Wamena. The Ethnologue lists Pass Valley Yali, Angguruk Yali, and Ninia Yali as three distinct languages, belonging to the Ngalik sub-group of the Dani languages. However, people from these different geographic areas seem to be able to understand and communicate with each other. The Yali themselves distinguish four different dialectal regions: Abenaho, Apahapsili, Angguruk, and Ninia.² This distinction, however, might partially also be influenced by the fact that each of these areas has its own mission station, as Abenaho and Apahapsili often agree with each other where the other dialects differ. The differences among these varieties are mostly lexical or phonological.



Map 1: The Yali-speaking area and its surroundings (adapted from Zöllner 1977)

¹ Note that throughout the course of history, different names have been given to this western part of New Guinea – partly with clear political implications. Under Dutch control, it was called *Netherlands New Guinea*. When the area officially became part of Indonesia, it was first called *West Irian*, and then *Irian Jaya*. Since 2003, it has been divided into two provinces, the western one called *Papua Barat* ‘West Papua’, the eastern one called *Papua*. Officially, the Yali area is thus part of the Indonesian province *Papua*, and the term *West Papua* does not refer to the whole of western New Guinea, but only to one of the two Indonesian provinces located in this area. However, the Papuans themselves prefer this term to refer to the whole of western New Guinea.

² In the Ethnologue’s classification, the Abenaho and Apahapsili dialects are subsumed under the label of Pass Valley Yali.

Map 1 shows the Angguruk area in the black square. To the north-west of this area is Apahapsili, (north-)west of that lies Abenaho. The Ninia area is located south of the Angguruk area, to the west of Koropun.

Turning to the west of the Yali-speaking area, the neighbouring speech community are the Dani. The Ethnologue (2013) lists six distinct Dani languages – Western Lani³, Upper Grand Valley Dani, Mid Grand Valley Dani, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Hupla, and Walak – all belonging to the sub-group “Dani proper” of the Dani languages. In his “Phonology of Lower Grand Valley Dani”, Bromley (1961) studies the phoneme inventories of eight Dani varieties: Western Lani, Wodo, Kibin, Bele, Aikhe, Lower Grand Valley, Gorge, and Mid-Hablifoeri.⁴ He seems to be noncommittal as to whether these varieties are dialects or distinct languages, most of the time calling them “dialects”, but sometimes also using the term “language” to refer to them. To the east, the Yali speaking area borders with groups of the Mek language family. From west to east, there are the Yale, the Nipsan, the Nalca, the Eipo, and the Ketengban. South of Nalca are the Koropun-Sela and south of Eipo are the Una. Again, the dialect-language distinction is not easy to make. Heeschen (1998) confirms Bromley’s (1981) claim that the Mek languages constitute a closely related group, stating that the smallest percentage of shared vocabulary amounts to 69% (Heeschen 1998: 16). He argues against the attempt to create fixed language boundaries, and shows convincingly that we are dealing with a dialectchaining phenomenon. In terms of the mutual intelligibility of three given varieties, A and B and B and C might thus be regarded as dialects, but A and C, which are no longer mutually intelligible, should be regarded as distinct languages (cf. Heeschen 1998: 18f, also for a more detailed exposition of the dialect continuum within the Mek languages). Dialect chaining is a well-known and widespread phenomenon among the Papuan languages, and the situation described for the Mek languages certainly also holds for the Yali and the Dani-speaking areas.

Not much linguistic work is available on any of the Yali dialects. In addition to this dictionary, Siegfried Zöllner has written down the verbal paradigm of the Angguruk dialect. This manuscript is a very thorough overview of the complex verbal system in (Angguruk) Yali. It has never been published, but can be downloaded from The Language Archive (see below) under: <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/00-0000-0000-0022-2A8B-8@view>.

Fahner (1979, doctoral thesis) compares the morphology of Abenaho Yali and Dani (the latter primarily based on van der Stap’s work on the Mid Grand Valley dialect of Dani). Sawaki (1998, MA thesis) compares the Yali verbal system with English.

Besides these linguistic works, there are a few anthropological and theological descriptions: Siegfried Zöllner’s doctoral dissertation, published in 1977, is a comprehensive treatment of the (Angguruk) Yali’s religious beliefs. The anthropologist Klaus-Friedrich Koch lived for two years (1964-1966) in the village of Pasikni, only a few kilometres from the missionary station in Angguruk where Zöllner worked. His doctoral dissertation (Koch 1974) is an ethnography of (Angguruk) Yali warfare. John D. Wilson worked as a missionary for the *Regions Beyond Missionary Union* in the Ninia area in the 1970s and 1980s. His MA thesis (Wilson 1988) is a case study of the communication and place of the Bible in an oral culture.

³ I am using the name *Lani* here, because that is how the people refer to themselves. Note, however, that in the literature the most common term is *Western Dani*.

⁴ It is not easy to match the names used by Bromley to those found in the Ethnologue. Wodo certainly corresponds to Walak. Judging from the map that is provided in Bromley (1961: 89), Kibia possibly corresponds to the Ethnologue’s Upper Grand Valley Dani, Bele and Aikhe to Mid Grand Valley, and Mid-Hablifoeri to Hupla.

2 About this dictionary

The material for this dictionary has been collected by Siegfried and Ilse Zöllner in Angguruk and the surrounding villages and hamlets during their time as missionaries of the *Vereinte Evangelische Mission* (VEM) from 1961 to 1973. The original material consisted of a collection of file cards, containing Yali words and example sentences with German translations and definitions. Its purpose at the time was not to produce a dictionary for the linguistic community or the speech community, but rather to help them learn the language as quickly as possible and pursue their primary goal – the translation of the Bible into the Yali language.

An initial electronic version was produced much later by Simon Ziegler, as part of his master’s thesis “Das Wörterbuch in der Arbeit des Ethnologen am Beispiel der Angguruk-Sprache” (Ziegler 2004), which was submitted under the supervision of Volker Heeschen at the anthropological department of the University of Munich. Ziegler’s WORD document was corrected by Zöllner and then converted into a Toolbox⁵ database by Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Carmen Dawuda. This, again, was thoroughly revised and extended by Zöllner, in joint work with Sonja Riesberg, Lucas Haiduck, and later Kurt Malcher.⁶ In 2013, S. Zöllner and Riesberg went to Angguruk to re-check problematic data with native speakers. The first edition of this dictionary was published with *Asia-Pacific Linguistics* in 2017, under the title “A Yali (Angguruk) – German Dictionary” which, besides the Yali – German dictionary part, also contained an introduction with a short sketch grammar in English (cf. Riesberg et al. 2017).

The present version is a second edition⁷ that includes some minor revisions in the introductory grammar sketch, and, more importantly, has now been complemented with English translations in the dictionary part. These translations were made by Elizabeth Fry, who, due to her long-term engagement with the VEM is acquainted with the Yali culture and ways of living, but whose translations were not based on the Yali primary data but on Zöllner’s German translation equivalents. This is the reason why we refrained from publishing a second volume “Yali – English dictionary” with English definitions only, and instead decided to keep the German definitions and translations present in this edition, thus publishing a trilingual dictionary Yali – English – German. While the single entries therefore might be quite complex and possibly confusing at times, from a philological point of view we considered it important to keep all information together in this one volume.

2.1 How to read an entry

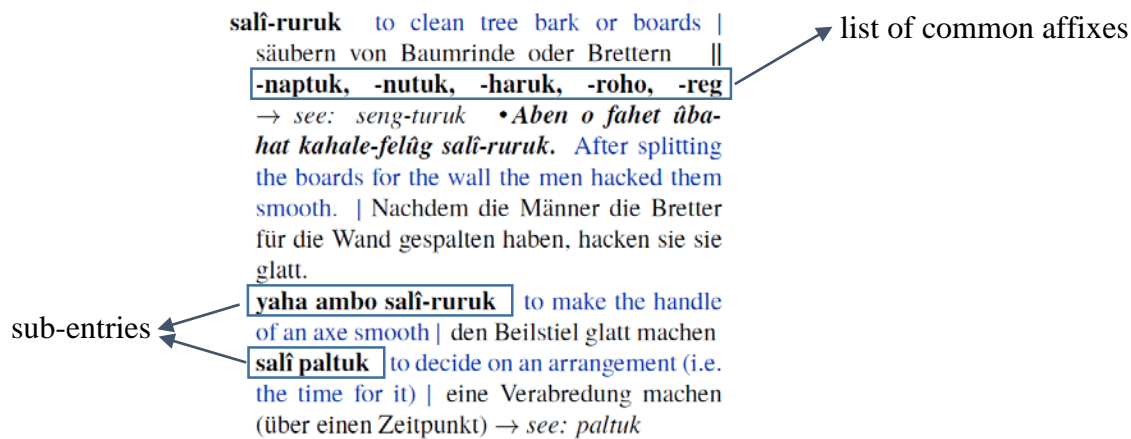
Entries in this dictionary differ in complexity. The simplest ones consist of a lexeme (in bold face), followed by its English translation in blue, and its German translation in black. More complex entries will additionally include a set of affixes that commonly occur with the respective lexeme. It is important to note that this list is not necessarily complete, i.e. other morphological forms might be possible. Yet, it usually reflects the most common uses. All affixes that occur in this dictionary are listed in alphabetical order in section 2.2 below. Their functions and uses are discussed in detail in section 4. Besides the listed affixes, entries usually

⁵ We are grateful to Kilu von Prince for making available her manual for converting Toolbox databases to LaTeX, which we used to produce the published version of this dictionary.

⁶ Dawuda, Haiduck, Malcher, and Riesberg have been generously financed by the Volkswagen Foundation within the DoBeS-project “Documentation Summits in the Central Mountains of Papua”. Sonja Riesberg further gratefully acknowledges funding from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) in the Collaborative Research Centre SFB1252 Prominence in Language (Project-ID 281511265) and from the Australian Research Council as a postdoc in the Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language.

⁷ Many thanks to the Cologne student assistants Katharina Gayler, Jonas Heinen, Marc Heinrich, and Sophia Little for helping preparing this second edition.

contain example sentences (in italics and bold face), which are followed by their English and German translations. Furthermore, an entry may have several sub-entries. Sub-entries, just like the main lexical entry, are printed in bold face. They are indented and can thus be distinguished from the main lexical entry. See the following example for the lexical entry *salî-ruruk*:



The following labels and abbreviations are used, listed in alphabetical order:

- 1, 2, 3 (subscripted numbers after the lexeme), denotes that two or more lexical entries are homophonous, e.g.:
- mo₁** kind of sugarcane | Zuckerrohrsorte
mo₂ sun | Sonne
- (1), (2), (3) Different senses of the same lexeme, e.g.:
- ambohom** (1) his pig | sein Schwein (2) his possession | sein Besitz
- **also:** Variant form. An alternative form of the head lexeme; can be followed by *usage/Verw.*, which then gives information regarding the dialectal area in which the variant form is used, e.g. **sibun-atuk** → **also:** *subun-atuk* → *Usage: Piliyam to get stuck, to get caught on sth.* | hängen bleiben
- **Antonym:** Antonymous expression, e.g. **siyag bad, evil** | schlecht → **Antonym:** *fano*
- For:/ Für:** Information about the semantic context in which the lexeme is used. Often lists possible object referents for a given verb, e.g.: **senggeltuk to cut (up) | (auf)schneiden** **For:** *pork* | **Für:** *Schweinefleisch*
- **from:** Information about the morphological make-up of a lexeme, if the lexeme is morphologically complex, e.g. **momînap light-skinned men** | hellhäutige Männer → **from:** *momî înap*
- **Contrast:** Contrasting concept, e.g.: **hîndal a girl's first menstruation** | erste Menstruation eines Mädchens → **Contrast:** *pikalem sap-turuk menstruation* | *die monatliche Menstruation*
- **Coordinate:** Coordinate term. The listed term shares a hypernym with the lexeme, e.g. **asibuk breastbone (of humans and birds) | Brustbein (bei Menschen und Vögeln)** → **Coordinate:** *ûmahayeg breastbone (of pigs) | Brustbein (beim Schwein)*
- Gram.** Grammatical information. It most often occurs with inalienably possessed nouns that are consonant initial. In this lexicon, these nouns are cited twice:

once as roots, and once in their 3rd person singular forms, which are marked by the prefix *a-*. In this latter case, Gram. lists the root of the lexeme, e.g.: **ayemanggen** *inal*. **leg glands** | Beindrüsen **Gram.** -yemanggen

However, Gram. can also contain any other grammatical information, e.g. if a lexeme is an irregularly built form of another lexeme, e.g.: **oho₂** **to have picked up, to carry** | aufgehoben haben, tragen **Gram.** form of 'waruk' – Form von ‚waruk‘

- inal.** Notes that the lexeme is inalienably possessed, i.e. that it obligatorily occurs in its genitive form.
- **loan word:** Lists the origin of a loanword, e.g. **posiye iron ax** | Eisenbeil → **loan word:** *Balim*
- Lit:** The literal meaning of a metaphoric expression. It always precedes the figurative/metaphoric translation, e.g. **hînggareg hayenggol ari nenggen** **Lit:** *you have eaten your own sperm* | **Lit:** du hast dein eigenes Sperma gegessen
- Met:** The metaphoric meaning of an expression. It always follows the literal translation, e.g. **hînggareg hayenggol ari nenggen** **Lit:** *you have eaten your own sperm* | **Lit:** du hast dein eigenes Sperma gegessen **Met:** *you have killed a relative and eaten him* | **Met:** du hast einen Verwandten getötet und gegessen
- **Note:** /**Notiz:** Note that lists any additional information about the lexeme, e.g. **palum** *a form of illness* | eine Krankheit – **Note:** *You get it in the high mountains because the Mûnggûwat spirit eats discarded batata leftovers. The symptoms are similar to those of malaria.* | **Notiz:** Man bekommt sie in den hohen Bergen, dadurch, dass der Mûnggûwat-Geist Batatenreste, die man weggeworfen hat, gegessen hat. Sie äußert sich durch ähnliche Symptome wie Malaria.
- **Parallel:** Parallel concepts. Unlike variant forms (→ *also:*), there are more or less subtle semantic differences between the lexeme and the parallel form, e.g. **losike stick for harvesting sweet potatoes** | Stab, Stock, zum Ernten von Süßkartoffeln → **Parallel:** *inggisim stick (especially for women)* | Stab (vor allem für Frauen)
- **Plural:** Plural form, e.g. **îknî father** | Vater → **Plural:** *îknîsi*
- **Restr.** Restricted use. The use of the lexeme is restricted to specific expressions and cannot occur otherwise, e.g. **kûng kûng** → **Restr.** *kûng kûng laruk to go directly, without any diversions* | auf direktem Weg gehen, ohne Umwege
- **see:** Cross-reference to another entry. Often refers to the hypernym or to the hyponym of the lexeme, e.g. **lembuwe kind of batata** | Batatensorte → **see:** *sûbûrû*
- **Singular:** Singular form if the lexeme is listed in its plural form, e.g. **înap men, human beings** | Männer, Menschen → **Singular:** *ap*
- **Synonym:** Synonymous expression, e.g. **lîyaso small, tiny (of pigs)** | klein, winzig (von Schweinen) → **Synonym:** *itik*
- **Usage:/Verw:** Information about usage. Can either give information about dialectal usage, or about groups of speakers that might use the respective lexeme or expression (e.g. only women, or only children). If giving dialectal information, it names the dialectal area, in which the form is used. In these cases, it often follows a variant form (→ *also:*), e.g.: **fagfag butterfly, moth** | Schmetterling, Falter *Also:* *fahebag* → **Usage:** *in Poronggoli.*

→ *Usage*: /*Verw.* might also give information about special genres (e.g. ritual speech) in which the lexeme or expression is used, e.g. **lang-o fang-o to hold tight** | festhalten → *Usage*: *ritual language* | *Verw.* *rituelle Sprache*

Note that none of the additionally given information, such as variant forms (→ *also*), etymological origin (→ *from*), coordinate terms (→ *Coordinate*), etc. makes any claim to completeness. No systematic elicitation of these categories has taken place. The reader should therefore see these amendments as additional material whenever they occur, rather than expecting them to appear systematically and exhaustively for every entry.

2.2 List of morphemes

The following list contains all morphemes that might be listed with a lexeme. It does not exhaustively contain all affixes and clitics of the Yali language – it only lists those that actually occur in this dictionary, listed after the lexeme of a lexical entry. Their functions are discussed in detail in section 4, where some aspects of Yali grammar are explained in more detail. Note that in this list, as well as in the single entries where morphemes are listed, no distinction between affixes and clitics is made. In the respective sub-sections of section 4 it will be stated whether the respective formative is an affix or a clitic.

Affixes & clitics	Section	Affixes & clitics	Section
a-	4.3.2	nene-	4.3.2
angge	4.3.3	-nîyaruk	4.4.6
-atuk	4.4.10	-nûbaharuk	4.4.6
-eg/ -Vg	4.4.8.2	-nutuk	4.4.6
ene-	4.3.2	-oho/ -(o)ko	4.4.8.1
-feruk/ -feseruk	4.4.4	-on	4.3.1
ha-	4.3.2	-taruk/ -raruk	4.4.7
-haruk	4.4.6	-teberuk/ -reberuk	4.4.4
hene-	4.3.2	-tebeseruk/ -rebeseruk	4.4.4
-ik	4.4.9	-teg/ -reg	4.4.8.2
-îsaruk	4.4.6	-toho/ -roho	4.4.8.1
-mû/ -ma	4.2.1 and 4.3.4	-tik/ -rik	4.4.9
na-	4.3.2	-turuk/ -ruruk	4.4.2
-naptuk	4.4.6	-uruk	4.4.2

2.3 Dialectal differences in the examples in section 4

As mentioned in section 1, the Yali speaking community divides into four dialectal areas: Abenaho, Angguruk, Apahapsili and Ninia. This dictionary is a dictionary of the Angguruk dialect. However, in the *Notes on Yali grammar* in section 4, examples from the Apahapsili dialect as well as from the Angguruk dialect are used to illustrate the morpho-syntactic phenomena discussed. All Angguruk examples are taken from the example sentences in this dictionary. They are referenced with the dialect code for Angguruk (ANG) and the respective dictionary entry where the example sentence can be found. For example, [ANG entry *ahako*] states that the example is taken from the lexical entry *ahako* ‘strong, brave’. The Apahapsili examples are taken from a corpus of mostly spontaneous spoken language compiled by Sonja Riesberg and Kristian Walianggen as part of the Volkswagen Foundation-funded

documentation project “Documentation Summits in the Central Mountains of Papua”. These examples are, again, referenced with a dialect code (APA for Apahapsili), and with the name of the recording they stem from, e.g. [APA man_and_pig 003]⁸. All audio/video recordings and their transcripts are accessible in The Language Archive (TLA) of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, see <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/00-0000-0000-0017-EA2F-C@view>. Elicited data is signaled by punctuation and capitalization both in the vernacular text and the translation. This pertains to all the Angguruk examples taken from the dictionary entries, but also to some of the examples taken from the Apahapsili documentation corpus. Spontaneous spoken data does not follow punctuation or capitalization conventions.

There are five major differences between Angguruk Yali and Apahapsili Yali relevant for the understanding of the examples in section 4:

1. The (orthographic) distinction of centralised vowels
In the Apahapsili dialect, the difference between the high front vowel /i/ and its central counterpart /i/, as well as the difference between the high back vowel /u/ and centralised /u/, is not as pronounced as in Angguruk, if it exists at all. Younger speakers especially do not distinguish between centralised and non-centralised vowels. The orthography used by the team of the above-mentioned documentation project thus does not make this distinction (as it might well not exist in the first place). In section 4, it is therefore sometimes the case that the same word is spelled in different ways, depending on whether the example is taken from the Angguruk or the Apahapsili corpus.
2. The paradigm of genitive prefixes for consonant-initial stems
Angguruk Yali and Apahapsili Yali have different genitive prefixes for consonant-initial stems in the plural. While in Angguruk Yali the genitive prefix paradigm for vowel-initial and consonant-initial stems differs in the singular and in the plural, in Apahapsili, this distinction is abandoned in the plural (i.e. consonant- and vowel-initial stems in the plural take the same set of genitive markers as in the singular). Genitive prefixes and the respective differences between the two dialects are discussed in section 4.3.2. Whenever an Apahapsili example displays a genitive form that differs from the form used in Angguruk, the Angguruk form will be given in a footnote.
3. Plural forms of Class A object verbs
In a similar way to the genitive prefixes discussed above, Angguruk Yali and Apahapsili Yali have different plural object forms in the A paradigm (see section 4.4.6). A footnote will give the Angguruk form if an example contains a deviating Apahapsili form.
4. The remote past tense paradigm
Some verbs in Angguruk Yali and Apahapsili Yali have different remote past tense forms. Again, the Angguruk form will be given in a footnote if an example exhibits an Apahapsili form that deviates from the Angguruk form.
5. The use of *suruk* (APA) instead of *turuk* (ANG)
Apahapsili Yali uses (inflected forms of) *suruk* ‘to do’, where Angguruk Yali uses *turuk* ‘to do’. No semantic or functional difference between these two forms is attested.

⁸ The number here indicates the record marker in the respective Toolbox file.

3 Phonology and orthography

3.1 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

As in many Trans-New Guinea languages, the phonemic system of consonants in Yali is relatively simple. Yali has twelve phonemic consonants: three voiceless stops, three voiceless fricatives, three nasals, the lateral /l/, and the two approximants /w/ and /j/.

	(bi)labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
plosive	/p/	/t/		/k/	
fricative	/ɸ/	/s/			/χ/
nasal	/m/	/n/		/ŋ/	
lateral		/l/			
approximant	/w/		/j/		

Table 1: phonemic inventory of consonants

plosives

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial plosive. Word finally, the closure is often not released, i.e. /p/ is realised as [p̚], as in /ap/ [ap̚] ‘man’. After nasals, it is produced as the voiced bilabial plosive [b], e.g. in /ampeg/ [ambeg] ‘place’, or /simpuk/ [simbuk] ‘round’. There are a few words in which /p/ occurs intervocally as [p], such as /opinel/ [opinel] ‘thunder’. However, many of these are compounds (‘opinel’ actually consists of *o* ‘weather’ and *pinel* ‘thunder’). Other occurrences of intervocalic [p] involve plant- or animal names, clan names, onomatopoeic expressions, secret language, and loan words. In most instances, however, i.e. in all regular morpho-phonemic processes, intervocalic /p/ becomes [β]. For example, stem-final /p/ becomes [β] if a vowel initial suffix or encliticon is added, as in [pilaptuk] (*pilap -tuk*) ‘to drop sth.’, which becomes [pilaβen] (*pilap =en*) in combination with the causal linker =*en*. I therefore conclude that intervocalic [p] – with few lexical exceptions – does not exist in Yali. In all other positions, i.e. word initially and word medially after consonants, /p/ is realised as a voiceless plosive [p], as in /piten/ [piren] ‘two’ and /alpaltuk/ [alpaltuk̚].

- /p/ → [p̚] / __#
- /p/ → [b] / nasal__
- /p/ → [β] / V__V
- /p/ → [p] / elsewhere

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar plosive. Like its bilabial counterpart, /t/ is produced as a non-released plosive word finally, and becomes voiced after nasals (cf. /χit/ [hit̚] ‘you (2pl)’; /aχanti/ [aχandi] ‘downstream’). In intervocalic position, /t/ is realised as [r], as, for example, in /waχatuk/ [waχaruk̚] ‘(he/she/it is) coming’, which consists of the stem /waχa/ and the progressive suffix /-tuk/. Like the above-mentioned change from /p/ to [β], this change from /t/ to [r] holds for all productive morpho-phonemic processes. Note also that Indonesian loan words with final [r] are realized with final [t̚], as e.g. Indonesian *pasar* ‘market’ becomes [pasat̚] in Yali. However, just like with intervocalic /p/, there are a few lexical exceptions in which intervocalic /t/ does not change to [r], as, for

example, in / ϕ etɛŋ-toχo/ [ɸetɛŋ-toχo] ‘all’. Word initially and word medially, /t/ is produced as [t], as in /tinj/ [tinj] ‘correct’ or in /holtuŋ/ [holtuŋ] ‘cough’.

/t/ → [tʰ] / __#

/t/ → [d] / nasal__

/t/ → [r] / V__V

/t/ → [t] / elsewhere

/k/ is a voiceless velar plosive. Again, like bilabial /p/ and alveolar /t/, /k/ is voiced after nasals and non-released in word final position (cf. /ik/ [ikʰ] ‘water’, and /aŋken/ [aŋgen] ‘fruit’). In all other positions, i.e. word initially and word medially, /k/ is realised as [k], as in /kem/ [kem] ‘(traditional) skirt’; /eke/ [eke] ‘and’.

/k/ → [kʰ] / __#

/k/ → [g] / nasal__

/k/ → [k] / elsewhere

fricatives

/ɸ/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative. In this form, it occurs word initially and word medially after consonants, as in /ɸuχ/ [ɸuχ] ‘not’ and /ɸalɸalik/ [ɸalɸalik] ‘six’. Some speakers produce it as a labio-dental [f] in these environments, i.e. [ɸuχ] and [ɸalɸalik] can be heard equally often, thus voiceless bilabial and the labio-dental versions of this phoneme seem to be in free variation. No dialectal/areal or socio-linguistic features could so far be shown to determine the distribution of the two variants, but speakers seem to be consistent in producing only one of the two. In intervocalic position, /ɸ/ is realised as [β], cf. /aɸet/ [aβetʰ] ‘old’, or [aβil], which consists of the stem /ɸil/ ‘direction’ and the 3rd person genitive prefix *a-*. Base-internally, it is not possible to determine whether a given instance of intervocalic [β] is an allophone of /ɸ/ or of /p/. The orthography applied in this dictionary uses to represent this phone in this environment (see section 3.3) and thus does not commit to either of the two analyses. Some speakers – especially those who are frequently exposed to (written) Indonesian – produce the bilabial plosive [b] in intervocalic position.

/ɸ/ → [β] or [b] / V__V

/ɸ/ → [ɸ] or [f] / elsewhere

/s/ is an alveolar fricative that occurs word initially and in word medial position, as in /seχen/ [seχen] ‘bow’; /isa/ [isa] ‘mother’, /otsi/ [otsi] ‘younger siblings (pl)’. There is no word final /s/ in Yali.

/χ/ is a voiceless uvular fricative. It occurs word initially, word medially and word finally (cf. /χat/ [χatʰ] ‘you (2sg)’, /aχap/ [aχapʰ] ‘skin’, /pilχalturuk/ [pilχalturukʰ] ‘to stretch’, and /wereχ/ [wereχ] ‘there is’). In fluent speech, its voiced counterpart [ʁ] is often produced, e.g. /aχapʰ/ often becomes [aʁapʰ], and /wereχ/ can also be pronounced as [wereʁ]. Word initially, speakers often produce the voiceless glottal fricative [h] instead of the voiceless uvular fricative. Thus, for example, /χat/ can also be pronounced as [hatʰ].

nasals

/m/ is a bilabial nasal, occurring word initially, word medially, and in word-final position (cf. /malik/ [malikʰ], /pamo/ [pamo] ‘(black) magic’, /pitmin/ [pitmin], and /χom/ [hom]).

/n/ is an alveolar nasal. Like its bilabial counterpart, it occurs in all positions, i.e. word initially, word medially, and word finally (cf. /natuk/ [naruk] ‘(he is) eating’, /seni/ [seni] ‘earth oven’, and /aχun/ [aχun] ‘husband’).

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal found in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position, as, for example, in /ŋuk/ [ŋuk] ‘flood’, /aŋken/ [aŋgen] ‘fruit’, /siŋ/ [siŋ] ‘black’.

lateral

/l/ is an alveolar lateral that can occur in any position (cf. /lam/ [lam] ‘maybe’, /ele/ [ele] ‘voice’, /amloχo/ [amloχo] ‘son’, and /ahəwal/ [ahəwal] ‘armpip’).

approximants

/w/ is a voiced labio-velar approximant. It occurs word initially, as in /wam/ [wam] ‘pig’ and intervocalically, as in /awilik/ [awilik] ‘the inner part of the pandanus fruit’.

/j/ is a palatal approximant that occurs in word initial position, as in /jali/ [jali] ‘Yali’, or /jaβuk/ [jaβuk] ‘garden’, and intervocalically, as in /ajeχ/ [ajeχ] ‘tooth’.

3.2 Vowel phonemes

The vowel inventory of Yali differs depending on the dialect. Angguruk Yali differentiates 7 vowels, and shows a clear distinction between the high front vowel /i/ and its central counterpart /i/, as well as between the high back vowel /u/ and centralised /u/. In Apahapsili Yali, the status of this distinction is unclear, as many speakers, especially the younger ones, neither produce nor hear the difference. Likewise, Fahner (1979), in his work on the Abenaho dialect, only postulates 5 phonemic vowels, not distinguishing centralised and non-centralised high vowels. There are, however, a few minimal pairs (and quite a lot of near-minimal pairs) that justify the phonemic status of /i/ and /u/ in Angguruk, as the data in (1) illustrates.

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) a. | /pun/ | ‘not yet ripe’ | /pʉn/ | ‘k.o. nose jewellery for women’ |
| b. | /χik-tutuk/ | ‘to darken’ | /χik-tutuk/ | ‘to send away’ |
| c. | /χi-tutuk/ | ‘to scream’ | /χi-tutuk/ | ‘to greet/ to congratulate’ |
| d. | /min/ | ‘cold (water)’ | /min/ | ‘with’ |
| e. | /pu-tutuk/ | ‘to run fast’ | /pʉ-tutuk/ | ‘to not look at sb.’ |

i	(i)	(ʉ)	u
e			o
		a	

Figure 1: phonemic inventory of vowels

All vowels can occur in all positions within the word, as the following examples illustrate:

/i:/	/ik/ ‘water’	/malik/ ‘child’	/seli/ ‘hostile’
/i:/	/il/ ‘eye’	/χin/ ‘calfbone’	/meli/ ‘large shell’
/e:/	/el/ ‘sugar cane’	/χelep/ ‘stone’	/itaxe/ ‘lung’
/ʉ:/	/ʉŋka/ ‘roof’	/sʉχ/ ‘mushroom’	/χʉ/ ‘leafy vegetable’
/u:/	/ul/ ‘ash’	/sum/ ‘net bag’	/polu/ ‘red soil’
/o:/	/otuk/ ‘hair’	/otoχ/ ‘slow’	/ololo/ ‘dust’
/a:/	/aχap/ ‘skin’	/χali/ ‘banana’	/ka/ ‘white, limy soil’

3.3 Orthographic notes

The orthography used in the dictionary and in this grammar sketch has been developed by the missionaries working in the Angguruk and Apahapsili area, especially by Siegfried Zöllner and Friedrich Tometten (both *Vereinte Evangelische Mission Wuppertal*). It is based on the standard Indonesian orthography and is largely identical with the writing system used in the Yali Bible translation and other materials produced by the church.⁹ In general, phonemes are represented with the respective IPA symbol. However, the following irregularities exist:

First, all plosives that occur after nasals are represented by the respective voiced allophone, i.e. in this position /p/, /t/, and /k/ are written as , <d>, and <g> respectively. Intervocalic /t/ is represented as <r>, with the exception of those cases where intervocalic /t/ is irregularly pronounced as [t]. In these instances, <t> is written. The voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ (as well as its labiodental variant [f]) is represented as <f>. Intervocalic /ɸ/ and intervocalic /p/ are both represented as . An exception, again, is found in those cases where intervocalic /p/ is irregularly pronounced as [p], where <p> is written. The voiceless uvular fricative /χ/ is represented as <h> word initially and word medially, and it is written as <g> in word final position. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented as <ng>. The palatal approximant /j/ is represented as <y>. The centralised vowels /i/ and /u/ are written as <î> and <û>, respectively.

Table 2 summarizes those orthographic conventions that constitute a deviation from the respective IPA symbol.

Phoneme	Grapheme	Environment
/p/	<p>	elsewhere
		after nasal
	/<p>	intervocalic
/t/	<t>	elsewhere
	<d>	after nasal
	<r>/<t>	intervocalic
/k/	<k>	elsewhere
	<g>	after nasal
/ɸ/	<f>	elsewhere
		intervocalic
/χ/	<h>	elsewhere
	<g>	word final
/ŋ/	<ng>	
/j/	<y>	
/i/	<î>	
/u/	<û>	

Table 2: Irregular phoneme to grapheme correspondences

While most of the orthographic ambiguities are disambiguated by context – e.g. after nasals is always an underlying /p/ and not /ɸ/ – there is one major problem with the current orthography: /ɸ/ and /p/ share the same orthographic symbol and can occur in the same environment, i.e. intervocalically. In certain instances (base-internally or if a /ɸ/ or /p/ initial stem combines with a vowel-final prefix), it is thus not predictable from the orthography which of the two is the underlying phoneme. As mentioned before, a word like <abîl>, for example,

⁹ The one difference being that in the Bible translation, the distinction between centralised and non-centralised high vowels is not represented orthographically.

consists of the 3rd singular genitive prefix *a-* and the stem /fīl/. The fact that the stem is /fīl/ and not /pīl/ is not reconstructable from the orthography.

4 Some notes on Yali grammar

The description given in this section aims to give a broad overview over some grammatical aspects of the Yali language that will enable the reader to make sense of the grammatical information provided in the individual lexical entries of this dictionary. It is solely restricted to those categories and concepts that occur within the entries in this dictionary, with some additional information provided to help the reader understand the example sentences found in the entries. No in-depth analysis on any grammatical aspect will be provided.

This section will start with some general notes on Yali, such as on the major word classes (section 4.1), and an introduction to Yali basic clause structure (section 4.2). It will then give a short overview over nominal and verbal morphology (sections 4.3 and 4.4 respectively).

4.1 Major word classes

There are four major word classes that can be distinguished on formal grounds: **Nouns** are words that may take possessive pronominal prefixes. Their primary function is to be the head of a noun phrase and to occur in argument function. Usually, they are morphologically not marked or inflected, though a subclass of nouns (particularly kinship nouns) can be inflected for number. Plural forms, where they exist, are listed after nominal lexical entries. Nouns can be modified by adjectives (section 4.3.1), demonstratives and determiners, and less frequently by participles (section 4.4.8). Further, they can take case-marking clitics or occur with postpositions to form adpositional phrases (section 4.3.4). The set of case clitics in Yali is rather limited, but the few existing case markers are multi-functional. The encliticon =*en* (optionally) marks the agent, but also signals body part instruments and ablative case relations. The encliticon =*mû* predominantly marks locative relations, which, with verbs of motion, can also be interpreted as an allative. In certain contexts, the locative case clitic can also receive a temporal reading, i.e. it signals “location” in time.

Independent verbs can be inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. Their primary function is to constitute the predicate of the clause. All finite independent verbs obligatorily agree with the subject referent in person and number. Depending on the construction and on the object referent, cross-reference with the object referent is also possible. Independent verbs can further be marked for switch reference, signalling whether the subject of the second clause is identical with, or different from, that of the first clause. For more information on different types of verbal predicates, as well as for different verbal morphology, see section 4.4.

Adjectives can be distinguished from nouns and verbs because they cannot inflect for tense, aspect, or agreement and they cannot – without any additional morphological marking – occur in argument function. Adjectives can function either as predicates or as nominal modifiers. The word class of basic adjectives is a closed class with only a few members.

In addition to the basic adjectives, one can probably distinguish a class of **adjectival nouns**. Adjectival nouns are nouns that denote character traits, states of emotion, and properties. Just like basic adjectives, they can modify nouns and function as predicates. However, they behave like nominals in the sense that – just like inalienably possessed nouns – they are obligatorily marked by a genitive prefix. For more details on inalienably possessed nouns, adjectival nouns, and non-verbal predicates, see section 4.3.2.

The fourth major word class constitute the so-called **coverbs**. Coverbs, like independent verbs, always function as predicates. However, they never predicate on their own, but always have to collocate with a light verb, i.e. a semantically light independent verb, which takes the necessary TAM and agreement marking. Coverbs themselves cannot be marked for any of these categories, and are thus clearly to be distinguished from independent verbs. Coverbs can also be distinguished from nouns because they cannot function as arguments, they cannot be

modified by demonstratives or quantifiers, and they cannot take case marking. They differ from adjectives in that they cannot be nominalized, and they differ from adverbs, in that their ordering options are much more restricted. See section 4.4.2 for details.

Other, minor word classes include numerals, postpositions, demonstratives and determiners, and possibly adverbs. These minor word classes will not be further discussed.

4.2 Basic clause structure

Yali is predominantly head-marking and its basic word order is S-O-V, as shown in the simple transitive clause in (2)a. In clauses with basic word order, the subject NP can be optionally marked by the agentive marker =*en*, as illustrated in (2)b. In marked word order, i.e. if the object precedes the subject, this agentive marking of the subject NP becomes obligatory (cf. (2)c).

- (2) a. [*he itno*]_{SUB} [*wam ibmano*]_{OBJ} *nibag*¹⁰ *fug*
 he itno wam ibma=no na-ibag fug
 woman DET pig there=GIV eat-3.REM.PST NEG
 ‘the woman did not eat the pig there, either’ [APA man_and_pig 129]

- b. [*Hîyaben*]_{SUB} [*sum fene*]_{OBL} [*sûwe oruk*]_{OBJ} *îlîtuk*.
 hîyap=**en** sum fene sûwe oruk îlîl-tuk
 woman=AGT net.bag at bird feather attach-PROG
 ‘The woman is attaching a bird feather to the net bag.’ [ANG entry *fene*]

- c. [*not* *ari*]_{OBJ} [*wamen*]_{SUB} *narision* *ari*
 n-ot ari wam=**en** na-tisi=on ari
 1s.GEN-younger.sibling DEM pig=AGT eat-3s.PST=AM DEM
*fahet wilahi o ibagmare*¹¹ (...)
 fahet wilahi o ibag=mu=te
 for stay:1s.PRS INTJ say:3s.REM.PST=DS.PRIOR=CONJ
 ‘‘my brother, the wild boar ate (him), so I stay here’’ she answered and ...’
 [APA man_and_pig 184]

However, argument expressions are frequently omitted. Especially the subject NP – being cross-referenced by agreement morphology on the verb – is often not overtly expressed. Object agreement is possible but is dependent on the semantic role and the animacy of the referent (see example (3)b and section 4.4.6 for more details).

- (3) a. *Siyong enemîgmû wan-turuk*.
 siyong ene-mîg=mu wan-tu-tuk
 k.o.necklace 3p.GEN-chest=LOC wear-do-PROG
 ‘They are wearing necklaces on their chests.’ [ANG entry *wan-turuk*]

- b. *e anggen itnore nandog tohore og-irehesa*
 e anggen itno=te nandog tu-oho=te og-it-ehesa
 fruit DET=TOP collect do-ADV.PART=TOP give-3s.OBJ:B-3p.IM.PST
 ‘collecting the fruits, they gave them to him’ [APA pear_story_Ibrahim 042]

¹⁰ ANG: *nibag* or *narik-îbag*

¹¹ ANG: *îbag* or *irik-îbag*

In addition to verbal clauses like those illustrated in (2) and (3), where the predicate consists of one or more verbal elements, one of which obligatorily inflects for tense, aspect, and subject agreement, Yali distinguishes existential clauses and non-verbal clauses. Existential clauses are built by using either a (participle) form of the verb *wîlatuk* ‘to stay/to be (located)’, or its negative counterpart *eleg*¹².

- (4) a. *yahiye misig wereg ano piren?*
yahiye misig wereg ano piren
 frog one stay:3.PRS Q two
 ‘is there one frog or are there two?’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 236]

- b. *Malik falfaliken wîlahe, sabiron eleg.*
malik falfaliken wîlat-ehe sabit=on eleg
 child six stay-1p.PRS seven=AM not
 ‘We are six children, a seventh (child) does not exist.’ [ANG entry *sabit*]

Non-verbal clauses can either be equational clauses which take a NP as predicate, illustrated in (5), or clauses with adjectives in predicative function, as in (6).

- (5) a. *Ante nahako nahûn.*
an=te n-ahako n-ahûn
 1s=TOP 1s.GEN-strong 1s.GEN-man
 ‘I am a strong man.’ [ANG entry *ahako*]

- b. *An hamî-angge sûbûrû og-nimin.*
an h-amî=a-ngge sûbûrû og-nimin
 1s 2s.GEN-uncle=3s.GEN-thing sweet.potato give-1s.OBJ:B:IMP
 ‘I’m your relative, give me the sweet potatoes.’ [ANG entry *kep-turuk*]

- (6) a. *inibam lumu fano*
in-ibam lu=mu fano
 3p.GEN-home there=LOC good
 ‘their houses there are good’ [APA conversation_1 427]

- b. *E înggîla harebon aru selon.*
e înggîla harep=on aru sel=on
 tree leaf old=AM DEM yellow=AM
 ‘The old leaves of a tree are yellow.’ [ANG entry *sel-turuk*]

4.2.1 Switch reference

Yali exhibits two switch reference markers, which usually mark temporal priority of the event denoted in the first clause over the event denoted in the second clause. One marks a switch in

¹² Note that *eleg* can also function as a negation which can negate any predicate:

- (i) *unggum angge laharuk elehente...*
unggum a-ngge laha-tuk eleg=en=te
 sprout 3s.GEN-thing go.up-PROG not=CAUS=TOP
 ‘because the sprouts are not growing...’ [APA suit_13 043]

subject referents (=mû), and one signals that the subject of the first clause is identical with the subject of the following clause (=teg). Note that the different subject marker =mû is vowel harmonic (as is the locative marker =mû, cf. section 4.3.4). If the preceding syllable contains an [a], [e], or [u] =mû is realized as [ma], after syllables with [i], [u], and [u] it occurs as [mɔ]. Following a syllable that contains the vowel [i], the most common realization is [mɔ], but there are a few exceptions, such as *ikma* ‘at the river’¹³.

- (7) [yahiye senerehekteg]
 yahiye senet-ehek=**teg**
 frog hold-3s.IM.PST=**SS.PRIOR**
- [inggik ahulmu embehekteg] [waharuk]
 inggik ahul=mu embe-ehek=**teg** waha-tuk
 hand palm=LOC put-3s.IM.PST=**SS.PRIOR** come-PROG
 ‘after he caught the frog, and after he put it into his hand, he was coming’
 [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 269]
- (8) *huluon alulukmu wahama sahowon laha*
 hulu=on aluluk=mu waha=**mu** saho=on laha
 red=AM close=LOC come:3s.IM.PST=**DS.PRIOR** blue=AM go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘the red one came close and the blue one moved’ [APA ECOM_sr_Edison_W 051]

Note that both sequential marker, =teg and =mû, attach to fully inflected, i.e. tensed verb forms. There are two further switch-reference markers *lît* (same subject) and =im (different subject), which differ from =teg and =mû in two ways: First, they don’t mark sequential but simultaneous action, second, they usually only follow non-finite verb forms (i.e. verb forms ending in -tuk, or verbal participles). Consider the following two examples:

- (9) *Ap yûnggûltuk lît mase-ruruk.*
 ap yûnggûl-tuk **lît** mase-tu-tuk
 man dance-PROG **SS.SIM** walk.in.circle-do-PROG
 ‘When they are dancing the men run round in a circle.’ [ANG entry mase-ruruk]
- (10) *Seni esetikim ahe laharuk.*
 seni eset-tuk=**im** ahe laha-tuk
 earth.oven cook-PROG=**DS.SIM** steam go.up-PROG
 ‘When the food is cooking between hot stones steam rises.’ [ANG entry ahe]

4.2.2 Clause chaining – the sequential marker -lûg /-tûg

Like many other Trans-New Guinea languages that are verb-final, Yali exhibits clause chaining – a phenomenon in which several clauses are ‘chained’ together, only the final one of which contains a fully inflected verb. Being the only clause in the chain with a finite verb, this final clause is usually considered to be an independent clause, while all preceding clauses are regarded as dependent clauses. The verbs in the dependent clauses, called medial verbs, are marked by a suffix which indicates the relation between the clauses, but otherwise lack the obligatory verbal inflection (such as, e.g., subject agreement and tense marking). In Yali, this dependent clause marker attaches directly to the stem of the medial verb.

¹³ In all examples that are taken from the Apahapsili corpus, the locative marker and the differential subject marker will be glossed as =mu instead of =mû (cf. the note on the (orthographic) distinction of centralised vowels in section 2.3).

The example in (11) illustrates a rather long chain of clauses. It consists of six dependent clauses, plus the independent clause in the final position of the chain. The dependent clauses all contain a medial verb which is not inflected for tense and subject agreement, but instead is marked by the dependent marker *-lug* (*-tug* after consonants).¹⁴ This marker signals the sequentiality of events in the chain. The TAM and agreement features of the final, finite verb are transmitted to all medial verbs in the preceding clauses of the chain, which thus all have the same subject.

- (11) i. *e saloma wak lalug*
 e saloma wa-ik **la-tug**
 wood k.o.tree take-DIR **go-SEQ**
- ii. *itanoen ka haruk lahebon aru wak lalug*
 ita=no=en ka ha-tuk la-ehep=on aru wa-ik **la-tug**
 DEM=GIV=ABL sugar.cane see-PROG do-2p.IM.PST=AM DET take-DIR **go-SEQ**
- iii. *itanoen huhubi tul fam te yaha*
 ita-no=en huhubi tul fam te yaha
 DEM-GIV=ABL cassowary.bone cleaver with TOP stone.axe
ebe yaha itno fam ahandimano alma tam waltefelug
 ebe yaha itno fam ahandi=mu=no alma tam **wal-te-fe-tug**
 stone.axe DET with beneath.it=LOC=GIV under first **form-SF-COMPL-SEQ**
- iv. *itnoen tung sil tung sil*
 itno=en tung su-il tung su-il
 DET=ABL cleave do-CONT cleave do-CONT
tomimu lemano lahalug
 tomi=mu le=mu=no **laha-tug**
 on.top=LOC over.there=LOC=GIV **go.up-SEQ**
- v. *pom itno fene pom itno empeik lalug*
 pom itno fene pom itno embe-ik **la-tug**
 k.o.tree DET on.top k.o.tree DET put-DIR **go-SEQ**
- vi. *itno fene ap lahalug*
 itno fene ap **laha-tug**
 DET on man **go.up-SEQ**
- vii. *wam abug uruk latpag*
 wam abug u-tuk **lat-pag**
 pig story speak-PROG **stay-3.REM.PST**

‘(i) they went to get Saloma wood, (ii) and then they went to get Ka sugar cane, which you have seen many times, (iii) and then, with a cassowary bone, with a stone axe, they split (the wood) at the bottom, (iv) and then they split it, they split it, up to the top, (v) on top of the Pom wood, they put the Pom wood there, (vi) the men got up, (vii) and they discussed the *initiation*’ [APA 1st_initiation 047-058]

In procedural descriptions like the one in example (11), one will often find longer chains. Short chains, only consisting of the independent clause plus one dependent clause, are, however, also very common.

¹⁴ ANG: *-lûg*

These short, two-verb chains are particularly frequent in the expression of bringing and taking events. In these instances, the chain consists of the verb *wa* ‘take’ as the non-inflected medial verb, and a motion verb as the final verb, which expresses the directionality of the event – usually towards the deictic centre (with *waha-* ‘come’), or away from the deictic centre (with *la-* ‘go’). See (12) for examples.¹⁵

- (12) a. *Aben hele aho-ho-angge walûg waharuk.*
 ap=en hele aho-ho-angge wa-tûg waha-tuk
 man=AGT rope curled-up.snake take-SEQ come-PROG
 ‘The men bring rattan that has been rolled up.’ [ANG entry *aho-ho-angge*]
- b. *owikmu itno [walug libareg] ...*
 owik=mu itno wa-tug la-ibag=teg
 cave=LOC DET take-SEQ go-3.REM.PST=SS.PRIOR
 ‘after they took it to the cave...’ [APA man_and_pig 200]

When expressing bringing and taking events, the two chained verbs usually stand in tight juxtaposition, which can be taken as evidence that these expressions are possibly on their way to becoming lexicalized. For example, when these expressions are negated, the negation always has scope over the two verbs and can never occur between *wa-* and the motion verb, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *At wam walug waha fug.*
 at wam wa-tug waha fug
 3s pig take-SEQ come:3s.IM.PST NEG
 ‘He didn’t bring the pig.’ [APA bring_take 005]
- b. **At wam walug fug waha.*
 at wam wa-tug fug waha
 3s pig take-SEQ NEG come:3s.IM.PST
 for: ‘He didn’t bring the pig.’ [APA bring_take 005]

With respect to negation, the two elements of the ‘clause’ chain in expressions of bringing and taking events thus do no longer behave like two separate clauses, but rather like a complex predicate with a monoclausal syntactic structure (cf. Bohnemeyer et al., 2007). For further discussion of this construction type and its possible lexicalization status see Riesberg (accepted).

4.3 Noun phrases, pronouns, and case marking

4.3.1 Noun phrases and the attributive clitic *=on*

The simplest Yali noun phrase consists of only a noun or a personal pronoun. A common, more complex noun phrase structure is shown in (14) and illustrated in (15):

- (14) noun (adjective) (numeral) (DET/DEM)
- (15) a. *malik* ‘a/the child’
 b. *malik ari* ‘this child’

¹⁵ Non-deictic motion verbs are also possible but are less frequent (see Riesberg, accepted).

- c. *malik tot/toron ari* ‘this little child’
 d. *malik tot/toron piren ari* ‘these two little children’

Note, however, that the structure in (14) is not the only possible ordering. If the noun phrase occurs in predicative function, the modifying adjective can also be a bare form placed in front of the noun, as in example (16).

- (16) *At tot umalik.*
 at tot u-malik
 3s small 3s.GEN-child
 ‘He is a little child.’ [APA field notes]

The last two examples in (15) show that adjectives can occur either as bare forms (here *tot* ‘small’), or marked by the clitic =*on* (i.e. becoming *toron*). This holds for adjectives in both attributive and predicative function. See, for example, (6)b. above and (17) for examples of the latter case.

- (17) *Malik ari fanowon.*
 malik ari fano=*on*
 child DEM good=*AM*
 ‘This child is good.’ [APA field notes]

Despite the fact that an =*on*-marked phrase can constitute the predicate of a clause, the clitic is glossed as an attributive marker here. There are two reasons for this choice: First, the attributive function is by far the most common one, and in addition to adjectives, =*on* also marks nouns and numerals in attributive function, as illustrated in the examples in (18).

- (18) a. *Ap Masahanggulion pasatma laruk.*
 ap Masahangguli=**on** pasar=*mu* la-tuk
 people Masahangguli=**AM** market=*LOC* go-*PROG*
 ‘The Masahangguli people are going to the market.’ [APA complex_sentences 002]
- b. *malik o tuon lima orang war-atusa*
 malik o tu=**on** lima orang wat-at-usa
 child place DEM=**AM** five people die-become-3p.IM.FUT
 ‘(of) those children from that place, five will get killed’ [APA interview_IP_Ware 0666f]
- c. *pikalem hinahanon fam wirim-tohore*
 pikalem hinahan=**on** fam wirim-tu-oho=*te*
 moon three=**AM** for measure-do-ADV.PART=*TOP*
- e sengge-siyag*
 e sengge-siyag
 tree break-do:1s.REM.PST
 ‘I broke off twigs measured for three months’ [APA interview_IP_Ware 2353]

Second, =*on* is also the marker of relative clauses, which, in Yali, are either internally headed (as is shown in (19)), or headless (as illustrated in (20)).

- (19) a. *iyug hulilip angge wan-tehon*
 iyug hililip a-ngge wan-tu-eg=**on**
 foot wrap 3s.GEN-thing wear-do-ST.PART=**AM**
 ‘the shoes he is wearing’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 198]
- b. *aphe wilahason ibmanoen e anggen itnore*
 aphe wilat-ehesa=**on** ibma=no=en e anggen itno=te
 people stay-3p.IM.PST=**AM** there=GIV=AGT fruits DET=TOP
nandog tohore og-irehesa
 nandog tu-ohe=te og-it-ehesa
 collect do-ADV.PART=TOP give-3s.OBJ:B-3p.IM.PST
 ‘the people who stayed there collected the fruits and gave them to him’
 [APA pear_story_Ibrahim 042]
- c. *ap e anggen tahanehekon itno*
 ap e anggen tahan-ehék=**on** itno
 man fruit pick-3s.IM.PST=**AM** DET
 ‘the man who picked the fruits’ [APA pear_story_Sep 68]
- (20) a. *og-naptuk larision ari wabul ulug*
 og-nap-tuk la-tisi=**on** ari wat-ul ulug
 give-1s.OBJ:A-PROG go-3s.PST=**AM** DEM hit-1p.IM.FUT SAY
 ‘they wanted to hit the one who was accompanying me’ [APA conversation_1 075]
- b. *Nelman wîlîp-atukon nele ahe ari.*
 n-ele=mu=en wîlîp-at-tuk=**on** n-ele ahe ari
 1s.GEN-mouth=LOC=ABL go.out-become-PROG=**AM** 1s.GEN-mouth steam DEM
 ‘What comes out of my mouth is my breath.’ [ANG entry *ahe*]

Maybe not surprisingly, =*on* can also function as a nominalizer¹⁶ which allows non-nominal elements marked by the clitic to occur in argument function and to take nominal case morphology. The following examples show this for an adjective (21)a and a stative participle of an independent verb (21)c. In these constructions, the occurrence of =*on* is obligatory, i.e. a bare adjective, or a stative participle in argument function is ungrammatical.

- (21) a. *toron ari naruk lahi*
 tot=**on** ari na-tuk lat-ihi
 small=**AM** DEM eat-PROG stay-1s.PRS
 ‘I am smoking the small ones’ [APA conversation_1 377]
- b. *et palehon laruk*
 et pal-eg=**on** la-tuk
 and cut-ST.PART=**AM** go-PROG
 ‘and the cut one is moving’ [APA ECOM_sr_Nies 014]

However, as the examples in (20) have demonstrated, it would be misleading to analyse =*on* as a nominalizer, as it also occurs on nominal bases. I therefore assume that its “nominalizer” uses,

¹⁶ A close relation between relativization and nominalization is typologically not uncommon. Tibeto Burman languages are famous for their extensive use of nominalized clauses – among other things – for relativization (cf. e.g. DeLancey 2002; Genetti 2011).

illustrated in (21), as well as its occurrence with phrases in predicative function as in (17), constitute headless relative clauses, parallel to the ones illustrated in (20).

4.3.2 Personal pronouns, genitive pronouns, and inalienable possession

Yali has six personal pronouns, summarised in **Table 3**, which can be used in both subject and object function, as illustrated in example (22).

1SG	<i>an</i>	1PL	<i>nit</i>
2SG	<i>hat</i>	2PL	<i>hit</i>
3SG	<i>at</i>	3PL	<i>it</i>

Table 3: Personal pronouns

- (22) *At an wolnap sehek.*
at an wol-nap su-ehek
 3s 1s call-1s.OBJ:B do-3s.IM.PST
 ‘He called me.’

[APA field notes]

Genitive forms are prefixed to the noun to mark possession. Table 4 and Table 5 show the genitive pronoun paradigms for vowel-initial stems and consonant-initial stems respectively.

1SG	<i>n-</i>	1PL	<i>nVn-</i>
2SG	<i>h-</i>	2PL	<i>hVn-</i>
3SG	∅	3PL	<i>Vn-</i>

Table 4: Genitive pronouns, vowel-initial stems

1SG	<i>nV-</i>	1PL	<i>nene-/nina-</i>
2SG	<i>hV-</i>	2PL	<i>hene-/hina-</i>
3SG	<i>a-</i>	3PL	<i>VnV-/ ina-</i>

Table 5: Genitive pronouns, consonant-initial stems

The vowels in these prefixes are partly affected by vowel harmony. For the vowel-initial paradigm it generally holds that the prefix-internal vowel corresponds to the stem-initial vowel. Exceptions are stems with initial /a/, which take /i/ as the prefix-internal vowel, as illustrated in (23). The third person singular genitive form of vowel-initial stems is zero marked.

- (23) *n-amî* ‘my mother’s brother’ *nîn-amî* ‘our mother’s brother’
h-amî ‘your mother’s brother’ *hîn-amî* ‘your mother’s brother’
amî ‘his/her mother’s brother’ *în-amî* ‘their mother’s brother’

In the consonant-initial paradigm, the default choice for the prefix-initial vowel is /a/ for singular forms and /e/ for plural forms – irrespective of the stem-internal vowel(s) – as shown in (24). An exception holds for stems with initial /j/, which take /i/ for both singular and plural forms (cf. (25)). Further, there are some lexically determined exceptions, such as, for example, *malik* ‘child’ and *he* ‘woman/wife’, which take /u/ for both singular and plural forms. With stems that start with one of the three plosives /p/, /t/, or /k/, a nasal is inserted, which then leads to the voicing of the respective plosive, as described in section 3.1 (cf. (26) for the stem *karog* ‘(small) machete’).

- (24) *na-mep* ‘my blood’ *nene-mep* ‘our blood’
ha-mep ‘your blood’ *hene-mep* ‘your blood’
a-mep ‘his/her blood’ *ene-mep* ‘their blood’
- (25) *nî-yabuk* ‘my garden’ *nî-nî-yabuk* ‘our garden’
hî-yabuk ‘your garden’ *hî-hî-yabuk* ‘your garden’
î-yabuk ‘his/her garden’ *î-nî-yabuk* ‘their garden’

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (26) | <i>nang-garog</i> | ‘my machete’ | <i>neneng-garog</i> | ‘our machete’ |
| | <i>hang-garog</i> | ‘your machete’ | <i>heheng-garog</i> | ‘your machete’ |
| | <i>ang-garog</i> | ‘his/her machete’ | <i>eneng-garog</i> | ‘their machete’ |

Note that body parts and kinship terms are inalienably possessed, i.e. they obligatorily occur with genitive marking. In this dictionary, all concepts that are inalienably possessed are marked as such (by the abbreviation *inal.*, which occurs directly after the lexeme). Consonant-initial inalienably possessed nouns are listed twice: once as stems (with a cross-reference to the respective third person singular genitive form), and once in their third person singular genitive form, which includes the prefix *a-* (with a grammatical note that includes the form of the stem). In addition to kinship terms and body parts, adjectival nouns are also obligatorily marked by the genitive prefix. As mentioned in section 4.1, adjectival nouns denote character traits, states of emotion and properties. In attributive function, the pronominal prefix of the adjectival noun agrees in person and number with the referent of the modified noun. In predicative function, it agrees with the subject referent. Basic adjectives, on the other hand, show no agreement, neither in attributive nor in predicative function. Examples (27)a and (27)b illustrate this for the adjectival noun *yebiye* ‘naked’ and the basic adjective *fano* ‘good’.

- (27) a. *Malik ayebiyewon / fanowon ari nohoruk.*
malik a-yebiye=on fano=on ari noho-tuk
child 3s.GEN-naked=AM good=AM DEM sleep-PROG
‘This naked/good child is sleeping.’ [APA field notes]
- b. *Malik ari ayebiyewon / fanowon.*
malik ari a-yebiye=on fano=on
child DEM 3s.GEN-naked=AM good=AM
‘This child is naked/good.’ [APA field notes]

The same agreement pattern also holds for inalienably possessed nouns in predicative function, as seen in example (5)a, repeated here as (28)a, and further illustrated in (28)b:

- (28) a. *An=te nahako nahûn.*
an=te n-ahako n-ahûn
1s=TOP 1s.GEN-strong 1s.GEN-man
‘I am a strong man.’ [ANG entry *ahako*]
- b. *Ap aru enesengseng înap.*
ap aru ene-sengseng înap
man DEM 3p.GEN-annoyance 3p.GEN-man
‘These men are annoying (men).’ [ANG entry *asengseng*]

Note that at least some genitive-marked nouns in isolation are therefore ambiguous between a possessive reading and a predicative reading agreeing with the subject referent. Thus *nahûn*, in a different context, can also mean ‘my man/ my husband’. If subject referent and genitive prefix do not agree in person and number, only the possessive reading is possible, i.e. *an hamî-angge* in (5)b. can only mean ‘I am your relative’.

In addition to marking possession on the one hand, and agreement in equational clauses on the other hand, the genitive prefixes can also attach directly to the verb, marking the direct object.

This function is restricted to a very limited set of verbs (*watuk* ‘to hit/kill’, *emberuk* ‘to put/leave’, and *naruk* ‘to eat’) and will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4.6.

4.3.3 The nominalizer *angge*

angge is an inalienably possessed noun marked for third person singular, and is probably best translated as ‘(his/her/its) thing’. It can occur on its own, functioning as an argument, as in example (29), but more often it co-occurs with other nominal, adjectival or verbal bases.

- (29) *sono nin yunggarik angge wilip aruhuken*
 sono nin yunggat-ik **a-ngge** wilip at-uhuk=en
 tomorrow again fill-DIR **3s.GEN-thing** go.out become-1.FUT=CAUS
 ‘because tomorrow I will go out to fill something (into the net)’
 [APA making_net_bag 032]

If it occurs with other nominal, adjectival or verbal elements, *angge* denotes *something* that stands in a relation to this element. If occurring with a verb, the combination ‘verb plus *angge*’ often denotes an instrument, i.e. the thing that is used to accomplish the action denoted by the verb, as illustrated in the examples in (30). This instrumental nominalization can be derived either from inflected verbs, as in (30), or coverb stems, as in (31).

- (30) a. *ik naruk angge hahon fam*
 ik **na-tuk** **a-ngge** hag=on fam
 water **drink-PROG** **3s.GEN-thing** like=AM with
 ‘like a container/thing for drinking water’ [APA TBG_Kris_Daud_13-2 229]

- b. *tuanen esetuk angge hahon*
 tuan=en **ese-tuk** **a-ngge** hag=on
 foreigner=AGT **cook-PROG** **3s.GEN-thing** like=AM
 ‘like a container/thing that foreigners use for cooking’
 [APA TGB_Firaon_Yoas_2-15 128]

- (31) a. *huk-turuk* ‘to protect’ *huk-angge* ‘fence’
 b. *yep-turuk* ‘to catch’ *yebangge* ‘trap’
 c. *wîrîm-turuk* ‘to measure’ *wîrîmangge* ‘measure’
 d. *ik abilit-watuk* ‘to close sth.’ *ik alibit-angge* ‘lid’

But *angge* does not only derive instrumental nominalizations. Combinations of verbal bases plus *angge* can also produce object nominalizations, in which the derived nominal expression denotes the (undetermined) object of the input verb. See the data in (32), in which the verbal input form in (32)a is *aham-turuk* ‘to exchange’, and *aham angge* denotes the thing that is to be exchanged. In (32)b, the input verb is *huwisuruk* ‘to cut into pieces’, the derived form denotes the pieces. (32)c shows a nominalization of the stative participle of the coverb *pug* ‘wrap’.

- (32) a. *Aham angge walûg waha-risi.*
aham a-ngge wa-tûg waha-tisi
exchange 3s.GEN-thing bring-SEQ come-3s.PST
 ‘He brought something to exchange.’ [ANG entry *aham-turuk*]

- b. *Wam arimano huwirangge anggolo og-îsaruk.*
 wam ari=mu=no **huwit=a-ngge** anggolo og-îsa-tuk
 pig DEM=LOC=GIV **cut=3s.GEN-thing** many give-3p.OBJ:B/C-PROG
 ‘The many pieces of the pig are distributed (to the people).’ [ANG entry *huwisuruk*]

- c. *Pug-teg angge hibila surukon.*
pug-tu-eg a-ngge hibila su-tuk=on
wrap-do-ST.PART 3s.GEN-thing open do-PROG=AM
 ‘To open something that is wrapped.’ [APA lexex_hibil]

If *angge* occurs in combination with nouns, the semantics of this combination are difficult to predict. Basically, the derived nominal expression denotes something that is associated with the input noun. The exact determinations of these associations are unclear – compare the derivations in (33).

- (33) a. *wam* ‘pig’ *wam-angge* ‘pig feed’
 b. *îsanggo* ‘ear’ *îsanggomangge* ‘ear decoration’¹⁷
 c. *soho* ‘upper arm’ *sohomangge* ‘arm decoration’
 d. *ke* ‘way’ *kemangge* ‘provisions for a journey’
 e. *hîlî* ‘border’ *hîhî-angge* ‘barrier/fence at a border’
 f. *hînahan* ‘three’ *hînahaneg-angge* ‘the third day’
 g. *amingming* ‘order’ *amingmingangge* ‘servant’
 h. *sok* ‘door’ *sok-angge* ‘key’

Another common use of *angge* is in combination with nouns like *ap* ‘man’, *hiyap* ‘woman’, *huli* ‘girl’, *malik* ‘child’, with kinship terms, (cf. example (5)b *hamî-angge* ‘my uncle/my relative’), or with body parts. In these instances, it is not easy to determine the difference between the use with and without *angge*, i.e., for example, between *malik ap toron* and *malik ap angge toron* (cf. (34)b).

- (34) a. *ap angge itno yinggehektmare*
ap a-ngge itno yinggu-ehek=mu=te
man 3s.GEN-thing DET fall-3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR=TOP
huli itno katekehek
huli itno katek-ehek
 girl DET run-3s.IM.PST
 ‘the boy fell over and the girl ran away’ [APA pear_story_Edison 019]

- b. *tu malik ap angge toron*
 tu **malik ap a-ngge** tot=on
 DEM **child man 3s.GEN-thing** small=AM
 ‘this is a little boy’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 001]

- c. *Hulani angge hibi fam ikma yahiye warik laruk.*
hulani a-ngge hibi fam ik=mu yahiye wat-ik la-tuk
girl 3s.GEN-thing dry.season at river=LOC frog kill-DIR go-PROG
 ‘During the dry season, the girls go to the river to kill frogs.’ [APA field notes]

¹⁷ Note that the derivations in b, c, and d additionally include the locative clitic =*mû*, the example in f involves the additional stative participle suffix *-eg*.

Note that the word status of *angge* is not clear yet. In many cases it cliticizes to its host, and the derived noun clearly forms a phonological word. This can be seen most clearly in examples like (32)b, where intervocalic /t/ changes to [r]. However, compare this to example (31)d, where this change does not take place. The spelling used here and in the dictionary section reflects the intuition whether we are dealing with one phonological word or not, i.e. *ap angge* in (34)a and (34)b is written as two separate words, because it is pronounced as two words rather than as **abangge*. More work needs to be done to settle this issue more systematically.

In addition to the functions discussed above, *angge* also functions as a conjunction connecting two clauses, meaning ‘although’ (see, e.g., section 4.4.5, (55)b for an example). Furthermore, it quite productively occurs in special kinds of verbal reduplications (e.g. *tep-turuk* ‘to drip’ → *tep tep-angge-ruruk*). This latter use is not yet understood and will not be discussed further in this work.

4.3.4 Case clitics

Yali expresses six case relations by making use of two enclitics that are attached to the last element in the noun phrase: the clitic =*en* denotes agentive, instrumental, causal, and ablative relations, =*mû* expresses allative and locative relations. There is one further case marker in Yali, the encliticon =*et*, which is used to mark comitative case relations.

One of the most prominent uses of =*en* is as an **agentive** marker that mostly marks the agent argument of a transitive predicate (but see Riesberg 2018 for a more detailed analysis which also discusses uses in intransitive clauses). As in many TNG languages, the use of agent marking is pragmatically determined (see e.g. Rumsey 2010; Scott 1986; Suter 2010, among others). The following pair of examples illustrates the use of the agentive marker and its optionality in Yali: the same grammatical relation – in this case the subject NP *huluon itno* ‘the red one’ – can either occur with or without the case clitic.

- (35) a. *huluon itnoen sohowon filig*
 hulu=on itno=**en** soho=on filig
 red=AM DET=AGT blue=AM arrange

isehekma laha
 i-su-ehék=mu laha
 3s.OBJ-do-3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘the red one pushed the blue one, and it (the blue one) moved’
 [APA ECOM_sr_Edison_W 002]

- b. *Huluon itno sohowon filig*
 hulu=on itno soho=on filig
 red=AM DET blue=AM arrange

isehekma laha.
 i-su-ehék=mu laha
 3s.OBJ-do-3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘The red one pushed the blue one, and it (the blue one) moved.’ [APA field notes]

Besides marking the agent, the clitic =*en* also functions as an **instrumental** marker. As the examples in (36) illustrate, it always occurs with body parts that are used to instigate the action. Note also that agentive =*en* and instrumental =*en* can occur within the same clause, as shown in (36)b.

(36) a. *bola laruk lit amihen hihilik lamin ulug*
 bola la-tuk lit amig=**en** hihil-ik la-min ulug
 ball go-PROG SS.SIM chest=**INS** move-DIR go-1s.IM.FUT SAY
 ‘while the ball is moving, it wants to push it with its chest’ [APA ECOM_sr_Nias 046]

b. *Aren inggiken mene watuk.*
 at=**en** inggik=**en** mene wat-tuk
 3s=**AGT** hand=**INS** dog kill-PROG
 ‘He is killing the dog with his hands.’ [APA -en_elicited INST]

If the instrument is not a body part of the actor who instigates the action, it is marked by the postposition *fam* ‘with’, as in example (37).

(37) *Aren helep fam mene watuk.*
 at=**en** helep **fam** mene wat-tuk
 3s=**AGT** stone **with** dog kill-PROG
 ‘He is killing the dog with a stone.’ [APA -en_elicited INST]

Note that *helepen* instead of *helep fam* in (37) would be ungrammatical; the killing event here is not perceived as being accomplished by the stone, but rather by the person (using a stone).

As an **ablative** marker, the clitic =*en* is attached to locative expressions. These locative expressions either inherently exhibit local/directional semantics as in (38)a, or they are marked by the locative clitic =*mû* as illustrated in (38)b (see below for further examples and discussion on the locative case clitic =*mû*).

(38) a. *wina filen waharuk laha*
 wina fil=**en** waha-tuk laha
 different direction=**ABL** come-INF go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘he came from a different direction’ [APA pear_story_Edison 047]

b. *yabukmunte e anggen tahanik lahakek ari*
 yabuk=**mu**=**en**=te e anggen tahan-ik laha-ehek ari
 garden=**LOC**=**ABL**=**FOC** fruit pick-DIR go.up-3s.IM.PST DEM
 ‘from the garden he went up picking fruits’ [APA pear_story_Edo 022]

The two examples in (39) explicitly show the change of meaning from *fil* ‘towards the direction’, which takes a GOAL argument, to *filen* ‘from the direction’, which is marked by the ablative and takes a SOURCE argument:

(39) a. *Ik eleruk fil lahik waharuk.*
 ik eleruk fil laha-ik waha-tuk
 river source direction go.up-DIR come-PROG
 ‘He is coming up to the source of the river.’ [APA field notes]

b. *Ik eleruk filen lahik waharuk.*
 ik eleruk fil=**en** laha-ik waha-tuk
 river source direction=**ABL** go.up-DIR come-PROG
 ‘He is coming up from the source of the river.’ [APA field notes]

The case clitic =*mû* does not exhibit as wide a semantic distribution as =*en*; it only expresses **locative** and **allative** case relations, as illustrated in (40)a and (40)b respectively. However, as shown in (40)c, the locative clitic can also attach to a temporal expression and thus have a temporal reading.

- (40) a. *Fasig Aloma lema hag wilapag*¹⁸
 Fasig alo=**mu** le=**mu** hag wilat-pag
 PN hill =**LOC** over.there=**LOC** like stay-3.REM.PST
 ‘she lived in Fasig Hill’ [APA man_and_pig 008]
- b. *owikmu itno walug libareg...*
 owik=**mu** itno wa-tug lu-ibag=**teg**
 cave=**ALL** DET bring-SEQ there-3.REM.PST=**SS.PRIOR**
 ‘after they had brought it to the cave...’ [APA man_and_pig 200]
- c. *at lahibag*¹⁹ *ari hupmu itano*
 at laha-ibag ari hup=**mu** ita=**no**
 also go.up-3.REM.PST DEM night=**LOC** this=**GIV**
 ‘on that night they went upstairs again’ [APA man_and_pig 128]

The third distinct case clitic, the enclitic =*et*, marks comitative relations. As the data below shows, there are no restrictions with regard to animacy; both animate and inanimate companions can be marked by =*et*. Furthermore, as illustrated in (41)b, it is possible – and in fact quite common – to mark both the accompanee and the companion.

- (41) a. *aseramaonte nare we*
 aserama=**on=te** n-are we
 dormitory=**AM=TOP** 1s.GEN-friend only
- karohet pisohet eyet warusa*
 karog=**et** piso=**et** e=**et** wa-tusa
 machete=**COM** knife=**COM** wood=**COM** bring-3p.PST
 ‘my friends from the dormitory, they brought machetes, knives and wood’
 [APA conversation_1 067ff]
- b. *malik ap angge itnoet ameneyet in atuk*
 malik ap a-ngge itno=**et** a-mene=**et** in at-tuk
 child man 3s.GEN-thing DET=**COM** 3s.GEN-dog=**COM** stand become-PROG
 ‘the boy, together with his dog, woke up’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 036f]

4.4 Verbs

The verbal system in Yali – as in many TNG languages – is complex. As mentioned in the introductory remarks, the descriptions given in this chapter are by no means comprehensive. This is especially true for the current section. While a rough sketch of the verbal system is given, it should be noted that only the most frequent verbal functions are discussed.

¹⁸ ANG: *wilatfag* or *wilatik-ibag*

¹⁹ ANG: *lahibag* or *laharik-ibag*

Two major verbal classes can be distinguished: Independent verbal forms that can be used alone as the predicate of the clause, and coverb constructions that always consist of a coverb and a light verb.

Only about one third of the verbal lexicon are independent verb stems, i.e. verbal forms where tense, person, and number marking are attached directly to the stem, and where no further (verbal) element is required. Independent verbs inflect (at least) for person and number of the subject argument and are obligatorily marked for one of six tenses.

Coverb constructions (CVCs) are complex predicates that consist of a non-inflecting element that carries most parts of the lexical meaning, and a light verb that is semantically bleached, but is inflected for the relevant grammatical categories. Coverbs make up about two third of the Yali verbal lexicon.

4.4.1 Independent verbs

Independent verbs are those verbal forms for which tense, person and number marking attach directly to the stem and which require no further verbal element to function as predicates. They inflect (at least) for person and number of the subject argument and are obligatorily marked for one of six tenses. Object marking is also possible, but not obligatory, and will be discussed in section 4.4.6. Compare examples (42)a and (42)b, which contain the third person singular remote past form and the first person singular immediate future form of the verb *naruk* ‘to eat’.

- (42) a. *he itno wam ibmano oho nibag²⁰ fug*
 he itno wam ibma=no oho na-**ibag** fug
 woman DET pig these=GIV too eat-**3s.REM.PST** NEG
 ‘the woman didn’t eat the pigs either’ [APA man_and_pig 129]
- b. *An súbûrû namîn.*
 an súbûrû na-**mîn**
 1s sweet.potato eat-**1s.IM.FUT**
 ‘I will eat sweet potatoes.’ [APA field notes]

The citation form of independent verbs in this dictionary is what might be called the infinitive form, consisting of the stem and the suffix *-tuk* (*-ruk* for stems ending in a vowel).

Table 6 illustrates the verbal paradigm of the independent verb *paltuk* ‘to cut’ for all six tenses (cf. Zöllner, ms. p. 7). Note that Yali verbs divide into different inflectional classes. In addition to verbs with stems ending in *-l* like *paltuk*, 9 further classes can be distinguished (cf. Zöllner, ms. p. 25): verbs with stems ending in *-n*, verbs with stems ending in *-p*, verbs with stems ending in *-t*, verbs like *turuk*, verbs with stems ending in *-ha/-ho/-he*, verbs like *emberuk*, verbs like *wilatuk*, and verbs like *haruk*. The verbs *laruk* ‘to go’, *waharuk* ‘to come’, and *naruk* ‘to eat’ inflect irregularly and do not fit into any of the 10 classes. For a complete list of all inflectional classes, see Zöllner’s *Verbformen der Anggurksprache* (ms.).

²⁰ ANG: *nîbag* or *narik-îbag*

	SG		PL	
future	1s	<i>palûhûk</i>	1p	<i>palûhûk</i>
	2s	<i>palûhûn</i>	2p	<i>palûhûp</i>
	3s	<i>palûhû</i>	3p	<i>palûhûp</i>
immediate future	1s	<i>palmin</i>	1p	<i>paltul</i>
	2s	<i>palmîhîn</i>	2p	<i>paltîhîp</i>
	3s	<i>palmisi</i>	3p	<i>palusa</i>
immediate past	1s	<i>palîhî</i>	1p	<i>palehe</i>
	2s	<i>palehen</i>	2p	<i>palehep</i>
	3s	<i>palehek</i>	3p	<i>palehesa</i>
past	1s	<i>paltikik</i>	1p	<i>paltukuk</i>
	2s	<i>paltikin</i>	2p	<i>paltikip</i>
	3s	<i>pastisi</i>	3p	<i>paltusa</i>
remote past	1s	<i>paltik-îyag</i>	1p	<i>paltuk-ûwag</i>
	2s	<i>paltik-înag</i>	2p	<i>paltik-îbag</i>
	3s	<i>paltik-îbag/palfag</i>	3p	<i>paltik-îbag/palfag</i>

Table 6: tense and subject agreement of the verb *paltuk* ‘to cut’

The present tense, which usually also implies progressive aspect (see also section 4.4.3), consists of the infinitive form and, in first and second person, of the immediate past tense form of the verb (*wî-*) *latuk* ‘to stay, to be (located)’. Note that first and second person forms can have a present tense as well as an immediate past tense (progressive) reading, while third person forms only allow for the former.

	SG		PL	
present	1s	<i>paltuk lahî</i>	1p	<i>paltuk lahe</i>
	2s	<i>paltuk lahen</i>	2p	<i>paluk lahen</i>
	3s	<i>paltuk</i>	3p	<i>paltuk</i>

Table 7: present (progressive) forms of the verb *paltuk* ‘to cut’

4.4.2 Coverbs and coverb constructions

Coverb constructions (CVCs) consist of two elements, the first of which – the coverb – carries the semantic meaning, while the second one – the light verb – is semantically bleached and takes all inflectional morphology. In this dictionary, CVCs are written with a hyphen between the coverb and the light verb. In (43) the coverb *lebe* ‘to move’ collocates with the light verb *suruk* (ANG *turuk*) ‘to do/ to make’.

- (43) *yoho ante lebe-simin fug*
yoho an=te lebe-su-min fug
today 1s=TOP move-do-1s.IM.FUT NEG
‘today, I will not move’

[APA making_fire 027]

The light verb *turuk* (APA *suruk*) ‘to do/ to make’ is by far the most frequent one. (44) provides a list of the most productive light verbs in Yali,²¹ all of which are form-identical with independent verbs.

(44)	<i>turuk</i>	‘do’	<i>laharuk</i>	‘go up’	<i>waruk</i>	‘take’
	<i>uruk</i>	‘speak’	<i>amburuk</i>	‘go down’	<i>haruk</i> ²²	‘perceive’
	<i>laruk</i>	‘go’	<i>atuk</i>	‘become’	<i>paltuk</i>	‘cut’
	<i>waharuk</i>	‘come’	<i>watuk</i>	‘hit’	<i>yatuk</i>	‘plant’

The glosses given to the light verbs in CVCs are adapted from the semantics they exhibit as independent verbs, but, as the following examples illustrate, this meaning is not always retained within the CVC. While some of the collocations of coverb and light verb seem to be semantically transparent to a certain extent (e.g. STEAL + TAKE in (45)a), in most instances this is not the case (e.g. BATHE + SPEAK in (45)b).

- (45) a. *waharegte* *e* *anggan itno* *alomangge wehek*
 waha-teg=te *e* *anggan itno* **alomangge wa-ehék**
 come:3SG.IM.PST-SS.PRIOR=TOP tree fruit DET **steal take-3SG.IM.PST**
 ‘after he came, he stole the fruits’ [APA *pear_story_Yusuf* 040]
- b. (*ik*) *kume* *uruk* *ambeg ibmare*
ik **kume u-tuk** *ambeg ibma=te*
 water **take.a.bath speak-PROG** place DEM=TOP
 ‘the place for taking a bath’ [APA *1st_initiation* 392]

As mentioned in section 4.1, Yali coverbs constitute a morpho-syntactically distinct lexical class. They mostly have an event-denoting meaning, but their semantics can also be more manner-, quality-, or object like. Some Yali coverbs thus denote concepts that are cross-linguistically more commonly encoded in adverbs, adjectives, or nouns.

Yali coverbs differ in their ‘combinatorial potential’. That is, some coverbs only collocate with one light verb, while other coverbs allow for two or more different combinations. In cases where different options are allowed, the use of different light verbs often (though not always) evokes subtle lexical semantic differences, modulating the event predication in various ways – some of them predictable, others not. Consider the following example sets:

- (46) a. *Sum le ehék.*
sum le u-ehék
 shirt dry **speak-3SG.IM.PST**
 ‘The shirt dried (in the sun).’ [APA *lexex_le*]
- b. *Mama Riki sum le sehek.*
 Mama Riki *sum le su-ehék*
 Mama Riki shirt dry **do-3SG.IM.PST**
 ‘Mama Riki dried the shirt (in the sun).’ [APA *lexex_le*]

²¹ There are five more verbs in the corpus that occur as light verbs in what might be considered a CVC. However, for each of them there is only a single token. It is thus not possible to say with certainty whether we are really dealing with coverb constructions in the strict sense.

²² Note that *haruk* additionally builds the basis of one of the three object stem paradigms (section 4.4.6).

- (47) *Apen malik watmin ulug surukmu*
 ap=en malik wat-min u-tug su-tuk-mu
 man=AGT child hit-1SG.IM.FUT speak-SEQ do-PROG-DS.PRIOR
akolen hite laha / waha.
 akol=en **hite laha / waha**
 afraid=CAUS **run go:3SG.IM.PST/ come:3SG.IM.PST**
 ‘The man wanted to hit the child, and because it was scared, it ran away/over here.’
 [APA lexex_hite]
- (48) a. *Mo hubula fil hurug uruk.*
 mo hubula fil **hurug u-tuk**
 sun west direction **sink speak-PROG**
 ‘The sun sets in the West.’ [APA lexex_hurug]
- b. *Delin ik hurug larukon awan.*
 Delin ik **hurug la-tuk=on** awan
 Delin water **sink go-PROG=AM** not.yet
 ‘Delin cannot swim yet.’ [APA lexex_hurug]

The examples in (46), (47), and (48) show three very different ways in which the use of the light verb can change the meaning of the complex predicate as a whole. In (46) the alternation between *u-* ‘speak’ and *su-* ‘do’ (ANG *tu-*) comes with an alternation in valency. In (47), on the other hand, the choice of the light verb (here *la-* ‘go’ versus *waha-* ‘come’) marks the directionality of the motion denoted by the coverb as either away from or towards the deictic centre. In (48) there is a more general change in the lexical semantics of the complex predicate as a whole (i.e. SINK + SPEAK translates as ‘to sink/go down’ vs. SINK + GO meaning ‘to swim’). In other cases, different light verbs mark a difference in affectedness, aktionsart, or habituality.

4.4.3 Progressive aspect²³

As already mentioned in section 4.4.1, the present tense form of any given verb usually also implies progressive semantics. However, progressive aspect does not only exist in the present tense, but can be built for all the other five tenses discussed in section 4.4.1 as well. Like the present progressive, progressive aspect for the other tenses is formed with the auxiliary stem *lat*, which is a reduced form of the independent verb *wîlatuk* ‘to stay/to be located’ (cf. Bromley 1981: 63 for the same phenomenon in Dani). In the immediate past tense, this reduced form of *wîlatuk* is homophonous with the immediate past tense forms of the verb *laruk* ‘to go’. In all other tenses, the two verbs can be kept apart. As also mentioned in section 4.4.1, first and second person forms are ambiguous between a present tense reading and an immediate past tense reading. Only in the third person can present progressive and immediate past progressive be distinguished. Compare the present progressive forms in Table 7 with the immediate past progressive forms in **Table 8**:

	SG		PL	
present	1s	<i>paltuk lahî</i>	1p	<i>paltuk lahe</i>
	2s	<i>paltuk lahen</i>	2p	<i>paluk lahen</i>
	3s	<i>paltuk laha</i>	3p	<i>paltuk lahasa</i>

Table 8: immediate past progressive forms of the verb *paltuk* ‘to cut’

²³ Further aspectual categories, such as, for example, inceptive aspect and a special kind of habitual aspect can also be distinguished, but will not be considered further here.

The data below show some more examples for the progressive aspect in tenses other than present or immediate past, including both coverb constructions (cf. (49)a) and independent verbs (cf. (49)b, (49)c).

(49) a. *elekeyen* *wilip-haruk* *latikik*
 ele-ke=en **wilip-ha-tuk** lat-tikik
 slit-DIR=ABL **look.out-see-PROG** **stay-1s.PST**
 ‘I was looking out (of the car)’ [APA conversation_1 295]

b. *naharuk* *nongge* *suruk* *lamul*
 n-aharuk nongge **su-tuk** **lat-ul**
 1s.GEN-sister.in.law what **do-PROG** **stay-1p.IM.FUT**
 ‘my sister-in-law, what will we be doing?’ [APA making_net_bag 043]

c. *pom* *itno* *kahaltuk* *latfag*
 pom itno **kahal-tuk** **lat-pag**
 k.o.tree DET **split-PROG** **stay-3.REM.PST**
 ‘they were splitting the *Pom* wood’ [APA 1st_initiation 046]

4.4.4 Completive aspect

Verbal forms in completive aspect stress the fact that the activity denoted by the verb has been fully completed or is intended to be fully completed. Independent verbs are marked with the suffix *-fe*, which attaches either directly to the root (if the root ends in a vowel), or to an extended stem (if the root is consonant final). This extension for verbs with a consonant-final root consists of an inserted vowel and can roughly be generalised as follows (Zöllner, ms.: 5)²⁴:

- *-e*, if the last syllable of the root contains the vowel *a*, *e*, or *o*
 e.g.: *wat-* ‘to kill’ → *wareferuk*
- *-i*, if the last syllable of the root contains *i*, or *u*
 e.g.: *wit-* ‘to make’ → *wiriferuk*

Root-final *p* is often deleted, as for example in *pilap-* ‘to (let sth.) fall down’, which becomes *pilaferuk*, or *kilap-* ‘to enter’ which is either *kilaferuk* or *kilapferuk*. Verbs of motion and the verbs *naruk* ‘to eat’, *nohoruk* ‘to sleep’, *haruk* ‘to see’ (and some others) cannot form the completive aspect.

Example (51) below illustrates the use of the completive form of the verb *munggaltuk* ‘to light (a fire)’, where the process of lighting the fire has been fully completed, as opposed to its non-completive use in (50), where the fire-making is still ongoing. Note, however, that the semantic opposition is not always as easy to determine as it is in these two examples, and speakers often find it difficult to point out the difference between a given completive form and its non-completive counterpart.

(50) *Hondok munggaltuk lit fu suruk.*
 hondok munggal-tuk lit fu su-tuk
 fire light-PROG SS.SIM blow do-PROG
 ‘While making a fire, he is blowing.’ [APA lexex_fu]

²⁴ Note, however, that there are quite a few irregularities.

- (51) *hondok munggal-efibareg nohorukmu ita*
 hondok munggal-**e-fe**-ibag=teg noho-tuk=mu ita
 fire light-**SF-COMPL**-3.REM.PST=SS.PRIOR sleep-PROG=SIT that
 ‘after he made a fire/finished making a fire, he went to sleep’
 [APA filling_the_traps 025f]

Completive coverb constructions are formed with the completive aspect of the respective light verb. As mentioned in section 4.4.2, the most frequent light verb is *turuk* ‘to do’, which becomes *teberuk* in completive aspect (cf. (52)a). Examples (52)b and (52)c illustrate completive coverb constructions with the light verbs *watuk* ‘hit’ and *paltuk* ‘cut’, respectively.

- (52) a. *Aben tog ayo fam tip-teberusa.*
 ap=en tog ayo fam tip-**tu-fe-tusa**
 people=AGT arrow shaft in insert-**do-COMPL-3p.PST**
 ‘The people put the arrow into the shaft.’ [ANG entry *tip-turuk*]
- b. *An Ila fahe ikmano kume-warefehi.*
 an Ila fahe ik=mu=no kume-**wat-e-fe-ih**
 1s PN just river=LOC=GIV bathe-**hit-SF-COMPL-1s.IM.PST**
 ‘I just gave Ila a bath in the river.’ [APA lexex_kume]
- c. *Yasonen yasi muko kalema elememit-palefesehek.*
 Yason=en yasi mut-oko kalem=mu elememit-**pal-e-fe-se-eh**
 PN=AGT sago fell-ADV.PART way=LOC block-**cut-SF-COMPL-??-3s.IM.PST**
 ‘Yason blocked the road with a cut down sago tree.’ [APA lexex_elemamit]

Sometimes the completive marker co-occurs with the formative *-se*, which then results in the form *-feseruk/-tebeseruk* (cf. example (53), see also (52)c above). To this point, the difference between simple completive forms and those marked by an additional *-se* is not yet understood.

- (53) *Wen ûmbandû paltuk halûg kîrang fam fare-feseruk.*
 wen ûmbandû pal-tuk halûg kîrang fam fare-fe-**se**-tuk
 bed side cut-PROG if earth with level.off-COMPL-**??**-PROG
 ‘When the sides of a garden bed are finished you round them off with earth.’
 [ANG entry *fare-feruk*]

Example (54) shows that completive aspect and progressive aspect can co-occur. In this example, the progressive aspect has scope over the completive aspect²⁵, i.e. the poles are completely enwrapped by the bark and the fibres, but this state of complete enwrapping was still in progress at that certain point in the past that was relevant to the story.

- (54) *E ahap men sambeleng menen hîlîlîp-teberuk latusa.*
 e ahap men sambeleng men=en hîlîlîp-**tu-fe-tuk** lat-**tusa**
 tree skin with fibre with=AGT wrap-**do-COMPL-PROG** stay-**3p.PST**
 ‘Bark and fibres were (completely) enwrapping (the poles).’ [ANG entry *epsengge*]

²⁵ Note that this makes it conceivable that we are dealing with two different aspectual levels here, corresponding to what has been called ASPECT₁ and ASPECT₂ by Sasse (2002), or, more traditionally, (grammatical) aspect and aktionsart. More research needs to be done to make any reliable claims about aspect (and/or aktionsart) in Yali.

4.4.5 Irrealis mood

Irrealis mood in Yali is used for reference to situations and events that are regarded as hypothetical, that are imagined, or that could have happened but did not. It is also used in conditional sentences (see (55) for some examples). **Table 9** summarizes the paradigm of the irrealis suffixes. Generally, vowel-final stems take the allomorph beginning in /l/ while consonant-final stems take the /t/-forms. However, there is some deviation from this rule-of-thumb. For example, instead of *watep* ‘it/you/they might bite / it/you/they could have hit / etc.’ (cf. (55)a and b), some speakers produce the form *watlep* instead.

	SG	PL
1	-le / -te	-la / -ta
2	-len / -ten	-lep / -tep
3	-lep / -tep	-lep / -tep

Table 9: irrealis suffixes

- (55) a. *Farema pisanggowen nûnûwatep ûlûg neneliplip-tehek.*
 fare=mu pisanggo=en nûnû-wat-**tep** ûlûg nene-liplip-tu-ehek
 forest=LOC snake=AGT 1p.GEN-hit-**3.IRR** THINK 1p.GEN-fear-do-3s.IM.PST
 ‘In the forest we were afraid that a snake might bite us.’ [ANG entry *aliplip-turuk*]

- b. *Heleben nûwatep angge famen îyane wahî.*
 helep=en nû-wat-**tep** anggen famen îyane waha-îhî
 stone=AGT 1s.GEN-hit-**3.IRR** although but well come-1s.IM.PST
 ‘I was almost injured by a stone, but I arrived safely.’ [ANG entry *îyane*]

- c. *O sono pesawat wilatepma Wamena ambele.*
 o sono pesawat wilat-**tep**=mu Wamena ambu-**le**
 time yesterday plane stay-**3.IRR**=DS.PRIOR PN go.down-**1s.IRR**
 ‘If there had been a plane yesterday, I would have gone down to Wamena.’
 [APA complex_sentences 008]

The verb *uruk* ‘to speak’ has a suppletive irrealis stem, which is *e-*.

4.4.6 Object marking

Yali has two strategies to mark person and number of the object participant. Both generally pertain only to human object referents. The first way to cross-reference the object participant is by means of genitive prefixes which attach to the verb. This way of object indexing is, however, restricted to the three independent verbs *watuk* ‘to hit/kill’, *naruk* ‘to eat’, and *paharuk* (see examples (56)a-c). *paha-* is the suppletive object stem of the verb *emberuk* ‘to leave’. The verb *watuk* also uses a suppletive object stem, but only for plural objects; compare examples (56)a and (56)c.

- (56) a. *Aben unnmûwen nûwatisi.*
 ap=en unnmûwen **nû**-wat-tisi
 man=AGT unprovoked **1s.GEN**-hit-3s.PST
 ‘The man hit me without any reason.’ [ANG entry *unnmûwen*]

- b. *Hînahûp.*
hî-na-hûp
2s.GEN-eat-3p.FUT
 ‘They will eat you.’ (ANG Zöllner ms.)
- c. *Nûnûmbahalûg larisi.*
nûnû-paha-tûg la-tisi
1p.GEN-leave-SEQ go-3s.PST
 ‘He left us.’ [ANG entry hîlîla-ruruk]
- d. *Yeruken juga niren oho unsurukuk at*
 Yeruk=en juga nit=en oho **un**-su-tukuk at
 PN=AGT too 1p=AGT too **3p.GEN**-hit-1p.PST only
- eh iren oho nunsurusa at*
 eh it=en oho **nin**-su-tusa at
 INTJ 3p=AGT too **1p.GEN**-hit-3p.PST only
 ‘the Yeruk people and we killed them, and, eh, they killed us, too’
 [APA interview_IP_Ware 0613-0615]

All other verbs cross-reference human objects with the help of so-called **object stems**. The object stem follows either the independent verb root or the coverb and takes the object prefix as well as the tense and subject agreement suffix. In coverb constructions, the object verb replaces the light verb. Yali has three distinct object stem paradigms – for expository reasons called A, B, and C – which mark person and number, and to a certain extent also the semantic role of a human object participant. These kinds of object forms are common in all languages of the Dani subgroup, but they are also reported for other Trans-New Guinea languages, such as, for example, languages of the Huon family (cf. Suter 2012). Often, these stems are form-identical with independent verbs, which is why they are usually analysed as auxiliary stems. This also holds for the C-paradigm in Yali, which corresponds to the independent verb *haruk* ‘to see’. Forms of the A and the B paradigms, however, do not occur as independent verbs. Plural forms for paradigms B and C are identical.

	A	B	C
1SG	-nap-	-nVt-	-nîya-
2SG	-hap-	-hVt-	-hîya-
3SG	--	-Vt-	-ha-
1PL	-nenep-/-ninap-		-nîsa-
2PL	-henep-/-hinap-		-hîsa-
3PL	-enep-/-inap-		-îsa-

Table 10: Object forms

As mentioned in section 2.3, Angguruk Yali and Apahapsili Yali use different forms in the plural of the A paradigm. In **Table 10**, Angguruk forms are given before the slash and Apahapsili forms after the slash (i.e. ANG: *-nenep-*, APA: *-ninap-*, etc).

Examples for class A:

- (57) a. *let-**nap**-mihin*
let-**nap**-mihin
help-**1s.OBJ:A**-2s.IM.FUT
'you will help me' [APA making_fire 062]
- b. *isag-**hinap**²⁶-ul*
isag-**hinap**²⁶-ul
cook-**2p.OBJ:A**-1p.IM.FUT
'we will cook you' [APA 1st_initiation 267]
- c. *ketiya inil anggen seleben-**inap**²⁷-ul*
ketia in-il anggen seleben-**inap**²⁷-ul
now 3p.GEN-eye seed sew-**3p.OBJ:A**-1p.IM.FUT
'now we will sew their eyes' [APA 1st_initiation 300]

Examples for class B:

- (58) a. *hat sual-**nut**-tuk lamin*
hat sual-**nut**-tuk lat-min
2s knit-**1s.OBJ:B**-PROG stay-IMP
'you knit (this) for me' [APA making_net_bag 030]
- b. *wam eke itno isag-**ut**-tuk*
wam eke itno isag-**ut**-tuk
pig one DET cook-**3s.OBJ:B**-PROG
'he is cooking a pig for him' [APA suit_13 157]
- c. *wat-**hit**-min ulugte ti itno ibag²⁸*
wat-**hit**-min ulug=te ti itno ibag
kill-**2s.OBJ:B**-1s.IM.FUT SAY=TOP song DET say:3.REM.PST
'"I will kill (the pig) for you", she sang in that song' [APA man_and_pig 120]

Examples for class C:

- (59) a. *hinog og-**hîyamin***
hinog og-**hîya**-min
ask give-**2s.OBJ:C**-1s.IM.FUT
'I want to ask you' [APA burning_garden 003]
- b. *Nîknîyen fukfak-**nîya**hek.*
n-îknî=en fukfak-**nîya**-ehék
1s.GEN-father=AGT push-**1s.OBJ:C**-3s.IM.PST
'My father pushed me around.' [ANG entry *fukfak-turuk*]

²⁶ ANG: *henep*, i.e. *henebul*

²⁷ ANG: *enep*, i.e. *enebul*

²⁸ ANG: *ibag* or *irik-ibag*

c. *ti sa mel sa mel weregma yet-isaruk lahen*
ti sa mel sa mel wereg=mu yet-isa-tuk la-ehen
 here who and who and exist=LOC see-3s.OBJ:B/C-PROG stay-2s.PRS
 ‘and who do you see here?’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 231]

Many verbs can occur with more than one of the three object verbs. Compare, for example, the use of the verb *watuk* ‘to kill/to hit’ in (56)a with its use in (58)c. In the former example, the object is cross-referenced by means of prefixation to the verb stem and its referent is to be interpreted as the patient of the event. In the latter example, the object is marked by the object stem of paradigm B and bears the semantic role of the benefactive. In the same manner, the change from the object stem of paradigm A in (57)b to the object stem of paradigm B in (58)b illustrates the difference between the object referent being a patient and a benefactive, i.e. between cooking *somebody* and cooking *for somebody*.

While some generalisations can be made as to the semantic role marked by the respective object stem, in many cases the precise semantics remain idiosyncratic and have to be determined verb-specifically. The most reliable rule seems to apply to paradigm B, which almost always marks the object as the benefactive of the event (cf. the examples in (58)). For paradigms A and C it is more difficult to make general claims as to which semantic role they denote. Referents marked by forms of the C paradigm are often less affected than the ones marked by the A paradigm and often involve stimuli of experiencer verbs or the addressee of verbs of saying. Note, however, that these generalisations are tendencies only and exceptions are frequent (see, e.g., (57) and (59) where the one who is being pushed around is probably more, or at least not less directly affected than somebody who is being helped).

Object verbs of paradigm A have a special paradigm for completive aspect (cf. section 4.4.4, as summarized in **Table 11** and illustrated in example (60)).

1SG	-nûbaha-	1PL	-nûnûbaha-
2SG	-hûbaha-	2PL	-hûnûbaha-
3SG	--	3PL	---

Table 11: completive aspect of class A object stems

(60) *Nisînga yînggî-nûbahakek.*
n-îsînga yînggî-nûbaha-ekek
 1s.GEN-mother lay-1s.OBJ:A.COMPL-3s.IM.PST
 ‘My mother laid me down.’ [ANG entry *yîngguruk*]

4.4.7 Self-benefactive auxiliary *taruk*

If the agent performs an action for his or her own benefit, the verb is marked by the self-benefactive auxiliary stem *-ta-*, which takes all inflectional morphology. For independent verbal forms, the self-benefactive *-taruk* follows the stem. Thus, for example, *paltuk* ‘to cut’ becomes *pal-taruk* ‘to cut for oneself’. In coverb constructions, the self-benefactive *-taruk* replaces the light verb, so, for example, *kong-turuk* ‘to cut’ becomes *kong-taruk* ‘to cut for oneself’. Further examples are given in (61). Note that *foltuk* ‘to sprinkle with salt’ in (61)a and *wituk* ‘to make’ in (61)c are independent verbs, while *hak* ‘to poke into/to spear’ in (61)b is a coverb.

(61) a. *Hînde fol-taruk.*
hînde fol-ta-tuk
 ginger sprinkle.with.salt-SB-PROG
 ‘He sprinkles salt on the ginger.’ [ANG entry *foltuk*]

- b. *Hîyaben wanggûn fam sûbûrû hak-taruk.*
 hîyap=en wanggûn fam sûbûru hak-ta-tuk
 woman=AGT stick with sweet.potato spear-SB-PROG
 ‘The women pick up the batatas by skewering them with a digging-stick.’
 [ANG entry *hak-turuk*]
- c. *An nîyabuk wit-tarikinmû an oho ari*
 an nî-yabuk wit-ta-tikin=mû an oho ari
 1s 1s.GEN-garden make-SB-2S.PST=DS.PRIOR 1s also DEM
hahon alûwîyangge eke wit-tahûk.
 hag=on alûwî=a-ngge eke wit-ta-ûhûk
 like=AM substitute=3s.GEN-thing one make-SB-1.FUT
 ‘As you worked my garden (for yourself), I, as a substitute,
 will work a similar one (of yours for myself).’
 [ANG entry *alûwî*]

In some cases, the self-benefactive forms seem to have been lexicalised and have lost their reflexive/benefactive semantics. The verb *îndag-taruk* ‘to give birth’ always occurs in the self-benefactive form without conveying the respective meaning, as illustrated in (62).

- (62) *Malik ket îndag-tarukon men*
 malik ket îndag-ta-tuk=on men
 child new give.birth-SB-PROG=AM and
ap sabalon men eneyeg kurung-teg
 ap sabal=on men ene-yeg kurung-tu-eg
 man old=AM and 3p.GEN-tooth fall.out-do-ST.PART
 ‘new born children and old men have no teeth’
 [ANG entry *kurung-turuk*]

The verb *waruk* ‘to take’ has a suppletive self-benefactive stem, which is *hilaruk* ‘to take for oneself’.

4.4.8 Participles

There are two non-finite verbal forms that might be called participles. These forms are usually used as modifiers, either for nouns or for verbs. One of the two, the stative participle, can also function as the predicate of a non-verbal clause.

4.4.8.1 The manner participle *-oho/-o)ko/-toho*

The manner participle formed with the suffix *-oho*²⁹ is labelled *adverbial* participle by Zöllner (ms.) as it usually modifies verbs, specifying the manner in which the action denoted by the modified verb is accomplished. Examples (63)a and (63)b illustrate its use, where a more literal translation would probably be ‘also returning, he is coming’ and ‘after he put it, moving to the side, he is going’.

- (63) a. *at oho nin suhuloho waharuk*
 at oho nin suhul-**oho** waha-tuk
 3s also again return-**ADV.PART** come-PROG
 ‘he is also coming back’
 [APA ECOM_sr_KW 090]

²⁹ The difference between *-oho* and *-(o)ko* seems to be lexically determined. Especially verbs ending in *-t* and verbs that have suppletive forms take *-(o)ko* instead of *-oho*. For example, the manner participle of the verb *endetuk* ‘to harvest’ is *ondoko*. However, more research is needed to rule out functional differences between the two forms.

- b. *hihiloko* *embehekma* *laruk*
 hihil-**oko** embe-ehek=mu la-ruk
 move.to.side-**ADV.PART** put-3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR go-PROG
 ‘after he_i moved (it) to the side, he_j is going’ [APA ECOM_sr_Nies 099]

As the two examples above illustrate, the manner suffix is attached directly to the root of independent verbs. Coverbs form their manner participles with *turuk*, which becomes *toho* (*roho* after vowel-final coverbs) and replaces any other possible light verb.

- (64) a. *nandog-toho* *og-irehesama...*
 nandog-**tu-oho** og-it-ehesa=mu
 collect-**do-ADV.PART** give-3s.OBJ:B-3p.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR
 ‘collecting (them), they gave (them) back to him...’ [APA pear_story_Edison 078]

- b. *hîyaben* *ûmalik* *fulambe-roho* *watuk*
 hîyap=en û-malik fulambe-**tu-oho** wat-tuk
 woman=AGT 3s.GEN-child make.sound-**do-ADV.PART** hit-PROG
 ‘the woman is beating her child so that it makes a noise’ [ANG entry *fulambe-ruruk*]

Toho/roho can also occur with non-verbal forms such as nouns, adjectives, or demonstratives, as illustrated in the data in (65).

- (65) a. *pelia* *ahandi* *roho* *walinggig*
 pelia ahandi **tu-oho** waling-eg
 fence downwards **do-ADV.PART** circle-ST.PART
 ‘they are circled, like the fence down there’ [APA 1st_initiation 351]

- b. *Nare* *ari* *ele* *fano-roho* *uruk.*
 n-are ari ele fano-**tu-oho** u-tuk
 1s.GEN-brother DEM voice good-**do-ADV.PART** speak-PROG
 ‘My brother is speaking in a friendly way.’ [ANG entry *hîyane*]

- c. *we* *ari* *roho* *suruk*
 we ari **tu-oho** su-tuk
 only DEM **do-ADV.PART** do-PROG
 ‘she’s doing it like this’ [APA suit_13 161]

Though the adverbial participle in the examples above occurs with non-verbal forms, it is notable that these forms all modify an event or a result state. Thus, for example, in (65)a the state of being circled happened in a manner similar to the circling of the fence pointed out by the speaker. In (65)b the speaking event takes place in a friendly/good manner, etc. In (66) this is not the case. Here, the *toho*-form occurs within the noun phrase and seems to be modifying the noun. Note, however, that in these cases, the *toho*-form is often marked by the attributive marker =*on* (cf. section 4.3.1), i.e. a more literal translation of this example would be ‘I am still using this net bag which is broken’.

- (66) [sum tilip tohon itano]_{NP} fam suruk
 sum tilip **tu-oho=on** ita=no fam su-tuk
 net.bag torn **do-ADV.PART=AM** DET=GIV with do-PROG
 ‘I am still using this broken net bag’ [APA making_fire 30]

If the manner participle is used with directional verbs, it often means “looking/facing in the direction of X” (where X = the direction denoted by the directional verb).³⁰ Note that in this case, the adverbial participle stands on its own, not modifying any other element. See (67) for an example.

- (67) *nimi itno amene pule amburukmu*
 nimi itno a-mene pule ambu-tuk=mu
 small.boy DET 3s.GEN-dog steep go.down-PROG=DS.PRIOR
il hina ehekteg kilaboho lit wereg ari
 il hina ehek-teg **kilap-oho** lit wereg ari
 eye open say:3s.IM.PST-SS.PRIOR **enter-ADV.PART** SS.SIM EXIST DEM
 ‘the boy’s dog was falling, his eyes opened, (it is) facing downwards’
 [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 057f]

The same meaning can also be expressed by combining the stem of a directional verb with the superordinate verb *haruk* ‘to see’, as shown for a selection of directional verbs in **Table 12**.

<i>kîlaptuk</i> ‘to enter, to put sth. inside of sth.’	<i>kîlap haruk</i> ‘to look inside/downwards’
<i>lahaptuk</i> ‘to make sth. go up’	<i>lahap haruk</i> ‘to look/face upwards’
<i>pîlaptuk</i> ‘to let sth. fall down’	<i>pîlap haruk</i> ‘to look/face downwards’

Table 12: Directional verbs combining with *haruk* ‘to see’

4.4.8.2 The stative participle -Vg/-teg

Another non-finite participle in Yali is formed with the suffix -Vg. In coverb constructions, it attaches to the light verb *-turuk*, which becomes *-teg* and replaces any other possible light verb. Unlike the adverbial participle, which mostly modifies events or activities, the stative participle usually expresses states. These can often be interpreted as the result state of the action or event denoted by the verbal root. In (68)a, for example, the stative participle of the independent verb *kîyatuk* ‘to sharpen’ denotes the result state of the sharpening process, i.e. ‘being in the state of having been sharpened’. (68)b exemplifies the stative participle of the coverb *hayû* ‘to bend’. Example (68)c shows that a stative participle can also be modified by a manner participle.

- (68) a. *on humag fikit larukon eke kiyaregma...*
 on humag fikit la-tuk=on eke kiyat-eg=mu
 and next.to direction go-PROG=AM one sharpen-ST.PART=DS.PRIOR
 ‘and the one facing the other direction is pointed...’ [APA TGB_Kris_Daud_13-2 198]

³⁰ Note, however, that the adverbial participle with a directional verb does not automatically evoke the meaning “looking/facing in the direction of X”. It can just as well keep the original semantics. In this case, it functions like any other adverbial participle, i.e. it modifies another, most often verbal, element.

- b. *uluwe itno hayû-reg eneg*
uluwe itno hayû-tu-eg eneg
 k.o.tree DET bendy-do-ST.PART continuously
hayû-reg eneg lapag³¹
hayû-tu-eg eneg lat-pag
 bendy-do-ST.PART continuously stay-3.REM.PST
 ‘the Uluwe tree was still tilted’ [APA suit_15 082]
- c. *ahe lahabeg lit famen rata-roho potong-teg*
ahe lahap-eg lit famen rata-tu-oho potong-tu-eg
 tail go.up-ST.PART SS.SIM but flat-do-ADV.PART cut-do-ST.PART
 ‘its tail is up but cut evenly’ [APA TGB_Kris_Daud_1-14 179]

Note that the two last participle forms in (68)c are derived from Indonesian loan words; the adjective *rata* ‘flat’ and the verb *potong* ‘to cut’. This nicely shows the productivity of the light verb *turuk*, which basically can occur with any stem, native or not, in order to apply verbal morphology. This can also be seen in the following examples, in which – similar to the manner participle discussed in the section above – the stative participle is derived from non-verbal roots, such as nouns (in (69)a), and adjectives (in (69)b).

- (69) a. *O indit-teg.*
o indit-tu-eg
 house corner-do-ST.PART
 ‘The house is cornered.’ [ANG entry *indit*]
- b. *Sûbûrû îndok siyag-teg lît pû-nabehek.*
sûbûrû îndok siyag-tu-eg lît pû- nap-ehek
 sweet.potato fire bad-do-ST.PART SS.SIM not.cooked-1s.OBJ:A-3s.IM.PST
 ‘Because the fire is bad, the sweet potato is not done yet.’ [ANG entry *pû-ruruk*]

Often, as in all examples illustrated above, the stative participle constitutes the predicate of the clause. Yet, just like the manner participle, it can also be used attributively within the noun phrase, modifying the noun.

- (70) a. [*E hayû-rehon*]_{NP} *o fahet wa fug-teg.*
e hayû-tu-eg=on o fahet wa fug-tu-eg
 wood bendy-do-ST.PART=AM house for bring NEG-do-ST.PART
 ‘Bent wood for a house should not be brought.’ [ANG entry *hayû*]
- b. [*wam paleg itno*]_{NP} *naruk lapag³²*
wam pal-eg itno na-tuk lat-pag
 pig cut-ST.PART DET eat-PROG stay-3.REM.PST
 ‘they were eating the cut pork’ [APA 1st_initiation 071]

Another use of the stative participle is in combination with the locative clitic =*mû* (cf. section 4.2.1), which then receives the reading of “at the place where/in the direction of X”. Again, the

³¹ ANG: *latfag*

³² ANG: *latfag*

host for this combination of stative participle suffix plus locative clitic can be verbal, nominal, or adjectival, as illustrated in the examples (71)a – (71)c respectively.

- (71) a. *unggul pilabegmane iyug³³ lahabegmane*
 unggul pilap-eg=mu=ne iyug lahap-eg=mu=ne
 head fall.down-ST.PART=LOC=DIR foot go.up-ST.PART=LOC=DIR
 ‘his head is downwards, his feet are up’ [APA frog_story_Silpa_Fince 110f]
- b. *Nûyûg yowil-tegma fîtisi.*
 n-ûyûg yowil-tu-eg=mû fît-tisi
 1s.GEN-foot wound-do-ST.PART=LOC swell-3s.PST
 ‘Where the wound was, my leg was swollen.’ [ANG entry *fîtuk*]
- c. *Ik hûg-tegma kok wituk.*
 ik hûg-tu-eg=mû kok wit-tuk
 river narrow-do-ST.PART=LOC bridge build-PROG
 ‘Where the river is narrow, one builds a bridge.’ [ANG entry *hûg-teg*]

4.4.9 The directional and intentional linker *-ik*

The marker *-ik* combines two verbs, the second of which always has to be a verb of motion. Like in clause chaining constructions with the sequential maker *-tûg* (section 4.2.2), only the second verb carries tense and agreement marking. The two verbs always have the same subject referent. If only the second verb (V2) but not the first verb (V1) is a motion verb, the construction expresses a purposive relation between the event denoted by V1 and the motion event denoted by V2.

- (72) a. *e anggen tahanik lahakek ari*
 e anggen tahan-ik laha-ehek ari
 fruit pick-**DIR** go.up-3s.IM.PST DEM
 ‘he climbed up to pick the fruits’ [APA pear_story_Edo 022]
- b. *ap itnoen at hihirik laruk lapag³⁴ ari*
 ap itno=en at hihi-**ik** la-tuk lat-pag ari
 man DEM=AGT 3s treat-**DIR** go-PROG stay-3.REM.PST DEM
 ‘the man was going there to treat her’ [APA man_and_pig 190]

If both the second and the first verb are motion verbs, or if the first verb denotes an event which entails movement towards a location, V2 marks directedness of motion. In these cases, V2 is usually one of the following verbs: *laharuk* ‘to go up’ or (w)*amburuk* ‘to go down’ for movement upwards and downwards respectively, *waharuk* ‘to come’ for movement towards the deictic centre (cf. (73)a), *laruk* ‘to go’ for movement away from the deictic center (cf. (73)b), and *kuruk* ‘to enter’ for movement into a place. Example (73)c illustrates the combination of the directional marker *-ik* within the coverb construction *yukuk-turuk* ‘to sink in’, which becomes *yukuk-tik*.

³³ ANG: ûyûg

³⁴ ANG: *latfag*

- (73) a. *hun itno e anggen tahanehekteg ambik wahareg ...*
 hun itno e anggen tahan-ehek=teg ambu-**ik** waha=teg
 man DET fruit pick-3s.IM.PST=SS.PRIOR go.down-**DIR** come=SS.PRIOR
 ‘after the man picked the fruits and after he came down...’ [APA pear_story_Edo 152]
- b. *e itno hililik lamin ulug*
 e itno hilil-**ik** la-min ulug
 wood DET move.to.side-**DIR** go-1s.IM.PST SAY
 ‘he wants to move the piece of wood away to the side’ [APA ECOM_sr_Nies 136]
- c. *Anebu ûyûg sabelepma yukuk-tik wamburuk.*
 anebu ûyûg sabelep=mu yukuk-**tu-ik** wambu-tuk
 plane foot mud=LOC sink.in-**do-DIR** go.down-PROG
 ‘The wheels of the plane are sinking into the mud.’ [ANG entry yukuk-turuk]

As mentioned above, a direction of motion reading is also possible when V1 entails movement towards a location, especially with verbs of putting. An expression like *embik laharuk* is thus ambiguous between the purpose of motion reading discussed above, i.e. ‘to come up in order to put (sth.)’, and the directional reading ‘to put sth. up’. The latter is illustrated in (74).

- (74) *ku misig itnore arat sepeda itno fam*
 ku misig itno=te arat sepeda itno fam
 container one DET=TOP ready bicycle DET LOC
embik lahekek ari
 embe-**ik** laha-ehek ari
 put-**DIR** go.up-3s.IM.PST DEM
 ‘he put one basket on his bicycle’ [APA pear_story_Edo 077]

It is also possible to combine more than two verbs, in which case the first two verbs are marked by *-ik*, and the third verb takes the inflectional morphology. The second and the third verbs then either describe the direction of movement of the first verb (cf. (75)a and b), or V2 and V3 denote the direction of motion together and V1 denotes the purpose of the motion event (cf. (75)c).

- (75) a. *kilabik ambik waharukmure*
 kilap-**ik** ambu-**ik** waha-tuk=mu=te
 put-**DIR** go.down-**DIR** come-PROG=LOC=TOP
 ‘he is putting them down here’ [APA pear_story_Edison 008]
- b. *Sûbûrû filik-tegma*
 sûbûrû filik-tu-eg=mû
 sweet.potato go.off-do-ST.PART=DS.PRIOR
ik put-put-tik lahik waharuk.
 ik put-put-**tu-ik** laha-**ik** waha-tuk
 water squirt-**do-DIR** go.up-**DIR** come-PROG
 ‘The sweet potato is rotten and water squirts out.’ [ANG entry put-turuk]

- c. *Wamena survei sik lahik waharuk*
 Wamena survei **su-ik** **laha-ik** **waha-tuk**
 Wamena survey **do-DIR** **go.up-DIR** **come-PROG**
 ‘(the plane) is coming up to do the Wamena survey’ [APA interview_IP_Ware 124]

The verbs *naruk* ‘to eat’ and *haruk* ‘to see’ do not follow the regular pattern. They form the purpose of motion construction without the directional suffix *-ik*, as shown for *haruk* in (76):

- (76) *ilikiya ha laruk latpag³⁵ ambehen*
 i-ikiya ha la-tuk lat-pag a-mbeg=en
 3.GEN-morning see go-PROG stay-3.REM.PST 3s.GEN-place=ABL
 ‘in the morning he was going from his place to check (the traps)’
 [APA filling_the_traps 089]

4.4.10 The change-of-state verb *atuk*

The verb *atuk* ‘become’ denotes a change of state and can combine with verbal, nominal and adjectival bases. Its use with nouns and adjectives is very common and productive, and usually denotes a change towards the referent denoted by the noun, or towards the property denoted by the adjective, as illustrated in (77)a-b and (77)c-d respectively.

- (77) a. *Yahîyen anggen endetûg hîbîl atuk.*
 yahî=en anggen endet-tûg **hîbîl** **at-tuk**
 frog=AGT egg give.birth-SEQ **tadpole** **become-PROG**
 ‘If a frog lays eggs, they become tadpoles.’ [ANG entry hîbîl]

- b. *hup atuk lapagma³⁶...*
hup **at-tuk** lat-pag=mu
night **become-PROG** stay-3.REM.PST=DS.PRIOR
 ‘it was becoming night...’ [APA suit_13 097]

- c. *malik itno su apag³⁷*
 malik itno **su** **at-pag**
 child DEM **big** **become-PROG**
 ‘the child was getting older’ [APA man_and_pig 022]

- d. *Pikalem înam atuk.*
 pikalem **înam** **at-tuk**
 moon **visible** **become-PROG**
 ‘The moon is becoming visible.’ [ANG entry înam]

In combination with verbs, *atuk* attaches either to the stem (with independent verbs), or it replaces the light verb (in coverb constructions). Again, the formation always denotes a change of state, as the following verb pairs illustrate:

³⁵ ANG: *latfag*

³⁶ ANG: *latfagma*

³⁷ ANG: *atik-ibag* or *atfag*

(78) a.	<i>latuk</i>	‘to close sth.’	<i>lat-atuk</i>	‘to close (intr.)’
b.	<i>watuk</i>	‘to kill/hit sb.’	<i>war-atuk</i>	‘to die’
c.	<i>filîla-ruruk</i>	‘to losen sth.’	<i>filîla-atuk</i>	‘to become lose’
d.	<i>halog-turuk</i>	‘to break sth. open’	<i>halog-atuk</i>	‘to break open’
e.	<i>fûkî-ruruk</i>	‘to spy on sb.’	<i>fûkî-atuk</i>	‘to become evident’

All verb pairs in (78) display an alternation between a transitive verb that denotes a volitional event, and its inchoative, intransitive counterpart that denotes a non-volitional event. Yet, non-volitionality is not an obligatory property of derivations with *atuk*. Compare the following two examples, which involve the verb *konu-ruruk* and its derived form *konu-atuk*. The difference between these two forms is hard to tell, and it does not seem to be the case that the form in (79)b is the involuntary, inchoative counterpart of the form in (79)a.

(79) a.	<i>Hîyap</i>	<i>sûbûrû</i>	<i>ûmatuk</i>	<i>lît</i>	<i>konu-ruruk</i> .
	<i>hîyap</i>	<i>sûbûrû</i>	<i>ûmat-tuk</i>	<i>lît</i>	<i>konu-tu-tuk</i>
	woman	sweet.potato	wash-PROG	SS.SIM	bend-do-PROG
	‘When women are washing sweet potatoes, they bend down.’ [ANG entry <i>konu-ruruk</i>]				
b.	<i>Konu-ahî.</i>				
	<i>konu-at-îhî</i>				
	bend-become-1s.IM.PST				
	‘I bent down.’ [ANG entry <i>konu-ruruk</i>]				

Furthermore, *atuk* frequently occurs as a light verb in coverb constructions (cf. section 4.4.2). These collocations of coverb + *atuk* can, but don’t have to, denote a change of state. They can also express states, as illustrated in (80)a, or dynamic events, as in (80)b.

(80) a.	<i>Hîyap</i>	<i>ibili-atukon</i>	<i>malik</i>	<i>endetuk</i>	<i>eleg.</i>
	<i>hîyap</i>	<i>ibili-at-tuk=on</i>	<i>malik</i>	<i>endet-tuk</i>	<i>eleg</i>
	woman	infertile-become-PROG=AM	child	give.birth-PROG	not
	‘An infertile woman cannot give birth to children.’ [ANG entry <i>ibili-atuk</i>]				
b.	<i>Silpaen</i>	<i>Lince</i>	<i>kagkag-atuk.</i>		
	<i>Silpa=en</i>	<i>Lince</i>	<i>kagkag-at-tuk</i>		
	<i>Silpa=AGT</i>	<i>Lince</i>	scratch-become-PROG		
	‘Silpa is scratching Lince.’ [APA field notes]				

5 Abbreviations

A	object paradigm A
ABL	ablative
ADV.PART	adverbial participle
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
AM	attributive marker
B	object paradigm B
C	object paradigm C
CAUS	cause
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	direction
DS	different subject
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GIV	given
IM.FUT	immediate future
IM.PST	immediate past
IMP	imperative
INS	instrument
INTJ	interjection
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
OBJ	object
p	plural
PRIOR	prior (to event denoted by following predicate)
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
Q	question
REM.PST	remote past

s	singular
SEQ	sequential
SB	self-benefactive
SIM	simultaneous (to event denoted by following predicate)
SS	same subject

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